

Herald and News

Editorial Page

The Delusion Of De Gaulle

French President Charles de Gaulle's Western allies have gone through several cycles in their relationship with him. It is clear they have now entered another one.

In World War II he was first greatly admired for his foresighted military judgments and then nearly despised for his ramrod stiffness as a leader in exile who often hamstrung his more powerful confederates in America and Britain.

They gave him new regard when he became France's first postwar leader. They knew he alone could restore some semblance of order to a torn nation. But when the French cast him aside, statesmen in friendly countries took it as fresh proof De Gaulle was unsuited to politics. There were few regrets.

Out of retirement he came, in 1958, once more to lead a badly disrupted country. To Western men who feared for France's future as a free land, his coming was a marvel of resurrection.

All the qualities previously scorned were now hailed as just what France needed. There seems little reason to doubt the soundness of this view. De Gaulle pulled his people together, ended the draining Algerian strife, set his country on a highly prosperous course.

Yet the same delusions of French grandeur which marred his wartime ties with Churchill and Roosevelt showed themselves anew in this otherwise remarkable second De Gaulle regime.

Flouting reality, he talks of separate de-

fense for France in a nuclear war. In truth, America's power is his only shield.

In the face of the strongest assurances of aid America has given any land in peacetime, he professes doubt that we would come swiftly to France's side in every conceivable future war emergency.

The basis for his doubt is false. He cites our "slowness" in entering each of the two world wars.

But on those occasions we had no commitments to help France or anyone else. We were an isolationist nation, in contrast to today, when we are enmeshed in countless military and diplomatic entanglements around the globe. We now have more soldiers in Europe than we had in our whole army before World War II.

Furthermore, if slowness is the issue, France itself stands convicted of painful inaction even after it was in World War II. A France that was not helping itself carries little weight as a complainant today.

France in 1963 is not a great power, nor is it ever likely to be so again. It is a highly prized element in the valiant free world family. But its future safety and well being are entirely bound up with fortunes of all the other important members of that family.

De Gaulle's efforts to deny this bond have gone too far. He needs his friends more than they need him. He has dreamed long enough. It is time he looked the harsh facts of modern nuclear life straight in the face. They do not favor the course he now pursues.



HOLMES ALEXANDER . . .

Success Must Be Earned

By HOLMES ALEXANDER
WASHINGTON, D.C. — By the 1960s the Negro race, or its spokesmen, could see that an opportunity presented itself for the establishment of something which the world had never seen — a major Negro civilization.

All over Africa, the Negro homeland, small republics had sprung from the ruins of the old imperialism. The old imperialists themselves were rushing in with technical and financial assistance, partly from smitten consciences, partly from the self-interest of profits and peace.

These Negro republics often verged upon personal dictatorship, but at least they were sovereign. The opportunity was there for progress, either as individual states in a Common Market or within a federal contract.

The requirements for success, however, were rugged. Great natural wealth, a traditional place and climate, the goodwill of the rest of the world were not sufficient. Required in the building

of all racial civilizations, as shown from ancient Egypt and contemporary Israel, were such qualities as industriousness and inventiveness. Whether these would be forthcoming in Africa was still in doubt when the drive for Negro identity took a different turn.

It was a turn related to opportunism within the Cold War. Such was the fear of nuclear holocaust in Europe and America that, for the most part, political movements and decisions ceased to be primarily based upon domestic matters. They became largely based upon a foreign policy to preserve the peace.

In the USA it was deemed extraordinarily important to be super-sensitive to foreign opinion. Since the consensus of the UN was pro-Negro, the government of the USA swung its policies more markedly pro-Negro than the domestic Negro minority would seem to warrant. Added to this factor was the undoubted one of the American conscience.

The USA had never been able to square its humane idealism with the practice of racial segregation in the North as well as the South. Together, these factors—the matter of conscience far more to the credit of the American people than the fear of H-bombs—did, nevertheless, give a target of opportunity to the Negro movement for self-assertion. Instead of the slow, laborious construction of an African politico-economic nationalism, there was presented the lure of revolutionary action in the United States—in effect, the capture of a political balance of power by which to demand, through threat and violence, concessions that amounted to a partial transfer of power and public wealth.

