

Nixon and resignation

By WILLIAM F. BUCKELY, JR.

I propose, on completion of these words, to march them over to a printer, shrink them to penny-postcard size, and, wordlessly, to hand them out to elevator men, Hollywood stars, and corporation presidents who ask me, as everyone is asked these days, the one question: "Mr. Buckley, do you think Nixon will resign?"

If there were time, I would answer roughly as follows...

There are several Nixons.

The first Nixon is the one that comes most readily to mind. About him the cliché is: he will never quit. It is uncharacteristic of him. He is a determined, stubborn man who fought most of his adult life to be President of the United States. He likes being President. He likes the power of the Presidency, the usufructs of the Presidency, and the romance of the Presidency. You won't drive that man out of the White House until the limousine pulls up to the door on Inauguration Day, 1977.

THAT IS NIXON ONE. Nixon Two is the political realist. He is the man who can coolly survey the political situation and draw the necessary conclusions, when there are necessary conclusions. It was Nixon who having expended himself at the Governor's Conference in Cleveland in 1964 trying to organize a Stop-Goldwater movement, recognized it wouldn't work. Then, unlike the hapless William Scranton who went on to try to stop Goldwater and ended by looking like Harold Stassen, Nixon Two drew back, recognized Goldwater wasn't going to make it, and—supported Goldwater lustily. That single decision brought him the Republican nomination in 1968. Otherwise it would have gone to Reagan; yes, Reagan. And Nixon knew that. This Nixon, the political realist, is capable of judging whether there is going to be impeachment plus conviction, and of either a) acting to try to abort the case against him by hard political maneuvering; or b) accepting the inevitable and resigning. He has not at this moment concluded that the political reality is that he will be deposed.

There is Nixon Three. Nixon Three is a withdrawn, moody, introspective man who revels in a pain that is often self-inflicted. It is a Nixon who works even harder than necessary to get the good grade, or to qualify for the football team, or memorize the name of the

ward leader. It is the Nixon who will make himself stay up all night before deciding on a Vice-Presidential running mate, not so much because he is thereby better equipped to pick the man, but because he likes to be able to say, "I stayed up all night worrying about this one."

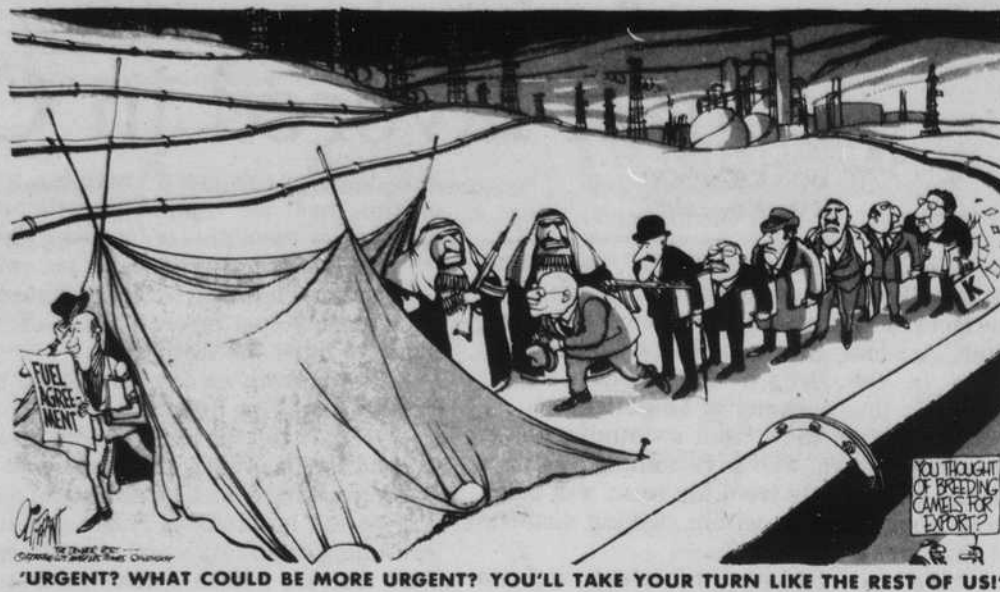
IT IS THE NIXON who blurts out in the prepared speech that he will continue to work "sixteen to twenty hours a day, seven days a week," for his country. The Nixon who feels that all the proper people in the east resent him because he did not go to an Ivy League college and that therefore he will hew to the rotarian company with which he feels comfortable.

