

Today and Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann

BIG THINGS COMING

We can now be reasonably certain that before the meeting at the summit, the Kremlin will have prepared for itself a position of great diplomatic and political strength. Judging by what we have already seen, the Kremlin has formed a big program for Europe, which also will have very far-reaching implications for Asia.

The program was launched with the Kremlin's reversal of its position on the Austrian treaty. But that was not an isolated act, not a single gesture. It was quite clearly part of a new program which has been widely conceived and carefully coordinated, and this new program is now being put forward item by item, thesis by thesis. We have not yet seen the whole of it. But within the past week the Soviets have done and have said enough to indicate the general shape of things to come.

WE KNOW enough already to say that the reversal on the Austrian treaty was not due to a notion that the Germans could be beguiled and seduced into accepting a similar treaty. The Kremlin knows quite well the difference between the rather simple Austrian problem and the extremely complicated German problem. If I read correctly the recent moves of the Kremlin, the Soviet rulers have understood what Churchill first began to feel when he talked about a new "Locarno." It is what Adenauer after Churchill has been saying for some time. It is that the issues of German unification within acceptable German frontiers are soluble only with a general European security system in which both Western and Eastern Europe participate.

The Kremlin's actions in the past week indicate that they may be getting ready to propose, or at least to negotiate about if we propose, not only a German settlement but also a change in the status of the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. I may be wholly mistaken. But I cannot think of any other explanation for some of the key sentences in the armaments resolution, for the public recognition of Tito's independence and importance, for the recent approaches to Finland, for Mr. Molotov's enthusiasm for the principles of the Austrian settlement, and for what was put into and was left out of the Warsaw treaty.

On the day that the Western governments invited the Soviet to a meeting at the summit, the Kremlin put out the idea of a withdrawal of the Red Army beyond the satellites and behind the Soviet frontier—in return for American evacuation of its air bases in Europe. The Kremlin followed this up by announcing, just as the Austrian treaty was being concluded, that their leaders were paying a visit to Belgrade. They have gone to great lengths to express their approval of three states, Finland, Austria and Yugoslavia, which have this in common: that they have national independence and that they are not members of either of the two great military coalitions.

If this notion is attractive to the Germans, why is it not also attractive to the Czechs, the Hungarians and the Poles? The Kremlin will not have overlooked this point. Why did they begin this diplomatic week by proposing to negotiate about the withdrawal of the Red Army from the satellites? And why, when they designed the Warsaw treaty, did they set up a system of command which is not integrated like NATO, but leaves the armed forces of each of the

member nations under its own national command? Why have they done all these extraordinary things if they are not prepared to negotiate for a "neutrality belt" which includes at least some if not all of the satellites?

I DO NOT know, and I am certainly not meaning to predict, that the Soviet Union has decided to propose a European security system with a belt of military neutrals extending from Scandinavia through middle and eastern Europe to the Balkans. But I think they are at least preparing the ground in case their proposals for a united and neutral Germany are met by queries and proposals from the West about Eastern Europe. In any event, if they are getting ready to talk about giving Prague and Budapest the same status as Vienna, and Warsaw the same status, perhaps, as Helsinki, there is no good reason why we should shrink from the negotiation, why we should not seek such a negotiation.

To anyone who takes seriously, as humanly and in honor Americans must, the liberation of Eastern Europe, the idea of neutrality, the extension of a neutral belt to include Eastern Europe, is of capital importance. Eastern Europe cannot be liberated by war; it can only be devastated by nuclear weapons. And Eastern Europe cannot be liberated by a violent counter-revolution without precipitating the war which would devastate Eastern Europe. It is, moreover, no use to suppose that the Kremlin will release Eastern Europe in order that it may join NATO. If, then, the satellite states are to be released from Moscow's military system without entering our military system, they must be able to enter a community of military neutrals.

This suggests that the best reply the West can make to the developing Soviet diplomatic campaign is not to reject the idea of a neutrality belt but to ask that it be widened.

IT WOULD be a mistake, I believe, to have fixed preconceptions and prejudices about the idea of military neutrality as the policy of small, exposed, and vulnerable states. Great powers like Britain, France and the United States, like the Soviet Union and Red China, cannot be neutrals. But small states can be often with difficulty sometimes without success, but sometimes also to their national advantage.

The idea of neutrality was not invented by the Soviets, and they should not be allowed to monopolize and exploit it for their own national purposes. The idea of military neutrality, as our own history should remind us, is in the tradition of our Western society. It has nothing whatever to do with moral neutrality, or with political isolation, or with spiritual indifference to evil. A policy of neutrality, like a policy of alliances, is the policy of a state and it is justifiable or not justifiable by reason of state. It has to do with the protection of the vital interests of the nation. Having practiced military neutrality ourselves for more than a century when we were weak, it is not nice of us to be self-righteous and superior about other weak states who follow the example we set.

