

**THE DYNAMICAL CHANGES OF RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON'S  
POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE DURING HIS POLITICAL CAREER**



**THESIS**

**Submitted as a Partial Fulfillment for the Sarjana Sastra Degree  
at the English Department Faculty of Letters and Fine Arts  
Sebelas Maret University**

**By**

**NOVI MUHARRAMI**

**C. 0398053**

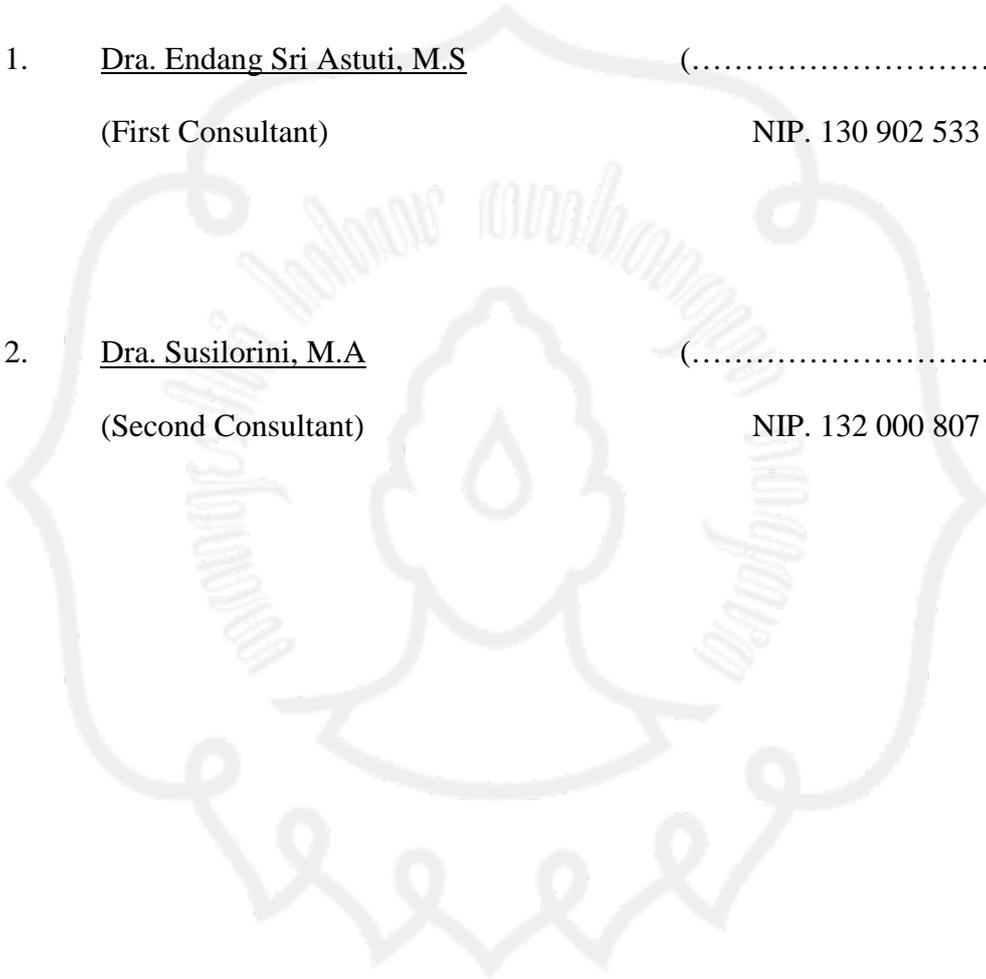
**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT  
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FINE ARTS  
SEBELAS MARET UNIVERISTY  
SURAKARTA**

**2005**

This thesis has been approved by the advisors to be examined before the board of examiners Faculty of Letters and Fine Arts, Sebelas Maret University.

1. Dra. Endang Sri Astuti, M.S (.....)  
(First Consultant) NIP. 130 902 533

2. Dra. Susilorini, M.A (.....)  
(Second Consultant) NIP. 132 000 807



Approved by the Board of Examiners Faculty of Letters and Fine Arts, Sebelas  
Maret University on March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2005.

The Board of Examiners:

1. Drs. Bathoro Moh. Sarjono, M.A (.....)  
Chairman NIP. 130 902 534
2. Yusuf Kurniawan, S.S, M.A (.....)  
Secretary NIP. 132 231 475
3. Dra. Endang Sri Astuti, M.S (.....)  
Examiner I NIP. 130 902 533
4. Dra. Susilorini, M.A (.....)  
Examiner II NIP. 132 000 807

Dean

Faculty of Letters and Fine Arts

Sebelas Maret University

Dr. Maryono Dwiraharjo, S.U.

NIP. 130 675 167

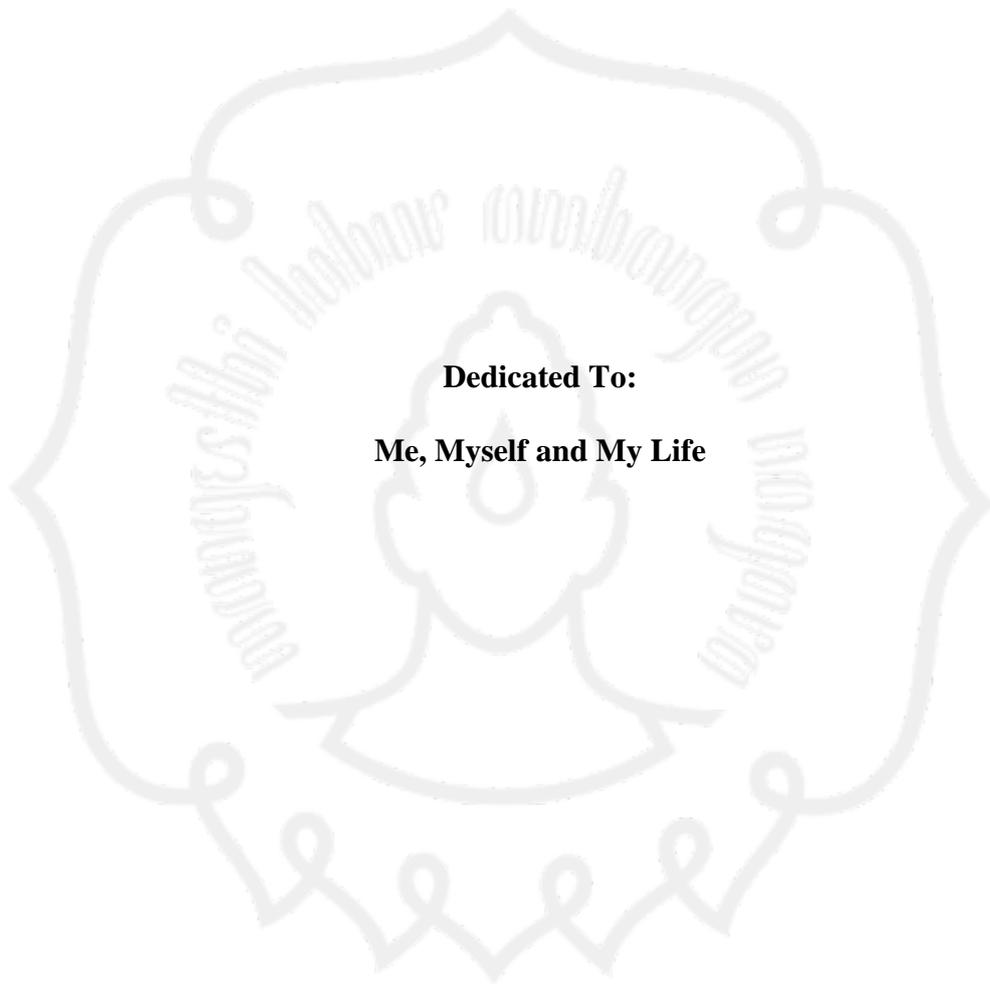
**MOTTO:**

**On no soul that Allah SWT place a burden greater that it can bear,  
it gets every good that it earns and it suffers every ill that it earns.**

**[Q.S. el Baqara: 286]**

**“Verily never will Allah SWT change the condition of a people  
until they change it themselves by their own soul.”**

**[QS. Ar-Ra'du: 11]**



**Dedicated To:**  
**Me, Myself and My Life**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

For His blessing, I do thank to my Eternal Love, Allah SWT. He is my Power when I fell, He lights up my life when I lost. He gives me more than I ask though I forget to thank Him, sometimes.

I would like to dedicate my great thanks to:

1. Dr. Maryono Dwiraharjo, S.U, as the Dean of Faculty of Letters and Fine Arts Sebelas Maret University Surakarta.
2. Drs. Riyadi Santosa, M. Ed, as the Chief of English Department in Faculty of Letters and Fine Arts.
3. Dra. Endang Sri Astuti, M.S and Dra. Susilorini, M.A as the thesis consultants.
4. Mrs. Ida Kusuma Dewi, S.S, M.A as my academic consultant who has given her advices for my study. All of the lecturers in English Department at the Faculty of Letters and Fine Arts, Sebelas Maret University, thank you for sharing the love and knowledge.
5. Mom and Dad, "Love of my life." My brothers, Agus Ramadhan and Marjoko and also my sisters, Wahidah and Andriyani who always give their supports, times, and every things for me. My beloved nephews: Zahrul, Rifqi and Zufar, "the Three Musketeers".
6. Karan Sohi (I'll be here and I'll be there for you), Wari Hirori (the time will come), Brother Iwan (I'm proud to have a brother like you) and Arif (friendship never dies). I want to say thank you so much for the loves, supports and understanding.

7. The students of English Department especially for 98 degrees as my family (Firman, Yudhi, Anto, Catur,Eko, Andi Robot, Linda, Diah&Slamet, Tyas, Putri, Esti Win, Esti Wul, Mayuma, Martha, Jeng Nanik, Santy, Yunik, Betty, Donna, Natalie “Dumbo”). 99’ers: Danny, Sugeng, Shanti, Novi, Ais. 2000: Ayu, Yudha, Novi, Acok&Ajeng. I cannot mention all the names of my friends here. Thank you so much for everybody who contributes your love and your hatred to my life.
8. The heartbreakers of TISANDA Moslem Apartment.
9. My “cool” Friends: Alvin, Taqin, G. Robert, Rupa, Olif who want to share the stupid stories and who supported and helped me much. The Solonet crew: Mas Ang, Mas Eko ‘95, Mas Ari, Mas Uul, Atik, Rika, Risa,. Sugeng, Nana, the Buddy’s (mas Pikomon and Pokimin) and other solonetters, you “guys” light up my life and get my “silly” back. Bang Nevi, thanks for the “coolest” place.
10. Renny Silfianingrum and family, Melani Ambarsari and family, and the family of Devi Trianawati in Ngawi, and the most meaningful, Rulia as my best friend for special praise and persevered me with your support and understanding. To her family who help me so much when I need spirit to get my self-confident back.
11. The last but not least, the Big Family of NURI 3 Depok: Mr. and Mrs. Annas AR, Uncle Rusli and Aunty Dini, Mr. and Mrs. Suyitno.
12. This is not perfect, this is not worth, but this is my satisfaction.

Surakarta, March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2005  
(Novi Muharrami)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title .....	i
Thesis Consultants' Approval .....	ii
The Board of Examiners' Approval .....	iii
Motto .....	iv
Dedication .....	v
Acknowledgement .....	vi
Table of Contents .....	viii
Abstract .....	xi
<b>CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
A. Background.....	1
B. Problem Statements.....	7
C. Scope of the Study .....	7
D. Objectives of the Study.....	8
E. Benefits of the Study.....	8
F. Methodology of Research.....	9
G. Theoretical Approach.....	10
H. Thesis Organization .....	12
<b>CHAPTER II : LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	<b>14</b>
A. The Biography of Richard Milhous Nixon.....	14
1. Richard Milhous Nixon and His Family.....	14
2. Nixon's Early Political Career.....	19
3. Nixon's Presidency.....	29

B. The Historical Background during Nixon's Political Career .....	34
1. The Fear of Communism .....	34
2. McCarthyism Era .....	36
3. Cold War.....	37
4. Vietnam War.....	42
<b>CHAPTER III : ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>50</b>
A. The Dynamical Change of Richard Nixon's Political Perspective during His Political Career .....	51
1. Nixon's Political Thought before His Presidency .....	51
– Foreign Affairs.....	51
– Nixon's political perspective upon international issue .....	57
– Personal target .....	67
– The change of Nixon's political perspective .....	74
2. The Impact of Richard Nixon's Policy Changes during His Presidency	78
B. The Factors which Influence the Changes of Richard Nixon's Political Perspective.....	81
1. Internal .....	81
– Nixon's Ideology.....	90
– Pragmatic idealism .....	92
2. External.....	94
– Formative influences .....	94
– Mass media influences .....	101
– National Security Advisor.....	106

<b>CHAPTER IV : CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION</b> .....	111
A. Conclusion.....	111
B. Recommendation.....	114
References.....	xii
Appendices.....	xv



## ABSTRACT

### **The Dynamical Changes of Richard Nixon's Political Perspective during His Political Roles**

**Novi Muharrami**

*Novi Muharrami. C0398053. 2005.* This research is focused on the discussion of Richard Nixon's political perspective during his political roles, since he was a congressman in 1947 until he was the 37<sup>th</sup> United States President. The object of this research is the speeches of Nixon which contain his political thought and decisions public affairs. The political perspective appeared in deciding the public issue.

The sources of data are mainly taken from the President's speeches. The main data are purposively taken from the speeches such as words, phrases and interpreted statements that relate to Nixon's political perspective. The secondary data are elected from books, articles, essays and journals about Nixon's political role. The secondary data is analyzed to support main data to obtain the facts of Nixon's presidency particularly on his perspective as a politician.

As the research is carried out within the framework of American studies, therefore this research will employ the interdisciplinary studies. This research is to explore how Richard Nixon changed his political perspective during his political roles since he was a congressman until the President of the United States. To reach the goal, then, the theory of sociological politics and the characters of leadership are applied to find out the factors that led Nixon changed his political perspective dynamically during his presidency to make a new policy of the States. Besides these, the biographical and historical approach is employed too in order to find out how his new political perspective gave impact to the presidential policy.

After conducting the analysis, it can be concluded that Nixon's speeches during his political roles, from the Congressman to the President, can be interpreted that he changed his political perspective about communism from fighting the spread and aggression of communist to the negotiation and cooperation of peace talks with the communist countries such as the People of Republic China and the Soviet Union. The factors that made him change are the internal factor such as his political thought, Nixon's ideology and pragmatic idealism and also the external factors such as formative influences, mass media and his national security advisor, Henry Kissinger.

This study will encourage the body knowledge of American Studies discipline and it can serve as an introduction for further research on the other aspect of Richard Nixon's ideology and policies of his presidency. This study is also providing some knowledge concerning one alternative of Richard Milhous Nixon.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Background

Human has many thoughts in their minds that create ideas, which bring advantages to the development of the world. In viewing ideas, people have many different views. When solving a problem, each person has different ideas and very few of them are the same. The differences in ideas are caused by the possession of personal perspective. Perspective, according to *Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary*, is the apparent relation between different aspects of a problem or neglect of any aspect. Another meaning of perspective itself is a view or prospect (1995, p. 626). The meaning of perspective, according to *Webster International Dictionary*, is the interrelation in which parts of a subject are mentally viewed. Another meaning is the aspect of an object of thought from particular standpoint (1982, p. 1687). According to *Collins Gem English Dictionary*, perspective is a view of the relative importance of situations or facts (1998, p. 403).

In this thesis, the meaning of perspective given by the *Webster International Dictionary*, that is the aspect of an object of thought from particular standpoint is used.

Perspective and behavior correlate with each other. Without perspective, the people look at the situation that comes to face them as a meaningless. So when they get a problem, either good or bad, they will have their own perspective.

When created, the perceptions of the people then influence the behavior of the people. Perspective confines people's perception, and they only can see a problem as long as it is in their perspective. Nevertheless, people's perspective can change depending on the groups they join. The change of perspective is in line with the change of situation day by day, depending on the role that is played in that situation. Hence, a man who has a new role in society, for instance a leader, often will speak and act more than before. According to Miriam Budiharjo, power is an influence to the human behavior appropriate to the goal of man's power.

“Kekuasaan adalah kemampuan seseorang atau kelompok manusia untuk mempengaruhi tingkah laku seseorang atau kelompok lain sedemikian rupa hingga tingkah lakunya itu menjadi sesuai dengan keinginan dan tujuan orang yang mempunyai kekuasaan itu.” (Miriam Budiharjo, 2002)

For example in politics, the opponents are more severe in criticizing to the government. When they are in power, on the contrary, their behavior will obey the rules that are stated by the Constitution and the Congress. According to David Coyle, “... politics itself is the way the human race behaves when it has democracy.” (Coyle, 1947, 3) Thus, politician's perspective can influence the individual behavior or the group to support their action when they have power in a society.

Perspective as an assumption and conceptual framework, an idea and value, can influence people's perception and influence their action in a situation as well. Therefore, no politician has a right to claim his perspective is true. In politic itself, a behavior always correlates to power, control, and influence. According to

Joseph Roucek, "... politics is the quest for power and political relationship is power relationship." (In Isjwara, 1982, 43) Power relationship is a reciprocal relationship, the subject may affect the ruler more profoundly than the ruler affects the subject. In other words, the power relationship has two sides: the ruler and the ruled. Thus, there is no equality in political relationship. One of them is always higher than the other. People, even in a primary state, accept the power exercised over them by the others because they recognize the need to be governed.

In politics, influence is the most important thing in getting the endorsement to reach the goal. According to Laswell: "Politics is the study of influence and influential. The influential itself means those who get the most of what there is to difference, income, and safety." (1982, p. 42) People usually can influence others when they have a power in a society. Besides in politics, a man who has no power can also influence the man with power. For example, the advisor of President can give his view to a President in making the policy to create public opinion as in line with the government goal. As it is said that influence is a part of power but it is not the same as power.

Political power is one of the important powers. The ability to influence the masses in public government policy and to reach the goal of power man called political power. As Miriam Budiharjo said in Pengantar Ilmu Politik, "kekuasaan politik adalah kemampuan untuk mempengaruhi kebijaksanaan umum (pemerintah) baik terbentuknya maupun akibat-akibatnya sesuai dengan tujuan pemegang kekuasaan sendiri." (2000, p. 37)

Consequently, a policy will affect the society. As it is said, however, political power is the part of social power. According to Catliri: "Politics is a study of the act of human or social control." (1982, p.43) Meanwhile, according to MacIver: "Social power is the control of the behavior of others either directly by fiat or indirectly by the manipulation of available means." (p. 45) Therefore, every behavior that is acted to control masses in the society is political behavior. In fact, it is a part of all social behavior of society. The political power does not include power to reach citizen obedience only, but also covers the control of other people with the goal to influence the activities of the nation in the administrative, legislative, and judicial branches. Politics, in other words, is the possession and distribution of power. When the power is distributed effectively, it can be called control. Nevertheless, using the existence of political power should be a power man, for instance the President as mandatory, and a media of power (nation) so that the using of power is well done.

The dynamics of the political field push changes of either the growth situation or the politician's view. The changes are caused by the essays of political philosophers such as John Locke and J.J. Rousseau, about democracy and separation of power. They influenced the growth of American politics and allowed American politicians to build the independent republic nation and to separate from the United Kingdom. Today, United States of America is a nation that has political growth on the top of the world. The reason is that the attitude of politicians has reflected their good political ability. Since the Independence Day of 4<sup>th</sup> July 1776, United States has had many good politicians such as George

Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. They were nationalists who had economic, law and military backgrounds. George Washington, for instance, was the first United States President who had military background. Although he was born to a rich farm family, he was the wisest United States President. Although he was not philosopher as was Jefferson, his policy has given the basic value to the American democracy. He refused to join the third presidential election to give a chance for other Americans to lead the nation. He was also followed by Thomas Jefferson who became a President for two terms only. However, this kind of attitude was the good point to do in a democracy nation.

