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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1958

Editorial Book Review

How The United States Fell Behind

U.S.A.—SECOND-CLASS POWER? By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson. Simon & Schuster. 334 pages. \$3.95.

IT IS inescapable that this book will arouse a great deal of criticism. It was written by Drew Pearson and his chief assistant, Jack Anderson, in their foreword to U.S.A.—SECOND-CLASS POWER? It was perhaps the most artlessly contrived understatement of the year.

Before the manuscript was even delivered to the printers, the Eisenhower administration had wheeled up its heavy artillery to lay down a barrage of concentrated fire on the authors. Much of the material, in one form or another, had already appeared in Mr. Pearson's syndicated column. In sum, it was a damning indictment of apathy in high places—hardly calculated to win friends and influence people in the White House family.

For Pearson & Co. this was normally reserved. In 28 years of reporting, the spunky Washington columnist had been in and out of more hot water than an S&W dishwasher. Franklin D. Roosevelt had once called him a "chronic liar" and Harry S. Truman, in a moment of characteristic candor, had dubbed him an "S.O.B." Presidential Press Secretary James Hagerly was only a little less clinical.

FOR all his faults (and they are several), Mr. Pearson is a superb digger for information in the corridors of many of the great reporters of the past. If he were in the pay of an unfriendly power, heaven help us all. For he is essentially an intelligence agent of enormous cunning and a fine instinct for the jugular. He has been known to be in ferreting out fraud and deceit in both Democratic and Republican corruption with impartial fervor.

Occasional lapses in the handling, evaluation, and categorization of facts he uncovers have robbed him of the public's complete confidence at times. But these lapses have resulted more from over-eagerness than anything else. The U.S.A.—SECOND-CLASS POWER? reflects Mr. Pearson's growing interest in America's "downhill skid in power and prestige" since the Soviet Union launched its first Sputnik a year ago this month. In column after column during the past 12 months he has shown how official shortsightedness, indecision, budget-cutting, internal bickering and business rivalry have carried us perilously close to second-class status. Now, in 334 pages, the evidence has been gathered together in a single bill of indictment.

The result is a typically Pearsonian effort. It is brisk, fast-moving, at times even melodramatic. There is nothing particularly profound about the reasoning or the conclusions offered. The reader knows the deck is stacked against the administration before he deals the cards. It is melodrama without suspense.

THERE is no single villain in the piece. The Pentagon, the McCarthyites, the budget-cutters, the press and others all share some of the responsibility. And it is President Eisenhower himself who, in the minds of the authors, deserves one of the larger booby prizes of the decade.

"Perhaps as much as any other fact," they write, "the reasons we fell behind Russia go back to the personality of the Commander in Chief. He too wanted to be loved. And during his career in his military career in Europe and his campaigning for the presidency, he had built up a public love and devotion and prestige that amounted to a father image. Because of that image and because of his long service to the nation, the nation trusted him. He could do no wrong. They did not know that he was complacent, easygoing, unwilling to spend long hours of grueling grind which any President must spend if he is to lead the nation. That Dwight D. Eisenhower was not willing to do these things, that he honestly believed he could serve as a part-time President, that he did not have the courage to deal forcefully with his old buddies in the Pentagon on the budget-cutters in the Treasury Department, is one of the chief reasons why the United States finds itself in the gravest danger in all history."

But not even a President can drag a whole nation down from its pinnacle of postwar power and prestige. Before it tumbles, a nation must be ready to relax. Must be ripe for the kind of fat-dripping apathy that can infect the human spirit. Rather than struggle to remain and increase its power, America did a strange and uncharacteristic thing, say



Drew Pearson

Messrs. Pearson and Anderson. They accepted a kind of tyranny.

"Whereas the Kremlin relaxed its tireless activity to spur its men on, in this free country a tyranny of rank and protocol, of red tape and budget worship holds its best men back. It's a tyranny of laziness, ignorance and complacency in high places, of political opportunism and cynicism, a tyranny which places vote-getting above national security."

THE authors of U.S.A.—SECOND CLASS POWER? are at their sauciest best when they abandon philosophy for reporting. The book is crammed with back-stage views of an administration in disarray. There is the absorbing story of how "Operation Farside" was concocted on paper napkins in a Rome restaurant by three young Americans "filled with Chianti and calories." It probes indelicately into the case of Col. John Nickerson whose "leak" on U.S. missile policies led to his court martial. There is a thoroughly delightful chapter on "The Bull in the Military Shop"—former Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson who woke up one morning to find himself the administration's whipping boy for the missile gap.

