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Back To Machiavelli

We don't blame Secretary Dulles for admitting he doesn't know whether the replacement of General Zhukov as Minister of Defense is good news or bad.

How can he? Or anyone else, who has been unable to sit in at the secret meetings at the Kremlin.

In fact that line coined by Sir Winston Churchill that Russia, under the Soviet dictatorship, is incomprehensible—an enigma wrapped in a puzzle or vice versa—still holds.

We believe nothing quite like it has been existent in international relations since the days of Machiavelli, who died nearly a hundred years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock.

In fact, the more we read and hear about Stalin's successor the more we are convinced the dummy, but far from dumb, Communist boss is a "throw back" over 400 years to the original inventor of the diplomatic double-cross, and the international crooked deal.

The only difference between them and their political philosophies is that Machiavelli admitted his lack of all moral scruples in the realm of statecraft, while Nikita Khrushchev doesn't. Also the former was imprudent enough to write a book, and we are quite sure the wily Soviet dictator never will, at least a book of confessions.

In fact, as far as we can recall, this "envoy to the Borgias," born before Columbus discovered America, was also a convivial, genial soul in his personal relations; did not shun the grape when off-duty; but when ON duty he was as hard as nails, as ruthless as a panther on the prowl, and as blind to all moral considerations, as the late Al Capone.

ALSO, one of Machiavelli's first commandments politically, was never to tell the truth. He never in poker parlance, "tipped his hand." He always kept the enemy guessing, and getting him off his guard would strike for the kill.

He was, also like Khrushchev, a contradictory character, a sort of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." He could, when he wished, charm the birds—and the ladies—out of the trees, and when he DIDN'T wish, could cow his subordinates with unbridled wrath, be at once both eloquent and obscene.

WELL, we trust "Nikita" won't sue us for libel. And we admit the characteristics of these two men, living so far apart in space, time and culture are not identical.

But there is a striking resemblance. This is particularly true in the complete absence of candor, sincerity and what we like to regard as the corner-stone of political and diplomatic relations in a democracy, a common, garden-variety of fair play and HONESTY.

It was Machiavelli's guiding principle, that morals have some place in personal relations—although he PERSONALLY did not observe many—but none whatever in public relations—particularly between states.

We are not so naive as to believe this non-ethical standard has been entirely discarded in modern times; but it is no longer accepted as standard routine—as it was in Italy at the end of the Middle Ages and is in the Kremlin, today.

THE other night, over the air, some broadcaster summed up the difference between the USA and Soviet Russia, by terming the former a "land of opportunity" and the latter a "land of opportunism." That is an example of over simplification, but it does stress an important point.

They do play-by-ear in the Kremlin. Everything is extemporized. As conditions change, their policies change, their guiding principle is to have no principle.

FOR example, only about a week ago, Khrushchev was cocking his sawed-off shotgun, shooting off his big mouth, accusing Turkey of plotting war against Syria at United States instigation, and threatening the former with annihilation.

A few days later he was drinking toasts in rapid succession to peace and amity; denounced any nation that would consider upsetting either, and with his arms around his pals, not in the Kremlin, but in the TURKISH EMBASSY, he proclaimed his devotion to the Biblical injunction of "turning swords into plough shares".

PUZZLING? Another understatement of the week. It is completely baffling and not only to any "man in the street," but to trained diplomats and statesmen like Messers Churchill and Dulles.

All that anyone outside of the Kremlin can absolutely KNOW at this time, is that for reasons UNKNOWN, Nikiti Khrushchev decided that talking war a week ago was to Soviet Russia's interest, and talking peace last Tuesday, was also in that category.

And that, as was also true of Machiavelli, is the only point they consider. These two men, in short, had one virtue in common—they were, and are, entirely devoted to what they believe—and believed—would advance the fortunes of their respective states.

SO today the trouble is this nation—and free democratic nations as a whole—don't go back to Machiavelli for their standards of behaviour in the field of international relations. Therefore a confusion outside of Russia is worse confounded.