Each figure has his own ideas and perspectives in leading the nation. A politician should be responsive to the latest issues. When he has strong character and critical point of view to some issues, he will be able to control his environment and to make policy.

Nevertheless, in deciding an issue, a politician should have some wide view and also pay attention of it from many perspectives. He may not have poor perspective in viewing the issue because it will influence his decision, mostly for the President. However, this is interesting to discuss because the ideas and perspectives of the politicians, particularly the President, will affect his policymaking.

The 37<sup>th</sup> United States President, Richard Milhous Nixon, was the first native Californian to become Vice President and President. He was the only President who resigned his Presidency because of involvement in the Watergate

case. Research about Richard Nixon, through his speeches during his political career, is a challenge because Nixon was the American politician who had the best resumes: Federal Bureaucrat, NAVY, Congressman, Senator, eight years as Vice President and five years as President. He was a dynamic person and very critical in viewing in the late postwar era of issues such as communism. Nixon had always played politics not merely as a game against worthy opponents, but as a game against enemies too. He was different from Thomas Jefferson who treated well his former political opponents. Consequently, Nixon's figure was able to play his role wherever he was, because he occupied the offices of Vice President, Senator and Congressman in the past before his presidency.

Nixon began his political career when he was in college. He was only a common person. As were most Californians, Nixon was born in middle-class society where hard work and integrity were deeply rooted and heavily emphasized. He came from a southern California Quaker family. Most of them were abolitionist who had helped black slaves escaped into free territory. Nixon sympathized with Abraham Lincoln and eager to be a peacemaker as Lincoln had been in the Civil War.

In the postwar era, the United States was involved in the cold war with the Soviet Union. The main problem was the antagonism of ideology between liberal capitalism and social communism. As a critical politician, Nixon used anti-Communist trick through his several campaigns to reach the important role in the States. Yet, when he became a President in 1969, there were significant changes in his political perspective. Nixon, who had been a Congressman, Senator and

Vice President and had made political maneuvers against the Communist, had reversed himself to open the diplomatic co-operation with the Asian communist nation, Republic of China. He also made SALT agreements with the Soviet Union, known as for Strategic Arms Limitation Talk. President was a new role for Nixon, he had great power to decide whether domestic or foreign policy. Definitely, it also showed the change of Nixon's perspective as real politician.

Therefore, it will be a challenge for a researcher to explore the dynamical change of Nixon's perspective as a political figure. The researcher, so far, knew that none of the students of American studies program of the English department, Faculty of Letters and Fine Arts in Sebelas Maret University did the researches related to Richard Milhous Nixon.

## **B. Problem Statements**

As the analysis focused on the change political perspective of Richard Milhous Nixon, thus the researcher will try to find out three subjects as follow:

1. How did Nixon change his political perspective during his political career?
2. What were the impacts of the changes toward Nixon's presidency?
3. What were the factors which influence the behavior and thought of Richard Milhous Nixon during his presidency?

### **C. Scope of the Study**

The speeches of Richard Nixon provide the source of evidences, which reveal the change of Nixon's perspectives. This research will focus the analysis to avoid the change of Nixon's political perspective, and based on the background above, the researcher needs to give some limitation. The researcher limits the analysis on some fundamental aspects such as attitudes, behaviors, ideas, the way of thinking of Richard Nixon as a President of United States.

To support the main focus, the researcher studies the sociological and historical of American society, and biographical of Richard Milhous Nixon.

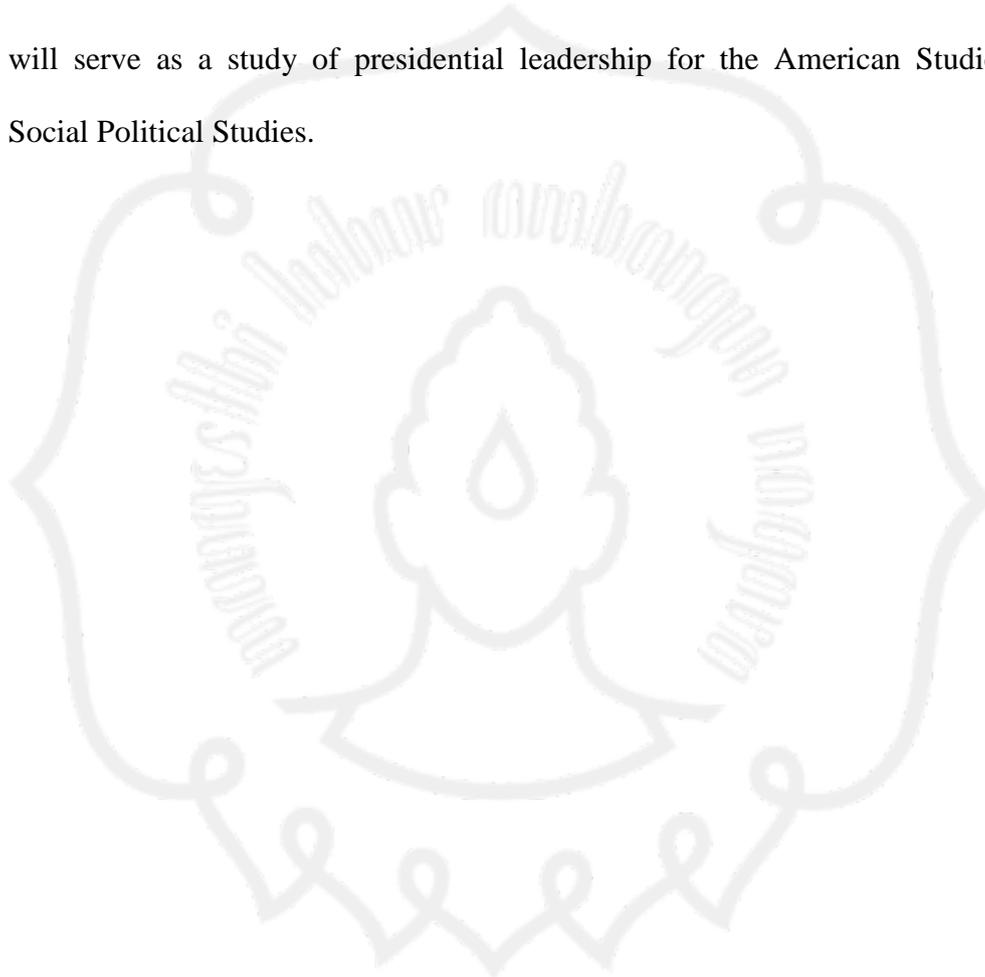
### **D. Objectives of the Study**

Based on the problem statements above, the objectives of the study in this research are:

1. To describe the change of Richard Nixon's political perspective during his political career.
2. To find out the impact of Richard Nixon's political perspective changes in playing his role as the United States President.
3. To know the factors which influenced Richard Nixon to change his political perspective during his presidency.

### **E. Benefits of the Study**

This study, hopefully, will contribute the Indonesian political experiences. It can provide a precious introduction for further research on the other aspect of the World's Leaders such as the President and the Prime Minister. This thesis also will serve as a study of presidential leadership for the American Studies and Social Political Studies.



## F. Methodology of Research

Methodology is a concept, principle, and process to analyze the problem and to find the answer. In other words, methodology is an approach to study the main research. (Deddy Mulyana, 2002)

This thesis is a descriptive qualitative research which employs a library research to analyze the data as an object of the study. Descriptive research is describing and attempting to explain a social phenomenon in detail by specifying why or how it happened. As Nazir said:

Metode deskriptif adalah suatu metode dalam meneliti status kelompok manusia, suatu objek, suatu set kondisi, suatu system pemikiran ataupun suatu kelas peristiwa pada masa sekarang. Tujuan penelitian deskriptif adalah untuk membuat gambaran secara sistematis, faktual dan akurat mengenai fakta-fakta, sifat-sifat serta hubungan antara fenomena yang diselidiki. (Moh. Nazir, 1999, p. 63)

All of the main data are mainly taken from the internet and the books that provide the documents of President's speeches. Most of them are taken from <http://www.nixonfoundation.org> and <http://www.watergate.info.com>. As it is said by Coomber that the internet has an important role in research.

“The internet and electronic mail increasingly offer the research community opportunities that did not previously have. Access to information has increased as has access to and discussion with those working similar area. One other aspects of ‘cyberspace’ which presents

enormous possibilities to research community, currently in its infancy, the use of internet to reach individuals as research subject.” (Coomber, 1997)

The main data is purposively taken from the source of data such words, phrases and interpreted statements that relate to Nixon’s political perspectives. The secondary data is elected from books and journals about Nixon’s political role. The secondary data is analyzed to support main data to obtain the facts of Nixon’s presidency particularly his perspective as political figure.

### **G. Theoretical Approach**

This thesis includes literary discussion that will analyze the dynamical changes of Nixon’s political perspective toward his political roles, mainly during his presidency. The library research is emphasized on interpretation and analysis of the data. As it applies to the American studies framework, the thesis employs the interdisciplinary study to research the topic, which relate to the historical, sociological, and biographical aspects as objects of the study. Therefore, the researcher will apply usable past analysis to gain the thesis holistically.

The usage of usable past tended to trace back how Nixon grew up on the American political stage, so that it is able to give an implication to the present America. It will help all present supporters maximize all the contributions of the past that will be very useful to anticipate the bad of the future. It is aimed at the future orientation by learning from the past and the present and both of them can be a way of predicting the future. According to Emerson, a scholar must be able to

take the advantages from experiences of the past as well as the present day, and then make study focus on it for the future. In other words, "... all the contribution of the past, all the hopes of the future." (In Spiller, 1981, 192)

The analysis of the thesis, moreover, will include the past, present and the future of Nixon's political perspective as United States President. The past contribution can trace back how Nixon can come to such perspective in which it will include as an American politician.

To find out Nixon's political perspective, a decision is needed to trace the perspective through his forebear on how Nixon as a President of United States can come. Focus on this, it will involve Nixon's identity as an American as well as political role itself which is the base of Nixon's perspective. It is needed to comprehend the character's background of life. Therefore, biographical approach is used to understand more deeply the ideas that Nixon presented in his speeches and the thought and experiences that influenced him.

The researcher will employ the thought of Richard Nixon by analyzing his speeches to the United States. The analysis will use the approach of history by correlating his thought and the situation that he faced.

More than one point of view is used in this research to gain the holistic analysis of the material discussed. American history is the basis of analyzing in this research. Moreover, it is very important to visit Nixon's policy in his presidency. "This approach has, in number one cases, given depth historically oriented program which are presumably economic, sociological, or even political

or constitutional in their primary emphasis, and so given them as an interdisciplinary and holistic orientation.” (1981, p. 225)

By analyzing this topic using the interdisciplinary method that fulfils the perfect result, it covers all the significant parts of the study phenomenon of the nation’s stage with multi-aspects.

## **H. Thesis Organization**

This thesis will be organized into four chapters as follows:

### **CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION**

- A. Background
- B. Scope of the Study
- C. Problem Statements
- D. Objectives of the Study
- E. Benefits of the Study
- F. Methodology of Research
- G. Theoretical Approach
- H. Thesis Organization.

### **CHAPTER II : LITERATURE REVIEW**

- A. The Biography of Richard Milhous Nixon
  - 1. Richard Milhous Nixon and His Family
  - 2. Nixon’s Early Political Career
  - 3. Nixon’s Presidency

B. The Historical Background during Nixon's Political Career

1. The Fear of Communism
2. McCarthyism Era
3. Cold War
4. Vietnam War

**CHAPTER III : ANALYSIS**

C. The Dynamical Change of Richard Nixon's Political Perspective during His Political Roles

1. Nixon's Political Thought before His Presidency
  - Foreign Affairs
  - Nixon's political perspective upon international issue
  - Personal target
  - The Change of Nixon's political perspective
2. The Impact of Richard Nixon's Policy Changes during Nixon's Presidency

D. The Factors which Influence the Change of Richard Nixon's Political Perspective

1. Internal
  - Nixon's Ideology
  - Pragmatic idealism
2. External
  - Formative influences
  - Mass media influences

– National Security Advisor

## CHAPTER IV : CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

### CHAPTER II

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

##### A. The Biography of Richard Milhous Nixon

###### 1. Richard Milhous Nixon and His Family

The family of Nixon and Milhous moved to America from Ireland in the 1720s. Most of Irish migrated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Ireland to East Coast of America. Ireland is an island extending in Europe, exactly in the southern of Great Britain.

“Ireland is an island lying west of Great Britain which separated by the worth channel, the Irish Sea, and St. George’s Channel. It extends through four degree of latitude –from 51<sup>0</sup> to 55<sup>0</sup> N. Its area is 32,595 square miles (84,421 SQ km) of which 27,136 (70,282) is in the Irish Republic and 5,459 (14,139) in Northern Ireland.” (Encyclopedia Americana, p. 400)

Irish people are the mixture of the succession of European who went there. The civilization of Irish passed through long hard history. The existence of several nations in the land since the ancient time: the arrival of the Celts from Scotland, the invasion of the Viking, and the conquest of Anglo-Norman are the early stages in the history of the Ireland. Furthermore, the lord’s land had taken economically

the Irish land and oppressed them. The Irish people experienced the extensive period of English oppression and denomination for seven and half centuries.

Another harsh condition in the modern history of Ireland was the great tragedy of 1845 where the flood of migrations out of the country, especially, to the promising land of America. In this year, Ireland suffered starvation, “potato famine”. Huge wave of immigrations came particularly to the north of America because of tragedy. Actually, the Irish had started to move to America in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in the same century of the coming of the first European in America, in 1610. In the south, for example, first Irish migrants reached Carolina in 1680s and then followed by others. They were the dominant of Anglo-Saxon and Protestant character of the societies. However, the migrations were dominated by low class society who came to America for several reasons such as religion’s freedom.

“The important first migration to the south came from Barbados to the Carolina in 1680s, Cromwell having sent many thousands of Irish to that island three decades earlier. During the next century many thousands made the move to the south directly from Ireland. Some as self financed emigrants, far more as indentured servants and many who were transported for crimes and rebellious activity.” (Encyclopedia of Southern Culture, p. 433)

The family of Nixon and Milhous were Irish who came from outside of Ireland to work and live. The Nixon’s ancestor was a Celt who moved from Scotland to County Wexford in Ireland. The domination of Land Lord in seventeenth century made them found the work in Ireland. In 1730s, the Nixon became a part of great

wave of emigration of Scott-Irish to North America. They settled in Newcastle, Delaware. The character of Protestant dominated the spirit of religion freedom in Nixon family. Nixon's family was a Methodist characterized by Puritanism.

The father of Richard Nixon, Francois Anthony Nixon was born in Ohio. He took part in the westward movement in the gold rush era and stayed in California to work and live. The arrival of Frank Nixon in the beginning of twentieth century ended westward migration of Nixon that had begun in seventeenth century. Frank met Hannah Milhous and married on June 25, 1908. As other Nixon, Frank was a Methodist and then changed his faith into Quaker after married Hannah Milhous.

A year after the marriage, a son was born named Harold Nixon. They had five sons. The second was Richard who was born in 1913. Then, Donald came in 1914, Arthur in 1918 and Edward in 1930.

Richard Milhous Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, Orange County, California on January 9, 1913. The first thing that Mrs. Hannah Nixon noticed was her new son's loud and clear voice. To grandmother Milhous, who also were presented at Richard's birth, the commanding quality of the boy's crying, suggested that he would be a minister or a lawyer.

Dick, Richard's nickname, was a hard worker. Hard work and doing the best at all times was the gentleness of Nixon's family. Dick spent his childhood to help his father operated the store and washed car in gasoline station. He was a smart boy in his school. He also taught religious subject to children at the Meetinghouse on Sunday. The Quaker spirit influenced Richard to do the best for

himself mostly in education. Although his father's ancestor was part of low class society who came to America to work and live, Richard had aim to have worthy work to get success. The real success for him was in politics.

Richard attended the local public school. He worked diligently in high school, offsetting his social awkwardness with academic achievement. Actually, Harvard and Yale both offered him scholarship, but the death of his eldest brother –Harold, and his second young brother –Arthur, and the Nixon's financial position during the Great Depression forced him to remain close to home. The Nixon often lived at the edge of poverty and suffered their share of misfortune. The death of two Nixon's siblings, made Richard not to be neglected intentionally by his mother, Hannah Nixon. Consequently, he grew up as a loner because of his childhood that experienced little overt affection.

He entered Whittier College –a liberal arts college founded by the Society of Friends and chartered in 1901, at 17 with excellent standards. As his aim to get success through political stage, he got victory in intercollegiate debates with Free Trade subject. It distinguished Richard's College years. He had an unusual ability to discover the most important ideas or subject, without wasting time as the details. Richard developed and perfected to a high degree the skill of exchanging thought and ideas with people whom he met. Mazo said in Nixon Political Portrait that "... Nixon won many debates during his second year at Whittier. Nixon won many debates, including one in which he opposed the winner from schools in other parts of the country and became the favorite of it. Debating public speaking were his specialties ..." (Mazo, 1969, p. 12)

Richard Nixon finished his studies at Whittier in 1934. He won a scholarship to Duke University Law School at North Carolina East Coast. All he wanted was a law school, which he could attend without money. Richard was recommended by the President of Whittier College DR. Walter F. Dexter, to study at Duke University. He wrote that “he believed Nixon would become one of the United States important, if it was not great, he would be a leader.” (1969, p. 13)

Nixon involved in none of political activities at Duke intensely that had respected him at Whittier. He was elected as freshman class President. He served as the student’s body vice president in his junior year and its president in his senior year. Nixon graduated from Duke University in 1937. He won election as the President of the Duke Bar Association and earned admission to the order of the coif, the honorary legal fraternity.

He looked forward to a career with the Federal Bureau Investigation in Washington D.C. after graduated. His application were all rejected and returned to Whittier where his mother helped him to get job in Friend’s law firm. When the firm opened a branch in La Habra, Nixon’s partners acted as the La Habra town government’s legal advisers. He also gained his experience as a small town police prosecutor. Concurrently, he litigated corporation and tax cases.

Nixon joined the community activities, especially the Whittier College alumni association and amateur theatrical group. He met Thelma Catherine Patricia Ryan and then married her on June 21, 1940. They had two beautiful daughters: Patricia, who born in 1946 and Julie Ryan Nixon in 1948. Julie married David Eisenhower, grandson of former President Dwight Eisenhower. Followed

by Patricia Nixon married Edward Finch Cox, a law student, in a white House ceremony in 1971.

The attack of Pearl Harbor marked the beginning of World War II. Bored with the life of a small town, it brought Nixon to look for a job in Washington D.C. in 1942, where he worked in tire-rationing section of the Roosevelt's office of Price Administration (OPA). His distaste for eastern liberal intellectuals, many of whom worked in OPA, grew during this brief stint. In addition, amid the tangle of bureaucratic red tape, he reinforced his negative opinion of the New Deal's socialistic big-government programs. In August 1942, Nixon joined the Navy lieutenant, junior grade. He served in New Caledonia, Pacific, as a supply officer with Naval Air Transport for most reminder of the war. He was popular with his men, and such an accomplishment poker player that he was able to send enough his comrades in arms money back home to help his political campaign.

