

# IS NIXON FIT TO BE PRESIDENT?

In one agonizing moment, he could become the head of the most powerful nation on earth.

In the record, does he measure up to that kind of job?

By **RICHARD WILSON**

Chief of LOOK's Washington Bureau

HOLLYWOOD probably would reject the story of Vice-President Richard M. Nixon as improbable.

As a man of 40, he could in one agonizing instant become President of the United States. Nearly one third of U. S. Vice-Presidents have ascended to the Presidency.

Ten years ago, he was a struggling junior lawyer in a temporary Government agency. Seven years ago, he was a naval lieutenant commander ready for discharge, with meager savings and no foreseeable job.

Five years ago, as a very junior congressman, he nailed Alger Hiss as a perjurer and communist tool.

Almost five months ago, as a candidate for Vice-President, his own honesty and integrity were under challenge in one of the most sensational incidents in American politics.

And, today, an important minority in American life asks: Is this brilliant young man fit to stand at the head of the most powerful nation on earth, as he may be called upon to do at any moment?

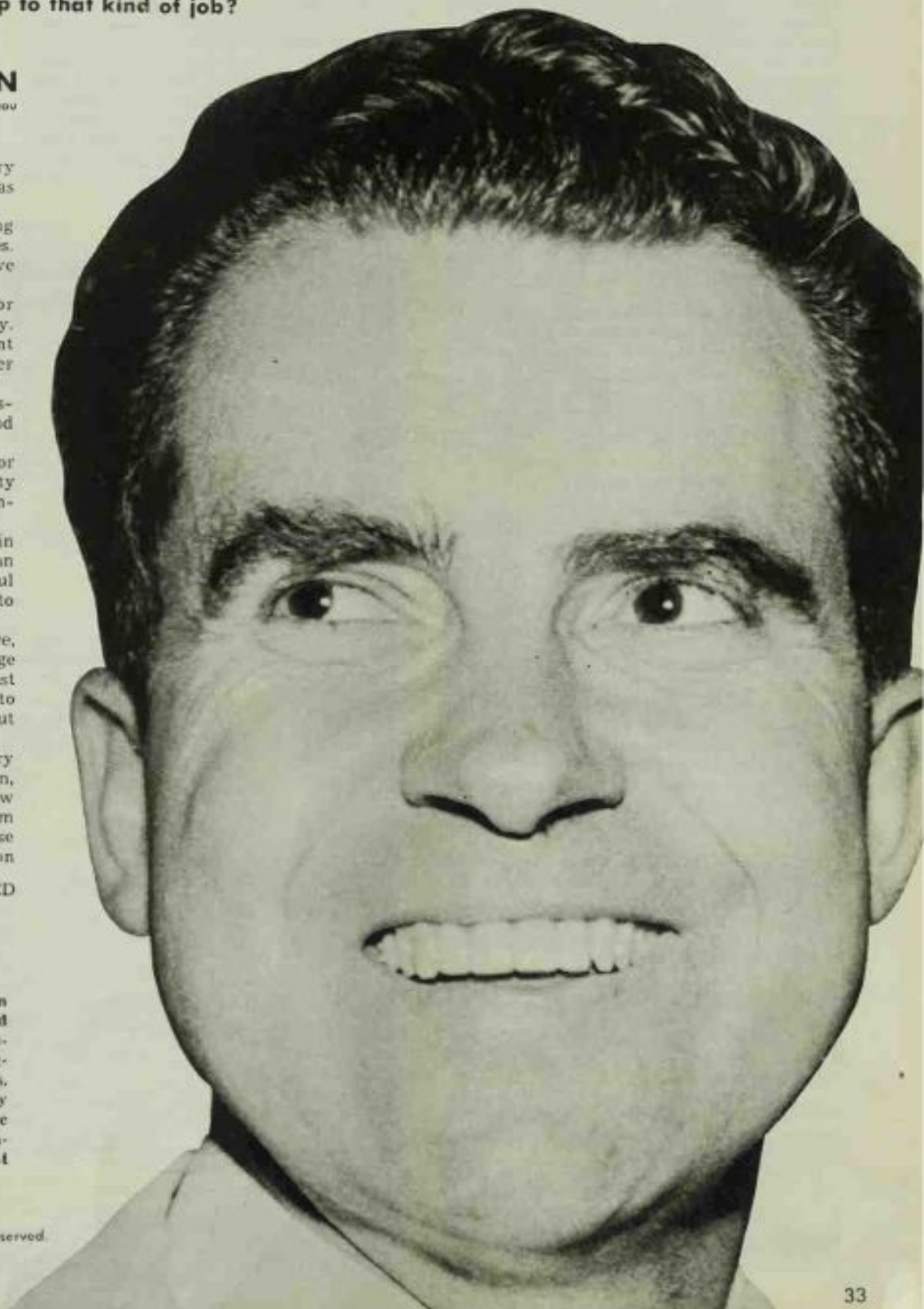
The question persists, or is kept alive, without much regard for the facts. No charge of wrongdoing has been sustained against Nixon, though he has been, and continues to be subjected to a smear campaign without parallel.

It is now possible to tell the Nixon story which could not be told during the campaign, not in all its intimate detail with access to new data, including his income-tax returns from 1947 through 1951. The essential parts of those returns are displayed for the first time on these pages.

CONTINUED



This is the 20th year in Washington for Richard Wilson as chief of bureau for the Cowles magazines and newspapers. He has covered every national campaign since 1933, traveling with candidates for President and Vice-President.