But the Negro revolution in America, much like the Negro evolution in Africa, was not as assured as it superficially seemed. President Kennedy, while urging removal in American life of all racial discrimination, said that it would do the Negro little good to be able to eat at an integrated restaurant without the money to pay for it. Attorney General Kennedy, the President's brother, told the Commerce Committee that in the Northern city of Chicago there were three times as many Negroes out of work as there were whites.

Not all of this poverty could be the result of discrimination. Not the whole of the Negro's joblessness could be blamed on prejudice. School drop-outs among Negroes, their high crime rates, their prevalence on the charity and relief rolls, seemed to suggest that mere attainment of "rights" would not equalize the races in education, earning power and good citizenship. The very same qualities needed by the Negro in Africa—industriousness and inventiveness—appeared to be needed in America.

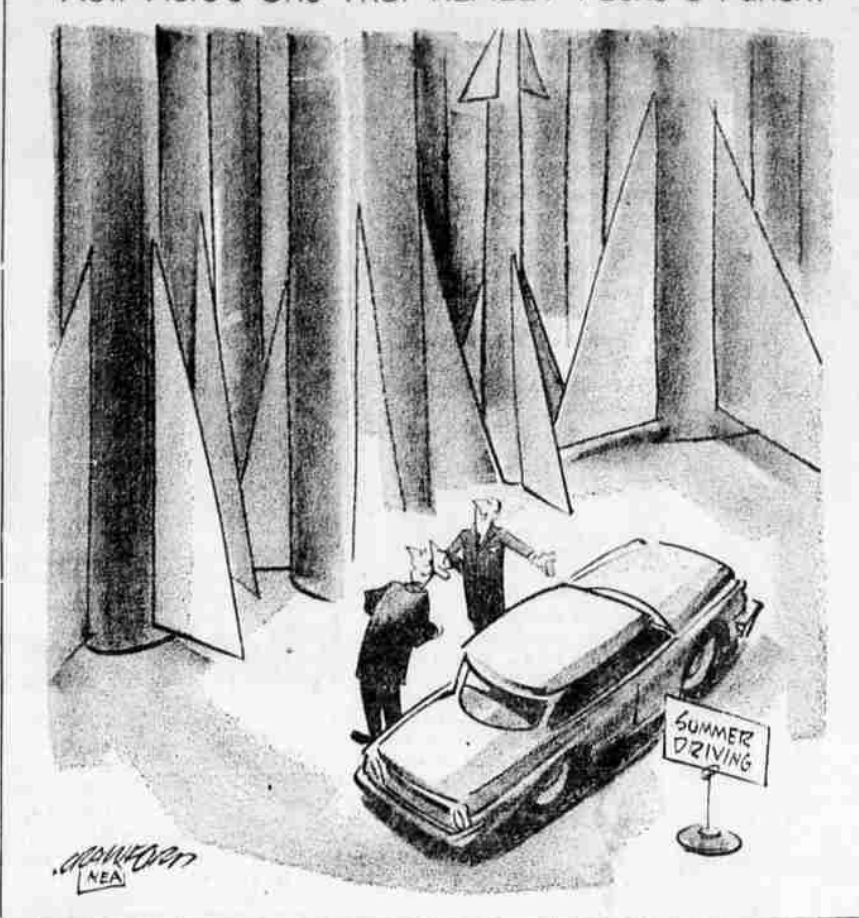
As it happened, the American statesman who put his finger on the verities, and expressed them best, was a Liberal Democratic Senator, a co-sponsor of the civil rights package, a former state governor and cabinet officer.

He was Ribicoff of Connecticut. He told the Senate that his own political success, although of a Jewish minority, and President Kennedy's success, although of a Catholic minority, were primarily based upon education and proved fitness in the struggle of life. He warned Negroes, and their radical leaders, against hoping to better their lot without deserving it by hard work.

"Denying a man a job because he is a Negro is indefensible. Granting him a job if he is not qualified . . . can't be justified either . . . only after a person participates, proves his merit, will he be accepted."

This was the unresolved situation of the 60s, as the Negro, in Africa and America, made his bid for a civilization to call his own.

"Now Here's One That REALLY Packs a Punch!"



IN WASHINGTON . . .

