

Nixon Tells His Life Story

COLUMNISTS EDITORIALS

Just after his nomination, Richard Nixon spent many hours with Kenneth Harris of the London Observer discussing his personal background and his view of the Presidency and the problems facing the country. This is the gist of that interview.

HARRIS: I know you are a Californian, Mr. Nixon, and that you come from Quaker stock. Could you tell me a bit more about your boyhood background?

NIXON: I was born in a small agricultural town called Yorba Linda, 30 miles inland from Los Angeles. On my mother's side of the family, we were Quakers. Her name was Milhous and she came from a Quaker family that left County Kildare in Ireland in 1729. My father was Irish, too. His family was Methodist, but when he married my mother, he became a Quaker.

When I was born, my father had a fruit farm — oranges, lemons. He'd been a modernman running a trolley car in Columbus, Ohio. He got frostbitten through operating the vehicle on an uncovered platform and went to drive a trolley in southern California, where there wasn't any frost. That's where he met my mother, who had come there as a young girl with her family from Indiana.

My father couldn't make his fruit farm pay, so in 1923, when I was 9, he took what little money he had and set up a gasoline station and grocery store in a little town called Whittier, farther west — a suburb of Los Angeles nowadays. Whittier had been founded by a leader of the Society of Friends and to a great extent it was a Quaker town. I went to the Quaker church there, and when I was 17 I went to Whittier College, which was a Quaker institution.

HARRIS: Did you have a happy childhood?

NIXON: My parents were very good people. My mother was very sweet-natured and my father was a very good man and a good husband — well, you can guess the kind of man he was if he

enough we helped with the gasoline pumps.

Then my older brother Harold, of whom I was very fond, contracted tuberculosis. I took you I had a happy childhood, but I guess I had some of the sorrows that go along in almost everybody's life.

My mother took Harold away to Arizona, which had a drier climate, and more or less stayed permanently at the nursing home for two years and kept him there and supported herself by working on the staff there, doing very humble duties, cooking and scrubbing and things like that. My father met the doctors' bills by selling half of the acre of land on which his grocery store stood. Meantime, my little brother Arthur died of tubercular meningitis at the age of 7.

When Harold came back, he was still ill, but we had hopes. One day when he seemed to be getting better, he asked me to take him into town to buy a present for my mother. It was an electric mixer. I took him downtown, he bought the mixer, I took him home, he'd be with school thinking how pleased he'd be with his purchase, and 18 minutes later a teacher came and told me I must go home, because Harold had just died.

My parents were remarkable in their strength. They took the absolutely devoted Quaker attitude. I remember my mother saying at the funeral that it was difficult at times to understand the ways of the Lord but we know that there is a plan, and in the end it's for the best.

I do not have my parents' passivity, and I do not go along entirely with that philosophy, but the slight of their patience, courage and determination to break down, whatever the physical and emotional strain, has been one of the finest things I have ever known. And it has certainly held me together at times when I have been under pressure. And it always will.

HARRIS: You say you do not have your parents' passivity.

NIXON: More accurately my moth-

er's, though he was most good-natured. Father would spank us some times — my mother never. But once when my brother was caught out doing something he shouldn't, he came to me and said, "Mother knows. Don't let her give me a spanking. Don't let her talk to me." She used to talk quietly but we squirmed.

No, I do not believe in being passive under attack. Our college football coach used to say, "You must hate to lose." You must fight back in life, especially in politics, and above all when the odds are all against you.

An Unlikely Politician

HARRIS: Was it at Whittier College that you decided to become a politician?

NIXON: Oh, no. If you talked to friends who were with me at that time, they'd tell you I was much too reserved and introspective a fellow to be thought of as a potential politician. No, I very soon began to feel I would like to become a lawyer. As I went through

Whittier, from age 17 to 20, more and more I became resolved to become a lawyer.

HARRIS: What attracted you about the law?

NIXON: I'd always been very keen on debating. Even when I was a very small boy, I liked to talk to people, discuss things, make points, cross swords in language, and I came to regard the lawyer as the social functionary who most deployed the art of debate. I can remember hearing grownups saying about me when I was quite little, "Dick is a born lawyer" — the way grownups speculate half-jocularly, half-seriously, about how children might develop.

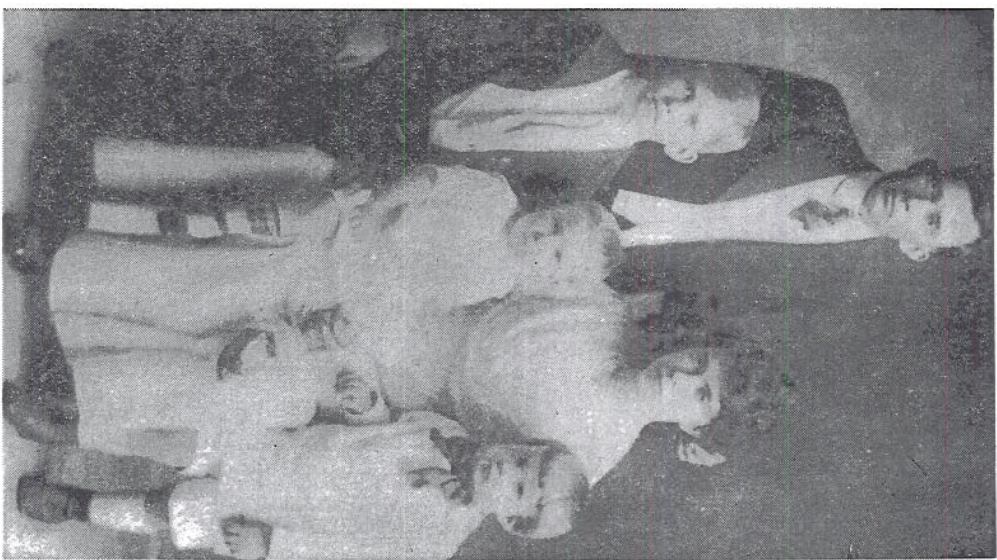
Then when I was 10, for a birthday present one of my aunts gave me a book of American history. It was full of American heroes. Maybe her Quaker upbringing had determined her choice, but I found that there were no soldier heroes in this book. All the heroes seemed to be lawyers.

When I was 12, there was a great all-American scandal, the Teapot Dome scandal. People involved in the government of the day had conspired at the misappropriation of Government oil reserves. I remember my father holding forth against "crooked politicians" and "crooked lawyers" for weeks. And I vaguely remember announcing to the family at that time that I was going to be a lawyer, "the old-fashioned kind of lawyer, the kind that can't be bought."

That's what my mother used to say, anyway.

In 1933, when I graduated at Whittier College, I decided it was the law for me, and I won a scholarship across at Duke University, N.C. This was the mid-30s, of course, when economic conditions were still very, very tough. I couldn't have gone to Duke if I hadn't won a scholarship. That was the great opening.

I worried quite a bit about qualifying as a lawyer—I understand some of my friends, seeing me working hard late at night and looking preoccupied, used to call me "Gloomy Case" but I



Francis A. and Hannah Nixon with their sons (from left) Harold, Donald and Richard, who was 3½ when this picture was made.

as a member of Whingert and Bewley, the oldest law firm in this little town, then of 25,000 inhabitants. I got a very varied experience. I soon handled divorce cases, which gave me a very early insight into the problems of human relationships, and then I set up a branch office in a little place called La Habra, a few miles away, where I acted as city prosecutor.

A Working Couple

HARRIS: Still not interested in things with the local lawyers, and I was in the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and I retained my links with Whittier College—as a matter of fact, I was asked if I would offer myself as candidate for the presidency of Whittier—and I was active in our church and its related associations and so on. You know how it is, some people are naturally drawn to community participation, and I was.

And as often happens in these cases,



A member of the high school...

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When I was born, my father had a fruit farm— oranges, lemons. He'd been a motorman running a trolley car in Columbus, Ohio. He got frostbite through operating the vehicle on an uncovered platform and went to drive a trolley in southern California, where there wasn't any frost. That's where he met my mother, who had come there as a young girl with her family from Indiana.

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HARRIS: Did you have a happy childhood?