In probing into the relationship between big business and big government the authors are at their boldest. It is the contention of Messrs. Pearson and Anderson that vested interests stood in the way of the kind of all-out efforts the country needed to stay ahead of the juggernaut in missile-making and other critical areas of defense production. Mr. Pearson has never had many kind words to say about the aircraft industry and he is barely civil at all in U.S.A.—SECOND-CLASS POWER?.

THE book suffers from the fact that it is so loosely tied together and the fact that the authors are so unfondly self-righteous at times. And, from that distance, we find it difficult to believe that life on the Washington Merry-Go-Round is just one big game of cops and robbers or cowboys and Indians. There must be some good in the bad guys.

Still, there are enough hard facts present and accounted for to disturb the sleep of many an American for many a moon. As Marquis Childs, another News columnist, has written: "The chief defect of the book is a powerful indictment and it cannot be refuted by mere denials."

BUT what are the alternatives before the nation today now that its "downhill skid" has been noted? "Any cold analysis of the American position in the world today must reach the unpleasant conclusion that we have three alternatives," write the authors. "We can precipitate a preventive war and hope to win it. We can reconcile ourselves to becoming definitely and permanently a second-class power. Or we can fight our belts for a long and self-sacrificing attempt to prove that capitalism is better than communism; that our science can be better than communist science; our education better than communist education; our dedication more determined than that of the Soviet Union."

The choice is fairly obvious. Why? "The ingredients of greatness have not gone out of the bones of the American people. They are equal to great challenge — if they know the facts. They have risen to great heights during crises of the past. They can rise again."

Intellectuals and simply "different." In other words, Americans grasp for small cars in an otherwise encroaching world of conformity. All of which is very interesting, particularly to some egotists who right along had been thinking they bought small cars simply to save on the gasoline bills.

By MARQUIS CHILDS

SAN FRANCISCO THIS California campaign is surely one of the wildest in American history. It was the Republicans bewitched, bewildered and beguiled, while the Democrats, who have long been the skunk at the garden party in California, are anticipating a thumping victory that may extend from top to bottom.

Hardly an example of representative self-government at its best, the Republicans seem to respect almost deliberately to have thrown away their chances of success. They did this in two ways, both of which relate to the ambitions of Sen. William Knowland, land.

THE GREAT SWITCHEROO

Minority leader of the Senate with a distinguished national reputation, Knowland probably have gone on being re-elected to the Senate indefinitely. But because of his presidential aspira-

tions, or so it was believed, he wanted to be governor, and this meant side-tracking Goodwin Knight, who wanted nothing so much in life as to be re-elected to the governorship for another

'PROPOSITION 13' But Knowland had his way and Knight was compelled to consent to the great switcheroo. The final feat was applied by Vice President Nixon, and since he is darling of California's fat cats who turn up at fund-raising dinners wearing "Dick in '60" buttons, rank-and-file Republicans do not absolve him from blame for the catastrophe that seems certain to occur.

In the second place, Knowland wanted to certify his reputation as a conservative. He would thus become the choice of the powerful right wing of his party and go forward to prove that a conservative could be President of

the United States. The senator chose to stake his campaign for the governorship on a right-to-work proposal outlawing the union shop in California, and this is now Proposition 13 on the state's complicated ballot.

However sincere Knowland's motives may have been, the net effect was to stir a tremendous interest among liberal-labor voters in knocking down Proposition 13 and at the same time the man who champions it. Big business is pouring millions of dollars into the state for TV, radio and billboard hawkings right-to-work. One consequence is that the GOP treasury was, prior to Nixon's fund-raising efforts, piously bare. Big labor is pouring in even more millions to defeat Proposition 13.

KNIGHT ON COATTAILS

Opposing the right-to-work amendment, Knight is doing his best to detach himself from Knowland. They do not speak to each other except on such conspicuous public occasions as the visit of President Eisenhower to the state. Since there are sober estimates

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Incidentally, it may appear in hindsight that the most single significant political act of the Eisenhower administration was to take Warren out of California and make him chief justice of the Supreme Court. Warren's moderation and his political understanding fit this booming state like a cozy tent. He appointed Knowland to the Senate and it was thanks in part to his hold on California that the Senator won re-election six years ago by a record majority. Unfortunately, in what appears to be desperation Knowland is resorting to what was called in another Republican campaign, the "back street" technique. He is attacking Democratic national committee man Paul Ziffren for an alleged business connection with a Chicago gangster named Greenberg who was killed in 1955. What this has to do with the candidacy of Brown, who is careful, cautious, conservative-minded, is not clear.

