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Reagan Birthday Video 2/6/91 [OA 6855]

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(Smith/Cawley)
January 29, 1991
8 A.M.
GIPPER

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: REAGAN VIDEO
FEBRUARY 6, 1991

Ladies and gentlemen. A woman who became the very embodiment of Great Britain -- Mrs. Thatcher, God bless you from the bottom of America's heart. Most of all, my dear friend and mentor who loved his country and served her well -- Ronald Reagan. /

From the life of Nations emerge great, even mythic, figures. Churchill. / Sadat. / Dwight Eisenhower. / Margaret Thatcher. / All showed -- as ~~was~~ said of Charles DeGaulle -- that "greatness knows no national boundaries." Each changed the course not only of their country but of history. //

So it was, and is, of the fortieth President of the United States. Some men reflect their times. Mr. President, you helped change your times. You were a visionary, a crusader, an evangelist for good. Which is why I say: They'll get you on Mt. Rushmore yet. //

Today, Ronald Reagan is eighty years old -- yet as young as the American spirit -- for America will never grow old. You often spoke of America as a "shining city on a hill" -- and helped make it so. Embodying what you described as the American song: "Hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair." //

Think of America. / You helped restore faith in our Nation -- and in ourselves. / Think of the world. You knew that human

Lixon letter to
ompidou NYT:
11-11-70
PA3

Facts About the
Presidents by
Jonathan Kane
p. 266

Jexis Doc -
New Republic
6-22-90
p. 5

Public Papers
of RR, 1985
p. 58

SOUND
STET. OK.

dignity forms the essence of democracy. So you spoke loudly, and eloquently, for freedom's values and ideals. // From Korea to Normandy, you lit the "morning star of liberty." Mr. President, you not only made ours a safer world in which to live. You made ours a far better world in which to live. //

When your favorite President died in 1945, the New York Times wrote, "Men will thank God on their knees, a hundred years from now, that Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House." It will not take 100 years -- millions do so today -- for us to thank God that you were a President who truly blessed America. //

You often talked of "winning one for the Gipper." Mr. President -- ~~my dear friend~~ -- you helped win one for freedom around the world. // *per POTUS comments*

In closing, let me end on a personal note. I want to thank you for your many kindnesses to Barbara and me. I want to thank you for your confidence. I know full well I would not be President today were it not for your vote of confidence in me eleven years ago when you chose me as your running mate. // God bless you and Mrs. Reagan. And God bless these United States of America.

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Abrond in
America:
is this to the
New Nation" by
K24C Pachter
p.127

15 Almanac, p.660

Thomas E.
Dewey & His
Times" by
Richard Norton
Smith, p.449

(Smith/Cawley)
January 11, 1991
11 A.M.
GIPPER

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Think of America. / You helped restore faith in our Nation -- and in ourselves. / Think of the world. You knew that human dignity forms the essence of democracy. So you spoke loudly, and

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Normandy, you lit the "morning star of liberty." Mr. President,

you not only made ours a safer world in which to live. You made

ours a far better world in which to live. //

For that, Mr. President, future generations will revere you.

But if you'll forgive me, I would like to close on a personal

note. I have known many individuals in my career of public

service. I have never known a better friend, or inspiration. No

man could have been kinder -- no loyalty more abiding. No one

could have taught me more about the idea we call America. //

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Times wrote, "A hundred years from now men will get down on their

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Abroad in
America"; Visitors
to the New Nation
by Marc Pachter
p. 127

AS Almanac, p. 660

Thomas E.
Zwney & His
Times
by Richard
Lipton Smith
p. 449

(Smith/Cawley)
January 11, 1991
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So it was, and is, of Ronald Wilson Reagan. You were not America's master of ceremonies. You became the world's master of events -- a visionary, crusader, an evangelist for good. Which is why I say: Mr. President, we'll get you on Mt. Rushmore yet. //

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Kossuth

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Abroad in America - p.127

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USA Almanac p.660

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del

Thomas E. Dewey & His Richard Nixon Smith 7449

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11:00 - Index

"Men will thank God on their knees, a hundred years from now, that Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House."

NYT

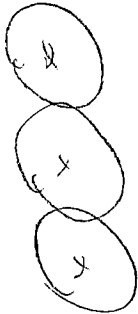


FDR

Ayde Park

914 229 8835

Wm R. Emerson



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

1 13 91

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Dave Demarest

I don't know what the deadline
is but I think
we better wait a little
to see how world events
play out.

Also, Margaret Thatcher
will be there so we need a little more
on her.

Get deadline date and let's
work back from that

gb .

