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Rockefeller's Attack

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who has suffered a drastic loss of political popularity since his divorce and remarriage, may have succeeded, at least in part, in offsetting the loss by means of his blunt and outspoken attack on the "radical right lunatic fringe."

His attack may have diverted attention from his purely domestic affairs, and back again where it belongs—to the real political and moral issues of the day.

He has joined such prominent Republican figures as Sen. Thomas Kuchel and Gov. Mark Hatfield in declaring that the extremists of the right are "every bit as dangerous to American principles and American institutions as the radical left."

GOVERNOR Rockefeller set forth six "articles of faith" which he said are fundamental to the traditions of the Republican party, and have always been found in the consensus of its responsible members. These, he said, are:

- 1. Unswerving dedication to the preservation of our own freedom and the extension of freedom throughout the world through a firm, resolute and positive foreign policy.
2. Equality of opportunity for a better life for all Americans regardless of economic status, geographic location, race, creed, color or national origin.
3. Faith in our federal system of government as the best assurance of freedom and equal opportunity and as the only hope of keeping democratic government close to the people and responsive to their will.
4. Faith in the private enterprise system as the dynamic, creative base for social progress in a free society and of freedom of individual initiative without which men cannot be really free or equal.
5. Faith in the fundamental importance of fiscal integrity in government as the indispensable political base for economic growth and the vitally needed expansion of job opportunities.
6. Faith in our heritage of freedom of speech and of information and in the right and need of the people to know all the facts on the issues confronting them as essential to the preservation of a free society.

THESE principles are now in danger of subversion from the radical right, as they have been from the left, the Governor stated.

The radicals of the right, he said, "have no program . . . except distrust, disunity and the ultimate destruction of the confidence of the people in themselves. They are purveyors of hate and distrust in a time when, as never before, the need of the world is for love and understanding."

He also hit at the "tactics of totalitarianism," employed by the extremists in taking control of the recent San Francisco convention of the Young Republicans: "ruthless, rough-shod intimidation."

IN RECENT months there has been proposed a Republican strategem which involves "writing off" the cities, the industrial north, and the minority groups, and wooing the south and the mid-west.

"The transparent purpose behind this plan," Governor Rockefeller stated, "is to erect political power on the outlawed and immoral base of segregation and to transform the Republican party from a national party of all the people to a sectional party for some of the people."

And this, he added, "would be an act of political immorality rarely equalled in human history." It "would in and of itself not only defeat the Republican party in 1964, but would destroy it altogether."

THE reaction to this biting denunciation has been predictably shrill. Though he is not mentioned by name in the statement, Sen. Barry Goldwater is identified with the "southern approach" strategy, and it is balantly obvious that the statement was shot off in his direction and that of his followers.

The Oregon Draft Goldwater Committee got out a press release, the gist of which was that Rockefeller had only hurt himself, and was not contributing to the party unity for which he called.

This may be, but we would judge that the vast majority of thinking Republicans, confronted with Rockefeller's declaration, could do no less than agree with all or much of it.

IT WOULD be interesting to know what combination of motivations finally persuaded the New York governor to come out swinging. Undoubtedly his descent in popularity had something to do with it.

But on reading the rather lengthy statement, we were struck (as was Walter Lippmann) with its evident sincerity and honesty. We are convinced that the Governor meant exactly what he said; that he is indeed concerned with the possible ravages from the far right; that the threatened subversion of his party is a real danger, and that he feels he must speak out against it.

IT WILL be another year before we can assess the full impact of Governor Rockefeller's domestic affairs and of this statement, which has been widely interpreted as both a declaration of his own candidacy and an attempt to slow down Goldwater by exposing the crass opportunism of the "southern strategem."

It is far too early to count Rockefeller out of the race. As has been demonstrated in a number of instances, personal vagaries do not of themselves defeat candidates. And we do not expect any substantial number of Republicans to buy the Goldwater line.

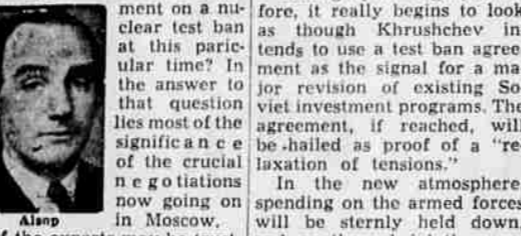
Also, it occurs to us that, whatever his motives, Rockefeller has done his party a service by outlining principles and pointing out fallacies. —E.A.

