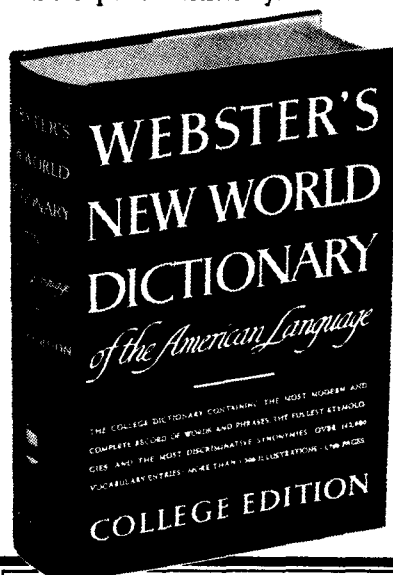


P

Among other things, **P** is a Roman numeral for 400 (**G** is, too); in *genetics*, it is a symbol for parental generation; in *chemistry*, for phosphorus; in *mechanics*, for power or pressure. To mind one's p's and q's is to be careful of one's words and actions.

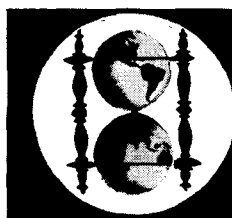
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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The Battle of Bizerte

PARIS

One of the least expected but most instructive developments of the international crisis provoked by the tragic muddle at Bizerte is the abrupt change in the climate of French opinion. On Friday, July 28, a few hours before the inconclusive session of the U.N. Security Council in New York, the atmosphere prevailing both in newspaper editorial rooms and in ministerial antechambers here seemed saturated with despair when it did not crackle with menace. President de Gaulle and Premier Michel Debré were reliably reported to have talked about the U.N. in terms so violent as to suggest that France might be on the point of walking out of the organization for good. Despite the strong U.S. support for the French position that had been manifested since the first clash at Bizerte, many Frenchmen were inexplicably grumbling about the "lukewarm" American attitude in the Security Council, and there was widespread apprehension that in the upcoming debate the classic American disapproval of colonialism would outweigh Atlantic solidarity, as it had at the time of Suez. The cease-fire around Bizerte seemed to be hanging by a thread. The news that the F.L.N. delegation had broken off the second round of negotiations with the French at Château Lugrin deepened the gloom in Paris and sharpened

the temptation to embark on new military adventures in North Africa. There was much irresponsible talk about "Operation Long Plow"—a French attack on the F.L.N. military bases in northern Tunisia—to complete the results achieved by "Short Plow" in breaking the Tunisian siege of the French base at Bizerte.

Less than a week later, though the local situation around Bizerte was nearly as tense as it ever had been and the Tunisians were trying to mobilize the U.N. General Assembly against France, all these miasmas of the night seemed to have been blown away. "Long Plow" was out of the news and the faults of the U.N. had stayed as a favorite conversation piece. Analysis of the Algerian statements about the broken negotiations at Lugrin had led the French to conclude that the rupture might not be final, and the French Minister for Algerian Affairs, Louis Joxe, in a radio-TV report to the nation, had courageously gone out of his way to drop a hint about possible French concessions on the Sahara if the talks should some day resume.

To a foreign observer the tone adopted by French officials in talking about Bourguiba and the whole Bizerte problem seemed particularly striking. France, they make it plain, is quite prepared to negotiate with Tunisia about the future of the Bizerte base; and though it is not officially admitted, it is evident that the French are tolerating—even encouraging—U.S. efforts behind the scenes to work out some kind of a face-saving formula for solution of the basic dispute over evacuation of the base. If formal negotiations between France and Tunisia finally get under way, it is unlikely that the French attitude will be overbearing or intransigent.

"General de Gaulle, who likes to negotiate from a position of force," admits the left-wing opposition weekly *France-Observateur*, "would

(Continued on page 16)

TO OUR READERS

Two nonconsecutive issues of *The Reporter* are dropped from the publishing schedule each summer. After this August 17 issue your next copy will be dated September 14. Our regular fortnightly schedule will then be resumed. The dropping of these summer issues does not affect the number of copies each subscriber receives.