NIXON: My parents were very good people. My mother was very sweet-natured and my father was a very good man and a good husband— well, you can guess the kind of man he was if he turned Quaker because he was getting married to one. I had a very remarkable grandmother with a tremendous sense of family unity. On birthdays, she used to make up poems. She and my mother used to "cheer" and "hoor" each other. They both had very strong feelings about pacifism, civil liberties and social responsibility.

It was a good childhood, really. I learned to play the piano, and played the organ in church— my mother wanted me to be a musician or a preacher. My father didn't seem to care so much about what particular career I pursued so long as I got a good education. He had never had one. He was an orphan when he was 9, and his grammar wasn't good to the end of his days. He was very able and

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HARRIS: You say you do not have your parents' passivity.

NIXON: More accurately, my mother. She bottled things up, wonderful self-control. My father was more effective.

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A member of the high school orchestra in 1928. "I was a good childhood, really."

The Screws Tighten In Chiang's Taiwan

By Stanley Karnow
Washington Post Features Service

TAIPEI, Taiwan—The Chinese Nationalist regime appears to be alienating increasing numbers of students, students and professional people by intensifying its crackdowns on the

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I worried quite a bit about qualifying as a lawyer—I understand some of my friends, seeing me working hard late at night and looking concerned, used to call me "Johnny Gus" but I made it, and my mother and my grandmother (aged 89) drove in a car 2800 miles across the United States to see me take my degree.

I then tried—it was my current ambition—to get taken on in a big New York law firm. I tried several very famous ones, but though I'd finished high in my class at Duke, I didn't make it. I was a stranger, and I knew nobody in these firms, and there was, of course, a tremendous amount of competition.

Then I applied for a job as counsel in the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover told me years afterward that I would have gotten that job but his department was instructed to cut down its budget and hire no more personnel just after I had been accepted.



Francis A. and Hannah Nixon with their sons (from left) Harold, Donald and Richard, who was 3½ when this picture was made.

as a member of Wingert and Bewley, the oldest law firm in this little town, then of 23,000 inhabitants. I got a very varied experience. I soon handled divorce cases, which gave me a very early insight into the problems of human relationships, and then I set up a branch office in a little place called La Habra, a few miles away where I worked as city prosecutor.

A Working Couple

HARRIS: Still not interested in politics?

NIXON: No, not specifically. Just about this time, outside of wanting to be the local boy who made good, my main ambition was to persuade a young lady called Pat Ryan to marry me.

Pat had come to Whittier as a school teacher. I had been told by some friends of mine how very attractive she was and I wanted to meet her—and on my side, at any rate. It was love at first sight. What I thought about most then was getting married and starting a family. We got married in June, 1940, moved into an apartment above a garage and both went on working—we decided the money. I was active in a lot of community activities, and I used to act a bit with

things with the local lawyers, and I was in the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and I retained my links with Whittier College—as a matter of fact I was asked if I would offer myself as candidate for the presidency of Whittier—and I was active in our church and its related associations and so on. You know how it is, some people are naturally drawn to community participation, and I was.

And as often happens in these cases, local people would say, "Why don't you go in for politics?" There was even some talk about my running for the State Assembly in California. Then in 1940, I was inspired by Wendell Willkie, and I made some speeches locally supporting him. Then we were in the war, and very soon I was in the Navy.

HARRIS: What did you do in the Navy? As a Quaker, I thought you might have been a conscientious objector?

NIXON: I could have been, strictly. I should have been. My parents assumed I would be. By now I had become addicted to the reading of history, and thought about what I read a great deal, and I felt I knew what was at stake in World War II. So I decided

in vain. The conviction

preacher. My father didn't seem to care so much about what particular career I pursued so long as I got a good education. He had never had one.

He was an orphan when he was 9, and his grammar wasn't good to the end of his days. He was very able and skilled, and believed in the work of the hands—he built the house I was born in. But he always admired educated people. He was more interested in my education than in my career.

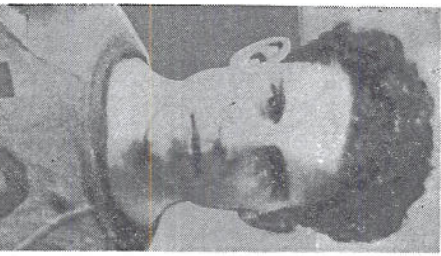
That Santa Fe Whistle

HARRIS: What did you want to be when you grew up?

NIXON: As a child? An engineer on the Santa Fe Railroad. For years I thought that the greatest man in town was the engineer who ran the Santa Fe train from Los Angeles to Needles. The train whistle was the sweetest music I ever heard. Not because I was interested in travel; only one train a day went through Yorba Linda, and when I heard the whistle, I used to daydream about the places I would visit some day.

HARRIS: Were you reasonably well off as a child?

NIXON: No, the going was hard. When we were kids my mother would be up before dawn, making pies to sell in the store. My father just about made things pay, but he boys had to help. He helped prepare means so that our parents could work on the store, and we worked in our spare time for local farmers, and when we were old



A football player at Whittier College in 1933. . . . "I do not believe in being passive under attack. Our college football coach used to say, 'You must hate to lose.'"

By Stanley Karnow

Washington Post Foreign Service

TAIPEI, Taiwan—The Chinese Nationalist regime appears to be alienating increasing numbers of school-boys, students and professional people by intensifying its crackdowns on alleged political dissidence in this island republic.

Repressive measures in recent months have ranged from the arrests of suspected Communist sympathizers and elements believed to favor Taiwanese independence to the closing of a bookstore that specialized in liberal Western literature. Several prominent figures, including a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, have also been attacked by conservative Nationalist publications for maintaining close relations with United States academic circles and accepting funds from American philanthropic foundations.

In style if not substance, these moves somewhat resemble Red Chinese campaigns against intellectuals who fail to conform to Mao Tse-tung's orthodoxy. The official line here, set by President Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, tolerates no criticism of the Nationalist hope of recouping China.

A New Authoritarian

OBSEERVERS HERE say that the repression reflects several trends that have developed in the past few years. The island's remarkable prosperity has contributed to broader education and increasing pressures for liberalization. But at the same time, the growing influence of Gen. Chiang Chung-kuo, the President's elder son and heir apparent, has strengthened the focus on authoritarian methods.

Moreover, some analysts suggest, the termination of American economic aid in 1965 has reduced Taiwan's dependence on the United States and thus lowered the Nationalists' concern with the effects of their conduct on U.S. public opinion.

The latest crackdown was against seven young men accused of having held secret meetings since 1966 to study Communist documents, foster the establishment of socialism and promote the "liberation" of Taiwan. Arrested in June and tried by military court Nov. 6, they are liable to imprisonment of ten years or more.

The group was accused of violating a temporary 1969 statute for the "suppression of rebellion" by listening to Chinese Communist broadcasts and circulating Mao's works. The indictment specified, however, that the group, which called itself the "Taiwan Democratic Union," did not go beyond discussions of radical ideas.

In addition to the seven defendants,

Then I applied for a job as counsel in the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover told me years afterward that I would have got that job but his department was instructed to cut down its budget and hire no more personnel just after I had been accepted.

So I went back to Whittier and set up, in my well-pressed blue serge suit,

Balkan Bosses Sniff

A Student 'Plot'

By Anatole Shub

Washington Post Foreign Service

BELGRADE — "If America has its Negro riots," the Belgrade commentator asked, "why can't we have our Albanian riots?"

"If the world has gotten used to East and West, Germany, North and South Korea," another observer in the capital asked, "why should we not face up to the prospect of an East and West Albania?"

These and similar relaxed reactions were occasioned in cosmopolitan Yugo-

I should have seen, my parents assumed I would be. My uncle was in World War I. But by now I had become addicted to the reading of history, and thought about what I read a great deal, and I felt I knew what was at stake in World War II. So I decided to join the services.

To ease the break with my parents, I went to Washington and got myself a Government job. Ten months later I went into the Navy and was soon heading for an island in the South Pacific as a lieutenant in the naval air transport organization.

HARRIS: How, exactly, did you get into politics eventually, Mr. Nixon?

