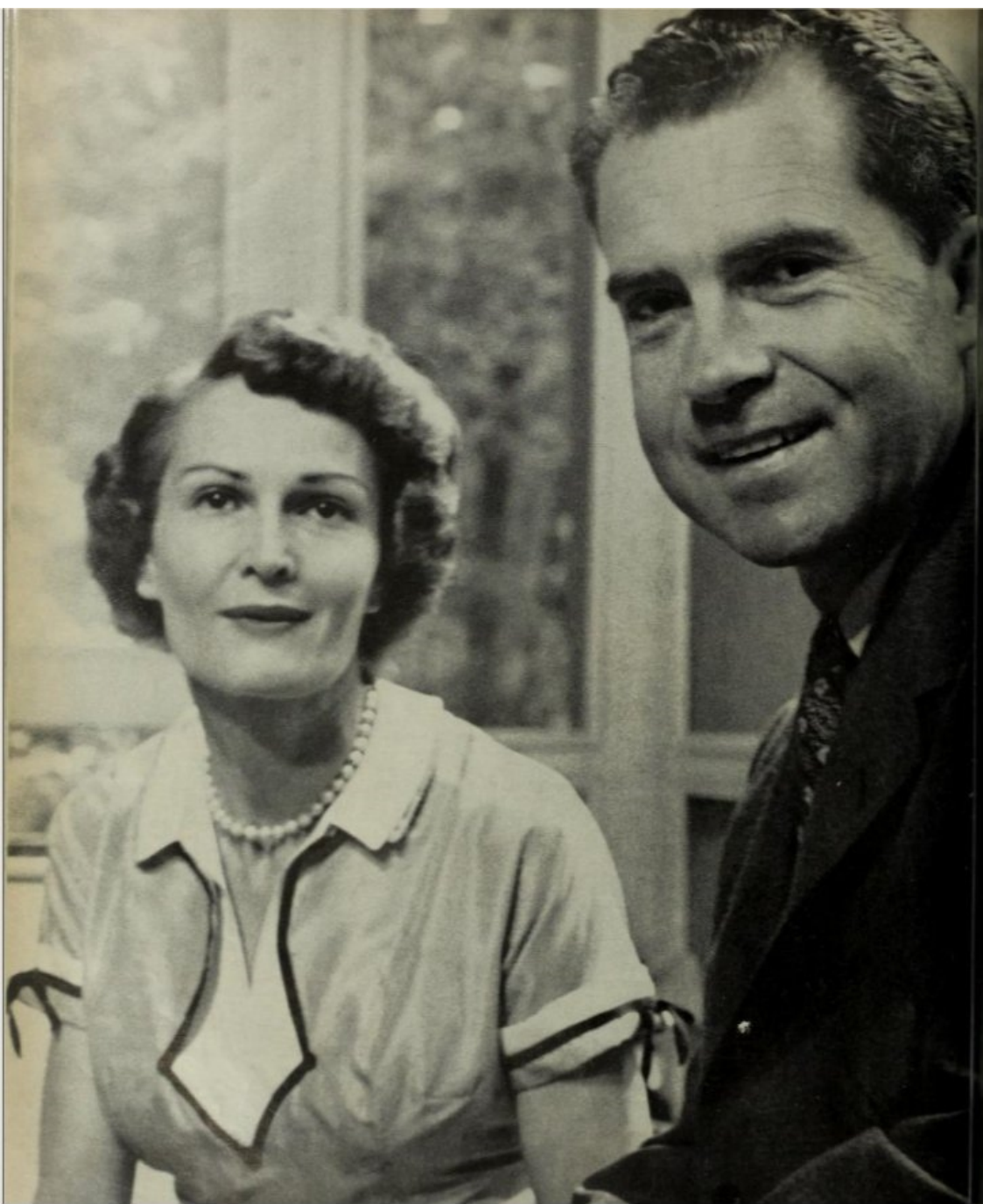




Behind the "Nixon Fund" fiasco was an even more shocking story of party suspicion, indecision and political bungling

RICHARD NIXON:

THE ORDEAL THAT MADE HIM

By EARL W. WYCK

The Nixons (left) were both honor students. She studied merchandising; he studied law. Neither expected him to become Ike's running mate.



SURPRISINGLY little is known about Richard Milhous Nixon, despite the millions of words that have been written and spoken about him. Complexity of character is not unusual among important public men, but Nixon is singularly complex, a paradoxical combination of qualities that bring to mind Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Harry Truman and the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

"I never in my life wanted to be left behind," Nixon says, conceding that he was born ambitious. Ambition is a requisite for success in politics. So are energy, brains, courage, gall, cunning, persuasiveness, the bent for rationalization and compromising, a healthy respect for realities and a rapport with fate and luck. Nixon has them all, plus characteristics that would normally be considered a drag on a politician.

Basically, Nixon is shy and taciturn. He broods, abhors backslapping and gives the appearance of being a friendless "loner," a too-smooth and humorless perfectionist. He is a political craftsman, and his instincts and training as a debater, practically from childhood, make him a persuasive salesman.

He is a fatalist, to the point of believing that whether or not he becomes President will depend more on "circumstances" than on anything he, his friends or his opponents might do. Although he is the most conscientious campaigner in the Republican party, he has an aversion to, and actually "shudders at the thought of," campaigning. He is a practicing Quaker, believing in the precepts of kindness to one's fellow man; yet, in fighting for votes,

he has resorted to malignant innuendo against his opponents. He is a practical man, careful to master details and alternatives; still, he is at his best in a crisis.