Wall-To-Wall Under-The-Carpeting



Matter of Fact By Joseph Alsop

Washington—Why is Nikita S. Khrushchev so particularly anxious for agreement on a nuclear test ban at this particular time?



one-generals any more than a prospect of a limited test ban. Adding up the signs, therefore, it really begins to look as though Khrushchev intends to use a test ban agreement as the signal for a major revision of existing Soviet investment programs. The agreement, if reached, will be hailed as proof of a "relaxation of tensions."

IN the new atmosphere, spending on the armed forces will be sternly held down, and another shrink-the-army drive may even be launched. Meanwhile, massive investments will be diverted to more productive purposes. Above all, a serious effort will at last be made to solve the root-problem of Soviet economy, which is the weakness of Soviet agriculture.

SUCH is the current projection. If this projection is correct, and above all, if the revised investment priorities produce the desired results, this development will have enormous significance.

After Stalin's death, the U. S. policy-makers found themselves quite suddenly dealing with a different KIND of U. S. S. R.—though not, one must add, a U. S. S. R. that was invariably easier to deal with. A great shift in investment priorities, leading even as far as a semi-abolition of the Soviet farm problem, will produce another, quite comparable change in the Soviet Union.

What will such a change profit us? The answer to that question comes in two parts. On the one hand, a more rational, much more productive Soviet economy will certainly create some grave problems for us. But on the other hand, it is well to remember that Mao's China actively desires a thermo-nuclear war, or so the Soviets say; whereas Khrushchev's Russia plainly does not want a thermo-nuclear war. In other words, fat enemies are indeed to be preferred to enemies made vicious by hunger. Hence the change that may now be coming in the Soviet Union will not be pure, undiluted profit, but it will still offer us real hope of net profit.

FOR reasons which are still mysterious, this Kremlin crisis is now ended with Khrushchev more completely in the saddle than at any time in some years. In a recent speech at the Soviet War College, the Defense Minister, Marshal Rodion Malinovsky, previously a leader of the opposition and perhaps in danger of losing his job for that very reason, actually went out of his way to salute Khrushchev as "commander-in-chief of the armed forces." There have been other signs. Not the least of these signs is the simple fact that Khrushchev has renewed serious negotiations for a nuclear test ban, which the marshals and colonel-generals do not want, and has done so, moreover, by placing the negotiations on a new basis which the Soviets in the past have always ferociously rejected.

Also worth noting is the fact that Khrushchev has suddenly begun to talk about tripling the output of chemical fertilizers in two years' time. This is a vast project which cannot possibly be seriously attempted without cutting other investment programs. It seems to doom the defense increases.

FOR another thing, there are all sorts of indications that the Kremlin is giving real consideration to a complete withdrawal of the Soviet garrison in Hungary. This is another move which cannot please the marshals and col-

GREAT IDEAS... From the Great Books By Mortimer J. Adler



Dear Dr. Adler: In one of your past columns, the writer asked about medical care for the aged. This brought to mind the attitude of civilization today, that of a welfare state in which the state or society is responsible for the welfare of the individual. It seems to me that the state is assuming too much work which formerly rested upon the individual. What do the great thinkers have to say about the responsibility of the state? Do you lean more in favor of the welfare state or more toward the state where the individual is more on his own?

Robert Black Jr., 14 Pleasant Street, Fort Kent, Maine

Dear Mr. Black: If we look back only at the past three centuries of political thought and practice, we may see how new the welfare state is, and yet how it grew out of the ideas of past thinkers. In the 16th and 17th centuries, for instance, Hobbes and Locke saw the state as a police power, exercising necessary restraints on individuals to assure the common good. For Hobbes, the welfare assured by the state was safety of life and limb—the peace and order of civilized society.

