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NATIONAL EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION
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Flight o' Time
Medford and Jackson County History from the files of The Mail Tribune 10, 20, 30, 40 and 50 years ago.

Is It "National Suicide"?

How many people, we wonder, have read the speech delivered by former Governor Stevenson, urging suspension of further H-bomb tests? Judging by the G.O.P. reaction, not many Republicans.

Certainly former Governor Thomas Dewey of New York could not have read it, or he would never have termed it "an invitation to national suicide" or the product of a candidate unaware of the facts of life, who had failed to think the problem through and needed to be awakened from his sleep.

What complete and utter distortion and nonsense! ANY fair-minded person would willingly match the time spent on studying this problem by Adlai Stevenson the past six or seven months, and the time spent by the famous "bridegroom on the wedding cake."

In fact, there is nothing new, impulsive or sensational about this proposal as far as Mr. Stevenson is concerned. Listen to this extract from the speech in question, quote:

I proposed last April that the United States take the initiative by announcing our willingness to stop these tests, "calling upon other nations to follow our lead," and making it clear that unless they did we would have to resume our experiments, too. That was my proposal. It was simple. It was SAFE. IT WAS WORKABLE.

And since that time both Russia and Great Britain have declared their willingness to join us in trying to establish that kind of a policy.

So I say: What are we waiting for? It seems to me that we should lose no more time in starting to make the most of what appears to be a better climate for progress in this imperative field.

Therefore, if elected President, I would count it about the first order of business to follow up on the opportunity presented now by the other atomic powers. I would do this by conference and by consultation—at whatever level, in whatever place that the circumstances might suggest would be most fruitful.

In the meantime—and, frankly, because bitter experience has proven that we cannot rely on the firm agreement of one bloc of world powers—we will proceed both with the production of hydrogen weapons and with further research in the field.

What is there "suicidal" or superficial about that? It is the alternative, as we see it, that WOULD be "suicidal", namely: this blind persistence in this mad rat-race for atomic supremacy, the defeatist attitude that nothing can be done, and the blunt refusal of the Republicans to take the leadership toward world betterment instead of world destruction, which, as the strongest power in the world it is the plain duty of the U.S.A. to assume.

What really is bothering Republican "G.H.Q." is not so much, we believe, the "suicidal" nature of the proposal, as the fact that a Democrat beat them to the punch.

In their political lexicon that is an unforgivable sin. There is little doubt that if the same proposal had been made by Harold Stassen—and the disarmament expert came close to making it—there would not only be no complaint from Mr. Tom Dewey or anyone else at the G.O.P. headquarters, but a loud acclaim of great leadership and progress.

However that may be in the Leonard Hall school of practical politics it is not only a question of whose ox is gored, but whose ISN'T.

THE FACT that so many atomic scientists of the highest standing throughout the country have come out to publicly approve the Stevenson proposal is also extremely irritating to G.O.P.G.H.Q., and worse than that many of them registered as Republicans have declared they will vote for Adlai Stevenson.

One of the latter is Professor David R. Inglis, senior physicist at the Argonne National Laboratory and formerly on the staff of the atomic research laboratory at Los Alamos. Said he, in a recent public statement, quote:

"In spite of my Republican past, I am for Stevenson because I am deeply troubled by the threat of atomic annihilation. The almost unimaginable destructiveness of hydrogen weapons puts us in a crucial predicament that few of us realize. . . . We are in the midst of an ever-mounting arms race of which we can see no end save the disastrous one. . . . We should stop the further testing of H-bombs and announce that we will not start again unless some other nation goes on testing them.

"Such a cessation of tests would seriously impede the development of new horror weapons about equally on both sides and is the one type of arms limitation that can be adequately monitored without area inspection. . . . This proposal makes good sense. Not so President Eisenhower's rejoinder that there would be no purpose in developing ICBM's without developing their hydrogen warheads. This is an interesting disclosure of the state of the art but completely misses Stevenson's point that we should confine ourselves only to stopping those developments that we can be sure the Soviets are also stopping."

IS THIS also "an invitation to national suicide" or exactly the reverse? Professor Inglis concludes as follows:

"It is not enough to point to mutual deterrence as sufficient safety for the present and let the future take care of itself. The revolutionary technical developments now in progress can't be undone by a future generation. The arms race is rapidly getting more difficult to bring under control while we continue without a national policy to control it even as Rome burned while Nero fiddled. I am for Stevenson because I believe he WON'T fiddle."

AS Mr. Stevenson has pointed out the atomic experts are not a unit in backing his proposal. But they are not a unit opposing it or on anything. There is reason to believe, however, that a majority of them favor his H-bomb limitation plan because it faces up to the most serious challenge the modern world has ever met, instead of dodging it or falling back on the time-honored "alibi" it CAN'T be done!