That Nixon is often underrated indicates the extent to which he is unknown and misunderstood. At the height of the storm in 1952 over the "Nixon Fund," for example, practically everybody thought he was through as Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's running mate. The clamor for his scalp became nonpartisan. An hour before the television program on which he was to explain it all, Nixon was notified in secret that the campaign hierarchy—and, by implication, Eisenhower, too—thought he should resign as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. The experts expected his talk to be a funeral oration. Instead, he turned the ordeal to political advantage and gave one of the most noteworthy performances of his kind in American politics.

In 1950, Bernard Brennan and Murray Chotiner, then Nixon's principal political lieutenants, proposed that the new senator campaign the year around for the Republican party and for his own Senate seat. Creating a special fund to finance this project was Dana Smith's idea. Smith at that time was treasurer of Nixon's campaign. He was acquainted with arrangements to finance public figures of modest means whose expenses for off-season politicking could not be paid from formal campaign treasuries.

Senator Nixon's gross salary was \$12,500. He was also provided \$2,500, tax-free, for general expenses, a maximum of

NIXON continued

\$2,000 for telephone, telegraph and stationery bills, \$70,000 for a staff and one round trip home to California per session. He earned a bit more for lectures and after-dinner speeches, but it all could hardly finance his operations. His bill for Christmas cards alone was \$4,237.54.

A special trust account was opened in Smith's name at a Pasadena bank. Audits were scheduled, and an estimated budget of \$16,000 a year was agreed to. An orthodox public appeal for money was felt to be too complicated and unnecessary, so it was decided to solicit the more generous backers of Nixon's campaigns for Congress and the Senate. Donations were invited by telephone, personal contact and mail.

The type of activities the "fund" would support were listed as transportation and hotel expenses; air-mail and long-distance-telephone charges; preparation and dissemination of Nixon's speeches, questionnaires, newsletters and the like; Christmas cards to campaign workers and contributors; radio and television; advertising and general publicity. Smith assured those he solicited that "nobody is drawing any salary or other compensation out of this, so you can count on it that the money will be effectively used where it will do all of us, including Dick, the most good."

By primary day in June, 1952, response to the appeals was far below expectations. Nixon decided that the regular party fund-raising organization had to assume the responsibility if it wanted any more co-operation from him. "I think the time has now come for us to have a showdown with Republican Finance on obtaining assistance for our program," Nixon wrote Smith on June 9, 1952. He suggested that \$10,000 a year from the Southern California organization and \$5,000 from the Northern should be requested.

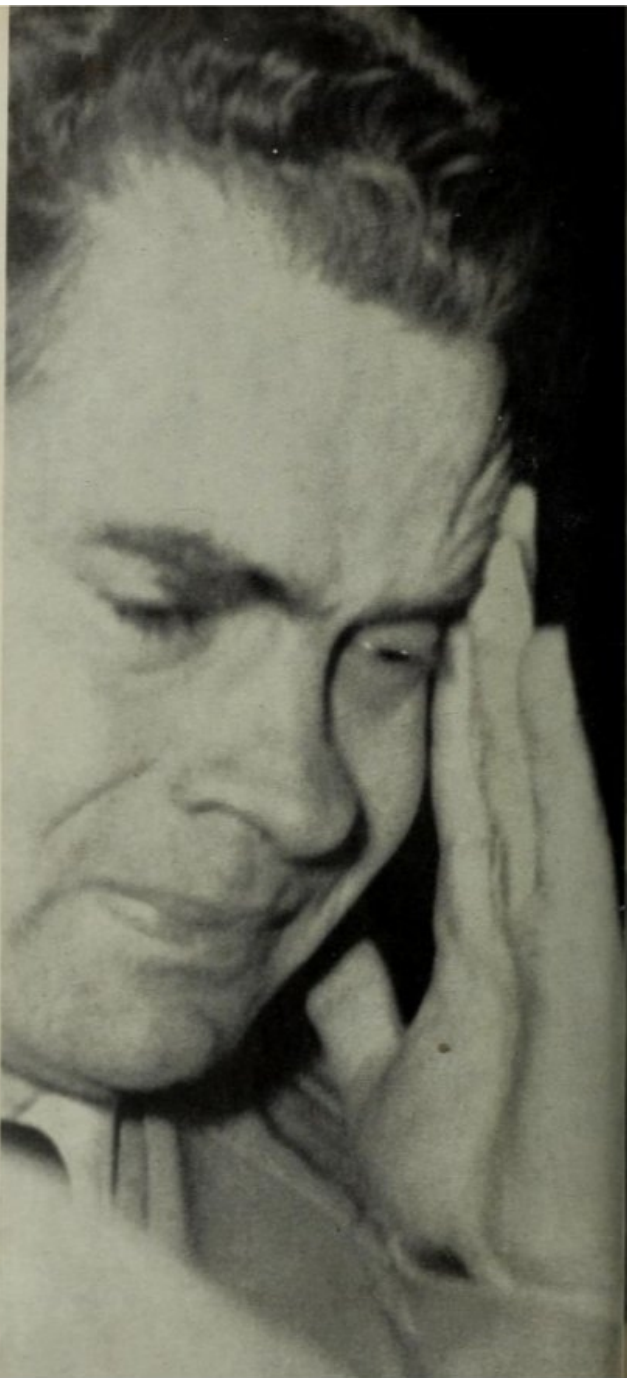
In a confidential reply dated June 11, 1952, Smith complained to Nixon that the Republican leaders in San Francisco had been promising a \$5,000 contribution for eight months, but "it is apparently more convenient for them to forget about it." Despite these and other collection troubles, Smith suggested that the "fund" goal be raised to "a minimum of \$20,000 rather than \$15,000, because we know that it is very desirable to step up your activities after this year, as your own re-election year begins to come closer. . . ."

