

Washington Report

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

RELAY THE BREASTBEATING

Washington. The people who ought to be on the side of the United States are doing more than its enemies to destroy its influence as the irreplaceable leader of the free world. Of course, the Eisenhower administration itself is partly to blame, but only partly. Hysterical exaggerations of its sins, both here and abroad, are far more to blame. The incident of the Ameri-



William S. White

can "spy plane" over Russia is being inflated to manifest absurdity.

One might think this government had committed the most sordid crime of the century. The truth, of course, is that a government responsible for the safety of its own people (and of millions of other people) has a plain duty to run reconnaissance over a vast, harking and secret power like the Soviet Union.

THE truth, of course, also is that our first explanation for this particular plane was clumsy nonsense. But another truth is that our government has now surely made enough public confessions to satisfy

the most petulant here and among our allies. What more do these people want our government to do? Must it wallow in the very streets in self-abasement? Must it publicly promise Nikita Khrushchev that the United States will go to the summit as a humble penitent so as not to annoy Khrushchev or those who want a settlement at almost any price?

There is great need to see this episode in some perspective. Yes, it was a bad business. But has a Communist dictatorship that has looted and murdered across half of Europe now become a pitiful victim of a dreadful scourge to peace, the United States of America? Is the unarmed aircraft the equivalent of the bloody Russian suppression of Hungary? Is it possible that the home of the most massive and malignant espionage system in all history, the Soviet

Today & Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann

THE SPY BUSINESS

In the whirl of incidents following the capture of the spy plane the Administration has ventured, perhaps the right word for it, would be stumbled into a untenable policy which is entirely unprecedented in international affairs. Our position now seems to be that because it is so difficult to collect information inside the Soviet Union, it will henceforth be our AVOWED policy to fly over Soviet territory, using the territory of our allies as bases.

Although the intention here is to be candid and honest and also to make the best of a piece of very bad luck, the new policy—which seems to have been improvised between Saturday and Monday—is quite unworkable.

To AVOW that we intend to violate Soviet sovereignty is to put everybody on the spot. It makes it impossible for the Soviet government to play down this particular incident because now it is challenged openly in the face of the whole world. It is compelled to react because no nation can remain passive when it is the avowed policy of another nation to intrude upon its territory. The avowal of such a policy is an open invitation to the Soviet government to take the case to the United Nations, where our best friends will be grievously embarrassed. The avowal is also a challenge to the Soviet Union to put pressure on Pakistan, Turkey, Norway, Japan, and any other country which has usable bases. Our allies are put on the spot because they must

Union, can put our small efforts into such vast discredit?

TRUE, one unarmed aircraft went across Soviet airspace without the personal command of the President of the United States. (The President did not personally pack the pilot's lunch kit, either). But does this really suggest that some reckless band of militarists has taken over the foreign policy of the United States?

Is there any rational content whatever in the argument that because this could happen it follows that some intelligence agent or colonel could himself "set off a nuclear war"? Do the people who make such frantic suggestions know anything of the immense precautions that would make any such thing literally and physically impossible? If a gun shop sells a .22 rifle without proper safeguards does this prove that anybody can walk in off the street and buy a loaded atomic cannon?

WHY don't we—and our friends abroad—quit buying the melodramatic rubbish the Russians are putting out? Why don't we quit reacting in a utomatic breast-beating? And if the United States government had not undertaken the intelligence activities it has undertaken—and will go on undertaking—would we not be denouncing that same government for being asleep against the possibility of another Pearl Harbor?

Significantly, the official question to the Eisenhower administration, the leaders of the Democratic party, are acting responsibly and speaking softly. Those now raising the shrillest clamor about this dreadful, dreadful administration are those who only weeks ago were intoning hymns to the wonderful, wonderful cold war policy of that same administration.

The responsible Allied statesmen have a plain duty—and powerful men here who are their good friends are going privately to remind them of it. They ought to speak out for a nation which has, after all, poured out billions in their defense. An alliance has a leader who is supported when things are rough—or an alliance has no leader at all.

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either violate international law or disavow the United States.

Because the challenge has been made openly, it is almost impossible to deal with this particular incident by quiet diplomacy.

THE reader will, I hope, have noticed that my criticism is that we have made these overflights an avowed policy. What is unprecedented about the avowal is not the spying as such but the claim that spying, when we do it, should be accepted by the world as righteous. This is an amateurish and naive view of the nature of spying.

Spying between nations is, of course, the universal practice. Everybody does it as best he can. But it is illegal in all countries, and the spy if caught is subject to the severest punishment. When the spying involves intrusion across frontiers by military aircraft, it is also against international law. Because spying is illegal, its methods are often immoral and criminal. Its methods include bribery, blackmail, perjury, forgery, murder, and suicide.

The spy business cannot be conducted without illegal, immoral, and criminal activities. But all great powers are engaged in the spy business, and as long as the world is as warlike as it has been in all recorded history there is no way of doing without spying.

All the powers know this and all have accepted the situation as one of the hard facts of life. Around this situation there has developed over many generations a code of behavior. The spying is never avowed and therefore the government never acknowledges responsibility for its own clandestine activities. If its agent is caught, the agent is expected to kill himself. In any event, he is abandoned to the mercies of the government that he has spied upon.

The spying is never admitted. If it can be covered successfully by a lie, the lie is told.

ALL this is not a pretty business, and there is no way of prettifying it or transforming it into something highly moral and wonderful. The cardinal rule, which makes spying tolerable in international relations, is that it is never avowed. For that reason it is never defended, and therefore the aggrieved country makes only as much of a fuss about a particular incident as it can make or as it chooses to make.

We should have abided by the rule. When Mr. K. made his first announcement about the plane, no lies should have been told. The Administration should have said that it was investigating the charge and would then take suitable action. We should then have maintained a cool silence.

This would have left us, of course, with the unpleasant fact that our spy plane had been caught. What really compounded our trouble, and was such a humiliation to us, is that before we knew how much Mr. K. knew we published the official lie about its being a weather plane. Then finding ourselves trapped in this blatant and gratuitous lie, we have tried to extricate ourselves by rushing into the declaration of a new and unprecedented policy.

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Smith Credits GOP For Education Rank

Portland—(UPI)—Ex-Gov. Elmo Smith said Thursday night that Republican achievement is responsible for Oregon ranking third in the nation among the states in public education. Smith, a candidate for the United States Senate, told a Republican party rally that despite this achievement the Democrats have managed to gain an upper hand in the voter registration in the state. He said that the Republican candidates must go after the votes of the many independents who are registered as Democrats.

Chittagong in East Pakistan has 260,000 population.

YOUTH DIRECTOR DIES

Boston—(UPI)—Magr. George M. Doyd, 58, organizer and former director of the Catholic Youth Program in the Boston area, died Wednesday.

COLUMNIST DIES

Chicago—(UPI)—Nate Gross, 53, columnist for the Chicago American since 1940, died Thursday.

Vancouver, B. C.—(UPI)—The MacMillan, Bloedel and Powell River Co. has called off plans for a new pulp and paper mill at Bend, Ore.

MAIL TRIBUNE Medford, Or. Friday, May 13, 1960

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