A year ago Nixon talked with considerable candor of the threat to the party for 1960 in losing California, the last big state on which the GOP had a firm grip. That is today a very real peril and it is no consolation to Republicans to say that they, or rather their leaders, asked for it.

that Knowland's Democratic opponent, Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, will win by a majority of up to 5,000,000 votes out of 5,000,000 cast; Knight is doing his best to ride the Brown coat-tails. On the basis of the labor support he has had in the past his backers have organized the "Labor League for Knight and Brown," and a million pieces of literature identifying the two as friends of the union workers are being put into the mail.

COZY TENT GONE

With this strategy Knight is given an outside chance to win. In the past California have been adept at voting for individuals rather than party labels. His opponent is Congressman Clair Engle, who has been putting on a lively and effective campaign. At the same time that Earl Warren was being re-elected governor of California by a majority of a million, the Republican attorney general went down to defeat and this is considered by the Knight forces a hopeful precedent.

People's Platform

Mr. Clark Shows No Skill In Debate

Charlotte Editors, The News: THE WRITER is provoked to express some reactions to the Jones-Clark on-cable debate on a local television station. It was something of a revelation to witness one party to the debate refer to himself.

Mecklenburg Needs Its Own Solicitor

Charlotte Editors, The News: AT THE present time, a concerted effort is being made to insure for all time to come that Mecklenburg County will never have a full-time solicitor, and in addition thereto, to insure that the part-time solicitor which we now have is to continue from year to year. This effort is in the form of an endorsement of the present solicitor, from Gaston County which is being circulated among the lawyers of Mecklenburg County in an effort to obtain their signatures upon the endorsement.

It is regrettable that the Democratic participant apparently made no use of his experience in the legislative halls at Raleigh to train himself in the art of debate. It is a pity that the speaker who delivered his argument with some physical gestures that indicated his sincere belief in his subject.

A real debater with conviction and devotion to a cause would present his case without a script and would assemble his facts in a lucid and logical sequence — delivering his argument with some physical gestures that indicated his sincere belief in his subject.

Between these two counties of Mecklenburg and Gaston, which compose the 14th judicial district, there are 32 weeks of criminal Superior Court held each year. Of these 32 weeks of criminal court, 24 weeks are held in Mecklenburg County, and eight weeks are held in Gaston County. This means that the great percentage of the work load in the criminal Superior Court of this district is located here in Mecklenburg County. Yet the solicitor comes from Gaston County, and here is the reason why that is true. Many years ago, the Democratic party chiefs of Mecklenburg and Gaston counties made an agreement to the effect that the solicitor would come from Gaston County and the judge from Mecklenburg. The purpose behind this was to prevent any conflict between the Democrats of the two counties and thus to insure that a Republican would never be elected to this office. This was further insured by the fact that Gaston, as a heavily Democratic county, was attached to Mecklenburg in the 14th judicial district because the Republican Party never had any vitality, which is very seriously questioned. It should now be completely disregarded because in 1955, the North Carolina Legislature made Mecklenburg a separate judicial district, and put Gaston in a district with smaller counties. To the net effect of this was that Gaston now has its own Superior Court judge. However, the solicitor was still attached to Mecklenburg in the judicial district in order to prevent any one other than a Democrat from being elected to this office.

Let's Let In A Little Fresh Air

Lincolnton Editors, The News: I DON'T think there's any doubt now but what we have a clear-cut fight between a Democrat and a Republican in this congressional race.

Jonas has been in Washington six years now and has done nothing whatever but be against things.

I think we better let that crowd in Washington know we're not voting for him, to observe any report or comment in your newspaper on the debate, an event we consider would be noteworthy and of interest to the voting public.

'Motor Pool' Issue Deserves Clarifying

Charlotte Editors, The News: MR. JONAS in his television court appeal. However, he called upon to answer a Democratic newspaper advertisement which said that the "motor pool bill," about which he has talked so much, was not his idea at all but was a bill which had been introduced in the House of Congress before he was even elected.

However, Mr. Jonas did not really undertake to answer this charge. He did not deny it nor affirm it.

If he did not conceive the bill but simply served as an errand boy in introducing it, then I think it is a fraud on the public for him to claim credit for it for political purposes.

