

Elephants in the Room (perspectives on the events and effects of 1969 through '76)

Sources <<>> ENERGY and ECONOMICS

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Carter, Jimmy. "Leadership on Energy Policy," a speech to the Washington Press Club on July 11, 1975. "If the Gerald Ford/oil-industry policy is implemented, it will add from 3% to 4% to the nation's inflation rate; it will cost us consumers more than \$30 billion annually; it will encourage additional OPEC price hikes; it will aggravate fuel-distribution inequities and further damage New England and other areas especially dependent on declining oil sources; it will not result in decreased consumption equivalent to price increases because of inelastic demand for certain petroleum products; it will punish those with low and middle incomes, while the rich continue to waste all the fuel they want; it will continue a callous disregard for environmental quality. In short, the Ford/oil-industry energy policy is merely another example of letting the average American pay for the politicians' mistakes." (Candidates who traffic in demagoguery like that earn the right to simmer, and melt, after they make it to the Oval Office.)

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Ford, President Gerald. Appearance on NBC's *Meet the Press*: November 9, 1975. "I don't think we've had a 'stern' view, Mr. Reston, toward the unemployed. This Administration has advocated and supported a very significant extension of unemployment benefits -- I believe they went from 26 weeks to 65 weeks... And we have fully supported the so-called CETA program, or public-service program, fully funding those programs that give gainful employment, at the local level, for people who are otherwise unemployed." Author's tape

Ford, President Gerald. Televised Speech of May 27, 1975. "The Congress has done little or nothing to stimulate production of new energy sources here at home. At Elk Hills Naval Petroleum Reserve in California, I saw oil wells waiting to produce 300,000 barrels a day -- if the Congress would change the law to permit it. There are untold millions of barrels more in our Alaskan petroleum reserves and under the Continental Shelf. We could save 300,000 barrels a day if only the Congress would allow more electric power plants to substitute American coal for foreign oil. Peaceful atomic power, which we pioneered, is advancing faster abroad than at home. Still the Congress does nothing about energy. We are today worse off than we were in January. Domestic oil production is going down, down, down. Natural-gas production is starting to dwindle. And many areas face severe shortages next winter. Coal-production is still at the levels of the 1940s." Author's tape

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Rauch, Jonathan. "What Nixon Wrought," *The New Republic*: May 16, 1994. "Nixon was the Great Regulator. It was he who built the modern regulatory apparatus... A partial list includes, in 1969, the National Environmental Policy Act; in 1970, the Poison Prevention Packaging Act, the Clean Air Amendments, the Occupational Safety and Health Act; in 1972, the Consumer Product Safety Act, the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, the Noise Pollution and Control Act, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act; in 1973, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act and the Safe Drinking Water Act; in 1974, the Hazardous Materials Transportation Act. Nixon opened the Environmental Protection Agency, the Consumer Product Safety Commission and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. Under Nixon the number of pages in the *Federal Register* (which publishes regulations) went from under 20,000 per year to three times that amount, where it has stayed ever since."

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Reichley, A. James. *Conservatives in an Age of Change*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1981, 482 pages. "Many of the policymakers seemed to react to the failure of [price] controls and the explosion of inflation in 1973 and 1974 with a kind of grim moral satisfaction, which John Calvin or the Hebrew prophets would probably have understood." Reichley quotes Nixon CEA Chairman Herbert Stein: "Just as it is necessary for the Jews to reread every year the story of the enslavement under the pharaohs and their subsequent deliverance, it is necessary to repeat the story of our 1971-74 price-control experience, so that subsequent policymakers...will bear it in mind." And George Shultz: "At least we have now convinced everyone else of the rightness of our original position that wage-price controls are not the answer."

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Sources <<>> CONGRESS and THE PARTIES

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shape and remake this minority Republican Party into a majority political force in this country." On *Meet the Press* 12 months earlier, Anderson defended his vote for federal funding of abortion; dismissed gun-ownership protections and Panama Canal Treaty opposition as matters that appealed mainly to the "radical right"; and held firm for federal funding of House and Senate campaigns.

