

## The Daily Tar Heel

Opinions of the Daily Tar Heel are expressed in its editorials. Letters and columns, covering a wide range of views, reflect the personal opinions of their authors.

### No Stall For Campus Radio

After some amazing roller coaster ups and downs, the prospects of immediate action on Campus Radio look good.

The problems involved in setting up the radio station are complex but not insurmountable. If it is to be done with greatest effectiveness, it must be done now.

The man who holds the power of life or death for Campus Radio is Student Body President Paul Dickson. With a large degree of unreasonable reluctance, he has agreed to work for the passage of legislation setting up the radio now.

Dickson had wanted a referendum next fall. The chances are good that this would have killed the plans altogether.

A referendum is not needed because no increase in student fees will be involved, now or in the foreseeable future. The money needed to set up and operate the radio station can be drawn from Student Government's general surplus and unappropriated budget funds. This can be done without the risk of leaving a surplus too small to cope with any financial emergency Student Government might face.

In Campus Radio we have a well-planned program which has every assurance of offering the students a real service — at no added cost.

The Office of Admissions says enrollment can be expected to increase about 1,000 a year. This new revenue itself would pay much more than the \$11,000 a year operating costs of the radio station, and still leave a growing surplus. Added income from student fees would amount to between \$15,000 and \$20,000 a year — with no fee increases.

The time to act is now, the administration is in a cooperative mood, and there is no assurance that it can or will be in the same position at any time in the future.

Arrangements have been made for the University to provide office space for the station and to pay for the renovations. The plan called for having the work done this summer and there is no assurance that the offer can be left standing for months while some student politicians try to figure out how to set up the station in the way most beneficial to themselves.

Plans which have been made would have to be made again, and for all practical purposes the entire program would be started from the beginning again.

If shelving Campus Radio now did not kill it completely, it would hand it an unnecessary delay of at least a year.

Dickson's misgivings about the program — however unfounded they may have been — have apparently been satisfied by the members of the Campus Radio Committee and others who do not want to see the work go down the drain.

The students of this University should support him and the legislature in setting up this program — one of the most important to be considered in recent history.

### But Don't Forget Education

Congress of Racial Equality National Director James Farmer said here Monday night that the civil rights movement will be directed more and more toward the economic upgrading and political activity of the American Negro.

This is not surprising. Since the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, most civil rights groups have shifted emphasis from public accommodations to political involvement and economic upgrading.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party created a furor at the Democratic national convention last summer when it attempted to seat its delegates. They were refused, but party leaders have worked steadily since then registering Negro voters and urging political interest among Negroes.

The center of months of strife in Selma and nearby communities was over voting rights. And voter registration continues.

During last year's riots in Harlem, Farmer and other rights officials urged New York Mayor Robert Wagner to create a sort of Job Corps to provide jobs for unemployed youth, many of whom would have been Negroes.

One disturbing aspect of Farmer's speech was the comparatively small emphasis placed on education for Negroes. Farmer is concerned, and rightly so, about remedial education for Negroes. But demands for better elementary, high school and college education must continue to be a vital part of the southern movement. Indeed, it is complementary to the other goals.

If Negroes are to accept their rightful places as voters and politicians; if they are to have jobs other than those of a traditional nature, they must be given an educational background which will enable them to accept their responsibilities along with their rights.

## The Daily Tar Heel

72 Years of Editorial Freedom

The Daily Tar Heel is the official news publication of the University of North Carolina and is published by students daily except Mondays, examination periods and vacations.

Ernie McCrary, editor; Mike Yopp, associate editor; Kerry Sipe, managing editor; John Greenbacker, news editor; Fred Thomas, copy editor; Mike Wiggins, night editor; Fred Seely, sports editor; Richard Smith, asst. sports editor; Andy Myers, John Jemrich, Mary Ellison Strother, Ernest Robl, Bob Wright, David Rothman, staff writers; Bill Lee, Pete Cross, sports writers; Jack Lauterer, photographer; Chip Barnard, art editor; Becky Timberlake, secretary; Jack Harrington, business mgr.; Woody Sobel, advertising mgr.; Tom Clark, subscription mgr.; John Evans, circulation mgr.

