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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1976

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ANNE HIGGINS

FROM:

JIM CONNOR JEC

The attached letter was returned in the President's outbox with the following notation:

"I've read and it is truly beautiful. Write and thank him."

Please prepare an appropriate response and return to this office for signature.

cc: Dick Cheney

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney)

It's real & it is
truly beautiful.

Should we not
write & thank him?

Common

Do better

Dick

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(P)

TO: Dick Cheney

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN / Bob

COMMENTS:

The attached is an eloquent
defense of the Nixon pardon.
Keyes is a black junior fellow
in Government at Harvard,
and a true genius, in his
20's.

The President might wish
to read it, too.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

Mr. Alan L. Keyes
I-22 Winthrop House
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
July 20, 1976

To the Editor
The Boston Globe
135 Morrissey Blvd.
Boston, Mass. 02107

Dear Sir:

Enclosed you will find some thoughts on the criticism which has lately been leveled against President Ford for his pardon of former President Richard Nixon. I offer them for your consideration in the hope that you will see fit to communicate them to your readers. I must admit that I entertain little prospects for this hope, as you have displayed in the past a marked propensity to suppress views with which you disagree, especially when they come from a source that can claim no more important title than that of an American citizen. I have sent copies of my reflections and of this letter to several other newspapers and individuals. Perhaps there is among them someone who is not unwilling to let these thoughts be shared with my fellow citizens. In any event one can never feel that it is fruitless to have given thought to the best interests of his nation. I am,

Yours Truly,

Alan L. Keyes

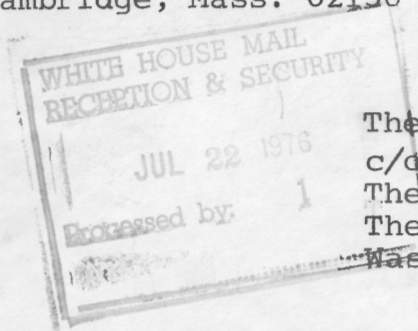
It certainly surprises noone that Jimmy Carter should attempt to use President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon as a tool in his campaign for the Presidency. No doubt it seems to him a sure means of forwarding his great personal ambition. However, the citizens of the United States would do well to consider what best serves the good of the nation as a whole, and to ask themselves whether President Ford did not show remarkable political courage and wisdom in sparing the nation a prolongation of the impeachment crisis. It is all well and good to talk of treating Richard Nixon as one would any other criminal, but it shows a decided lack of appreciation for the agony of conscience which the impeachment crisis produced in the minds of most Americans who love their country and are saddened by its troubles. Richard Nixon had been the President of the United States. He had been placed in that office by the sufferages of an overwhelming majority of the American people. The crisis of his tenure was not just a personal problem of Richard Nixon, it was a crisis for all of the American people, for their institutions and their judgement. Noone can condone the illegal and improper acts committed under Nixon's presidency, but only those who are blinded by personal ambition and partisan hunger for office can fail to see that those crimes and acts were a source of shame to the entire nation, and that they aggravated greatly the crisis of morale and confidence occasioned by the conflict in Vietnam in which President Johnson had so deeply involved the nation.

Perhaps Senator Mondale and Mr. Carter believe that the best way to have dealt with such a moral crisis would have been to offer Richard Nixon as a sacrificial scapegoat upon the altar of judicial process. But they need only reflect upon their own words to realize that it is the judicial process itself which would have been sacrificed, and with it the last refuge of institutional confidence we Americans still maintain inviolate. Where could Richard Nixon have found a fair trial? What Americans were so isolated that they did not hear of the troubles of his administration, and how many were so lacking in concern for their country and its future that they did not form a judgement on the question which at that time was central to its welfare- the guilt or innocence of President Nixon? Judging by Senator Mondale's words, he certainly had formed a judgement, and judging by his criticism of President Ford's pardon he would have been willing to see Richard Nixon brought to a trial that made a mockery of the fundamental American tradition that no one should be tried by those who have prejudged his guilt or innocence. It is as important that this tradition be maintained in regard to those whom the people have elevated to greatness, as it is that the ordinary men and women among the people themselves should enjoy its protection. Perhaps it is even more important, because the breach of principle would be all the more glaring, all the more likely to arouse indignation and mistrust, in proportion to the unparalleled celebrity of the case, and the extent to which it aroused partisan passion against

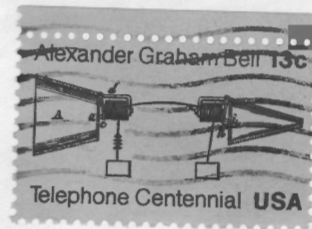
the accused, or in his favor. It is clear from the way in which the Democrats are seeking to exploit the issue today that partisan self-interest would have surrounded any attempt to bring Richard Nixon to trial; and it is even more clear that in an atmosphere of partisanship such a trial could only have added to the burden of sorrow, shame and distrust which were the legacy of that unhappy period in our affairs.

