

RUSSELL FAVORS POLL IN VIETNAM ON U.S. PRESENCE

**Holds 'We Can't Possibly Win'
Against Vietcong if People
Oppose American Help**

REJECTS DOMINO THEORY

**Galbraith, Concurring, Says
Reds Would Not Be Able
to Conquer All of Asia**

By **FELIX BELAIR Jr.**
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 25—
The chairman of the Senate
Armed Services Committee said
today that the United States
should withdraw its troops from
South Vietnam now if a survey
of public opinion in the
cities there showed that a ma-
jority of the people opposed
their presence.

Senator Richard B. Russell,
Democrat of Georgia, said in an
interview in U.S. News &
Report that "we can't possibly
win if we are fighting an enemy
in front of us while the people
we are supposed to be helping
are against us and want us out
of their country."

Generally regarded as one of
the best informed men on mili-
tary affairs in either branch of
Congress, he rejected completely
the "domino theory" voiced by
many high Administration of-
ficials that a Communist vic-
tory in South Vietnam would
be followed by a Communist
take-over of all Southeast
Asia.

"Cambodia and Laos might go,
along with South Vietnam, if
we left," the Senator said in
the interview. "But I don't
think that's any irreparable
loss," he continued. "Neither of
them has any tremendous mili-
tary value, either strategic or
tactical. And they certainly
have no great economic value."

Echoed by Galbraith

Senator Russell's views on
this point were echoed in testi-
mony before the Senate Foreign
Relations Committee by John
Kenneth Galbraith, Harvard
economist who was Ambassador
to India during the Kennedy Ad-
ministration.

"I have never believed in the
simplicities of the 'domino the-
ory,' Professor Galbraith said.
"Indonesia was one of the dom-
inos that would fall. But it has
now righted itself—although
apparently at a tremendous cost
in human lives.

"This is and was the wrong
place to make a stand. I don't
think we can roll back the area
controlled by the Vietcong for
10 years and I question the wis-
dom of investing the lives of
other peoples in trying. Even
under a policy of Communist
containment, I would want them
contained on a contestable
ground.

"If you pressed me to say
whether Indochina was vital to
the security of the United States,
don't think Vietnam is a test-
ing place of American democ-
racy or that it is strategically
or otherwise important to Unit-
ed States interests.

"If we were not in Vietnam,
all that part of the world would
be enjoying the obscurity it
so richly deserves."

Professor Galbraith suggested
the "domino theory" had no ap-
plication to Thailand, "which
long has had a stable Govern-
ment and people," and had no
"contentious history like the In-
dochinese state." He added that
"if the peasants of South Viet-
nam were free to choose be-
tween the present Government
and the Vietcong they would
say neither."

Uncertain on Leaving

At the same time, Mr. Gal-
braith was uncertain about any
immediate withdrawal of Unit-
ed States troops from the area.
He said he shared "the uneasi-
ness of those who saw serious
danger in just marching out"
and suggested instead that this
country follow a kind of de-
fensive strategy of holding the
areas now controlled by the
Government until a bargain
could be reached between the
Communist and non-Communist
forces.

Senator Russell put the mat-
ter somewhat differently.

"It wouldn't be easy for us
to extricate ourselves, but we
could do it," he said, "having
absolute command of the seas
and the air, we could accom-
plish a withdrawal without
great loss.

"I have often said that we
couldn't just 'tuck tail and run'
as long as the Vietnamese were
fighting at our side. But I don't
think you can expect Ameri-
cans or anybody else to stay
in a country where it became
very apparent that they were
not wanted."

It was Senator Russell rather
than the questioner in the in-
terview who brought up the
subject of anti-American dem-
onstrations in Saigon and other
cities, but it was the questioner
who suggested that "people are

CIA

getting increasingly disturbed
over the way the United States
is trying to fight the war in
Vietnam."

In response, Senator Russell
said:

"I think the attitude of the
average person is that we
should go in and win—or else
get out. These people I'm talk-
ing about feel that, if we have
the means to get this war over,
then we should bring it to a
conclusion as speedily as we
can.

"If we have to be caught up
there in tides of religious con-
troversy and political contro-
versy and philosophical dis-
agreements to the point that
lives of American boys are en-
dangered when they walk down
the streets of a city they have
come to save from the Commu-
nists . . . if that's the case . . .
then it's time we re-examine
our entire position, however
painful that re-examination
might be."

Kennedy Plan Noted

Senator Wayne Morse, Dem-
ocrat of Oregon, vociferous
critic of the Administration's
foreign policy, suggested to
Professor Galbraith that United
States policy on Vietnam would
have been quite different had
not President Kennedy died
from an assassin's bullet.

The former President ordered
an intensive review of Vietnam
policies in the days just before
his death, according to Senatr
Morse. He recalled having vis-
ited the President in the White
House 10 days before his death
on Nov. 22, 1963.

When the conversation turned
to the situation in Vietnam,
the President mentioned the
Senator's critical speeches on
the Senate floor and remarked
that he "wasn't sure but what
I was right," according to Sen-
ator Morse. President Kennedy
said he had the Vietnam situa-
tion under "intensive study,"
he added.

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