At this time, Nixon's chances for the Vice-Presidential nomination were far from certain, despite the fact that as early as June, 1951, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey had voiced his opinion that Nixon should be the running mate for Eisenhower. Up until the night he was chosen at the Republican Convention of 1952, Nixon doubted that he would get the nomination.

As a member of the California delegation, Nixon was pledged to vote for California Gov. Earl Warren at the convention, and he did, although it was no secret that he favored Eisenhower. He also liked Sen. Robert A. Taft, but he doubted that Taft could win. After Eisenhower's nomination was assured, Herbert Brownell submitted Nixon's name to the General as a possible

continued

Physically and emotionally exhausted, he broke down and wept at the end of the most harrowing trial of his career.



During the half-hour speech, he ran the emotional gamut from humor to drama to pathos.

1952 *man on the spot*

Within a week of embarking on his first major whistle-stop tour, Richard Nixon became the most discussed, the most controversial and the most politically fortunate Vice-Presidential candidate in American history. He talked his way out of possible political oblivion in a tearful television speech (left). Observers saw it as an effective combination of sincere, righteous indignation and slick, soap-opera sentimentality.



Occasionally, the camera moved to Pat at one side.



Checkers was one gift he admitted getting. He got idea of mentioning dog from F.D.R.'s masterful use of Fala in 1944.

NIXON continued



Nixon proposed to Pat Ryan (christened Thelma) the day he met her. She accepted a couple of years later. They have two children, Patricia, left, and Julie.



He taught himself golf in 1951, cutting his score from 130 to the mid-90's. He now plays only occasionally. Above, Julie gets some tips from her father.

Fellow Republicans started smear stories about their candidate

running mate. Eisenhower agreed the young senator would be a good choice, Brownell told me, but said that he would leave it to Brownell "to get the collective judgment of the leaders of the party." Brownell summoned about two-dozen representative Eisenhower leaders to a meeting.

Thomas Dewey, the first powerful Republican figure to propose the nomination of both Eisenhower and Nixon, repeated his belief that Nixon was the right man, and the gathering voted unanimously for Nixon. Stray whispers about the "Nixon Fund" started soon after the nomination. A couple of California delegates at the Republican National Convention made a project of confiding to strangers that Nixon was despised by fellow Californians, that he "double-crossed" Governor Warren by favoring Eisenhower for President, and he was being "kept" by a band of favor-seeking millionaires.

One version of the Nixon story, as heard by Peter Edson, Washington political columnist for Newspaper Enterprises Association, was that Nixon got a "supplementary salary" of \$20,000 a year from 100 California businessmen, each of whom chipped in \$200. On September 14, after an appearance with Nixon on the television program *Meet the Press*, Edson asked the Senator

about the alleged supplementary salary. The Senator suggested that Edson telephone Dana Smith in Pasadena for details, because Smith ran the "fund" and knew much more about it.

The next day, Smith gave Edson the general background and specific aspects of the "fund," and later that day reviewed the operation again with Leo Katcher of the *New York Post*, Richard Donovan of *The Reporter Magazine* and Ernest Brashear of the *Los Angeles Daily News*.

MEANWHILE, Nixon had left Washington and arrived in California on September 16. For luck, he began his first stumping tour of the Presidential campaign the following evening at Pomona, a community in Los Angeles County where he had started his highly successful campaigns for Congress and the Senate. An enthusiastic rally of 15,000 sent him on his way. All members aboard the Nixon Special were gay in anticipation of the campaign ahead. Most of the staff had been through it before. One newcomer to the entourage was William F. Rogers, who later was appointed attorney general by President Eisenhower.

A messenger from Republican headquarters in Los Angeles met the train at a water stop before midnight. He brought word that a "Nixon Fund"

story, to be printed in newspapers the next day would cause trouble. Nixon summoned a few advisers to his private car at one a.m. Rogers, who hadn't heard of the "fund" before, said it was his judgment that no impropriety was involved, therefore "the facts" would neutralize possible criticism. Chotiner, reputed to be supersensitive to things of political importance before they even germinated, was not disturbed either. "Hell, there's nothing to this thing. It's ridiculous," he said.

Because of a four-hour time lag between the East and West coasts, the "Nixon Fund" story was already stirring political tempers in New York on Washington on Thursday, September 18, before Nixon had begun the first full day of his journey. The *New York Post's* front page was dominated by the words: "Secret Nixon Fund!" The story ran under a two-line banner headline that said: "Secret Rich Men's Trust Fund Keeps Nixon in Style Beyond His Salary." Peter Edson's column was printed later that day in other newspapers. It was written as a straight news story and lacked the speculative flamboyance that made the *New York Post* article seem more sensational. The United Press and the Associated Press relayed the substance of both reports to other daily newspapers.

In Washington, excited groups assembled

continued



This soup's the kind you get in Rome . . .
We thought you'd like it here at home!

