

Problems, Prospects for Peace Discussed in Decisions Program

(Editor's note: Following is the eighth article in the Great Decisions program for 1963. This week's topic is "Peace - What Problems and Prospects?" The dispatch was provided by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, which sponsors the program.)

The shape of peace in this spring of 1963 is being determined by the intersection of long- and short-term pressures at various points of the globe. Some observers believe that the sharp Sino-Soviet split and the sudden disarray in the Atlantic alliance shape up as the two key factors in the long-range prospects for peace. In their opinion, much depends on whether and how the deep cleavages in the Communist and non-Communist worlds are resolved.

The furious controversy between the two giants of the Communist world has waxed and waned in recent months as China and the Soviet Union have battled for the ideological leadership of the Red Camp.

Continues Salvo

The Chinese continue to fire full salvos of loaded editorials blasting Moscow for going "soft" in its relations with the West. As exhibits with the West, the Chinese elite Moscow's withdrawal, under U.S. pressure, of its missiles from Cuba.

In some communiques the Chinese have even hinted that they might demand a redrawing of the border between themselves and the Soviets. The empty lands of Siberia and Central Asia may yet prove too tempting for the Chinese to resist.

Soviet Premier Khrushchev continues to argue that the so-called paper tiger (the U.S.) showed nuclear teeth in the Cuban crisis and that coexistence with the capitalist world is possible. His words usually fall on deaf Chinese ears. Despite the strains in the Communist bloc, however, few experts are willing to predict that a complete rupture will occur.

Talk of Conference

Currently there is talk of a Sino-Soviet conference to iron out difficulties and differences. What might the price of agreement be? Could the aggressive Chinese persuade Khrushchev that his kind of coexistence does not pay? Would Khrushchev turn a more belligerent face toward the West to prove to the Chinese that he has not gone soft?

If so, increased world tension is likely to result. Whatever happens, developments in the Sino-Soviet rift are certain to have repercussions on the quest for peace.

If the Communists have problems, so does the West. The deep splits that have developed over the Common Market and nuclear policy have weakened what was presumed to be the solid foundation of the Atlantic alliance.

Challenges Leadership

De Gaulle has challenged U.S. leadership and appears



INTERNATIONAL SCENE—The possibility that points of East-West conflict like Cuba, Berlin, India or the Near East will flare into open warfare is generally discounted

for the time being by officials of the Kennedy administration. Top officials agree that the dominant feature of the international scene at present is uncertainty. (UPI)

determined to forge a Western European third force led by France and West Germany. Britain, excluded from the Common Market by De Gaulle, has given France a cold shoulder. Canada is miffed at the U.S. over alleged interference in Canadian affairs.

The U.S. has always believed that one of the best guarantees of peace would be a strong and united Western community. Such an alliance would be overwhelmingly stronger than the Communist bloc and would have the military and economic viability to meet or push back Red pressure anywhere on the globe.

Now the U.S. sees that strength dissipated by controversy over economic and military matters. How will this affect the uneasy peace of the 1950's? Will the Communists exploit Western differences to their own advantage? Or will they be too busy trying to put their own house in order? Again, statesmen must ponder possible policies on the basis of such unknowns.

Danger Points

Within the framework of these long-range problems, there are a number of pressure points that could imperil the peace. The most sensitive point continues to be Cuba. Despite the abatement of last fall's missile crisis, thousands of Soviet troops remain on Castro's island — and a new crisis could explode as a result of their presence.

The U.S. has made it clear that if Castro, with or without the help of Soviet troops, should make a move against any Caribbean country, he will be met with American guns.

The Cuban affair pushed what has been called the "perennial crisis spot"—Berlin—into the background for the time being. It is significant that Khrushchev's belligerence over Berlin lessened when he realized that the U.S. would go to war, if necessary, to defend its vital interests.

Exploratory Talks

There have been reports that the U.S. and the Soviet Union intend to reopen exploratory talks on a possible Berlin solution. Chances of any concrete developments resulting from such talks, however, appear limited.

As one journalist put it, "The United States and the Soviet Union are facing a new round of Berlin talks about as enthusiastically as a man visiting his dentist with an abscessed tooth can neither be pulled nor filled."

Each side's hand may be weakened by disunity within its own camp. Khrushchev, for instance, may not want to make concessions on Berlin lest he further aggravate the Chinese. On the other hand, if he gets tough he could provide the cement the Western alliance currently lacks.

Test-Ban Pact Elusive

The near-stalled position of talks on disarmament and a

nuclear test ban are symptomatic of the uncertain state of peace. Over a period of months, the U.S. has cut its demands for on-site inspections from 20 to 7. The Soviets have raised their figure from nothing to three.

