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Nuclear Diplomacy

(Editor's note: America's most distinguished and respected columnist, Walter Lippmann, has been in Europe for the past several weeks. Last Thursday he spoke at the Anglo-American Press Association in Paris. The following is excerpted from his talk.)

Since 1955 there have existed in the world two rival and conflicting coalitions armed with nuclear weapons. They are in conflict at many points on the globe. They distrust profoundly each other's purposes.

The essential and novel fact in the contemporary conflict, which distinguishes it radically from the great conflicts of the past—as for example that between Islam and Christendom—is that the two coalitions possess nuclear weapons. These weapons differ from all other weapons, even those used as recently as the second World War, in that they carry with them not only a greater quantity of violence, but violence of a radically different order and kind.

In the wars of the pre-nuclear age—which ended with the bomb on Hiroshima—a victorious power was an organized state which could impose its terms on the vanquished...

BUT after a full nuclear exchange—such as the United States and the Soviet Union are now capable of—there might well be over 100,000,000 dead. After the destruction of the great urban centers of the Northern Hemisphere, with the contamination of the earth, the water and the air, there would be no such recovery as we have known after the two World Wars...

A war of that kind would not be followed by reconstruction; it would not be followed by a Marshall Plan and by a new NATO. It would be followed by a savage struggle for existence as the survivors crawled out of their cellars, and all the democracies would have to be converted into military dictatorships in order to keep some semblance of order...

If anyone wishes to understand the American position in the Cuban crisis and the American attitude towards military power in the world today, he must remember that responsible Americans do not dare to forget the reality of the nuclear age...

BECAUSE nuclear weapons mean mutual suicide, the paramount rule of policy in this age is that, as between the nuclear powers, there can be no important change in the status quo brought about by the threat of force or by the use of force. They cannot use nuclear war, as war has been used in the past, as an instrument of national policy. The Cuban affair has much to teach us about the nature of diplomacy in the nuclear age...

President Kennedy was able to prevail because having the power to achieve a limited objective, he had the wisdom to narrow his objective to what he had the power to achieve.

Thus, he had the power to deter the Soviet Union from attempting to break the blockade by Soviet naval action and by the threat of Soviet nuclear missiles. But the President himself could not use America's nuclear power to bring about the overthrow of Castro and the liquidation of a Communist regime in Cuba.

It was manifestly unthinkable to use nuclear weapons against Cuba. They had no relevance to the Cuban problem. It would have been an incalculable risk to invade and occupy Cuba at the risk of retaliatory military action against Berlin—action which could have escalated into nuclear war.

WHAT the President did was to adopt limited objectives which could be achieved by limited means. He demanded the removal of the Soviet strategic missiles. He did not demand the removal of the Castro regime or even of the Cuban defensive missiles.

The President was able to achieve the objectives to which he limited himself. Soviet nuclear power was neutralized by American nuclear power, and in the Cuban area, the United States had overwhelming land, sea and air forces which were quite capable of destroying or capturing the Soviet missiles...

Finally, and decisively, the United States, which had overall nuclear and conventional superiority around Cuba, was careful to avoid the ultimate catastrophic mistake of nuclear diplomacy, which would be to surround the adversary and leave him no way to retreat.

WASHINGTON did not forget that while nuclear war would be suicidal lunacy, it is an ever present possibility. Nuclear war will not be prevented by fear of nuclear war. For, however lunatic it might be to commit suicide, a great power—if it is cornered, if all the exits are barred, if it is forced to choose between suicide and unconditional surrender—is likely to go to war.

This is one of the facts of life in the middle of the Twentieth Century... and it is a fact which must be given weight in the calculation of national policy.

It is a fact that was kept constantly in mind in the calculation of our Cuban policy... Those who do not understand the nature of war in the nuclear age; those who think that war today is what war was in the past, regard those careful attempts of statesmen not to carry provocation beyond the tolerable limits as weakness and softness and appeasement.

There are a good many people in the West who do not understand the nuclear age, and they are forever charging us with appeasement... But prudence in seeking not to drive your opponent into a corner is not weakness and softness and appeasement. It is sanity and common sense and a due regard for human life...

"I Can't Come Out And Riot Tonight—I Got To Study Civics"



Strictly Personal

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

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

People keep confusing — sometimes purposely — authors with their characters and quote a statement by the character as proof that the author is expressing his own view.

One of the most common examples of this perversion is the phrase, "What's in a name?" Shakespeare is supposed to have said this — but actually it was said by a 14-year-old girl named Juliet, who knew little about the world, and less about semantics.

There is a great deal in a name; sometimes there is everything in a name. A rose might smell as sweet if it were called a peffleburger, but it wouldn't be mentioned in so many poems and songs.