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Edwards, Rep. Mickey. "A Conservative Defense of Congress," *The Public Interest*: Issue #100, Summer 1990, pp. 81-88: "[T]he liberal control of the Congress is largely the fault of conservatives -- we often field second-rate candidates and insist on talking about things that the voters in Dubuque and Peoria don't really care about, like the gold standard and corruption in Newark. It would be far better to work a little harder (and smarter) at winning elections than to surrender our conservative legacy by jumping on the bandwagon of centralized, 'efficient' governmental power."

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"Freshman Democrats Tamed by Realities," *U.S. News & World Report*: August 11, 1975, page 29. Shown this article 36 years later, former Congressman Bill Frenzel (R-MN) e-mailed: "[A]ccompanied by drum-rolls from an over-enthusiastic, toadying Press Corps...the new members...generally made big pains of themselves... They came to make change, not progress. Fortunately for the Demo Leadership, they, like all rookies, did not quite know how to get the job done [and] the strongest restraining force was the reasonably well-functioning Committee System at the time. They simply did not know how to cope with the rules, precedents, and relationships which drove the System. The Class was loud, but it was not effective... Madison's system is not bullet-proof, but it is highly resistant to change."

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Polsby, Nelson W. "Congress-Bashing for Beginners," *The Public Interest*: Issue #100, Summer 1990, pp. 15-23. "The job of a member of Congress is varied and complex. It includes: (1) Managing a small group of offices that attempt on request to assist distressed constituents, state and local governments, and enterprises in the home district that may have business with the federal government... (2) Serving on committees that oversee executive-branch activity on a broad spectrum of subjects ...and that undertake to frame issues of national scope for legislative action. This entails mastering complicated subject matter; working with staff members, expert outsiders, and colleagues to build coalitions; understanding justifications; and answering objections. (3) Participating in general legislative work. Members have to vote on everything, not merely on the work of their own committees. They have to inform themselves of the merits of bills, and stand ready to cooperate with colleagues whose support they will need to advance their own proposals. (4) Keeping track of their own political business. This means watching over and occasionally participating in the politics of their own states and localities... (5) Educating all the varied people with whom they come in contact about issues that are high on the agenda and about reasonable expectations of performance. This includes the performance of the government, the Congress, and the member."

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Public Broadcasting System. *Washington Week in Review*: December 8, 1978. Regular Charles McDowell tells the others: "Here were all the Democrats, in the House of Representatives, working for four days [in ways] that I think make pretty clear that the great era of the reform of the House of Representatives is over. What those men were doing was consolidating and adjusting the reforms of the past few years. And -- what's happened in the past few years is [what] a fair number of the American people don't really know: We have transformed the House of Representatives, in a way that has vast historical dimension. It's a different place from the one we knew." Author's tape.

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"The Electoral Disaster" and "Slouching Toward Bethlehem?," which are the two lead editorials in *National Review* for November 22, 1974. "The 1974 electoral results demonstrate that the Democrats, for the time being at least, have been able to adapt much more successfully than the Republicans to the post-Vietnam era. Without defining themselves very clearly on the issues, they have come forward with an attractive assortment of new personalities [and] succeeded in putting behind them the leftist extremism that characterized the McGovern movement. From the perspective of 1974, the Democratic convention of 1972 in Miami begins to look like a last hurrah of the 1960s, rather than a portent of the 1970s."

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Will, George F. "Free, Vital," *National Review*: October 25, 1974, page 1222. "[I]n his first political speech since becoming President, Gerald Ford...urged Vermonters to vote Republican to save the two-party system: 'We need two strong parties -- free, vital, and broad enough to take under their wings a wide spectrum of opinion -- to serve as the twin pillars of democracy.' In other words, Mr. Ford says people should vote Republican because, if one of the major parties is decimated, only one part will be left undecimated. And free, vital, etc."