Still in Command

The Soviet Union, for its part, appears to be emerging from an intensive period of argument among the hierarchy which has left Premier Nikita Khrushchev with somewhat diminished stature in the Kremlin but still in command.

The odds are that the Russian position on cold war issues will harden, accompanied by new pressures against soft spots around the vast periphery of the Communist world. This would be the logical result of the concessions Khrushchev has been forced to make to the military and the members of the Presidium as a result of his troubles with Red China and economic difficulties at home.

Even so, the assumption here seems to be that the Soviet leadership — after its ill-fated offensive missiles campaign in Cuba — will be careful not to go so far at any point as to tempt U.S. retaliation by military means.

Berlin Still Simmers

The Berlin issue continues to simmer on the back burner, where Khrushchev can fan it to a boil whenever he wants to increase pressure in that theater.

Washington and Moscow have agreed to talk over the Berlin issue again, but there is no sign the Kremlin has abandoned the unacceptable demands for Allied evacuation of the city. The guessing here is that Khrushchev will renew pressure on the issue later in the year, possibly by signing a separate peace treaty with Communist East Germany.

Cuba Remains the Most Critical Point

Cuba remains the most critical point for the present, despite removal of Soviet offensive weapons and some military personnel. Less Russian control or power in the island, although urgently desired by the U.S. and its hemisphere allies, actually increases the danger of some ill-advised action by Fidel Castro's regime. The Russians, with bigger issues at stake, are believed to have exercised a moderating influence since the missile backdrop.

Vows To Act

President Kennedy has sworn to act against any "aggressive" move or situation there, and the unpredictable Cuban dictator could set off a Caribbean conflict unless the Kremlin has his wings clipped.

What Russia might or might not do in such an event is not clear. The United States "for the time being," to use Kennedy's phrase, has no intention of blockading Soviet oil shipments to Cuba or taking other

By STEWART HENSLEY

United Press International

Washington — (UPI) — The Kennedy administration finds the current international situation uncomfortable but not immediately perilous.

The possibility that any of the points of East-West conflict will flare into open warfare is generally discounted for the time being, barring some unforeseen act of madness or miscalculation on the Communist side.

Top officials agree that the dominant feature of the international scene at present is uncertainty. Both Russia and the United States have been reappraising their positions and strategy in the light of changed circumstances on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The United States is attempting to restore momentum to the drive for increased NATO strength in the wake of the French refusal to participate in nuclear defense planning. At the same time, it is revising its trade negotiating plans to take into account President Charles de Gaulle's veto of British membership in the Common Market.

NATO Has Troubles

The Kennedy administration's necessity to defend its Cuban policy and actions almost continuously against Republican criticism in recent weeks has distracted high-level attention from the disarray among the NATO Allies. The United States, however, is pushing its offer to create a multi-lateral nuclear force for NATO.

The U.S. proposal for a fleet of surface ships armed with Polaris missiles and under command of several nations admittedly is more of a psychological and political plan than a military necessity.

It was designed to meet desires of the West Germans and some other Europeans for a "larger voice" in nuclear strategy without relinquishing the U.S. veto over use of the weapons. It remains to be seen whether enough Allies will be interested to make the proposed force worthwhile. The United States insists they bear a large part of the cost. Washington does not intend "to underwrite the creation of any honorary nuclear bigshots," as one official said.

Revises Tariff Policy

The administration has been revising its tariff negotiations strategy in the light of Britain's exclusion from the Common Market. It also must try to find a way to meet the threat posed by new European quotas against the American farm products. This action is a costly one which will aggravate the unfavorable balance of gold dollars, which continues to run against the United States.

The East-West Negotiations

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strong action against the island. It is counting on the slow process of strangulation by economic and diplomatic means.

There is no clear idea here as to how long Khrushchev may be willing to pour approximately \$1 million per day into Cuba simply for the sake of having a prestige and subversion outpost in the hemisphere. It would be difficult for him to pull out now. Yet the economy is deteriorating steadily despite large-scale Russian help.

Castro exacerbates the situation by proclaiming Red China's militant line, as opposed to Russia's "peaceful coexistence," while taking Moscow's charity. As one official put it, "His head is in China but his stomach is in Moscow." Red China could not possibly take over the Cuban economic burden Russia is carrying.

The Kennedy administration finds no opportunity in the present situation for any dynamic or spectacular new initiative. It will continue the buildup of American military might, along with efforts to pull the NATO alliance closer together and try to satisfy the aspirations of the Allies for a greater share in strategy decisions. Beyond that, it counts on economic and diplomatic warfare to hold and eventually turn back Communist expansionist plans.