During the last war, for instance, that inimitable phrase-maker, Winston Churchill, in a radio broadcast rechristened the Local Defense Volunteers the Home Guard. Now "Local Defense Volunteers" is a cumbersome bureaucratic name with no emotional appeal; "Home Guard" stiffened every Briton's spine and made him proud to be a member of it.

Likewise, it was a stroke of inspiration to call it the Peace Corps. Had it been called the Overseas Technical and Medical Aid Association, it would not have captured the imagination of so many young people.

Hitler shrewdly recognized the value of a name when he changed his from Schickelgruber; and Stalin (meaning "man of steel") was a dramatic improvement over the clumsy and polysyllabic name the Russian dictator was born with, "Trotsky" was also an effective nom de guerre.

Most propaganda thrives on the judicious use of "colored" name. If literal, factual, accurate words were used to describe political positions and principles, the masses could hardly be roused from their torpor every quadrennium. It takes slogans, catch-words, and phrases loaded with bias to stir the electorate out of its customary apathy.

Ironically enough, the very word propaganda is a glaring instance of how much is in a name. "Propaganda" began life as a most respectable word; it is from the Latin, and signifies a college instituted by Pope Urban VIII in the 17th century to educate priests for missions.

Originally, it meant educating for the propagation of the faith. But in time the word "propaganda" itself took on an evil and ugly connotation; when we say, "That's only propaganda," we are giving a disreputable name to something quite useful and necessary — namely, the propagating of a belief by its adherents.

The word "dogma" has suffered the same verbal fate; it means merely a code of tenets or opinions — but calling our adversary "dogmatic" is a means of rebuffing him without refuting his arguments.

In the Day's News

By FRANK JENKINS

From New Delhi: India and Pakistan agree to seek an end to their bitter quarrel over Kashmir. The agreement will concentrate Indian military forces to concentrate on the Himalayan border conflict with Red China.

The agreement with Pakistan for a resumption of the negotiations over Kashmir will strengthen India's hand in the event that the Chinese resume their invasion of India, which was halted by the recent Chinese cease-fire.

Indian forces are being galled out from the Pakistani border and concentrated on the Himalayan front.

QUESTION: How did the ruckus over Kashmir get started?

It's a long story. It began back in 1947, when the British gave up their control over their Indian Empire. Out of that came partition of India between the Hindu-controlled Republic of India and the Moslem-controlled Dominion of Pakistan.

In that division, the Hindu maharaja of Kashmir turned Kashmir over to Hindu India. Its population, however was overwhelmingly Moslem. Hindu India naturally defended the deal that turned Kashmir over to her. Even since then, India has kept strong military forces on the Kashmir border.

Pakistan has concentrated correspondingly heavy forces on the west border of Kashmir to defend her claim to the area.

WHAT has happened is that, facing the threat of Red Chinese seizure of ALL of Kashmir, Pakistan and India have finally agreed to join forces to stand off the Communist Chinese threat.

That's the story in a nutshell.

SO MUCH for a big tragedy. Let's now turn our attention

tion a minor tragedy—but a tragedy, just the same. It is described in this dispatch from Washington:

FINDING his favorite lizard-hunting grounds taken for housing projects, 7-year-old Scott Peter Turner of San Diego took his pen in hand the other day and protested to President Kennedy. He embodied his protest in this hand-printed letter:

"Dear Mr. President: 'We have no place to go when we want to go out in the canyon, because they are going to build houses there. Could you set aside some land where we could play? Thank you for listening. 'Love, Scott'

SCOTT'S father, in an accompanying note, said his son had gone to some previously open land to hunt lizards, only to find that one area was occupied by a field restricted to ORGANIZED PLAY, and the canyon had been pre-empted by home construction. The father added:

"In building our progressive world of supervised play and sterilized playthings, we seem to have forgotten that a youth needs trees and frogs and earth with ants in it... It's nostalgically sad when, in an era of seemingly intellectual advancement and highly civilized progress a little boy can't find a place to play!"

IT IS, indeed.

But, that's what happens when everybody in a whole big country WANTS TO LIVE IN ONE PLACE—which is what is happening in Southern California.

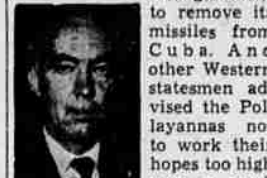
About all I can think of to suggest to Scott is that he come up here where there are places that are still wide open.

Come on, son. We'll do our best for you.