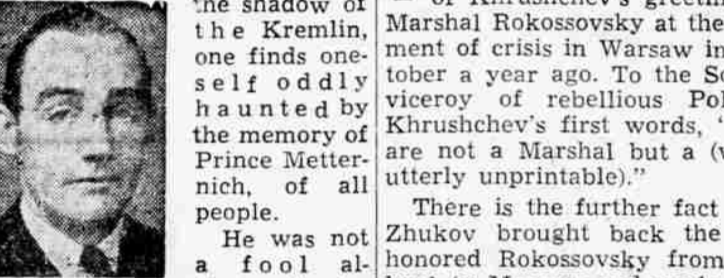
However, there is one consolation, as we see it. Those nations that do go back to Machiavelli as modern history indicates, have in their policies the seeds of their own ultimate destruction. — R.W.R.



MEMBER WHEN ALL I COULD GET OUT OF THIS THING WAS A PEEP?

Matter of Fact By Joseph Alsop

OLD ORDERS AND NEW Warsaw — In this strange city where the flame of freedom still boldly flickers almost in the shadow of the Kremlin, one finds oneself oddly haunted by the memory of Prince Metternich, of all people.



He was not a fool although he looked one, this vain, painted astute defender of Europe's old order. "The principle of legitimacy," meaning the right to rule of those who have always ruled, was the motto on Metternich's battle standard. Under that standard he fought his long rear guard action for monarchy and aristocracy, against nineteenth century Europe's new order of capitalism and democracy.

Ironically, one remembers Metternich because "the principle of legitimacy" can also be seen from Warsaw, inscribed upon the banners of none other than Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev too is fighting for an old order, the rule of the Soviet Union by the appointed apparatus-priesthood of the sacred Communist Party. And the dismissal of Marshal Zhukov as Soviet Defense Minister looks very much like one outcome of Khrushchev's fight.

Like Metternich, Khrushchev is resisting the emergence of a new order, in the form of the Soviet Union's massive new classes of officers in the armed services and industrialists and agriculturalists and scientists and other able men in positions of authority, who are party members but not appointed Communist priests.

THESE huge social classes were formed by Joseph Stalin as humble servants of the Soviet state. While Stalin's terror endured, their humility endured. But now the terror is over, and the question arises whether the state's servants will become the state's masters. The question has taken human form in the person of Marshal Zhukov, the first Soviet citizen ever to achieve full membership in the sacred Party Priesthood without rising through the ranks of the apparatus-priesthood.

It is a useful corrective to picture the strange movements in the Kremlin in this manner. Before he was relieved as Defense Minister, Zhukov had certainly attained vast power. He had in his hands the great lever of power of control of the Soviet armed forces, and quite possibly the further enormous lever of substantive control of the Soviet police. But Zhukov's dismissal is a reminder that legitimacy, which Khrushchev has had on his side as head of the Communist Party apparatus, is also a most important source of power in all societies.

If you doubt this curious, unarmed and intangible power of legitimacy, just consider the story of the first Roman imperial dynasty, founded by Julius Caesar and Augustus. After Augustus' death, no less than four emperors, including two perverted lunatics and one aged cripple, were needed to make the Roman legions realize that their real power could make an emperor who did not belong to the deified dynasty.

So one has to ask oneself whether the principle of legitimacy will not retain its old spell and strength, in this same fashion, in the Soviet Union for quite a time to come. And against this key question, one must balance the other key question, whether the men of the new Soviet order, men like Zhukov, have the ambition and resentment that are needed to make them challenge successfully the old order.

Here the evidence is fragmentary but dramatic. There is the eye-witness account of the bitter resentment in the face of Zhukov, just returned from postwar exile, when he stared down Stalin's ex-collaborators and repeated our Ambassador Bohlen's As a parent I want my chil-

Today and Tomorrow By Walter Lippmann

THE BIG EVENTS As this is written on Monday morning, there has been no news out of Moscow which explains the Zhukov affair.

The action, which must have involved much planning and arranging, was carried out in perfect secrecy. Nobody got wind of it, not the foreign intelligence services, the diplomats, the newspapers, the Communist parties abroad. It is not probable that any of the satellite governments had any advance knowledge.