## 2. Nixon's Early Political Career

Nixon answered a Republican Party call who was seeking a candidate for California 12<sup>th</sup> congressional district. He ran against the five-term Democratic Congressman, Jerry Voorhis. Nixon seemed the man for the job and Republican Party endorsed him for the party's nomination. Nixon came back to California and accepted to undertake the States' help pay for a cooperative, long-term rebuilding program in Europe following the war. Nixon also served on the House Education and Labor Committee, where he helped to arrange the draft of the Taft-Hartley Act on labor management relations.

As the member of the un-American Activities Committee, Nixon personally pressed the investigation of Alger Hiss, a high state Department official. Hiss had been accused of being communist by former writer and editor of Time Magazine, Whittaker Chambers. Hiss was everything Nixon despised. He worked in Franklin D. Roosevelt's Agricultural Adjustment Administration. In World War II era, he served as an aide to Roosevelt at the Yalta Conference and as temporary secretary general to the United Nations. Nixon fiercely pushed the case forward, eventually getting Hiss convicted perjury or lying under oath after proved with a micro film copies of a document that were identified as classified papers belonging to the Department of State, Navy and War, some apparently annotated by Hiss in his own handwriting. During the investigation of Hiss case, Nixon gained a national reputation as a dedicated enemy of communism. Nixon became an instant celebrity, loved by conservatives and hated by liberals. In 1948, he was reelected to Congress after winning the Republican and Democratic nominations.

In Senate election 1950, Nixon entered Senate election taking the advantages of the most important lawyer in California and a national figure at the age of thirty-five. His opponent was Helen Douglas who was hated by many Californian businessmen. Douglas refused the communism issue in campaign against her. Nevertheless, Nixon used the same technique in Congressman Campaign where he related Douglas to Vito Marcantonio because she opposed the activity of the House un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

Murray Chotiner, the campaign manager of Nixon, made every effort to paint Douglas as being soft on communism. The key campaign was paper flyer called the “pink sheet”. The sheet pointed out that Douglas and Marcantonio voted alike on 354 roll calls. The conclusion was a dangerous “Douglas-Marcantonio Axis” loyal to communism that must be stopped. Nixon aimed to keep the voters’ attention focused on communism and won 59 percents of the votes in the election. However, this campaign was one of the dirtiest in American history and was notable for showing the first example of Nixon’s willingness to use dirty politicking.

The speech of Nixon at Dewey’s invitation in 1952 was so great. It made him listed as the nomination of Vice President. The group recommended Nixon to be Eisenhower’s running mate because of his anticommunist credentials. Other reasons were his campaign tactics would complement Eisenhower’s political assets and Nixon would help Republican in the west.

Nevertheless, the New York Post announcement made him nearly push off the ticket campaign. It announced that Nixon had received secret campaign contribution from wealthy sources. No evidences was produced that Nixon had misused the fund or given special favors to contributors, but many Eisenhower’s advisers wanted him to resign his candidacy. In nationwide television, Nixon gave a speech contained a sentimental reference to Nixon’s dog named Checker on September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1952. This speech later was well known as Checker speech. The speech included a full disclosure of his personal finance. He talked that he and his wife had had money from their works, not from the donors.

Nixon impressed Eisenhower because of the television speech and then he kept Nixon to be his running mate. He knew that Nixon would help him to restore the harmony because Nixon was consciously identified with congressional investigations of communist. "...he told Nixon that the most impressed him was that Nixon got Hiss case fairly ...” (Ambrose, 1987). Nixon was justifiably proud of that comment, which he frequently quoted.

Thus, at the age of 39, Richard Nixon was the running mate of one of the most popular figures in the U.S history that was Dwight E. Eisenhower. In November 1952, he became the second-youngest Vice President in history when Eisenhower overwhelming defeated Stevenson by the popular vote. In 1956, Eisenhower and Nixon were reelected, after Nixon survived an attempt by some Republicans to replace him. Eisenhower did not encourage to dissident, and Nixon was easily renominated. Nixon once again attacked the democrats and their Presidential candidate, Illinois Governor Adlai E. Stevenson.

Nixon was in the Senate only two years and as presiding officer for eight years. He had to be in a constant State of readiness to replace the President. In the eight years, he served in that capacity the Republican. The difficulty in judging any particular vice-presidency is the nature of the office itself. "...the Vice-President's only constitutional duties are to preside over the Senate and cast the occasional the breaking vote.” (1987, p. 609)

The Eisenhower-Nixon agreement on succession in case of Presidential disability served as a model for later administration, as did Nixon's conduct in chaired nineteen cabinets' session. He was quiet prepared to step into presidency,

as well as prepared as he possibly could have been at the time of Eisenhower's heart attack in 1955, an ileitis operation in 1956, and a stroke in 1957. Additionally, the President requested Nixon to visit 56 countries during his terms of office. This kind of Nixon's service as Eisenhower's Vice President was an emissary abroad.

Much of Nixon's time as Vice President was spent in representing the President before Congress and on trips abroad as a goodwill ambassador. On these tours, Nixon was occasionally the target of anti U.S feelings. During a tour of South America in May 1958, for example, the cars carrying Nixon and his escort were assaulted by stones throwing Venezuelans near the Caracas airport. Nixon and his family was saved and returned back to Washington D.C.

Nixon believed that communism was a terrible evil. Wherever he went he made the communist threat into the central issue. He became the world's best known anti-communist. The task was to serve for eight years as the Republican Party's spokesperson. When he served in that capacity, the Republican percentage of vote slipped badly. He was widely blamed for the 1954 and 1956 outcomes. Critics charged that his slashing campaign styled repelled Democrats and independents. Defenders claimed that Republican losses would have been much worse without Nixon's active role. To the vast majority of conservative Republicans, he was a natural leader, born to command, a man of integrity, intelligence, and virtue, who had full of common sense, could be trusted, and should be the President.

Although Nixon had won his national fame as the man who found and exposed Alger Hiss, as Vice President he was not about to admit that Eisenhower had Communist administration. Nixon stayed away from domestic anti-communism as an issue, but he made International communism his number one issue, a special area of expertise and experience.

He went to Moscow in 1959 to open the American National Exhibition. There, at a display kitchen appliance, he engaged in a verbal clash with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. This "Kitchen Debate" also boosted his public standing. However, Nixon was the Vice-President who became the world's best anti communist.

Personally, Eisenhower and Nixon were not friends. Nixon had genuine respect for the President, and enjoyed being with him. Although Eisenhower never knew it, Nixon disagreed with him on some of the most basic decisions of the decade, for instance the armistice in Korea in 1953, opposed accepting the Geneva Accord in 1954, and spent more money on defense in 1959 and invasion of Cuba in 1960. As Vice-President, Nixon had no important influence on policy decisions. Nor could he, nor can any Vice-President. The point would not even be worth making, except that Nixon himself so persistently claimed the contrary.

As Vice President also, Richard Nixon the campaigner often did grave disservice, but in his non partisan actions, both at home and abroad, he did good service for his country and mankind.

Nixon briefly used Eisenhower just as Eisenhower used him, but the success of Hiss case had impressed Eisenhower to keep him in 1956 election.

Stassen threatened to separate Nixon from the President, which could have led to the fate of John Nance Garner or Charles Dawes or Henry Wallace. Eisenhower had his own reason still to keep Nixon on the ticket in 1956. He was indicating that he would be willing to turn the country over to Nixon in the event that his own health failed, an event that seemed so possible that this must be viewed as the ultimate endorsement.

Nixon told to two Republican campaign managers to begin organizing his campaign for 1960 Republican Presidential Nomination on November 7, 1958. Nixon was reported to be favored by 64 percent of the nation's Republicans, an unequalled rating. He easily averted a challenge from Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York before the Republican convention opened on July 27, 1960. After listened to 32 party leaders' opinions, he selected Henry Cabot Lodge as his choice for Vice President.

Nixon ran a poor election campaign, allowing his opponent, Senator John F. Kennedy to take offensive on issue. Then he lost the first of four television debates which won by Nixon resulted that Senator was more favored than the Vice-President. The recession and Eisenhower's failure to take strong measures to stimulate economy also contributed to the results. Later, Eisenhower's failure to speak with his Vice President caused more comment. An explanation suggested is that Nixon wanted to separate himself from Eisenhower. One political commentator wrote that, "the Nixon people and Nixon himself, had been treated like boys for so many years by the Eisenhower people and probably now wanted to act by themselves." (Mazo, 1969)

The day before the election, Dwight D. Eisenhower told the Americans that he vote for Richard M. Nixon and his running mate Henry C. Lodge. Meanwhile, the Democratic Presidential candidate accused Nixon of asking Eisenhower to help his failing campaign at the end of October. According to the recorded results, Richard Nixon received 49,55 percent while John F. Kennedy received 49,71 percent. Thus, Nixon lost by the narrowest percentage difference of any man who had ever sought the presidency.

Nixon returned to California as a private citizen. He wrote his first book *Six Crises* and many people bought it after published in 1962. "...Tom Wicker a New York Times political specialist wrote that in the book, none of the answer of the question from the beginning: 'what kind of man is he'. The book tells us nothing about Nixon's view, feeling, believed and what he really was." (Mazo, 1969, p. 105)

When Nixon returned in 1961, the Republican Party of California was searching for a good candidate to oppose the Democratic Governor, Edmund G. Brown, and Nixon seemed to be the strongest candidate. Nixon seemed uninterested for seeking as Governor because he would not be easy to defeat his opposition. Another reason for Nixon's hesitation was that he was less interested in State issues than in national and international issues. Public opinion, therefore, indicated that Nixon was leading Pat Brown. Having worked in government for fourteen years, he preferred public service. Thus, on 27<sup>th</sup> September 1961, Nixon announced that he would be a candidate for Governor after he discussed with his family and got their supports.

Nixon ran campaign as Governor of California. He was absolutely difficult to attack Pat Brown who had no record political dishonesty in his administration. In period late October, Nixon thought that his chance of winning the campaign had improved. On October 9, he concluded a very successful three days campaign trip along the coast of California. Such trips were no longer customary at the time, and this one was so unexpected that it added exhilaration to the campaign.

Nixon used his ability as a good spokesperson. He had just lost his campaign for governor. In his campaign, Public interest had stopped and it could not be regained. Although he would try every method that he had learned during the past fourteen years, including another Checkers speech.

The statement of Nixon was concluded to the reporters by saying that whenever our peace and freedom is threatened, Democrats and Republicans alike will think of America first, rather than party first. Then, it had become real in the results of votes. Richard Nixon had lost, as he had privately said he would.

After Richard Nixon was defeated in the election for Governor of California, the big law firm of 'Mudge, Stern, Baldwin & Todd' called him. He came back to New York as a lawyer and continued his activity to work in Barry Goldwater, Senator of Arizona, campaign as a Republican candidate for Presidency 1964. He continued his activity on behalf of Republican candidates in the 1966 congressional campaign. The 1966 elections produced a number of winners among Republican candidates for various offices, but Nixon may have been the biggest winner of all without having sought any election because he helped them to get apart in the House of Representatives. Mazo said in Nixon

Political Portrait: “The New York Times reported that ... if Nixon campaigned for a Republican candidate seeking election to the House of Representatives, that candidate’s chances of winning were 67 percent. Without Nixon’s help, the same candidate’s chances were only 45 percent.” (p.113)

During 1967, Nixon continued to be favorite candidate for Republican presidential nomination of most Republicans. Fewer conservative Republicans disliked his loyalty to Barry Goldwater and many conservative followers supported without forcing him to endorse the Goldwater’s ideas. In addition, many young Republicans who had been elected to Congress with his help in 1966 were grateful to him.

Meanwhile, public attention turned to Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York, who has being urged to enter the campaign. Unexpectedly for the second times, the New York Governor announced that he was not a candidate. The Party leaders, fortunately, wanted the candidacy of former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

In the next Presidential primary, in Wisconsin on 20<sup>th</sup> April 1968, Richard Nixon, California Governor Ronald Reagan, and Harold Stassen were listed as candidates. Nixon proposed his plan. Unity was a key to Nixon’s plan in 1968.

Nixon received more than 80 percent of the votes. For the second chances, Richard M. Nixon was on his way to the White House. His running mate for presidential election was Spiro T. Agnew, Governor of Maryland who was 49 years old. In his acceptance speech to the convention, Nixon mentioned the ideas, which he was to use later in the election campaign. Hubert Humphrey, the Vice

President of LBJ and George C. Wallace of American Independent Party opposed Nixon. Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine was chosen as Democratic vice-presidential candidate, while American Independent Party chose Curtis LeMay, former chief of United States Air force. The third party, AIP, had been mainly concerned with the question of “law and order” as same as Nixon used in his campaign.

By late morning on 6<sup>th</sup> November 1968, the final results of the voting were known. Nixon won the election with 43,4 percent of the votes while Humphrey was a close second with 42,27 percent and Wallace was third with 13,5 percent. Thus, Richard Milhous Nixon had been elected 37<sup>th</sup> President of United State

### 3. Nixon’s Presidency 1969-1974

Reconciliation was the first goal set by President Richard Nixon. The nation was painfully divided, with turbulence in the cities and war overseas. During his presidency, Nixon succeeded in ending American fighting in Vietnam and improving relation with Soviet Union and China. However, Watergate scandal brought the fresh divisions to the country and ultimately led to his resignation.

During his Presidency, Nixon had reshuffled his cabinet several times to assign according to his policies. His running mate in presidential election 1968, Spiro T. Agnew, was forced to resign from office, and then President Nixon nominated the House minority leader, Gerald Ford. A decision was received by Congress with great enthusiasm and strong bipartisan support.

Foreign policy was the great success of Nixon's presidency. He was more concentrated on foreign than domestic affairs, especially the Vietnam War. Ironically, the Vietnam War was not included in the list of his successes because the policy did not differ from the previous President, Lyndon B. Johnson. Nixon noted his success when the United States re-established the diplomatic link with the Republic of China and made an agreement on the limitation of antiballistic systems with the Soviet Union. Nixon pursued a policy of improving relations with China and the USSR by traveling to Beijing and visiting Moscow during 1972.

Despite Nixon's own deep interest in international affairs, he brought with him into government a man who seemed to overshadow the President himself at times in the conduct of diplomacy. Henry Kissinger, a Harvard Professor whom Nixon appointed as his special assistant for national security affairs, quickly established dominance over the Secretary of State, William P. Rogers, and the Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, who were both more experienced in public life. Kissinger was the best man that Nixon had. He was appointed by the President in his second term of presidency to be a Secretary of State.

As a note in his presidency, Nixon succeeded in continuing the external program of space, which had been started by President Kennedy that was putting man on the moon. He led the nation in honoring American astronauts, Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin in 1969.

Nixon adopted conservative domestic policies, in part to win support in the South. Domestic policy of Nixon was paradoxical, conservative, and middle-class people. The 'silent majority' that Nixon called for middle-class people, believed

him wanted to reduce federal interference in local affairs. He added the amount of social subsidies, continued housing subsidy and improved education subsidy from federal government. He also decentralized the government system by dividing some of federal earnings to State and district governments.

In education, Nixon unsuccessfully tried to persuade Congress to pass legislation prohibiting school desegregation. Separate schools were common across the country, but they had been the norm in the South until the Supreme Court declared the practice illegal in 1957. Nixon did not aggressively prosecute segregated school districts by trying to slow down the pace of integration of black students into white schools. He also opposed the use of public buses to transport students to integrated school.

However, the Secretary of Treasury and the Attorney General were the office, which had reshuffled for four times. During Nixon's presidency, the crucial problems in United States were economy and law. Hence, Nixon could not easily satisfy with the record of his cabinets. Nixon appointed John B. Connally for the Secretary of Defense, where David M. Kennedy was assumed to be unable to handle the inflation and unemployment problems. When the broke in of Watergate on June 1972, John B. Connally resigned from office and George P. Schultz, the former of Secretary of Labor, was appointed by Nixon.

Nixon also faced economic problems. Inflation combined with high unemployment caused hardship for many people. The President tried to slow down the inflation by raising interest rates, in which the theory ought to have reduced the amount of money in circulation and thereby lowered prices.

Unfortunately the tactic failed, and in August 1971 Nixon began to freeze the wage and price controls. At the same time, he devalued dollar to promote U.S. exports and discourage imports, by lowering the cost of U.S. goods in other countries.

In his second term, the economy once again began to experience severe inflation, largely as a result of massive grain sales to Soviet Union in the previous summer and the need to devalue dollar for second time in February 1973. Nixon attempted to slow down the inflation by cutting government spending on domestic social programs, such as education, urban renewal, and antipoverty programs. His relations with Congress had already strained and deteriorated further when he impounded funds appropriated by Congress for these programs and vetoed new social legislation.

By the autumn of 1972s, the economy seemed to be turning around. Inflation remained under control, unemployment was dropping, and the recession had ended. Later the American public would pay the price for these election year arrangements. The wage and price controls could not long prevent the inflationary forces. The effects of increased deficits, an expanded money supply, and the rise in oil prices made them fell again. Inflation increased to 8.8 percent in 1973 and 12.2 percent at the end of Nixon presidency at 1974.

Law and order was another administration priority. Nixon, Vice President Agnew and John Mitchell deplored lawlessness while upholding the right of peaceful dissent. The administration responded with the vigorous use of four measures: the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Street Act in 1968, the Organized

Crime Control Act, the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act in 1970 and the District of Columbia Criminal Procedures Act.

In 1972 reelection, Nixon needed a little help to secure his position. Although his campaign was very little, the President swept to victory with 60,7 percent of the votes. Nixon defeated George McGovern, the Senators of South Dakota, who got the polling 29 million votes. Nixon and Vice President Agnew were inaugurated for second terms on January 20, 1973. Nine months later, Agnew was forced to resign when he was revealed cheating on his income taxes.

There was a name who got good record in Nixon's cabinet. He was Elliot Richardson. In 1969, he was a Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. In 1972, he was appointed for the Secretary of Defense. After Richard G. Kleindsteinst was fired, Nixon appointed Richardson for Attorney General. Finally, Richardson resigned from Attorney General Office followed his former who refused to cover up the office's involvement in Watergate case.

Nixon's popularity was further eroded by Watergate scandal. The arrest of five men in Watergate hotel, the head office of Democratic Party was brought the names of high government officials and President closets aides. The investigation was revealed and this embarrassed and forced them to resign from their office.

The final moment came when Nixon's involvement in the Watergate burglary was revealed by investigators. The evidence of Nixon's involvement was documented on audio tapes of White House conversations, which Nixon refused to turn over to Judiciary committee. Nixon cited the executive privilege and national security as reasons for keeping the tapes. Nevertheless, his appeal to

Supreme Court was rejected. A few days later, the House Judiciary Committee voted to impeach the President on three counts. Nixon finally released the incriminating tapes, and over the next few days both Republican and Democratic Senators indicated that they would vote against the President if articles of impeachment were offered by the House. On August 9, 1974 before the House of Representatives could vote to impeach him, President Nixon resigned his presidency.

## **B. The Historical Background during Nixon's Political Career**

### **1. The Fear of Communism**

The American suffered from Great Depression in 1930s. The communist developed the socialism to help the economic crisis in the U.S. In the beginning, this kind of thought could be accepted by Roosevelt's administration in his new deal program. Nevertheless, the KGB (the organization of Soviet Union's spy) operation in USA caused the suspicion in American society. Therefore, the politic of anti-communist achieved a new pitch of hysteria at United States.

After the post World War II, Americans were domestically confronted by communism problem. The abundance of fear in the country made political situation at home always shadowed by the threat of communist people. Cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union triggered the growing of two streams mastering world opposition.