Foreign News: Optimism for Declining Tensions Fades; French Cabinet Slated

By PHIL NEWSOM UPI Foreign News Analyst Notes from the Foreign news cables:

Declining Optimism President Kennedy warned Americans not to become overly-optimistic over the Soviet agreement to remove its missiles from Cuba. A number of other Western statesmen advised the Pol-lyannas not to work their hopes too high over a possible change of heart by the Kremlin after Cuba. Now the realities are beginning to sink in. Indications reaching Western capitals from Moscow in the wake of Nikita Khrushchev's Cuban backdown show no inclination so far on the part of the Soviets to make any noteworthy concessions. In Geneva, too, the Russians to date have remained as unyielding as ever on disarmament and a nuclear test ban. The only noteworthy development at present is the absence of any



real pressure for a Berlin settlement, and even on this one Moscow gently needed the West again last week in notes to Washington, London and Paris. Khrushchev still may be making up his mind on the next phase of the cold war and how it is to be pursued. But the optimists who have predicted a new era of good will in Soviet diplomacy are beginning to be less optimistic.

French Government

The word from Paris is that French Premier Georges Pompidou's new government to be announced Dec. 6 is unlikely to show any startling changes. Key posts such as those of foreign minister, interior and finance will be filled by the same men who held them before a rebellious parliament toppled the government and forced President De Gaulle to go to the people for an overwhelming electoral victory.

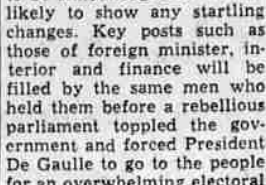
Guerrilla Warriors

A couple of months ago, heavy weather forced a strange rubber-flootilla into a remote corner of Hong Kong.

Abroad were 44 young Chinese men in top physical condition, expertly trained in guerrilla warfare and carrying a full complement of portable weapons. Their original destination had been the coast of Red China. But for the unexpected storm, these nationalist Chinese agents would have wreaked their havoc on the Communists and the world would have been none the wiser.

THE REMEDY

Washington — The American foreign aid program needs a hard-boiled examination of a sort it has never had before.



White ordinary as this sounds, it requires now to undergo a clinical probe from among its enemies, who will look at its faults more in anger than in sorrow.

Drummond Reports

(Walter Lippmann is in Europe. Roscoe Drummond reports from Washington in his absence.) (c) 1962 New York Herald Tribune Inc.

HOW KENNEDY STANDS IN EUROPE

London — There is new respect, trust, and reliance for the United States throughout Western Europe today. If Western Europe's political leaders and people — except the Communists — were called upon to register a vote today, John F. Kennedy would be elected head of the free world alliance.

It would be a clear verdict, a decisive vote of confidence in the President of the United States — not just because the U. S. has the power to lead, but because of the wise and effective use of that power.

This is the visible fruit of the President's confrontation of Khrushchev over Cuba, which most of Europe feared when it began, but which it now welcomes with a huge satisfaction and lift.

The effect of this new attitude, evident wherever I have been travelling — in London, Paris, Bonn, Berlin — is to give Mr. Kennedy larger latitude for initiative and action — if he wants to use it.

There are two reasons why leadership opinion and public opinion have a new degree, a very marked new degree, of trust in the President.

He used American power prudently and called into use no more force than was needed.

It was successful.

The Europeans liked it. They respected it. There is now a remarkable increase of confidence in the President.

THAT wasn't true at the beginning of the Cuban blockade — except in West Germany and in West Berlin where the almost universal reaction was "At last."

It was particularly not true in Britain where the government was cautious and non-committal immediately after the President's Oct. 22 speech and where the London press, with the single exception of Lord Beaverbrook's Daily Express, was wringing its hands and crying, "Oh, dear, don't do this to us!"

But the change in British press opinion was almost equally total. It is revealing to note how sharp and complete that change was — once it became clear that America's resolute confrontation was causing a Soviet retreat.

Before Khrushchev capitu-

lated, the Daily Telegraph (Conservative) said that the presence of offensive Soviet weapons in Cuba was "not enough" to allow the U. S. to take the world to the brink. After Khrushchev backed down, it said: "The great thing is that we are now back from the brink and this we owe to the power of the United States and the persistence of its President."

The first response of the Daily Mail (Conservative) was to call the President's action a "profound mistake," but later, as Khrushchev was stepping back, it concluded that the blockade was "justified and inevitable unless the President was to shirk his responsibilities."

Before Khrushchev recoiled, the Guardian (Liberal) declared there was "no shred of excuse" for what the U. S. did to the Soviets in Cuba, but after Khrushchev recoiled it found there was a difference between NATO bases in Turkey and Soviet missiles in Cuba.

For a week the Tribune (far-Left Labor) attacked the American action and later candidly and handsomely admitted that it was wrong.

And so it went with 98 per cent of the British press, at the outset bemoaning the risk and the praising its success.