Campbell's MINESTRONE



HONEST, NOW . . . COULD YOU MAKE MINESTRONE LIKE THIS? 12 garden-good vegetables . . . tender-good spaghetti . . . flavor straight from a sunny Italian kitchen . . . that's Campbell's Minestrone. It's a friendly soup. A hearty, meal-in-a-bowl soup. A great Italian-style soup that's delicious every time, because it's Campbell's. Enjoy a bowl of Campbell's Minestrone soon. It's a pleasant reason for that happy, healthy habit —

ONCE A DAY . . . EVERY DAY . . . SOUP!



Campbell's
MINESTRONE
GIVES YOU
VITAMINS . . .
PROTEINS . . .
MINERALS, TOO!



CLEAN...
CLEAN...
CLEAN...

That's the taste
you get when you
make your Tom Collins
with clean-tasting

**FLEISCHMANN'S
GIN**



Despite his cold exterior, the disregard with which he seems to meet attacks, he is painfully sensitive to unwarranted criticism.

Ike would not comment on the "fund"

Republican and Democratic national headquarters. The Democrats, surprised and delighted by the windfall of incalculable value, rushed to the conservative National Chairman Stephen Mitchell and demanded that Eisenhower throw Nixon out of the ticket at once or eat his fulsome observations of "public morals." The Republicans, fearing a possible scandal, and at the same time hoping to out-mousetrap the excited Democrats, launched a simultaneous offensive and a defensive simultaneously.

General Eisenhower's 18-car campaign train—the "Look Ahead, Neighbor" Special—was among the voters of Iowa and Nebraska in reply to questions concerning the "fund," Secretary James Hagerty said. "We never comment on a New York Post story." The General was having nothing to say. The General's staff was having plenty, however, beyond earshot of the candidate. All day, they held conferences, analyzed reports and weighed the problems of switching Presidential candidates in mid-campaign.

At strategy meetings the month before, Sherman Adams, chief of the Eisenhower campaign and Chotiner, the Nixon manager, had formulated a liaison plan to keep the two campaign trains in intimate and constant touch during the final period of electioneering, when a mistake by one of the candidates might be compounded unwittingly—a disaster by the other. The plan set up direct communications between the respective echelons of the two teams. Thus Eisenhower would deal with Nixon and vice versa; Chotiner would talk with Adams or Sen. Fred Seaton; Hagerty and J.

sett, Nixon's press secretary, would discuss matters. As sometimes happens with the best-laid plans, this one failed in the emergency of September 18, because Eisenhower simply didn't call on, and Nixon didn't call Eisenhower.

Newspapers picked up in the evening along the route of the Nixon Special in California reported that Midwestern audiences were reacting unfavorably to Eisenhower's charges that the Truman administration's legacies to the nation were "a problem of morality in government," "crazy Federal spending" and "deficits that cheapen our money." A hoped-for statement of the General's qualified support and faith in Nixon had not materialized. Nothing had been heard from that direction, in fact, except questions and, of course, rumors. The Nixon party might have viewed the General's silence more charitably if it had been a decision of the Eisenhower strategists. The decision was to break the news about the "fund" to the General after his principal speeches and not to risk upsetting him.

A large and friendly crowd awaited Nixon at Sacramento, the ninth and last stop that Friday. But he sensed a strangeness in the reception committee of politicians. Instead of elbowing his way to be first in line, some seemed to wait until the time came to pose for pictures with the Senator. As his campaign special rolled up the Valley that night, a gloomy and anxious Vice-Presidential candidate sought the solace of his compartment; and Pat Nixon, blinking the tears she seldom tolerated, wondered if a political office was worth the sacrifice of her husband's good name.

A half-continent away that night, one important individual on the Eisenhower train had reached his conclusion. Republican National Chairman Arthur E. Summerfield had before him a report on the procedure for changing a candidate. In the face of unnoticed resolutions adopted routinely during the rush to adjourn the national convention, it was one that left the responsibility entirely to the Republican National Committee. If Nixon withdrew, the Republican organization probably would split irretrievably in a fight over naming a successor. Summerfield redoubled his conviction that Nixon should stay.

On Friday, September 19, when the Nixon train reached Chico, Calif., there was a telephone waiting. It was Senator Seaton, with Eisenhower's first message for his running mate since the "fund" uproar had started. Seaton told Chotiner then Nixon, that the General was anxious to get to the bottom of this thing. Chotiner asked what the General required that the Senator's approval. Seaton implied that the General might want that himself in a direct telephone conversation which might be arranged in the next day or so.

The issue was now a national sensation. Commentators analyzed and speculated; radio and television programs were interrupted for late bulletins. Adlai E. Stevenson announced he would render judgment until the Republicans explained to Nixon had used the money; Democratic Sherman Mitchell wondered when the General would "cast away" his running mate. Senator Taft approved the Nixon action. But most other Republicans of consequence either crossed their fingers and hoped for the best in silence, or sent Eisenhower and his staff assessments of the situation that showed Nixon had to be dumped or the ticket would lose.

At Eisenhower's direction, Sherman Adams phoned Paul Hoffman, chairman of the advisory committee of Citizens for Eisenhower. "He asked

Nixon's hands move constantly and expressively whether he is in social conversation or in heated debate.



new RONSON Varaflame!



new! Lights for months!
new! Adjustable flame!
new! Fuels in seconds!



new! Exciting styles!