# Ike kept him on the hook for a week, w

Unless one were to assume that Nixon was a reckless criminal, the new data leads to only one set of conclusions:

**He received no money personally from any of his supporters.**

**He lived on his congressional income supplemented by legitimate speaking engagements, with little enough pay for those.**

**His only receipt of a significant lump sum was from the sale of war bonds he and his wife saved over a five-year period.**

The returns confirm meticulously the accounting he gave to the American public by television during the campaign. The political fund held in trust to insure his re-election as a California senator is accounted for with the same careful detail. In addition, he spent considerable sums out of his own pocket for legitimate political activity—which he reported to the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Nixon is being subjected to a continuing attack. He is the victim of apparent forgeries, admittedly false charges, innuendoes not yet backed by fact. It is a campaign in which the former President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, directly participated. His hatred of Nixon has not abated with the end of the campaign.

Nixon describes the attack as inspired by Communists and left-wingers who never will forgive him for his part in putting Alger Hiss in jail. But, from a more detached point of view, the attack on Nixon and the doubt about him seem more especially the property of the top intellectual cut of America, the "egg heads."

## Were They Duped?

A thorough examination of the Nixon affair raises a question whether the intellectuals may have been duped and misled by a propaganda attack which appealed more to their emotions than their intellect.

In condemning Nixon, they have largely set aside his broader activities in Congress. They see him only in his role of Red hunter, which, in point of time consumed, has been one of his minor interests. They have ignored his broader activities in foreign relations and the general run of domestic affairs.

But, on the single point of his integrity, now that the telling of the Nixon story is uninhibited by the necessity of winning an election, and with access to heretofore unpublished information, the Nixon affair appears in a new frame.

Candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower's campaign train was rocketing across Iowa when the news came on September 18, 1952, that a group of California businessmen had contributed an \$18,000 fund to pay political expenses of the California senator.

The first news was ominous. It left the possible implication that some 75 California businessmen, by making contributions ranging from \$25 to \$1000, had bought their way into the favor of Nixon on a permanent and continuing basis.

They were made to appear to be underwriting him in the Senate—in effect, subsidizing his services or at least laying a claim on them for future delivery.

There was a delayed reaction, for the Middle Western newspapers had not instantly grasped the significance of the news and did not play it prominently until some 18 hours after the first break.

Thus, for a brief period, Ike's associates on the campaign train were lulled into thinking that the Nixon fund was something which would go away if one just didn't stare at it. But before many hours, the reaction from the East began to pour in. By the time Ike had passed through Omaha, a pall thicker than the tobacco smoke in the press work car settled over the 18-car "Look Ahead, Neighbor" special train.

The air seemed to have been let out of the Eisenhower campaign against Truman administration corruption by the sensational discovery of a culprit one step from the top of the Republican ticket and with an \$18,000 price tag pinned to him.

Two points of view soon developed among Ike's close advisers. One group thought Nixon should renounce the nomination and permit the Republican National Committee to select a new candidate. The other group, headed by Republican Chairman Arthur Summerfield, took Nixon's side almost immediately. Eisenhower instinctively clamped his jaws in silence. He had in mind incidents long past in his career

when officers with whom he was associated or who were under him, were on the pa greater sins of bad judgment which had human lives. A vision of Gen. George F. whom he had to punish in World War II, before his eyes, and perhaps he recalled his own difficulties with Gen. Douglas Arthur in the Philippines in his early career.

Ike knew instinctively that to rush to on's defense was a tactical error strongly reminiscent of President Truman's transp bravado that all in his administration "honorable men." Forty-eight hours after first news, with Nixon still on the hook decided to talk to the newspapermen. He s them together for an off-the-record to the press car on the afternoon of Septe 20 as the gloomy train neared St. Louis shroud of rain, the first of the campaign.

"I don't care if you fellows are 44 against me, but I'm taking my time or Nothing's decided, contrary to your idea this is all a setup for a whitewash of N Ike said.

In 1951, he made \$19,870.45 gross and paid a tax of \$1653.38 in addition to \$1802.88 with

FORM 1048  
U. S. INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RETURN  
FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1951  
and ending December 31, 1951

Do not write in these spaces

NAME: Richard M. and Patricia L. Nixon  
RESIDENCE ADDRESS: 15257 Anacosta St., Shattuck, Calif.  
Social Security No.: 5-100-100000

1. List your name. If your wife (or husband) had no income, or if this is a joint return, list also her (or his) name.  
A. Richard M. Nixon  
B. Patricia L. Nixon

2. Enter number of your children (including adopted children) with 1951 gross income of less than \$600 who received more than one-half of their support from you in 1951. See instructions.

3. Enter number of exemptions claimed for close relatives listed in Schedule J on page 2.

4. Enter total number of exemptions claimed in A to D above.

5. Enter your total wages, salaries, bonuses, commissions, and other compensation received in 1951, before any deductions. Persons claiming traveling or entertainment expenses, see instructions.

6. Enter total amount of interest, dividends, or any other income, give details on page 2.

7. If you received dividends, interest, or any other income, give details on page 2.

8. Add income shown in items 5 and 6, and enter the total here.

9. If your income was LESS THAN \$1000—Use the tax table on page 4 unless you qualify for a refund. If your income was \$1000 OR MORE—Complete tax on page 3. Use standard deduction or itemized deductions, whichever is to your advantage.

10. (A) Enter your tax from table on page 4, or from line 12, page 3.  
(B) By use of worksheet (see item 2, above). Attach Original Form W-2 (see instructions) on 1951 Declaration of Estimated Tax (see instructions) if you are claiming a refund.  
(C) If your tax (item 9) is larger than payments (item 10), enter any overpayment on your 1950 tax not claimed as a refund.

11. If your tax (item 9) is larger than payments (item 10), enter the amount of tax due here. This balance must be paid in full with return.

12. If your payments (item 10) are larger than your tax (item 9), enter the overpayment here.

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31



# Running mate's affairs were examined

"Nixon has got to be as clean as a hound's back."