WE TAKE OUR TEXT FROM *Nikita Khrushchev*

"A Communist," he said in his report to the Central Committee on February 14, 1956, "has no right to be a mere onlooker."

The free world may deplore the methods used in the U.S.S.R. to insure the participation of its citizens in the plans of the Kremlin. But no one can deny that Khrushchev, after all, has put his finger on one of the strengths of dictatorship — and one of the weaknesses of democracy.

In our democratic society, you have the freedom of choice to be either active or passive, a doer or an onlooker, as you please. You may choose simply to stand and watch the world go by. That is your privilege, and no one can penalize you.

But if there is no law compelling you to be active, no dictator telling you that you must take your place in the ranks — and sending you to Siberia if you don't — is there not at least an implied moral obligation to be a participant rather than simply a spectator — a moral obligation with a force far greater than a dictator's rule? By definition, democracy is the rule of the people, and there is no rule when the people shirk their responsibilities.

Remember the sense of common purpose that we all shared in World War II, whether we were fighting or doing defense work or helping the Red Cross or planting a victory garden? In wartime, most of us accept the necessity for action — and act. But when the necessity grows less urgent, we tend to forget how stimulating it is to be active in a worthwhile cause, how satisfying the resulting sense of fulfillment. Instead, we fall back into the old habit of letting George do it.

Occasionally, a Presidential election stirs us out of our apathy, and we work for the party and the candidates we favor — or at least take the trouble to vote. But after it's over, too many of us slip back into the complacent role of the onlooker.

There are many Americans who regard citizenship as a sinecure, reluctantly paying taxes but making no attempt to influence what is happening in the government and the community. Others are too fastidious or too phlegmatic to espouse a cause and work for it. Still others fear involvement and prefer to stay on the surface of things, shunning commitment but reserving the right to criticize. They are living phantom lives, wasting both the unique opportunities for action afforded by our democracy and their own potentialities as human beings.

They willingly pay lip service to the two principles of conduct that motivated our founding fathers — *do your part* and *do your best* — forgetting that the operative word in each case is *do*. Intention, resolution, decision, determination — these are not enough. No one will take the thought for the deed. There is no credit — and very little satisfaction — in standing on the sidelines.

Participation is what counts — participation in the service of whatever cause is closest to your heart, whatever purpose appeals most strongly to your intelligence.

Work to improve your local school or library or hospital. Collect to help conquer the diseases that now conquer men. Teach English to newcomers, read to the blind, join a church project. Run for public office — or work for someone else who is running. Further a cause you believe in by organizing a group to support it — or at least by taking pen in hand. As Ecclesiastes put it: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

We citizens of this democracy cannot allow ourselves simply to stand by in a world where no Communist has the right to be a mere onlooker. We must bestir ourselves, accept both the responsibility and the opportunity for service to community and country, find our respective causes and serve them with a will.

As Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., said back in 1884:

As life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time, at the peril of being judged not to have lived.

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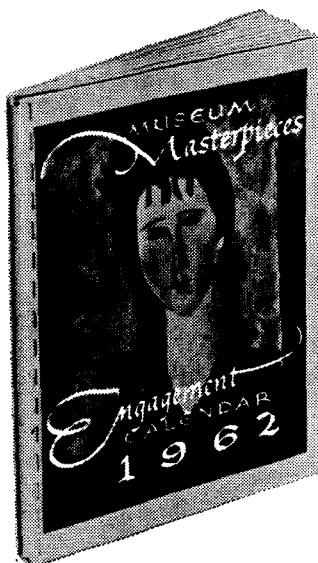
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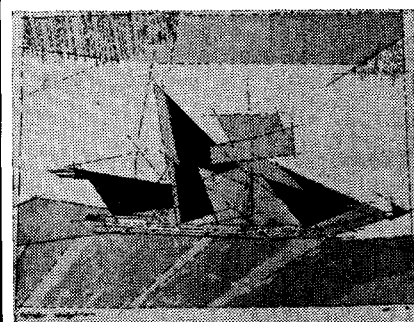
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probably recognize the chance to repair in some measure the damage wrought by the immense blunder of the Bizerte massacre."

