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## Foreign Affairs

### The Art of Diplomacy by Motion

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WASHINGTON, June 11—Air travel gave a quantum jump to personal diplomacy. Secretary Dulles's frequent journeys once provoked acerbic comments about motion being no substitute for policy. But the shrinking world has since become accustomed to movement by leading statesmen for purposes either of negotiation or propaganda.

It is in this light that one must view President Kennedy's imminent European trip, his probable visit to Asia this autumn and the likelihood of an African and further South American tours should he be re-elected. One only hopes the Asian journey will be planned with more careful foresight than next week's foray to Germany, Ireland, England and Italy; for the multiplicity of sensitive Far Eastern problems is appalling.

One cannot plan an impossibly long Oriental tour. Yet, if Mr. Kennedy goes to Japan, he will be under pressure to go also to South Korea and Taiwan. If he goes to Indonesia, he will be urged to visit the Philippines and beleaguered South Vietnam. And if he goes to India, he must also visit allied Pakistan.

#### China's Political Fallout

Furthermore, the later the date for an eastern trip, the closer it will come to Communist China's first nuclear explosion. Such an experiment will be primitive and without serious military implications but its political fallout will be immense. Many Orientals are naive enough to equate rudimentary atomics with our massive arsenal. Mr. Kennedy's advisers must be ready in advance to counsel him on the implications of any mushroom cloud.

There is little evidence of sage advice in connection with the European tour. It required no oracle to foresee the timing would almost surely be poor. Advance planning, which began shortly after General de Gaulle's famous Jan. 14 press conference, undoubtedly focused on a desire to strengthen American influence, at France's expense, in Germany and Italy. There later emerged an additional desire to press lagging England into a commitment to back our concept of a multilateral nuclear force.

Nevertheless, it was plain Germany would be in a political hiatus at this time. It was probable Italy would be once again beset with post-electoral agonies. And it was certain England would be approaching that uneasy season of pre-campaigns from which it is desirable a U.S. President be disassociated.

As it happened, things turned out even worse. While honoring Chancellor Adenauer's final weeks in office, Mr. Kennedy cannot but to some degree be drawn into the Socialist-Christian Democratic competition and infighting between Herr Erhard, Adenauer's successor-designate, and rivals for real power. This is not intolerably embarrassing and the President, in dramatic speeches at Frankfurt and Berlin, hopes to underline U.S. interest in Europe's defense and offset French-inspired doubts.

The jovial Irish phase needs no comment. One must logically expect that, in return for the President's day in England, Mr. Macmillan will pay by pledging more British consideration for Washington's multilateral force scheme. If Mr. Kennedy doesn't get this, his stop-off is folly. For the Conservatives are immersed in filthy scandals in which no American leader should be involved by innuendo. And he doesn't have to see the Prime Minister personally to discuss test ban talks with Moscow.

#### Bad Luck in Italy

In Italy, there has been unfortunate luck. There may be a new Premier by the time Mr. Kennedy gets there, and almost certainly another Pope. But the new Premier will be in no position to make any serious commitments.

The Grand Tour starts inauspiciously and will be viewed as an effort to diplomatically encircle de Gaulle. When it was suggested to the General that the President might accept an invitation to Paris, de Gaulle showed minimal interest. The inferential competitive lines are therefore clearly drawn.

It is too bad the purposes and timing of this voyage were not more carefully thought through. But it is foolish to contemplate last-minute cancellation. Postponement might well have been wise when Mrs. Kennedy's pregnancy was announced. But it would be rudeness to halt arrangements on the verge.

The real lesson to be learned is by Mr. Kennedy's advisers. They should take a long, cold look at Asia and attempt a careful forecast of the probable situation at the time of the projected Oriental tour. The President shouldn't risk two successive foreign trips that do not promise a fair chance of optimum results.

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