Congress In Low Gear

By RALPH de TOLEDANO
Steady pressure is being exerted on Congress to "reorganize" its "antique" procedures. That this clamor comes from the Liberal press and has been taken up in the Senate by left-center legislators has raised the suspicion that more than a streamlining of the Congressional machinery is involved. And this has caused some Senators and Representatives who would support reorganization to oppose the recent bill introduced by Senators Clifford Case (R-N.J.) and Joseph Clark (D-Pa.).

Both men are among those who would deprive the Senate of its right to unlimited debate. Senator Clark thinks the Congress is a drag on the nation—and he has

said so. His argument now that Congress must mend its ways or lose prestige can be ignored since he is one of those who has labored most mightily to tarnish the national legislature's image.

There is no doubt that those who stridently urge a revision of Congressional procedures are also those who want some sort of rubber-stamp system which would expedite the passage of Administration measures. Such reorganization would ease the burden of work and shorten the sessions, true. But it would mean an abdication by Congress of its Constitutional rights and powers.

To a degree, this is the motivation of the publicists who are bewailing the fate of a Congress which insists that it must debate any question to its satisfaction before it gives approval. But it is nevertheless a fact that Congress has bogged down, that something must be done about it.

Why has Congress remained in low gear? And what can be done to speed up its deliberations without imperiling the balance between the three co-equal branches of government?

Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) points out that the initiative "in determining national policy has shifted decisively to the Executive Department and to some extent to the Supreme Court." But this, he adds, "is not simply the result, as some contend, of a desire on the part of strong chief executives and chief justices to assume great power. In major respects Congress must bear the blame."

To some extent this is true. But the blame lies to a great measure with the preponderant majorities held by one party. The Republicans have controlled the Congress for but two sessions since 1952. As a result, they must resort to temporary coalitions and exploit every loophole and qualifying provision in the rule book to delay legislation. The delays are not wilful but merely a way of keeping opposition alive until the public has a chance to make its wishes and opinions felt.

Far more important than this is the fact that such matters as defense and the budget have gotten to be so complex that only experts can reduce them to the

kind of debating terms which make sense. Unfortunately, the Democratic majority lures a committee staff. With very few exceptions, this staff is committed to the majority viewpoint. The opposition is tossed a few staff jobs, but not enough to give Republican members of key committees the kind of minority staff work they need to make decisions. At times they must learn the ins and outs of a particular bill only through the process of debate.

It would not require a special commission to remedy this situation. The matter of minority staff can be decided by Speaker John McCormack (D-Mass.) in the House and Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) in the Senate. Committee chairmen could allow larger minority staffs. This would mean that much of the haggling that goes on in committee and on the floor by legislators with impossible calls on their time would be done by staff people on the various committees. At least in documented majority and minority staff reports, the battle lines would be drawn.

This, and some minor changes not requiring the task force study suggested by some, would help speed up legislation. But if the democratic system is to be maintained, no amount of streamlining will help. Congress represents the people directly, and they have a right to petition for the redress of grievances. They have an equally important right to inform their Senators and Representatives of their views on important legislation. The amount of time members of Congress spend in reading and answering the mail of constituents is tremendous—and this is as it should be.

There is another factor in Congressional torpor. When the members are faced with legislation they do not like but which is being rammed down their throats, they stall. That's their only protest. If a joint Senate-House committee on the economy had been working for the past years on tax reform, the Congress would now have an alternative to the President's proposals. Today it can only paw over them in the hope that people will forget they were ever there.



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .

Crises, Challenges Will Be Steady Diet

By PETER EDSON
Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — The next six months may be as fateful as any half-year since the end of World War II. Developments now coming to a head are important to the United States internationally and on the domestic front as well.

Moscow talks between Russian and Red Chinese leaders may set the course for the future of communism. A widening split between the two camps, which now seems likely, greatly alters the international balance of power in Asia.

The most immediate result might be a decision on the resumption of Red China's attack on India later this year. Finally aroused to the Communist menace, India is now said to see that the real threat from Red China is its advance through Burma and Indochina into the Malay peninsula.

The threat of further Communist penetration into Southeast Asia has been increased by British failure to persuade the Russians to help stop the fighting in Laos. Pakistan's foolish flirtations with Red China as an ally that might help against India further heighten the prospect for trouble in South Asia.