But there was grumbling in some of the ears where the more idealistic and less experienced of the Eisenhower advisers wanted him to vanish in a Wagnerian climax of fire and smoke.

With Nixon, the reaction was somewhat different. He had known that the operations of the fund would come to light and, in fact, told a reporter after a Meet the Press broadcast more than a week earlier that he could get all the details from his old friend and trustee of the fund, Dana C. Smith of Los Angeles. But when the news came there he was, 2000 miles from Ike, dangling on the hook in Oregon.

By the night of September 20, the suspense became unbearable. Nixon bedded down at the Sheraton Hotel in Portland. Ike's continued attitude of openmindedness on the Nixon charges was the disturbing factor and it needed to be settled.

Telephone calls between the two camps failed to dispel the element of doubt. Finally,

Nixon and Eisenhower talked. "General, I'm only interested in seeing that you win," declared Nixon. "If you think that my remaining on the ticket jeopardizes the chance to win, I will turn in my resignation right now."

Eisenhower told Nixon, "Let's wait and see what all the facts are." Nixon also informed Chairman Summerfield he was ready to quit if Ike wanted it that way. Summerfield definitely did not want it that way.

A strategy emerged from talks between Chairman Summerfield, former Sen. Fred Seaton of Nebraska, acting for Eisenhower, Murray Chotiner, Los Angeles lawyer and close adviser to Nixon, and William Rogers, now deputy attorney general, who was Nixon's chief campaign aid. It was a strategy of full disclosure, to be capped by a television appearance by Nixon telling his complete financial status.

The first step was a statement by Smith disclosing all the contributors to the fund, the amounts of their contributions and the purpose of the fund.

Nixon followed through with a statement that the fund was "set up to pay for strictly political activities in which all public servants must take part, and in which all public servants independently wealthy are financially able to participate without assistance."

"I have never received one penny of this fund for my personal use," he said. "This fund has been a matter of public knowledge from its inception; no attempt has ever been made to conceal its existence or purpose. All disbursements were made by Mr. Smith, by check, as trustee."

"Contributors to this fund are long-time supporters of mine who sincerely wish to enable me to continue my active battle against communism and corruption. None of them ever asked for or received any special consideration from me."

"This fund represents a normal, legitimate, open matter of permitting constituents actively to support the political activity of a candidate of their own choice. Any other interpretation is a grave injustice to a fine group of public-spirited community leaders."

Price Waterhouse & Co., a leading firm of public accountants, was employed to make a thorough audit and examination of the Nixon expense fund. It found contributions of \$18,235 from November 5, 1950, to August 20, 1952, plus approximately \$11,000 which was to be turned over by Smith, as trustee, to the Nixon campaign for the Vice-Presidency.

## A Thorough Audit

Disbursements of \$18,168.87 were accounted for. The three principal items were for expenses of Mr. and Mrs. Nixon for trips to and from California, \$2306.54; Christmas cards for 16,500 campaign workers in 1950 and 25,000 in 1951 at a total cost of \$4237.54; postage, \$1202.30. Remaining items were for stationery, telephone and telegraph, radio recordings, newspaper advertising and publicity, entertainment and luncheons for Nixon supporters and other items of a similar nature.

Price Waterhouse & Co. reported no direct payments to Nixon or Mrs. Nixon. He received none of the money for personal use, according to these reports, nor did he pay out any of it for personal use.

Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, one of the leading law firms on the West Coast, rendered a detailed legal opinion that the fund and its use in no way violated any laws on corrupt political practice or laws which prohibit Federal public-office holders from receiving outside compensation connected with their public duties.

Smith, to explain the purpose of the fund, gave out a copy of a letter written a year before the disclosures and dated September 25, 1951, soliciting funds for the Nixon promotion.

"A group of us here, after the dust of battle had settled and we found that Dick was safely elected, began to realize that electing him was only part of what we really wanted to accomplish. We not only wanted a good man in the Senate from this state, but we wanted him to continue to sell effectively to the people of California the economic and political systems which we all believe in," Smith had written in 1951.

Smith listed the purposes for which the fund would be used: transportation to California more frequently than Nixon's congressional mileage allowance would permit; payment of air-mail, long-distance and telegraph charges; preparation of political material;

CONTINUED

| DEDUCTIONS                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Contributions</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                 |
| March of Dimes                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | \$ 20.00        |
| Salvation Army                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 35.00           |
| American Legion - Hospital Fund & Rehabilitation Program                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 30.00           |
| LeRoy Boys Home                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 22.00           |
| Beta Sigma Phi Sorority at Modesto, Calif. (Police fund)                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 25.00           |
| San Antonio Boys Home                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 5.00            |
| Whittier Girl Scouts                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 20.00           |
| Granbery Boy's Club                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 10.00           |
| Jim Thorpe Fund                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 70.00           |
| Citizens Committee                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 5.00            |
| Visiting Nurse Association, Whittier, Calif.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 25.00           |
| Casa Collins Convalescent Home                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 10.00           |
| Reader's Digest Fund for Blind                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 10.00           |
| National Society for Blind                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 15.00           |
| Duke University                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 5.00            |
| Whittier Friends Church                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 25.00           |
| Red Cross                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 50.00           |
| Community Chest                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 30.00           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <u>\$462.00</u> |
| <b>Interest</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                 |
| Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | \$120.00        |
| Bank of America, Whittier, California                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 235.54          |
| Prudential Life Insurance of America                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <u>359.20</u>   |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | \$714.74        |
| <b>Taxes</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                 |
| D. C. Sales Tax (\$8500 at 2%)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | \$170.00        |
| California Real Estate Tax                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 237.48          |
| Washington, D. C. Real Estate Tax                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 153.99          |
| California Car Tax                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 44.00           |
| California Income Tax                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <u>62.00</u>    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | \$667.47        |
| <b>Miscellaneous</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                 |
| (NOTE: Office expenses over and above Congressional allowance of \$2500.00, which was expended for living expenses in Washington, D. C., in accordance with letter from Commissioner of Internal Revenue to Hon. Pete Jarnan, making ruling on January 9, 1948.) |                 |
| Entertainment and lunches for constituents in Washington on official business                                                                                                                                                                                    | \$665.00        |
| Unreimbursed expenses on speaking engagements                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 199.05          |
| " Geneva trip (official business)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 80.00           |
| Miscellaneous office expenses (unreimbursed)                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <u>120.00</u>   |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | \$1264.05       |