This Nixon feels that he is fated to suffer, must suffer; that suffering is good and that strength comes through adversity. This is the Nixon whose mind begins now to turn to the ultimate suffering: resignation. If, for the man on the make, power is an aphrodisiac, for the man facing the end, martyrdom is orgasmic. There is no other explanation for the smile on the face of St. Stephen as the archers bent their bows.

And then, if you can stand it, there is Nixon Four. This is Nixon the human being. This week's *New York Times Sunday Magazine* has a million-page rehearsal of the entire Watergate business. One's eyes fasten on a single sentence. "He (Nixon) even deducted \$1.24 in finance charges from Garfinckel's Department Store." Nixon Four could prevail over Nixon One for reasons entirely human. Shylock spoke for the Jewish race. He might as well have spoken for Nixon when he said "hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as the Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?"

And—the final line—"and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?"

NIXON FOUR IS visible walking the sands of San Clemente and riding economy class in the little jet and answering questions about did he deduct \$1.24 for finance charges from Garfinckel's. When Nixon Four and Nixon Three, espousing a joint opportunity, fuse their vision, then Nixon will resign, not only with honor, but with pleasure.



Letters

Accepts judgment

I am humiliated and sorry for you. Your causticity regarding Solzhenitsyn would evoke a raucous laugh from the Devil, if he existed.

We should not try to "save" Solzhenitsyn, runs your argument, for fear of endangering "detente" with the USSR.

Not only do you buttress this argument by wilfully misquoting and distorting Buckley's arguments (Buckley paragraph 10, your paragraph 2; Buckley para. 1, your para. 4), but also you must fall back on the old "we're just as bad as they are" ploy.

Very well, then, I accept your judgment.

AT THE RISK of being stoned in religious horror, then, may I politely ask if "detente" between two equally evil governments is a thing to be desired? If our assistance to South Vietnam is accepted as a crime, would not our assistance to a government infinitely more powerful, and capable of far more evil, be far worse a crime?

True, we should try to first "save" our own people. What does Attica prove? Well, at least the Attica prisoners could revolt, could seize hostages, could win world-wide recognition of their suffering; buy Solzhenitsyn...never mind, I see not that a political freethinker must be as great a criminal as...but never mind.

BY YOUR LOGIC, World War II need never have been fought; the US should simply have established "detente" with Adolf Hitler—for if we are no better than the Soviet Government, then Hitler was no worse; and they set us the example, remember?

Walter J. Wentz
Senior, Journalism

Solzhenitsyn fan

I'm writing in response to the *Emerald's* editorial "Saving Solzhenitsyn—and looking good" in today's paper. It seems the writer speaks from a double standard:

atrocities committed by other than Western powers are internal affairs not to be meddled with, even though the West is to be the champion of human rights. Do we have to wait until the U.S. is a perfect society before we cry out in compassion for the suffering of millions in the Soviet Union and elsewhere? Do we first have to ascertain "the truth behind the demoralization of the football staff" (adjacent *Emerald* editorial on sports) before we will stand up for a man of inimitable courage in the person of Alexander Solzhenitsyn?