Courage is not often a virtue of sophisticated men. Whatever unwillingness there may be in some quarters to grant President Ford credit for the accomplishments of his administration; whatever disposition there may be to criticize the simplicity of his style, or the awkwardness of his speech or manner, we should realize that, in pardoning Richard Nixon, he granted a reprieve to the whole nation. It was evident at the time, and it is even more so today, that in performing this act he risked his personal political future. He made the choice that was most consistent with the good of his fellow countrymen, sparing us the spectacle of our own vindictiveness, giving us a chance to take stock of our affairs in an atmosphere free of the passion and doubt which had troubled our polity for so many years. As Alexander Hamilton once observed, there is an "odium which must always attend even upon justice itself when directed by extreme severity." It no doubt would have served the political purposes of the Democratic party had we lived for the past two years in a political climate pervaded by such odium. It might have served to forestall the revelation

Keyes
I-22 Winthrop House
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass. 02138



The President of The United States
c/o Mr. Robert Goldwin, Special Assistant
The Office of the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.



of the misdeeds of Democratic public men which have drawn our attention in recent months. We have learned that the framework for corruption which Nixon found when he came into office was an inheritance prepared by his Democratic predecessors. The Democrats would do well to remember that in the greatest crises in the affairs of a republic such as ours, no party, and indeed no citizen, is free of responsibility or likely to be untouched by blame. As the sovereign people of a free nation we are all responsible, and the hand of pardon which President Ford offered to Richard Nixon was in fact a hand of healing for us all.

I for one believe that we should take advantage of the opportunity which President Ford's simple courage has provided for us. As a nation we shall face many important choices in the years ahead, choices which may well determine the fate of free government for ages to come. Let this campaign be conducted with a view to such decisions. The indomitable personal ambition which would seek to exploit the troubles of the past to gain its object, even at the expense of the nation's calm judgement and peace of mind; such ambition is precisely what produced those troubles, and precisely what we need most of all to put behind us.

Alan L. Keyes
Cambridge, Mass. ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

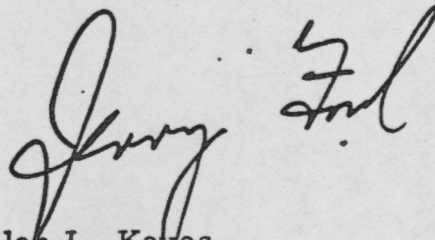
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1976

Dear Mr. Keyes:

Bob Goldwin passed along to me your eloquent defense of the Nixon pardon, and I just want you to know how deeply impressed I was by your analysis of it. I felt at the time, and I continue to feel certain that this decision was the right decision. The issue continues to be discussed, and that is why I especially appreciate your willingness to write at length, and to seek publication of your views supporting my actions.

With my best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy Ford". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name of the recipient.

Mr. Alan L. Keyes
I-22 Winthrop House
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO.:

Date: August 27, 1976

Time:

FOR ACTION:

cc (for information):

Phil Buchen

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: August 30, 1976

Time: 2 P.M.

SUBJECT:

Proposed letter to Mr. Alan L. Keyes
concerning letter regarding defense of the
Nixon pardon.

ACTION REQUESTED:

☐ For Necessary Action☐ For Your Recommendations☐ Prepare Agenda and Brief☐ Draft Reply☒ For Your Comments☐ Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

August 30, 1976

Approved.

P.W.B.
Philip W. Buchen

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a
delay in submitting the required material, please
telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

Jim Connor
For the President

Dear Mr. Keyes:

Bob Goldwin passed along to me your eloquent defense of

the Nixon pardon, and I just want you to know how ~~much~~

deeply impressed I was by ~~your~~ ^{it} ~~it~~. Your analysis ~~and~~ ^{for it}

~~insightful and meaningful for me~~ ^{felt} I was certain at the time,

and I continue to feel certain that ~~I made the right decision~~ ^{this} ~~was~~

~~the right decision~~ ^{the right decision}

~~into this~~ ~~Goldwin~~ The issue continues to be discussed, & that is why I especially appreciate your willingness to write at length and to ~~seek~~ ^{take} ~~it~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{your} ~~publication~~ ^{publication} of your views supporting my actions.

of my best wife,

gpf

arhysci

Bob Goldwin