Sources <<>> The NIXON and FORD Administrations

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Collingwood, Charles (moderator). "1975: A Television Album" from CBS News: December 28, 1975. Author's tape

"Détente: Loaded in Russia's Favor?," half of which is a Q&A with Sen. [Henry Jackson](#): "The Nixon-Ford-Kissinger détente has been a one-way street... The Russians are getting our best science and best technology in a long series of exchanges... The Soviets are in real difficulty. They can't feed their people. They need scientific help. They need technological help. They need managerial help. You name it -- they need it. But what is it that they're proposing to offer us?... What we are getting is a massive build-up of strategic and conventional arms that threatens, in the long term, the military balance." See *U.S. News & World Report*: December 8, 1975, pp. 21-22. From 1972 through '76, "Scoop" Jackson delivered withering critiques of Kissinger's global handiwork, especially on the Sunday political-talk shows.

[Devine, Donald](#). "The Artful Dodger," *National Review*: November 24, 1989. "[N]o matter how tempting it is to believe otherwise, conservatives must recognize Richard Nixon as a man of the center who opportunistically leaned leftward on many matters of policy. For it is not enough to admire a man for his enemies. To their credit, some conservatives knew it at the time; but they were too few, and their voices were heard

too late. Most liberals were even less perceptive -- reporters and Democratic leaders let their dislike for Nixon give him a free ride for his real mistakes. But that is no excuse for conservatives." This comes from Devine's review of Stephen Ambrose's *Nixon: Volume Two, the Triumph of a Politician, 1962-72* (Simon & Schuster, 1989).

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[Evans, M. Stanton](#). "The Political Odyssey of Spiro T. Agnew," *National Review*: August 18, 1972, pp. 894-914. "The area in which Agnew gets the most obvious conservative ratings is that in which he has the most extensive record of public utterance -- the question of social disorder, domestic violence and allegiance to American institutions... In the subdivision of this dispute which led him to join battle with the media, Agnew achieved what many other conservatives have attempted but have never been able to bring off: Placing squarely before the public the fact that what passes for 'news' in the liberal media is often merely liberal opinion. For conservatives who have long contended that such bias does in fact exist, and who have battled against the magnificent inconsistency of the FCC in applying the so-called 'fairness doctrine,' this particular Agnew blow was not merely a plus but an historic ten-strike."

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Kabaservice, Geoffrey, author of *Rule and Ruin: The Downfall of Moderation and the Destruction of the Republican Party, from Eisenhower to the Tea Party*, interviewed by Frank Gregorsky in June of 2012 -- www.exactingeditor.com/Kabaservice-GOP.pdf

[Kempton, Murray](#). "Nixon: An Inadequate, but Tender, Man," *The National Forum Weekly*: May 1, 1994. "One of the best things about him...is that not even his awkwardness could hide his tenderness from his daughters and that their devotion to him was gentle in the elder, fierce in the younger, and equally intense in both. He could trust no affections outside the domestic. His children had sensed that, locked and seldom loose in their father's interior, there hid a kindly man; and they had made a discovery so rare that it may have as successfully eluded him as it did the strangers who cheered or derided without ever bothering to find him out... He used to admit me to the company of his glooms occasionally, and then he went off to New Jersey and dropped me, and I have missed him very much."

Kilpatrick, James Jackson. "Report Card for Richard Nixon," *National Review*: June 3, 1969, pp. 532-37. "One skips...back to Herbert Hoover for a President in Nixon's mold. Hoover came to the White House at 54; Nixon is now 56. Hoover had spent most of his life in foreign affairs; Nixon's greatest area of expertise also lies in foreign policy. Hoover had spent seven years in Washington as Commerce Secretary; Nixon was eight years Vice-President. Hoover was the methodical engineer; Nixon is the quintessential lawyer. Neither man was born to have his back slapped. Hoover liked his shirts with a little more starch in the collars. In his view of the function of the Federal Government, Hoover was not nearly so 'conservative' as we like to imagine. Neither is Richard Nixon."