**His broadcast  
was planned to  
turn the tables**

mailing out Christmas cards to 20,000 campaign workers; cost of radio, television, advertising and publicity.

This clearly was to be a publicity and public-relations campaign for Nixon and his ideas, on a very limited scale when compared with budgets for nationwide campaigns of a similar nature.

Contributions were to range between a minimum of \$100 and \$500. "The reason for the maximum," wrote Smith, "was so that it can never be charged that anyone is contributing so much as to think he is entitled to special favors."

## No Special Favors

Smith added: "I am writing you about it for a twofold purpose:

"1st: So that when you see or hear of money being spent on Dick's behalf you will know how it has been raised and that there isn't anybody who is thereby acquiring any kind of a hold on our senator.

"2nd: So that if you agree with the usefulness of such a program, both to the senator and all of the rest of us including yourself, and want to come in with us on it, you will know about it and have an opportunity to do so."

With these documents as a background, Nixon was then prepared to go on television to explain his finances. Chotiner talked to Robert Humphreys, publicity director of the Republican party, about the arrangements. Humphreys discovered that a commercial sponsor was prepared to cancel its regularly scheduled program and put on Nixon free of charge.

Nixon refused to go on a commercially sponsored program. He demanded the fullest television network, paid for by funds of the Eisenhower-Nixon campaign. Humphreys set up a program on a scale regarded by Nixon as too limited. He appealed to Summerfield, who assured him that full network facilities would be bought. He didn't know where he would get the money but promised to find it somewhere.

The Nixon party left the special train and flew by chartered plane from Portland to Los Angeles with all aboard bathed in emotional tension. Newspaper reporters on the train became intense partisans of Nixon. They doubted that the vice-presidential nominee could ever forgive Eisenhower for the awful suspense in which he held his running mate.

On September 23 in Los Angeles, Nixon closeted himself with his conscience and his advisers to prepare for what became the most sensational political broadcast in history. His strategy board was Rogers, Chotiner, James Bassett, publicity adviser, and Rep. Patrick J. Hillings of California. Nixon plunged into the Ambassador Hotel swimming pool to ease his

**He never did make big money** and operating expenses took a big bite; it's all here in the 1949 and 1950 tax records signed by Pat in a joint return.

[illegible]



**DEBITORS**

**Contributions**

|                                              |              |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Casa Colima Home, Pomona, Calif.             | \$ 10.00     |
| American Legion, D.A.V. Rehabilitation Funds | 40.00        |
| East Whittier Friends Church                 | 40.00        |
| City of Hope                                 | 10.00        |
| March of Dimes, Salvation Army, Red Cross    | 45.00        |
| Crippled Childrens' Society                  | 10.00        |
| Knights of Columbus                          | <u>10.00</u> |
|                                              | \$165.00     |

**Interests**

|                                                    |           |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Real estate loan - Bank of Amer., Whittier, Calif. | \$ 432.00 |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------|

**Taxes**

|                              |              |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| California State Income Tax  | \$ 66.38     |
| Alexandria City Tax          | 20.90        |
| California Motor Vehicle Tax | 30.00        |
| California Property Tax      | <u>66.00</u> |
|                              | \$183.28     |

**Miscellaneous**

(Office expense over and above Congressional allowance of \$2,500.00, which was expended for living expenses in Washington, D. C., in accordance with letter from Commissioner of Internal Revenue to Hon. Pete Jarman, asking ruling on January 9, 1948.)

|                                                                                  |              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
|                                                                                  | \$ 325.00    |
| 1. Additional secretarial help                                                   | 260.00       |
| 2. Entertainment and lunches for constituents in Washington on official business | 172.00       |
| 3. Subscriptions to 12th District newspapers                                     | 108.00       |
| 4. Purchase of mailing lists for publications                                    | 148.00       |
| 5. Telephone and telegraph (in excess of allowance)                              | 164.55       |
| 6. Duplicating and printing                                                      | 108.00       |
| 7. Air mail stamps (in excess of allowance)                                      | 112.16       |
| 8. Excess stationery account expense                                             | <u>30.00</u> |
| 9. Repairs and maintenance of office equipment                                   | \$1,427.71   |

The hour of the broadcast came. It was introduced by a picture of Nixon's calling card as a United States senator. Then Nixon:

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① I stand before you as candidate for vesp -  
And as a man whose honesty & integrity have been  
1. tested political they to do when change  
are made is to ignore them -  
2. I believe we've had too much of that in this  
Administration & in Service -  
3. Office of Vesp is great - People must  
have confidence in integrity of men -  
I have theory - but only answer to service =  
a honest unimpeachability = the truth -

You have read the charge that I took  
15,000 from a group of my expatri-

① Was it wrong? - of intelligent

2. for personal use

Q. Yes - if secretly given

Q. Yes - if any contributors got special favor

Q. Yours truly not paid -

② the answer:

Q. Not a cent to me, all for <sup>God</sup> joy. —  
I didn't think I should be bound to keep

② Not want - says it to Edson -

handed by book not c. h. - 7 1/2 cent.