Foreign events and espionage scandals contributed to the anti-communist hysteria of this period. In 1949, when Chinese Communists had succeeded to take over the government from the nationalists and the Soviet Union exploded its own atomic device, which shocked Americans into believing that the United States would be the target of Soviet attack. A year before, Hiss case came out. The House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) proved the American communist link to Soviet. Alger Hiss, who had been an assistant of Secretary of the State and an adviser to Roosevelt at Yalta, was accused of being a communist spy by Whittaker Chambers, a former Soviet agent. He denied the accusation, but in 1950 he was convicted of perjury. In 1950, finally, the capture and trial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, a British-American spy network that was uncovered by government for revealing atomic secrets in the Soviet Union proved the perception of a domestic communist danger. The Attorney General J. Howard McGrath declared that there were many American communists, each bearing “the germ of death for society.”

The United States President in the 1950s, Dwight D. Eisenhower, perceived communism as a monolithic force struggling for world supremacy. He believed that Moscow, under leaders such as Stalin, was trying to orchestrate worldwide revolution. In office, Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles argued that the containment did not go far enough to stop Soviet expansion. However, Eisenhower’s basic commitment to contain communism remained, and to that end he increased the American reliance on a nuclear shield. In an effort to keep budget expenditure, then Eisenhower proposed a policy of

“massive retaliation.” The United States under this doctrine had been prepared to use atomic weapons if the nation or its vital interest were attacked by Soviet.

## 2. McCarthyism Era

The most vigorous anti-communist warrior was Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin. He gained national attention in 1950 by claiming that he had lists of 205 known communist in the State Department. Though McCarthy subsequently changed this figure several times and failed to substantiate any of his charges, he struck a responsive public chord.

McCarthy gained his power when the Republican Party won control of the Senate in 1952. He gave to the period the name of McCarthyism. As a committee chairman, he now had a forum for his crusade. Relying on extensive press and television coverage, he continued to charge top-level officials with treachery. Playing on his tough reputation, he often used vulgarity to characterize the “vile and scurrilous” objects of his attack.

Yet, McCarthy went too far though polls showed half the public behind him. McCarthy overstepped himself by challenging the United States Army when one of his assistants was drafted. Television –in its infancy, brought the hearings into millions of homes. Many Americans saw McCarthy’s savage tactics for the first time and as public support began to wane. The Senate, finally, condemned him for his conduct.

Until then, however, McCarthy exerted enormous power in the United States. He offered the space goats to those worried about the stalemate in Korea or

about communist gains. He heightened fears aroused by the Truman administration's own anti-communist effort and legitimized tactics that were often used against innocent people. In short, McCarthy represented the worst domestic excesses of the cold war for the United States.

### 3. Cold War

Beginning with the invention of the atomic bomb in 1945 by Albert Einstein, the new phase of war had begun with its new name "the Cold War". The Cold War was called 'cold' because the development of nuclear armaments made any resort to military action between the principal contestants such as the United States and Soviet Union.

The cold war involved almost all countries in the world. It could be considered as World War III without a battle field. The spread out of ideologies and thought made it as a nerve war.

Aggravating the power conflict was the ideological struggle associated with it. On one side, it was the communism that claimed to represent the doctrines of Karl Marx as elaborated by Lenin. On the contrary, it was the liberalism identified with western democracy. The ideological element had the effect of embittering of Cold War, an engendering fanaticism on both sides, and consequently of constituting a major obstacle to any accommodation between the opponents as the Cold War.

The World War would have not continued to be a Cold War if the world leaders such as F.D. Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill did not compromise for the

interest of their nations at Yalta. As the consequences, they had political orders that were made almost every week in the World War era to fortify the hegemony of their countries.

The Cold War involved almost all the nations of the world for more than twenty years. This multi-nationalism made two groups in Europe. In *Study of Politics*, the term of multi-nationalism means a cooperative relation between two countries or more where they can do a justification “to build” a democracy in a certain country (Horowitz in Davis and Woodman, p. 517). However, five members of the Security Council of the United Nations (United States, Great Britain, France, Soviet Union and China) had used this multi-nationalism to spread out their influences in whole part of the world.

The United States had a great influence in Cold War. The foreign policies, which were arranged by F.D. Roosevelt in his presidency, had given lots of homework at least for next five presidents after him. The death of F.D. Roosevelt before the end of his presidency had made the mass-shock for the Americans. They considered that Roosevelt was an ideal President of United States after he brought out the Americans from a great depression during 1930s. As a Vice President, Harry S. Truman automatically took hold of presidency under the U.S constitution. He had to work hard to continue Roosevelt’s policies although he personally disagreed with some of them. The foreign policies, which had to do urgently, were to end the World War II whether in Atlantic or Pacific areas, and to form the United Nation Organization as a substitution of the Nations League in 1920s.

The end of World War II against Nazi and Fascist in Asia and Europe left behind the recession and some conflicts; they were the division of Germany, Korean War, Vietnam War and the Middle-East conflict. The division of two Germany was the symbol of hegemony between west and east nations in Europe. It was a result of the agreements among the United States, the Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Roosevelt had promised to Stalin that he would withdraw the United States troops from Germany after the end of war. But the death of Roosevelt caused the United States changed the policy. Under Harry S. Truman, the United States still kept their troops in Germany with the reason of economy recovery. Then, the Soviet Union provoked to take hold East Berlin and made a border of authority. Therefore, the competition between eastern and western made the high tension to the world because they competed to invent and to make the nuclear weapon.

Other conflicts happened in Asia, they were Korean War, the Middle-East conflict and Vietnam War. Actually, the Korean War was an internal conflict before it became an international one. Japan left the Korean peninsula after the war ended and neither of the North nor South Korean government took over the peninsula authority. When the Chinese communist took over the nationalist, Soviet Union got the additional support to expand communism. As the result, they provoked North Korean of which included international communism to across the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel border and invaded the South.

The United States through the United Nations needed to look after the authority of South Korea and saved them from the Civil War. Under the U.N, the

American troops came to Korean peninsula and built the military camp. Hence, what the Americans had done on Korea was the response of anxiety of the communist expansion in Asia Pacific.

“... The Korean War seemed almost too convenient for the United States. It came just as Truman Administration officials had completed NSC-68, a top-secret document whose authors envisioned tripling the defense budget in response to the victory of communism in China and the Soviet development of an atomic bomb. How such a recommendation could be sold to the public, Congress, or even President Truman himself was not all clear until the Korean War broke out ... the Americans and the South Koreans somehow provoked the Korean conflict to justify the costlier Cold War that officials in Washington were now determined to wage (Goncharov et al in Gaddis that retrieved from <http://www.chinanewsdaily.com/archive/review70.html> on 6 February 2003).

Meanwhile, the Middle East conflict is the biggest conflict, which is still continuing until now. The conflict is started with the declaration of Republic of Israel on Palestine land. The Arabians League disagrees with the decision of United Nation to the authority of Israel because they forced the Palestine to share the land to Jewish. In fact, Great Britain stood behind it. The Prime Minister Churchill had promised the American Jewish through Roosevelt to give them a promising land on Palestine and they paid back to the British by helping them against the expansion of Nazi. Although on the agreement paper of Fire Sacht,

Roosevelt did not mention the promising land of Palestine as a payoff, but he requested the Great Britain to pay back at unlimited time in other ways.

According to historians, Cold War had three phases that happened since 1947-1962. The first phase was begun when Vice President Truman was elected as the 33<sup>rd</sup> President of United States. He made a program named Truman's doctrine, which contained the Communists aggression on Europe where they threatened the free peoples. His first dramatic move was triggered world that Britain heavily burdened, and could no longer bear the financial and military load of defending Greece against Communist pressures. If Greece fell, Turkey would presumably collapse and the strategic Eastern Mediterranean would be the free world. The contradiction between United States and Soviet Union forced the Western Europe such as Great Britain, France, and West Germany formed the North Atlantic pact and then named as North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949.

The second phase happened in between 1950-1957, when Soviet and the U.S exploded their nuclear massive bomb in their countries. The new Prime Minister of Soviet Union Nikita Khrushchev presented the idea of peaceful coexistence between East and West after he and other leaders of Eastern Europe signed the Warsaw Pact in Austria. On the contrary, Soviet forces put down the Hungarian revolution. Then, during the Suez crisis, the Soviet Union threatened to use nuclear-armed missiles against Britain and France. Therefore, the second phase of Cold War was the time when both great countries in the World competed to make nuclear weapon.

The third phase happened in between 1957-1962. In this phase, the tension between Soviet and the U.S reduced after Khrushchev came to the White House in Washington D.C. This coming was a return visit of vice president Nixon where they met and debated in Trade exhibition in Moscow. This debate was famous as a “kitchen debate”. Nevertheless, the tension became high in the middle of 1960 after Khrushchev denied the Paris Meeting. President Kennedy accused that the Soviet Prime Minister stood behind the Cuban Missiles. Therefore, the conflict broke up between the U.S and Cuba that was well-known as tragedy of Bay Pig.

Meanwhile in Europe, the Republic of Socialist East Germany built the wall on the road of Berlin City to prevent the people of the East crossed the border to the West. However, the Berlin Wall was a symbol of world’s tension during the Cold War until the destruction of it on 8 November 1989.

#### 4. Vietnam War

Vietnam War was a big phenomenon for the United States. This war created so many responses and trauma to Americans. During the 1960s, the civil right movement constituted the driving force of domestic history, meanwhile the Vietnam War became the main issue for American foreign policy. The United States occupied the position of colonialist aggressor, supporting a repressive, totalitarian regime. No one planned the tragedy in Vietnam. Instead, it resulted from two decades of incremental decisions each of which appeared justifiable as a stop-gap measure to contain immediate political or military crisis. Only once or twice did any official ask the basic question of whether Americans had any right

to be in Vietnam. Yet the war was no accident, nor an aberration. It grew directly from the ideas, values, and the policies of Cold War. More than any other event of the postwar years, it became a test case of the shortcoming of America's policy of containment toward world communism.

In the Vietnam War, which lasted from the mid-1950s until 1975, the United States and the Southern-based Republic of Vietnam (RVN) opposed the Northern-based revolutionary movement known as the Vietcong (VC) and its sponsor, the Communist Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). The war was the second of two major conflicts that spread throughout Indochina with Vietnam as its focal point. The first Indochina War was the struggle between Vietnamese nationalist and the French colonial regime aided by the United States. In the second war, the United States replaced France as the major contenders against northern-based communist and southern insurgents. Communist Victory in 1975 had profound ramification for the United States, it was not only a set back to the containment of communism in Asia but also a shock to American self-confidence. (Encyclopedia Americana Volume 15, p. 197)

The cause of the conflict can be traced back to Indochina War of 1946-1954. After Japan was defeated in World War II, the French had returned to Indochina as colonial administrators but they were challenged by the Vietminh, Communist led Vietnamese nationalist who had proclaimed as independent government in 1945. The France in attempt seemed to give Indochina independence while retaining control there, granted nominal sovereignty to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos as "associated states" and began supplying them

economic and military aid, although it was channeled through France. By 1954, the United States was furnishing 78 percent of the cost of the French war effort. In the spring of 1954, when the French were besieged at Dien Bien Phu, the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower gave serious consideration to provide them with air and even ground support.

Washington expected little of Ngo Dinh Diem, who assumed leadership in French-controlled Vietnam during the 1954 armistice to end the war. After the Geneva Agreement of that year had temporarily divided Vietnam into northern and southern parts, Diem headed the government of South Vietnam in Saigon, while Ho Chi Minh presided over the Communist dominated government of the north at Hanoi. The Geneva Agreement had provided for elections to be held in 1956 to reunify Vietnam, and the Communist had anticipated that they would win because of their elaborate political organization. For this reason Diem, a determined anti-Communist blocked the elections with the backing of the U.S government of the north at Hanoi. The Communists, unable to unify and dominate Vietnam through elections, then returned to military means of doing so.

The objective of the Vietnamese Communist remained constant throughout the war: the overthrow of the non-Communist Saigon government and its replacement with a regime that would agree to ultimate unification with the Hanoi government. The tactics of North Vietnam, however, varied in response to the reaction its activities provoked on the part of the South Vietnam's armed forces and American combat involvement from 1965 forced the Communists to

fight a much larger, more conventional, and longer war than they had expected in the late of 1950s.

The United States came to play a major role in the Vietnamese power struggle after Geneva because it feared that the rest of Southeast Asia would fall to communism if Ho Chi Minh prevailed in South Vietnam. In the late of 1950s and even into the 1960s, Washington tended to see Communist nations as constituting a politic military monolith. Thus, American support of the Diem government after 1954 was consistent with the U.S strategy of containing communism throughout the world.

United States intervention was based on the belief in the “domino theory”, which held that if one Southeast Asian Country were allowed to fall under Communist control, others would follow like a row of dominoes and by the increasing concern for the credibility of United States opposition to communism after the Castro government came to power in Cuba in 1959.

After Vietcong attack in February 1965 to United States Army barracks in Pleiku, the United States commenced a restricted but massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam. The decision to escalate slowly, to bomb selected military targets while avoiding excessive civilian casualties, and to fight a war of attrition in order to avoid possible confrontation with the USSR, and China seriously misjudged the nature of the enemy and the strategy of people’s war. Because the DRV fought a total war with a totally mobilized society, it could sustain high losses yet continue infiltrating as many as 7000 men a month virtually indefinitely. Political cadres won support from, or at least neutralized the Southern

peasantry. Weak in air power, the Vietcong fought from tunnels and retreated to sanctuaries in Cambodia when threatened. (Encyclopedia Americana Volume 15, p. 198)

By the late of 1967 the war was stalemated. President Lyndon B. Johnson urged Westmoreland to help convince a public growing more restive that United States was winning. Although he promised “the light at the end of the tunnel”, increasing casualties as well as growing disbelief in public pronouncements –the “credibility gap” –fostered increasing skepticism. The U.S strategy was clearly not producing victory, and Johnson began a limited reassessment.

Meanwhile, Hanoi initiated a new offensive. As a first step, a massive attack was launched against the base at Khe Sanh. Attack on cities began on Tet, the lunar holiday, Jan 30, 1968. Hitting most provincial and district capitals and major cities, the Vietcong also carried out a bold attack on the U.S strategy in Saigon. The attack failed, but the attempt shocked U.S public opinion. The Tet offensive continued for three weeks. Although they failed on their military objective, the revolutionaries won a spectacular propaganda victory. The Tet offensive continued for three weeks. Although they failed on their military objective, the revolutionaries won a spectacular propaganda victory. The Tet offensive as it was publicized in the U.S media seemed to confirm fears that the war was not win able. The public opposed the war in direct proportion to U.S casualties, and these had topped a thousand dead month.

The Tet offensive was a major turning point in the war. Although the Communists lost 40,000 troops, they had proved their ability to strike even in

supposedly secure cities. Vietcong, who had surfaced in anticipation of a general uprising, were decimated in the fighting or destroyed later by police. Hence, the Vietcong's insurgent was increasingly fought by the People Army of Vietnam (PAVN). Johnson sent 20,000 more troops in the next three months, bringing U.S troops strength to a peak of 549,000. At the same time, the South was urged to do more in its own defense.

On March 31, Johnson restricted bombing above the 20<sup>th</sup> parallel, paving the way for negotiations, and withdrew from reelection bid. With Johnson's withdrawal and the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, the Democratic nomination went to Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who supported the war, the Republicans nominated Richard Nixon that came back into politics after defeated by John F. Kennedy in 1960.

The intervention of America in the Vietnam War that based on the domino theory was an exaggeration of worries to the fall of the nations surrounding Vietnam to Communist. They were worried that they would lose their prestige and power in the eyes of the world. President Eisenhower underestimated the countries in South East Asia and did not concern to the condition and aspiration in each culture. At random, he compared that each nation had the same culture, background, value, and belief. Whereas the fact was different, these factors defined the easy of a country to fall in communist. The improper of the United States to observe the problem brought them to the failure.

The attempt to find "the lessons" in the defeat engaged the United States, the domino theory was proved invalid, as no further nations in Southeast Asia

adopted communism. Unfortunately, the United States ensured that the spread out of communism in Indochina could be forced by military invasion.

As well as on the U.S. role abroad, the war profound effects on American society. One of the war's early political effects on the domestic scene was its impact on the already developing radicalization and polarization of the nation's youth. Young person were in the forefront of the 1968 presidential drives of Senators McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy. The young led demonstrations at the democratic convention in Chicago and conducted antiwar demonstrations.

The involvement of the United States in Vietnam War invited the demonstration of students in almost all college campuses in domestic. Some of the schools were forced to close, as the students expressed their opposition to the U.S-South Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia. Student leaders accused President Nixon of expanding the conflict, and the fatal shooting of four students by Ohio National Guardsmen during a demonstration at Kent State University in May intensified the reaction against the government.

The opposition of youth to the war drew the greatest attention, partly because of dramatic ways in which it expressed itself. But many clergymen, educators, and businessmen had expressed their disapproval of the government's Vietnam policies as early as the mid-1960s and their numbers grew in subsequent years. At late as 1968, however, a majority of the public apparently did not favor disengagement from Vietnam. Initially, the public believed that the United States should not have become involved in the conflict, but that since it was involved it

should see the war to the end. By mid-1971, a majority of the public seemed to believe that the United States should get out of the war.

Nixon, who was reelected by a huge majority in November 1972, then ordered massive bombing north of the 20<sup>th</sup> parallel. Women and children were evacuated, the cities defended with Russian made surface to air missiles (SAMs), 44 pilots were captured, and Bach Mai hospital was destroyed.

Then the Paris Accords, signed 31 January 1973, brought U.S withdrawal. Only a few civilian advisors and military personnel would remain. The Thieu government was left intact, but PAVN troops retained positions in the South. Political issues were left to the negotiations between the two Vietnamese governments. Furthermore, the RVN and DRV used the time before implementation of the peace to seize more land, and Washington sent massive amounts of aid to Thieu. Both sides quickly violated the accords.

In the spring 1973, Nixon's position was weakened by the involvement of his administration in the Watergate scandal. Taking advantage of this, the Congress approved an amendment requiring the cessation of military operations in and over Indochina by August 15. In November 1973, the Congress passed the War Powers Act, requiring the President to inform Congress within 48 hours of deployment of U.S military forces abroad, withdrawing them within 60 days in the absence of explicit congressional endorsement. This virtually guaranteed the end of U.S involvement in Indochina.

Furthermore, the historical events during the Cold War will be applied in analyzing the data as this thesis uses historical approach.

## CHAPTER III

### ANALYSIS

This chapter is an analysis of the political perspective and its change during Nixon's political role. The data is taken purposively. It will be classified into two parts. The first part is concerning to the anti-communist issue and the second one is concerning to the détente with communist.

As it includes to American studies field, the thesis employs the interdisciplinary studies to analyze the topic. The thesis is analyzed based on the historical and the biographical aspects, which correlates to the figure of Richard Milhous Nixon as the 37<sup>th</sup> United States President.

To find out the objectives of the thesis, the analysis is divided into two subchapters. The first subchapter is a discussion of Nixon's political perspective through his speeches during his political roles since he was a congressman until the beginning of his presidency. Next step, the analysis discusses the impact of Nixon's policy whether to his presidency and to the American society. The second subchapter explains about two kinds of factors such as internal and external, which basically support the change of Nixon political perspective

#### **A. The Dynamical Change of Richard Nixon's Political Perspective during His Political Career**

## 1. Nixon's Political Thought before His Presidency

### – *Foreign Affairs*

Since Theodore Roosevelt triggered an idea of foreign policy for the United States government, this country actively brought out the idea of freedom and peace. The World War I had broken in 1917 and it was the first time for the American military to involve in a big war. After the war was ended, the founding of Nations league in 1920 did not function as it does. The aim of the league was to keep a peace of the world had failed because of the hostility among the European nations. The United States could not run his role as well because this country was in the Great Depression and the economic suffer.