Whether taking this stand will make or lose votes for the Democratic candidate we don't know. We will have to leave that to those with crystal balls that work and the wise boys (after the event) on November 7th. But we do know this—this action is only another demonstration of the man's courage, intelligence, and the high quality of his vision, as well as his statesmanship.

—R.W.R.

Matter of Fact By Joe and Stewart Alsop

AFTER THE BLOOD BATH The tragic and terrible blood bath in Hungary has now very publicly revealed the real inner weakness of the "National-Communist" movement in the Soviet Union's European satellites.



Joseph Alsop

On the one hand, the Polish and Hungarian drive for freedom from Kremlin domination is a great popular movement, sustained and borne along by a strong surge of popular opinion. Gomulka in Poland had the people squarely behind him because he had shown he also opposed Kremlin domination; and for this same reason, Imre Nagy in Hungary had the people behind him too, at least until he turned the tanks and aircraft on them.

But although Gomulka and Nagy have been dissident Communists, long out of favor and even in danger of their lives because of their nationalistic tendencies, they are still Communists all the same. And the surge of popular opinion which has carried them to power is not only nationalistic. It is not only a surge of opposition to the rule of Poland and Hungary from the Kremlin in Moscow, it also tends very strongly to become an anti-Communist surge.

It is hard to judge the events in Budapest from this distance, but the American officials best qualified to form an opinion are rather unanimous that Nagy was squarely caught in the above-outlined dilemma. When he took over the Hungarian Premiership the students and workers in the Budapest streets were not merely shouting for "National-Communism." They were actually shouting for no Communism at all.

THUS the new government with Nagy at its head, strongly National-Communist as its make-up appears to be, was just as much threatened as the prior Hungarian government headed by Erno Gero and Andros Hegedus. Therefore Nagy called in the troops, actually including Soviet troops, to restore order in the capital and to insure his government's authority.

The very fact that Nagy ordered this blood bath casts doubt on the future course his government will take. Will it, or will it not continue to live up to the National-Communist professions that originally won Nagy popular support? It will hardly be easy for Nagy in Hungary, after using the Red army's guns against the Hungarian people. Yet even for Gomulka in Poland, where he has thus far maintained complete mastery of the situation, the future can hardly be taken for granted.

The plain truth is that new Polish and Hungarian governments are altogether different, and in an altogether basic way, from the Yugoslav Communist government which they are seeking to imitate. Marshal Tito and his comrades are not recent imports, after all. They are the former leaders of their country's wartime resistance. In wartime they fought side by side with the Yugoslav masses.

THIS very nativeness, this local origin of their power was what made it possible for the Yugoslav Communists to defy Stalin, it also gives Tito's government a special kind of security at home which Polish and Hungarian "National-Communist" governments cannot hope to enjoy.

The new Polish and Hungarian governments are somewhat insecure, because the Polish and Hungarian Communists, whether of the nationalist or the Stalin-stooge brand, were originally carried to power in the baggage train of the Red army. Unlike Tito, they are conspicuously imported articles. The question must always be in their minds, as the events in Hungary have now so hideously indicated, whether they can maintain their power without the Soviet backing which was the first source of that power.

Gomulka is clearly going to try to do so. He has already indicated he wants the Red army to leave Poland. Despite the blood bath, the betting still is that Imre Nagy will also make a bold attempt. Abandoning National-Communism at this moment would be too stultifying, too inconsistent and probably too dangerous. Even Nagy, even after the blood bath, can hardly change his course.

BUT in the eyes of the masters of the Kremlin, the difficulties that loom ahead of Gomulka and Nagy must look very important indeed. "Suppose they try and fail," the Soviet leaders must now be saying to themselves. "Suppose that instead of National-Communist governments, independent of us but still closely linked to us, we are eventually faced with Polish and Hungarian governments as hostile as those we knew before the war."

The possibility exists and cannot be denied. No doubt it was the thought of this possibility that caused the Soviet leaders to come up to the very brink of using military power to restore their control in Warsaw. No doubt, for this same reason, the Kremlin regarded Nagy's need for force in Budapest as a heaven-sent benefit.

And for this same reason, one should wait to forecast the final shape of Soviet policy. At least until Gomulka has led his planned mission to Moscow and returned to Warsaw without undue mishap. Copyright 1956. New York Herald Tribune Inc.

Today and Tomorrow By Walter Lippmann

THE H-BOMB TESTS Were the hydrogen bomb tests not involved in the campaign, and therefore at once exaggerated and over-simplified, what precisely is the substantial issue between President Eisenhower and Gov. Stevenson? Basically it is whether the testing of the big hydrogen bombs presents a special problem, requiring a special solution, distinct from and different from the problems posed by all the other weapons, including the atomic bombs and the smaller hydrogen bombs.