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-14-91

(Smith/Cawley)

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Close on personal note
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 I know full well I would not be
 where it not for your vote & confidence

President who was my hero

in the 13 years ago
when you chose me as
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World Leaders, Wartime Allies and Former Enemies

'Last Giant' of War Era Is Eulogized by Brandt

World leaders, World War II allies and former enemies joined today in an emotional outpouring of tribute to Charles de Gaulle.

Flags were ordered flown at half-staff from West Germany to the Ivory Coast, and many heads of state, led by President Nixon, announced that they would fly to Paris to attend funeral services.

Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany, in a television and radio eulogy, described de Gaulle as "the last giant of the war and postwar years" who had helped to end the century-old enmity between France and Germany.

Hundreds of West Germans were reported to have telephoned or telegraphed French consulates and the French Embassy in Bonn to express their condolences.

In a message to President Pompidou, Queen Elizabeth II said de Gaulle's "courage and tenacity in the allied cause during the dark years of the Second World War will never be forgotten."

It was announced in London that Prince Charles would represent the Queen at the memorial service tomorrow in Paris and Prime Minister Heath would represent the Government.

Mr. Heath, who was the Common Market negotiator for Britain when de Gaulle vetoed Britain's membership application, called him "a great statesman and leader," who personified the unconquerable spirit of France.

Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery said that France lost her soul in the Nazi invasion of 1940 and "General de Gaulle gave it back to her."

President Nixon wrote personal letters to Mrs. de Gaulle and to President Pompidou. He said de Gaulle had "the quality of vision that could see the grand sweep of history at a time when others focused on the events of the moment."

Former President Lyndon B. Johnson issued a statement at his Texas ranch saying, "One of the great world leaders of our time has gone. Mrs. Johnson and I extend our deepest sympathy to his family and to the people of France."

Former President Harry S. Truman sent a personal message of sympathy.

Pope Paul VI sent a telegram to Mr. Pompidou, expressing

"our sad condolences to your excellency and to all those who are affected by this sudden passing of a great exponent of our contemporary history."

Tribute also came from Algeria, the country whose violent struggle for independence helped bring de Gaulle back to power over a decade ago. In a message of condolence to Mr. Pompidou, the Algerian President Houari Boumediene described the general as "an exceptional patriot who, having assumed the tragic destiny of France, was able to conquer again."

Heads of former French colonies in West Africa also remembered de Gaulle as the man who had helped give them their freedom.

Senegal's President, Léopold Sédar Senghor, recalled that de Gaulle "enabled us, without bloodshed or argument, to realize our ideal of national independence and friendly cooperation with France."

In the Ivory Coast, President Félix Houphouët-Boigny declared eight days of official mourning.

President Hubert Maga of Dahomey declared that "de Gaulle was one of the world's most illustrious men, ranking with Louis XIV and Napoleon."

Both Arab and Israeli leaders offered tribute.

Lebanese Premier Saeb Salam, said, "The Arabs have lost a great friend and a firm supporter of their cause." King Hussein of Jordan, in a cablegram to President Pompidou, said de Gaulle had shown understanding of "the just Arab cause."

Former Premier David Ben Gurion of Israel said de Gaulle "was never an enemy of Israel" and called him "the greatest French leader of the 20th century."

The Soviet Premier, Aleksei Kosygin and the Party General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev sent a message expressing "profound condolences." It said "the name of General de Gaulle is inseparable for all Soviet people from the joint struggle of the Soviet Union and France in the grim years of the Second World War."

The message also praised de Gaulle's "big contribution to the cause of developing relations of friendship and cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and France."

General's Instructions For a Simple Funeral

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Nov. 10—Following is the text of a letter written by Charles de Gaulle on Jan. 16, 1952, expressing his wishes for his funeral. Sealed copies were given to the general's family and to President Pompidou, who was a long-time aide of the general.

I want my funeral to take place at Colombey-les-Deux-Églises.

If I die elsewhere, my body must be transported to my home without the least public

music or band or funeral call.

No speech may be delivered, either at the church or elsewhere. No funeral oration in Parliament. No place reserved during the cere-



ALGERIA—1958: Three days after he returned to public life to become Premier, General de Gaulle was greeted with a tumultuous welcome from Europeans there. But many French Algerians turned against the general.

De Gaulle's Words: Defiant

From Speeches

Has the last word been spoken? Must hope disappear? Is the defeat final? No. Believe me—I who speak to you in full awareness and tell you that nothing is lost for France. The same means that have conquered us can bring victory one day. Whatever happens, the flame of French resistance must not go out and shall not go out.—Speech on British Broadcasting Corporation, June 18, 1940.