In the great diplomatic encounter which is now beginning let us not hobble ourselves with our own fixed notions. Let us not give the Kremlin a free field and the initiative, while we stand by beating our breasts and crying out that we are being enticed and ensnared by those O-so-much-too-clever Russians. Copyright, 1955. New York Herald Tribune Inc.

IS THAT SO!

By Eugene Burns
Copenhagen, May 19—(Delayed)—Who am I? I have a small pig head. My skin is wrinkled and rough. I'm almost like the bark of an oak. I bellow like a foghorn—unques-



tionably, the noisiest animal in the northland. When grown, I eat a washtub or so full of food for one meal—it's digestion, happily, aided by several pounds of stones in my stomach.

My home is within Arctic Europe and North America although in prehistoric times I ranged to what is now Georgia in the U.S., Scotland and Denmark.

I am huge, almost hairless. My small eyes are bloodshot. My nostrils are pushed up on the top of my earless head.

Some would call me indolent—I must confess I spend a lot of time sprawled out on an ice floe, snoring off a heavy meal. Wonderfully adapted to my existence, I can maneuver with safety in the pounding surf about ragged rocks. Yet I cannot swim indefinitely and when I get tired I must find ice or land—if not, I drown. On land I lumber.

When hungry, I take a deep breath and dive slanting perhaps 300 feet below the surface to the bottom of the sea where I get my food by standing on my head and scraping it off the ocean floor with my extraordinary developed upper canines.

Layer of Blubber
Like most semi-aquatic mammals of the north, I am insulated with a heavy layer of blubber. Even submerged in icy water for 12 hours after death, my carcass will still be very warm.

At five, the ton-heavy female may give birth to her first single calf on an ice floe, nine months after mating. (Males, a third heavier, mature a year later). The devoted mother will defend her young to the death.

Our enlarged canines, dropping from the upper corners of the mouth, are hard, yellow-white ivory and are used for fighting, for scraping food off the ocean floor, and when occasion calls, to get a purchase on a cake of ice to climb aboard.

I am: Polar bear, B. Walrus, C. Killer whale, D. Sea lion, E. Elephant seal.

I am: B. Walrus.

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the situation is."

AT this point, let's quote the opinion of Director Kenneth Frink, of the Princeton Research Service, who is one of the best known of the pollsters:

"If a Presidential election were being held today between the 1952 candidates, President Eisenhower would poll a slightly bigger vote against Adlai Stevenson than he did in November of 1952.

"As of today, President Eisenhower would poll 56.1 per cent of the two-party vote in the nation, while Former Governor Stevenson would receive only 43.9 per cent. In the 1952 election, Eisenhower received 55.4 per cent and Stevenson 44.6 per cent of the two-party vote."

IT'S a difference of opinion that makes horse races. It's also a difference of opinion that makes political campaigns.

INCIDENTALLY, Pollster Frink is cagey. He adds: "It must be understood that today's poll findings reflect only current sentiment and that much can happen between now and November 1956 to change people's minds."

In The Day's News

By FRANK JENKINS

Thriller-diller stuff. At Las Vegas, dozens of policemen, postal inspectors and sheriff's deputies rounded up a gang of get-rich-quick characters. The lawmen had been tipped off that the gang was planning to hijack a shipment of a half million dollars of gambling casino money that was due to be sent by registered mail from the Las Vegas postoffice to a bank in San Francisco.

The plan was to hold up the police car that was to take the cash from the postoffice to the railroad station. It included a series of fake telephone calls designed to draw the cops away to other parts of the city.

A trap was laid, and five of the plotters were taken into custody. Instead of getting rich quick, they got jugged quick.

IT was gambling casino money. Gambling is legal in Nevada. Robbery at the point of a gun isn't.

The moral: "Shoemaker, stick to your last." If you want to take their money in Las Vegas, do it at the gambling tables.

MORE on the weather: It's much more like January

thn May in the British Isles today. Rain, snow and biting winds have blocked many roads and damaged early crops. The storm is threatening shipping in the area.

I suppose this is a good time to quote Robert Browning:

Oh, to be in England
Now that April's there,
"And whoever walks in England

"Sees, some morning unaware,
That the lowest boughs and the brushwood sheaf
"Round the elm tree bole are in tiny leaf,
"While the chaffinch sings on the orchard bough
"In England—now."

THAT was written about a century ago. The weather seems to be changing.

TURNING to politics—

Democratic Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma says in Washington it's too early to tell whether Adlai Stevenson will seek the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1956. He adds:

"I don't think Stevenson is afraid of running against Eisenhower, but he wants to look around the country and see what

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