Communications

Letters to the Editor must bear the name and address of the writer, although under certain circumstances the use of a pen name or initial for publication is permissible. The Mail Tribune reserves the right to edit all letters with a view to clarification and condensation. Letters submitted for publication must not exceed 400 words. The letters printed in this column do not necessarily represent the views of the paper; in fact the contrary is often the case.

Shelter for Animals To the Editor: With the coming of cold and often freezing weather, owners of, and those responsible for, animals are particularly warned that local law requires that such animals be provided with shelter that is both proper and adequate. This means warm, dry and sufficiently large.

Penalties for disregard of this law are 60 days in jail, or \$100 fine, or both. This abomination — for many of these animals are smooth-coated dogs, short-chained day and night and therefore unable to keep warm through exercise — is the result of either a sad lack of humane education or just plain indifference.

Many of the victims are hunting dogs who, in common decency, deserve better treatment considering their services to their owners.

If you see such neglect, first warn — wait a few days for improvement, then report the case to the Humane Society or to the police. Please!

Ethel L. Marley Rogue Valley Manor Medford.

Fair Criticized To the Editor: On Dec. 4 the State Fair Commission has scheduled a meeting, presumably to discuss storm damage, future policies, budget, and who is to be next year's feature entertainer.

Ursel Narver, Commission Chairman, has recently made some interesting remarks in the Salem Statesman's "Safety Valve." He sounds a little like someone who believes that once he has said something on any subject, little or nothing more remains to be said on the subject.

I believe that a great deal more might be said. The statute creating the fair is outdated and in many ways, is plain foolish. It presumes, and in 1962 mind you, that Ore-

gon's nearly two million people are uneducated, unsophisticated, and more than a little bit back-woods. Nothing good can be farther from the truth.

Enough has been said about the potato peelers, parimutual, massage chairs and general flim, so I needn't go into that here. The Commission last year put close to one hundred thousand dollars into the most uninspired fair building I have seen anywhere on earth, little realizing that the same materials, labor and paint, could, with imagination build an interesting structure — even for horse viewing.

If, as Mr. Narver has said, the Commission welcomes comments and suggestions for improvements, I would like to make the following general ones:

1-Get active, experienced people to get out and promote all phases of the fair the year round.

2-Find some younger people with timely ideas. Believe it or not, fresh ideas cost no more than stale ones.

3-Gear to a competitive basis with other selling and entertainment attractions.

4-Offer greater incentives for professional people and large firms to display.

5-Get rid of the idea that once you have seen the fair, you needn't go again, or that it's just Salem's fair, not the State of Oregon.



NATIONAL EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION MEMBER

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

10 YEARS AGO Dec. 3, 1952 (Tuesday) University of Oregon Football Coach Len Casanova was the featured speaker at a banquet honoring team last night. Sustained winds of 25 to 30 miles per hour, with gusts up to 40 miles per hour, were reported in the Rogue valley by the weather bureau today.

20 YEARS AGO Dec. 3, 1942 (Wednesday) Sheriff Syd L. Brown announces local law officers will enforce war time speed regulations calling for maximum of 35 miles an hour. From Arthur Perry's "Ye Smudge Pot" column: "A questionnaire four feet long was brought to light by Congress this week. The same day a federal bureau proposed the size of newspapers be reduced to save paper."

30 YEARS AGO Dec. 3, 1932 (Friday) Residents of east Medford requested to donate one article of clothing to be given to persons less fortunate than they are. Medford Salvation Army moves from old Methodist church at Fourth and Bartlett sts. to former site of miniature golf course at 32 South Bartlett st.

40 YEARS AGO Dec. 3, 1922 (Saturday) Prohibition enforcement in Jackson county during November 1922, costs \$809. President W. Judson Oldfield calls annual meeting of Southern Oregon Chautauqua association in Ashland.

50 YEARS AGO Dec. 3, 1912 (Monday) Army officer appears before Medford city council to request a appropriation of \$1,000 to be used to help cover cost of armory seating 3,000 persons.

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

- 1. What is a Gatling gun? 2. What President of the U.S. broke the precedent forbidding the chief executive to leave the country while in office? 3. Of what two metals is bronze an alloy? 4. Which has the greater number of bones in its skeletal structure, an adult or child? 5. From what plant is heroin made? 6. Under what range of mountains is the Simpson tunnel? 7. What American city was nearly destroyed by natural calamity in 1906? 8. What famous character in literature signed a contract with the devil? 9. What instrument is played by the "concert master" of a symphony orchestra? 10. What is the English name for Paternoster?

Answers: 1. Early type machine gun. 2. Woodrow Wilson. 3. Copper and tin. 4. Child — some later fuse together. 5. Opium poppy. 6. Alps — 64,971 ft. long. 7. San Francisco. 8. Faust. 9. First violin. 10. Our Father — The Lord's Prayer.