Second Class postage paid at the post office in Chapel Hill, N. C. Subscription rates: \$4.50 per semester; \$8 per year. Printed by the Chapel Hill Publishing Co., Inc. The Associated Press is entitled exclusively to the use for republication of all local news printed in this newspaper as well as all AP news dispatches.

# Moving Closer To A Military Confrontation

By HANS J. MORGENTHAU  
In The New Republic

Having just returned from Moscow after talking to American diplomats, to representatives of allied and neutral countries, and to Soviet officials, academicians and military men, I carry with me two major impressions: the hopelessness of a negotiated settlement of the war in Viet Nam under present conditions and the likelihood of Soviet military intervention.

A negotiated settlement is now rendered impossible by three factors: the irreconcilable character of the positions taken by either side, the military situation remaining unfavorable to the United States, and the ambiguity of the American negotiating position.

Moscow, Hanoi, Peking and the Viet Cong are at one in seeking the elimination of the American military presence in South Viet Nam, while the United States appears to be willing to remove its military pres-

ence only on conditions of stability in South Viet Nam which are unattainable in the foreseeable future. The military situation remains as desperate as it has been in recent times. Richard Dudman has given in the St. Louis Post Dispatch a vivid picture of incessant military deterioration, of cities supplied only by air or sea, of the Viet Cong exacting tribute even from government convoys.

The London Economist reports in its issue of April 17 that "two slogans that are now heard quite often in Saigon and elsewhere are: 'Yank go fight your war someplace else,' and, in Army circles: 'He who doesn't fight has no need to run away'" and that "north of Saigon, it is with the greatest difficulty that the Americans can persuade the government forces to keep the main coastal road open during the day." Finally, the President's speech of April 7, intended to open a new, more conciliatory phase in American policy, is contradictory within itself in that it attempts to combine elements of the old policy of indiscriminate peripheral military containment of communism in Asia with a new policy of creating an independent Indochina including North Viet Nam and supported by the Soviet Union.

In Soviet eyes, however, these constructive elements in the President's speech have been obliterated by the massive air raids on North Viet Nam, following the President's speech by less than 24 hours. Wherever I mentioned in Moscow the constructive elements in the President's speech, I was referred to the bombs whose detonations seem to have drowned out the words uttered in Baltimore.

The Soviet attitude toward American policy is one of despair, alarm and exasperation. The despair is most keenly felt by those who have been identified with Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence and of mitigating the conflict with the United States. They declare themselves to be fighting with their backs to the wall, barely holding their own against the growing influence of the faction that favors the hard line of the Chinese.

It is not necessary to take such statements at face value in order to recognize the dilemma in which the Soviet Union finds itself and the impossibility for the Soviet Union to remain indefinitely a passive bystander in the face of the progressive destruction of North Viet Nam by American military power. It is likewise easy to see why the Soviet Union would take an active part in the hostilities only with the greatest reluctance, being forced by American policy to take a course of action it would not have taken if it had had a choice.

The dilemma the Soviet Union faces stems from the fact that, on the one hand, the Soviet Union has a vital interest in avoiding a direct military confrontation with the United States and that, on the other hand, it cannot remain indifferent to the fate of another communist country and ally, such as North Viet Nam, especially as it must compete with China for the control of the world communist movement. However anxious the Soviet Union is to avoid a direct military confrontation with the United States, it is not willing to buy that avoidance with its abdication as leader and protector of its communist allies.

Thus the bombing of North Viet Nam, a complete failure as an inducement to bring Hanoi to the negotiating table, is likely to succeed in bringing the Soviet Union to the battlefields of Southeast Asia. The bombing is bound to continue on an ever-expanding scale; for such are its inner dynamics in view of its assumptions and of its failure to achieve its end. Every target hit — one marvels, to believe the official reports, at the number of bridges and radar stations with which the landscape of North Viet Nam must be dotted — weakens not the resolution of Hanoi to unify Viet Nam under its auspices but the resolution of the Soviet Union to stay out of the conflict.