When the military grow stronger, the United States began its role to keep the world peace and help other country such as the Great Britain to defend from Nazi Germany's military attack in the beginning of World War II. What the United States names itself as the security guard of the world in the Philippine, it is the same as the new imperialism as the European has done. When its Country has felt as a great country in the world, the American people often come to the conflict nations to help them to get their freedom as what they do in Iraq. The early of twentieth century was the world wars era when the countries such as United States and Japan began to run their imperialism to other countries. The World War I and II happened because of the power confrontation of the world. As the consequences, the suffering and the ruination of world people happened almost all over the world, particularly in the colony countries in Asia and Africa.

The foreign affairs of the United States are identical with the war. For the American Presidents who have seen the life of the Great Depression in 1930s and have involved in the battle of the World War, they tend to be back to the battle field as the highest commandants to make a new war in their government era. At least, the situation of the battle that they have watched directly influenced their mind and soul of nationalism to lead a war with a reason for helping a nation from the grind and intimidation of the rebels. Nowadays, the aggression of the American armies in the war conflict still can be seen in Afghanistan, Iraq and the border of South Korea and North Korea, with the reason of against the terrorisms.

The political life in the United States relates to the norms of culture such as dynamical, mobility, freedom and superiority. As the great country of the world with the ideology of capitalism, the United States do not unwilling to fight the communism and terrorism in any ways, any times, and any places. The superiority of the United States that is applied by the foreign affairs often is not in parallel with the domestic affairs. Most of the United States Presidents in the twentieth century have been involving their country to the battle fields by the different points but for the nation's sake of authority. In the First and the Second World Wars, the American's aim was to help the western European to fight the Nazi Germany and the Fascist Italy. The lost of Nazi and Fascist in Europe and Japan in Asia do not finish the involvement of the United States in the next wars. However, the expansion and the development of communism in all over Asia and Eastern Europe have been worried the United States for the position of great power country. Furthermore, the idea of the United Nations comes from the allies

of the United States such as France and Great Britain and decides to get the right veto for five countries as the main members of Security Council in the United Nations (such as the United States, France, Soviet Union, the Great Britain and the People of Republic China). The goal of the veto is to give the full authority for the United States and its allies to help the conflict nation in solving the problem and also to keep the security of the world. Therefore, the United States would take the advantage to control the conflict country for its benefits.

The next fear term in postwar era was the Cold War. It was a symbol of the nerve war between the Soviet Union and the United States. Both ex-allies in the World War II confronted each other for the strongest country's confession in the world. Ironically, both countries did against the dictator of Hitler in the past, but then they acted such as Hitler after winning the war. Moreover, the Soviet Union changed to become the aggressor in the Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Afghanistan changed the Nazi expansion and made the tyranny countries under the new ideology of communism. The United States, however, decided to fight the spread of communism because of the Soviet's aggression to the countries of Eastern Europe and also the Little Asia of Turkey.

Definitely, the most controversial foreign affairs in late of 1950s and 1960s were the Vietnam War. It was a war between the U.S. societies against the communists. The U.S. media community did not like or even did not support the communism and generally it hated the media system of communist. Nevertheless, the effort of the United States to fight the communism could not be supported by the journalists. In the Vietnam case, the media tried to view the communist as not

the only one target of the national's struggle. The fail of Vietnam War has more changed the morality of American society, for the instances were like the government lied to the citizens, the citizens protested the anti-war demonstration, and the media cynically revealed the nation's problem. All the cases were back to the role of government as the representatives of the American people that should be honest and be open minded without hiding the fact from the people.

Four of the United States governments who had handled the Vietnam War (they were Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon), got a very complicated case. In one side, they must do the continuity that has been running, but on the other side they would release the case with an evidential responsibility. The involvement of American people in Vietnam for thirty years was more a cynical, a dramatic, and an emotional era than a heroic and a rational condition where the battle did not provide a winner cup but more gained the duty to keep the South Vietnam than to control the conflict. Thus, for three decades, the American societies should sacrifice whether mentally or physically in Vietnam War.

The real political aim of American foreign policy is to keep the national ideology and to fight for another ideology that is assumed to threat the existence of the United States of America. There are some phases of American "struggle" toward the foreign affairs in the world. First phase of foreign affairs is in 1917-1945 where the Americans come to Europe to help the western European against the Nazi aggression. The second phase is in 1946-1962 where the Americans feel threatened by the spread of communism in the world and make it as an international issue that communists are like the alien for the American. Third

phase is 1963-1975 where the Americans involve in Vietnam War as their great fail and some military troops are sent to Sinai in 1973 to overcome the conflict between Egypt (with supported by Syria) and Israel. Fourth phase is 1977-1980 where the Americans intervenes the crisis in Iran. The revolution of Iran does not be supported by the Americans that dissipate the Shah Reza Pahlevi and the pact of Islam shi'ah take over the nation's leader. The next phase is star wars with the Soviet Union. This is an atomic era where the President Ronald Reagan outspokenly against the communists development. He has a different way to fight the communist than Nixon's way. He is the hard person who challenges the Communist nations such as East Germany, China and Soviet Union to compete about the atomic weapon. Lastly, the phase runs until nowadays is the phase against the new terrorism of Islam. After the falling of communism in the early of 1990s, the Islam radical movement is a kind of alien for the Americans that threat the U.S. existences. They will make every kinds of issue to fight the "terrorism" of Islam radical all over the world. The good opinion of this issue is the interference of Israel espionage agents to call away the world attention from the conflict in West Edge of Gaza, Palestine. However, the American is always trying to find another form of alien that threat their power in the world.

The United States foreign policy has some post such as economic, culture and education, and socio-politics, whatever the form of economic fund cooperation offered by the United States, the consequence of this agreement correlates to its political will. For example, the United States helps the South Korean to overcome the crisis in Korean's border and give the monetary fund to

help the high inflation with a requirement that the South Korean let the Americans to build a military basis to guard the security on Korean peninsula. Furthermore, this political will is also done to the countries such as Philippine, Afghanistan, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

As a member of Security Council in the United Nations and getting a right veto, the United States assumes itself is the world cop. Since the success of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the World War II, the U.S. has been sending its troops to many conflict countries. FDR is a figure of peace negotiation. He was an inspirer for the American Presidents to reach the peace negotiation and the victory in conflict areas such as Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower and also Richard Nixon. Confessed or not, Richard Nixon was also inspired by Roosevelt's struggle to reach the Vietnam peace negotiation during his presidency.

The United States of America is a liberal-capitalist nation that succeeds to promote its ideology of capitalism around the world. Most nations run this economic ideology even though the Communist nations such as Soviet and China nowadays. Nevertheless, China is still Communist nations until today.

The other forms of the U.S. foreign policy are education and cultural exchange. Those are the independent policy where the political will is hardly founded. Many countries cooperate to promote their culture to U.S. and send their students to study in United States universities. The United States government also provides the aid for international students' scholarship. The aim of this policy is to promote the education system and culture through the international students. Furthermore, the aim of political wills within this policy will be founded by

concerning the mind of International students that think and act more moderate than others in their country. As the result, the influence of American minded will bring the support to the United States' decision in the United Nations mostly in economic side.

Therefore, the foreign policy which is decided by the United States government since this country begins to hold the foreign affairs, most of the target policy is to control the world whether by helping economically to the third world nations or by attacking militarily such as the action in the Middle East.

– *Nixon's political perspective upon international issue*

In the term of fourteen years, a politician of Richard Nixon was able to build his political career, beginning in the post war era since 1946 until the end of Cold War era in 1962. An international issue was a commodity of politics to sell in a campaign of the American number one man to the people of nation in the postwar era. Commonly, the most sold out issue of the postwar era was a confrontation to the communists' movement whether at home or abroad.

One of the cases that made Nixon fell in love with an international issue such as communism was the perjury of Alger Hiss, a State Department officer linked to communist spy of Soviet. The invaluable assistant of discovery of microfilm proved the involvement of communists spy activity in the United States. The investigation effectively put Nixon's short career as a Washington politician on the line. According to Volkan, et al, "many people, including former

president Herbert Hoover, credited the conviction of Hiss solely to the patience and persistence of Richard Nixon". (In Collins, 2002, p. 47)

Nixon had spoken before the Congress when he handled the case of Geirhat Eisler in 1947. In his oration, he stated:

I think that every member of the House is in substantial agreement with the Attorney General in his recent statements on the necessity of rooting out the Communist sympathizers from out of American institution ... Certainly no stronger case could be made for the proposition that there is no place in the Federal Service in position so closely related to the security of the United States, for governmental employees who follow the Communist line or any other line which advocates the overthrow of our government by force and violence. (Congressman Nixon, February 18, 1947)

Personally, Nixon unsupported any kind of activity related to the security level of the United States, either Neo Nazi or Communist spy. His statement through the Congress became a note to support the government to fight the Communism at home and abroad. As the result, the monetary fund for Turkey was approved by the Congress to help this country to defend from the aggression of Communist Soviet with a government's program named Truman's doctrine.

An international issue such as communism was used by Nixon carefully. Postwar era was a time for Americans' fear of communism. The communism issue was consumed by most citizens. When Nixon came to campaign himself as a

Californian Senator against the Democrat Helen Douglas, he used this issue to defeat his opponent. The political trick of Richard Nixon was well known as the dirty trick, for example he tapped illegally the telephone conversation between Douglas and Marcantonio (a New York Congressman who related to Communist line) and then flied the pink sheet about the involvement of Douglas with the Communist activity in United States to the Californians..

The ability in understanding the communist activity in home and abroad has paid the attention of Eisenhower's people in Republican convention to take Nixon as Eisenhower running mate in Presidential election in 1952. The opportunity has come for Nixon to promote his political perspective upon the communist struggle in controlling the world. It was the time for Americans to have a good leader to help the third world nations in Asia and Africa to defend their countries from aggression of Soviet communists. Hence, the figure of General Dwight Eisenhower was famous to lead the Americans to keep the security of the world from the tension of communists after the loosing of China to communist in Truman's administration.

The competition between the United States and the Soviet Union has created the world high tension. The nuclear propaganda made the world run more carefully in international relationship. The United States warned the countries of the world to the danger of communism and its nuclear weapon. The country, indeed, needed a good leadership to bring the Americans out from the communist tension.

Nixon had stated, "... I'm going to continue this fight. I'm going to campaign up and down America until we drive the crooks and the Communists and those that depend on them out of Washington" (Checker Speech, September 23, 1952). The spirit against the communist was showed up by Nixon in several campaigns as the Eisenhower's running mate. The Checker speech was a controversial speech during his career in Washington because he was smeared as a crook when his campaign fund is revealed as a present from Californian conglomerates. Nevertheless, it was a chance for Nixon to speak before the Americans and stole the attention of the voters to win the election of presidency on November 1952.

"You can be sure that the smears will continue to come, and the purpose of these smears is to make me, if possible, relent in my attacks on the Communists and the crooks in the present administration ... What I intend to do is go up and down this land, and the more smear me, the more I'm going to expose the Communists and the crooks and those who defend them until they throw them all out of Washington." (Marysville, California, September 19, 1952).

In Nixon's opinion, communist was a danger, not only for the Americans but also for the people of the world. There were many cases of violence caused by the communist revolution in Asia and Europe, for instances in Hungary, Czechoslovak, Turkey and the Middle East, China, Korean, Laos and Vietnam. China was the failure of Truman's administration that could not help Chiang Kai-

Sheik to defend the nationalism China after Turkey's problem. However, the failure of a President's record cannot be judged because the United States has to differentiate which is the international problem to be solved and the problem of another domestic nation. The communist revolution is the domestic problem of China where the communist party had dissipated by the nationalism in 1930s and then the communist is taking over the power from nationalism in 1949.

The development of antiballistic or atomic weapon is also becoming the point of the confrontation. As Nixon said that:

"...Take Communism. I say that as far as that subject is concerned, the danger is great to American. In the Hiss case, they got the secret, which enabled them to break the American secret State Department code. They got secrets in the atomic bomb case, which enabled them to get the secret of the atomic bomb" (Checker Speech, 23 September 1952).

Nixon showed his worry to the existence of the United States if the Soviet Union succeeded to build the atomic military weapon. As the country, which was confronted by Soviet, the Americans were frightened to be attacked by communist. Hence, this problem was a benefit for the Republican to sell in presidential campaign 1950 and to defeat its opponent the Democrat Adlai Stevenson, which was well known as a politician related to communist sympathizers.

When the communist North Korean attacked the border to the south area, this war was an international crisis and the United Nations commanded the peace

troops to come to Korea. The United States armies joined the international security troops, but they involved deeply in the crisis. Furthermore, Korean crisis could be solved by Eisenhower's administration. He ended the involvement of the United States for longer time. The withdrawal of American troops in Korean peninsula had given the support for Eisenhower to run his presidency two periods. Nixon ran his vice presidency again with Eisenhower. The opportunity came to Nixon when the president was ill and he had to run the Presidency by visiting some countries, attended the international meeting, and did the negotiation talks. Those experiences were a time for him to learn the bureaucracy of foreign affairs. Hence, he was enough to have some experiences and came to the presidential election in 1960 opposed the young Senator Kennedy of the Democrat.

The crisis with the Soviet Union did not end at all. Although both the United States President and the Premier of the Soviet Union had done the meeting to cooperate in economic affair in the late of 1950s, the development of communism of the world was an alien for the United States. Nixon stated before the Republican's voters, "The major problem confronting the people of the United States and free people everywhere in the last half of 20<sup>th</sup> century is the threat to peace and freedom presented by the militant aggressiveness of International communism." (August 21, 1960)

The threat of the militant aggressiveness of International communism during 1950s was felt by the people of Indo China, the Middle East, and some of Eastern Europe. The conflict made the people suffered and stole their freedom. Nixon wanted the Americans to understand the meaning of communism from

every point of view. Thus, the Americans could have a reason to fight the international communism in order to keep the peace in the world, particularly to help the South Vietnam from the attack of North Vietnam (Vietcong).

Nixon commented about the activity of the world communists to get their own victory. As Nixon stated:

We must recognize that we are challenged today by a force, which is aggressive, a force that is determined to conquer the world. The Communists prefer to gain their objective without war, but they say that their objective is to work for the victory of communism throughout the world. This is what we stand for in this campaign and in the years ahead.  
(Greensboro, North Carolina, August 17, 1960)

The campaign speech is a way to promote the program of future presidency. Each of the candidates gives the opinion about the common issue, for instance the communists' movement of Nixon's view and building the new technology for the U.S was triggered by Kennedy. Entering to decade of 1960s, the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union changed to the development of science innovation. Nixon thought the communists were still dangerous for some people in the world. Indeed, when the coming era brought the new situation to compete without battle, the candidate of Presidents should think the new idea and changed his political perspective about the most wanted issue in order to gain the victory for his country.

Many things should be done by the countries to be the greatest among the nations in the world. Upholding the laws and being fair to the citizens are two urgent examples. The commitment of Nixon to fight against the Communist at home showed to millions of the Americans through the television. As he said on TV live debate of Presidential campaign:

...by being fair, we uphold the very freedoms that the Communists would destroy. We uphold the standards of conduct which they would never follow and in this connection I think that we must look to the future having in mind the fact that we fight communism at home not only by our laws to deal with Communists, the few who do become Communists and the few who do fellow travelers, but we also fight communism at home by moving against those various injustices which exist in our society, which the communists feed upon. (NBC TV, September 26, 1960)

In this debate, Nixon certainly explained that the Communism would destroy when the freedom ran to move. The struggling of freedom and justice represented the way of winning the democracy. Before doing the justice to the communists and stopping their movement in the world, the domestic injustice affair had to be thought. As the consequence, the American's struggle to be the security cop of the world would not fail and it would be fully supported by the United States citizens. As Nixon said in his speech, "we are not going to fail because we are on the right side, the side of freedom, and justice. We are on the side of freedom, of justice, of believe in god and the dignity of man. Arrayed

against us are the forces of communism, of slavery, and of tyranny.” (Greensboro, North Carolina, August 17, 1960)

Indeed, the slavery, the tyranny and the communism are three kinds of ideologies, which take the freedom and force the injustice side to the people. Nixon thought that the injustice should be fought. However, it is a political perspective of Nixon who believes the democracy is the right side.

Entering to the years of 1960s, the Americans were not again in the period of fear of communists. They had another problem to solve in domestic. As the result, Nixon had to confess his lose from Kennedy. He had to concern the nation problem from other perspectives. Every era had its own characteristic of problem. After fourteen years in Washington D.C, he had to go out and stopped his political activity. The time to think and to learn many issues had come. When he came back to be the first United States man then, he must find the new idea of the most international issue to bring him back to the White House.

When the chance came to be the nominee of Republican's candidate of President, Richard Nixon already had a new political perspective of the international issue of Vietnam. The involvement of the United States went too deeply in this country. The demonstration about stopping the war happened in some colleges. Hence, the negotiation and peace were the best issue to bring in the campaign by Republicans where the Democrats failed under Johnson's administration in Vietnam. As Nixon said before the Republicans:

...What I call for is not a new isolationism. It is a new internationalism in which America enlist its allies and its friends around the world in those

struggle in which their interest is as great as ours. And now to the leaders of the Communists world, we say after an era of confrontations, the time has come for an era of negotiations. (August 8, 1968)

Nixon thought that the world had been in an isolationism era where the nations were divided in the ideology blocs, the liberalism and the socialism. When the world was divided into two necessities, the confrontation would continue though. However, this idea of era of negotiations had shown that Nixon had a new orientation for the United States mostly for the ending of Vietnam War, so that the involvement of the American's troops could be solved and they could go home as the heroes.

Nixon also said to the Republicans for whom the United States should go to negotiate a peace mission:

We do not seek domination over any other country...we believe this should be an era of peaceful competition not only in the productivity of our factories but in the quality of our ideas. We extend the hand of friendship to all people. To the Russian people. To the Chinese people. To all people in the world. And we shall work toward the goal of an open world, open sky, open cities, open hearts, open minds. (August 8, 1968)

The political perspective of Nixon as a candidate of Republican for the United States Presidents was surprising. He was like a new politician, not the old brand Nixon who was famous with his struggle to fight the communists.

Therefore, giving the new orientation for the Americans in the election's time was also giving the new hope for them to negotiate the peace and to stop the bombing on Vietnam and the countries in Indo China. In this way, Nixon could defeat his opponents. He could come to the White House as a winner and run his orientation program of negotiation and peace with his administration.

– *Personal Target*

“For the first time, because the people of the world want peace, and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace” (Inaugural Address, 20 January 1969).

The first inaugural speech of Richard Nixon as the 37<sup>th</sup> United States President was about the peace. He invited the Americans to work together making the peace for the world, “...I believe the American people are ready to answer this call (20 January 1969)”. The aim of the foreign affairs in Nixon's administration was the peacemaker. He would lead the Americans to correct the history that had been smeared by the cruelty of the involvement in Vietnam War. He said that:

What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices. The greatest honour history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honour now beckons America--the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil, and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization. ... We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by

division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfilment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them. (20 January 1969)

According to the issues in Inaugural address of Nixon, the title of peacemaker was the main goal to reach in his presidency. Since Nixon lost the election President in 1960, he had to find the issue that would bring him to the President chairs. Along eight years, Nixon worked in Law Firm and had a chance to learn the growth of political issue in Kennedy and Johnson's administration. Furthermore, the confrontation with the communist's countries was not the update issue in 1960s as seen on the situation of American's domestic that wanted the peace for Vietnam.