NIXON: By invitation, and a very agreeable invitation it was. In 1945, in my congressional district, a new wave of Republicans was pressing its views on the established Republicans in that great, enlightening Republican assembly, or "young" Republican assembly, or "young" Republican assembly, or "old Republicans—join the kind of thing that goes on in all parties from time to time.

The result was that in my district, a fact-finding committee of citizens was formed to select suitable men from among whom the Republican candidates could be chosen. It was a committee of about a hundred, and they interviewed and rejected several candidates—eight to a dozen, I'm not sure of the exact number now.

The selection committee decided that none of the candidates who had offered himself was as good as a man.

SEE NIXON, Page B2, Column 1



A Navy lieutenant (left) in 1942. . . . Although he was a Quaker, "I felt I knew what was at stake in World War II. So I decided to join the services."



Chinese students at National Taiwan University. Now a brain drain affects Taiwan, because an estimated 2500 students a year go to the United States to study, and only 5 per cent return.

'Fight Till You Win or Drop'

NIXON, From Page B1

called Walter Dicker, who was then California's Director of Education. But Dicker did not want to run. However, he informed the selectors that he thought a man who had been a pupil of his when he had been president of Whittier College would make a good candidate. That former pupil was me. So the Republicans telephoned me in Baltimore, where I was awaiting discharge from active duty, and asked me if I was available. I talked to Pat about it and she said, "Go ahead."

The Alger Hiss Case

HARRIS: How did you become involved in the events which led to allegations that Alger Hiss was a Communist spy and resulted in his conviction for perjury?

NIXON: When you go to the House of Representatives, you are put on various committees to look into different fields of public concern. I was put on one committee whose main mission in life was to try to counter the racial propaganda coming out of the Deep South. I was also put on the Herter committee, whose reports led to the formulation of the Marshall Plan—it was as a member of that committee that I visited Europe and got my first grounding in America's European duties and responsibilities.

I was also put on the Un-American Activities Committee. In August of 1948, in the course of hearing testimony from several self-confessed Communist and espionage agents, one of these self-confessed Communist agents, Whittaker Chambers, who I may say, had broken with the party in 1939 and had since become a magazine editor, referred in the course of his testimony to his cooperation with Alger Hiss.

Hiss was a very distinguished man. He had been a leading State Department adviser at the time of the setting-up of the United Nations, and had since occupied many top national posts. Now, in August, 1948, he was president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. For anybody to point the finger of treason at Hiss was a tremendous challenge.

Some members of my own committee, when they heard Chambers's allegations about Hiss, assumed that he was a crackpot. The committee called Hiss before it, and he made a very impressive defense. However, whether it was my training as a prosecutor or my common sense, I did not share the view of the rest of the committee that Hiss was telling the truth and Cham-

Hiss sued him, and after a trial and a retrial was convicted of perjury, sentenced and went to prison.

The Douglas Campaign

HARRIS: I've read that the main criticism made of you in the past was the result of your election campaign for the Senate in 1950, when you defeated the Democratic Party candidate, Helen Gahagan Douglas.

NIXON: It was a vigorous campaign from the very beginning. I really ran on one issue, which was as I put it at the time, "simply the choice between freedom and state socialism." But the real heat and friction of the campaign began in the early stages when Mrs. Douglas, in order to get her party's nomination to run as Democratic candidate, had to campaign against the incumbent Democratic Senator, Sheridan Downey. On the one hand, Mrs. Douglas accused Sen. Downey of doing nothing for California or his country in the Senate and of merely catering to big business and industry, and on the other hand, Sen. Downey claimed that Mrs. Douglas was trying to smear his character, acting on "personal bias and prejudice."

As a matter of fact, before the intra-party election in which he would have stood against Mrs. Douglas, the Senate for whatever reason, started a campaign in which he was the victim of so much "vicious and unethical propaganda"—from his fellow Democrats, you understand.

Sen. Downey was succeeded as alternative candidate for the Democratic Party by Mr. Manchester Boddy. Mr. Boddy's supporters proceeded to wage a campaign against Mrs. Douglas in which they accused her of every "Red" affiliation short of being a Communist. They called her leading supporters "red-holes" who were out to undermine the American way of life, and claimed she had resisted every attempt in Congress to expose treasonable Communist activities. Again, these charges were being made against her, you understand, by her fellow Democrats.

Well, by the time of the election in the autumn, Mrs. Douglas had won the Democratic nomination and I had won the Republican nomination and now we were to fight it out for the seat in the Senate. In view of the argument about Mrs. Douglas and communism going on in the Democratic Party, and the fact that I, the Republican candidate, had suddenly become very well known through the Hiss case, and with

a hard, tough campaign at a hard, tough time. And, of course, the opposition was infuriated by the fact that I won with a very handsome majority, which, frankly, I never expected to get.

The Checkers Speech

HARRIS: I was working in the United States for the Observer from 1950 to 1953. I had the feeling that your remarkable appearance on television in 1953 in the middle of the presidential election campaign—when you were running for Vice President on the Eisenhower ticket and defended yourself against allegations that you were being personally financed by big businessmen who hoped to benefit from your political influence—was critical. A good deal of the feeling that existed against you in some quarters might have died down very rapidly but for that television appearance of yours.

NIXON: Possibly. Again, I was going to lose both ways. When I appeared on television as the vice presidential candidate against whom unfair charges of corruption had been made, I knew that if I failed to vindicate myself, my opponents would vent their anger upon me and that if I succeeded in vindicating myself, they would be even more furious.

If you saw that television statement of mine, you'll know that I tried to make a full, simple, human statement which did not prevaricate or evade but faced the issues and the charges and answered them in simple human terms. Because I was frank about my finances, because I said my wife did not have a fur coat but had a good Republican cloth coat, because I said that the only gift word ever received was a dog called Checkers and that whatever happened to me, Checkers stayed with us, because I was moved, and showed that I was moved, and spoke in the language of a human being whose entire moral roots were being challenged—

into the Army. I said publicly that such men who had done effective work in the past, if exposing Communists were now by reckless talk and questionable methods making themselves an issue rather than the cause in which they believed.

McCarthy used to say, "Why worry about being fair when you are shooting rats?" One day I went on television and said that I agreed that traitors were rats, but that when you went out to shoot rats, you had to shoot straight, not wildly, because if you shot wildly, you might miss the rats and you might easily hit somebody else who was trying to shoot rats, too.

From then on, Sen. McCarthy began to attack the Eisenhower Administration. He proceeded to jump the Eisenhower Administration with that of Roosevelt and Truman in his indictment of the "years of treason." He began to lose ground fast. He came up before the Senate for censure.

McCarthy and Hiss were tragic casualties in the great ideological struggle of our time. Both deeply believed in the cause they represented. Both suffered tragically in different ways. Hiss I have spoken of. McCarthy was destroyed by his own tactics. The reason I was always correct on the facts of the case and I did not adopt any tactics which the opposition could justly impugn.

A Valuable Experience

HARRIS: Given the position you're in today, you can afford to look back on your period as Vice President quite objectively and say whether you regret it or not. After all, it is a very subordinate job, isn't it?

NIXON: Oh, looking back on it from



King Studios Syndicates
Richard Nixon with Checkers, the gilt cocker spaniel which he defended in a famous television speech during the 1952 campaign.

can way of life and about American foreign policy. It was some debate.

"In our Senate," I said at one point, "we would call you a filibuster. You do all the talking and you do not let any one else talk." Then we went at it toe-to-toe.

I felt like a fighter wearing 16-ounce gloves and bound by Marquis of Queensberry rules, up against a bare-knuckled slugger who had gouged, kicked and kicked. But I kept my temper, held on and said my piece. When the taps were played, I must say that Mr. Khrushchev came out of it rather badly, not so much because of what I had said but because of what he'd said himself. He was rude to the point of being insulting, and his charges were wild. I, on the other hand, had been polite, and had made a reasonable case.

From then on, his attitude to me became very different. He began to respect us more. It's curious how little things alter atmosphere.

For instance, next day we were at a shooting gallery and Mr. Khrushchev asked us to shoot with a rifle at a target. He handed the gun to the American Ambassador, Mr. Llewellyn Thompson. Our Ambassador took the rifle very coolly and pumped every shot right through the bull's-eye. Mr. Khrushchev then passed the gun to

I will win my degree in the Electoral College.