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New Trouble Brewing in Southeast Asia

By PATRICK J. KILLEN

United Press International

Singapore — (UPI) — New trouble is brewing in Southeast Asia, a perpetual trouble spot since the end of World War II.

The new trouble is the birth pangs of an exciting new country called the Federation of Malaysia.

Malaysia will unite Malaya, Singapore and the three British Borneo territories — North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei — in a country slightly smaller than the state of Montana.

It will lie in a broken half-moon around the southern end of the South China Sea and slightly north of the equator.

Talked Loosely

British diplomats, and a few other people, have talked loosely about some sort of

union in this area for years. But they usually looked no farther than Singapore and Malaya.

It remained for Premier Tengku Abdul Rahman of Malaya to come up with the idea of including the Borneo territories and begin to breathe some life into Malaysia.

Rahman, one of Asia's most visionary and democratic-minded leaders, made the first public proposal for the Federation while addressing the Foreign Correspondents' association of Singapore on May 27, 1961.

He suggested, almost offhandedly, that Singapore and Malaya and the Borneo territories should come together in one union.

The Malaysia Federation was conceived, Things moved

rather rapidly after that.

Rahman made trips to London to work out some of the details with the British. He also worked with leaders in Singapore and the Borneo territories.

He expects to make another visit to London this spring to get final, formal British consent. Once that is done the way will be cleared for the inauguration of Malaysia next Aug. 31 — if no complications develop.

But there are many who are trying to create complications. And this is what is causing the new trouble.

Pushing Hardest for Malaysia

are Great Britain and Malaya.

Strongly supporting the idea are the United States, Australia and many, if not most, of the commonwealth countries.

Oppose Proposal

Strongly opposing it are Indonesia and the Philippines. Russia and Red China also are opposed and are giving plenty of sideline coaching to other opponents.

For Britain, the Malaysia plan is what Indian Premier Jawaharlal Nehru recently called "a neat and logical way to liquidate the British empire in Southeast Asia."

For Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories, Malaysia offers more hope and strength for the future.

Malaya, with its tin and rubber wealth and a population of almost seven million, would form the backbone of the Federation.

Brunei, a tiny land of big

oil wells, was the scene of an armed uprising last December. The rebellion was organized by Sheikh A. M. Azahari, leader of the outlawed Rakyat party, which opposes Malaysia.

The sultan, Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin, is the absolute ruler of Brunei. If he says yes, Brunei will join Malaysia. If he says no, Brunei will remain a British-protected sultanate surrounded by Malaysian territory and the South China Sea.

Although he has not given a final answer, the chances are strong that he is going to say yes.

The Communist opposition to Malaysia may not be so difficult to figure out, but Indonesia and the Philippines are so violently opposed that they have talked of war.

President Diosdado Macapagal of the Philippines explained some of the reasons for his nation's opposition in a state of the nation address last Jan. 28.

First, the Philippines has a claim on North Borneo that should be settled before North Borneo joins anything.

Second, according to Macapagal, Malaysia would do nothing more than establish Malaya as a new colonial power and pose a possible threat to the Philippines.

Thirdly, Macapagal and other Philippine officials have talked vaguely of Malaysia bringing Communism or the threat of Communism to the Philippines' back doorstep.

What Russia might or might not do in such an event is not clear. The United States "for the time being," to use Kennedy's phrase, has no intention of blockading Soviet oil shipments to Cuba or taking other

strong action against the island. It is counting on the slow process of strangulation by economic and diplomatic means.

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Revises Tariff Policy

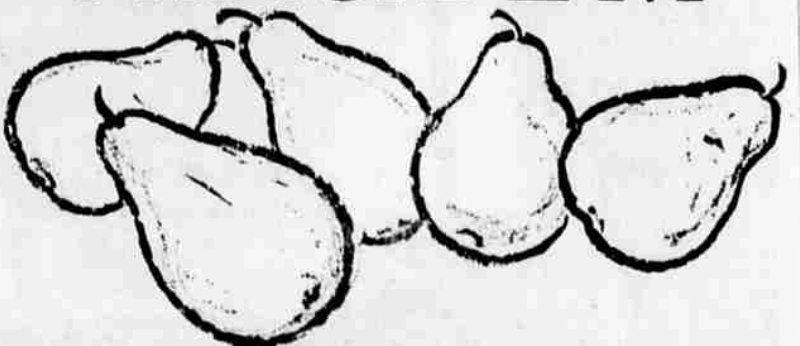
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