*C. No. man. scirgida* ~~from~~ ~~from~~

... not given to all -

[illegible]

Q. 6. *armata* - one -  
Q. 7. *K. tenebra* - one - *sp. ad. to spec. in*  
*one specimen - gold. l. again - last. it.*

(2) <sup>Let you say</sup>  
Then what was it used for + why?

I shall tell you what a private note

@ 15,000' - salary -

@ 1 trip a year for a G. & S. Co.

Q. enough to hire 13 people + supply  
but paid to Chy - not to hire

② But I am by no means not content

Do you think when speech-printing

Q Do you think things - to make up

© Do you think broadcast is good?

No-how can you pay for them?—Yes

Q. Rich man -

④. W. f. in pagell - Epidium

Legal fees - I didn't

(d) *Epinephelus* - caught the way - 1/2

B. This is best way - hand it

felt in my heart against Louis

Conjecture, with nothing in return

no part of any copyright or patent of any  
note audit should be required but -

But you say - still not satisfied.

Have I birthed in me? -

My entire financial history:

My dear General & Mary  
I have been so lately

Q. How soon?

Q. 3. 1/2 - now  
Q. 10. 1/2 - now

Wanted in 40: master house

② Name - *Ursus arctos* -

Parent - Mrs. [illegible]

## The only notes Nixon used for his famed telecast

All through the day of last Sept. 23, Vice-President Nixon scribbled on pages of yellow ruled paper notes for his celebrated television broadcast. Disconnected phrases were finally assembled into the outline on these pages. In a rented car en route to the studio, he was still revising while he talked to his associate, William Rogers, now Deputy Attorney General. The final figures on his financial accounting had reached him only two hours before broadcast time. He went on the air without a rehearsal of any kind, contrary to hostile reports that he spent hours practicing gestures, phrases and intonations. At the end

of the broadcast, he tossed the outline of his speech on the studio floor where it was retrieved by Murray Chotiner, another adviser, who kept it until Nixon began to wonder weeks later what had become of his notes. As a lawyer and public speaker, Nixon trained himself over a period of 10 years to organize in his mind an orderly presentation of his subject, with reference only to carefully made outlines. He has often made such presentations on the floor of the House and before committees without any outline at all. This training paid off in the 1952 campaign for the Vice-Presidency.







# A forged letter comes out, purporting

"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."

Then the details of an American life—the \$13,000 home in Whittier... the more ambitious \$41,000 house in Washington... and the \$10,000 in war bonds he and his wife sold to buy it... the mortgages... the pitifully small amount of life insurance... the dog Checkers... service as an officer in the Navy where the bombs were falling... the unjust accusation.

Fifty-eight million were watching and listening, and they included Gen. and Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower in an anteroom of the Public Hall in Cleveland. Tears were shed there and in thousands of homes the country over, as well as in the television theater itself where TV technicians unashamedly cried.

Young Senator Nixon touched the hearts of a majority of Americans. His intimate account of how he had made his way in life, of the financial burdens he carried, and his pretensions to live as he thought he should, though on very slender resources, awakened in many the pity of their own strivings in a world that is often hard and unjust.

## Phone Calls Flooded in

To some, the broadcast was unbearably corny, political soap opera at its worst, with the American public duped and lulled by the narcotic of a Hollywood-type television personality. They were in a minority.

The first concrete result was the isolation of Senator Nixon and his party from the rest of the United States. Telephone and telegraph wires the country over were jammed by tens of thousands of phone calls and telegrams. It was impossible to reach Nixon's Ambassador Hotel headquarters on the telephone. A million and a half telegrams supporting Nixon poured in on Republican headquarters in Washington.

Eisenhower, with Nixon's broad, earnest face fresh in his mind, stepped into the emotionally surcharged atmosphere of Cleveland Public Hall, where the radio broadcast had also been heard.

"I have been a warrior and I like courage," said Ike. "Tonight, I saw an example of courage." But Ike said he couldn't base his entire judgment on a 30-minute presentation, though it was courageous, full and frank. He told the Cleveland crowd he was asking Nixon to come to see him for a "face to face" talk and read the text of a telegram of invitation he and his advisers composed after hearing Nixon.

It is well that Ike gave out the text of the telegram publicly, for it did not reach Nixon's headquarters until days later. The wires were so jammed with messages connected with the broadcast that the telegram didn't get through immediately. Nixon knew of its existence only through a dispatch of the United Press.

When Nixon left Los Angeles the following day, no one, including himself, knew whether he would fly to see Ike at Wheeling, W. Va. or go to Montana to speak.

Nixon's advisers recommended that he not go to Wheeling to see the presidential candidate until he knew what his reception would be. They told him not to step out into the dark when he could not see the path. He would go to Wheeling, even for a Wagnerian climax of fire and smoke, but not unless he knew whether he would have to take an asbestos suit.

From his point of view, the evidence was

all in, there was nothing more and the defense rested. He wanted the verdict. It was not long in coming.

Chairman Summerfield assured Chotiner on the telephone at Missoula, Mont., that when he arrived in Wheeling Nixon would be received back in the fold with open arms. Sen. Robert A. Taft discovered this before Summerfield. That was the night before in Cincinnati and before Ike heard the broadcast but after he had seen the accounting and legal opinions.

With foreknowledge, Nixon flew happily from Missoula to Wheeling into one of the greatest surprises of his young life. Chotiner preceded him off the aircraft with a complicated set of instructions. He was to raise one arm if Nixon was expected to go direct to the hall where Ike was scheduled to speak; two hands meant to go to the hotel to meet Ike.