The Governor's position, when it is precisely defined, which it has not always been, is that the big hydrogen bombs are a special problem which can and should be dealt with without waiting for a general agreement covering the regulation of all armaments. The President's position is that the big H-bombs are not a special case and that the testing of big H-bombs cannot and should not be limited unless and until there is a general agreement, with satisfactory safeguards of inspection and control, on all weapons.

On this basic issue there is little doubt, I submit, that the Governor has the better of the argument. It does not follow, I hasten to add, that the Governor's solution of the problem is satisfied. What cannot be denied successfully is that the big hydrogen bombs are a special problem, and a close reading of the President's statement of Tuesday including the accompanying memorandum of the experts goes a long way to justify this conclusion.

THE explosion of big hydrogen bombs is a special problem because the fall-out is not confined to the country which is testing the bomb. It can and it does pollute the air of neighboring countries. When, for example, the Soviets exploded a big bomb last September, there was a fall-out in Norway which was about ten times as highly radio-active as the normal atmosphere. According to the specialists "the absorption rate was about one-tenth of the international norm for dangerous radiation." This was all very well. But it did not reassure and it did not please the Norwegians. For the fact was that poison was being dumped on Norway without their having anything to say about whether it should be dumped, about how and what was the legitimate amount of poison that could or should be dumped upon them.

The Norwegians were in the position of a man who finds that every now and then his neighbor puts some arsenic in his morning coffee, accompanied by the assurance that it is not enough arsenic to kill him. There is no denying, it seems to me, that because of the fallout on other countries the testing of hydrogen bombs is the legitimate concern of the international community. The testing is a proper and a necessary subject of international regulations. And no nation, especially not this nation, can afford to have a policy which refuses to recognize that the world community has a legitimate interest which must be protected.

IN THE Tuesday document from the White House, the accompanying memorandum of the experts admits the basic fact—that the big bombs are a special problem. The President's statement itself attempts to argue away the importance of this basic fact. But in section two of their memorandum, the experts speaking of fall-out, say that the phenomenon of fall-out from atomic weapons has been known since the first tests in July, 1945. The experts then go on to say that fall-out "acquired a greatly increased importance with the advent of early thermo-nuclear (hydrogen) weapons, although the objectionable fall-out of an atomic explosion, especially the component Strontium-90, is the result of atomic fission, which is the specific reaction in existing small atomic weapons."

The question we may ask about this not very clear sentence is, why did fall-out acquire increased importance with the first hydrogen bomb tests? The answer of common sense is that the much bigger bombs caused a much bigger fall-out.

The President's own statement confirms the conclusion that there is a real difference between the smaller and the bigger bombs. In spite of the casuistic argument that all bombs have some fall-out—so why single out the big ones—the President says, "It is true that tests of very large weapons would probably be detected when they occur. We believe we have detected practically all such tests to date." Why have we detected them? Because the fall-out is not confined to the territory of the Soviet Union. This would seem to settle the issue as to whether or not the big hydrogen bombs are a special problem.

AN INTERNATIONAL treaty to suspend the testing of bombs big enough to be detected abroad, big enough therefore to pollute the air abroad, would—if it were properly negotiated—stand no greater chance of being violated than many of our other agreements—for example the agreement which enables us to stay in West Berlin.

Like those agreements it would be observed unless the Soviet Union decided to start the Third World War. And if the Soviet Union decided to do that, it would not start the war by testing an experimental bomb. It will start it by using the proven bombs it already has.

THE wife and mother-in-law of a news staff member parked the family car at the courthouse the other day, and spent most of the day inside. One of them called the newsman so he'd know where the auto was, if he needed it. Their business finally completed, they walked to the Mail Tribune, waited quite a while when he completed his work, then found they had to walk all the way back to the courthouse—where the car had been all the time.

This is about a young woman (we'll call her Jane Smith because that isn't her name) and a young man (we'll call him John Doe for the same reason). They had a date the other night, and after a pleasant evening he took her home. Then he went home to Ashland, and she immediately got absorbed in a project, the nature of which has no bearing on this story. After a while, she noticed her wrist-watch was missing, so she looked up Doe's name in the Ashland telephone directory and placed the call. A sleepy voice answered.

"Will you look in your car and see if I left my watch there?" Miss Smith asked the voice. "Alright," the voice replied, "but I hope it isn't, because I don't think my wife would like it."

Jane thereupon learned, to her horror, that not only are there TWO John Does in Ashland, but the time had slipped by and it was 2:30 a.m. She hasn't quite recovered yet—but she does have her watch back.

Last year and this have had sort of mixed up weather, to the confusion of local flora. Last week Mrs. Avis Welsen, 118 North Fifth st., Central Point, reported that an Easter Lily given her by her son last year, has just bloomed for the second time this fall. A day or two our favorite feminine columnist and women's editor reported she has a tulip which has bloomed several months ahead of schedule. The next day it snowed. And the leaves aren't all off the trees yet.

