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## C. I. A. Under the Microscope

The choice of Dr. James R. Killian Jr. of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to head a permanent Presidential board that will monitor the Government's foreign intelligence activities has raised the question of the highest quality advice and assistance he needs in this field. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor had previously been appointed to head a group making a special study of the Central Intelligence Agency. In addition, every branch of the Government seems to be holding post-mortems to see what went wrong with the Cuban adventure and why.

The responsibility went high and wide, starting with President Kennedy. The White House staff, with its noted group of advisers: the State Department, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and those Senators who should have used their influence but did not must all share the blame.

Yet there is no escaping the fact that the fault for one of the great blunders in the history of our relations with Latin America lies in important part with the Central Intelligence Agency. It was the C. I. A. which gathered the intelligence, which carried out the operation of arming and training the Cuban exiles, and which made United States foreign policy by choosing the men and groups who would lead the invasion and would then control the provisional Government to be set up in Cuba.

There must be a thorough reorganization of the Central Intelligence Agency. The method of gathering information in Latin America is clearly wrong because the C. I. A. had wrong information to begin with. Most important of all was the mistake of permitting the C. I. A. to make United States policy. It did this by choosing which Cuban exiles to support and by giving a political direction to the whole operation.

The C. I. A., therefore, needs re-examination in its personnel, methods, functions and authority. It needs closer supervision by Congress, along the lines of the "watchdog committee" proposed long ago by Senator Mansfield, who is now unsuccessfully failing to press this idea just when it may have a chance of adoption. Above all, the C. I. A. must never again be allowed to make policy.

## Treachorous Act

When Mause Tshombe, leader of Katanga, traveled to Leopoldville last month to confer with Leopoldville officials on the Congo's future status, he came as the leader of the richest, most independent province in the divided African state. Now, in one of those fantastic developments that we have to expect in the Congo, he stands under arrest and accused of high treason.

Mr. Tshombe, who has adamantly refused to cooperate with the United Nations or other Congo leaders, should nevertheless have been able to count on the municipalities covering any participation in a political conference. His abrupt seizure by Leopoldville officials who are dissatisfied with his bargaining attitude was a treacherous act which the unpopularity of Mr. Tshombe outside Katanga in no way excuses.

The United Nations has asked President Kasavubu to adhere to the principles of "fair treatment and due process of law" with regard to Mr. Tshombe. One can imagine what an uproar would have been created in many quarters if "Premier" Gienga of secessionist Stanleyville had been similarly seized. The U. N. has the duty to insist on Tshombe's release, remembering that the principles of "fair treatment and due process" apply to those with few outside friends as well as to those with many.

## Reawakening of the S. E. C.

The action of the Securities and Exchange Commission in taking disciplinary steps against a large firm of stock specialists for allegedly manipulating prices is a signal of the reawakening of that key agency under its new directorate. In the first quarter of this year the S. E. C. has initiated twice as many securities investigations as in all of 1960.

For too long the S. E. C. has been mainly a passive guardian of the securities markets, and too infrequently has it stepped in to use its powers to the fullest extent. The fast crackdown of last week leads us to hope that "the policeman on the beat" is really back actively patrolling the financial community to insure that the exchanges remain free of the manipulation, rigging and all the

or higher tariffs, forces will be set in motion abroad to restrict our exports. Aside from the unfortunate economic consequences of a pattern of reciprocal restrictionism, the political consequences in terms of alienating friendly nations could also be disastrous. Such considerations led us to oppose petroleum import quotas when President Eisenhower introduced them in 1959, and lead us to oppose the possible imposition of textile import quotas now.

Ideally, the answer to foreign competition should take the form of improved productivity, lower cost and lower price, and improved quality. But the fact must be faced that some types of production here may be uneconomic in the sense that they have no real answer to foreign competition. For businesses and workers in such industries it would usually be much cheaper and better to ease the transition to other occupations through direct Federal assistance rather than to set up new barriers that only invite retaliation and ill-will from our friends and allies abroad.

## Commander Shepard's Vacation

Comdr. Alvin B. Shepard was due to go back to work today after a brief break in his regular schedule. Between last Friday morning at 10:34 daylight-saving time, and yesterday when he called on the President and was the guest of honor at a reception on Capitol Hill, he covered a good deal of sea and land.

But vacations, as many of us will discover during the coming month, cannot last forever. Commander Shepard cannot expect to have 302-mile rides at a maximum elevation of 115 miles and a speed of 4,560 miles an hour, free of charge, every day. Millions of Americans would have been glad if he could have extended his vacation and been deafened with cheers, drowned in context and gorged with fried chicken all the way across and up and down the continent.

But for a man of Commander Shepard's caliber and eagerness life cannot be all play. Yesterday he asked no special credit for being the man who took the ride. What he wanted to be sure of was that the honor would be shared by the six other flyers who were ready and willing to go and by the men whose names, as the President said, are not widely known when there is a success but would have been known if Shepard's sky adventure had been a failure.