The political situation faced by Nixon in his presidency was complicated in both domestic and abroad. In domestic, the black's community claimed the equality as the white and also the Indians. The feminist also claimed the equality and the solving of abortion problems. The other problems were waiting to solve as like the drugs abuse, the increase of criminal acts and also the demonstration of war in many colleges.

The second third of this century has been a time of proud achievement. We have made enormous strides in science and industry and agriculture. We have shared our wealth more broadly than ever. We have learned at last to manage a modern economy to assure its continued growth. We have given freedom new reach, and we have begun to make its promise

real for black as well as for white. We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today. I know America's youth. I believe in them. We can be proud that they are better educated, more committed, more passionately driven by conscience than any generation in our history. No people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, or so possessed of the will to achieve it. Because our strengths are so great, we can afford to appraise our weaknesses with candor and to approach them with hope. ...Our crisis today is the reverse. We have found ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling into raucous discord on earth. (20 January 1969)

According to the Inauguration address, the welfare of each domestic's sectors was the goal of his administration. Building a new spirit of the Americans was the important target, not only to reach the material things but also the spirit of the Americans soul. This is the trait of Nixon characters where he showed his Quaker soul to build the broken Americans dignity. As he said next:

In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading. We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another--until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices. For its part, government will listen. We will strive to listen in new ways--to the voices of quiet anguish,

the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart--to the injured voices, the anxious voices, the voices that have despaired of being heard. Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in. Those left behind, we will help to catch up. For all of our people, we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure. As we reach toward our hopes, our task is to build on what has gone before--not turning away from the old, but turning toward the new. In this past third of a century, government has passed more laws, spent more money, initiated more programs, than in all our previous history. In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life--in all these and more, we will and must press urgently forward. (20 January 1969)

In his inaugural speech, Nixon addressed the welfare of domestic program. Unhappily, the domestic affair was little uncared during his presidency. The personal target of Nixon was not in domestic policy. The ending of Vietnam War was the biggest problem of his administration because it was paid attention by the United Nations and other countries in the world. Consequently, he concerned to reach that goal.

In the early 1970, the President must report his foreign policy program to the Congress. Nixon addressed:

The postwar era of American foreign policy began in this vein in 1947 with the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, offering American economic and military assistance to countries threatened by aggression. Our policy held that democracy and prosperity, buttressed by American military strength and organized in a worldwide network of American-led alliances, would insure stability and peace... The world has dramatically changed since the days of the Marshall Plan. We deal now with a world of stronger allies, a community of independent developing nations, and a communist world still hostile but divided. (The Annual Report on Foreign Policies on February 18, 1970)

The main of foreign policy problem that is going to reach by Nixon is about the cooperation among the countries in the world whether the strongest nations, the developing countries or the hostile nations. Along by the change of political climate in the world at that moment, the United States program triggered by Nixon became a renewal of the negotiation era. Next step, he addressed to the nation on Vietnam on May 14, 1969 about the peace plan that:

I want to end this war. The American people want to end this war. The people of South Vietnam want to end this war... In my campaign for the presidency, I pledge to end this war in a way that would win increase our chances to win true and lasting peace in Vietnam, in the Pacific, and in the world. I am determined to keep the pledge. (May 14, 1969)

However, the way to get the peace was a dominant work in the Presidency of Nixon. It was his personal goal, the United States of America's goal and also all the people of the world's goal, particularly for the people in conflict's nations. To reach of this goal, the U.S. government exactly needed many negotiations and built a new diplomatic relations with other countries, including with China and Soviet.

He had argued before coming as the U.S. President, an article published in *Journal Foreign Affairs* (October 1967) that "we simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations, there nurture its fantasies, cherished its hates and threaten its neighbors. There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation" (Graff, 1996, p. 522). These comments were surprising, coming from a politician who had made a career of attacking as "soft on communism" any American politicians who dared to suggest similar ideas.

Nixon's presidency improved a new relation with Soviet after confronting each other. He further continued with his major goal on the Soviet and said before the Congress:

...In relation between the United States and the various communist powers, I have said that we move from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation. I believe our relations with the Soviet Union can be conducted in a spirit of mutual respect, recognizing our differences and also divergent interests, and also our common interests, recognizing the interests of our respective allies as well as our own... The tension of the past 30 years

have not been caused by mere personal misunderstandings... we have had extensive consultations with the Soviet Union as well as with others about the Middle East, where events of the past few days point up anew the urgency of a stable peace... We intend to conduct our negotiations with the Soviet Union soberly and seriously, neither encumbered by prejudice nor blinded by sentimentality, seeking to reach agreement, rather than to make propaganda. (September 18, 1969)

Consequently, the confrontation could not stay longer. The war must be ended and Nixon began to rebuild the negotiation between the Soviet and the United States. Staying the confrontation would destroy each other and definitely it would threat the worst world's situation. The realization of Nixon ended the era confrontation with the communist's nations were the good aim of the existence of the United States. Therefore, the personal goal brought by Nixon in his administration was to rebuild the new era of negotiation where the hostility and the war must be ended. The last, as the President of United States, he must end the involvement of the American's troops in Vietnam and help to negotiate the peace between the southern and northern of Vietnam people.

– *The change of Nixon's political perspective*

As discussed previously, Nixon was known as a diligent hunter of communist before coming as the president of United States. Yet, in the beginning of his presidency, Nixon paid attention to global political situation in reality that in fact it had changed. He would have brought the global issue of the new era of negotiation. The main problem of Richard Nixon entered the office was hundreds of thousands of American troops were in Vietnam to face the cruel battle. Meanwhile, he would also unite the Americans who have been divided into some groups of interests in their society, for examples, the drug abuses and free sex in American youth, the anti-war demonstration in several colleges, some racialism such as the black ethnic in Chicago and the Indians in California. Hence, when Nixon took the office of White House, he had more dilemmas to solve the American problems whether at home or abroad.

Nixon knew that a strong America was essential to global equilibrium, and counted on stability to produce it. Under Nixon's new policy of the partnership, the strength, and the willingness to negotiate were the three pillars essential in keeping peace. He should have changed some of his perspectives on communism from the object to be fought to the object to be accompanied. The foreign policy would stop trying to eliminate communism and win the Cold War, but rather replace it through new initiatives directed toward finding areas of cooperation. In fact, it was clear that the Soviet Union was Nixon's biggest partner toward peace. As he addressed the goal of his new policy:

Let us take as our goal: where peace is unknown, make it welcome, where peace is fragile, make it strong, where peace is temporary, make it permanent. After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation. Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be opened. We seek an open world—open ideas, open to exchange of goods and people—a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation. We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy... The peace we seek to win is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes with healing in its wings”, with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny. (January, 20, 1969)

This inaugural address is sent to the Americans on January 20, 1969 after he took an oath as the 37<sup>th</sup> United States President. He said that the peace was not victory over any other people. What he would like to get in his presidency was not again about who will be the strongest between Soviet and the U.S, but the real meaning of peace was the people would not suffer because of the war. It was the irony where the government tried to hide the secret program in bombing the Vietnam such as the Pentagon Papers, while the President made the peace with honor policy.

Analyzing the change of Nixon’s political perspective should come from the most issue that he likes, that is communism. The failure opposed Kennedy in

the Presidential election 1960 is the end of his political career in Washington D.C. for awhile. At that time, Nixon argued that the Americans should come together to win over the communist victory. As he said, "Communism is a false idea, and the answer to a false idea is truth, not ignorance" (21 August 1960). What he fought for is not to ignore the communism but to let know the people about this false idea. The impact of communism victory is the dictatorship. The dictatorship causes to the people suffer and steals their freedom. Where the freedom is lost, the injustice will grow. Where the injustice is lost, then the security will be difficult to get.

Under the leadership of Kennedy and Johnson, the United States continued to fight against the communism. This nation involved to the battle in Vietnam where the first mission of the American's troops came over there is to help the South Vietnamese defended from the aggression of communist Vietnam. They involved deeply in the conflicts. More than 100,000 armies were sent there and most of them became the victims of the cruel of communist (Vietcong). In Johnson's presidency, Nixon viewed the problem of the nation as a private citizen. The Vietnam War was a domestic conflict that went to be an international issue since the United States involved itself. However, the problem became complicated after Kennedy died and Johnson could not solve it well until his second term as a President.

At home, the antiwar protest held in many colleges. The United States citizens could not accept the involvement of their nation in Vietnam. The impact

for the citizens was losing their member of family who joined the National Guard going to Vietnam.

Using the issue that grows in American society, Nixon decided to join the Republican's nominee of the United States President. The main issue he brought was the title of peacemaker. He thought the United States needs to have a new relation with China and did the negotiation talk with the Soviet. Hence, the confrontation should be ended between the United States and two great communist nation, they were China and Soviet Union.

When Nixon came to the White House in 1969, the first foreign policy of his administration was stopping the war in Vietnam and doing some negotiation talks with Soviet. The United States was also opening the relation to people of China that had frozen after the revolution of China 1949.

Furthermore, how the Nixon viewed the communist from his political perspective before his presidency to other perspective after becoming the United States President definitely is changed. First, he thought that the communist should be fought because they expand to get the victory by the aggression and caused the new tyranny and dictatorship such as in two great communist nations, China and Soviet. Then, the United States as a member of Security Council of United Nations cannot stay quiet to see the lost of freedom in other countries and must help them to defend their sovereignty. Then the American should go forward to compete the Soviet Union in the innovation of atomic weapon. But, the bombing of Vietnam and Cambodia has made the high tension in the world so that the confrontation is not a good way to reduce the tension. Nixon thinks the idea of

negotiation and open communication. As the consequence, Nixon views the problem, not again what the Americas should get over the communist but what the Americans should do with the communist. This idea will give impact to the United States in foreign affair.

## 2. The Impact of Richard Nixon's Policy Changes during His Presidency

The change of Nixon's policy in his administration gave impact to the nations but personally it did not. The President should have any idea upon the growth of international issue. The changing of Nixon's political perspective viewing the problem of communist in his presidency definitely changed his action through his policy.

The old assumptions of the bipolar world, in which the United States and the Soviet Union were the only real great powers, were obsolete. America must adopt the new multipolar international structure, in which China, Japan, and Western Europe were becoming major independent forces. Nixon constructed like the Balance of Power that had permitted nineteenth-century Europe to enjoy nearly a century of relative stability by forging a new relationship with the Chinese communist. The United States withdrew its opposition to the seating of Communist China in the United Nations in October 1971. As the result, Nixon visited China on February 1972 for ten days to open a new low-level diplomatic relations between China and United States. This new relationship, however, did little help American diplomacy in order to the Chinese were unwilling or unable

to bring pressure to bear on Hanoi, although Nixon did not yet formally recognize the communist regime.

The initiatives in China coincided with an effort by the Nixon administration to improve relations with the Soviet Union and also this might have convinced the Soviets to negotiate an arms agreement with the United States. An arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union was the major goal of Nixon's diplomacy. American and Soviet diplomats met in Helsinki, Finland, to begin talks on limiting nuclear weapons in 1969. Then, a summit conference continued and took a place in a spring of 1972. At the Moscow summit, both leaders of American and Soviet produced the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) agreements, limited the deployment of antiballistic missile (ABM) defenses to two sites, one of which would be the capital of each nation.

The Moscow summit also produced a memorandum on "Basic Principles of U.S.-Soviet Relations" (see the Appendices). The two governments agreed to work for the peaceful resolution of disputes and the reduction of tension in various areas. There is a little evidence that one side paid much attention to them when formulating its approach to regional conflicts. For examples, the Soviet re-supply of Egypt and Syria during the Mid-east war of 1973, the American nuclear alert and re-supply of Israel, and then successful attempts to freeze out the Soviet from Middle East peace negotiations indicated the limited utility of détente in dealing with regional crises.

This agreement gave the economics impact for the United States. Along with the SALT-I accords, Nixon and Kissinger negotiated a major grain deal with

financial credit at the summit. The secrecy surrounding the negotiations enabled grain dealers to buy large amounts of grain early in the spring from American farmers at depressed price. In these following years, however, American farmers benefited from rising grain prices and exports.

Nixon kept his pledge to the Americans to stop the war in Vietnam soon. He and his adviser security Kissinger had done some negotiation peace talks in Paris. The peace in Vietnam was confessed very difficult to realize because the battle was so cruel and the American's armies could not stop the guerrilla of Vietcong that killed more American soldiers. The peace talks failed many times because the United States did not stop the bombing and gained to attack Laos and Cambodia. The United States did have a special role to play the world leadership and involvement of the United States' role was necessary for the world's being. In fact, the peace, which is brought to Indo China by the United States delegations, could not be solved in Vietnam by Nixon's presidency. The administration gradually submitted to the country the new realities, which were the core of this policy. Indeed, combination of Nixon's idealism to Kissinger's realism did make the compatibility of their new policy toward other countries. As the result, the secrecy of reconciliation with China and Soviet was their great success. Although the withdrawal of American troops in 1973 was of their best effort to make a peace for Vietnamese, but they lost the Vietnamese into the Communist regime in Carter's administration.

Personally, what Nixon created in his administration by changing to view the communist from other perspective did not give any impact for himself. The

great success of détente with Soviet and open diplomacy relation with China fell into oblivion because he was proved making a burglary with the secret agent of CIA in the office of Democrat in Watergate hotel.

## **B. The Factors which Influenced the Perspective Change of Richard Nixon**

Richard Nixon was a politician that had gone through a long road to reach his career as a President. Revealing his different policy tend to against communism as his obsession, some factors should be explained by using biographical and historical approaches. In this thesis, there are two factors that influences him, that of internal and external. As it relates to political skill, the data analysis resonates with James David Barber's character typology that describes the interplay between personal traits and environmental influences in understanding personal behavior in politics.

The previous subchapter explains the change of Nixon's perspective on communism and the impact toward his presidency. His communist credential made him famous in international politics field. He brought out the communism issue in most of his campaigns along 1950s and 1960s. But then, he was being soft on communist after taking the office in 1969.

### **1. Internal**

Now, in evaluating experience, I don't need to say anything about my own that is for other people to evaluate. –Richard Nixon, Canton, Ohio, October 1, 1960. (Shepherd in Collins, 2003, p. 39).

In order to study presidential personality, scholars must believe that leader is able to make a difference. The development of the presidency, as an institution performing multiple tasks in a routine and predictable organizational manner certainly to the perspective that the engine will function regardless of who holds the keys to the car. Under favorable circumstances, the President do indeed make a real difference to political outcomes and that is possible to explain an individual's action and decisions by a combination of insight into the development of personality and the identification of recurring patterns surrounding prior experience.

A President is a form of political leadership. A simple literary definition would hold that leadership is the act of guiding by influence (Webster International dictionary, p. 335). According to Joseph Rost, Leadership is an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purpose (Rost, 1991, p. 102-103).

One of the fundamental tasks of a leader is, therefore, to move others towards a specific goal or course of action. Although leaders may possess a vision not reflects of collective desires, leaders must persuade followers that they as the initiator are correct and should be supported. This is a worthy task not well suited to the reality of a fragmented and dynamic American political system that offers multiple leadership challenges, thus making the identification of followers and their desires an exercise in strategic contemplation of alternative course of action.

Modern political leadership takes many forms, founded on a myriad of perspective and treaties. For example, in his book *Going Public*, Samuel Kernell

discusses the ways in which Presidents promote themselves and their policies to the public through speeches, public appearance and political travel (Kernell, 1993). As Richard Neustadt said that the President must persuade their follower if they are to lead legitimately (in Collins, 2000, p. 13).

For President Nixon, his first love was foreign policy. His experience as a member of the House Committee on un-American Activities in the late 1940s, his role as the President Eisenhower's vice president and the subsequent writing while in a private life solidify the perception that whereas capable in many fields he was most confident when conversing with and about foreign leaders.

In the 1972 edition of *the Presidential character*, Barber described Richard Nixon as a man who, as the continuum of energy exertion, gravitated towards activity and whose emotionally-punishing work habits and political career would feasibly culminate in a rigid adherence to a failing policy or course of action (Barber, 1992, p. 349).

Barber identified in Nixon's pattern of behavior, a drive for power is likely to be found in most candidates for political office. Indeed, a behavior defining drive is a trait of one's character, for example, an ambition to succeed. It represents one instance of how the internal condition is manifested in an ambitious, such as he returned to win in 1968 after defeating by Kennedy in the early 1960s. The ambition alone is not enough to succeed. Being ambitious for ambition's sake is an unusual concept. People usually want to succeed for a reason. There must be a belief from within, a drive, that can be reached, and an

inner confidence that transform a defeat into a barrier to be overcome. There must be also a sense of purpose that defines the ambitious behavior.

In addition to that of a drive for power, is that of Nixon's personal self-control. When confronted with aggression or conflict and the resisting of temptation to lash out at enemies, he reflected the stern Quaker nature of his mother that enabled him to largely prevent the kind of emotional outburst that would likely to end his presidential aspirations. That said, this was not always the case and Nixon was acutely aware of when the time called for an immediate and full-bodied response to criticism, either overtly or implied. Rather than letting the moment pass, the chance to launch into a rebuttal, laced with intent and dramatic overtones, was one that he seldom avoided. As presented below:

I don't intend to come back to my home state and allow a bunch of political assassins to smear me and my family when they attack my integrity. I am going to hit back very, very hard. [Esquire Magazine, February, 1962] (In Collins, 2000, p. 45)

The quotation of Esquire Magazine showed Nixon to defend himself from the chance of losing the election of California governor in 1962. Most of Californians did not believe in him being able to lead the California state without understanding well the situation of California. After 14 years living in Washington and running his role as vice president, he could not possibly understand the situation in California as well as his opponent, Governor Brown.

... In the next five days [Governor Brown] will launch the most massive campaign of fear and smear in the history of California elections ... but it is time to fight back and rip off the grotesque Halloween mask that my opponents have designed to frighten voters. (Lodi and Santa Rose, California, October 31, 1962)

Indeed, every member of Democrats could not forget the time of 14 years back where Nixon used the dirty trick by accusing the link of Democrats with the domestic of communism. To beat Nixon in the state election of California governor, the Democrats definitely had their own way. The Statement Nixon in his campaign in Lodi and Santa Rose full of hyperbolic where he attack his opponent with the same issue as he did in presidential campaign. Finally, he got the second lost and stepped back to New York to be a lawyer although he did not fully leave the politics.

While full of hyperboles and forced rhetoric, the tales of campaign and congressional battles cast a light into the very private world of Richard Nixon. For example, Nixon's dramatic response of a private slush fund in 1952. It was also indicative of a politician who believed himself to be a fighter, one who revered of intent.

That did it. Despite all of our plans to ignore the attack, I could not see myself running away from a bunch of hecklers. I wheeled around and shouted, hold the train. The train stopped a hundred yards down the track and the crowd pressed forward while I collected my thoughts. Instinctively

I knew I had to counterattack. You cannot win a battle in any arena of life merely by defending yourself. I pointed my finger at the man who called out, directing the crowd's attention to him, and then I let him have it. (Nixon, 1990, p. 96)

As it is said in the previous chapter, Nixon made a politics as a battle field. In his book, he explained how he prevented his idealism to reach the goal and to hit back when his opponent smeared him. Therefore, Nixon was one of the United President besides F.D. Roosevelt who had seated in Washington D.C. to role as a Congressman, a Senator, a Vice President and even a President. Nevertheless, he had to be ashamed because of his greedy and cheat to win his second period of presidency with the reveal of the Watergate case. The poll of Americans included him to the ten of the worst President of the United States.