So far as content went, Mr. Kennedy made more of a speech and didn't debate in what you might choose to call my more academic manner. Interestingly, polls showed that among those who listened by radio, I won. And, as I say, I had lost ten pounds in weight in the campaign when the debates began, while he on the other hand, looked extremely well. According to the polls, I "won" the next three debates, but the ratings survey suggested that not nearly so many people watched the subsequent three as watched the original one.

Over and above that, many students of political affairs have said—and many said at the time—that after eight years of Republican rule, the American people were ready for a change, and any worthy Democratic candidate would have won that election. And Mr. Kennedy was more than a worthy presidential candidate.

But one can go on speculating indefinitely—the religious issue, for example. For many months, it was thought that being a Catholic would injure Kennedy, but there is evidence to suggest that many Republican Catholics voted Democrat for the first time. The leaders on both sides genuinely tried to keep the religious issue out of those

So the Republicans telephoned me in Baltimore, where I was awaiting discharge from active duty, and asked me if I was available. I talked to Pat about it and she said, "Go ahead."

The Alger Hiss Case

HARRIS: How did you become involved in the events which led to allegations that Alger Hiss was a Communist spy and resulted in his conviction for perjury?

NIXON: When you go to the House of Representatives, you are put on various committees to look into different kinds of public concern. I was put on one committee whose main mission in life was to try to counter the racial propaganda coming out of the Deep South. I was also put on the Herter committee, whose reports led to the formulation of the Marshall Plan—it was as a member of that committee that I visited Europe and got my first grounding in America's European duties and responsibilities.

I was also put on the Ur-American Activities Committee. In August of 1948, in the course of hearing testimony from several self-confessed Communists and espionage agents, one of these self-confessed Communist agents, Whittaker Chambers, who, I may say, had broken with the party in 1938 and had since become a magazine editor, referred in the course of his testimony to his cooperation with Alger Hiss.

Hiss was a very distinguished man. He had been a leading State Department adviser at the time of the settling-up of the United Nations, and had since occupied many top national posts. Now, in August, 1948, he was president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. For anybody to point the finger of treasonary at Hiss was a tremendous challenge.

Some members of my own committee, when they heard Chambers's allegations about Hiss, assumed that he was a crackpot. The committee called Hiss before it, and he made a very impressive defense. However, whether it was my training as a prosecutor or my common sense, I did not share the view of the rest of the committee that Hiss was telling the truth and Chambers was lying. I came to the conclusion that the opposite might be the case.

The question was: Should the committee dare to proceed in the suspicion that this distinguished man Hiss, with friends in government, in the leading universities, in the highest levels of the law, everywhere, was an unmasked traitor to his country? Or should they let the matter drop?

I suggested a kind of minor stop forward which would, as it were, be a test which would tell us whether it was appropriate to proceed further. Instead of going on in the tortuous and embarrassing business of trying to find out whether Chambers was lying when he said Hiss had been a spy, or Hiss was lying when he said he hadn't been, let us simply try to establish whether

defeated the Democratic Party candidate, Helen Gahagan Douglas.

NIXON: It was a vigorous campaign from the very beginning. I really ran on one issue, which was, as I put it at the time, "simply the choice between freedom and state socialism." But the real heat and friction of the campaign began in the early stages when Mrs. Douglas, in order to get her party's nomination to run as Democratic candidate, had to campaign against the incumbent Democratic Senator, Sheridan Downey. On the one hand, Mrs. Douglas accused Sen. Downey of doing nothing for California or his country in the Senate and of merely catering to big business and industry, and on the other hand, Sen. Downey claimed that Mrs. Douglas was trying to smear his character, acting on "personal bias and prejudice."

As a matter of fact, before the intra-party election in which he would have stood against Mrs. Douglas, the Senator withdrew from the race, saying that he couldn't stand a campaign in which he was the victim of so much "vicious and unethical propaganda"—from his fellow Democrats, you understand.

Sen. Downey was succeeded as alternate candidate for the Democratic Party by Mr. Manchester Boddy. Mr. Boddy's supporters proceeded to wage a campaign against Mrs. Douglas in which they accused her of every "Red" affliction short of being a Communist. They called her leading supporters "beehives" who were out to undermine the American way of life, and claimed she had resisted every attempt in Congress to expose treasonable Communist activities. Again, these charges were being made against her, you understand, by her fellow Democrats.

Well, by the time of the election in the autumn, Mrs. Douglas had won the Democratic nomination and I had won the Republican nomination and now we were to fight it out for the seat in the Senate. In view of the argument about Mrs. Douglas and communism going on in the Democratic Party, and the fact that I, the Republican candidate, had suddenly become very well known through the Hiss case, and with the Russians and the Chinese being involved in Korea—all this at the end of two or three years in which the Russians had raped Czechoslovakia, been dangerously provocative over Berlin and had walked out of the Security Council of the U.N.—it wasn't unrealistic that communism should have become an issue in that 1950 California election to the Senate. It was not over the country.

I had been presented with a great deal of ammunition by Mrs. Douglas's fellow Democrats earlier in the year and I did not hesitate to use some of it. Some I did not use, I ignored it, because I felt it was unfair.

I pointed to Mrs. Douglas's record in Congress, already well publicized earlier in the year by her fellow Democrats, and said that this showed that

from 1950 to 1953. I had the feeling that your remarkable appearance on television in 1952 in the middle of the Presidential election campaign—when you were running for Vice President on the Eisenhower ticket and defended yourself against allegations that you were being personally financed by big businessmen who hoped to benefit from your political influence—was external against you in some quarters which might have died down very rapidly but for that television appearance of yours.

NIXON: Possibly. Again, I was going to lose both ways. When I appeared on television as the vice presidential candidate against whom unflinching charges of corruption had been made, I knew that if I failed to vindicate myself, my opponents would vent their anger upon me, and that if I succeeded in vindicating myself, they would be even more furious.

If you saw that television statement of mine, you'll know that I tried to make a full, simple, human statement which did not prevaricate or evade but faced the issues and the charges and answered them in simple human terms. Because I was frank about my finances, because I said my wife did not have a fur coat but had a good Republican cloth coat, because I said that the only gift we'd ever received was a dog called Checkers and that whatever happened to me, Checkers stayed with us, because I was moved, and showed that I was moved, and spoke in the language of a human being whose entire moral roots were being challenged—

rats." One day I went on television and said that I regretted that traitors were rats, but that when you went out to shoot rats, you had to shoot straight, not wildly, because if you shot wildly, you might miss the rats and you might easily hit somebody else who was trying to shoot rats, too.

From then on, Sen. McCarthy began to attack the Eisenhower Administration. He proceeded to jump the Eisenhower Administration with that of Roosevelt and Truman in his indictment of the "years of treason." He began to lose ground fast. He came up before the Senate for censure.

A Valuable Experience

HARRIS: Given the position you're in today, you can afford to look back on your period as Vice President quite objectively and say whether you regret it or not. After all, it is a very subordinate job, isn't it? You were the boss about taking it in the first place, and I believe you made up your mind originally that when your first term came to an end in 1953, you would resign.

NIXON: Oh, looking back on it from



King Features Syndicate
With his right hand on Premier Nikita Khrushchev's shoulder, Richard Nixon gestures with his left during the exhibition tour in Moscow that included what Nixon calls "the most exciting experience" of his Vice Presidency—the "Nitchen debate."

because of these things, some people thought I showed a lack of taste. To please some people, you know, Mr. Harris, you must never sound

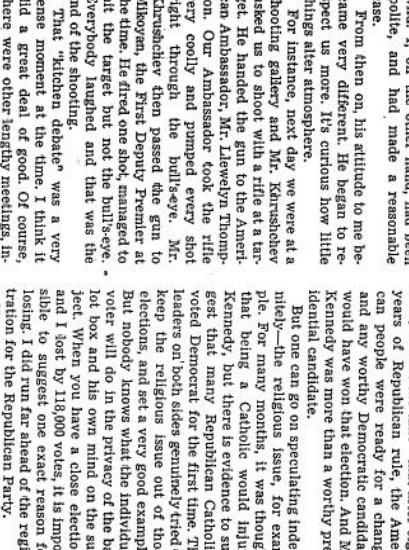
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King Features Syndicate
Richard Nixon with Checkers, the gilt cocker spaniel which he defended in a famous television speech during the 1952 campaign.

here, I'm tremendously glad for those eight years, though I had some tough times and there was at one time some opposition to my becoming vice pres-

I will win my degree in the Electrical College.