Ronson's revolutionary Varaflame lights for months on a single butane fueling! Flame adjusts easily with fingertip control to any height desired for cigarettes, cigars or pipes. Ronson's economical new Multi-Fill contains enough Butron fuel for many refuelings. Fully guaranteed with a full year's free service policy. From \$14.95.

Ronson FREE! Write to Ronson Corp., 1 Ronson Road, Woodbridge, N. J., for free illustrated folder on...



New Chrysler Windsor Convertible—Chrysler quality at an economy price.

SWEET TEMPTATION

...your lion-hearted '59 Chrysler!

Chrysler's finest performer, the international classic that's made in America—the 300-E.



A Chrysler convertible is laughter and sunlight and miles of adventure.

Superb engineering skills and solid construction make Chrysler the most agile and confident car on any road.

In a Chrysler convertible you get the swing-aboard ease of optional Swivel Seats... the touch-and-go pleasure of Torque-Flite transmission... the stop-on-a-dime

safety of brawny Total-Contact Brakes... the gas-sipping economy of Chrysler's new Golden Lion engines... the sure-footed control of Torsion-Aire Ride.

There are three new agile and adventurous Chrysler convertibles. Each has a powerful personality all its own. Any one will be the most exciting car you've ever driven! See your Chrysler dealer soon.



Excitement and luxury go hand in hand with the Chrysler New Yorker.



NIXON continued

Dewey told Nixon that "the group" felt he should drop from the ticket

to begin an immediate investigation of the "Nixon Fund," to find out if it was clean," Hoffman recalled. Fifty lawyers and accountants were put on the case at once and stayed at it over a week end.

Adams also telephoned Sen. William F. Knowland in Hawaii to urge him to join the Eisenhower campaign as quickly as possible. Eisenhower strategists asked him on tap as a substitute should Nixon be dropped. The moment Knowland boarded the "Look Ahead, Neighbor" Special, however, he became a vigorous backstop for Republican National Chairman Summerfield, until then the only unqualified pro-Nixon voice around Eisenhower.

In California, Dana Smith made public the "fund" donor list of 76 names and a report on the same—it totaled \$18,235—and disbursements—at the same amount. This bore out what Nixon had been saying, but the impact of the release was because Smith gave it out before getting a pre-arranged signal from Chotiner. Smith's explanation of the improper timing of the release was that reporters told him they had to meet deadlines and, ironically, in late, low-circulation editions.

Editorials calling for Nixon's replacement began to appear in some newspapers that supported Republican ticket. The New York Herald Tribune, Eisenhower's favorite paper and also a Nixon write, called the "fund" ill-advised and suggested that the California Senator make a formal offer of withdrawal from the ticket, which Eisenhower could accept or reject as he saw fit. For Nixon, this was the hardest blow so far.

On Saturday, September 20, General Eisenhower sent word to the press car of his entourage that he would like to talk to the reporters individually and off the record. He told them he had read the "Nixon Fund" on Friday, a day when newspapers printed the original stories, and was greatly disturbed. He hadn't known Nixon for long, he explained, and still didn't know him, but the Senator seemed to exemplify the kind of honesty, vigor and straightforward aggressiveness that he admired. He couldn't believe Nixon would do anything crooked, but Nixon would have to prove it, and convince "fair-minded" people. Then, Eisenhower said, "Of what avail is it for us to carry on this Crusade against this business of yours if it has been going on in Washington, if we ourselves aren't as clean as a hound's tooth?"

It was obvious that Eisenhower felt that Dana Smith's reports and Nixon's statements on the "fund" were not enough. When Nixon was told about the Eisenhower statement, he forced a disarming smile. Mrs. Nixon, who had held back her resentment for three days, wondered to a friend, "Why should we keep taking this?"

On Sunday, there was a telegram from Hart Stassen, in which he urged Nixon to offer his withdrawal from the ticket. Stassen's was one of a hundred telegrams Nixon got that Sunday. He urged him not to quit. But, generally, the messages contributed to Nixon's weary despondency. The various "inner circles"—Nixon's, Eisenhower's and the Republican National Committee's—looked about a radio-television report. Dewey said that Nixon should bare his soul on national television as quickly as possible. Nixon saw a surly that showed the newspapers were two to one against him. When a message from his mother urged him to "have faith" was handed to him, Nixon slipped into another room to hide his tears.

On Sunday night, Nixon's staff advisers convened for a full-dress discussion of what to do. Rogers said Nixon had no alternative but to resign if Eisenhower requested it. Chotiner disagreed. He said the General and a lot of people around him knew very little about politics, and if Nixon was dumped, the Republican party was sure to lose the election. Nixon listened, in silence. He got up once, during a pause in the discussion, and said, as though to himself, "I will not crawl."

THE strategy session was interrupted by the long-awaited telephone call from Eisenhower. Nixon told the General the important thing was for the Republicans to win. "I want you to know if you reach a conclusion either now or any time later that I should get off the ticket, you can be sure that I will immediately respect your judgment and do so," the Senator said. Eisenhower replied, in effect, that he didn't think he should be the one to make that decision. At this, Nixon stiffened, and he said sternly, "There comes a time in a man's life when he has to fish or cut bait." (Actually, his words were stronger.)

At midnight, Adams, Summerfield and Public Relations Director Robert Humphreys notified Nixon from the Eisenhower train that radio and television time now could be arranged—because three Republican party organizations had pledged the necessary \$75,000. Nixon broke off his campaign tour and flew to Los Angeles, to prepare.

