



THESE DAYS: Not Much Chance For a 'Sellout'

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

THIS is Captive Nations Week, as proclaimed, perhaps with some embarrassment, by President Kennedy — and it comes, truly, at a strange conjunction of the stars.

On the one hand, the sponsors of the Week, the insistently active National Captive Nations Committee, with Herbert Hoover as its Honorary Chairman and the fire-breathing Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University as its working head, is busy deploring our "many grave sins of omission in the Cold War, for which we shall unquestionably pay heavily later."



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"Beyond all rationality," says Dr. Dobriansky, "is the thought of allowing the avowed enemy a 'breather' to put his empire in order and strengthen it for further thrusts against the Free World."

While Dr. Dobriansky speaks with an iron voice, however, the Administration obviously hopes that Khrushchev, with Undersecretary of State Averell Harriman waiting on his doorstep, will not take any of this "sturm und drang" stuff on the part of the Captive Nations Committee too seriously.

It is not that anybody contemplates a conscious "sellout" of Eastern European hopes in exchange for a nuclear test-ban pact with the Soviets. The idea of an "opening to the East," which was first explored by the Vatican, is something that is conceived in expectation of a quid pro quo. The theory behind it all is that Soviet Russia has actually been undergoing a mutation, or a sea-change, and is ready to ease up on the Captive Nations.

The "things that are God's" in Poland and Hungary, so the hopes will be freed from secular or political interference; the churches will be allowed to preach and practice Christianity without hindrance; and some measures of civil liberty might be expected to follow in an atmosphere purged of religious tensions.

When this columnist was the foregoing case for the "opening to the East" to organizers of Captive Nations Week, however, he got a short answer: "Crumbs!" He also got the impression that the Kennedy Administration, for all the hopes that Averell Harriman may carry with him to Moscow, will not dare settle for crumbs.

KHRUSHCHEV is on record as being willing to accept a nuclear agreement that would cover nuclear explosion in the air or underwater provided the NATO nations were already to sign a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union and its East European satellites.

of including along with it a Soviet guarantee of free elections in the East European satellites, will almost certainly never be made.

For one thing, a pact is a treaty, and all treaties to which the U. S. is a signatory must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate under the "advice and consent" clause of the Constitution. It is impossible to visualize two-thirds of the Senate signing away the hopes of the East European captive peoples, or granting what would amount to recognition of the long-term legitimacy of the East German Communist State.

If you don't believe the Senate would put its collective foot down on a treaty that would consign Eastern Europe to the Soviets in perpetuity, just take a look at the list of honorary members of the National Captive Nations Committee. The list includes Senators Paul Douglas of Illinois, Frank Lausche of Ohio, Ralph Yarborough of Texas, Keating and Javits of New York, Kuchel of California, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, Thruston Morton of Kentucky, and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. A bi-partisan list that crosses all lines, whether of party or ideology.

Moreover, there is more than idealism involved. A Scott of Pennsylvania has a Polish and Hungarian vote to worry about; a Lausche, with much of his strength in Cleveland, Ohio, has all the bloods of Eastern Europe watching him. In Connecticut, Senator Thomas Dodd cannot live politically without support from people with Polish ties.

There is one way around the U. S. Senate; an exchange of "declarations" on the part of the NATO nations and the Warsaw Pact stooges would not have to run any Constitutional gauntlet, for it would not have the force of a treaty. But one cannot conceive of such a "declaration" passing muster with the West Germans or with DeGaulle.

The worries about a "sellout" this week, then, are not very real, even if Averell Harriman might be complaisant, which is extremely doubtful, anyway.