So far as content went, Mr. Kennedy made more of a speech and didn't debate in what you might choose to call my more academic manner. Interestingly, polls showed that among those who listened by radio, I won. And, as I say, I had lost ten pounds in weight in the campaign when the debates began, while he on the other hand, looked extremely well. According to the polls, I "won" the next three debates, but the ratings survey suggested that not nearly so many people watched the subsequent three as watched the original one.

Over and above that, many students of political affairs have said—and many said at the time—that after eight years of Republican rule, the American people were ready for a change, and any worthy Democratic candidate would have won that election. And Mr. Kennedy was more than a worthy presidential candidate.

But one can go on speculating indefinitely—the religious issue, for example, for many months. It was thought that being a Catholic would injure Kennedy, but there is evidence to suggest that many Republican Catholics voted Democrat for the first time. The leaders on both sides genuinely tried to keep the religious issue out of those elections, and set a very good example. But nobody knows what the individual voter will do in the privacy of the ballot box and his own mind on the subject. When you have a close election, and I lost by 113,000 votes, it is impossible to suggest one exact reason for losing. I did run far ahead of the registration for the Republican Party.

HARRIS: Many people still contend that there was hardly a big win in Texas and Illinois, I have read that when the President, I have read that when people asked you to try to take action about this, you refused.

NIXON: Yes, quite apart from the question of whether there had, or hadn't, been irregularities in voting in some sections of some states, I was convinced that the United States could

appropriate to proceed further. In stead of going on in the tortuous and embarrassing business of trying to find out whether Chambers was lying when he said Hiss had been a spy, or Hiss was lying when he said he hadn't been, let us simply try to establish whether Hiss had in fact known Chambers. I wanted to avoid doing anything unfair to his reputation. So on the same afternoon, but separately, we interviewed them both in New York and then confronted them with each other.

I expect you've read about this dramatic confrontation. Hiss asked Chambers to open his mouth so that he could see his teeth, and finally admitted that he knew Chambers — it was all an enormous act which Hiss kept up to the last minute, and which he finally had to abandon when he knew through it we had kept him that afternoon and pressed him further. I think his whole story would have broken down there and then.

You know the rest. At a public hearing later that month, Chambers publicly stated that Hiss had been a spy, and repeated it on a radio program.



Associated Press

Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (D-Calif.), answering a question by then Rep. Richard Nixon (R-Calif.) at a House civil rights hearing in 1969. He opposed her for the Senate the next year in a much-criticized campaign which he describes on this page.

that included what Nixon calls "the most exciting experience" of his Vice Presidency—the "Kitchen Debate."

because of these things, some people thought I showed a lack of taste.

To please some people you know, Mr. Harris, you must never sound moved by anything—not even when your own family are made to suffer unnecessarily, when your reputation is at stake, when your friends are being vilified and your honor is being impugned. And you mustn't fight back, either. I think that's wrong. One must react to fundamentally human situations as a human being. And when what one loves and believes in is being attacked, you must come out and fight, and fight all you can or drop.

It happened that the telecast resulted in more wires and letters of support than any other political speech in history.

HARRIS: I have heard, Mr. Nixon, that before you became Vice President in 1952, and afterward you went along with—indeed, made, political capital out of—Sen. Joseph McCarthy's Communist witch-hunt. Some people say almost the opposite, that it was you more than anybody else who undermined McCarthy. What are the facts?

NIXON: You remember the atmosphere in 1952, how concerned we in the United States were about communism. Other countries were concerned about Communist subversion, too. Those were the years not only of Alger Hiss but of Burgess and Maclean. And what we have discovered since about people like Philby has shown how right we were to be worried about the possibility of Communists in government.

Many Republicans like myself were concerned, on the other hand, about the bad effects which misreading that concern might have, and I felt that Sen. McCarthy was in fact doing that. The question was what you did about it. Would you discourage him and people like him, or encourage them. If you said you thought they were doing more harm than good?

In the 1952 election campaign, I discouraged Sen. McCarthy from trying to help me. When questioned about McCarthy, I used to answer that the way to get rid of a scabbed McCarthysm was to elect a Republican administration that would deal with the problem of suspected communism in government efficiently and expeditiously, which, as we have seen from the Hiss case and others, the Democratic administration had failed to do.—Freshman had called the Hiss inquiry "a red herring."

In the next couple of years, Sen. McCarthy got more and more extreme and began his much-publicized inquiry

grateful to him. He made a broadcast in 1967 and recounted a conversation he had had with President Kennedy in Vienna in 1961. He said he told Mr. Kennedy that it was he, Khrushchev, who had made Kennedy President.

He pointed out to Mr. Kennedy that he had won by fewer than 200,000 votes. Mr. Khrushchev said that he could, if he had wished, have given Nixon those votes. How? Because, he said, Nixon had asked him to release the C-118 crew then imprisoned in the Soviet Union and, Khrushchev said, if the Russians had done that, Nixon would have received an extra half a million votes because it would have shown that Nixon had a more effective relationship with the Soviet Union.

But, Khrushchev went on, he decided that he did not want Nixon in the White House, so he decided not to give him any answer. In the broadcast, Khrushchev claimed that President Kennedy agreed with him, but whether he quoted President Kennedy correctly on that occasion, I really would not know. I seriously doubt it. I know that Khrushchev as much as I did.

The Winner on Radio

HARRIS: Talking of the 1960 election, why do you think you lost it? NIXON: It is hard to say. The observers, and particularly the expert observers, are more likely to have the answer to that question, and some of them disagree on important matters.

At the very beginning of the campaign, say Sept. 1, 1960, according to the polls I appeared to be leading Mr. Kennedy slightly. Then I struck my knee on a car door. It got injured. I had to have some days in the hospital and lost valuable time for campaigning.

I was advised to cut down my appearances, and maybe I should have done so, but I didn't want to let down those people who had been counting on me, so I stuck to my schedule, and, of course, it took a lot out of me. I don't know whether it really mattered that people said I looked a little tired and wan in my television appearances, but if I did I dare say it was because I felt a little tired and wan.

It has been said—and I don't really know what truth—that we adopted different styles in front of the camera and his was the more successful. I saw them as debates, and therefore I listened to every point he made, and tried to refute his points and make my own affirmative arguments, look- ing at him and addressing myself to him. Mr. Kennedy, however, addressed himself to the audience. I sometimes joke with audiences by saying I flunked debating in 1960 but this year

people asked you to try to take action about this, you refused.

NIXON: Yes. Quite apart from the question of whether there had or hadn't been irregularities in voting in some sections of some states, I was convinced that the United States could not afford the agony of a constitutional crisis at that moment in history. It would not have been something that could have been settled in a week, you see. It would have taken many months.

It was essential in the interests of the United States and peace in the world that the new President should, within the limits of a democratic party system, have a united country behind him. That is why I did not encourage the feeling that some kind of a recount might have been desirable. So my last official duty as Vice President was to preside over a joint session of Congress and announce that I had lost and that John F. Kennedy had been elected President of the United States.

The Caracas Incident

HARRIS: I asked you what was the most exciting experience you had as Vice President. What was the most unpleasant?

NIXON: Well, the illness of President Eisenhower, whom I came to regard almost as a father, were terribly worrying, both in human terms and because of the responsibilities I had to carry. It's difficult to be in a position where you have great responsibility but haven't the real power to initiate. That is the difference between being President and Vice President.

But in terms of single incidents, I suppose the most unpleasant was the visit to Caracas, Venezuela, in 1958, when, as you may remember, a small Communist element perpetrated a murderous demonstration against the United States and, indeed, their own leaders, including their Foreign Minister, who were accompanying me.