Kilpatrick, James Jackson. "He Lied," *National Review*: August 30, 1974, page 965. "The thing is: I believed him. Millions of other Americans believed him also. When he said, over and over, that he had known nothing of the Watergate cover-up until March of 1973, we believed him... On June 23, 1972, just five days after the Watergate break-in, he himself set in motion the cover-up. He himself knew of the Watergate cash. He himself set a pattern of deceit for others to follow... We foolish believers kept searching through the later conversations of March 1973 looking for expressions of presidential amazement and outrage. We found none. It seemed odd, because we were given to understand that he was only then beginning to comprehend the involvement of such aides as Maurice Stans and John Mitchell. We had been led astray; we had been lied to. No wonder he was not amazed that March! No wonder he was not outraged! The lies, the lies, the lies! My President is a liar. I wish he were a crook instead."

Kissinger, Henry, on NBC's *Meet The Press*: October 12, 1975. "The impression is created that détente, which is a bad word anyway, is something that we grant to the Russians as a favor, and that we withhold as a punishment. The fact of the matter is that there are certain basic conditions that bring about this policy: The fact that the Soviet Union and the United States possess nuclear weapons capable of destroying humanity; the fact that we impinge on each other in many parts of the world, so that we are at one and the same time rivals, and yet we must regulate our conduct in such a way that we do not destroy humanity in conducting our disputes. We are ideological opponents, and yet in a way we are doomed to co-exist. Those are the realities. They cannot be removed by rhetoric, and those are realities to which every President has been brought back throughout the history of the postwar period." Fourteen years after he said this, the Berlin Wall came down; two years later, the U.S.S.R. followed suit. Reagan and Company set aside Kissinger and his "doomed" framework. Author's tape

Kondracke, Morton. "Henry's Revised History," *The New Republic*: August 18, 1979. "The U.S. land-based missile force was not increased by a single launcher during eight years of Republican administration. In fact, the Nixon and Ford administrations cut back on strategic spending from the levels reached in the closing Johnson years. Johnson's last budget called for \$22 billion in strategic outlays, but the Ford and Nixon Administrations averaged \$10 billion a year in comparable dollars. Some cuts were imposed by Congress, but most were called for in Nixon-Ford budgets. It's true [that] few liberals were impressed when Republican officials boasted that they were continuously cutting defense spending, but they really were -- even when Vietnam costs are eliminated from the calculations."

Kraft, Joseph. "The Abiding Nixon," *Washington Post*: August 7, 1984. "The national culture distinguishes sharply between right and wrong in public affairs [and] the same culture enjoins Americans to succeed. Taking risks is the way to get ahead, the main-spring of economic action, and even the justification for glaring inequality. Indeed, the country is in love with the idea of risk. So, inside most Americans -- especially most

successful Americans -- there is a little bit of Nixon. It is the bad angel in the national psyche. It proves receptive to Nixon's frantic efforts to stay alive as a public figure. It denies us the little bit of extra inner peace his oblivion would bring."

Laqueur, Walter. "Kissinger and His Critics," *Commentary*: February 1980, pp. 57-61

Mashek, John. "A 'Nice Guy' as President: His Strengths, Weaknesses," *U.S. News & World Report*: August 11, 1975, page 19. "The President [has] demonstrated a willingness to change his course of action -- no little feat when you think of the enormous and sometimes rigid egos that have occupied the White House. When his anti-inflation WIN program of last fall threatened to worsen the recession, Mr. Ford did a 180-degree turn and proposed tax cuts to stimulate business."

