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The Oregonian Should Retract

We endorsed Sen. Wayne L. Morse for reelection some days ago—albeit reluctantly—and since have had no cause to regret it. His opponent, Sig Unander, has been attempting to make political hay out of the Cuban situation, and in our view has done so irresponsibly, without regard to the facts, and with a lack of understanding of the legalities and complexities involved.

Senator Morse, on the other hand, has been right. (He usually is, despite the offensive way he sometimes goes about proclaiming it.)

THE Portland Oregonian yesterday, in one of the weirdest editorials we have ever seen, attempted to twist facts and quotations to make them support Unander's position. Such tactics can succeed only with those whose partisanship blinds them to common sense and logic.

If one agrees with President Kennedy that the Cuban build-up of Soviet military aid had two phases, first, weapons primarily usable in defense, and second, weapons capable of offensive action, and that the latter phase occurred suddenly, one has to concede that Morse was solidly behind the President, and that his position was correct.

The Oregonian, apparently, dismisses airily the Defense Department's evidence that the character of the weaponry changed within a few days. The burden of proof (which it cannot provide) rests on the Oregonian.

THE Portland newspaper also completely disregards the fact that, on Sept. 21, the Senate passed a resolution concerning Cuba, which stated that the U.S. is "determined to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States."

Senator Morse supported the resolution in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On Sept. 13 in a speech on the Senate floor, he also said:

"If they (Castro and Khrushchev) proceed with any program for aggression in Cuba, such as ground-to-ground missiles, or launching installations that would endanger Miami, New York, Chicago, or any other part of the United States, let them understand that we have no intention of waiting for them to fire the first missile.

"When intelligence reports come to my committee disclosing any such information as that, the Senator from Oregon will yield to no one in this body in urging that our government take whatever measures are necessary to protect our security."

The Oregonian concluded its editorial: "Nor will he (Senator Morse) admit that President Kennedy's sudden decision to do something to stop Soviet arming of Cuba was contradictory to what Sen. Morse had been advocating."

The Oregonian should retract that implication. It's an out-and-out falsehood.—E.A.

Measures Recapitulation

Most of the nine measures to be voted on next Tuesday are relatively simple, and can be voted on with confidence. Three of them, however, deserve a bit more consideration.

We have explained briefly the principal provisions of each in this space before, but in response to requests, herewith present an even briefer recapitulation, together with our recommendations.

NO. 1 — Reorganize State Militia. This is a "housekeeping" amendment, to eliminate obsolete requirements, to bring the Constitution up to date, and the National Guard into conformity with Federal standards, including those for conscientious objectors. There is life if any opposition. Vote "yes."

NO. 2 — Forest Rehabilitation Debt Limit Amendment. Another housekeeping measure to be based debt limit formula on true cash value, which cannot be changed arbitrarily, rather than assessed valuation, which can. Does not change actual dollar limitations. Vote "yes."

NO. 3 — Permanent Road Debt Limit Amendment. Applies the same formula as in No. 2 to road debt. Vote "yes."

NO. 4 — Power Development Debt Limit Amendment. Similar to 2 and 3. Vote "yes."

NO. 5 — State Courts: Creation and Jurisdiction. Permits legislature to create and define courts according to a county's own needs, rather than according to population formula. No opposition. Vote "yes."

NO. 6 — Daylight Saving Time. Would put state on uniform Daylight time, also in conformity with Washington and California. To eliminate time confusion, vote "Yes."

NO. 7 — Constitutional Six Per Cent Limitation Amendment. Would permit taxing units to keep tax base even if no tax levied, plus two minor "housekeeping" amendments. Vote "Yes."

NO. 8 — Restricting Commercial Fishing on Columbia River. This was ruled off ballot by state supreme court, due to faulty title on petition, but it may appear on some early-printed ballots. No need to vote; it wouldn't be counted.

NO. 9 — Legislative Apportionment Constitutional Amendment. Would give some slight recognition in the house of representatives to economic and area needs of the state in apportioning legislature, with all other seats being apportioned by population. A fair and workable compromise. Vote "Yes."

NO. 10 — Repeals School District Reorganization Law. Present law has worked well. This measure is an invitation to chaos and expensive confusion in many school districts, and would be a long step backward for primary and secondary education. Vote "No." — E. A.



Communications

Brain Teaser To the Editor: On the day of tricks, I would like to send you a:

- Brainteaser... Paradox to end all paradoxes...