"Suppose you raise two hands and one foot?" asked a reporter. "That means go right back into the plane," quipped Chotiner. "And if I raise both hands and both feet, that means we are flat on our back."

No hand or foot signals proved necessary. Ike was at the airport and skipped up the ramp into the plane to greet Nixon. They embraced. "General, you didn't have to do this," said the surprised Nixon. "Why not, you're my boy," declared Ike happily.

These events were unknown to the press and the public at the time. It was assumed that Nixon's future hung on a face-to-face talk with Eisenhower. They talked, but with little reference to the controversial fund. Their discussion was of campaign strategy in view of other charges that might be made against Nixon, which actually did develop later, and of how the whole incident could now be used to help the Republican ticket.

If Nixon resented Eisenhower's keeping him on the hook for seven days, it was washed out now. "If Ike would do that to me, you can be sure there will be no cover-ups or white-washes in his administration," said Nixon.

Reporters called it the renomination of Nixon after a week-long emotional jag in the Republican party. A poll of the Republican National Committee showed them virtually unanimous in wanting Nixon retained.

## Attacks Continued

This, however, was not to be the end, and the end has not come yet. One broadcaster and two publications were the channels through which the fight against Nixon was carried on in a misleading campaign which has not had its parallel since the attack on Herbert Hoover in 1932. These were Drew Pearson, the New York Post and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

They continued their campaign after two factors doused the political dynamite of the political fund itself. One was the disclosure that businessmen and others in Illinois raised a fund of much larger proportions to supplement the salaries of personnel of Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson's administration.

In this case, Stevenson received the money and distributed it himself to employees who thought they couldn't afford to work for the Illinois government without a supplement to their income. This took the sting out of the Nixon fund. A large section of the public had already decided that there was nothing legally wrong with the Nixon fund and that as applied it was not morally wrong.

Furthermore, another Stevenson fund,



Nixon broke down and wept when he learned that Eisenhower was still standing up for him.

larger than the first and collected from contractors doing business with the state of Illinois, had been revealed. It never was explained.

Most Republicans, however, would have preferred that the Nixon fund had not even though the attack on the Vice-President proved to be a political boomerang.

The next step in the campaign against California senator was an attempt to damage him in acts of favoritism for those who organized and contributed to the fund.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, while supporting Stevenson, announced in a headline on October 30: "Nixon and Smith when Donor got into Gaming." The article declared that Nixon went to Havana with Dana C. Smith, the trustee of the political fund, and was with him at the Souci gambling casino when Smith lost \$10,000. This occurred, according to the Post-Dispatch, in April of 1952 after Nixon had lived for a year with Smith at the elite Quarter Deck Club operated by the Macfadden Daily Hotel at Miami Beach, Fla.

Smith, according to the story, made a check to cover his gambling losses to the Souci and then stopped payment on it. Rothman, operator of the casino, sought cover in a court action filed in Los Angeles, which was stated.

The newspaper cited the fact that Nixon had written a letter to the American people in Havana asking them to help Smith.

The statement that Nixon was with Smith at Havana is branded by Nixon as a forgery. Records of his office account for his whereabouts from the middle of March to April. In fact, every day from March through April is accounted for with a corroboration for his whereabouts, including a 10-day visit to Honolulu to participate in territorial political festivities. He was in Miami nor in Havana in April, according to these records.

Furthermore, he did not know of the effort of Smith to quiet the claim of the Souci casino through the American people. Nixon's correspondence files show that the letter to the embassy was written by a man and signed by her in his name on the station of a superior. Nixon did not know whether it had been written or anything.



# connect him with a \$52,000 slush fund

of the case.

This may have been bad office practice, but it was not an effort by Nixon to help the man who had raised his political fund. Nixon was in Florida for a few days in December, but at Delray Beach. His whereabouts were not reported for because he was with Democratic George Smathers most of the time.

In November 2, two days before the election, the false charges were repeated by Drew Pearson in his weekly broadcast.

One of a number of attacks made by Pearson, Nixon was in a column published on December 31. He claimed that Mrs. Nixon filed half of herself and her husband a sworn statement in California that their joint property did not exceed \$10,000. This was to enable Pearson said, to take advantage of a California tax deduction whereby a veteran in certain circumstances is given a tax exemption of about \$50.

However, Pearson added, in July of the year Nixon paid \$20,000 on a \$41,000 house in Washington, as disclosed in his television broadcast. "If he lacked \$10,000 in July of 1951, where did he get the \$20,000? This is a question the public has a right to ask of any candidate for office."

The implications of Pearson's statement were clear. In the first place, it was suggested that Nixon might be chiseling on his California property tax. In the second place, the question was raised of how he got a sudden influx of money to pay for his Washington house.

These factors got at the very heart of the matter. Was this not a reasonable demonstration that he was taking money from the source and thus was not fit to hold public office?

## Retraction Demanded

A writer could, of course, wriggle out of such conferences, but not until after they had been implanted in the public mind just before the election.

Nixon made a formal legal demand for retraction on Pearson, his syndicate and newspaper which published the column. He demanded that Mrs. Nixon had made no such application whatsoever, and insisted on a retraction before the election.

Pearson was thus faced with having to retract on investigation. He said he discovered that in the Los Angeles area there were another Richard and Pat Nixon, no kin to and unknown to the senator and his wife, who had made such a declaration. Buried at the end of a column several weeks after the election, Pearson's retraction appeared. He skinned back completely and admitted error but as inconspicuously, and as far as possible.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch was not in the position of having to retract. It had deleted the item from Pearson's column in the first place, and, during the course of the inquiry by the working on this phase of the Nixon attack, the Los Angeles tax assessor, John Quinn, asked a strange question of reporters: "Did it occur to you," he asked, "that there might be two Richard and Pat Nixons?" That was about as far as Quinn could go in view of the fact that applications for veterans' tax deductions were supposed to be confidential.