Various factors have helped clear the French official mind of the morbid and delusive influences that beclouded it during the earlier phases of the Bizerte crisis, but objective observers here generally agree that the decisive one was the revolution in American foreign policy that has quietly taken place in the last few weeks. Until quite recently it had seemed to the French—with considerable justification—that there was at best a disturbing dichotomy between our NATO policy and our support of anti-colonialist demagoguery in Africa and Asia. One school of French official opinion even suspected that the Kennedy administration was primarily oriented toward a cold-war strategy based upon winning the uncommitted nations—which are mostly in Asia and Africa—for the West.

More perceptive French observers have for some time noted a swing away from this concept in Washington. It has become more pronounced since President Kennedy's visit here. U.S. support of the French position in the U.N. and elsewhere since the start of the Bizerte crisis should have removed any lingering French doubts, but for some time they apparently could not believe that

American policy had evolved as drastically as it seemed to have done.

It was the talks Adlai Stevenson had here with General de Gaulle and Foreign Minister Couve de Murville which finally convinced the French they were not dreaming. In recent months, Stevenson had come to appear as the archenemy in French eyes because of his ardent wooing of the uncommitted delegations to the U.N. When they discovered that at least as far as the Bizerte problem was concerned he was behaving like their most valuable ally, they realized that the reassuring messages received earlier from Kennedy and Rusk could be taken at their face value. The result has been not only a general improvement in Franco-American relations that is particularly welcome on the eve of the Berlin crisis, but also a marked change for the better in French attitudes toward Tunisia and North Africa generally—and perhaps even toward the U.N.

An interesting footnote on the whole situation is that apparently a shift in American foreign policy away from obsessive preoccupation with the undeveloped countries has been paralleled by a similar change of emphasis in Soviet foreign policy—at least to judge from Khrushchev's relaxed attitude in the Bizerte dispute so far.

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Will settle China's regimen

No matter how we swore it then

To Mr. Chen and Mr. Shen.

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(see page 49)

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remarks somewhat sourly, "Khrushchev and Kennedy agree with de Gaulle's analysis—that it is still in old Europe where the decisive game will be played. The Bizerte crisis looks like a poor relation alongside the Berlin one."

—EDMOND TAYLOR

On to Appomattox

The first episode in the scheduled four-year centennial to commemorate the Civil War threatens to stir deep passions anew, although not necessarily along North-South lines. It was the re-enactment in late July of the First Battle of Manassas, a confusing and costly engagement the first time it occurred, which ended with the Yankees retreating in grim disarray toward the nation's capital. This time, approximately twenty-two hundred combatant-actors, belonging to an organization labeled euphemistically the North-South Skirmishers Association, went through a repeat performance on two successive days. General Thomas Jackson stood like the proverbial stone wall. The Confederate forces of General Pierre Gustave Toutant de Beauregard finally drove the Union forces back. In the 101-degree heat, there were more casualties among spectators than soldiers.

But the real fight began after everybody went home. The *Richmond News Leader* led an editorial attack by remarking, "These sham battles threaten to make a farce of the greatest tragedy of American history. . . . The gaudy show at Bull Run was a noisy piece of amateur theatrics, carried on by overgrown boys who get a thrill out of hearing guns go off." A large number of letters to the editor voiced agreement that our nation's venture into fratricide ought not to be celebrated in quite so jubilant a fashion. One angry correspondent suggested that for the next performance the soldiers be supplied with live ammunition. The country would "thus be free of one of the sicker elements in our society."

An answering volume of letters protested that the Third Battle of Manassas had been conducted with dignity and decorum. A housewife denied a critic's suggestion that only morons had attended, noting that her husband who was there held a

Ph.D. from Harvard. A psychoanalyst, having served with one of the Confederate units, suggested that it was the accusers who were sick. "Could it be possible that those who protest so violently against the re-enactment are a bit frightened?" he inquired darkly. To him, it had served as solemn reminder of a time when Americans fought "in defense of principle without the inducements of the GI Bill of Rights. . . ."

The problem is pressing because Manassas, as any Civil War buff knows, was only one of a series of celebrated battles. If the Centennialists have their way, there will be similar re-enactments stretching all the way to Appomattox. And if each one provokes as much fury, it will hardly serve—as President Eisenhower last year hoped it might—"to remind all Americans that the bonds which now unite us are as precious as the blood of young men."