The richest, most educated, most anti-Communist country in the world has just sent four UN representatives from four pro-Communist countries to Communist Cuba to ask a Communist dictator to dismantle the king of the Communists' missiles that are aimed at the heart and vital parts and population centers of this most anti-Communist country...

- UN representatives are from these countries: 1. Burma 2. Brazil 3. The Arab Republics 4. India (turned anti-Communist Oct. 29, 1962.)

All of the above four countries have been pro-Communist and doing business as usual with the Communists. The population of this country have all settled down and consider we have bested the Communists. What do you think? Who is passing out the tranquilizers?

A worried American housewife, Mrs. Helen Mullin, P.O. Box 283, Talent, Ore.

P.S.—Would some really informed person please assure me that one or more of the above statements are not true? H.M.

Yes, No, Against, For

To the Editor: Vote YES to repeal the school district reorganization law. Why should the voters need to circulate a petition and get signatures of 10 per cent or at least 50, whichever is the lesser (or smaller) number of the legal voters of any school district involved in the change? and submit same to the rural school board for permission (which can be denied) to vote on a matter on which a plan to change has already been made?

ORS 330.630, subsection 2, states "the rural school board, at the time and place designated in the notices of hearing, shall hear the arguments for and against the change. After hearing such arguments the rural school board shall (not may) order the change to be made effective the following July first." In subsection 3 a procedure is outlined for protest but as I see it there would be little accomplished by one's efforts.

Vote NO on proposition 6 which would establish the so-called Daylight Saving Time. There are 24 hours each day. There are no less. There would be no gain by setting the clocks ahead and would do no good whatsoever. The whole idea has been said by one who came from the old Indian who cut off one end of his blanket and sewed it on the other end to make it longer. Anyway the idea of changing the clock one hour earlier is about the same thing. We'll just have to hope the legislature will right the mistake.

Because he is for this idiotic changing of the clocks I oppose the election of Charles W. Cray for state representative and favor the election of Branchfield, Dellenback and Dumas. There would be a winning team in my estimation.

Sorry I can't help to defeat Richard Nixon in his efforts to become governor of California. The fact that he favors capital punishment indicates he approves murder if the majority of a large group of people want it. I hope Nixon is defeated.

Floyd R. McCabe, Mt. Pitt Star st., Butte Falls, Ore.

(Additional Communications on 5-A)

Today & Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann (c) New York Herald Tribune Syndicate

THE CUBAN ARRANGEMENT

The outcome of these anxious days shows that the President has used military force boldly and successfully to achieve a specific and limited objective. Cuba is to be disarmed and neutralized as a strategic base in the Western hemisphere.



Lippmann

There has been no appeasement and there has been no retreat or surrender. At the same time the President has obtained his objective without total blockade, bombing, or invasion. This was possible because he sought a negotiated settlement which did not call for and does not mean an unconditional surrender.

in the Day's News

By FRANK JENKINS

Two questions: 1. What happened in Cuba? 2. WHY did it happen?

AS TO No. 1, the fact seems to be that Khrushchev crawled out from under Castro and left him to paddle his own canoe in Cuba.

Well, an AP dispatch from Moscow this morning says: "The Kremlin's information machine yesterday swung into a massive exercise designed to save face on the Soviet backdown in Cuba. Over and over, Moscow radio broadcast statements praising Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev for his decision to remove Soviet weapons from Cuba."

"The government newspaper Izvestia gave an example of what the Soviet man in the street is being told about Cuba. The newspaper's front page was topped by a big headline which said: "ALL OF MANKIND IS HAILING THE WISDOM AND LOVE FOR PEACE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT."

SO THERE you have it. It was wisdom and love for mankind that led Mr. Khrushchev to call off his dogs in Cuba.

Touching, isn't it? BUT—The other Gold Dust Twin of communism sees it in a different light. A dispatch from Tokyo this morning says:

"Red China's newspapers for the second consecutive day reported Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's pledge to dismantle Russia's missiles in Cuba. Rather unusual treatment given the reports appeared designed to show Khrushchev as a man who WILTED UNDER STRONG AMERICAN PRESSURE. They were coupled with expressions by the Peiping regime of Mao Tse Tung—Khrushchev's chief rival for leadership of the world communist movement—reaffirming Red China's support of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro."

THE conclusion? It seems to be that all isn't sweetness and light among the Communist big shots. So far, they have been following Machiavelli's recipe for certain victory—DIVIDE AND CONQUER.

But—There is a hint here that there is a division in the communist world. If so, we can say with Hamlet, in fervent agreement—'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished."