Since we do not know what has happened, or why it has happened, we can only guess, and not very confidently at that, about what it may mean. In the old days, a change in the top offices of the state usually meant a change in the policy of the Soviet government. Thus Molotov replaced Litvinov at the Foreign Office not long before World War II began with the signature of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

After Stalin's death and the execution of Beria, there came a decided relaxation of the internal terror of the Soviet state. It is natural to wonder then whether this affair—which deprives Zhukov of his administrative control of the army—means that Khrushchev intends to follow a policy which Zhukov opposes.

IT IS conceivable and even probable that this is true. But to say that does not take us very far. For we do not really know what are Zhukov's policies in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East, and what are Khrushchev's. If we think of Zhukov as the traditional Russian soldier and Khrushchev as the successful politician on his way up, it is probable that the old soldier is more interested in holding on to the Russian strategic position in Eastern Europe, and that he is not willing to risk much to extend the Russian position in the Middle East.

Khrushchev, conceivably, has the politician's intuition which tells him that Eastern Europe can be kept within the Russian military system only by accepting the national Communism of men like Tito and Gomulka. Moreover, Khrushchev may think that in the Middle East he may be able to win a great political victory—one dreamed of but never achieved by the Czars and by Stalin—of opening the Mediterranean to Russia.

All this, I hasten to say, is mere guesswork, with no hard fact to support it. It is another example, it may be, of our human propensity to insist on hav-

ing an opinion when all that we are entitled to have is an open mind. THE Zhukov affair has distracted attention from the Eisenhower-Macmillan meeting in Washington. I am afraid that this was not difficult to do in view of the fact that the only acknowledged news on the conference was a long communique, composed of all the old tired generalities strung together with a little bit more than the normal rhetorical elegance. These generalities, it seems, mean much to those who, being in the know, utter them, but not very much to those, being on the outside, read them.

However, on Sunday, Mr. Reston of the New York Times had a dispatch which really does throw light on what lies beneath the generalities. It is that if the NATO alliance is to keep up with the race of armaments, there will have to be "a major review of United States military expenditures and overseas commitments."

Mr. Reston's report indicated, if I read it correctly, that what we have to decide at home and with our allies is this: if we are to keep ahead with the new weapons, we cannot also subsidize at their present level the military establishments of all our allies in the whole network of pacts with which we are involved. A GREAT deal has been said about pooling and cooperation, and it is hardly arguable that in the field of basic science and technology, the more pooling and cooperation there is the better for all concerned. But this general idea, when it is applied to the race of armaments, contains within it certain political and military implications which may be very far reaching. For when the scientists and engineers pool their knowledge and cooperate in the designing of the new weapons, like the big missiles with nuclear warheads, the crucial fact is that all, or almost all, of the hideously expensive devices are going to have to be financed and produced in the United States.

This means that we cannot also be expected to maintain conventional forces, or forces with tactical nuclear weapons, of decisive importance, and at the same time to subsidize balanced military establishments from Korea and Japan and Taiwan to Pakistan and Turkey and Western Europe. The inescapable corollary of cooperation is a division of labor—an understanding, in short, as to what we are to attend to and what the other allies are to attend to.

IT IS impossible for the United States to recover the lead in the race of armaments without a very considerable increase of expenditures. This will necessitate not only more appropriations for the Defense Department but also a re-allocation of the military objectives of the Defense Department. As Mr. Reston, whose sources are no doubt unimpeachable, indicates, we shall be moving towards a division of responsibilities within the alliance in which we specialize even more than we do now in strategic deterrents, calling upon our allies to assume the main responsibility for what are, by global standards, tactical defenses.

There will be much to talk about at the NATO meeting in December, and in the budget conferences here which are already under way. All this has been precipitated, one may say, by Sputnik, by the demonstration that, with our energies and resources dispersed all over the globe, we are losing the race of armaments. (c) 1957 New York Herald Tribune, Inc.

In the Day's News By FRANK JENKINS

According to figures just made public by William M. Tugman, of Reedsport, chairman of the advisory committee of the state's tourist promotion agency, Oregon has entertained 3,539,000 out-of-state visitors so far during 1957.

This contrasts with 1,839,000 in 1948—an increase of approximately a million and three-quarters, or 92 per cent, in the ten year period. In this total, Mr. Tugman explains, only out-of-state cars remaining in the state three days or longer are included.