An editor of our acquaintance was greeted by a vast accumulation of mail, most of it political, the other day. Alone amidst the propaganda was a statement from a department store. He looked at it and sighed. "It's a relief to see a bill these days."

LET'S not kid ourselves. We've kidded ourselves too often in the past. Let's not let anybody kid us. We have let other people kid us too often in the past.

WE SIMPLY MUST remember that in what is presently happening in Poland and Hungary and what may happen in the other satellites of Russia there are THREE parties: 1. The communists who want to run their countries independently of Russia. 2. The communists who want everything run from Moscow. 3. THE REAL MASSES OF THE PEOPLE who want to be FREE UTTERLY of the whole foul mess of communism and get back to the time when there was real liberty in their countries.

POTLUCK (By M-T Staff and Contributors)

A crowd of 1,500 or so persons was at the Medford airport Friday for the arrival of the vice president of the United States. Among the crowd were secret service agents state police, city police and deputy sheriffs, alert to the least danger to the life of the vice president.

Oblivious to the crowd, the excitement, and the armed officers of the law were a couple of kids and a dog, returning from a hunting jaunt in nearby fields. Both boys were carrying shotguns.

There was a beautiful rainbow Friday afternoon, when the sun came out brightly after the shower. There was an immediate dispute amongst participants in the newsroom. Some claimed it was arranged to herald the arrival of Vice President Nixon. Others, however, pointed out that, from where they sat, it ended in a pot of gold—the first National Bank.

A woman we know went visiting the other night, while her husband was busy with some overtime work. She called on a young couple who live half-way across town.

A couple of days later she telephoned them, asking, "Have you seen a stray earring?" The family hadn't, but the husband, at his wife's suggestion, started searching in the overstuffed chair where their guest had sat.

He found five pencils, three crayons, a comb, a balloon (deflated), a large bird-in-a-cage whistle—and the missing earring.

(P.S.—The couple have children—as if you didn't know.) (P.P.S.—The visiting woman, incidentally, got lost in the wilds of west Medford on her way home.)

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Wanted—More "Statesmen"

Charley Sprague, editor of the "Salem Statesman" and former Governor is, of course, staunchly Republican.

But in sharp contrast to most of the other Republican leaders and editors in Oregon, he is always fair. And he is so well informed, (partly, no doubt, as a result of his brief tenure as delegate to the United Nations), particularly regarding this country's foreign policy and world affairs that we seldom miss his "It Seems to Me" column, although this department is usually on the other side of the tracks, politically-speaking.

WE WERE particularly impressed by this quality of objective and factual fairness when in a recent offering of mail we found the Republican party termed the "party of peace" and the Democratic party of course, "the party of war."

Only a short time ago the Statesman took up this sort of partisan flap doodle and nailed it to the barn-door, only instead of calling it flap-doodle Editor Sprague called it "twaddle"—which, of course it is.

We quote: This talk about Democrats being the war party is twaddle. Stevenson's policies would probably closely parallel Eisenhower's. They might even be more imaginative. As I see it "peace" is not a major issue in this presidential campaign.

Entirely true! And where, with all his personal charm "Ike" does lack the quality of imagination, Adlai Stevenson has it in abundant measure.

OF COURSE, Editor Sprague is wholeheartedly for the President, but unlike so many—too many—of his party contemporaries—he refuses to fall, for example, for the Portland Oregonian's fantastic theory of sainthood and the exudation of an "aura," but supports his case with common sense, wisdom and facts.

It is regrettable there are not more Editor Spragues with his well written and enlightening "It Seems to Me" column in this overwhelmingly Republican state—overwhelming that is as far as the journalistic representation is concerned, as contrasted with the registration.—R.W.R.

What's the Answer?

Can You Get 4 of the 7? Copr. 1953 Editorial Research Report

- 1. More persons voted in the U.S. presidential election of 1952 than ever voted in any other election anywhere, right or wrong?
2. Pennsylvania in 1952 voted for Eisenhower by a wide or a thin margin, or for Stevenson by a thin margin?
3. "Of the people, for the people, by the people" is a phrase from the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, Gettysburg Address or Pledge to the Flag?
4. Federal excise tax on auto tire casings is higher or lower per pound than on inner tubes or the same?
5. An avowed Socialist was once elected to the U.S. Senate, right or wrong?
6. Which state has auto tags bearing the legend "Land of Enlightenment"?
7. The New Testament contains more or fewer books than the Old Testament, or the same number?
The answers: 1. Wrong. 2. For Ike by relatively thin margin. 3. Gettysburg Address. 4. Higher per pound on casings. 5. Wrong. 6. New Mexico. 7. Fewer.

New Hampshire was the first state in New England to organize a fish and game department. It was set up in 1865.