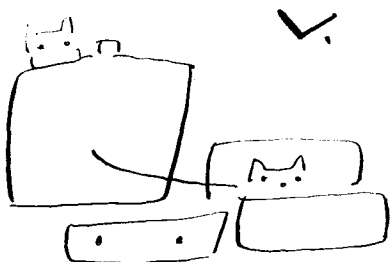


can about the conquest of the prairies, and he has created a figure that is suited to the time and place. Jack is not romanticized: he not only drinks, gambles, and chases women, he is mean at times, cowardly at times, dishonest at times. On the other hand, he is not a badman of the sort to be seen on television. He is a fairly ordinary fellow placed in circumstances of an extraordinary kind, bright enough and brave enough and lucky enough to survive.

Berger takes this man and carries him through a series of adventures that might have happened on the frontier at that time. I suspect that many of the incidents are based on materials found in memoirs and other documents, but it is clear that Berger is an inventive author. One of the amusing episodes is the story of Jack's supposed niece, whom he takes out of a whorehouse and makes into a lady of fashion. In order to carry out this project, he cheats at poker and



works with a first-class bunco artist. Whenever anything exciting is happening, Jack is likely to be on the spot.

The style Berger has fashioned for Jack seems right. He puts in Jack's mouth a free and easy vernacular, not paying much attention to grammar but, on the other hand, free from the extravagances into which dialect may fall. Jack simply says what he means, but often he says it with a sardonic twist. Here, for example, is a summary passage from near the end:

But back to Custer, for whom Wild Bill had scouted on the Kansas campaign a year before the Washita. He knewed him well, and liked him and vice versa, and had a harmless crush on his wife and let her believe much exaggeration concerning himself, which Custer also believed, and everyone was friends, as big, pretty, handsome, and powerful people always are. For everything goes their way, until some wretched, crosseyed, broken-nosed bum shoots them in the back as Jack McCall did to Hickok in Deadwood in '76.

Berger is not the first to try to write a novel about the West that is free from the clichés that have been building up for nearly a century, but he has done the job well. He has got away from the old legends by creating a new legend.

—GRANVILLE HICKS.

Appraising a Position of Power

The President as World Leader, by Sidney Warren (Lippincott. 480 pp. \$6.95), assesses the manner in which our Chief Executives from Theodore Roosevelt to JFK have discharged their responsibilities in foreign affairs and delineates the qualities needed in that burdensome role. Frank Altschul is chairman of the Committee on International Policy of the National Planning Association.

By FRANK ALTSCHUL

IN THIS timely and rewarding volume Sidney Warren traces the way in which the Presidency has over the years assumed a growing responsibility for the assertion of leadership on a global scale. In the setting of a well-documented account of the contemporary background against which our Presidents from Theodore Roosevelt to John Fitzgerald Kennedy were each called upon to play his allotted role, the author assesses with rare objectivity the manner in which some discharged while others evaded this responsibility.

During the period covered there were years of crisis, and years of relative calm inviting a "return to normalcy." But on the whole it was a time during which a limited and somewhat provincial national outlook was giving way to the insistent demands of a wide-ranging internationalism. And as the issues to be faced grew in complexity, there developed a tendency on the part of the executive to seek and, when the opposition of Congress could be overcome or circumvented, to grasp an ever increasing initiative. Notable progress in this direction was achieved by Woodrow Wilson in spite of the rebuff administered toward the end of his term in office by a Senate majority led by Henry Cabot Lodge. And after what Professor Warren characterizes as the "hiatus of leadership" under Harding and Coolidge, and the undistinguished regime of Herbert Hoover, whom the author labels the "victim of crises," the march was vigorously resumed.

The era of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in which Presidential leadership again emerged energetically, is the subject of a fascinating section of Professor Warren's book. Domestic problems in the aftermath of the panic of 1929 were the immediate preoccupation. Soon the focus

changed, as, with the rise of Nazism and Fascism in Europe and of their Asiatic counterpart in Japan, we edged ever closer to the inevitable involvement in the struggle for the survival of human freedom and decency—an involvement which even today a politically sensitized Republican luminary contends we could and should have avoided, as if the victory of tyranny that seemed otherwise inescapable could have left us unscathed.

How Pearl Harbor finally crystallized national determination, how President Roosevelt mobilized the full resources of the United States—moral, material, and human—is graphically described. Many facets of the diplomatic and military history of the war years are submitted to scrutiny, together with the considerations that determined vital decisions. And then we are told how, as the war was drawing to a victorious close, a failing President came to realize that his high hopes of transforming the wartime coalition into a peacetime cooperation with the Soviet Union under the aegis of the United Nations was to be shattered on the rocks of Communist deceit and intransigence—a realization that clouded the last days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

IN Professor Warren's words, "Roosevelt's proclivities, together with the international situation, restored the office of President to a pivotal position from which it would never again retreat. Moreover, by his consummate and vigorous exercise of leadership, he added substantially and irrevocably to its dimensions."

Such was the nature of the Presidency when a griefstricken nation witnessed the transfer of authority to Harry S. Truman. In those days of sorrow people wondered how this little man from Missouri, inexperienced in foreign affairs, could be expected to measure up to the task to which he had fallen heir. How well he in fact did measure up is told in a convincing manner. Relying on such wise and courageous guides to policy as George Marshall and Dean Acheson, the President initiated aid to Greece and Turkey in a document that set forth what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine; he followed this with the world-renowned Marshall Plan, and later with the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Though they by no means stand alone, these imaginative measures, skillfully carried

through Congress over vigorous opposition, fully justify Professor Warren's reference to "Truman's extraordinary achievements as a world leader during the critical period in which he held office."

