

Whose U.N.?

A SHOWDOWN on the Congo was bound to come, and indeed it might have come much earlier, since the elements that brought it about have been present for a long time. Essentially, the showdown is not between the Soviet Union and the United States; it is between the Soviet Union and the United Nations.

The final incident that caused the showdown was, of course, the dramatic and bloody exit of Lumumba. How he died may never be known. One can say only that it would have been preferable if this unstable and misguided leader had been eliminated in some peaceful manner—placed, let us say, in a padded cell. But Lumumba's career and horrid fate remain secondary, and truly accidental in character. For the fundamental issue in the whole Congo affair is none other than the United Nations' right and duty, as agent for the conscience of mankind, to intervene in those situations where there is a break in continuity between the ending of a colonial order and the establishment and growth of self-rule. The lesson of everything that has happened since the Congo became independent, and then faltered, is that the peoples of all the world must now ask themselves what they mean when they speak of the United Nations. They must ask themselves one central question: whose U.N. is it?

When Khrushchev came to New York he brought his own answer to this question. He said there were two, and even three U.N.s—a U.N. for the Communist bloc; a U.N. for the West; and a U.N. for the so-called uncommitted nations. He let this third group know that if it had any sense whatsoever it would go along with the Communist bloc. Since the situation in the Congo was creating chaos, he also made it clear

that he wanted more and more Congos, more and more Lumumbas.

In the West, however, we must not be diverted, or divert others, from the essential question, which is the U.N. The United States has taken the position that the U.N. is indivisible. In our dealings with nations willing to co-operate in specific emergencies, such as the Congo, we are more than happy to invite them to assume a share of leadership that may be entirely disproportionate to their power, wealth, or population. It would be unfair to burden them with the full responsibilities of leadership and initiative; we are ready, however, to provide them with all the advantages of our experience and our strength—provided that all such joint actions, as in the Congo, remain entirely supranational.

ALL through the Congo crisis, the Russians have been taking advantage of the more or less spontaneous resentment among colored or not-colored people against the Belgians. No doubt the Belgians are far from blameless; but for all they have done or failed to do, they have surely been punished. It may be hoped that equal punishment will be visited upon the Communist governments for what they have done and still do to their own peoples—and we don't mean only Hungary.

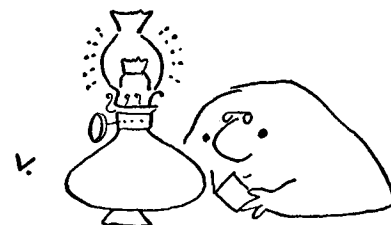
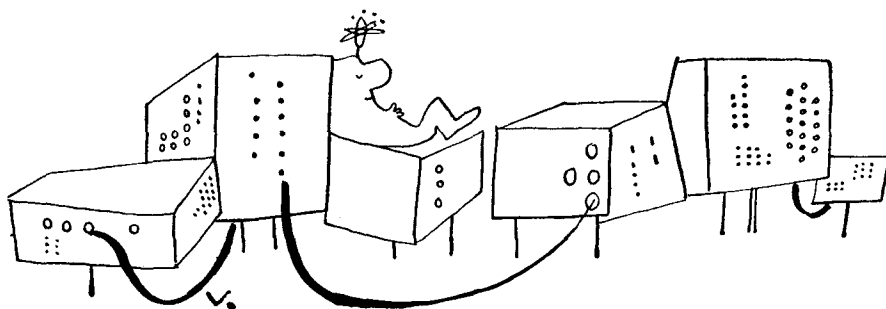
But of all the Russians' attempts to divert the public opinion of mankind from the central issue, what they are doing to Dag Hammarskjöld is their greatest betrayal of truth. Hammarskjöld has always insisted on the complete universality of the U.N., and for this reason on many occasions he has shown himself a friend to the Russians. For here is a man who has entirely freed himself from anything that can even remotely be called nationalism; who

although thoroughly a man of the West, has identified himself with the whole community of nations, seeking only to promote peace among them, and progress.

