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State of Affairs



Time for the Delicate Touch

WASHINGTON.

VARIOUS NEGOTIATIONS now under way are bound to usher in a new stage in the relationship between the United States and Europe. The period when Washington tried to set the pace within the alliance is largely over; it passed with the departure of George Ball, the Under Secretary of State, who pursued a clear and tight concept for a united Europe within the Atlantic Alliance. This concept began to crumble when General de Gaulle vetoed Britain's entry into the Common Market and when President Johnson withdrew from the Multilateral Nuclear Fleet idea.

Since then important changes have created a new situation and American diplomacy is beginning to adjust to it. General de Gaulle has forced NATO out of France and into a much weaker position; the Erhard government has been replaced by Chancellor Kiesinger's coalition government (combining the Christian Democratic Party and the Socialists), which is more Europe- than Atlantic-minded; and in London the Labor Government has decided to examine the prospects of joining the Common Market. Thus Europe has been more preoccupied with its own future, and the United States has been able to resume an earlier preoccupation—a lessening of tension with the Soviet Union.

In the last few years two major themes have dominated American diplomacy: 1) the creation of a firm and close relationship with Western Europe to make certain that Europe will not be dominated by the Soviet Union; and 2) some sort of rapprochement with the Soviet Union itself. Just as Britain always tried to prevent a coalition on the European continent which could endanger its own security, so the United States today is anxious to make certain that Europe will not turn against it and threaten American security. The rapprochement with the Soviet Union has been spurred by the belief that this is the best assurance against a nuclear war.

The first conceptual approach having failed, the Johnson Administration has decided, for the time being at least, to let events take their course in Europe. After all, the German Federal Republic's efforts to resume diplomatic relations with Eastern Europe falls within the American policy of bridge-building with the East, and the British are now

actively engaged in getting into the Common Market, another policy the United States has long recommended. More or less, the West Germans and the British are now doing what the United States has wanted them to do for a long time; hence, there is less need for American initiatives. Indeed, the feeling in the White House is that the less the United States seems to be pressing London and Bonn the better. The idea of President Johnson's visiting Europe has therefore been postponed.

Activists argue that the United States can do much more now to improve relations with the Soviet Union. The signal that new opportunities were opening became clear after the Kremlin's decision not to let the Vietnamese war be an impediment in negotiations with the West. In September 1965 Premier Kosygin still argued that he could not come to London because the British supported the United States in the Vietnamese war. Only last autumn he told Prime Minister Wilson and George Brown, the British Secretary of State, that it was no use talking to the Soviet Union about negotiations with Hanoi; it was for the United States to talk directly to the North Vietnamese Government. But last month Mr. Kosygin not only paid a visit to London; he did not mind letting it be known that he had tried to use his influence in Hanoi.

SINCE the Johnson Administration believes that only Russian intervention with the North Vietnamese will ultimately bring an end to the war, the United States, for its part, is now seeking to demonstrate its own desire for improved Russo-American relations. President Johnson has been putting strong pressure on Congress to obtain ratification of a consular convention, and he has given orders to Secretary of State Rusk, who long resisted a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, to pursue such a treaty vigorously. Those favoring the treaty have argued that this may be the best time to seek this treaty because the President is, as one White House official suggested, hitting the Communists hard in Vietnam; nobody can therefore accuse him of being "soft" on Communism.

This treaty has now become the most important American initiative in Europe. Thus, quite apart from its basic

purpose, which is to curtail the spread of nuclear weapons, it has assumed a broader political significance. It is an indication that, for the time being at least, President Johnson's emphasis is on developing a new relationship with the Soviet Union that will ensure against a big war. In Moscow the inclination seems to be similar, partly, no doubt, because the threat from Communist China is growing and the Kremlin must want to make certain that its European frontiers are secure, partly because the internal pressures for more consumer goods are rising. More trade is what the Soviet Union is looking for, but trade with the United States will develop only if Moscow helps to bring the war in Vietnam to an end. Only then will Congress approve an expansion of East-West trade.