After the Russia-Red China talks in Moscow come American-British-Russian negotiations on a nuclear test ban. The outcome will indicate whether the threat of nuclear warfare becomes more acute or is eased. If the latter, there may be some hope for eventual progress toward disarmament.

President Kennedy's trip to Europe is being hailed as a great personal triumph, making clear America's continued support for Europe. But the extent to which the mission advanced American objectives for a strengthened North Atlantic Treaty Organization is still uncertain.

The proposed NATO multilateral nuclear force, armed with Polaris missiles, has been temporarily shelved. It may never come into being as long as the opposition of French President Charles de Gaulle continues.

British and Italian governments are weak and may fall. The German government will change this autumn with the retirement of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. The Netherlands faces elections. Stability in Europe is questionable.

The failure of Europe to unite in a common market or for meaningful trade and tariff negotiations with the United States weakens the whole Atlantic alliance at a time when it needs to show strength against the Communist front. The possibility that the Russians may revive the Berlin crisis at any time is a constant threat.

The Near East, Africa and Latin America are in a ferment of development, still unsure they can govern themselves as democracies. Argentina, with election July 7, is battling against a revival of Peronism. Brazil, Venezuela and British Guiana are prime targets for Communist infiltration, some of it exported from Cuba.

The continued presence of Russian troops in Cuba remains the most serious irritation to the United States. The State Department now maintains there are not enough Russian combat troops left in Cuba to put down a Hungarian-type uprising.

If these Russian troops should start shooting Cubans, the United States has made clear to the Soviets there will be American intervention. A showdown this year is not ruled out.

Six months from now there will be a clearer picture on how many of these problems have worked out. Depending on whether they are Kennedy administration victories or defeats, their effects on the American presidential and congressional elections in 1964 will be great.



WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Republicans Given Chance For Senate

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Because hope springs eternal in the human breast, crotchety, 74-year-old Steve Young will pack his bags one day soon and pay a visit to the good folks of Sandusky, Ohio.

Gale William McGee will walk down Main Street in Green River, Wyo., and shake hands with "friends" he has not seen for five years.

And Frank Moss will sample the fried chicken in American Fork, Utah, and exchange small talk with those constituents he has neglected in recent years.

Each member of that trio is out to accomplish what experts say can't be done: win his reelection to the U.S. Senate. The three, freshman Democrats elected in 1958, are considered political accidents.

They are included on a list of 10 Democrats that Republican strategists feel can be retired one year hence. Twenty-five Senate seats now held by Democrats are up for grabs while only nine Republicans must seek reelection.

Sen. Thurston Morton, chairman of the Senate GOP Campaign Committee, feels that his party can pick up six, and possibly 10, Democratic seats. His Democratic counterpart, Warren Magnuson, agrees the following seats now held by his party will be "awfully tough" to keep.

Ohio: An old war horse named Steve Young rode a Democratic tide to victory in the most surprising race of 1958. A one-time Congressman, Young does not yet know who his GOP opponent will be.

It makes little difference. Whoever he is—Bob Taft or Bill Ayres or Ollie Bolton or John Bricker—the outcome seems predetermined. Steve Young can return to private practice.

Wyoming: A curly-haired professor named Gale McGee won Senate election in 1958, thanks largely to a last-minute, statewide smear campaign waged against Republican incumbent Frank Barrett.

McGee has returned home this year to campaign at a feverish pace but his efforts will likely be in vain. Republicans have won virtually every Wyoming election since 1958 and McGee's likely opponent is Congressman-at-Large William Henry Harrison who won reelection last fall by the largest majority in state history.

Utah: Salt Lake City's Frank Moss won his place in the sun—and the Senate—with 38 per cent of the vote in 1958. Two Republicans split the remaining 62 per cent down the middle.

He will have no such luck in 1964. The Republican candidate has not yet been picked although

Congressman Sherman Lloyd is frequently mentioned.

Others under consideration include Gov. George Clyde; Dr. Ernest Wilkinson, president of Brigham Young University; and Salt Lake City Mayor J. Bracken Lee.

Indiana: Besspectacled Vance Hartke came to the U.S. Senate after a strife-torn, scandal-racked Republican Party handed him victory on a silver platter.