Locke differed from Hobbes in his emphasis on individual goods and rights, rather than on the good and power of the collective whole. It is the "life, liberty, and property" of individuals that must be secured, not only from the deprivations of other individuals, but also from the state. For Locke, the locus of happiness in society is the individual person and his activity, especially his economic activity. In his view, government exists to insure that men may pursue such useful pursuits without being frustrated or robbed, and thereby it

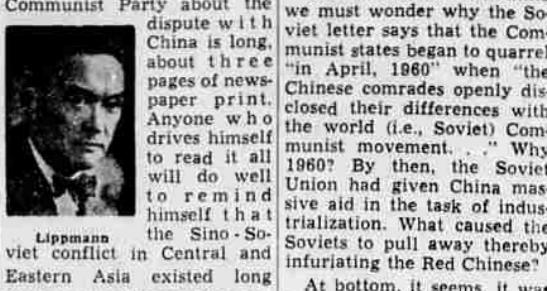
achieves the general welfare. Hobbes, however, insisted that the state must support those who are no longer productive members of society. The poor laws in England, which provided relief to those out of work, put this principle into practice. And on the Continent, Rousseau objected to Locke's theory of the state as biased on the side of the propertied classes and against the unprotected. He asserted that it is a basic function of government "to prevent extreme inequalities of fortune."



"Kids nowadays seem to enjoy banding together to defy the law. 'Course, seeing governors and whole states do it doesn't help!"

Today & Tomorrow By Walter Lippmann

MR. K. AND THE CHINESE The letter of the Soviet Central Committee of the Communist Party about the dispute with China is long, about three pages of newspaper print. Anyone who drives himself to read it will do well to remind himself that the Sino-Soviet conflict in Central and Eastern Asia existed long before either country became Communist. The conflict existed when the Romanovs and the Manchus were in power. For Russia and China have long had conflicting vital interests. The Russian empire pushed eastward to the Pacific; the Chinese empire pushed northward into Man-



churia and toward Siberia. This conflict is still unresolved. Unless we bear this in mind we must wonder why the Soviet letter states that the Communist states began to quarrel "in April, 1960" when "the Chinese comrades openly disclosed their differences with the world (i.e., Soviet) Communist movement." Why 1960? By then, the Soviet Union had given China massive aid in the task of industrialization. What caused the Soviets to pull away thereby infuriating the Red Chinese?

At bottom, it seems, it was because Mr. Khrushchev recognized that the old and basic conflict was manifesting itself in China as a willingness, perhaps even as a will, to precipitate a war between the Soviet Union and the United States. The letter quotes a horrifying-reckless statement approved by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party which welcomes a thermonuclear war: "On the ruins of destroyed imperialism, the victorious peoples will create with tremendous speed a civilization a thousand times higher than under the capitalist system."

THE Soviet letter, which at this point is surely straight Khrushchev, remarks, "It is permissible to ask the Chinese comrades if they realize what sort of 'ruins' a world nuclear-rocket war would leave behind."

Here is the crucial issue between Peking and Moscow. The issue is whether a war would be acceptable or intolerable, indeed desirable or disastrous. The Red Chinese who profess to regard nuclear war as so tolerable that it need not be avoided, so desirable that it might profitably be provoked, have not yet been able to understand the actual nature and the revolutionary consequences of nuclear weapons. The most important thing in the Soviet letter is the elaborate demonstrations of how well Khrushchev realizes that the existence of nuclear weapons has changed radically the problem of revolution and reform.

An understanding of the intolerable nature of nuclear war—which could be catastrophic alike for capitalism and communism—is what impels Kennedy and Khrushchev to seek an understanding. The two governments which make and own nuclear weapons know better than anyone else the infernal character of nuclear weapons. It is ignorance of the true nature of nuclear war which creates the opposition in both alliances.

About Cuba, for example: Khrushchev's argument with the Chinese is substantially the same as Kennedy's with Sen. Barry Goldwater. Both Kennedy and Khrushchev are accused of cowardly caution. They were wrong, say their respective critics, to be cautious when, says Goldwater, the Soviets never have fought a nuclear war; when, say the Chinese, the Americans are a paper tiger.

Migrant Labor Camp Sanitation Improved

Salem—Sanitation at farm migrant labor camps has "improved tremendously" this year, a State Bureau of Labor spokesman said Friday. A. W. Gardner, farm division inspector of the farm labor camps, praised farmers for their cooperation in the sanitation efforts.

Caution, Hope Mixed in Russian Talks

By ERIC SEVAREID Highly advertised—if not high—hopes have gone with Mr. Averell Harriman to Moscow. They are hopes for an ending to the cold war with the Soviet Union, in fact if not in spirit, by agreeing to cease nuclear testing. Mr. Khrushchev cannot control the Chinese in this or any other realm and Mr. Harriman cannot control the French. But each man is in remarkable control of himself, and it should be an interesting exercise for this reason if no other.