He adds: "Some states project their tourist total on the basis of all out-of-state vehicles, even those staying only one day, whether or not they carry tourists. Still others regularly include in their annual tourist figures the travel within the states by their own people. Oregon feels, however, that a better picture of the contribution of tourist travel to the state's economy can be obtained by counting only those cars that remain three days or longer."

IT IS CERTAINLY a more realistic picture, for it must be assumed that the number of business visitors coming to Oregon is roughly balanced by the number of Oregonians going to other states on business.

If we are to regard the tourist business as a net contribution to the economy, we must deduct from the total of those coming to the state the number of residents of the state that go to other states. If, as Mr. Tugman suggests, we were to class as "tourists" people who merely travel around in their own state, we would be kidding ourselves, for the money spent by INTRA-state tourists remains WITHIN the state.

It isn't NEW money. THAT, of course brings up the money that is spent by residents of the state who go to OTHER states. The money they spend while away from home is taken out of the state in which they live—and so, presumably, it is deducted from the state's total economy.

So— Does Oregon gain or lose in the exchange involved in tourist travel? AS TO THAT, we can only guess, for the figures do not take into consideration the number of Oregonians who travel to other states. But we can safely assume from the total of more than three and a half million tourists who have visited Oregon during 1957 that Oregon has gained in the exchange. Oregon's population is only approximately a million and a half, so all of our people would have had to go out of the state TWICE to balance the number of outsiders who have come here this year.

It seems quite safe to assume that in Oregon the tourist business is a profitable business.

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The ALL-NEW 270 Horsepower AMBASSADOR By Rambler Is Now At LEA MOTORS 5th at Bartlett - SP 2-6185

Chapel Mortuary Across from the Courthouse Frank Morgan - Harold Snodgrass FUNERAL DIRECTORS

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

10 YEARS AGO Oct. 31, 1947 (Friday) Worst instance of pre-Halloween vandalism reported by city police was smearing of tar and white paint over a large portion of the windows of Denny's cafe on Sixth st. near Central ave.

From Arthur Perry's Ye Smudge Pot column: "One of the leading opponents of the late Sales Tax in Oregon has returned from California where he paid it."

20 YEARS AGO Oct. 31, 1937 (Sunday) Community Chest headquarters announces list of firms which made 100 per cent response to the current campaign. Girls' Community club board of directors announce plans for winter program.

30 YEARS AGO Oct. 31, 1927 (Monday) Members of the city water board state that \$20,000 allowed the commission this year is for a sinking fund. City police warn that all boys and girls 16 years of age and under must be in their homes by 9 p.m. Halloween.

40 YEARS AGO Oct. 31, 1917 (Wednesday) The decision of Judge F. M. Calkins in circuit court Tuesday confirms acts of the Talent irrigation district board; also insures construction of Talent project.

Preparations are being made for a Jackson county campaign Nov. 11 to 19 to raise \$5,000 for the work of the YMCA in the present war.

What's Your I.Q.? Nine or ten correct is superior; seven or eight is excellent; five or six is good.

- 1. In China, are surnames always written first? 2. Bible: Does the Old or New Testament, or the Apocrypha contain the most references to immortality? 3. Did Cleopatra die as the result of drowning, poison wine, or by an asp sting? 4. Is April 25, 26, or 27 the latest date on which Easter can occur? 5. Will the Post Office Department redeem slightly soiled or torn stamps? 6. How long after Easter is Ascension Day? 7. Is it true that there are no mahogany forests? 8. Name the six most common surnames used in the U.S. 9. What is the Parthian shot? 10. What are the four days of the Harmonium? 11. Yes, 2. New Testament. 3. Asp sting. 4. April 25, 5. No. 6. Forty days. 7. The Harmonium. 8. Yes (average of two trees to the acre is a good stand). 9. Smith, Johnson, Brown, Williams, Miller, Jones (according to Social Security board). 10. A missile discharged while in retreat or flight.

HOOGLIGANS JAILED London —Prague Radio said today that "hooiglans" arrested earlier this month for staging demonstrations against the Communist Czech regime had been given jail sentences. The broadcast heard said two defendants received three-year terms, five others two years each and four others got two-week detention periods. The men, arrested in downtown Prague Oct. 12, were described as "hooiglans," "drunkards" and "rowdies."