

General Norstad Inspects NATO Troops in Europe

French Balk

Strategy, Command Problems in NATO

By WALTER LIPPMANN
New York

IF, as is being said, there is a crisis in NATO, the issue is not the Atlantic Alliance itself, or any movement within NATO to surrender Berlin, and Germany, and Europe. The basic issues in NATO are strategy and command. Can the European members continue to rely for their defense upon the American nuclear deterrent under the command of the American President and an American general?

This question can be explored but it cannot be settled by the NATO foreign ministers at Oslo. Unless I am much mistaken, it will be the central subject of the serious discussions when President Kennedy visits President De Gaulle.

These discussions will not be easy, and it would be a great pity if the Administration built up any public expectation, which would almost certainly be false, that there are going to be settlements at Paris. The best that anyone has a right to hope for is that the

two Presidents will reach a preliminary understanding of each other, and can therefore lay the foundations for those changes in the strategy and structure of NATO which are necessary.

If I understand the problem after a number of careful talks in Paris, it is the consequence of the change in the balance of power since the Soviet Union achieved nuclear parity. The NATO strategic doctrine antedates this historic change. The NATO military establishment, which was founded under General Eisenhower and is now commanded by General Norstad, has been regarded as the "shield." It was to hold the Red army at bay while the United States wielded the decisive weapon, which was then our monopoly, the "sword" which is the nuclear strategic air force.

No National Suicide

This strategic conception has been radically undermined by the Soviet nuclear missile forces. The most authoritative European view is that since the Soviet Union is now capable of inflicting prohibitive damage on the United States, and absolute damage on the small European countries, the automatic collective defense, which NATO pre-supposes, cannot be counted upon. The French view, which is merely more articulate than that of the other Europeans, is that if nuclear war begins, no nation will commit suicide if it can escape it.

tence that in great affairs throughout the world—the Formosa strait, Indo-China, Iran, The Congo, Cuba—policy should be made by French-British-American agreement, and not unilaterally by the United States.

Communication Open

It is true that in the field of political consultation, the Kennedy administration has done better than its predecessor, and that communication between the two governments, both in Washington and in Paris, is happily, much more open. But it would be misleading to say that the atmosphere is as cordial as it needs to be, or that trust and confidence between the two governments have not in recent years been seriously impaired.

Seen from our side, the reason for this has been, of course, the great disagreement with General De Gaulle over the military structure of NATO and over the independent French nuclear bomb. Seen from the French side, there is not only a general sense of grievance that France, as compared with Great Britain, has been ignored. There is not only a firm conviction that President Eisenhower broke his promise to support France in Algeria, and instructed our delegation to abstain in the United Nations.

Literary Guidepost

Soviet Cinema

Movie Hits

Stalin's Guilt

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This is the root of the French insistence upon having their own deterrents. They do not pretend that they can deter attack anywhere except against French cities. Rightly or wrongly, the French intend to have this nuclear power under their own command, not under the American President's command, the nuclear power to be able to destroy two or three Soviet cities if French cities are threatened.

I shall be very much astonished if the President can argue General De Gaulle out of this view, or if he can induce him to alter it by any device for a collective control of missiles by NATO which leaves the ultimate and fateful decision in the United States.

This is the crux of the problem. But, of course, it is not the whole problem. There is the exceedingly important French insis-

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Literary Guidepost

Reconsiderations

By MAURICE DOLBIER
N.Y. Herald Tribune Service

WHAT Toynbee calls "the first batch" of volumes of his analytical survey of the world's civilizations and higher religions appeared in 1934. Three more were published in 1939; four bringing the main part of the work to conclusion, were published in 1954, and a supplementary volume—a historical atlas and gazetteer—was added last year.

Criticism of Toynbee's masterwork has been, from the beginning, extensive and sometimes ex-

A STUDY OF HISTORY: Volume XII: Reconsiderations. By Arnold J. Toynbee. 740 pages. (Oxford University Press.)