A national hookup of 64 NBC television stations, 194 CBS radio stations and practically the entire 560-station radio network of the Mutual Broadcasting System was contracted to carry the Nixon speech. The program was scheduled for Tuesday night, from 9:30 to 10 E.S.T. No event in history involving a Vice-Presidential candidate ever got such attention—before and after. For four days, Nixon was talked and written about much more than the candidates for President. Programs were interrupted for "reports" that he had collapsed. They were interrupted again for statements that he was "in perfect health." There were predictions that he would stay on the ticket and predictions that he would get off.

On Monday afternoon, the lawyers and accountants hired by Paul Hoffman sent their reports to Sherman Adams. The study found everything to be legal and in line with what Smith had made public a few days before, except for about \$11,000 deposited in the "fund" account after Nixon's nomination, and Smith had said that amount would be accounted for as campaign contributions.

Monday was also the day of the "Stevenson Fund" disclosure. An official of a duplicating-machine company doing business with the State of Illinois charged that Governor Stevenson "personally promoted" contributions from private businessmen. Stevenson confirmed it, said it "has never been any secret," explained that the money supplemented the salaries of members of his administration who left better-paying jobs in private business to serve Illinois. Stevenson in-

sisted that none of the money went to him or to any other elected official, and that there was "no question of improper influence, because there was no connection between the contributors and the beneficiaries."

Nevertheless, the word "fund" had been battered into something that sounded sinister, and now Stevenson became a target for the pointed questions, implied charges and innuendo to which Nixon had been subjected.

Normally, Nixon would work a full week, at least, on a major speech. There was less than two days for him to prepare the most important one of his life. He started working on it while flying from Portland to Los Angeles. "I was pretty tired by that time," he recalls. "I tried to sleep, but after dozing a little while, I woke up. I pulled out some United Airlines post cards from the souvenir packet at the seat and made notes. It was not an outline of the broadcast, but of general ideas. That was when the idea came to me to mention the girls' dog, Checkers." Nixon's reference to Checkers was inspired by Franklin D. Roosevelt's masterful use of his dog Fala in a 1944 campaign speech that made the Republicans a national laughing stock.

Shortly before Nixon was to leave for the studio, Sherman Adams telephoned Chotiner to find out, for Eisenhower, what Nixon would say. Chotiner replied he didn't really know; Nixon planned to speak from notes.

"Look, we have to know what is going to be said," Adams insisted.

"Sherm," Chotiner replied, "if you want to know what's going to be said, you do what I'm going to do. You sit in front of a TV set and listen."

About one hour before broadcast time, a call came from Governor Dewey in New York. Dewey told Nixon that he had polled the campaign leaders and found that most felt Nixon should resign. "Dewey didn't say that was his own feeling," Nixon recalls. "He said, 'I am reporting that the group feels you should. I regret this very much.'"

Although Dewey didn't say so flatly, it was implied

continued



"I'll keep up with Little Ivan. Just you make sure you keep up with Big Ivan."

100K

CHON DAY

Nixon left it to the public to decide whether or not he should withdraw

that Eisenhower agreed with the majority.

"The call was really a blockbuster," Nixon told me. "I sat alone for at least 50 minutes, debating as to what I ought to do. I had tremendous respect for Dewey as a man and for his superb political judgment. The question I had to decide was whether I was justified in putting my judgment above his as well as possibly that of the General himself...."

By the time Nixon arrived at the studio, he had decided not to follow the course suggested by the General's advisers, but "to submit the case to the country and let the people decide." He still had no idea how he would conclude his speech.

The program opened with a picture of Senator Nixon's calling card. Then the camera switched to the Senator seated behind a desk. "My fellow Americans, I come before you tonight as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency and as a man whose honesty and integrity have been questioned.... I am sure you have read the charge and have heard that I, Senator Nixon, took \$18,000 from a group of my supporters." He went on to say that not one cent of it was for his personal use, but for "political expenses that I did not think should be charged to the taxpayers...."

"...I am going at this time to give this television and radio audience a complete financial history: everything I've earned; everything I've spent; everything I owe." After the accounting was given, he admitted he had received one gift after his election: "It was a little cocker-spaniel dog...black-and-white spotted. And our little girl, Tricia, the six-year-old, named it Checkers. And you know, the kids love that dog, and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it, we're going to keep it...."

He discussed the "Stevenson Fund" and the Alger Hiss case and finally came to the vital question of his resignation from the ticket. "Let me say this: I don't believe that I ought to quit, because I am not a quitter. And, incidentally, Pat is not a quitter." The camera moved to Mrs. Nixon, who sat at the side, her eyes glued to her husband. "After all, her name was Patricia Ryan, and she was born on St. Patrick's Day, and you know the Irish never quit."

When the signal was given that his time was almost up, he didn't see it. Tears streamed down his face as he kept talking to the camera: "Wire and write to the Republican National Committee on whether you think I should stay or get off, and whatever their decision is, I will abide...." He was off the air, but still talking.

"I'm terribly sorry I ran over," he apologized. "I loused it up. I'm sorry." He made a quick retreat to the dressing room. Outside the studio, a crowd cheered as he and Mrs. Nixon got into their car. At their hotel, he was told, "The telephones are going crazy; everybody's in your corner." Nixon took a call from Darryl Zanuck, who said the telecast was "the most tremendous performance I've ever seen." Only then did Nixon begin to come to life.