As one American ambassador said to this writer, "If the Russians are going to have Averell leaning on them all summer, God help them!" No Soviet negotiator is likely to out-wait or out-stare the former New York governor, whose nature was clearly designed for private diplomacy, never for public politics. This stony, somewhat humorless American possesses that rare combination, pliantly doggedness along with highly sensitive antennae. And should he come home with an agreement which many would take as the symbolic ending of the cold war, there would be a certain historic aptness in the phenomenon.

It was Harriman in 1945 who was among the first Americans, if not, indeed, the first, to understand absolutely that a cold war was on and what it would mean for this generation. At every point where our people were negotiating with Russians, at the end of the war, a plate glass window suddenly came down between us and them. We could see them; we could not reach them. One night Harriman walked out of the opera in Moscow and unexpectedly found himself beside Maxim Litvinov, then already slipping into obscurity. Harriman asked one quick question: "What can we do?" Litvinov whispered one short answer, "It is useless. You can do nothing. The decision has been taken." And he hurried ahead. . . . It was only months later, with Stalin's speech of February, 1948, proclaiming the iron policy of concentrating on heavy industry for armaments rather than on consumer goods for his naked and despoiled people, that most of us understood, with sinking heart, that the fruits of peace would be bitter fruit. These who are now not only halting with the end of the cold war but saying it was a phony war from the beginning, precipitated and prolonged by American hostility as much as by the Russians, had better go back and study this period again. Thirty short years after the Bolshevik revolution, there lay the promise of Lenin before their eyes; capitalist Europe in ruins; capitalist America withdrawing her power; colonialism cracking everywhere in Asia with Africa clearly to follow. Of course Stalin thought the time had come to press the Communist advantage. It was the Soviets and no one else who precipitated a cold war. If they understand that they cannot pursue it any longer, save by indirect subversion in outlying places, that is all to the good—at least until they re-veal their price for peace, something about which the Germans will have much to say. . . . At this stage, perhaps all one can say is that we no longer confront one, general cold war against Communism, but two very different cold wars. One against Russia, the other against China, and the latter may well prove to be much more dangerous than the former. For we face the established church of Communism in the first instance and the church militant in the second. One might put it this way—with the Russians we face what can be called "cold peace." That is, a situation in which both sides talk as if they are at peace, without formally ratifying the peace.

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 July 21, 1953 (Tuesday) District attorney plans to present to the grand jury the results of his investigation of the death of a 62-year-old Camp White member, who died after spending 41 hours in the city jail without medical attention.

20 YEARS AGO July 21, 1943 (Tuesday) Plans announced for 26-unit two story apartment house on North Ivy st. to cost \$155,000. From Arthur Perry's "Ye Smudge Pot" column: "Hard liquor continues that way to get hereabouts. The thirsty are spitting cotton, and if the drought keeps up, predict they will turn into a cactus."

30 YEARS AGO July 21, 1933 (Thursday) N. R. Walters elected first commander of local DAV post. Work ready to start on Fourth st. railroad crossing.

40 YEARS AGO July 21, 1923 (Friday) Spark from threshing machine destroys grain on Jack Garrett farm. Babe Ruth hits 22nd homer of season.

50 YEARS AGO July 21, 1913 (Sunday) Superintendent at Crater Lake National park is forcibly ejected. Fire destroys fish market on North Fir st.

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

1. Does the wombat most nearly resemble a small bear, a bat, or a bird?
2. Thomas Jefferson's likeness is depicted on two different kinds of U.S. money; what are they?
3. Are olives classed as fruits, or vegetables?
4. In football, how many points are scored by a field goal?
5. The German autobahn is a road where automobiles are banned, a highway, or an automatic elevator?
6. Was the Battle of Shiloh a part of the Revolutionary, Civil, or Spanish-American War?
7. Nitroglycerin, the explosive, is sometimes used medicinally; true or false?
8. At how many years interval is the Holy Year celebrated by the Catholic church?
9. To block one's view of the full moon would you need to use a silver dollar, half dollar, or dime held at arm's length?
10. Cattle have four stomachs; true or false?
Answers: 1. Small bear. 2. Two dollar bill and nickel. 3. Fruits. 4. Three points. 5. Highways. 6. Civil. 7. True. 8. 25. 9. Dime. 10. True.

NO SECRETS STOLEN Washington—Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara said Friday that no current U.S. military secrets have been stolen in the recent wave of international spy cases.