I think this one minor bill is mighty little to show for six years

That's The Return I've Been Afraid Of

A lot of people I've talked with would like to hear Mr. Jonas say for certain whether or not the bill was his idea. He has managed so far to avoid doing that for the past four years.

Oil & Union Pacific Rockefeller Calls His Signals

NEW YORK THAT both Rockefeller and Governor Harriman are trying to get into position to run for the presidency has been an accepted fact. It also has been apparent in recent weeks that the vigorous Republican challenger from the oil empire created by his grandfather was giving the incumbent Democratic governor from the Union Pacific a hard run.

The pros are hedging their bets today on that contest. They feel Harriman will pull through because of the Democratic trend and because the Democratic organization is demonstrably stronger than the Republicans. It is obvious that the oft-silent silence of the voters is ominous for any incumbent officeholder strongly challenged by a fresh and articulate voice.

What politician really talks about is the extent to which Rockefeller is dissociating himself from the acting head of the national Republican party, Rockefeller aides have admitted it and tried to explain that it is a case of local necessity.

His story is that to beat Harriman, Rockefeller must have the votes of independents and liberals



Gov. Harriman May Pull Through

for when Nixon is a bad word. They stress that personally Rockefeller is glad to have Nixon's support for governor but that politically in this state at this time he has no alternative but to keep his distance.

Nixon Calls Signals

This makes sense. Among many independents and liberals in this center of communications, which powerfully influences public opinion, Nixon is a bad word. If it is

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PROS OBSERVE

The pros have observed several things as the New York gubernatorial race progresses. One is that a Rockefeller wants what he wants when he wants it. Nelson has pursued his immediate objective with utter single-mindedness and the efficiency with which his present bid has been operated to shut out rivals and bring support from all possible quarters has been remarkable. Politicians now feel he is looking ahead in the same concentrated manner toward the White House.

They have observed, too, that he has former Gov. Thomas A. Dewey strongly in his corner. Dewey is still the leader of his party in the state and its contact with the business sources of their campaign funds.

Emphatic Letter

The Salt River Valley Classroom Teachers Association of Phoenix, Ariz., immediately sent \$50 and wrote that they would further take the matter up with the Arizona Education Association when it meets in Tempe, Ariz., next week

Refuge of the Egghead

Now we know why there are so many streets. The Washington correspondent of the Paris newspaper, Le Monde, writes that the "egghead's refuge" The fellow says that so many thousands of Americans have purchased the small vehicles because they want to be nonconformists.

Standing Or Slipping

1. We have been either standing still or slipping backward in education while Russia has been making a mad dash at it.

2. A series of bombings, occurring all over the United States, have inaugurated an era of hate and fear in which some religious groups have not been able to worship without police protection.

News of these bombings, published in the European and Asiatic press, have shown the United States a worse black eye than our school children have seen at the hands of the first Russian Sputnik. We have been considered a nation of demagogues and big game hunters, and the world sees us as dynamiters of schools and places of worship.

In one respect, however, reaction to the recent bombings has been more sane than the aftermath of Sputnik. The American people can do something about the bombings. They can't do much about the Sputnik, but they can do something about the dynamiting in Washington has pledged only \$200,000 aid to Clinton, Tenn., all sorts of Americans are sending dollars

One of the most emphatic and significant letters came from J. H. Kaufman, president of the Diversy Engineering Co. He wrote:

"I feel along with you that ours is a government of laws, not of dynamic. As founder and president of Diversy Engineering Co. I feel along with you that the citizens of Clinton should not be penalized for the un-American acts of irresponsible terrorists and idiots.

"My company is engaged in highly sensitive secret space projects in our plants in Huntsville, Ala., and Franklin Park, Ill. I feel that these creatures are doing more harm than could a full squad of riotous thugs in our country. That's the way the American people come to the aid of their fellow men when the U.S. government does it."

From The Kansas City Times

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Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

OCT. 4, 1957 and Oct. 4, 1958 will go down as two significant dates in current American history. It was on Oct. 4, one year ago that an astonished America woke up to find that Russia had jumped ahead in the race to conquer outer space by launching the first Sputnik.

It was on Oct. 4, 1958, just three weeks ago, that Americans woke up to find that a hate-mongering dynamite had blown up the schoolhouse in the town of Clinton, Tenn. The event was not merely to the people of Tennessee but to the entire United States because it emphasized two things:

A Day To Remember In Two Octobers

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