A revitalized GOP now makes Hartke a decided underdog with several attractive candidates ready to take him on. The strong possibility is probably Indianapolis Congressman Don Bruce although colleagues Bill Bray, Richard Roudebush and Ross Adair are pushed in certain quarters.

Texas: Ultra-liberal Ralph Yarborough will face primary opposition before Republicans can get at him. His reelection chances will be considerably lessened if Barry Goldwater is the GOP Presidential nominee. Possible GOP candidates include Congressmen Ed Foreman and Bruce Alger, Dallas trucker Des Barry and Jack Cox, who ran a strong but losing race for the governorship last November.

Goldwater's presence at the head of a GOP ticket would greatly enhance GOP opportunities throughout the South. Party strategists insist they can capture the Oklahoma seat held by self-appointed J. Howard Edmondson if Goldwater is the nominee. They say Republicans could win Senate seats in Florida, Mississippi and Virginia if a conservative is the party's standard bearer.

THEY SAY . . .

Peace and war will be determined by the outcome of the race between population and resources. —B. R. Sen, U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization director general.

World peace, like community peace, does not require that each man love his neighbor. It requires only that they live together with mutual tolerance, submitting their disputes to just and peaceful settlement. —President Kennedy.

If I'm put in the position where I have to take it (presidential nomination), I won't be a 'reluctant tiger.' I'll get out and fight. —Republican Sen. Barry Goldwater.



STRICTLY PERSONAL

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS
In a periodical called "Hogg's Weekly Instructor," published in Edinburgh, Scotland, one of the issues in March 1845, contained an article on "Steam—Its Influence on Society."

Reflecting the widespread view held at the time of the introduction of steam power, the article proclaimed:

"It is not difficult to see how railroads and steam navigation will promote the peace of the world. Sovereigns will avail themselves of it, as well as the people. The rulers and ruled of different nations will meet face to face; and instead of believing, as hitherto, that they are natural enemies, they will soon discover that they are sworn friends. But for steam, it is not likely these visits would be made!"

"But there is another way," the article continued, "in which steam power will promote peace. We know that the more destructive the weapons of warfare, the less likely will the nations be to proclaim war, and the more speedily will their disputes be settled when they do. Consider the changes necessarily produced in the art of war by the use of steamships! Think of their faculty of access to any shore! Think of their fearful accuracy of aim and their destructive power, and we shall have fewer national quarrels."

This is the illusion that has, falsely, nourished mankind since the invention of the catapult and

the long-bow. Each new military device, each new instrument of destruction, has been hailed as an end to future wars. The devastation would be "too terrible to contemplate," and nations would be forced to make peace in the future.

Such voices are still strong among us today. Yet everything in history proves them wrong. In the century following the hymn to steam in 1845, the world experienced its most horrible conflicts, generation after generation. The weapons became more wicked, and the casualties more widespread. Air power only added a new dimension to mass murder.

There is no record of a nation piling up arms and not using them; indeed, the very existence of arms acts as an incentive to hostile action. The physical fear of retaliation by enemies with equally formidable arms has never been a deterrent for very long. To say that armaments "prevent" conflict is to say that germs prevent disease.

Toward the end of his life, Napoleon himself admitted that, the more I study the world, the more I am convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable. Moral power is the only force that can prevent war, not physical power. The profound appeal of a man like Pope John XXIII is worth more than a hundred divisions of fighting men—if we but permit his wisdom and compassion to awaken our stunned consciences.

Almanac

By United Press International
Today is Wednesday, July 10, the 191st day of 1963 with 174 to follow.

The moon is approaching its last quarter.

The morning stars are Venus, Jupiter and Saturn.

The evening star is Mars.

On this day in history:

In 1890, Wyoming was admitted to the Union as the 44th state.

In 1903, William Jennings Bryan was nominated by the Democrats as their presidential candidate for the third time.

In 1950, Russia shot down a United States plane in the Soviet Arctic.

In 1962, the Telstar satellite relayed television pictures from the United States to Europe, and America received clear pictures back from Britain and France.

BERRY'S WORLD



"As soon as we get the bomb, we can knock off this 'inscrutable' jazz!"