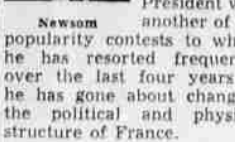
When thieves fall out, honest men can come into their own.

De Gaulle's Popularity Seems Waning; Election Won Over Strong Opposition

By PHIL NEWSOM

UPI Foreign News Analyst

Since May, 1958, when President Charles de Gaulle took over French leadership with dictatorial powers to settle the Algerian conflict, the French people dutifully have been following his lead. This week the President won another of the popularity contests to which he has resorted frequently over the last four years as he has gone about changing the political and physical structure of France.



Newsom

But it was won by a narrower margin than hoped and accompanied by many a cry of foul by a united parliamentary opposition to his demand that future French presidents be elected by direct vote of the people.

Responding to De Gaulle's threat that he would quit "at once and without return" if he failed to receive a substantial vote of confidence, French voters gave him a healthy 62 per cent of the votes cast.

But it was the slim margin of any since June, 1958, and growing opposition was signified not only by those who voted against him but by the substantial number who stayed at home.

In 1958, French voters endorsed his constitutional changes by a margin of four to one. This week, his support actually came from less than half of France's registered voters.

Victory was won, however.

over formidable opposition. Returns from the April 8, 1962, referendum approving the Algerian peace settlement showed a growing number of Frenchmen opposed to increased powers for De Gaulle.

Sunday's referendum, taking the presidential election out of the hands of about 50,000 privileged politicians, found every political party aligned against him with the exception of his own Union for the New Republic.

With considerable reason, De Gaulle's opposition accused him of obscuring the real issue, the constitutional change, and making it one of his own prestige. There also were bitter complaints that the government was monopolizing radio and television air time.

In any event, it seemed apparent that the honeymoon was all but over. A new National Assembly will be elected next month

and there seems little reason to believe that De Gaulle can win anything like a majority. The new assembly cannot topple De Gaulle but it can withhold approval of his budget or speedily overthrow any premier he might name.

If government processes are to be orderly, there must be a considerable change in De Gaulle's tactics, which heretofore have been to run roughshod over the assembly in matters both domestic and foreign.

Opposition to De Gaulle springs from sources which are both political and economic. All parties are demanding a greater voice in foreign affairs.

There are increasing demands for greater participation in NATO, and the move toward an integrated Europe, even at the loss of some French sovereignty, which De Gaulle has rejected.

Strictly Personal

By Sydney J. Harris (c) Field Enterprises Inc.

PERSONAL PREJUDICES The people who know what they want are able to travel in a straight line and either achieve or miss their goal; the people who don't know what they want are able to drift aimlessly through their lives; but it is the people who want opposite and irreconcilable things at the same time who can never be satisfied with fate. (This, by the way, is why most public performers are perpetually discontented; they want both notoriety and privacy in equal measure.)

I think it is not without some deep significance that man stands halfway in size between the atom and the universe—that, in physical terms, each atom within us bears the same ratio in size to our body as our body bears to the total universe; thus, man is truly "in the middle," the very fulcrum of creation.

If you don't return home from a foreign trip with the feeling that your own country has some odd habits and peculiar customs, then the trip has not "broadened" you—it has merely flattened you.

Whenever we have an argument with ourselves, the side that usually loses is the one that shouts, "You shouldn't!" and the side that usually wins is the one that whispers, "You deserve it."

Not to suggest that soft-spoken people cannot be stupid, but it is generally true that the louder the voice the lower the level of intellect.

Husbands who tend to be extremely critical of their wives in public are often quite dependent upon them in private; and the public treatment is simply a way of expressing resentment of the private dependence.

No pacifist or idealist has been able to say, more tersely or convincingly, what Napoleon said in summing up his career of conquest and collapse: "The more I study the world, the more I am convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable."

The ordinary people are duped by their simplicity, and the extraordinary people are duped by their sophistication; each type falls in the direction of its own special weakness, which it thinks to be a strength.

Women are unjustly accused of babbling a great deal, but that is how the feminine process of logic works; unlike a man, a woman cannot tell what she thinks until she hears what she says. The female mind is an exquisitely engineered "feedback" system.

From birth until 25 or so, we shape our lives from 25 to 50 or so, our lives shape us; and we spend the years from 50 until death wondering how this curious reversal came to be.

and that while they will not be blockaded or invaded by the United States, they will still be watched carefully and no adventures in Latin America will be permitted. Castro will have to consider whether he can long survive with the economic support of only the Communist bloc, and how, if he can't, he can work his way back into the community of American states.