In Cleveland, the Eisenhower group had watched, seemingly without drawing breath. Mrs. Eisenhower and several of the men clutched handkerchiefs and dabbed their eyes. The General had a small notebook in his hand. He jabbed at it with a pencil, his eyes never leaving the television screen. When the program ended, he said to Summerfield, "Well, Arthur, you surely got your

\$75,000 worth." Eisenhower wired Nixon: "Your presentation was magnificent." Then the General explained that before he would "complete the formulation of a decision, I feel the need of talking to you and would be most appreciative if you could fly to see me at once. Tomorrow night, I shall be at Wheeling, W. Va."

Shortly thereafter, the General's praise grew more lavish. As a "warrior," he told an audience, he had never seen "courage" to surpass that shown by Nixon. But the General didn't get around to telling the audience what it wanted most to hear. "I am not ducking any responsibility," he declared. "I am not going to be swayed by my idea of what will get the most votes.... I am going to say: Do I myself believe this man is the kind of man America would like to have for its Vice-President?"

The crowd shouted, "We like Dick." When Nixon got Eisenhower's telegram, expressing the need for face-to-face explanations in Wheeling the next night, his morale dropped again. He wired the General that he intended to resume at once his campaign tour, which would end Saturday, September 27. "Will be in Washington Sunday, and will be delighted to confer with you at your convenience any time thereafter," Nixon added. This unusual show of independence delighted the Nixon staff and shocked more people than it pleased in the Eisenhower entourage.

Summerfield telephoned to urge that Nixon come to Wheeling, as requested. He was told that Nixon was going to Missoula, Mont., as planned. Nixon would meet Eisenhower only after the General's mind was made up, one way or the other. "Dick is not going to be placed in the position of a little boy coming somewhere to beg for forgiveness," Chotiner said. More calls followed from the Eisenhower train, and finally the General himself sought to reach Nixon. By then, the Senator's party was en route to Missoula.

A news report quoted Dewey as calling the Nixon telecast "a superb statement by a man of shining integrity and great purpose in the service of his country." A telegram from the Republican National Committee reported that 107 of its 133 members were reached in a quick poll, and all voted "enthusiastically" to keep Nixon on the ticket. There was also a telegram from Harold Stassen: "Congratulations on a superb presentation, Dick, and best wishes always to you and to Pat."

Summerfield called again, relaying Eisenhower's assurance that everything would be all right. Only then did Nixon head for the emotional reunion with his chief. The plane landed at Wheeling in the late dusk. Chotiner rushed off to find out where Nixon was to go. Then, a lone figure darted up the ramp into the plane and asked, "Where's the boss of this outfit?"

A newsman said, "Up there, General." Eisenhower went up to Nixon as he stood helping his wife with her coat. Nixon remembers he was "flabbergasted" to see Eisenhower. "What are you doing here, General? You didn't have to come here to meet us," he said.

Eisenhower put his arm around Nixon and said, "I certainly did, Dick. You're my boy." Mrs. Nixon patted her husband and said, "Shall we go?"

Eisenhower and Nixon posed for pictures, shaking hands. Then Nixon spotted his senior league, Senator Knowland. "It was quite a tense and emotional situation," Knowland recalled. "I said, 'Everything's going to be all right, Dick,' and he came over and said, 'Good old Bill!'" The picture of Nixon weeping on Knowland's shoulder was one of the most poignant of the campaign.

THE next day—exactly one week after the initial uproar—all was peaceful, happy and harmonious in Republican ranks. Nixon had transformed himself into a campaign asset. Newspaper support swung back heavily in his favor. His success sent the Republican campaign soaring, nourishing him as a national figure and the known, largest-crowd-drawing Vice-Presidential candidate in history. The cocker spaniel Checkers became to some a national hero—and to others a symbol of Madison Avenue sentimentality.

In retrospect, the affair was both good and bad for Nixon. The people who remember it vividly thought it was horrible. The Democrats and Nixon's Republican enemies have kept the numbers aglow. Much of the "I don't-like-Nixon, I don't-know-why" talk stems from the incident. If it had not been for the immediate impact of the speech, the Vice-Presidential nominee might have been dropped from the ticket, an unprecedented action in American history. And because of suspicion and dissension such an action would have engendered, the ticket might have lost the election. Nixon would have had to bear that stigma for the rest of his political life.

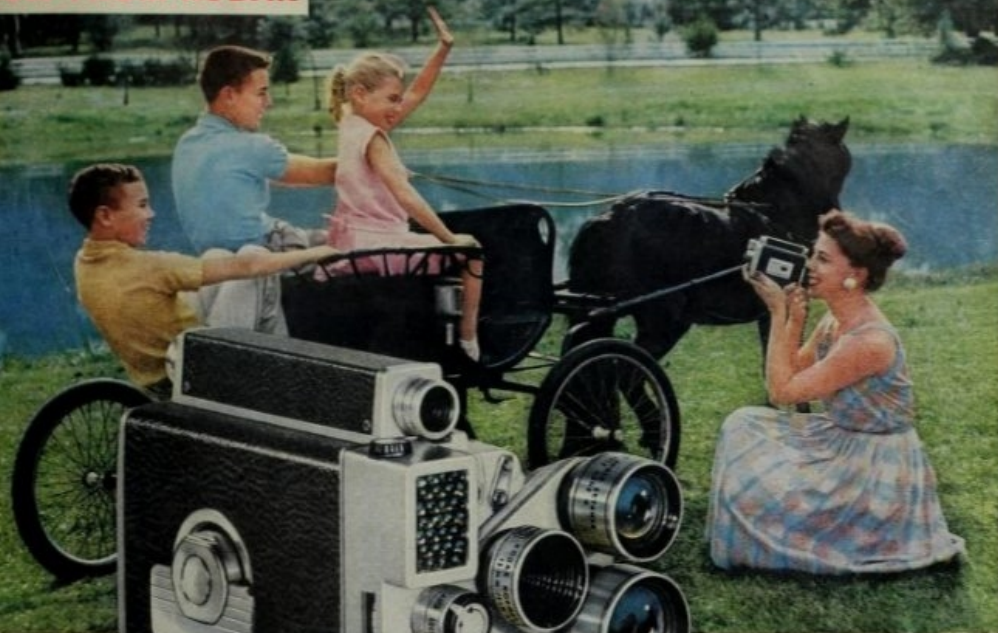
Ike's "Boy" and How He Grew, the next issue, views Nixon's friendships, feuds and so-called "smear tactics."

