



THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

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Editorial Book Review

Dick Nixon: The Man And The Myth

RICHARD NIXON: A Political And Personal Portrait. By Earl Mazo. Harper, 309 pp. \$3.95.

An acquaintance of ours, a knowledgeable conservative of considerable political sophistication, was discussing Richard Nixon with us the other day. The vice president had just made a speech in New York and had said some things with which our friend heartily agreed.

"But, you know," he confided.
"What?" we asked.
"I just can't stand that man."
"Why?"
"That's the whole trouble. I don't know why—and it bothers me."

It was a strange admission, and wholly unlike our friend. Yet it is a familiar reaction to the most intractable complex and perhaps the most misunderstood man on the American political scene.

Earl Mazo, a former South Carolina newspaperman who has been national political correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune since 1955, has probed deeper into the riddle of Richard Nixon than any other journalist. He has examined his career with infinite care, sifted fact from fiction, pumped the vice president's friends and enemies alike, explored every imaginable crevice of his personal life and turned up wheelbarrows of new and fascinating information. A recognizable, wholly believable portrait emerges—clearer and fairer by far than any the nation has ever had of Mr. Nixon. Yet, amazingly, some of the enigma remains. And that bothers us, too.

As Earl Mazo points out, complexity of character is not unusual among important public men. But Mr. Nixon is singularly complex, "a paradoxical combination of qualities that bring to mind Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Joe McCarthy." It is this combination that is both his strength and his weakness. It gives him the marvelous flexibility of mind and spirit to alternate easily between high statesmanship and bare-knuckle political brawling. But the conflicting images of the "two Nixons" have both confused and disturbed many Americans who may well be called upon to determine his political future in 1960.

The task of discovering the whole man behind the headlines is all the more difficult because both Mr. Nixon and his career have been subjected to exaggerations. Many of his enemies would like to dismiss him, as Adlai Stevenson once did, as "McCarthyism in a white collar." But any real resemblance between Mr. Nixon and the bumbling hatchman from Wisconsin is too slight to contemplate seriously. At the same time, many of his rightwing friends like to think of him as an arch conservative. He is indeed a conservative but one with a practical yardstick—and, incidentally, with remarkably unconservative approaches to such questions as international relations, civil rights and certain areas of social and economic concern. His innate tendencies are probably less conservative than Eisenhower's.

At the end of his excellent book, Mr. Mazo gives his readers a rare and candid view of the current political philosophy of the vice president. It was prepared during the course of two dozen interviews between November 1957 and January 1959 and is presented in the first person, without interpretive comment. This section alone is worth the price of admission because, in simple, conversational style, it presents the frankest expressions ever recorded of Mr. Nixon's ideas on a number of lively topics.

But, to most readers, the meat of the book will be found in the absorbing accounts of the many political crises in



Richard Nixon

the life of this strange and wholly unique public figure.

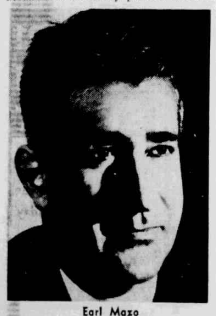
Mr. Mazo retells the story of the young Californian's buzzsaw tactics against Rep. Jerry Voorhis in 1945, including his controversial observations about "lip-service Americans" and public officials "who front for un-American elements."

There is a somewhat sketchy but painstakingly fair account of the Alger Hiss case which catapulted Mr. Nixon to national fame. The vigorous senatorial campaign between Mr. Nixon and Helen Gahagan Douglas is documented in more detail. As Mr. Mazo notes, nothing in the litany of reprehensible conduct charged against Mr. Nixon as a campaigner has been cited more than the tactics by which he defeated Mrs. Douglas for the Senate. Mr. Mazo's account is important because it puts the episode in impartial perspective—something that has been lost over the years. For one thing, the Democrats themselves had worked Mrs. Douglas over with the issues of communism and subversion in a primary fight before the Republicans took her on. For another, both the Nixon and Douglas camps were guilty of atrociously shabby tactics. According to Mr. Mazo, "the most notable difference was in the adroitness and calmness with which Nixon and his people executed their hyperbole and innuendo." For whatever reasons—perhaps because Mrs. Douglas and her friends were less blasé and more conscience-stricken by improprieties—when compared with the surgeons of the Nixon camp, Mrs. Douglas' operators performed like apprentice butchers.