The basic facts were that Nixon made a payment on his house from several years' sale of his war bonds which he and his wife had accumulated over a five-year

period, proceeds from his speaking engagements, proceeds from the sale of his house in California, and his and his wife's small inheritance.

The practice of smearing Nixon had now become a bit hot to handle, but time was wasting and the Democratic National Committee took it up. Democratic politicians, meantime, had started a whispering campaign that something new and dire was about to be disclosed.

The Democratic Committee issued a statement declaring Nixon and his family owned real estate "conservatively valued at a quarter of a million dollars." Said Nixon: "A lie." It was stated that his brother owns a large drive-in restaurant in Whittier. Nixon said this was also a lie. His brother actually rents a modest drive-in, owns no part of it. He just runs a restaurant. Nixon did not contribute anything to the business, directly or indirectly, nor has he contributed anything to his parents to buy real estate.

His mother and father put their lifetime savings in a Pennsylvania farm property (\$11,000) and a Florida house (\$7000). Both parents dreamed of returning to the East to live on a small farm, and this would also bring them nearer their son Dick. The little farm between Hanover and York, Pa., has only 30 tillable acres out of 50. The elder Nixon, 75, tried it for a while, broke an arm while operating a tractor and discovered that 30 tillable acres is not a living. The farm is now rented, so is the house in Florida; and the elder Nixons are back in Whittier, Calif. If the Democratic National Committee had added more carefully it would have reduced its quarter million dollar estimate of the value of Nixon family property to about \$75,000.

Another more frightening phase of the Nixon smear did not reach the point of publication. It was kept alive, however, after the campaign. Just before Christmas a subcommittee of the Senate Elections Committee conducted a secret inquiry with unexpected results. In this case, the tables have been turned

and Nixon's tormentors may find themselves in serious trouble when the committee makes public its report.

This incident needs to be cast against its political background. All through the campaign, there were rumors that there was still more against the Republican vice-presidential nominee than had yet been exposed. Not only was there more, but it was worse, according to the reports. President Truman went to San Francisco for a speech supporting Stevenson. In a private conference with Democratic leaders, he said: "Documentary evidence has been dug up linking Nixon with another fund. He won't get off the hook this time."

The "documentary evidence," it can now be revealed, was a letter addressed to Franklyn Waltman publicity director of the Sun Oil Company, and purporting to be signed by H. W. Sanders, vice president and treasurer of the Union Oil Company of California. It was dated April 10, 1950.

## Bait for the Unwary

Waltman stated under oath that he never received such a letter. Sanders stated under oath that he never wrote such a letter. The letter is regarded as a forgery. It said:

"Dear Frank: To be certain that there was no misunderstanding in our conversation, let me explain that when I said that we would be paying Dick Nixon more than \$52,000 in the course of this year, I did not mean that all of it would come from our side, although a substantial part does. The remainder comes from our business friends in the area and from other sections of the oil industry."

"However, even though you do not subscribe, feel free to call on him for anything you need in Washington. He regards himself as serving our whole industry."

This palpable fraud was placed in a cunning package. It was supposed to have been sent to a New York public-relations man by the head of a reputable Los Angeles public-relations firm to support an argument he was

CONTINUED

## SUMMARY OF NIXON'S INCOME-TAX RETURNS

| 1947                                      |             | 1948                         |             |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| <b>INCOME:</b>                            |             | <b>INCOME:</b>               |             |
| Salary                                    | \$11,458.33 | Salary                       | \$12,500.00 |
| Other income                              | 1,075.00    | Interest                     | 600.00      |
| Total                                     | 12,533.33   | Total                        | 13,100.00   |
| <b>LESS</b>                               |             | <b>LESS:</b>                 |             |
| Allowable office expenses                 | 1,225.97    | Allowable office expenses    | 1,608.58    |
|                                           | 11,307.36   |                              | 11,491.42   |
| One half reported by Nixon*               | 5,653.68    | <b>DEDUCTIONS:</b>           |             |
| <b>DEDUCTIONS:</b>                        |             | Contributions                | 250.00      |
| (Nixon took only standard amount allowed) | 500.00      | Taxes                        | 79.04       |
|                                           | 5,153.68    | Medical expense              | 176.00      |
| <b>EXEMPTIONS:</b>                        |             | Total                        | 505.04      |
| (Nixon claimed himself and one daughter)* | 1,000.00    | <b>EXEMPTIONS:</b>           |             |
| <b>TAXABLE INCOME</b>                     |             | (Nixon, wife, two daughters) | 2,400.00    |
| <b>TAX AT 1947 RATE</b>                   | 835.96      | <b>TAXABLE INCOME</b>        |             |
|                                           |             | <b>TAX AT 1948 RATE</b>      |             |
|                                           |             |                              | 1,572.66    |

\*In 1947, as allowed by California law, Nixon split his income under community-property rights. In 1948, income-splitting privilege was extended by Federal law to all states.



# Now the record is in — and judgment can be passed

making. The argument was over whether members of the Public Relations Society of America should make it a practice to represent labor unions as well as business concerns.

The covering letter purporting to be from the Los Angeles public-relations head was an argument to the New York public-relations man against his position that members of the society should represent labor unions. "It's all a matter of practical politics. Our principal sources of income are with business management. So we just represent the point of view of business management and cannot at the same time represent the opposing point of view of labor," the letter said. "... if you tried to represent your labor client in Washington very powerful forces would be aligned against you."

In proof of this, the foregoing \$52,000 letter was enclosed.