BUTCH



"I could forgive a lookout falling asleep, but catching fireflies—crimes!"

NEW FROM KODAK



You shoot perfectly exposed movies, reel after reel! Kodak Cine Automatic Turret Camera, f/1.9, gives you choice of regular, wide-angle, telephoto shots. \$124.90

NEW! Automatic Kodak Cine 8mm cameras and projector so automatic they almost take and show your movies for you!

Even if you're a complete newcomer to movies... even if you've never held a camera in your hand before... you'll take beautiful movies the very first time with the remarkable new Kodak Cine Automatic Cameras.

And you'll show your movies with ease never before possible. The

new automatic Kodak Cine Showtime Projector is so automatic it threads itself all the way—even onto the take-up reel! It's the only projector that does this! So remember the name Kodak Cine. It means the very finest in automatic home movies.

(Prices are list, include Federal Tax, and are subject to change without notice.)



Kodak Cine Automatic Camera, f/1.9, single-lens turret with electric-eye meter, costs only \$92.50.



Electric-eye meter measures the light for you... adjusts the lens opening automatically.



Special lock-in feature lets you control the lens opening for unusual, dramatic lighting effects.



Only the new automatic Kodak Cine Showtime Projector threads itself right into the take-up reel! And it's the brightest 8mm projector on the market! \$137.50

Kodak
—a trademark since 1888

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY, Rochester 4, N.Y.



Only the Calvert Hand of Skill blends

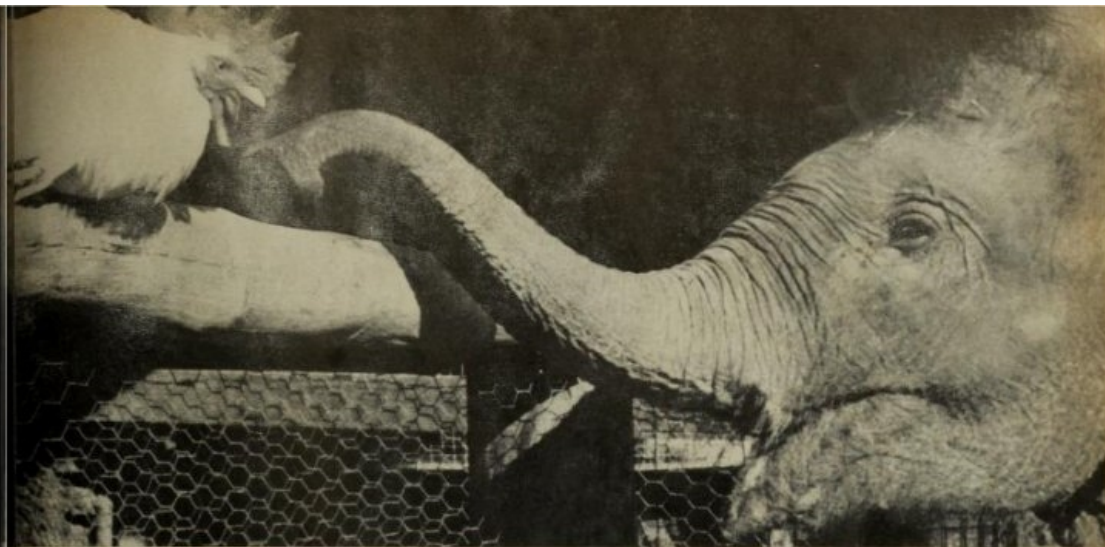
A WHISKEY WITH SO MUCH POWER TO PLEASURE

This is the hour. The day's concerns ease and fade, and the best of all worlds is the one lighted by your own lamp. This is the hour for Calvert Reserve... the whiskey with more power to please. Calvert is blended

to give you the full strength you want, the easy-going taste you always looked for in whiskey. Make Calvert Reserve your whiskey. No other has so much power to please!

Calvert Reserve
clear heads agree it's better

BLENDED WHISKEY • 40-41.50 PROOF • 40-50 GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS • ©1958 CALVERT DISTILLERS CO., N.Y.C.



"Ahhh, come on—are you chicken?"

BAREBEAK RIDER

When this rooster has nothing else to do on Knott's Berry Farm near Los Angeles, he hops onto the trunk of a baby elephant, whose reactions are translated herewith. Soon, they're off without so much as a howdah, friend.



"Why all the fuss and feathers?"



"Hang onto your comb, son."



"Now, if you'll pardon it, I see why you're called a rooster."