Behind-the-scene negotiations, meanwhile, have brought the United States and Russia close to agreement on a non-proliferation treaty. This and the secret approaches to a possible freeze of an anti-missile defense system, however, have perturbed the Germans and, to some extent, the French. The fear is that an eventual general American-Soviet understanding will place them in a subordinate position and limit their freedom of diplomatic maneuver. The Germans are particularly concerned because they suspect that one of the objectives of an American-Soviet understanding is to keep Germany at bay.

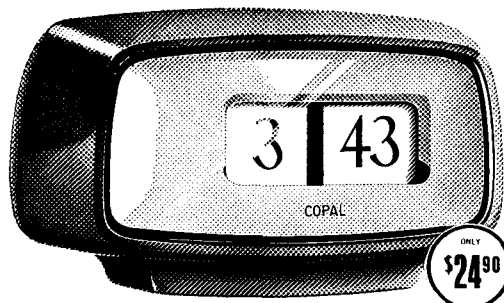
We are also entering a transition period when the Americans, the British, and, to some extent, the Russians are likely to withdraw a substantial number of troops from Germany; the Americans and the British primarily for financial reasons, and the Russians, if intelligence reports are correct, because of their need to reinforce their endless frontier against China.

Any period of transition is a time for the delicate touch in diplomacy. The reduction of troops in Germany, the shifts in military strategy, a growing sense of detachment both here and in Europe—all are bound to lead to a redefinition of the relationship between the United States and Europe. General de Gaulle's withdrawal from NATO caused a traumatic shock in Washington, and there is a danger that unless this redefinition is carried out gradually and with consummate care, it will have a shock effect in Germany that may be lasting.

Current American diplomacy has developed partly by circumstance and only partly by design. Therefore its dual purpose becomes an extremely difficult balancing act between what Walt Rostow, the President's special adviser, called an "integrated defense system in the West" and "an imaginative and creative approach to the East."

—HENRY BRANDON.

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pon) to complement your furnishings. But most important, the Caslon 201 tells time in a way you can't mistake — won't forget! It is something of a conversation piece, too. People will stand there staring at it, waiting, trying to catch it changing time. But it is faster than a wink, and quieter than your wristwatch. (The precision synchronous motor is of the hysteresis type — with 18 poles — operating at a low speed to assure even, silent operation and a good long life.) Dimensions: 5 1/2" x 3 1/2" x 3 1/2"

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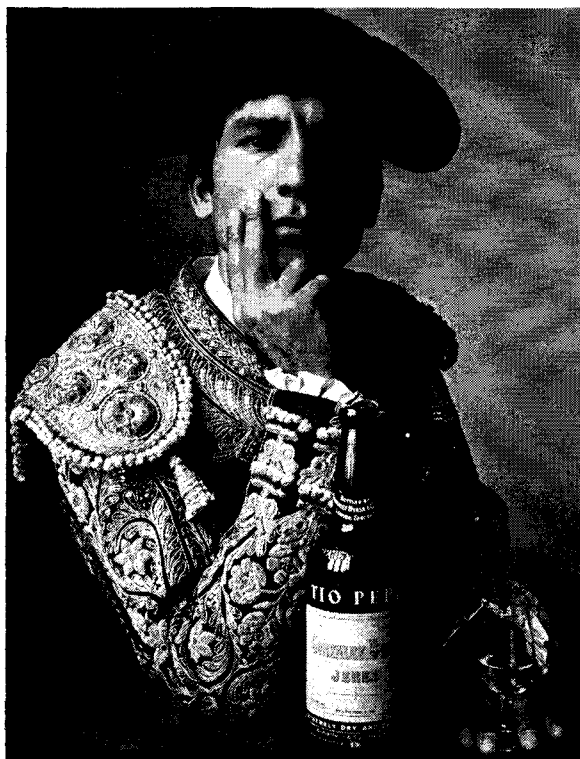
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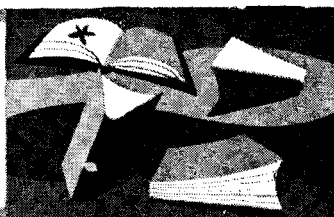
You don't drink the world's lightest, driest sherry after anything. You drink it before things. Meals, bullfights, etc.