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Soviet Cinema

Movie Hits Stalin's Guilt

London Observer Service
Moscow

SOVIET audiences are to be treated to the first film dramatization of some of the evils of the Stalin era and the thaw that set in after his death.

Grigori Chukhrais' new film "Clear Sky" will blow up whatever is left of the Stalin legend.

It is the story of Alexei Astakhov, an ace pilot of the Soviet air force who, after heroic feats in the Soviet-German war, is captured by the enemy. After the war, like thousands of repatriates, he experienced the purgatory of political "decontamination" camps, party purges and professional and social ostracism—suspected of the worst only because he had been a prisoner-of-war in Germany and survived.

Driven to despair and alcoholism, Alexei, in one of the most dramatic scenes in the Soviet cinema, pathetically asks his wife: "What is my guilt: That I was shot down over enemy territory and didn't die of hunger, or was not thrown into a Nazi furnace?"

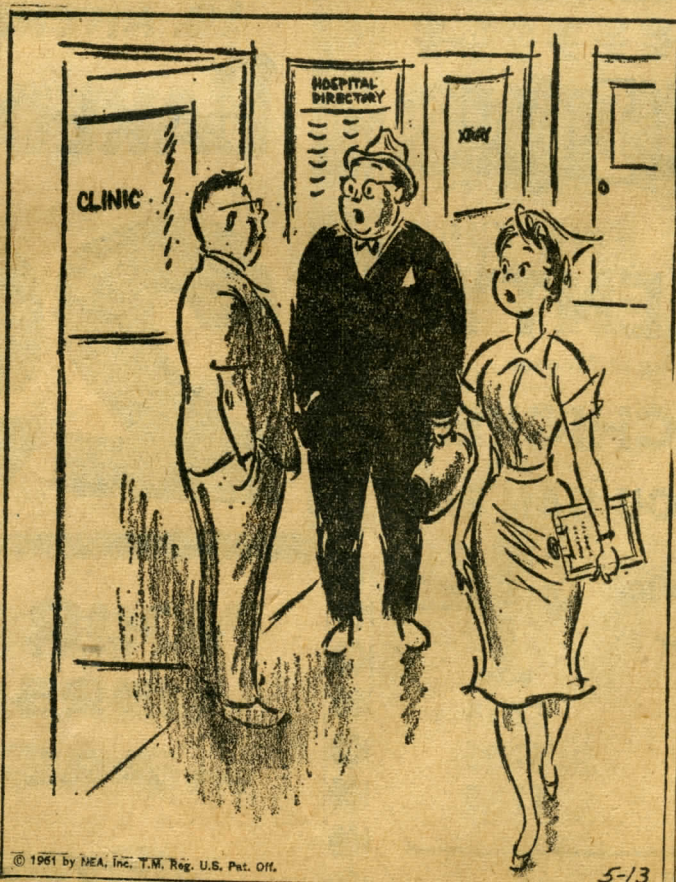
Stalin Is Dead

But he is shaken by a rebellious young man who, pointing at an image of the "great father of all mankind," expresses disgust and protests: "It wasn't he who saved us from the Fascists. It was my own father who lost his life, it was you, Alexei, and millions of other fathers and brothers."

In a scene depicting the lower depths of hopelessness, the young man walks into Alexei's miserable room and quietly announces, "Stalin is dead." The audiences watching a preview of the film loudly applauded at this point.

DeStalinization has been dealt with here in fiction, the theater and poetry with varying degrees of frankness, but never presented as vividly, dramatically and effectively as in Chukhrais' film.

It must have been approved in the highest quarters, presumably by Presidium member Madam Eekaterina Furtseva, minister of culture, who has already demonstrated more boldness and flexibility than any of her predecessors.



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"Simply take a wrench and unscrew the dinkus that holds the pipe in place . . . if your little boy is like mine, you'll find a pencil down your sink drain!"



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