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BY JAMES MARLOW

ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS ANALYST 4462 WASHINGTON, NOV.12 (AP)-RICHARD M. NIXON CARRIED TWO SLOGANS AROUND IN HIS HEAD FOR YEARS: BE CAREFUL AFTER A BATTLE; AND A GOOD LOSER NEVER GETS ANGRY AT ANYONE BUT HIMSELF.

LAST WEEK HE DISREGARDED BOTH OF THEM AFTER HE LOST IN HIS ELECTION BID TO UNSEAT CALIFORNIA'S DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR, EDMUND G. BROWN. IT WAS A DEFEAT WHICH PROBABLY ENDS HIS POLITICAL CAREER.

A FEW MINUTES AFTER ADMITTING DEFEAT, NIXON WALKED INTO A CONFERENCE OF ABOUT 100 NEWSMEN AND, IN A RAMBLING, BITTER AND SOMETIMES ALMOST INCOHERENT WAY, DENOUNCED THEM FOR WHAT HE CLAIMED WAS UNFAIRNESS IN COVERING HIS CAMPAIGN.

YET, 75 PER CENT OF THE CALIFORNIA NEWSPAPERS WHICH TOOK SIDES ENDORSED HIM.

THE FEAR THAT SOMETIMES AFTER THE BATTLE HE MIGHT BE SO TIRED THAT HE WOULD MAKE A MISTAKE IN JUDGMENT HAS BEEN ON NIXON'S MIND FOR YEARS. IT COMES OUT IN THE BOOK HE WROTE THIS YEAR ABOUT THE "SIX CRISIES" IN HIS LIFE.

BUT THE BOOK ALSO SHOWS THAT HIS FEELING OF UNFAIR TREATMENT BY THE PRESS ALSO GOES AWAY BACK.THERE IS EVEN AN INDICATION IN IT THAT HE THINKS NEWSMEN ARE ONLY FAIR TO HIM WHEN THEY ARE ON HIS "TEAM."

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HE REPEATS THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER: "THE POINT OF GREATEST DANGER FOR AN INDIVIDUAL CONFRONTED WITH A CRISIS IS NOT DURING THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION FOR BATTLE, NOR FIGHTING THE BATTLE ITSELF, BUT IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE BATTLE IS OVER.

"THEN, COMPLETELY EXHAUSTED AND DRAINED EMOTIONALLY, HE MUST WATCH HIS DECISIONS MOST CAREFULLY. THEN THERE IS AN INCREASING POSSIBILITY OF AN ERROR BECAUSE HE MAY LACK THE NECESSARY CUSHION OF EMOTIONAL AND MENTAL RESERVE WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR GOOD JUDGMENT." HE EVEN QUOTES HIS OLD COLLEGE FOOTBALL COACH, CHIEF NEWMAN, ON HOW TO BE A GOOD LOSER. HE CONSIDERED NEWMAN A "TALENTED MOLDER OF CHARACTER" AND HAS HIM SAYING IN THE BOOK:

"YOU MUST NEVER BE SATISFIED WITH LOSING. YOU MUST GET ANGRY, TERRIBLY ANGRY, ABOUT LOSING. BUT THE MARK OF A GOOD LOSER IS THAT HE TAKES HIS ANGER OUT ON HIMSELF AND NOT ON HIS VICTORIOUS OPPONENTS OR HIS TEAMMATES."

NIXON SAID "I TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY" FOR LOSING WHEN HE WALKED INTO THE NEWS CONFERENCE BUT THEN, AFTER PRAISING HIS 100,000 VOLUNTEER WORKERS, BLAMED THEM FOR NOT GETTING OUT ENOUGH VOTES. THIS, HE SAID, COST HIM THE ELECTION.

NOR WAS HE GRACIOUS TO BROWN OR PRESIDENT KENNEDY WHO BEAT HIM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE IN 1960. HE CALLED BROWN THE "PEOPLE'S CHOICE" AND SAID HE HOPÊD BROWN'S "LEADERSHIP WILL NOW BECOME MORE DECISIVE."

HE SAID HE THOUGHT KENNEDY COULD DO ALL RIGHT IN FOREIGN POLICY "IF HE HAS HIS OWN WAY" BUT SUGGESTED THE PRESIDENT GET RID OF THOSE "WOOLLY HEADS AROUND HIM."

NIXON'S GREATEST BITTERNESS WAS TOWARDS THE NEWSMEN WHO, HE SAID, KICKED HIM AROUND. P337

BUT IN HIS BOOK HE COMPLAINED ABOUT UNFAIR TREATMENT EVEN IN 1952 WHEN, RUNNING WITH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, HE WON THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

HE COMPLAINED THAT WHILE THE TOP-FLIGHT NEWSMEN GO AROUND WITH PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, ONLY THE LESSER-KNOWN ONES FOLLOW THE WOULD-BE VICE PRESIDENTS. AND HE THREW THIS COMPLAINT INTO HIS BOOK, TOO: "WHILE MOST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ARE REPUBLICANS, THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING REPORTERS ARE DEMOCRATS."

HE INDICATED IN HIS BOOK HIS IDEA OF HOW REPORTERS SHOULD ACT WHEN ASSIGNED TO HIM, CITING THAT 1952 CAMPAIGN: "GOING THROUGH THE FIRE OF CRISIS TOGETHER HAD WELDED THE MEMBERS OF MY STAFF AND SEVERAL OF THE REPORTERS... INTO A HIGH-SPIRITED UNITED TEAM."

THIS COULD BE TAKEN TO MEAN THAT UNLESS REPORTERS WANT TO BE ON HIS TEAM THEY MUST BE AGAINST HIM. IT DOESN'T SEEM TO OCCUR TO HIM THAT A LOT OF NEWSMEN WOULDN'T, AND DON'T, PLAY ON ANYBODY'S TEAM.

THEODORE WHITE, WHO COVERED BOTH NIXON AND KENNEDY IN THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL RACE, HAS A DIFFERENT VIEW OF NIXON'S RELATIONS ŴITH THE PRESS. HE WROTE A BOOK ON THE 1960 CAMPAIGN, "THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT," WHICH WON THE PULITZER PRIZE.

WHITE SAYS NIXON AND HIS STAFF "ABUSED" THE "SENSE OF DIGNITY OF THESE MEN (WHO COVERED HIM THEN)... NOT BY ACCIDENT BUT BY DECISION."

HE SAID THE NIXON GROUP USED A "PUNISHMENT" POLICY-BECAUSE THEY FELT NEWSMEN WERE AGAINST THEM--OF HOLDING BACK COPIES OF NIXON'S SPEECHES.