Nixon's hard work and excruciating attention to the details of the interviews conducted by the committee resulted in a conviction of perjury against Hiss, with the invaluable assistant of discovery of microfilms that proved Hiss was lying. Furthermore, Nixon was fortunate but victorious. Against the odds, he had continued the investigation, effectively putting his short career as a Washington politician on the line. Many people, including former President Herbert Hoover, credited the conviction of Hiss solely to the patience and persistence of Richard Nixon.

John Andrew, one of Nixon's speechwriters, wrote that:

RN attributes much of his own success to self discipline –a quality he also assesses carefully in taking the measure of other men. Recently, when the name of a certain prominent politician, with obvious presidential aspirations, came up in conversation, RN commented “He just doesn’t have the self-discipline to make the grade as a presidential candidate. He is the kind of man that can’t turn down that third drink on the night before an important meeting. The reference, of course, was not to any weakness for alcohol, but simply to the man’s inability, as the President judged, to sharpen himself and point for the big ones –to marshal all his actions toward a chosen goal.

Andrews continues with the remarks that,

The President has said that he derives most enjoyment these days from activities that relate directly to the presidency ... even during the Nixon’s January 1971 stay in the Virgin Islands, RN could only swim, relax and chat on the beach for limited periods –then he would abruptly turn to the telephone or papers for homework. (Oades, 1989, p. 240-242)

However, the President has many jobs and homework. Even though in his spare time and vacation, he has to think and be aware to the situation of the state. Likely in Nixon term, he could not escape from his duty as the United States President when he was in vacation in Virgin Island. Andrews described how the President should think the problem of the states in his spare time. As a note, Nixon was a kind of person who enjoyed thinking in his spare time. That is the

reason why he liked to be alone to solve his problem. He was a loner President according to the journalists that could not see him easily after the breaking up of Watergate burglary in 1972.

Reaching the goal was not easy job to do for Nixon. However, he had to be aware to the people whom he must choose to be his running mate and coworkers. Complimenting the ambitious traits was a narcissistic personality that emphasized negativity, envy, rage, entitlement and devalued grief and empathy. The desire to be “number one” in both his mind and the minds of others fed Nixon’s actions as politician and president. The feeling that he would “get his”, either through proactive achievement or by others’ rewarding his exertions, is a common theme in his life.

Volkan, et al describe several characteristics of Nixon that they consider to be indicative of a narcissistic personality, one in which the individual is preoccupied with feelings of self-importance and fantasies of endless success and high rank. Exhibiting airs of grandiosity, narcissistic, exploit others to realize ambitions, often to the detriment of existing relationships or friendships. (In Collins, 2000, p. 49)

Walter Trohan of the Chicago Tribune and a long time friend of the Nixon family, echoed the sentiment of others when concluding that “from the very beginning ... I found Nixon more calculating than warm, more self-centered than outgiving, more petty than generous, and more inclined to say what a listener might want to hear than his father Frank Nixon enough to reveal his own stand”. (p. 49)

Additionally, noting that he had an inclination for collecting titles of 13 elections, Nixon lost only three and the greatest being the 1960 election defeat. Volkan, et al, argue that Nixon was driven to attain high office for the intrinsic pleasure he derived from titles that stirred his ... superiority (p. 50). Actions taken while holding office naturally fed this feeling of superiority.

Unlike Ronald Reagan who was categorized as a passive positive (one who enjoys his role as President but who exerts a relatively low level of energy), Nixon did not view the Presidency as a position to enjoy. In a conversation with Monica Crowley included in her book *Nixon off the Record*, RN recalls that:

People often asked me a silly question: was it fun to be President? Were you happy? –Nixon's reply ignored the question and instead focused on how the office should be used. That's not the point. Leaders take on the office to accomplish something, not to be a happy or to have fun. Great leader, anyway, leadership requires a view to the future, to bring people up. (Crowley, 1996, p. 8)

Richard Nixon was admitted that he was an introvert and extrovert's role. His tendency toward isolation compounded with his frequent withdrawal from situations requiring confrontation or tacit negotiation annoyed and frustrated those who governed in his shadow. An immediate withdrawal from Vietnam would be a popular and easy course and Nixon stated that:

After all, we became involved in the war while my predecessor was in office. I could blame the defeat, which would be the result of my action, on him

–and come out as peacemaker ... So tonight, to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans. I ask your support. (November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1969)

That speech defined two groups of Americans, a minority who opposed the war and were seeking to impose their views through demonstrations, and a majority who supported the continuation of Nixon's efforts to obtain an honorable peace. However, Nixon as a peacemaker did exist but only if it exceeded his need to be number one and to be seen as a superior.

American political culture is permeated by a number of competing philosophies or themes that have emerged over the course of history to become essential frameworks for political discourse and deliberation. To further understand President Nixon's cultural interpretation it is pertinent to offer some theoretical perspective on the role of ideology, the individual and followed by an analysis of Richard Nixon's concept of pragmatic idealism.

- *Nixon's Ideology*

The sphere of modern democratic politics has to come to be defined by the two dominant ideologies of the twentieth century: conservatism and liberalism. The broad coalitions they represent oscillate around the axis of contemporary problems and solutions. The dynamic fluidity of the two ideologies allows them to continually change and respond to the issues of the day in a manner that preserve their position at the center of political life.

Conservatism, in essence, promotes institutional stability over transition, the maintenance of the status quo over the radical divergence from accepted

practice, and transactional rather than transformational politics. This is not to say that the conservative tradition rejects progressive ideas and policies. Such a position would surely result in the antithesis of conservatism, namely stagnation, and lead to its demise as a mainstream ideology. In contrast, modern liberalism tends to embrace the culture of change, promoting it through identification with the philosophy of respect for individual autonomy in decision making and the unbounded possibilities for social improvement through collective action.

Richard Nixon was a Republican President fighting a Democrat Congress over a proposal that was primarily liberal in nature. Speaking in 1965, Nixon appealed for a move towards the center stating that “if being a liberal means federalizing anything, then I’m no liberal. If being a conservative means turning back the clock, denying problems that exist, then I’m no conservative”. (Nixon, 1978, p. 268)

In both domestic and foreign policy, Nixon had an ambition to make himself in history. In fact, Nixon did have a secret plan to end of the Vietnam War. He brought with him into government a man who seemed to overshadow the President himself at times in the conduct of diplomacy: Henry Kissinger –a Harvard professor whom Nixon appointed as his special assistant for national security affairs.

Nixon threatened the Vietnam War as Eisenhower did in Korea. In an off the record session with southern delegates to the Republican convention, Nixon recalled that, “When Eisenhower was elected ... we had this messy war on our hands (in Korea). Eisenhower let the world go out ... to the Chinese people and

the North Koreans that we would not tolerate this continual ground war of attrition. And within a matter of months, they negotiated,” (Chafe, 1991, p. 389)

Eisenhower, of course, had threatened to drop atomic bombs on North Korea, and Nixon, evidently, had the same maneuver in mind. H.R. Haldeman, one of Nixon’s aids, told about the example of Eisenhower’s threat, that Nixon invoked his own plan was based on the madman theory. Nixon said that, “... I want the North Vietnamese to believe I’ve reached the point where I might do anything to stop the war.” (p. 389)

In *RN: the Memoirs of Richard Nixon*, Nixon’s statement that was apparent during the 1960 Presidential campaign was quoted: “I carried the banner of constructive post-war Republicanism, bred of conservative beliefs that a healthy private sector and individual initiative set the best pace for prosperity and progress.” (Nixon, 1978, p. 214)

President Nixon’s cultural leadership, indeed, and interpretation of history were a product numerous influences, not least his own personal ideology grounded in pragmatic realism with a conservative color.

#### - *Pragmatic Idealism*

The ability to translate his ideology into words and actions that appealed to Middle America as well as the eastern establishment was one of Nixon’s political strengths. For a man with such a complicated personality, his leadership strategy consisted of many recurring patterns; ambiguous and convoluted ideas supported by straightforward rhetoric and a view of politics as a zero-sum enterprise,

founded upon the competition between good and evil, right and wrong, and of black and white. While the significant features of his interaction with the Washington press and the habitual conflict between advisors competing for his attention reflected Nixon's aggressive and unforgiving nature, his political philosophy softened in his presidential years from conservatism as a member of Congress to the adoption of a more centrist position founded on political realism.

For example, he once stated that "idealism without pragmatism is impotent. Pragmatism without idealism is meaningless. The key to effective leadership is pragmatic idealism, an indication that the capacity for discernment of reality must be coupled, if not initiated, by a vision of what one wishes to achieve through action." (Nixon, 1990, p. 290)

This was a famous statement of Nixon that showed his political experiences taught a balance of personal ideology in a leader thought was needed. To be a good leader means we have to open mind where a good decision has to consider many aspect of situation. Every ideology has it own basic thought where the idealism is needed. However, we may not leave the pragmatics to lead the situational community.

As the interpretations of Raymond Price, one of Nixon's speechwriters, described him as a relatively conservative pragmatist, meanwhile Joan Hoff offers a more conclusive definition, that of a President who was a principled when the time was right. (Collins, 2000, p. 63) As a good spoke person and debater, the speechwriter of President Nixon only made a draft of the speech. Then, Nixon would write by own and think the main issue. Such as John Andres, Ray Price and

also Joan Hoff, they understood that president Nixon knew the right time to make plans and decisions.

Furthermore, Nixon had been elected to office as a compromise (centrist) figure, in the middle of Reagan and Rockefeller in the primaries, and between Wallace and Humphrey in the general election. The room for political maneuvering would be limited. The election pledge that he would bring the divided country together further solidified the perception that his administration would likely include both conservative and liberal staff members. Although Nixon's rhetoric was conservative, his actions and his administration were a reflection of the liberal influence.

## 2. External

### - *Formative influence*

The family is a smallest group in society. It is the basic society where every individual gets the self-learning and the affection. The family has a great influence as the first environment when human comes to the world. The individual basic attitude, the political behavior and the way of thinking are developed by the parents in a family.

The development a frame of reference and a sense of belongingness are based on sympathy. A person learns to cooperate and to help each other for the first time in his family. Within family, therefore, the individual firstly learns to role as social human who gets the values and the certain ability in his society. The

experiences of his social behavior in the family determine his attitude to other people in his social intercourse out of the family.

The individual experiences in the family determine the way to behave in society. The socialization is learned since the early age where the family roles as the main team in society. The socialization of children is the effort to establish some of the important political behaviors. The parents often determine to identify their political Party to their children. When the parents vote a political Party, the children probably will vote the same one. However, in the United States, the influence of parents is commonly more dominant in the conservative Republican than in the liberal Democrat. As Frederic Koenig said that the conservative children more felt to stand on behalf their traditions of the old generations and had a greater respect to their figure such as the parents (in Raga Maran, 2001, p. 137).

Economically, the family also influences the growth of the children. The political behavior can be determined by the economical situation of the family. The lower class society is commonly inclined to be apathetic of politic. Ironically, when people get better financially, they will be inclined to be a part in politic for the certain reasons whether economically or politically. Therefore in another case, the person who comes from lower class society gets the motive to make better life financially by becoming a part of political stage and making every effort to role as an important person even being a President.

His determined nature, coupled with a natural inquisitiveness, existed even in the formative stages of his childhood. The drive to accumulate the knowledge and power that would eventually enabled him to pursue his dreams, and in the

process fulfill the ambitions that had eluded his father, began at the early age. Even before he knew how to read, he could be found lying on the floor with the local newspaper, pretending to absorb the information that lay before him. Sensing his potential, Hannah Nixon taught her son to read before he attended elementary school.

Young Nixon also took an early interest in politics, a surprising pursuit for a child in his formative years. He was ten years old when the Teapot Dome scandal erupted. It allegedly compelled Nixon to comment to his mother, "I would like to become an honest lawyer, one who can't be bought by crooks" (Steffof in Collins, 2000, p. 41).

Nixon attended the local public school, where he learned to start the development of his ability in politics and leadership. The basic education was taught in the school such as the establishment of attitude and custom, the motivation of children potential ability, the development of general ability, learning to cooperate with a group of friends, doing the good demands, learning the self-control to respect each other, getting the right education and doing the competition (Gerungan, 2002, p. 194).

Nixon's reflection on childhood and schooling indicated the pride he took in winning debates, overcoming the initial criticism of his oratorical style, and excelling in class. The interest and skill in debating increased during the course of his education. This type of formal, structured argument appealed to his logical mind and gave his serious personality a chance to shine. However, there were two major reasons for Nixon's competitiveness. One was economic (the necessity to

win a scholarship in order to go to college) and the other personal. Quoting from Nixon's book *Six Crises*:

The personal factor was contributed by my father. Because of illness in his family he had had to leave school after only six years of formal education. Never a day went by when he did not tell me and my four brothers how fortunate we were to be able to go to school. I was determined not to let him down. My biggest thrill in those years was to see the light in his eyes when I brought a good report card. He loved the excitement and battles of political life. During the two years he was bedridden before his death, which came just as the start of the 1956 campaign, his one request of me that I sent him the congressional record. He used to read it daily, cover-to-cover, something I have never had the patience to do. I have often thought that with his fierce competitive drive and his intense interest in political issue, he might have been more successful than I in political life had, he had the opportunity to continue his education (1990, p. 190).

Biographers have speculated that the obvious delight Nixon in presenting his report card to his father overshadowed any amount of satisfaction he took himself. This trait was indicative of a person who took a little personal reward from hard work. After all, it suggested that Nixon would continue to demand greater accomplishment without accepting the emotional reward that success conferred.

Through his high school years, split between the Fullerton and Whittier high schools, Nixon involved himself in a myriad of activities. His early experiences on the debating team were described as a speaking ability, observations that would become excellent of his political speaking career. Nixon also played on the football team and involved himself in campus politics at Whittier.

The discipline and hard work took to manage his academic responsibilities and extra-curricular activities certainly prepared him for a career practicing law. As noted, the desire to leave Whittier behind, to traverse the country in search of education and in some way redeeming his father's lost opportunity, inspired Nixon to study hard. Long nights in the Duke Law School library earned him the nickname "Iron butt". It was not to say that Nixon did not take any satisfaction from his achievements. However, the pleasure derived from success tended to manifest itself less in personal fulfillment and more in the knowledge that others would know of his accomplishment.

Richard Nixon was born to Quaker parents. Upon moving to Whittier, his father, Frank, opened a small gas station. Later it was expanded into a grocery store, serving all the needs of customers driving between Whittier and Los Angeles. Economically, the family also influenced the growth of the children. By all accounts, it was a success, family-operated, a business that required the young Richard to travel to Los Angeles each morning at four a.m. to purchase fruit and vegetables for the store. In his memoir, Nixon wrote:

I choose the best fruit and vegetables, bargained with the farmers and wholesalers for a good price, and then drove back to East Whittier to wash, sort and arrange the product in the store and be off to school by eight. It was not an easy life, but a good one, centered on a loving family and a small, tight-knit, Quaker community. For those who were willing to work hard, California in the 1920s seemed a place and time of almost unlimited opportunity. (Nixon, 1978, p. 5)

The political behavior can be determined by the economical situation of the family. The lower class society is commonly inclined to be apathetic of politics of the family. The 1930s brought a significantly different climate to Whittier, Nixon's speech to the decennial White House conference on children, and was originally prepared by Ray Price. Nixon wrote his own, voicing the feelings of his family's experience.

We were poor by today's standards. I suppose we were poor even by Depression standards. But the wonder of it was that we didn't know we were poor. Somehow my mother and father with their love, with their pride, their courage and their self-sacrifice were able to create a spirit of self-respect in our family so that we had no sense of being inferior to others who had more than we had. (December 13, 1970)

His father possessed a firm belief in the little man of America, opposing the political machines and system of vested interest that emerged in the early part

of century. President Nixon's appeals to the "Silent Majority" and the "Average American" in his speeches resonated with his father's philosophy that America's social foundation was not that of the corporate enterprise but of family and community. Politicians, according to Frank Nixon, would do well to remember this.

His father also believed strongly in the dignity of labor. Before owning the gas station and general store, Frank had worked hard in a multitude of temporary jobs, none of which provided enough income to live. The long hours of the family put in at the store cemented the Quaker belief that there were no substitutions for sheer hard work.

Meanwhile Nixon's father taught the value of learning and of hard work, the mother taught him the determination that was to become the hallmark of his subsequent career in politics. Hannah Nixon remained strong, however, helping Richard overcome his feelings of guilt after the death of two siblings from tuberculosis. He should have been the one spread by the disease and encouraging him to pursue his academic interest at Whittier High and then at Whittier College.

Richard Nixon's childhood and adolescence were marked by tragedy, honest toil, and simple living. His father's conviction that hard labor was preferable to handouts and charity and that the average American must not be forgotten in the name of progress evidently rubbed off on Richard Nixon. Consequently, his life experiences influenced him in making an economic policy of his presidency whether domestic or foreign.

– *Mass media influence*

According to politics socialization context, media is a means to socialize an individual into his cultural society background. A society can understand a process through media information, which integrates some values and basic orientation into a cultural interaction. Most of political occasions, which are known by a society whether directly or indirectly, come from mass media such as newspaper, magazine, radio and television.

The United States' mass-media has a great role in American society. The strength of media power in finding, submitting, and distributing the information evokes them to be the fourth estate or the fourth branch of government besides legislative, executive, and judicative branches.

The appearance of the fourth branch conception is based on the assumption that press is an integral part of government to complete and to control the three branches of nation. Neither of American constitution gives the press responsibility nor controls the government activities. Furthermore, the media or press represent themselves as the fourth branches of government because of their belief (Basuki, 1995, p. 61).

The press, in American history, has acted as a gadfly (disturber) and a controller. Sometimes, the honest officer could be accused and was dragged their name by the press. They bravery revealed the corruption and the abuse of government power in Congress and administration of presidency. This kind of action reflected the press power.

Richard Nixon, in his first political career, much enjoyed the treatment of media to himself. He was helped by Whittaker Chambers, an editor of *Time* magazine and the former of communist, to testify that Alger Hiss had been a communist. Although Hiss denied the accusation, but Nixon attempted to uncover the real story thrust Richard Nixon into a spotlight. Nixon led the investigation that eventually sent Hiss to prison for perjury. The headline of Hiss case on some newspapers gave Nixon a spotlight and raised his name as a diligent hunter of communist. In Senatorial campaign of Californian, Nixon flied pink leaflets as a media to inform the communist-axis of Helen Douglas, the candid of Democrat. Nixon emerged an overwhelming victory and ran well throughout the state. Most historians argued that the 1950's campaign brought harsh criticism. The victory brought Nixon's prestige within the Republican and among conservative generally, but it also formed the foundation for his reputation as an unscrupulous campaigner or famously as a tricky Dick.

The relationship between the government and mass media, according to comparison contextual, consist of three, they are totalitarian (authoritarian), partial controller, and the American system of first amendment of Supreme Court. In modern era, the relation of government and mass media has been begun in Harding's presidency (1921-1923). As a publisher, Harding was the first President who carried out news conferences periodically. Mass media paid attention to his administration because of the Congress criticism about the breaking of Teapot Dome scandal. Harding's administration hated of the news criticism linked the activity of government. Nevertheless, the mass media-government controversy

had buried in political conspiracy when the Congressmen carped Harding who discredited the journalist activities.

During Roosevelt's presidency, almost two third of editorials attacked him of mass media limitation. But Roosevelt enabled to use the radio net to voice his ideas. Some of the newspaper such as *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Daily News* and *Washington Times-Herald* had carefully warned the public that Roosevelt would have limited the freedom of mass media by arranging the law. In fact, he never did it. During World War II, the relation among the government, military, and mass media had run well and they cooperated obviously to inform the society about the condition of the big war.