THE administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower furnished a marked contrast to that of his predecessor. It was a period of inertia in domestic affairs; in foreign affairs, under John Foster Dulles, it was a time for the exercise of what Professor Warren describes as "Policy by Slogans." Much space is devoted to the vacillation of the President and his Secretary of State in the face of Senator McCarthy's vituperation. And the conduct of foreign policy, so largely left to the judgment of the Secretary, is subjected to searching analysis. Every President, as Professor Warren so frequently indicates, inevitably places the stamp of his own personality on the Presidency. Eisenhower is described as "by inclination a moderate who distrusted and discounted power, who sought to cherish old values and heal old wounds, and whose leadership was characterized by restraint in both domestic and foreign affairs." With this charitable interpretation, Professor Warren closes a highly critical

examination of the Eisenhower regime.

In turning to the unfinished achievement of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the author dwells upon that "mysterious quality" called his "style." Summing up, he contends that in three short years President Kennedy contrived to elevate "the Presidency to the highest eminence it had ever reached. . . . The strength and the limitations, the tremendous prestige and potential of the Presidential office, but above all, the immutable factor of world leadership, were brought into sharp focus during his tragically brief tenure."

As we approach another Presidential election, it would be well to bear this appraisal in mind, together with the admonitions with which Professor Warren concludes his study: "Americans should look for leadership that will be wise, humanitarian, courageous. They should seek a President with the capacity to perceive the direction of the times and capable of guiding the nation in that direction; a man forthright in enunciating principles and ends, able to diagnose contemporary maladies and offer possible means for their solution, and, above all, capable of illuminating the profound issues that confront the nation."

no less than they love their state.

In a congressional delegation scrutinized by the Citizens Council vigilantes for minute deviations in racial doctrine, independence must be a relative condition; but such as it was, Frank Smith had it abundantly. Alas, the Mississippi monomania demands not only silent acquiescence but, for politicians who value their power, loud tribute. Since Frank Smith refused to appease the craving of the 100 per centers for applause—or to agree that Mississippi's counter-revolution is the coming thing in social doctrines—it is little wonder that he is now Mr. Smith of the TVA.

Frank Smith's twelve-year sojourn in the U.S. House of Representatives was, by his own description, a "failure to bridge the gap between Mississippi and reality." To be sure, it was more. Almost all Southern congressmen, to survive on the home flank, must practice a form of posturing on the race issue that is well likened to oriental *ketman*. But, unlike certain colleagues who make a virtue—or even a delight—of necessity, Mr. Smith was ashamed of this enforced negativism on issues of human rights and determined to offset it with other forms of legislative service. He made himself an authority on natural resources policy and headed President Kennedy's national advisory committee in that field. He placed the housewife in considerable if unadvertised debt with his legislative leadership in the field of fabric labeling. The taxpayer may thank him, in large part, for opening the American defense procurement market on better terms to foreign manufacturers of heavy machinery.

Of course, in this book Mr. Smith has much to say about Mississippi's sense of race, and with more reason than most. When he was eight his father, while on duty as a deputy sheriff in Leflore County, died at the hands of a Negro prison escapee, pleading that his assailant not be lynched. Thus Frank Smith's intimacy with race is grounded in bitter memory. But just as racist rituals did not dominate his congressional career, they do not conceal or mar, in this clearly written autobiography, a refreshing appreciation of the federal legislative process. Frank Smith is more than a regional congressman; he was and is an articulate defender of the legislative branch whose critics, with some reason, regard it as "sapless," corrupt, or worse.

Neither prig nor spoilsman, Mr. Smith makes the legislative process sound as it should—a workable arm of coordinate government. When he lost his seat troubled Mississippi lost a responsible representative, and the country lost a legislator who understands and husbands the dignity of popular legislative government. Such losses cannot be afforded in our time.

The Race Was to the Racists

Congressman from Mississippi, by Frank F. Smith (Pantheon. 338 pp. \$5.95), tells how the Southern representative, unable to "bridge the gap between Mississippi and reality," tried to offset this handicap with other forms of legislative service. Edwin Yoder is an editorial writer for the Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News.

By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.

A DECADE and a half of stunning change has swept over the world since V. O. Key and Alexander Heard, in their monumental *Southern Politics*, identified race as the alpha and omega of Mississippi politics. A revolution in the colonial world and a not unrelated revolution in the legal status of Negroes here at home have come if not gone; but despite that dual revolution, no one need be reminded that for Mississippi race is still alpha and omega, or that this gifted but unhappy society remains tragically bent on its own counter-revolution.

The real result of that counter-revo-

lution, of which former Representative Frank Smith is in a sense a victim, is perhaps too grim for the operating junta in Jackson to face. For, as William Faulkner long ago saw, its yield is not only the thralldom of the Negro to an inflexible social system, but the enslavement of all Mississippians, white and black alike, to the totems and taboos of racism. The masters are themselves overmastered; this fact pervades Mississippi society by all evidence from the jury chamber to the pulpit, and, as several homegrown critics have noted, it is of the essence of the closed society.

To such a received generalization there are, of course, constant exceptions. Certainly Frank Smith's *Congressman from Mississippi* testifies that the Mississippi counter-revolution is far from mastering every high and honorable spirit in that state. Now in exile, like so many talented Mississippians, Frank Smith is a member of the TVA governing board in Knoxville, Tennessee. Until two years ago he represented in Congress the Mississippi Delta—that fertile cotton-growing crescent whose capital, Greenville, has an old record of hospitality to Mississippians who love intellectual and political independence