The crowd that had assembled at the airport was completely dominated by Communists and their stooges. The original police arrangements for our contact from the plane were not satisfactory, and my wife and I had to push our way through a crowd of people for several yards, and there was a great deal of spitting and throwing of garbage. As we stood at attention for the national anthem, the crowd leaned over from the observation decks above our heads and spat on us.

I felt very badly about what was happening to my wife and the other ladies present, and it was difficult to keep one's temper on that account. However, it was done. The only nice thing that happened to Pat was when a little girl was followed by two escorts

'A Genuine Phobia About Bureaucracy'

From Preceding Page

through the mob to give her a bunch of flowers. Meaning, most of the rest were shouting at her that I was responsible for torturing Negro children in Little Rock.

As we got into the city limits of Cambridge, I saw that the stores were locked and shattered and there were no friendly faces on the street. I knew then that we were in for very serious trouble. Big stones began to hit my car. The Secret Service men got my wife's car, which was following, to drive right up behind ours, so that we were going bumper to bumper, and when the mob noticed us they couldn't very easily get behind my car or in front of Pat's.

The mob was made up of a small minority of older people egging on a lot of teen-agers. They started rocking my car, and I thought they would turn it over, but for some reason they didn't, and they concentrated on trying to smash the windows. I sat there looking right into the face of one man who was smashing the window on my side with a club.

There was hate in all their faces—hate, just hate. Things looked pretty bad. Those 12 minutes seemed like 12 hours. I could see Pat in the car behind. The mob was beating on his doors, but she was talking to the Foreign Minister's wife calmly.

The two Secret Service men in my car drew their guns, and one of them said something about at any rate getting six of them before they got the Vice President. A man came up with what looked like a shell casing in his hand. We wondered whether he was going to throw it at us or whether it was a bomb that he was going to roll under the car and set the gasoline tank off. After what seemed like an awfully long time, he finally threw it, and hit the back window and showered glass in the Foreign Minister's face.

I made up my mind that if we went on to where we were supposed to be going for the first official function, we might not make it, and I gave orders to turn off the route and ask the local police to head away as quickly as possible. I think that might have saved our lives. Subsequent investigations showed that there were two highly organized and disciplined groups in the crowd where we were heading for—the Panthers as it is called—and nearby there was a cache of about 400 Molotov cocktails. It was a very unhappy experience.

HARRIS: How do you react to that kind of situation?

other Republican leaders—Rockefeller in New York, Scrantom in Pennsylvania, Rhodes in Ohio and Romney in Michigan. I praised my workers. I said frankly that I thought the Cuban crisis had prevented us Republicans from getting through our message in California as well as we would have wished in the last stages of the campaign.

No, the parts of my speech that got so very much publicized were few. But something I said in my very opening sentence—"Now that Mr. Klein (my press adviser) has made his statement, and now that all the members of the press are so delighted that I have lost, I would like to make a statement of my own"—got a great deal of publicity. Of course, I shouldn't have said "all," but so far as the majority were concerned, they had been predicting that I was going to lose—in the last stages, that is—and I imagine a man is pleased when his predictions come off, and displeased when they don't.

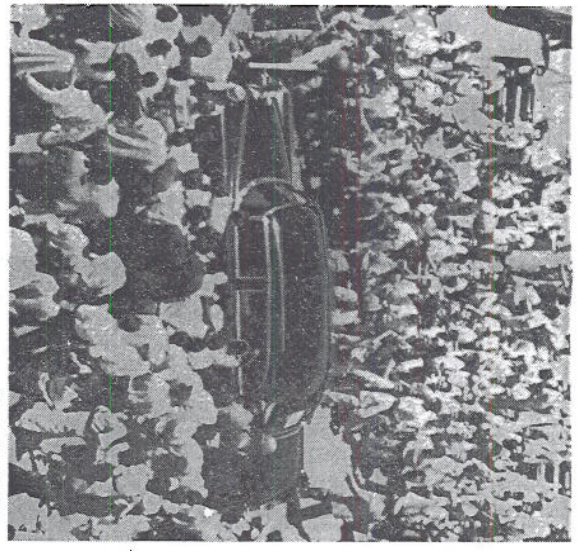
Publicity was also given to my statement that "for 16 years, ever since the Hiss case, you've had a lot of fun—you've had an opportunity to attack me, and I think I've given as good as I've taken." I also said that newspeople had a right to take every position they wanted on the editorial page, but on the news pages proprietors had a duty to give objective coverage to both candidates, and at least report what a man says.

I suppose the most publicity was given to my remark, "on your behalf, Nixon to kick around any more, because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference. . . . I have always respected you. I have sometimes disagreed with you."

HARRIS: What do you think about that statement of yours now?

NIXON: As I said, there were some words I wish I hadn't used, and some phrases I wish I had framed differently. But on the other hand, relations between the press and the politician are a terribly difficult and tortuous subject. You can't always wait for the perfect moment, can't always wait for the perfect language, for the perfect mood, to speak out on this awfully important subject. So on the whole, I do not regret what I said. And I am glad I said a very great deal of it.

One of my leading political opponents at the time spoke for many others when he said, "Nixon is going to regret all his life that he made that speech. The press will never let him forget it." That statement of his, to my mind, was a veiled slur on the press. He



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Running the gauntlet in Caracas: "I sat there looking right into the face of one man who was smashing the window on my side with a club. There was hate in all their faces—hate, just hate."

bad enough, but showed a crippling degree of disunity which was worse.

From then on, though many candidates presented themselves, and many were outstanding men, there arose in the party a great groundswell of demand for a man who had two qualifications above all: a man who could unite the Republican Party, for unless it is united it cannot beat the Democrats, and a man who seemed to have the qualifications for getting the United States out of a number of messes it is in. A certain number of Republicans seemed to think that I was the man, and they came to me and said it was my duty to offer myself. I did. You know the rest.

HARRIS: What do you think are the main problems of American foreign policy?

NIXON: Well, dealing with them as they come to mind, not necessarily in order of importance, and taking international affairs first, we've got to deal with Vietnam. As I've said many times before, we've got in out out of there as

private and public men are not without cogent ideas to get directly at the underlying problems of refugees and war.

We should thwart the temptation for aggression by helping Israel to maintain her defense; we should engage in some direct, hard negotiation with the Soviet Union to remove one underlying cause of the tension; we should assert some leadership in bringing about talks first with the moderate Arab leaders, and later with the militants, and we should open up vistas of growth and development that can gradually end the bitterness and envy that exist.

That's an ambitious task. But the only way to succeed, or even partially to succeed, is to make the effort. Any future Middle East war could bring us together in a sudden collision not only the nations of the Middle East but the great powers of East and West as well. We must not allow the cradle of civilization to become its grave.

A Different Europe

HARRIS: You mentioned the problems of Europe. What are the outstanding ones?

NIXON: One could begin with the problem of the defense of free Europe remains, but it is very different from what it was 15 or 16 years ago. The NATO of 16 years ago is no longer adequate for Europe as it is now, and to repair the present faults in NATO in terms of the older structure is meaningless.

Twenty years ago, Europe was weak economically and was drawn together by a common fear of the Soviet Union. Today, by and large, Europe is strong economically and the area east of the Iron Curtain is not the monolithic empire that it was 20 years ago. The Eastern European countries are beginning to develop independent nationalistic tendencies, even if they remain unwilling satellites.

NATO's troubles have left the alliance weakened, its future uncertain. France has withdrawn its forces; other members have let their lag well below the prescribed levels; coordination has sometimes been lax; faith in the firmness of the American commitment has been eroded. Many have questioned whether the alliance would soon be left at all or whether it would soon be left to die.

But when the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia, about seven weeks suddenly across Europe. NATO members felt a new anxiety about their defenses. The

able. We had to be firm and patient and imaginative to bring the Soviet Union to this way of thinking, and NATO, Korea, SEATO, Cuba, to name a few of the misdeeds, mark the path. I do not think that Communist China's leadership has yet reached the conclusion that a policy of continued expansion will lead to great difficulties—difficulties which might threaten world peace.