Miller, Stephen. "REMEMBRANCES: Alexander Haig, 1924-2010," *Wall Street Journal*: February 22, 2010. "In 1972, Mr. Nixon appointed him a four-star general, vaulting Gen. Haig over 240 senior officers, and made him vice chief of staff of the Army. Mr. Nixon recalled him to the White House a year later, in 1973, as his chief of staff, filling a post vacated by H. R. Haldeman, who spent 18 months in prison for his role in the Watergate scandal."

National Review, Volume XXIII, January 12 to December 31, 1971 (1,488 pages)

Nessen, Ron. *It Sure Looks Different from the Inside*. Chicago, Illinois: Playboy Press, 1979, 367 pages. Marvelous book -- an insider's account of a Presidency written by a professional reporter and therefore able to tell whole stories without self-reverence.

"Nixon: A Full, Complete and Absolute Pardon," a CBS News Special Report from September 8, 1974. Author's tape

"Nixon: A President May Violate the Law," *U.S. News & World Report*: May 30, 1977. "Nixon applied his theory of presidential powers to legalize the so-called Huston plan to spy on dissidents and the burglary of a psychiatrist's office by the so-called White House plumbers unit. The 'plumbers' were seeking the psychiatric records of Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the Pentagon Papers containing secrets about the Vietnam War. Nixon did not recall being informed in advance about that 1971 break-in. But if he had been told, he added, 'I would have said: *Go right ahead*... I didn't want to discredit [Ellsberg] as an individual. I couldn't care less about the punk. I wanted to discredit that kind of activity, which was despicable and damaging to the national interest'."

"Nixon and Mitchell: To Stop Campus Violence," *U.S. News & World Report*: May 12, 1969, pp. 74-75

Nixon, President Richard. Prime-time [news conference](#) of June 29, 1972

"Nixon: Pride in His Diplomacy," *U.S. News & World Report*: May 23, 1977

[Osborne, John](#). *White House Watch: The Ford Years*. Washington, DC: New Republic Books, 1977, 482 pages. A wonderful book, covering the Ford & Rockefeller Administration in close to real time, by a center-left columnist not afraid to function as a reporter most of the time. Osborne built professional relationships with his philosophical adversaries and sought to cover them as individuals.

Presidential Vetoes, 1789-1976. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978, 533 pages

Purdom, Todd S. "Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to President Nixon, is Dead at 63," *New York Times*: February 12, 2003. Martin F. Nolan of the *Boston Globe*: "Nixon hated the press so much, he didn't even want to have a press secretary. So there's poor Ziegler, stuck at being a junior staff assistant. It was like the lowest rung they could find on the payroll for him, which reflected Nixon's utter contempt for the press. I don't think he ever deliberately tried to lie." This NYT obituary also quotes the man who was CBS's White House correspondent during Nixon's presidency, Dan Rather: "Ron was faced with an extremely difficult job under constant pressure, and what got lost in a lot of the reporting, including some of my own at the time, was the following: He was smart." Rather went on: "I don't recall seeing anybody in public life at that level with such constant pressure who met it so consistently with the affability of Ron Ziegler."

Rogers, Warren. "Nixon and His Men," *The National Forum Weekly*: May 8, 1994. "Nixon had his good points. He was kind-hearted, anxious to like and be liked, and sentimental about family to the point of weepiness. But he sacrificed those traits on the altar of political battle lest they cost him a victory or, even worse, lead his foes, especially those in the news media, to regard him as less than manly... The grieving daughters will remember Richard Nixon in their own way. And the rest of us will remember him in ours. Yet the facts are immutable, as historians yet unborn will determine."

"Safeguard: What U.S. Got for \$5.4 Billion," *U.S. News & World Report*: June 30, 1975, pp. 42-43

Schlesinger, James R., on Bill Buckley's *Firing Line*: October 19, 1975. Author's tape

[Schlesinger, James R.](#), interviewed/paraphrased by Melanie Kirkpatrick in "Why We Don't Want a Nuclear-Free World," *Wall Street Journal*: July 11-12, 2009. "Nuclear weapons are used every day...to deter our potential foes and provide reassurance to the allies to whom we offer protection... The notion that we can abolish nuclear weapons reflects a combination of American utopianism and American parochialism... It's like the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing war as an instrument of national policy... It's not based on an understanding of reality."