The book achieves a peak of excitement in the two chapters dealing with the "Nixon Fund" during the 1952 Eisenhower-Nixon campaign. Mr. Mazo captures all of the drama and emotion of the story, taking his readers right backstage to view the anguished actors in this strange and remarkable political melodrama at close quarters. It is a remarkable feat of reconstruction and represents political reporting at its best. This was the episode that ended in the celebrated "Checkers" television speech, an incredibly schmaltzy appeal to sentimentality that nevertheless saved Mr. Nixon's career at a crucial moment. "In retrospect," writes Mr. Mazo, "the affair was bad for Nixon. The people who remember it most vividly thought it was horrible. The Democrats and Nixon's Republican enemies have kept the embers aglow. Much of the 'I don't like Nixon, but don't know why' talk stems from the incident. But if it were for the immediate impact of that speech Nixon probably would have been done for and Eisenhower might have lost."

Mr. Mazo handles the somewhat paler events in Mr. Nixon's career—the attempted coddling of McCarthy, the broken resolution to retire from politics in 1956, Stassen's "Dump Nixon" movement the same year, the crises over the President's health, the ill-fated South American "good will" tour with equal skill. There are also excellent discussions of the vital role the vice president has played in the administration and his growing stature and influence in the nation and in the world. Mr. Mazo also attempts to predict what kind of a president Richard Nixon would make, concluding that he would be a "strong president" in the tradition of the two Roosevelts, hard-driving, imaginative, forthright and, of course, controversial.

This is a fascinating and eminently fair study of a complex and controversial figure. If it fails to make an entirely understandable human being out of the vice president it is at least a noble and extremely valuable effort.



Earl Mazo

Tom Turner in "The American Scene... By Others"

MONKEY SEE, MONKEY DO

Jean-Rene Huguenin, in the French review "Arts," becomes indignant over America's mass culture. "The Americans are past masters of the art of popularization, or rather, the art of rendering vulgar," he cites condemnations of "War and Peace," and of "L'Education Sentimentale" as horrible examples. But, he sighs, "we've reached the point where we no longer protest against

American inventions. We're hardened to them. We tolerate the Reader's Digest and even are able to laugh at its silly candor."

What is really shocking, he says, is to see Europe with all her traditions, try to imitate the U. S.—"like those comfortably rich young boys who play Al Capone in the chic bars of the Champs-Élysées."

The Democrats' Defense Thrust Calls For A Parry

By WALTER LIPPMANN

WASHINGTON

Last week the Democratic Advisory Council issued a long pamphlet dealing with national defense. The worst thing that can be said about it is that it is sponsored by a political party, or rather by a faction of a political party, and that it will, therefore, be heavily discounted. This is a pity. For, disregarding a few unnecessary and outrageous phrases and phrases, the pamphlet deserves a very careful reading.

LARGE LITERATURE

There is a large literature already existing which is critical of our defense policy. Having read a good deal of it, I would venture to say that this pamphlet is much the best in its field, evidently quite expertly informed, reasonable and lucid in its temper, and lucidly written.

It ought not to be brushed aside as a partisan document. For, in fact, the argument it makes has the support of large numbers of Republicans,

especially of those who have paid close attention to the problem of defense, and of many of the military men who by common consent are leaders in military thought. Moreover, the pamphlet is not a Democratic Party document since there is no reason to think that the present Democratic leadership in Congress agrees with it.

TWO POINTS

The two main points of the pamphlet are familiar enough. The first one deals with the "missile gap" which, on the admission of Secretary McElroy, is likely to bring it about that in the next three years the U.S.S.R. will have an intercontinental ballistic missile supremacy of three to one. This could mean that during those years the U.S.S.R. would be theoretically capable of knocking out the bulk of our Strategic Air Force. The pamphlet does not say that the U.S.S.R. would, or is likely to, try for such a Pearl Harbor. But it is right in saying that the political relations between the

West and the Communist powers will be altered.

The other point, which is also familiar, is that defense cannot be allowed to depend solely on nuclear weapons—the big ones which are suicidal or the small ones which would be devastating to our allies and to the uncommitted countries.

The pamphlet contains a carefully reasoned and persuasive argument why expenditures should be increased to close the missile gap and to increase our conventional forces.

CANDOR

What interested me most in the pamphlet, given the fact that it was written under the auspices of Mr. Dean Acheson, was the illuminating candor with which it explains how

things have changed since the Truman administration. The critical change is this: our original strategy in NATO was based on our possession at the time of a monopoly of nuclear weapons. Under those conditions, a small ground force backed by the irresistible power of the Strategic Air Force was quite sufficient to hold in check the enormously superior masses of the Red Army.