Meanwhile, the United States and Europe must continue to help make China's neighbors economically strong, which in turn will make them politically healthy—Japan, South Korea, Thailand, ultimately, South Vietnam and so on. Soon these countries should be strong enough to act as a buffer between Communist China and the United States. Then, I believe, Communist China will begin to come to the same conclusions the Soviet leaders saw to several years ago. Then the dialogue with China can and should be opened. It will be a painful and disturbing dialogue from time to time, but, as in the case of the Soviet Union, it will be a conversation that takes us in the direction of peace and away from the direction of war.

HARRIS: Would you be willing to admit Red China to the United Nations?

NIXON: Any American policy toward Asia must come urgently to grips with the reality of China, but this does not mean rushing to grant recognition to Peking, to admit it to the U.N., and to make it offers of trade—all of which would serve to confirm its rulers in their present course. Therefore, my answer to your question would be, no.

Taking the long view, however, we simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations, there to nurture its fanatics, cherish its hates and threaten its neighbors. There is no place on this small planet for a billion people to live in angry isolation. The world cannot be safe until China changes. Thus our aim should be to induce changes, to persuade

China that it cannot satisfy its imperial ambitions and that its own national interest requires a turning away from foreign adventures and a turning inward toward the solution of its own domestic problems.

We must now assign to the strengthening of noncommunist Asia a priority comparable to that which we gave to the strengthening of Western Europe after World War II. Only as the nations of noncommunist Asia become so strong—economically, politically and militarily—that they no longer furnish tempting targets for Chinese aggres-

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HARRIS: How do you react to that kind of situation?

NIXON: The most difficult time is afterward. Your real problem is with your reactions after it is all over. You feel so much resentment in yourself. It is so hard to tell yourself that these people are not typical of the majority. The fact that you survive, of course, helps you. The fact that you have not lost your self-control reinforces you. You remind yourself that you won, and now in winning you must be generous. If you are representing your country, you must think what the lasting impression is going to be. History is being written in this moment, in your own heart. You are affecting international policy. In private, I don't think it does any harm to blow your top after such an experience, but that must only happen in private. And then

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HARRIS: What do you think about that statement of yours now?

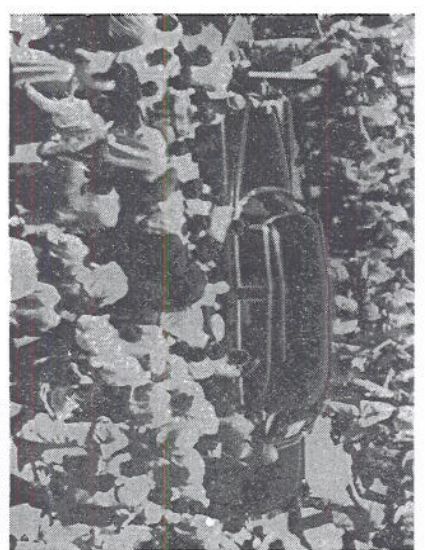
NIXON: As I said, there were some words I wish I hadn't used, and some phrases I wished I had framed differently. But on the other hand, relations between the press and the politician are a terribly difficult and tortuous subject. You can't always wait for the perfect moment, can't always wait for the perfect language, for the perfect mood, to speak out on this awfully important subject. So on the whole, I do not regret what I said. And I am glad I said a very great deal of it.

One of my leading political opponents at the time spoke for many others when he said, "Nixon is going to regret all his life that he made that speech. The press will never let him forget it." That statement of his, to my mind, was a real slur on the press. He should have known that if the American press was all that is claimed for it, it would judge me on my record after 1962 and take something I said in 1962 in its proper perspective. Anyway, here I am, and history and the press have judged what I said in 1962 and I am quite content to stand by their verdict.

'Re-Draft' by Demand

HARRIS: Why did you come back into politics? You were on the way to making yourself into a millionaire as an international lawyer.

NIXON: Once you decide, as I decided as a young man, that if the public wants you, public service is the place for you, the die is cast. Though I "want out" of politics in a sense I



Running the gauntlet in Caracas: "I sat there looking right into the face of the men who was smashing the window on my side with a club. There was hate in all their faces—hate, just hate."

bad enough, but showed a crippling degree of disunity, which was worse.

From then on, though many candidates presented themselves, and many were outstanding men, there arose in the party a great groundswell of demand for a man who had two qualifications above all—a man who could unite the Republican Party, for unless it is united it cannot beat the Democrats, and a man who seemed to have the qualifications for getting the United States out of a number of messes it is in. A certain number of Republicans seemed to think that I was the man, and they came to me and said it was my duty to offer myself. I did. You know the rest.

HARRIS: What do you think are the main problems of American foreign policy?

NIXON: Well, dealing with them as they come to mind, not necessarily in order of importance, and taking international affairs first, we've got to deal with Vietnam. As I've said many times before, we've got to get out of there as soon as possible, providing we can do so on an honorable basis and by a negotiated settlement. Our aims in Vietnam are not to punish North Vietnam but to end its aggression; not privileges for ourselves, but the basic rights of the South Vietnamese to self-determination.

And we must never have another Vietnam. By which I mean that the United States must never find itself in a position of furnishing most of the arms and most of the money and most of the men to help another nation defend itself against Communist aggression. We need a new type of collective security arrangement in which the nations in a particular area of the world would assume primary responsibility in coming to the aid of a neighbor.

Soviet Union to remove one underlying cause of the tension, we should assert some leadership in bringing about talks first with the moderate Arab leaders, and later with the militants, and we should open up visits of growth and development that can gradually end the bitterness and envy that exist.

That's an ambitious task, but the only way to succeed, or even partially to succeed, is to make the effort. Any future Middle East war could bring together in a sudden collision not only the nations of the Middle East but the great powers of East and West as well. We must not allow the cradle of civilization to become its grave.

A Different Europe

HARRIS: You mentioned the problem of Europe. What are the outstanding ones?

NIXON: One could begin with the problem of the defense of free Europe remains, but it is very different from what it was 15 or 18 years ago. The NATO of 18 years ago is no longer adequate for Europe as it is now, and to repair the present faults in NATO in terms of the older structure is meaningless.

Twenty years ago, Europe was weak economically and was drawn together by a common fear of the Soviet Union. Today, by and large, Europe is strong economically and the area east of the Iron Curtain is not the monolithic empire that it was 20 years ago. The Eastern European countries are beginning to develop independent nationalistic tendencies, even if they remain unilluminating satellites.

NATO's troubles have left the alliance weakened, its future uncertain. France has withdrawn its forces; other members have let their lag well below the prescribed levels; coordination has sometimes been lax; faith in the firmness of the American commitment has been eroded. Many have questioned whether the alliance would long survive at all or whether it would soon be left to die.

But when the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia, shock waves swept suddenly across Europe. NATO members felt a new anxiety about their defenses. The Soviet takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948 served to lay the foundations for NATO. Now, 20 years later, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia has helped—for a time, at least—to revive the spirit of NATO. The result is that if NATO is to be saved, now is the time to save it. NATO must be reorganized.

It is difficult to think of a NATO without France. We must now undertake new discussions with President de Gaulle, who is a great man with a profound sense of history, with the hope that France will reconsider its attitude to NATO—which I think may be under way already in the light of the actions of the Soviet Union vis-a-vis Czechoslovakia. I have a great personal admiration for President de Gaulle. Britain is a part of Europe and continues her future vitally connected to

will need to great understanding. . . . Meanwhile, the United States and Europe must continue to help make China's neighbors economically strong, which in turn will make them politically healthy—Japan, South Korea, Thailand, ultimately, South Vietnam and so on. Soon these countries should be strong enough to act as a buffer between Communist China and the United States. Then, I believe, Communist China will begin to come to the same conclusions the Soviet leaders dialogue with China can and should be opened. It will be a painful and disturbing dialogue from time to time, but, as in the case of the Soviet Union, it will be a conversation that takes us in the direction of peace and away from the direction of war.

HARRIS: Would you be willing to admit Red China to the United Nations?