Just like you don't drink sweet cream sherries before anything. You drink them after things. Meals, bullfights, etc.

Unless you're really a bullfighter. In which case you might drink Tio Pepe before, and cream sherry in the hereafter.

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Trade Winds



From C. C. B., who prefers not to be further identified, in response to my comments [TRADE WINDS, Feb. 18] regarding Cardinal Spellman's visit to the Far East: "I am a patriotic American—served willingly in the last war—and do not believe we should be in Vietnam. I am a regular Democrat, but do not like Mr. Johnson. I am a good Catholic, but am not enthusiastic about Cardinal Spellman. I am an occasional picker-upper of *SR*, and find it interesting. I have noted only a few of your columns, and find them agreeable. But what in the world made you spoil the last column by defending the Cardinal's Christmas remarks in Vietnam? Most everybody else disagreed, including the Vatican. Continue your policy, and you will lose as many readers as *The Reporter*."

First, what is said here represents always a personal viewpoint, has nothing to do with magazine policy. Next, I assume C. C. B. refers to *The Reporter's* stand in support of the American position in Vietnam. That it has lost circula-

tion I cannot say, but hope not, because if magazines like the independent *Saturday Review* and the liberal, non-Catholic *Reporter* cannot express opinions contrary to those of some of their readers without losing readers, we have come to a miserable day. It is the liberal-Catholic *Commonweal*, I believe, that editorially has *opposed* the American position. That, too, is fine with me, and I hope it hasn't lost any readers.

Responsible publications base their judgments on facts at their command, frequently the identical facts, and yet honestly reach opposite conclusions. My irritation stems primarily from the unkempt, seemingly irresponsible groups—of the kind that greeted the Cardinal on his return to New York—who strike me as having nothing better to do than protest *anything*. What I've just said is not reasonable, I know, because some of my close friends are thoroughly kempt and well-to-do and intelligent, and they also are forever eager and ready to write letters, and march, and carry placards,

in behalf of whatever it is *they* consider liberal. They are, it seems to me, *professional* liberals; and if they irk me, everything comes out even, because I drive *them* crazy, too.

Prospect for higher education. A recent form letter mailed over the signature of Paul T. Richman, head of the department of education at the University of California in Santa Barbara, begins: "Dear Perspective Enrollee."

My request [TRADE WINDS, Jan. 21] for names of book editors considered great has brought these names, the only ones to be mentioned more than twice: Pascal Covici, John Farrar, Jack Goodman, and Maxwell Perkins. I have no comment, because of the group I have known only Farrar and Goodman and then only casually. It's a short list with which to inaugurate a Hall of Fame. Let's leave it for another day.

Collected by his wife, submitted by Rex Roberts of Groton, Massachusetts, the following sentences are from letters to the Welfare Department from applicants for aid:

I am forwarding my certificate and my 6 children I had seven but one died which was baptized on a half sheet of paper.

I am glad to report that my husband who was reported missing is now dead.

This is my 8 child, what are you going to do about it?

In answer to your letter I gave birth to a boy weighing 10 pounds. I hope this is satisfactory.

I am forwarding my marriage certificate and my 3 children which was a mistake as you can see.

You have changed my little boy to a girl. Will this make any difference.

Please send money at once as I have fallen in error with my landlord.

In accordance with instructions I have given birth to twins in the enclosed envelope.

From Hugh Craig of Arlington, Virginia: "For a long time the antics of a pair of over-amorous dolphins had embarrassed visitors to the zoo, till the zoo-keeper hit on a way to discourage their dalliance—sate them with sea gulls, a favorite food. One day, as the keeper was carrying a basket of these delicacies to the fenced-in pool, he encountered an old lion, newly escaped from its cage, lying across the gateway. The beast appeared tranquil, so the keeper stepped over it to deliver the food. When he

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