Yet military intervention, carefully limited, brings compensation to the Soviet Union, and the hard liners have not been remiss in pointing them out. Military intervention might well serve to restore the ascendancy of the Soviet Union in the world communist movement. That ascendancy has been effectively challenged by China, and the main talking point of China has been the lack of the Soviet Union's revolutionary militancy.

However, in the present conflict China is in no position to come to the aid of North Viet Nam without risking the destruction of its atomic and major industrial installations; for it is not yet a nuclear power. But the Soviet Union is under the cover of its nuclear deterrent. It could go a long way, albeit facing the risk of escalation, to demonstrate to the communist world that while China only speaks loudly but can do very little, it is the Soviet Union who in actuality carries the big stick and is willing to use it on behalf of another communist nation. If worse should come to worse and China, too, were to be involved actively in the conflict, she would have to rely for her protection upon the deterrent nuclear power and the conventional arms of the Soviet Union.

Thus in the end the monolithic character of the communist camp would be restored under the auspices of the Soviet Union, which would have demonstrated by deed where effective power lies within that camp.

Turning from the substance of policy to its intellectual quality, the critical observer is struck by the motivating force which considerations of prestige exert both in Washington and Moscow. That this is so in Washington hardly needs extensive elabo-

ration. If one probes beneath the rationalizations for our military presence in South Viet Nam, one finds as the dominant motivation the fear that if South Viet Nam should go communist, no nation threatened by communism would entrust its protection to us. Thus one nation after the other would go communist. In other words, the communization of South Viet Nam would be the beginning of the end of the free world.

We have even dignified this historic determinism with the name of a theory, the so-called "domino theory." It assumes that as South Viet Nam goes so will Thailand, and as Thailand goes so will India, and so forth, until the whole world will have gone communist. This theory is a slogan born of fear and of a misconception of history and politics. It is unsupported by any historic evidence. The Soviet Union went communist in 1917 and China in 1949, but no other nation followed suit. In 1945, Poland and Hungary went communist, but Finland did not, and all the Balkan States went communist, but Greece did not. In 1946 Czechoslovakia went communist, but no other nation did. In 1954 North Viet Nam went communist all by herself, and in 1960 or so Cuba went communist without being followed by any other Latin American nation.

Social and, more particularly, revolutionary change is not the mechanical result of imitation and prestige but of objective conditions peculiar to individual nations. It is, however, illuminating to note that the "domino theory" is but a replica of a vulgar Marxism which also believes in the inevitable spread of communism from one country to the rest of the world.

Similarly, the Soviet Union operates on assumptions of prestige, both for itself and for North Viet Nam. It cannot allow Hanoi to go to the negotiating table under a hall of American bombs; for to do so would be tantamount to admitting that the United States can impose its will upon a small communist nation by force of arms.

It cannot afford to remain indefinitely passive while American bombs destroy North Viet Nam; for to do so would be tantamount to admitting that the Soviet Union cannot protect a small communist nation against America's military power.

When I mentioned to a Soviet official American considerations of prestige and pointed to the need for a face-saving device and for Soviet cooperation in providing it, he replied: "Other nations must take care of their prestige, too." He was right. But then it is the task of statesmanship to settle disputes in such a way as to minimize the damage to the prestige of the parties concerned. Of such statesmanship there is not a trace to be found on either side.

As a result, we are moving closer and closer to that military confrontation which nobody wants but which nobody knows how to avoid.

## Beautiful Day, If You Like It

By JOE COBLE  
417 Ehringhaus

Sunday the campus was full of people. There was a stage on the lawn in Polk Place in front of historic South Building. The large roped-off area was covered by couples on blankets, watching the performance and enjoying themselves. It was a beautiful day.

Today the campus is full of people. The stage is gone; the ropes are gone; the blankets are gone; the Coke cups are gone; the cigarette butts are gone. All that remains are memories and the campus which sees many people and events come and go and remains unchanged, decade after decade.

There are many people on the campus today, but they are not the same. Sunday the general atmosphere was one of celebration. Today the atmosphere is one of a factory. There is laughter and talk, but the general air has undergone a change.