Clarification

We are about to explain New York City's mayoralty campaign to you. The candidates are Robert F. Wagner, Arthur Levitt, Lawrence Gerosa, Louis Lefkowitz, Vito Battista, and Stuart Scheftel. Scheftel is a member of the Liberal Party who will not appear on the Liberal Party line because that is where Robert Wagner will appear. The Democratic mayor, however, will not appear in the actual election on the Democratic Party line if the coming primary contest is won by State Comptroller Levitt, who has the backing of the Democratic regulars in all five boroughs. Republican State Attorney General Lefkowitz will probably win the Republican primary over Battista of the United Taxpayers Party, a group of native Poujadists who are expected to end up voting for Gerosa. Gerosa, a former friend of both the party's regular leadership and of the Liberal Party's candidate Wagner, in whose Democratic administration he is now serving as comptroller, is in the race without running mates at all and without a party, supported, as he has confessed, only by "God and the people, the good people." The ranks of the good people, of course, have been diminished by the other candidates for mayor.

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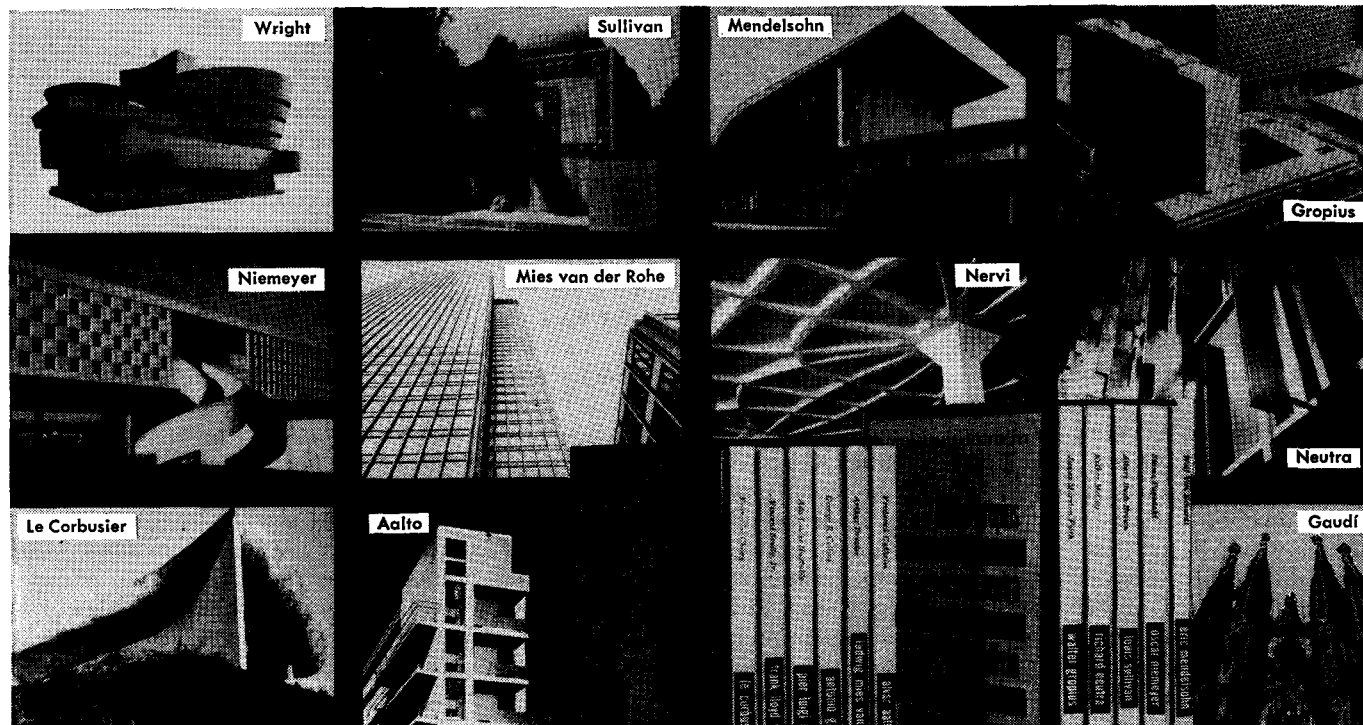
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From Europe