A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY now rests with the uncommitted nations, a responsibility Mr. Nehru has already accepted in his offer to send troops to the Congo. For now everyone must understand what the Russians mean by the U.N. and what the United States and the other western nations mean by the U.N. We want to use the U.N. for peace. The Soviets, in Mr. Stevenson's words, have made "virtually a declaration of war on the United Nations and on the principle of international action on behalf of peace."

What do the Russians really want? Their own U.N.? One thing is certain: we are not going to meet their threat by imitating them. We shall never abandon the principle of U.N. universality. We have, to be sure, a perfect right to tell some of the uncommitted nations not to go too far, not to play with fire. We must make it clear to the smaller nations throughout the world that we do not insist that they become members of our alliance; all we ask is that they support the kind of U.N. for which we intend to go on working—the kind of U.N. which, as President Kennedy has said, is the surest guarantee, perhaps the only guarantee, of their continued independence.

As for the Russians, we can only say to them quietly, firmly, without any kind of saber rattling, that if they seek to conquer the Congo, if they send in weapons or men from the Soviet Union or from the nations they have conquered, then we are prepared to oppose their unilateral action with some unilateral action of our own.



Ideas: A New Defense Industry

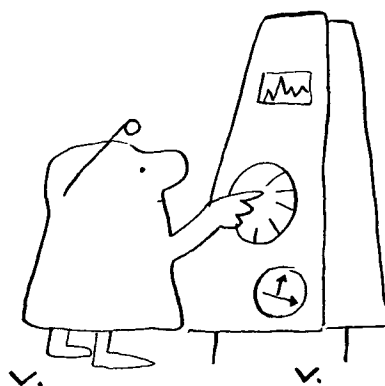
EDWARD L. KATZENBACH, JR.

LIKE the second cup of coffee, advice is no longer free. We live in the age of the specialist, and just as tooting one's own horn is now contracted out to a public-relations firm and one's anxieties to a psychoanalyst, so all kinds of technical problems and even questions of high policy are more and more frequently being handed over to outside authorities for study and advice.

Surveys, research reports, and evaluative studies are constantly being commissioned by private business corporations and all levels of government. The Federal government, having the most problems and the most money, is by far the greatest consumer of such advice, and the Department of Defense, which spends nearly half of the Federal budget, consumes much more than all the other departments of government combined. As both the development and the use of weapons have become increasingly intricate and costly, scientific and engineering analysts have become indispensable to the Defense Department. And as technology has increasingly affected all phases of military policy, specialists from other disciplines have inevitably been drawn into the business of providing both research and advice.

In general, the government has followed two courses in purchasing advice. In many cases, it relies on the scientific and technical labora-

tories of universities and private industry. But the government has also established its own corporations independent of the civil service. This second development emphasizes the fact that contracted advice has become a new instrument of government in our time.



MANY OF THESE subsidized government corporations originated in the universities and certain defense industries. Thus Johns Hopkins sponsored the Applied Physics Laboratory for the Navy and the Operations Research Office for the Army. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology established the Operations Evaluation Group for the Navy, the Lincoln Laboratories for all the services, and the MITRE Corporation for the Air Force. A number of universities banded together in

1956 to establish the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), a holding corporation with several branches which advise not only the Defense Department but other departments and agencies of government as well. Other government subsidiaries were originally created by private industry. The RAND Corporation (Research and Development), which advises the Air Force, was in its early days a part of the Douglas Aircraft Company, Inc.; another Air Force outfit, the Aerospace Corporation, got its start in the Space Technology Laboratories, a subsidiary of Thompson Ramo Wooldridge.

These corporations perform a wide variety of services. Some work primarily on a single weapon or electronic system, others on a combination of related systems. MITRE (M.I.T. RAND Engineers), facetiously referred to as "M.I.T. Rejected Engineers," works on complex Air Force electronic systems under the direction of the Command and Control Development Division of the Air Research and Development Command. MITRE now has several buildings in Bedford, Massachusetts, a branch at Colorado Springs, and numerous special field sites. Its employees, mostly engineers with a sprinkling of scientists, work on the complicated job of design and integration of electronic systems (notably SAGE) in such fields as air