NIXON: Any American policy toward Asia must come urgently to grips with the reality of China, but this does not mean rushing to grant recognition to Peking to admit it to the U.N. and to make it offers of trade—all of which would serve to confirm its rulers in their present course. Therefore, my answer to your question would be, no. Taking the long view, however, we simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations, there to nurture its fantasies, cherish its hates and threaten its neighbors. There is no place on this small planet for a billion people to live in angry isolation. The world cannot be safe until China changes. Thus our aim should be to induce change; to persuade China that it cannot satisfy its imperial ambitions and that its own national interest requires a turning away from foreign adventures and turning inward toward the solution of its own domestic problems.

We must now assign to the strengthening of noncommunist Asia a priority comparable to that which we gave to the strengthening of Western Europe after World War II. Only as the nations of noncommunist Asia become so strong—economically, politically and militarily—that they no longer furnish tempting targets for Chinese aggression will the leaders in Peking be persuaded to turn their energies inward rather than outward. And that will be the time when the dialogue with mainland China can begin.

For Decentralization

HARRIS: A last question, Mr. Nixon: "Republican" and "Democrat" are not entirely meaningful terms for us in Britain. How would you classify yourself politically in very broad terms?

NIXON: Well, that is quite a question. Perhaps you'd let me throw out a few very, very skeptical about too much government from the center. Before I went into the Navy during the war, I worked in a Government department, and I was horrified by what I

LY, you must understand what we are doing. Impression is going to be the history is being written in this moment, in your own heart. You are affecting international policy. In private, I don't think it does any harm to blow your top after such an experience, but that must only happen in private, and then, of course, your sense of perspective returns to you.

The gubernatorial election

HARRIS: Since we have got on to U.S. foreign policy in a rather accidental kind of way, I would like to ask you some questions about that. But before that, two others: First—particular in view of what you said about the need for self-control, and confining "blowing one's top" to the privacy of one's room—why did you complain to the press when in 1982 you failed to become governor of California? And, incidentally, why do you think you lost that election when everybody was expecting you to win hands down?

NIXON: To take the last part first, I believed, and said so privately, that I had lost the election two weeks or so before it took place. When I watched President Kennedy announce on television that the Soviets had deployed missiles 90 miles off the coast of the United States in Cuba, I turned to a friend of mine and said I didn't think I was going to be elected the next governor of California; such a crisis would understandably take the minds of Californians, with the rest of the world, off crucial domestic issues and rivet them upon the international scene. And, of course, as an American and someone who was striving for the peace of the world, I was glad, in a way, that this should to a certain extent be so. I went out at once, as any American would have, and made an announcement. I said I fully supported the action that the President had taken in meeting the threat.

There were other factors, of course, including a badly divided Republican Party. One of the reasons I finally agreed to run for governor was to rebuild the Republican Party in this important state.

Now, as for my alleged "blowing my top" with the press after I had conceded defeat in that election, a great deal of attention was focused on some remarks I made in a fairly lengthy statement while comparatively little attention seemed to be directed to certain other remarks I made.

I said, for instance, that I appreciated the press coverage in this campaign: "I think each of you covered it the way you saw it . . . I think each of you was writing it as you believed it." I praised the new Governor without qualification. I praised the victors of

way to making yourself into a millionaire as an international lawyer.

NIXON: Once you decide, as I decided as a young man, that if the public wants you, public service is the place for you, the die is cast. Though I "went out" of politics in a sense in 1962 because I wasn't wanted by the majority in California and set about building up my international law business, I continued to see Republican leaders—and Democratic leaders, for that matter—and leaders from outside the United States who saw fit sometimes to ask my advice about matters they knew I'd had some experience of in years gone by. I would have made no attempt to make a "re-entry" into politics, if I may put it that way, unless I was asked to.

Then in 1964, as you know, there was a tremendous fissure in the Republican Party between people like Rockefeller on the one hand and people like Barry Goldwater on the other, with other smaller divisions developing, too, so that in 1964 the Republican Party met with a terrible defeat, which was

of the men to help another nation defend itself against Communist aggression. We need a new type of collective security arrangement in which the nations in a particular area of the world would assume primary responsibility in coming to the aid of a neighboring nation rather than have the United States called upon to give direct unilateral assistance every time such an emergency arose.

It is not just that the United States simply cannot afford to be involved in the old-type Vietnam situation; it is not healthy for the peace of the world for the United States to be involved in situations which may risk direct confrontations with the Soviet Union or Communist China. Getting away from Vietnam, to make my meaning clear, if we are, for example, to protect nations around the perimeter of Communist China against the expansion of that power, we must develop new collective security arrangements in which all the nations in that area, including Japan, will play a role. Much the same goes for Latin America.

HARRIS: After Vietnam, where do you see the main trouble area?

NIXON: The Middle East, probably. It is not only vitally important in itself, but the problem there is intimately connected with the problems of Europe and Africa. So far as the Middle East is concerned, the problem is well known. Fundamentally, it is one of tension, temper, explosive human feelings.

In the short term, we must defuse this "powder keg" and here, I think working with the moderately minded Arab states could be extremely profitable. In the long term, the answer, I think, consists of universal aid programs like the Eisenhower-Stearns plan to develop the resources of the Middle East so as to underwrite the militaries—whose pressures played an important role in the events leading up to the Arab-Israeli war in June, 1967.

To find a just peace in an area of the world that has known only armed forces and three major and bitter wars in a generation is not an easy task, but the United States is not without diplomatic and economic resources, and its

to NATO—which I think may be under way already in the light of the actions of the Soviet Union vis-a-vis Czechoslovakia. I have a great personal admiration for President de Gaulle.

Britain is a part of Europe and considers her future vitally connected to Europe. While I favor closer British-American relations, and even some short-term special arrangements between the two countries, I would hope that Britain will be successful in forging closer ties to the Continent. I've said before: "Britain belongs in Europe. Europe needs Britain and Britain needs Europe."

Patience Toward China

HARRIS: How do you see the problem of China?

NIXON: During the next few years, the United States has got to do what it can to develop the conditions that will bring the leaders of Communist China to the same conclusion that the leaders of the Soviet Union seem to have reached some years ago, namely, that military expansion will lead to world conflict and world conflict is unthinkable.

NIXON: Well, that is quite a question. Perhaps you'd let me throw out a number of points.

I'm very, very skeptical about too much government from the center. Before I went into the Government during the war, I worked in a Government department, and I was horrified by what I saw, and developed a genuine phobia about bureaucracy. I believe in decentralization, and in strong local government.

Economically, I'm conservative. I believe we have enough. If not too much, Federal intervention in economic affairs, and that the likelihood of this Nation, which is free enterprise, might be running just a little thin.

On social issues, by which I mean medicine, education and welfare, I believe our standards must be higher than they are. I would want to deal with the problem of rising health costs in this country, which affect primarily the old and the poor, not by state-subsidized hospital and doctor care but by spending Government money on increasing the number of doctors and nurses, and building more hospitals.

On the race issue, I'm a liberal. I am very proud of my record on civil rights. My mother's family, back in Indiana, risked their lives in freeing slaves, and I have never forgotten it.

On international affairs, I'm what many Americans would call an interventionist. I've never been an isolationist, and if I had been, my early days on that congressional committee dealing with the Marshall Plan would have changed my views quickly. I'm a "wholesworder" by which I mean that one feels related to not just Europe, and not just Asia, or vice versa, but to all parts of the world.

Incidentally, it is sometimes said that people cannot label me, they can't classify me, they can't sum me up in a telling phrase. That doesn't disturb me. As a human being, I hold certain principles with which I have been imbued, and which I learned as a lad and a young man in the simple school of life.

As a public servant, I am a pragmatist. I believe that in regulating the affairs of human beings, more can be done by the intelligent application of good will, good temper and the understanding that we all have to make concessions to live together, than by trying to impose this or that political doctrine on the community as a whole, either by force or by propaganda.

Politics is the art of the possible, exercised in the service of the people, without pretenses to those fundamental principles which all free men believe in. And the central tenet of my political credo is my faith that, given effort, intelligence, fellowship and trust, the bounds of what is possible can be set even wider.

"And we must never have another Vietnam. By which I mean that the United States must never find itself in a position of furnishing most of the arms and most of the money and most of the men to help another nation defend itself against Communist aggression."



Associated Press Photo by Art Orensperger