THERE IS an astonishing quality in the reaction of the European press to the President's speech. Everybody is pleased—everybody, that is, who is not a Communist or crypto-Communist. "Pleased" is the generic word that applies to the reactions of the most authoritative papers in France, Germany, England, and as far as I can judge, all over Western Europe. The motivations are obviously different, for in nearly every case the President's words have answered different qualms and apprehensions. But the near unanimity of the comments you read and hear is far more important than the difference of the motivations. That speech was just right. The President has brought about an extraordinary degree of unity in our coalition.

The American traveler accustomed to visit Europe periodically to get the drift of politics there now feels relieved from the nagging embarrassment of having to answer carping criticism of his country's government. Each year, even before you leave the States, you know more or less what old European friends are going to ask and have rehearsed the answers. During the last few years it hasn't been fun. The pre-recorded answers or evasions or sputterings of witticism might sometimes save your standing with your friends, but it was not very pleasant to see that look in their eyes when they let you move on to less embarrassing subjects.

This time, before leaving the States early in July, I had rehearsed what I had to say on Cuba and the squabbles in the President's entourage and the President's capacity to grow to the full measure of his job. Having not been entirely happy myself about all these subjects, I relished with keener anticipation the prospect of walking along the paths of the Engadine than that of meeting some dear European friends. But

since the President's speech, I am the first to bring up the subject of the President's capacity for leadership. The American system of choosing the nation's leader is a chancy business. But we have taken a very good chance with Kennedy.

I DO HEAR some people saying, "Yes, yes, your President asks for more weapons and proclaims his willingness to use them, but he doesn't really mean it. It's just his way of letting Khrushchev get the idea that if he doesn't push too hard he can get some of what he wants by negotiating—though not, or not quite, the surrender of Berlin." In all fairness I must add that American commentators have gone much farther along this line than most of the Europeans I have met.

Of course the President wants to negotiate. But in his speech he has proved his awareness of the fundamental fact of our era: the realities of war and peace and negotiation have but a misleading relationship to their time-honored significance. The very qualities that make war seem improbable affect to the same degree both peace and negotiation.

The cause of this is to be found not only in the nature of ultimate warfare but also in the Communists' maniacal ambition of total conquest. They want our resigned acknowledgment of their ever-expanding empire. Of course we cannot possibly consider their avowed determination of global expansion as even remotely tolerable or negotiable. The experience we have gained in negotiating with them at Geneva and elsewhere could not be called brilliant. They constantly offer us the prospect of more or less camouflaged face-saving retreats. We on our part have been preparing for a war that if actually fought could produce incalculable damage and if unfought could produce a retreat to which we

might later become reconciled only by telling ourselves that some losses had to be cut anyway.

The President's speech has proved that he can encompass with a steady mind the new meanings of war and peace and negotiations. Preparedness for war, even the actual coming of war, is for him a horrible but not paralyzing prospect.

The President has put the issue of Berlin in its right perspective. The significance of this crisis, which dates back to the end of the Second World War, has been multiplied by the fact that since November, 1958, Khrushchev has been hammering on it with ever-increasing boorishness. And the more he hammers on Berlin, for reasons over which probably the man himself has no control, the more our resolve must become unyielding. The President said it: If we give in there, where next? The stake is no longer Germany or Europe or NATO, but the world-wide civilization of the West. Of course in order to negotiate, as the President said—and he is certainly right—we must see to it that we have a wider choice than humiliation or all-out nuclear action. But he also made it quite clear that he fully understands what negotiation with the Communists entails.

The reliance on all-out massive negotiations with the Kremlin for the resolution of our differences is as incongruous as attempting to resolve these difficulties by all-out massive warfare.

AT THE END of his address, the President spoke of the hard days and weeks that are ahead of him and of us all. There will be many many such days and weeks. It will be very tough. But we have a man at the head of the nation who is entitled to receive what he asked: our support and, as he said, above all, our prayers.