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## THE REPORTER

136 East 57 Street  
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# WHO—WHAT—WHY—

**T**HERE ARE many people, particularly among the administration leaders, who are all too inclined to forget the great strides the Russians have made in the development of new weapons. Unfortunately, and regretfully, we cannot share this inclination and bury our heads in the sand, nor can we rest on the assumption that the superiority of American technology over that of all other nations is a sort of God-given, unalienable right. In this issue we take a look at what is done on the other side of the fence and at what is being done on our side. **Isaac Deutscher** reports on an interview that Marshal Vershinin, head of the Soviet Air Force, gave to *Pravda*. Few of our major newspapers featured the marshal's statements. The almost humorous calm with which he made them is as impressive as their content: The Russians have caught up with us, the marshal said, and in many fields of offense and defense they have gone us one better. Mr. Deutscher, who usually writes for us on Russian matters, is no novice in military affairs. For nearly five years during the war he was the London *Economist's* military correspondent.

Those responsible for our defense system, as the two articles by **Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr.**, and **S. L. A. Marshall** (Brigadier General, U.S.A. Ret.) amply demonstrate, may have been penny or dollar wise, but it is to be doubted that they have served the nation well. Probably they were ill-informed or unlucky in their assessment of Communist progress in armament. But the most serious lack on our side has been in unity and discipline of effort, especially in the field of missile development. Mr. Katzenbach, director of the Defense Study Program, School of Public Administration, Harvard, demonstrates that what has been badly needed for too long is someone with full responsibility and authority in command of the program. General Marshall, military analyst and chief editorial writer for the *Detroit News*, has written an article that is more concerned with soldiers than with weapons. He

discusses the trained reserve on which our country must count if it is to win a war. Here, too, Mr. Katzenbach and General Marshall reach a same general conclusion: In the absence of overriding strategic and diplomatic principles, the arithmetic of money-saving prevails. Our editorial position on this subject was stated by **Max Ascoli** in our issue of September 19. We shall have much more to say on the matter.

**T**HE FLIGHT of our cities, especially of the big ones, represents one of our major political problems. **Lois Balcom**, formerly Associate Professor of Psychology at Ithaca College, now associated with a New York firm of architects and city planners, describes what is being accomplished in a few American cities. . . . Integration, still the object of bitter controversy, and not only in the South, has been successfully achieved in our armed forces. **David Halberstam**, who has contributed articles on the South and who is now a private in the Army, has interviewed his drill instructor. The sergeant is a Negro. . . . The so-called Byrd machine, that feature of the Virginia landscape which is seemingly as perennial as Mount Vernon, is described by **Benjamin Muse**, the editor of a weekly newspaper in Manassas, and a regular columnist in the Sunday *Washington Post and Times Herald*. . . . On several occasions we have published reports on the native revolt in Algeria. **Peter Throckmorton** spent several weeks with the rebels. His TV documentaries have been seen on the news programs of the major networks. . . . For those perturbed by the trial in Japan of Private Girard, **Hermine Herta Meyer**, a Washington lawyer, has some reassuring things to say. . . . **Roland Gelatt** is New York Editor of *High Fidelity*. . . . **William Sansom's** article is excerpted from *The Icicle and the Sun*, to be published by Reynal next fall. . . . **Richard Ellmann** is a Professor of English at Northwestern University. . . . **Norman St. John-Stevas** is an English writer now in this country. Our cover is by **Fred Zimmer**.

# THE REPORTER

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# The New Soviet Strategy

ISAAC DEUTSCHER

IN AN INTERVIEW with Marshal K. A. Vershinin, commander in chief of the Soviet Air Force, the September 8 issue of *Pravda* contains the most important elements of a revision in strategic thinking that the Soviet high command seems to have carried out, and the outline of what may be described as the new Soviet strategic doctrine.

The interview is the first outward sign of an official recognition by the Soviet military leadership of the supremacy of aviation over all other armed forces. This recognition, it should be remarked, goes against the grain of Russia's traditional military thought, which has been determined primarily by Russia's position as a land power. Until quite recently Russian military thought was dominated by the idea of the unshaken pre-eminence of land forces and of the decisive importance of infantry that, mechanized and modernized, was still supposed to remain "the queen of arms." This

line of thought, sustained by the experience of the last war, remained prevalent and was, so it seems, virtually unchallenged until two or three years ago. Only the latest developments in war technology appear to have brought about a definite readjustment in strategic conceptions.

## Views, Aspirations, and Claims

It is unlikely that Marshal Vershinin should have voiced only the views and aspirations of the Soviet Air Force and its leaders. The Soviet government would hardly permit a controversy over the relative importance of various arms comparable to that which has been going on in the United States for years to be conducted or even alluded to in public. Nor would it allow the spokesmen of the various forces to stake out their sectional and competitive claims in this way. No doubt the Soviet high command has had its share of conflicts of views

and claims. But Marshal Vershinin's statement probably represents the main elements of an agreed and "integrated" doctrine on which the unified command of the Soviet armed forces now bases itself.

The paradox of the recognition by the U.S.S.R. of the supremacy of aviation is that the recognition comes at a time when, according to Marshal Vershinin, the traditional air force has entered into a period of eclipse. One can speak of its supremacy only conditionally; that is, only if one considers the new developments in ballistic technology as belonging to the domain of the air force. Marshal Vershinin has in fact drawn up an interim balance of these developments and of their effects on the relative positions of the great powers and the military blocs.

It is significant that the marshal is not inclined to overstate and overdramatize the importance of the intercontinental rocket, which,