Our monopoly was broken by the Soviets in 1949 and this has brought with it, as the USSR developed its bombs and its missiles, a radical change in the balance of power. We are far from being defenseless against this new might of the Soviet Union. But there is no doubt that our allies in Western Europe and our client states in Asia are far more vulner-

able than they were ten years ago. This could have serious political consequences, if "the missile gap" is allowed to become as wide as this country, which is the ultimate protector of the non-Communist world, becomes itself highly vulnerable.

REPLY NEEDED

No matter what it costs, this must not be allowed to happen. It would be a very useful thing if the administration issued a thoroughgoing, fully considered reply. This would not be easy to do because within the Pentagon and within the administration itself there are so many who agree with the pamphlet. But it would be a true public service if the President, who does not agree, would see to it that there was a reply.

People's Platform

New School Bonds Would Rush Things

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

May I ask a few questions through your esteemed newspaper? Why do we home-owners need to increase the school tax to 44 cents per hundred dollars valuation to pay more money to janitors, hire extra teachers (which the state of North Carolina will supply out of state funds) and pay teachers more who are already getting a large supplement in addition to their regular salaries?

Also, why vote \$2 million more in school bonds? I am told that 4 millions, or one half, will go to the city and the same amount to the county. If the city is losing students to the county and especially to the perimeter why does the city need 4 millions in new bonds?

It is also my information that perhaps three county schools may be required in the next several years in subdivisions that are not yet developed, costing about \$250,000 each. If we need three quarters of a million for these three schools in the next few years, do we need 4 millions of bonds for the county now? Why all this hurry? It seems to me that all of these bonds with high carrying or interest charges are not needed at this time.

I am asking my friends to vote against the consolidation scheme on June 30.

—MICHAEL MAZZIOTTA

To Democrats, It Sounds Fine

Rock Hill, S. C.

Editors, The News:

I see where Sen. Lyndon Johnson predicts "harmony" among Democrats for the remainder of the current session of Congress. Democrats have been striking the same chords for so long, they're beginning to think it's a melody.

—DOROTHY PRINGLE

State Taxing Power Kills Small Business

High Point

Editors, The News:

The United States Supreme Court has just handed down a decision that tends to kill the small business man's incentive to stay in business due to the fact that this ruling has given the states power to levy tax on literally all businesses operating within their states. Thirty nine states now have this power, but it is inevitable that the remaining 10 will soon join in this legal procedure to confiscate more funds for their states.

It is a known fact that each state has its own problem of ways of getting more money for roads, schools, etc. This new bill, though, could prove disastrous to countless thousands if allowed to thrive on small growing businesses.

For instance some companies

send business to 18 states during a year; this means that the company must file 18 income tax forms even though the amount is small. Penalties and interests on failure to file will be determined by the state. Lawyers, accountants, increase of office personnel must be sought in order to comply with the new bill.

Many companies will be ruined the very first year. It is just matter now of the proper allotment to be taken from the companies operating on interstate commerce.

This will definitely affect the average working man's wages out in the plant, since the executive manpower must be increased, making it impossible to take on the intercompany man's salary the way he is used to having it taken care of. Incentive to give raises, bonuses, vacations pays, insurance plans, etc., will be nipped in the bud, for this extra money will now have more desperate purpose. There is no practical way to look at this new plan, but it can be compared with another very unwise decision handed down by our Supreme court.

Manufacturing concerns, companies of all kinds, will be sent packing if this document is allowed to go on unopposed by the opinion of the American public.

—F. HARRISON

Without Work, No Happiness

Salisbury

Editors, The News:

Work is the most important item in the life of any individual. Without work there can be no real happiness. We are not satisfied in our souls unless we work and do a good job and whatever task we choose for calling. The people who are playing up grief for themselves and those dependent upon them are those who through some cause or other are able to avoid real work.

Real labor brings one closer to God than prayer ever can. Work puts muscles and our minds to work and somehow satisfies the spiritual within us at the same time.

So, my friends, whatever you do, try to establish the correct attitude toward work and you have gone a long way toward solving your problems.

—J. W. JEWELL

Quote, Unquote

"Who would not tremble and rather choose to die than to be a baby again, if he were given such a choice?" —St. Augustine.

"A poet can survive anything but a misprint." —Oscar Wilde.