Yesterday a ceremonies and celebration were the more touching because they were not military, because there were no massed bands and because the emphasis was on teamwork and patience. Commander Shepard will have glory enough and to spare today and tomorrow and all the rest of his life. But the greatest reward he can have is to be allowed to continue with his work and to lead a normal life after taking America's first step toward the stars.

## A Standstill in Space

Man seems to be doing better in conquering outer space than in triumphing over his own greed. This melancholy observation is prompted by the dismal revelations of featherbedding, blackmail strikes and other forms of labor irrationality at our top priority chain of missile launching sites. The hearings before Senator McClellan's investigating committee have revealed a tragic gulf between the no-strike policies enunciated by the national leadership of the building trades unions and the abuses committed by their rank and file at the missile bases.

A gold-rush spirit, predicated on the apparent belief that any excess was permissible if it put more money in the workers' pocket, evidently replaced all sense of national obligation or urgency, despite almost daily warnings from Government leaders that we were already far behind in the space race. Employers, made slothful by cost-plus contracts that increased their profits as labor costs soared, operated on the theory that it was sound policy to appease the unionists and pass the bill on to Uncle Sam. Inter-union jurisdictional feuds resulted in adding millions of dollars to payrolls and in losing thousands of days of work time.

Defense authorities contributed their share of bungling by waiting inexcusably long before setting up on-the-spot machinery for dealing with labor problems. Secretary of Defense McNamara has at last ordered the Air Force to crack down. He and Secretary of Labor Goldberg are now trying to prevent further holdbacks through a responsible, consistent effort by labor and management to advance the missile program. It is regrettable that this move be more than a gesture.

## Topics

### When the Espatriate Returns

The long-expatiate American, who has recently made his way home, is going to find a New York apartment much more so than into a lanky jungle tent in North Burma or the noisy room of a Chinese hotel (always open hours, equally to bugs and any curious passers-by), was launching the other day at his club with a very pleasant United Nations Pakistanian. Released, he reminded himself once again, as he buttered the toast, how much easier it was for an American to deal with the direct Muslim mind than that of the involved and convoluted Hindu personality. Suddenly, without premeditation, he heard his own voice say, "I've been pretty directly myself. I believe I have been unconsciously sabotaging my settling into New York City."

"Probably," said the Pakistanian calmly. "I did that for some time here. Then I made peace with my job in this fantastic world of the United Nations, with Manhattan, and with myself."

### The American Is Grateful, Both to the Expatriate and to the Unconscious

The matter-of-fact expatriate, who has just returned, is going to find a New York apartment much more so than into a lanky jungle tent in North Burma or the noisy room of a Chinese hotel (always open hours, equally to bugs and any curious passers-by), was launching the other day at his club with a very pleasant United Nations Pakistanian. Released, he reminded himself once again, as he buttered the toast, how much easier it was for an American to deal with the direct Muslim mind than that of the involved and convoluted Hindu personality. Suddenly, without premeditation, he heard his own voice say, "I've been pretty directly myself. I believe I have been unconsciously sabotaging my settling into New York City."

### Don't We All Sabotage Ourselves?

Personal experience where the expatriate was unconsciously sabotaging himself but doubtless only his wife and perhaps even hating his associates, has led him to observe how many New Yorkers are in one way or another sabotaging themselves. Some Frenchmen in Algeria, some intelligent but self-paralyzing Indonesians, a good many "big shots" in Peiping and so on.

### Hard Work and Courtesy

Good hard work conscientiously and therefore proudly done, whether mental, is as valued in New York, the expatriate realizes as it is in a good many "under-developed" countries he has lived in and loved. Nor, certainly, do many New Yorkers see habitual, automatic, impersonal courtesy, as many Asians do, as oil to ease the mechanism of life and smooth the rough edges of contacts between hurried and hurried strangers. In fact, just the time have had some evidence that they are unconsciously sabotaging themselves with destructive ambition-swollen ego, showy work that is sloppy at the edges, a tough graceless attitude toward "strangers" or "people" who are after all, a congregation of vulnerable, valuable, separate individuals.

### Let's Take a Week and Relax

Americans seem addicted to having a "week" for things. Why not, then, celebrate the coming of the first delicate green in Central Park by having a "week" in Manhattan during which every New Yorker watches out for and cuts down on his self-sabotage—may 40 to 50 per cent, like a spring green, making his own contribution to the hundreds of people he speaks to.

## Letters to The Times

### Assessing Intervention

Duty to Support Democratic Forces Within Unrest Regimes Upheld

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: As one who in the period before the outbreak of World War II supported American non-intervention and has since become convinced of the fundamentally wrong-headed character of this position, I deplore what seems to me the revival of what can only be termed "liberal isolationism."

It was not American intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba which impressed me as immoral, but the character of this intervention. The Central Intelligence Agency's fondness for Right-Wing political groups, which has long been common knowledge among students of American foreign policy, hopefully compromised our national integrity. Advocates of democracy and freedom can hardly see the Cuban people to risk their lives to restore the power of discredited and despised émigrés of the Batista persuasion.