The most popular president was Dwight E. Eisenhower (1953-1961). He hardly needed a public relation and occasionally showed on television. The incompatibility with mass media was very small. The journalists, in Eisenhower's view, sometimes were being unfair to himself and the administration of presidency. They sometimes manipulated the case and the situation to report on newspapers. Richard Nixon had been hit by impact the power of mass media when he was reported allegedly accepted the secret fund from some Californian entrepreneurs. In Nixon's eyes, the allegation of a secret fund became an acute personal crises that would impact his family, Dwight Eisenhower, the millions Republicans who had pledged their support to ticket, the future of the country and the peace and freedom for the world (Nixon, 1990, p. 96). Nixon went forward to explain the public how he and his wife earned the money for their family. Nixon

spoke on television and succeeded to save his candidacy of vice president of Eisenhower.

The presidential election confronted two candidacy of president to debate on television in 1960. It had a great impact to American history. For the first time the American people watched the debate of presidents on television. The mass media such as newspapers, magazines, radio nets and televisions, discussed the main issue represented by the candidates and helped the public to vote their president. The mass media also polled to know the tendency of American voters and to predict who would be the president.

Mass media had great role to criticize the government and to make a public opinion. Those points determined Nixon's view to hate the inquiry journalist. The petulant response of "you're not going to have old Nixon to kick around anymore" to reporters' inquiries following his defeat in Californian gubernatorial campaign in 1962 and the criticism he received for it, made him more determined to keep his emoticons in check the later presidential campaign (Collins, 2000, p. 46).

John F. Kennedy (1961-1963) started the new era of journalist-government relationships. He presented news conferences on television and used it as one of his politicking. This kind of trick is more effectively used to cooperate closer with the journalists, in order to leak the information and to reveal 'a trial balloon' (leaking the secret to test the public reaction without political risk). He pretended to act as the supporter of the journalists. Arthur Sylvestre, an ex-journalist and a staff of ministry of defense, suggested that the government sometimes needed to

lie in order to minimize the political risk in society. As the consequence, the Americans were angry and frustrated when they knew that the President had prerogative to bomb another country without discussing in the House of Representatives.

The relationship between government and mass media became worse where Johnson did not report on public about the 300,000 American troops' involvement in a messy war of Vietnam and nobody knew that the battle had raged violently. When it was revealed, Johnson had lost all perspectives, but he tried to rationalize his lying for a non-sense goal. Vietnam War, in Johnson's presidency, was the worst conspiracy politics in American history.

A lying, meanwhile, was an art in Nixon's presidency, from the political conspiracy of publishing the pentagon papers until the abuse of power of Watergate case. Nixon systematically acted to control the mass media by making the law of mass media limitation and using an occult chance to hit back the journalist. Wherever Nixon's foreign policy did wars such as in Vietnam, Laos, and Sinai (Egypt), he equivocated for democracy and freedom. The inimical attitude openly and strongly showed to public, so they assumed that he was a figure who against and fought mass media by himself.

President Nixon assured the public that he did not need to discuss with the Congress about his policy decision. He minimized the news conferences during his presidency. He scheduled one news-conference in a month during his first period of presidency, and then rarely scheduled in his second one since the breaking of Watergate case on June 17, 1972.

However, Nixon could not hide from the journalist investigation of Watergate burglary, which involved the White House staffs and the CIA. Although he made a détente with the Soviet Union and the People Republic of China, an agreement of nuclear limitation and also withdrawing the troops from Vietnam peacefully, but Watergate case was more dominant as a domestic issue on most of mass media. It compelled him to resign from his presidency on August 8, 1974. Indeed, mass media, which consists of electronic and printing media, is an integral part of politics. They have a great power to rise up and to knock down the politicians who hate their work in criticism the government.

– *National Security Advisor*

Henry Alfred Kissinger was the 56<sup>th</sup> Secretary of the State of the United States from 1973 to 1977, continuing to hold the position of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, which he first assumed in 1969 until 1975. He was born in Fuerth, Germany, on May 27, 1923, came to the United States in 1938, and was naturalized a United States citizen on June 19, 1943. He received the BA degree Summa Cum Laude at Harvard College in 1950 and the MA and PhD degrees at Harvard University in 1952 and 1954 respectively.

From 1954 until 1971 he was a member of the Faculty of Harvard University, both in the Department of Government and at the Center for International Affairs. He served as Study Director, Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy, for the Council of Foreign Relations from 1955 to 1956, Director of the Harvard International Seminar from 1951 to 1971.

In 1968, he got the invitation from President-elect Richard Nixon to become his National Security Assistant. Why Kissinger should have been so swift to reverse his well-publicized judgment in 1968 that Nixon was unfit to be President was clear enough. It is more rewarding to examine what Nixon saw in him. Whatever contempt Kissinger displayed for Nixon before he worked for him and behind his back in the White House, the terms in which they had both always seen the world and the manner in which they perceived their own roles were remarkably similar.

Nixon had risen from the House to the Senate to the Vice-Presidency on anticommunism. Kissinger was not among academics who questioned the conventions of the Cold War. His international Seminar at Harvard was an anti-Soviet forum in which the leaders of tomorrow could articulate and refine the notions of Iron Curtain, containment, and rollback. Nixon favored the use of American bombers to rescue the French at Dien Bien Phu and asserted that tactical atomic explosive are now conventional and will be used against the targets of any aggressive voice.

Kissinger's political assessment also fitted the times. He argued that the Communist simply exploited the Americans' desire for peace and fear of all out nuclear war by playing with skill their strategy of ambiguity-alternating force, as in Hungary, subtle infiltration, as in the Middle East, and peaceful coexistence. He dismissed the hundreds of thousands who marched to ban the bomb as tools of Soviet propaganda.

Kissinger's demand that each problem be dealt with only in the context of an over-all ideology was an early statement of his subsequent notion of linkage, a concept that wishes to impose a framework upon an untidy world. In certain respect, his intellectual was a mercenary. Among Kissinger's qualities are charm and persuasiveness. At Harvard he was as sincere as he was serious. Kissinger is a true diplomat; he can make anyone feel grateful and flattered. Some colleagues also detected other aspects of his personality.

Despite the mauling of Nelson Rockefeller by the Republican right in 1964, Kissinger continued to expand his areas of political interest and attempted in the middle sixties to come to terms with the developing war in Vietnam. Visiting Saigon, he impressed Daniel Ellsberg with a certain openness of mind. But his views were unexceptional. He agreed with most of Johnson's administration officials and with Richard Nixon that however unfortunate the Vietnam commitment had been, it now had to be met.

When the members of the National Security Council and the Senior Officials in the state, defense and CIA returned to their desks after watching the inauguration on January 20, 1969, each found a stack of memoranda. On top was a four-page headed the National Security Decision Memorandum One- signed by Nixon. They were informed that the President was reorganizing the National Security Council system. The effects of the reorganization were to be critical in many areas of foreign policy, particularly Cambodia.

Nixon was anxious to keep meetings of the NSC to a minimum. The agenda were to be set by Kissinger's office, and discussion was to be limited. In

the past, officials as humble as cabinet secretaries could occasionally gain personal access to the President. Now anything of importance and nay memos to the President had to pass through an elaborate process. The first filter was a subcommittee called the Review Group. This was chaired by Kissinger and include representation of the Director of the CIA, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Deputy Secretary of Defense and the under Secretary of the State. The group's task was to determine whether a specific issue merited the attention of the full Council. If it decided not, the matter was referred to a new Under-Secretaries Committee representing the departments. Halperin's plan also preserved the NSC's existing interagency groups of Assistant Secretaries whose purpose was to prepare papers for the NSC, and it allowed the President to set up an ad hoc working group on any specific subject. (Shawcross, 1979, on [http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Kissinger/advisor\\_sideshow.html](http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Kissinger/advisor_sideshow.html))

As Nixon's national security adviser, Kissinger was concentrated power in the White House and rendered Secretary of the State William P. Rogers and the professional Foreign Service almost irrelevant by conducting personal, secret negotiations with North Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and China. He negotiated the Paris agreement of 1973 ending the direct U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, engineered a short-lived era of détente with the Soviet Union, and opened frozen relations with the People's Republic of China. As secretary of state, he shuttled among the capitals of Israel, Egypt, and Syria after the 1973 Middle East War.

A gregarious but manipulative man, Kissinger seeking power and favorable publicity, cultivated prominent officials and influential reporters. For a

while he achieved more popularity than any modern American diplomat. The Gallup poll listed him as the most admired man in America in 1972 and 1973. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973 for his negotiations leading to the Paris peace accords that ended U.S military action in Vietnam. Journalist lauded him as a genius and the smartest guy around after his secret trip to Beijing in July 1971 prepared the way for Nixon's visit to China in February 1972. Egyptian politicians called him the magician for his disengagement agreements separating Israel and Arab armies (Schulzinger on [http://college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/rcah/html/ah\\_050500\\_kissingerhen.htm](http://college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/rcah/html/ah_050500_kissingerhen.htm)).

Kissinger's reputation faded after 1973. During the Watergate scandal, congressional investigators discovered that he had ordered the FBI to tap the telephones of subordinates on the Staff of the National Security Council, a charge he had denied earlier.

Some of Kissinger's foreign policy achievements crumbled in 1975 and 1976. The Communists' victory in Vietnam and Cambodia destroyed the Paris peace accords and détente with the Soviet Union never fulfilled the hopes Kissinger had aroused. By 1976 the United States and the Soviet Union had not moved beyond the 1972 Interim Agreement limiting strategic arms to conclude a full-fledged Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### A. Conclusion

After conducting the analysis, we find out that Nixon changed his political perspective dynamically as in the line of the world's situation. The communist which was feared by the Americans after the end of World War II became an object of Nixon's struggle in the beginning of his political career. Alger Hiss was the important case that made him famous as an anticommunist politician. During his political career as a Congressman (1947), Senator of Californian (1950) and Vice President of Eisenhower (1953-1960), Nixon was diligent to fight the communist development particularly in the United States. This was his politicking to offend his Democrat's opponents such as Jerry Voorhis, Helen Douglas, and Adlai E. Stevenson.

In playing his role as the Vice President of Eisenhower, Nixon conducted to discuss a nuclear weapon development with the Soviet Union's Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev in 1957 when the President was ill. His anticommunist commitment became soft during his involvement in negotiation talks of antiballistic nuclear weapon in his second term of vice presidency. Nevertheless, he returned back to his own perspective upon communism when coming as a candidate of President from Republican Party in 1960. Nixon campaigned his perspective to fight against the spread of communism in the world particularly in

the United States. He wanted the Americans should know the meaning of communism in order that they had reasons to fight the threat of the militant aggressiveness of international communism.

During fourteen years of his political career, Nixon came to presidential election of 1960 opposed John F. Kennedy of Democrat by campaigning most the communism issue. But he failed to enter the White House after loosing the election. He tried to come as a Californian governor represented the Republican in 1962, but he failed again. His idea of communism could not impress the Californian voters. Besides, Nixon did not know the problem of Californian State well than his opponent. He campaigned more international issue of communism than the State's problems.

Six years before his presidency, Richard Nixon played his role behind the political stage. He visited more countries as a private citizen to concern the growth of international issue. He also helped Barry Goldwater to run his presidential election opposed Lyndon Johnson in 1964. In this time, Nixon concerned to the United States foreign policy that was Vietnam War. The involvement of the United States troops in Vietnam to fight the communist guerilla in Indo China had paid the world's attention and the anti-war protest in the United States colleges. Thus, to reach his personal goal as the United States President which failed in 1960, Nixon had to change his political perspective on communism.

The involvement of the United States in Vietnam War to defend the existence of South Vietnamese from the Vietcong invasion had been a main issue

in the American society. The bombing of Laos and Cambodia made a high tension in the world and a protest in the United States. By campaigning his perspective on international communism, Nixon came to presidential election of 1968 with a new idea of peace with honor in Vietnam. He wanted to end the involvement of the United States troops which had been sent to Indo China since Johnson's presidency.

From the description above, it can be concluded that the new idea of Nixon which brought in his presidential election as a Republican shows that he changed his perspective about the international issue of communism. The process of the change from the fighting of the international communist expansion to the ending of the confrontation between the United States and two great communist countries, Soviet Union and China, had run dynamically. The changes of Nixon's political perspective gave impact to his policy in playing the presidency.

The impact which is known as the success of Nixon's presidency are the vanishing the embargo diplomatic and the changing to open the diplomatic relation with China. Another impact is the adopting the new multi polar international structure and summit the agreement to limit anti-ballistic nuclear with Soviet Union.

However, the change of Nixon's perspective about the communist issue because of two factors, they are, internal and external. The internal factor includes his personal thought, Nixon's ideology and his pragmatic idealism. Additionally, the personal factor includes to his formative influences (his family such as mother and his father influence and during his school times), the American mass media

and the last Henry Kissinger as his national security advisor. Furthermore, the factors that has mentioned are the most influences of Nixon's personal in making a new idea, motivation and characters to change his political perspective in order to get his goal to be the President of United States of America.

## **B. Recommendation**

This thesis is recommended at the starting point for the readers to study the speeches of Richard Nixon. It expects to be used as the introduction of the presidential leadership of Richard Nixon. This thesis also will be useful in leading other aspect of American presidential experiences, generally of the American history.

## **REFERENCES**

- Ambrose, Stephen E. (1987). *Nixon Volume 1: The Education of a Politician 1913-1962*. New York, USA: Simon and Schuster Inc.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1989). *Nixon Volume 2: The Triumph of a Politician 1962-1972*. New York, USA: Simon and Schuster Inc.
- Barber, James David. (1992). *Presidential Character* (p. 349). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Brinkley, Alan. (1997). *The Unfinished Nation, A Concise History of the American People (second edition)*. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Chafe, William H. (1991). *Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II; Second Edition*. New York, USA: Oxford University Press.

- Collins, Michael John. (2000). *Personality and Political Leadership Explored: Richard Nixon and the Family Assistance Plan*. Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
- Crowley, Monica. (1996). *Nixon off the Record* (p. 8). New York: Random House Inc.
- Deddy Mulyana. (2002). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Paradigma Baru Ilmu Komunikasi dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya*. Bandung, Indonesia: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Dye, Thomas R and Harmon Zieger. (1987). *An Uncommon Introduction to American Politics: The Irony of Democracy-Seventh Edition*. California, USA: Brooks-Cole Publishing Company.
- Encyclopedia Americana Volume 16, International Edition*. 1994. Connecticut, USA: Grolier Inc.
- Encyclopedia Americana Volume 20, International Edition*. 1994. Connecticut, USA: Grolier Inc.
- Encyclopedia Americana Volume 26, International Edition*. 1994. Connecticut, USA: Grolier Inc.
- Graff, Henry F. (1996). *The Presidents: A References History (second edition)*. New York: Charles Scribners's Son Ltd.
- Kernell, Samuel. (1993). *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*. San Diego: CQ Press.
- Manser, Martin H. (Ed.). (1995). *Oxford Learner's Pocket Dictionary: New Edition*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mazo, Earl. (1969). *Nixon: A Political Portrait*. New York, USA: Pyramid Books.
- Nathan, Richard P. (1975). *The Plot That Failed: Nixon and the Administrative Presidency*. New York, USA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Nixon, Richard. (1978). *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap.
- Nixon, Richard. (1990). *In the Arena* (p. 290). New York: Simon and Schuster Inc.
- Nixon, Richard. (1990). *Six Crises*. New York: Simon and Schuster Inc.
- Oades, Bruce. (1989). *From the President: Richard Nixon's Secret Files* (p. 240-242). New York: Harper and Row.

- Rafael Raga Maran. (2001). *Pengantar Sosiologi Politik: Suatu Pemikiran dan Penerapan* (p. 137). Jakarta: PT Rineka Cipta.
- Shank, Alan. (1974). *American Politics, Policy and Priorities; Fourth Edition*. Massachusetts, USA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Spiller, Robert E. (1981). *Late Harvest: Essay and Addresses in American Literature and Culture*. Connecticut, USA: Greenwood Press.
- Tindall, George Brown. (1984). *America: A Narrative History, Third Edition*. New York, USA: W. W. Norton and Company.
- W.A. Gerungan. (2002). *Psikologi Sosial; edisi kedua* (p. 194). Bandung: Refika Aditama.
- Wishnu Basuki. (1995). *Pers dan Penguasa: Pembocoran Pentagon Papers dan Pengungkapan oleh New York Times*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Hatfield, Mark O. and the Senate Historical Office. (1997). *Vice Presidents of the United States, 1789-1993* (pp. 433-447). Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved on July 19, 2004 at 14.21 P.M from [http://www.senate.gov/Richard\\_nixon.pdf](http://www.senate.gov/Richard_nixon.pdf).
- Nixon, Richard. *Congressman Nixon's Maiden Speech: February 18, 1947*. Available on <http://Watergate.info/Nixon/maiden-house-speech-1947.shtml>
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Meanings of communism to Americans: August 21, 1960*. Available on [http://Watergate.info/Nixon/60-08-21\\_communism.shtml](http://Watergate.info/Nixon/60-08-21_communism.shtml)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Acceptance of Nominator Republican President: August 8, 1968*. Available on <http://Watergate.info/Nixon/acceptance-speech-1968.shtml>
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Checker Speech: September 23, 1952*. Available on <http://Watergate.info/Nixon/checker-speech.shtml>
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A need of the Leadership: August 17, 1960*. Available on [http://Watergate.info/Nixon/60-08-17\\_leadership.shtml](http://Watergate.info/Nixon/60-08-17_leadership.shtml)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *NBC TV of Nixon-Kennedy the First Election Debate: September 26, 1961*. Available on [http://Watergate.info/Nixon/61-09-26\\_first-election-debate.shtml](http://Watergate.info/Nixon/61-09-26_first-election-debate.shtml)
- Nixon, Richard. *Public Papers the Year of 1969*. Available on [http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research\\_center/1969\\_pdf\\_files/1969\\_0001.Pdf](http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research_center/1969_pdf_files/1969_0001.Pdf).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Public Papers the Year of 1969*. Available on [http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research\\_center/1969\\_pdf\\_files/1969\\_0010](http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research_center/1969_pdf_files/1969_0010). Pdf.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Public Papers the Year of 1969*. Available on [http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research\\_center/1969\\_pdf\\_files/1969\\_0195](http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research_center/1969_pdf_files/1969_0195). Pdf.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Public Papers the Year of 1969*. Available on [http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research\\_center/1969\\_pdf\\_files/1969\\_0221](http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research_center/1969_pdf_files/1969_0221). Pdf.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Public Papers the Year of 1969*. Available on [http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research\\_center/1969\\_pdf\\_files/1969\\_0365](http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research_center/1969_pdf_files/1969_0365). Pdf.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Public Papers the Year of 1970*. Available on [http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research\\_center/1970\\_pdf\\_files/1970\\_0045a](http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research_center/1970_pdf_files/1970_0045a). Pdf.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Public Papers the Year of 1970*. Available on [http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research\\_center/1970\\_pdf\\_files/1970\\_0177](http://www.nixonfoundation.org/research_center/1970_pdf_files/1970_0177). Pdf.

Schulzinger, Robert D. No Year. *Henry A. Kissinger*. Retrieved on November 4, 2004 at 16.00 P.M from [http://college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/rcah/html/ah\\_050500\\_kissinger\\_hen.htm](http://college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/rcah/html/ah_050500_kissinger_hen.htm).

Shawcross, William. (1979). *The Adviser: the Book of Sideshow Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia*. New York: Simon and Schuster. Retrieved on November 4, 2004 at 16.04 P.M. from [http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Kissinger/Advisor\\_Sideshow.html](http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Kissinger/Advisor_Sideshow.html).