"It is better to have a hen tomorrow than an egg today." —Thomas Fuller.

"Envy is more implacable than a dog." —Due de la Rochefoucauld.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON

No matter what happens to the harassed and beleaguered Gov. Earl Long's mental problems, he faces almost certain income tax prosecution. In fact, weary over tax problems is believed to have contributed materially to the governor's mental distress.

For several years, a battery of about 12 Internal Revenue agents have been scrutinizing the financial activities of Gov. Long, especially a new home he built in Baton Rouge, and various deposits in the City National Bank of Baton Rouge.

Bribes Or Contributions?

This account contains an amount reported to be in excess of \$100,000. Internal Revenue has described as bribes and gifts, but which the govern-



Convention Chairmanship

Will Mr. Sam Bow Out?

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON

The intensity of present debate about Democratic presidential politics is matched only by the dearth of solid evidence to back up the opinions so freely expressed. The people who are in prospect, however, which should shed some light on the situation.

One is the Governors' Conference in Puerto Rico August 2 to August 3. The 35 Democratic commanding statesmen from Maine to California will be given every opportunity to state their views. If an important majority remains uncommitted and eludes a favorite strategy, it will afford practically unlimited scope to the Hot Stove League in the winter months, for such tactics will virtually assure a wide-open convention.

CANNY WHEELHORSES

Sept. 15 to Sept. 19 will see the national committee and state chairmen meeting in Washington. These wheelhorses will take their time about the candidates, lest they find themselves hitched to handwagons which don't start rolling. But they have important decisions to make which will show where the convention power will rest. The committee to be named then, and the party strategy decisions reached, will point clearly to the places where the decisions will be made. Each such place

will be a point of danger to every presidential aspirant.

The convention arrangements committee is one such spot. The contest there will be between the state power and the congressional caucus. The principal personalities involved are Speaker Sam Rayburn and House majority leader John McCormack.

The Speaker has been permanent chairman of the last

been suggested that the Speaker might be made chairman emeritus.

Rep. McCormack has been handling the platform, and in the congressional tradition, it has been a matter of conciliations and compromises. State politicians are saying that it is not how they have been achieving their grass-roots resurgence.

TROUBLE IN DINIE

A challenge looms at the national meetings to the five southern states which have freed their presidential electors from obligation to stand by the party nominees. Some Western commentators believe this constitutes a violation of the loyalty pledges previously made to go-party. They would like to see the matter investigated now rather than become a convention issue.

A demand for a report on the legal aspects of the problem will certainly be made. It is understood that in each state these differ and that it will not be easy for the national party to exercise effective control, even though the southern delegations participate in the selection of a nominee.

It has been nearly three decades since such preliminary skirmishing was of any real value to the Democrats, but it is quite possible that those who now see clearly all that is in store for the party with the Sunday dinners.

three conventions. He knows the job and is personally revered. But next year he has a presidential election, his fellow Texan, Sen. Lyndon Johnson.

A growing number of party figures would like to put into effect more and more safely nonpartisan hands that all-powerful gavel and the right to recognize one voice amid the clamor of voices from the floor. It has

Rayburn: Heavy Gavel

"The governor vetoes the bill?" I asked.

"He did."

"Did you deliver the money before or after he vetoed the bill?"

"Just before."

"Did you tell the governor that this was a campaign contribution?"

"No. I was just a messenger boy. I didn't tell him anything."

"He has said that some of these payments to him were campaign funds for his re-election." I explained.

"That sounds like what they say in Baton Rouge, when you pay \$100,000 to a state legislator," replied the frank Mr. Russell. "If he's a lawyer, it's a legal fee. If he isn't, it's a bribe."

"Have you made any affidavits about this, Rayburn?" I asked.

"No," Russell replied. "I was subpoenaed to testify in front of the intelligence unit of Internal Revenue and I told them just what happened. I told you. Bennings made an affidavit, but I just testified."

Pills, Bourbon, Blanche

In a state that takes its politics raw and its bourbon early in the morning, Earl Long has been a better than average governor. His troubles result from: No. 1, those rewards; No. 2, a recent diet of desecrated to put him up, with sleeping pills to put him to sleep, plus plentiful doses of bourbon and vodka in between; No. 3, the estrangement of his wife Blanche.

Significantly, Mrs. Long left Baton Rouge two days ago, just before the governor's latest sanity hearing.

Tax Troubles Helped To Do Long In

which didn't want the Mississippi Bay Pilots bill to become law.

Messenger Boy

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