But to entirely different proportions. The slogan "Hands Off Cuba!" seems to me the contemporary equivalent of the "liberal isolationism" position from 1938-41, which was effectively "Hands Off Nazi Germany."

### Fundamental Principles

The liberal tradition, in which I am proud to stand, is one which has traditionally asserted the primacy of certain basic principles and fought against all attempts to deprive human beings of these fundamental rights. This, of necessity, requires a willingness to "interfere" in the domestic affairs of all unjust regimes, whether they be dominated by Communists, Fascists, or non-ideological gangsters like Trujillo.

It requires one to take the same position on racial affairs in all areas of the world. As he combats white supremacy in the American South or the Union of South Africa, he must denounce anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union or black supremacy in some emergent African states.

To say this is obviously not to advocate military intervention in Cuba, the Union of South Africa, or for that matter, in Alabama. The obligation of intervention must always be tempered by counsel of prudence. The folly of John Foster Dulles' "liberation" policy for Eastern Europe, and of Allen Dulles' similar program for Castro's Cuba, arose from their non-prudential character. They were triumphs of logic over political sense and instrumental integrity.

In contrast, what democrat could not applaud the prudent intervention in Korea which permitted the deposition of Rhee? Or President Kennedy's persistent support for Algerian freedom and the pressure the Administration has been applying to the Trujillo regime?

Indeed, the very existence of a free society in the United States is an intervention in the domestic affairs of all dictators. To reject the responsibilities of our values is to elect moral bankruptcy. To adopt "liberal isolationism" may be a tempting escape from the perils of commitment—and who among us is not afraid of a nuclear holocaust—but it is a betrayal of the accepted values of our civilization.

The Eichmann trial betrays starkly the fact that non-intervention in the domestic affairs of Nazi Germany made the Western powers, in historical terms, accomplices in the murder of six million Jews.

JOHN P. ROHR  
Morris Hillquit Professor of Labor and Social Thought, Chairman, Department of Politics, Brandeis University.  
Waltham, Mass., May 5, 1961.

### Planning City Structures

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: What a significant editorial regarding architecture and the arts was published on May 1! Most meaningful was your statement "The problem actually goes far beyond that of a single building."

What could have been mentioned as well is that despite all the groaning and traveling that has gone on to produce the new zoning study, very little in it could provide aesthetic criteria for the relationship of buildings in the cityscape.

### Use of Mexican Guarantee of Confidential Workers

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: I know of no such thing as a "guarantee of confidentiality" between the State and the people. It is wrong to bring Mexican workers into this country.

WILLIAM K. BRONER, A. I. A., Chairman, Department of Architectural Design, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1961.

### Financial Policies

Proposed Taxes, Long-term Interest Loans, Discussed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: I think a great deal of our foreign aid cannot be justified especially aid to the satellite countries. I am amazed that it is being suggested that instead of annual contributions we should make long-term loans even loans for fifty years, and some without interest. There is no possible justification for any such action.

The history of the last ten years shows that in many cases friends of this week have been enemies within a month. For example, supposing we had made a loan to Cuba or to Egypt, our money certainly would have been wasted.

When you think of the millions of stockholders that certain of our companies have a withholding tax would place upon these and all corporations and employers a very heavy burden. The increased expense would of course be deductible and it is highly possible that the loss of revenue from the 52 per cent dividend would far exceed what I believe will be the small amount obtained from the crooks.

Perhaps one could differentiate between dividends and interest. For example, I do not believe any crook invest in bonds or have savings accounts. When you think of the millions that have savings accounts in our banks and building and loan companies, the injustice of putting this burden on the banks and building and loans is obvious. Of course, it will also be a hardship on the savings depositors.

It may be suggested that if any withholding is erroneous, the taxpayer can file a refund, but remember that most taxpayers do not know enough to get up a refund and they would be compelled to either not file a refund or hire a lawyer to do it.

AMOS BURT THOMPSON  
Cleveland, Ohio, April 26, 1961.

### Destination Signs on Buses

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: Your April 27 editorial extorting "clearer signs on buses, including the back and sides" of Manhattan's many motor coaches, merits the attention of both public and private operators. Unfortunately, the trend is in the direction of less clarity rather than more.

The New York City Transit Authority in the late autumn of 1958 installed its new equipment on the Forty-ninth-Fiftieth Street cross-town line. It made no provision for a destination sign. Now the Fifty-seventh Street cross-town route of the Fifth Avenue Coach Lines also disdains to advise the public that buses headed east terminate at Sutton Place. Possibly this makes it simpler for the driver. No longer need he change his sign at the end of the trip. What, however, of the riders? Doesn't payment of the stipulated fare include the right to know where each run concludes?

As New Yorkers and visitors both know, questions directed to the operator often are either ignored or answered so indistinctly as to be unintelligible. Clear, well-illuminated destination signs would spare the driver many questions and the rider much perplexity.

THOMAS G. MORGANSEN  
New York, April 28, 1961.

### Hail Columbia!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: After reading on May 1 Prof. W. Friedmann's carefully reasoned analysis of how we seem about to abandon the quest for a rule of law one begins