Schmitz, Rep. John G. Appearance on ABC's *Issues & Answers*: October 1, 1972. "The American people have a choice between Richard Nixon, who is endorsed by Peking or Moscow, and George McGovern, who is endorsed by Hanoi or the Manson Family. Now, they may be qualified administratively, but certainly they're not qualified by policies. I'm running on a platform -- I boil it down to two planks: [1] Never go to war unless you plan on winning; and [2] those who work oughta live better than those who won't. Now I'm qualified because I'm running on those planks. And I'm also qualified because I've never broken a campaign promise, in eight years in public office, and I have never voted for a tax increase. That's the type of qualifications the American people are looking for." Author's tape

Strober, Gerald S. and Deborah H. *Nixon: An Oral History of His Presidency*. New York: HarperCollins, 1994, 576 pages

Sutherland, John P. "The Big Changes at the White House," *U.S. News & World Report*: August 11, 1975, pp. 15-17

Szulc, Tad. *The Illusion of Peace: Foreign Policy in the Nixon Years*. New York: Viking, 1978, 822 pages. A *New York Times* liberal -- though no kook -- surveys and evaluates the entire Nixon-Kissinger record, and never gets comfortable with the pragmatism.

The End of a Presidency, by the staff of *The New York Times* (with 64 pages of pictures). Bantam Books, August 1974, 353 pages. It's always fun to catch over a dozen errors, major as well as minor, in a Times product. Then again, they had this paperback on the stands rapid-fire -- after Nixon resigned, but before the pardon.

"The Nixon Years," a special edition of *Sixty Minutes*. CBS News: August 11, 1974. Featuring old clips of Walter Hickel, John Ehrlichman, Egil Krogh, and Nixon speaking introspectively to Mike Wallace. Author's tape

"Watergate: The White House Transcripts," a CBS News Special Report: May 1, 1974. Listen to Walter Cronkite: "We could not begin, in this hour, to read you the bulk of the 1,308 pages. But we can look at some...significant passages during what may be the most controversial of those conversations. We've asked three CBS News correspondents to read that transcript to us. Barry Serafin will read the words of President Nixon, Bob Schieffer the words of John Dean, and Nelson Benton the words of H.R. Haldeman. The transcript we will hear read is from that meeting of March 21st [1973], and overseeing this modest exercise in dramatic reading is our senior correspondent on Watergate beat, Daniel Schorr." Author's tape

White, Theodore H. *The Making of the President 1960*. New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961, 400 pages. "I had observed him by this time [mid-October of 1960] for many months, and he had persisted as a puzzle to my mind and understanding from my first

glimpse and sound of him. Now I decided that rather than being the hard, cruel, vengeful man as constantly described in the liberal press, Nixon was above all a friend-seeker, almost pathetic in his eagerness to be liked. He wanted to identify with people and have a connection with them. And this effort to communicate, to evoke warmth and sympathy, was his greatest problem..."

Williamson, Chilton. "Woodstein's Fun-House" (a review of Woodward and Bernstein's book *The Final Days*), *National Review*: June 25, 1976, pp. 689-91. "If the immense success of Woodward and Bernstein...proves anything, it proves that the people who really suffered the torments of the damned during Watergate were the politicians themselves. Not only did they suffer -- sometimes deservedly but more often, I began to believe, not -- professional humiliation and the erosion of their constituencies, but the bewildering conflict of ingrained loyalties to which they were subjected caused them sincere mental anguish. As for the supposedly traduced and betrayed American people, what is to be said of their experience of Watergate other than that they reveled in it?"

Okay, that's much of the source list for the 1970s segments of a manuscript on the House Republican Party being prepared by [Frank Gregorsky](#).

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