That is for the future.

THE Kennedy-Khrushchev Cuba settlement envisages efforts to reach other settlements, some steps in disarmament, possibly some kind of redeployment as between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries.

In this, the rule might well be to reduce tension by making first those agreements which do not seriously matter. Agreements about military assets that are provocative without counting in the overall balance of power might well be the easiest to achieve.

Matter of Fact

By Joseph Alsop (c) New York Herald Tribune Syndicate

VICTORY!



Alsop

Washington—In any historic drama like the Cuban crisis, it is always necessary to wait for the epilogue to be sure there is nothing misleading in the act. But with this provision, one may already say that President Kennedy appears to have won a remarkable victory.

It is, to be sure, a limited victory. Fidel Castro has been taught a bitterly sharp lesson, about the value of his Soviet connection among other things. But he has not yet been destroyed or driven from power; and if the Khrushchev-Kennedy agreement holds, Castro will even be guaranteed against invasion from American soil.

On this point, it is well to bear in mind the first rule of the earliest military theorist in history, who is also one of those who are still most worth reading. Nearly 25 centuries ago, the great Chinese, Sun Tzu, wrote in his classic work, "On War," that the victor's worst error was to drive the vanquished into a corner; since the victory might then be marred or lost by a desperate counterattack.

SUN TZU'S rule still applied to the Cuban crisis. This was the first confrontation involving the naked use of force of the two giant powers of the new era, which opened when the Soviets acquired a full panoply of nuclear weapons. It reduced Quemoy to the status of a semi-crisis, and the Lebanon landing to a Madison Avenue-style pother. Yet the voice from the remote past had something true to say about this fearful modern turning point.

Maybe we could have gone on to eliminate Fidel Castro, with perfect impunity. Yet the two successive Soviet messages, naming altogether different terms for settlement, were a warning as well as a proof of disarray in the Kremlin. It was better to gain our stated objective and to stop there, than to ignore the warning and to risk an irrational response from a cornered Soviet government which was already showing symptoms of irrationality.

Furthermore, if the ballistic missile sites are indeed dismantled, as the Soviets have promised, there will be no question that we have gained a victory without a real precedent in the grim story of the cold war.

THE BLOCKADE of Berlin was relaxed. The attack on Quemoy was suspended. The Korean War ended in truce. But although the Communists abandoned these adventures when they encountered

ed stiff opposition, they have never before retreated from any position already solidly occupied, with the possible exception of Azerbaijan in 1946. The retreat from the Cuban missile sites is therefore an enormous event, if only for this reason.

It is also a highly indicative event, in two quite different ways. One of its indications needs to be weighed by those who always want to be negotiating. They are already beginning to raise the cry, "Now we can negotiate again."

But in the first place, the American willingness to negotiate endlessly, sometimes in fairly humiliating circumstances, was clearly one of the factors that persuaded the masters of the Kremlin they could get away with their trick in Cuba because of America's supposed softness. Then, too, negotiation certainly ought to be approached with skepticism, after this viciously Machiavellian Soviet attempt to subvert the world power balance by a clandestine trick.

ON THE other hand, the Cuban experience also points to a more hopeful future, if we only bear in mind the lesson concerning the rewards of stoutheartedness.

In the aftermath of their remarkable victory, the White House and its attendant demagogues are naturally a little apprehensive. The argument is made that after losing so much face in Cuba, the masters of the Kremlin may be driven to true up by some particularly ugly action somewhere else. It is prudent to weigh this argument, and it is also prudent to remember that the point of greatest danger, free Berlin, is within the physical sphere of Soviet conventional power, whereas Cuba presented special difficulties for the Soviets because it was and is within the American power-sphere.

The Kremlin hot-heads, whose existence is now proven, may well argue that the Cuban experience actually shows the safety of aggressive action at a place like Berlin, where Soviet conventional power predominates. But Berlin's freedom has always been protected, not by the conventional power of NATO, but by American nuclear power.

The greatest danger to Berlin, moreover, has been the Kremlin's evident belief, again proven by the Cuban experience, that the U.S. was too soft and weak-willed to stand up to a direct challenge. That gravely dangerous false conviction, we may now hope, has been abruptly shattered.

And this is a gain that gives the strongest insurance against future Kremlin aggression, if we can only avoid implanting new doubts in Moscow about our stoutheartedness.



"One thing I'll never understand about a politician — if things are so miserable, what's he so happy about...?"