THOSE AMERICANS who cry for Solzhenitsyn and the suffering masses are really concerned with civil rights and human dignity. They do not deem it right that the Soviet Union (or China) continues to forge an empire, with sanctions from the West. The Western television, radio and newspaper commentators have thoroughly clouded the issue by avoiding facing and reporting the cruel facts of existence behind the Iron Curtain. If they dared to tell the truth, I, at least, believe there would be more Americans who would cry for the suffering masses. Even though it has become a cliché to say this, we do live in a world community. How can we claim to champion human rights if we turn our backs on Alexander Solzhenitsyn and the millions for whom he speaks?

Mara C. Reynolds
School of Librarianship

Thanks to Emerald

Higher education is useful!
Thanks to the *Emerald* I now understand Governor McCall's gas distribution plan. While the local newspapers, TV and radio stations obscurely talk about even and odd numbers, and even and odd calendar dates, the *Emerald* gives the answer: even numbers are 0-2-4-6-8, and odd numbers are 1-3-5-7-9.

NOW EVEN people connected with the U of O know when to buy gas.

Rolf Burkhardt
GTF, German

Viewpoint

Tibetans suffering under Chinese rule

By STEPHEN REYNOLDS

The long article in Monday's *Emerald* by Mr. (I presume) T.D. Allman appeared at first glance to be about Tibet. On closer reading, it proved to be about something slightly different: what Mr. Allman heard about Tibet from such authorities as "non-Communist sources with access to Lhasa," "one Asian visitor," "those with first-hand knowledge," and "those in a position to have seen for themselves." Such sources are cited about ten times, making it unnecessary for Mr. Allman to say much of anything on his own authority, or even to claim to know much about Tibet.

Through Mr. Allman, "they" convey the overall impression that "life is now much better than it was." The Chinese allow Tibetans to use their own language; they tolerate flirting, and they build roads. Very liberal, they are.

GIVEN ENOUGH SPACE, one could easily enough take care of the more

blatant falsifications—the assertion that the Potala was not shelled, that shrines in Lhasa were not desecrated, or that much of the old jewelry and treasures were "carried off by members of Tibet's 200 noble families when they fled to India with the Dalai Lama" (one wonders how the Khamba nomads who actually accompanied the Dalai Lama would react to that fiction)—but, as is usual with apologies for totalitarianism, the real misrepresentation is not so much in what is stated as in what is not stated and what is presupposed.

Who would guess from Mr. Allman's article that a war of national liberation, in which tens of thousands of Tibetan guerillas are pitted against a Chinese occupation army of hundreds of thousands, has been raging for two decades, and continues now, while gullible western readers are lulled by the butter-smooth words of "those in a position to have seen for themselves?" Since this

little detail was omitted from the picture, there was no room for the canard used by other Beautiful Mouths, that the war was invented by the C.I.A.; so at least we were spared that.

THE TOTALITARIAN left must either ignore the fact of Marxist-Leninist imperialism, or else whitewash it. This screen of deceptions and lies is attractive to the uninformed. It is intended as a sporific. It fits nicely into that convenient, consistent, and radically false view of the world that imagines that economic systems cause or prevent oppression. Massive governmental, academic, and journalistic indifference and irresponsibility now work in its favor.

Fortunately, the tools are available for anyone who wants to discover the truth. Books such as Chogyam Trungpa's *Born in Tibet*, Noel Barber's *Land of Lost Content*, and George Patterson's *Tibet in Revolt* have done much to provide the Tibetan side of the story. Michel Peissel's book (to

which I called attention in the *Emerald* last spring) is now out in an American edition, under the title *The Secret War in Tibet* (Little Brown, 1973); it is probably the best of all, and is available at the University Bookstore.

THE SAFE, ANONYMOUS "visitors" behind whom Mr. Allman hides are convinced that the Tibetans ought to like Chinese rule. As always, the totalitarian left is generous with the liberty, lands, and lives of others. The Tibetans, by fighting an interminable war of national liberation, have given them the lie. Our loud-mouthed, self-proclaimed liberationists reveal their true nature by preferring the easy excuses of anonymous "visitors" to the hard facts of courageous writers like Peissel.

The Czechs are right: "learn to hate intelligently."

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