This correspondence found its way through political channels into the hands of the New York Post and Drew Pearson. The New York Post's editors decided it was too dangerous to handle. Pearson did not refer to it directly during the campaign. But after the election, he suggested that if a letter in the possession of the Sun Oil Company were made public it would blow Nixon out of the water.

Just before Christmas, Sen. Robert C. Hendrickson of New Jersey, a Republican member of the Senate Elections Committee, consulted Nixon on this phase of the attack. "I think that under the circumstances a full investigation should be made," Nixon said. "I want the committee to call all the people involved."

## Both Letters Were Forgeries

Hearings were held in executive session by a subcommittee composed of Hendrickson, Sen. Carl Hayden (Dem., Ariz.) and Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (Dem., Mo.). The inquiry revealed nothing Nixon had not told them, that both letters were forgeries. A handwriting expert testified the letters had been forged.

Nixon asked for an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation which prepared to take the case before the Federal grand jury on the ground that the New York public-relations man had perjured himself before the committee. According to his story to the committee, he "guessed" the letters might be forged, and then declared he did not know they were forged.

The West Coast publicity man was not blamed in this sordid incident. He testified he did not write the letter attributed to him.

Nixon has evidence that several investigators were assigned to run down his record in the U. S. Navy. At one stage of his naval career, he renegotiated contracts between the Navy and private concerns. It was probably inevitable, therefore, that his relationship to the ERCO Co. of Riverdale, Md., near Washington, would be brought to light. ERCO is an engineering firm which had a Navy contract.

Nixon, who was stationed in Baltimore, was assigned to review the company's contract to determine whether it should be paid more than it had received for its work, or should make a refund to the Government.

In a column published five days before the election, Pearson charged that Nixon borrowed money from the company to pay his expenses to go back to California in 1946 in connection with running for Congress. Readers might

draw the inference that Nixon, while sitting as judge and jury on the company's contract performance, had shaken it down for a loan.

Pearson explained that "later" Nixon repaid the money. In the context of the presidential campaign, such an accusation could clearly suggest that this was corroboration that Nixon has been a continuous chiseler in politics.

The facts were these: A group of citizens in Nixon's California congressional district constituted themselves into a "fact-finding" group on the best man to oppose a firmly entrenched Democratic congressman, Jerry Voorhis. They had about decided on Nixon and wanted him to come out for a personal interview right away.

Airplane reservations were hard to get at that time. A company official offered to make a reservation for Nixon, did so and used the company's airlines credit card to pay for the one-way fare, \$118. When the bill came in from the airline in the due course of business, it was passed on to Nixon, who paid it promptly.

That was the "loan" described by Pearson.

Was it contrary to sound political ethics to use for political purposes money contributed by businessmen who might attempt to lay some claim on the California senator? The same questions might be raised with equal force on the propriety of any kind of a campaign contribution by any person.

However such an ethical problem might be resolved, there was one outstanding aspect of the Nixon fund. It was money collected by a legally constituted trustee and disbursed by that trustee.

No doubt ever existed in the minds of Nixon and his associates on the purpose of the fund. Its purpose was to keep him in constant and close touch with the State of California, 3000 miles from Washington, so that there would be no disaffection between him and the voters of the state, and he would be re-elected.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue would have been derelict in its duty if, after the Nixon hullabaloo, it had failed to look over his income-tax returns for any indication that

the Government was being bilked of its tax collections.

There can be little question that such an examination was made, and it revealed nothing which failed to be consistent with his financial disclosure on television. That disclosure, in fact, was a more complete picture of his financial status than the returns.

But the opposition clamored for the returns. Governor Stevenson had made public his tax returns; why not Nixon? What about Nixon hiding in his tax returns?

It was at this point that Nixon got a reborn. He had been an outstanding law student at Duke University and editor of the law review. As an attorney, he specialized in income taxes and estates. He knew there was nothing wrong with his tax returns, and he realized that even if he had made an unconscious mistake, that would have been revealed long ago by the Democratic administration.

He decided that the Nixon affair had lasted long enough as a diversionary attempt in the Stevenson-Truman campaign to take attention from the main issues of Korea, Communism and bungling.

## Complete and Honest Returns

His returns—given here—show that his greatest year of outside income was 1951. He collected \$6611.45 in fees for speeches, most of them on the Hiss affair. Fees averaged \$100 per speech. He spoke before civic groups, associations, trade associations and a labor group and went on a lecture tour. He gave 16 speeches for a fee, plus the lecture fees for speeches. Nixon made an equal number of speeches without any fee at all, and sometimes without his full expenses being paid.

Nixon's total reported gross income for five years he was in Congress, through 1951, was \$71,381.14. This was a total of approximately \$10,000 more than his congressional salary for the entire five-year period. Added income came from speaking engagements except for a few hundred dollars from estates owing to him from his law firm.

The income-tax returns tell also that of his war bonds to buy his Washington home. Unlike many income-tax payers, Nixon reported his accrued income from the bonds at the time of sale—\$509. Many taxpayers, however, don't know they are required to report income or fail to do so, thinking they can get away with it.

All of his congressional tax-free allowance, \$2500 a year, was reported as a gift allowance, in accordance with a ruling of the Bureau of Internal Revenue applying to members of Congress. He listed all his expenses above this not reimbursed by the Government or not paid by the trustee of the political fund, and considering the avalanche of demands on him by his California constituents, the expenses were not excessive. A measure of the pressure on Nixon can be gained from the fact that his election as senator, his mail was more than that of any other senator except for the Vice President.

It can be safely said that in the entire political history of the nation, no candidate for office holder has ever made as complete disclosure of his private affairs as has Vice President Nixon.

The record now stands for all to see and to judge. It remains to be seen whether the assault on Nixon will come to an end.



The three major broadcasting networks estimated that 58,000,000 people heard or saw him.