Sunday some students had a hangover from too much to drink and not enough sleep. Today more students have hangovers, but they are not the kind which come from a bottle. They are of another kind, a harder kind to rid yourself of. For Sunday was a day free from care, and today begins a two-week period in which late hour semester tests are given in many subjects.

It would be a gloomy prospect at any time, but coming as it does on the heels of Jubilee, it gives a feeling of depression which is hard to remove.

Today is a beautiful day in Chapel Hill. There is not a cloud in the sky. The temperature is in the high 80s, seasoned with much shade and cool breezes. The trees are green, and new grass is beginning to grow in many places on campus. Birds sing and squirrels scamper from the ever-present Chapel Hill dogs.

Yes, it is a beautiful day, if you like beautiful days.



Applies To Dominican Republic

## The Johnson Doctrine: New Warning In Effect

WASHINGTON (AP) — For some years, international legal experts have argued whether the Monroe Doctrine — a U. S. warning to non-hemisphere nations to keep hands off Latin America — has been in effect or not.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt about a new doctrine in force today.

It was proclaimed by President Johnson Sunday in a speech to the nation explaining the background of what he termed a communist attempt to take over the Dominican Republic.

The doctrine he proclaimed:

### 'Boy Needed,' Not Corpsman

From The Oklahoma Daily

More than 1,000 recently returned Peace Corps volunteers and national leaders met at a three-day conference in Washington recently to discuss the problem of the volunteer's re-entry into American life and business.

This conference and several like it were developed by Peace Corps psychiatrist Dr. Joseph English to discuss ways of "opening up opportunities" for the ex-volunteer.

At present there are some 3,500 returned volunteers. Of these, nearly 60 per cent are back in colleges or at universities studying for advanced degrees. Only about eight per cent enter the business field. The reason for this added education and the low average entering business is the lack of opportunity for newly-returned volunteers.

On returning to the United States, the volunteer finds that promises of vast opportunities for the men and women with overseas experience are in truth not available.

He will find that employers aren't too impressed upon hearing of his Peace Corps experience.

What the employer is interested in is job experience and quick results, not overseas experience. The Peace Corps just isn't too good as a recommendation.

To help solve this problem of job opportunity, President Johnson recently asked federal agencies to give special consideration to hiring ex-volunteers. He also expressed hopes of enlisting corpsmen in his war on poverty.

At this time the main jobs open to returning corpsmen are with the foreign service, the Washington bureau of the corps, and other foreign and domestic aid projects. But what of the non-government employers? They too must give the ex-volunteers the opportunity to use their special skills and training.

"The American nations cannot, must not and will not permit the establishment of another communist government in the Western Hemisphere."

The President said U. S. troops were sent into the Dominican Republic when local authorities there reported they were unable to guarantee the safety of Americans and of other foreigners in the Dominican Republic.

The decision on troops was taken without prior consultation with or approval of the Organization of American States.

Some Latin American nations, notably Venezuela — itself long threatened with guerrilla activities by followers of Cuba's Fidel Castro and other communists — Mexico and Chile, have brought this lack of advance consultation in critical public statements.

As if to answer such criticisms, President Johnson said:

"There may be those in our own country who say that such action was good but we should have waited or we should have delayed or we should have consulted further, or we should have called a meeting."

But the situation was one, the President said, in which U. S. citizens and those of other countries faced death in the streets.

"I knew there was no time to talk, to consult or to delay," the President said.

In an effort to achieve multinational implementation of the Johnson Doctrine, the United States has asked the representatives of Latin American republics to approve a resolution calling on all OAS member nations to make contributions of military units to the peace-making efforts of an OAS mission in the Dominican Republic.

The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by President James Monroe Dec. 2, 1823, in his annual message to congress. Its major emphasis was a warning to non-continental powers, chiefly in Europe, not to seek to extend their political systems to any country in the Western Hemisphere.

As a balance, the United States agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of European nations.

Some have argued that the Monroe Doctrine has been, in effect, destroyed by the emergence of the United States as a world power playing important roles in many nations through its military and economic aid programs.

In any event, the Monroe Doctrine would not seem to be applicable to the Dominican crisis since no European power is being accused of intervening there.

But the Johnson Doctrine applies directly. How it will be judged by history remains to be seen.