Democracy, for me, precisely corresponds to national sovereignty. Democracy is the government of the people exercising its sovereignty without hindrance.—News conference in London, May 27, 1942.

It was dark yesterday. But this evening there is light. Frenchwomen, Frenchmen, help me.—Radio speech on June 27, 1958, on return to power.

Well, my dear old country, here we are together then, once again facing a heavy trial. By virtue of the mandate that the people gave me and of the national legitimacy that I have incarnated for 20 years, I call upon all men and all women to support me, whatever happens.—Appeal broadcast during military uprising in Algiers on Jan. 29, 1960.

I'll tell you what will happen when de Gaulle is gone. Well, I'll tell you this, which may explain which way we intend to move: what is to be feared, in my way of thinking, after the event about which I'm talking, is not a political vacuum, it is rather an overflow.—News conference, May 25, 1962.

The new Republic has its President. It's I. Here I am, such as I am. I don't say that I'm perfect and that I'm not as old as I am. I don't at all claim to know everything nor to be capable of everything. I know better than anybody that I must have successors and that the nation must choose them so that they follow the same line. But history has conferred upon me, along with the

world—on an indisputable monetary basis, which bears the mark of no country in particular. Which basis? In truth, one does not see that there could really be a criterion, a standard, other than gold.—News conference, Feb. 4, 1965.

Unless the universe is to head toward catastrophe, only a political accord could re-establish peace. The conditions of such an agreement being clear and well known, it is still time to hope. Just as the one in 1954, the agreement would have as its purpose to re-establish and guarantee the neutrality of the peoples of Indochina and their right to self-determination... allowing each of them the entire responsibility of their affairs. The contracting parties would therefore be the real powers that are functioning and among the other states, at least the five world powers. But the possibility and, even more, the opening of such a vast and difficult negotiation would of course depend on the decision and the commitment that America would have previously been willing to take to repatriate her forces in a reasonable and fixed time.—Speech in Phnompenh, Cambodia, Sept. 1, 1966.

Vive le Québec libre!—Cry to crowd in Montreal, July 24, 1967.

From Memoirs

France comes from the depths of the ages. She lives, the centuries call to her. But she remains herself throughout time.

All my life, I have built a certain idea of France. Sentiment as well as reason inspires it. The emotional side of me naturally imagines France as the princess of the fairy tales or the Madonna of the frescoes, as though dedicated to a lofty and exceptional destiny. In short, in my view, France cannot be France without grandeur.

In France, it has always been through war that the Merovingians, the Carolingians, the Capetians, the Bonapartes and the Third Republic received and lost supreme authority. That which, in the depths of disaster, was invested in me was recognized

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NOV

Memorial at Notre Dame



Robert Capa from "Images of War," copyright 1964
1944, after the Germans surrendered the city to Allies

Nixon Goes To Services Tomorrow

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

In addition, Mr. Ziegler said the President has invited General de Gaulle's grandson Charles de Gaulle to accompany him to Paris aboard Air Force One. The grandson has been in New York since last week.

Earlier today, the White House released the following statement from the President:

"The passing of General de Gaulle reminds us of the qualities that make men and nations great. His was the quality of character that enables men to surmount all obstacles, to call up reserves of courage, to turn adversity into triumph.

"His was the quality of vision that could see the grand sweep of history at a time when others focused on the events of the moment. He provided inspiration to an age in danger of being overwhelmed by the commonplace and, therefore, his passing is a loss not only for the French nation but for all mankind."

Sends Letter in Addition

The President expressed many of the same sentiments in a letter to President Pompidou, in which he said he had been "shocked and grieved at the passing" of a man whom he described as a "steadfast ally in war and a true friend in peace."

"Greatness," the President continued in the letter, "knows no national boundaries, and therefore France's loss is the loss of mankind."

Mr. Nixon's decision to attend the memorial services forced him to curtail a "working vacation" here and postpone a luncheon for Luis Echeverria Alvarez, President-elect of Mexico, scheduled for Thursday. The luncheon has been rescheduled for Friday at the White House.

Mr. Nixon met de Gaulle several times and their relations were cordial. The warmest meeting was on Feb. 28, 1969, when the two men had a long, friendly talk during a visit in Paris by Mr. Nixon. De Gaulle subsequently told his Cabinet that the visit had deepened their personal and political relations.

While Vice President, Mr. Nixon met de Gaulle and in his book "Six Crises" recalls a talk in April, 1960, in which de Gaulle "commented philosophically on the fact that he was one of those rare individuals who was seeing some of his greatest days late in life."

Mr. Nixon while a private citizen visited de Gaulle occasionally in the sixties and during that period de Gaulle was quoted as predicting that Mr. Nixon was a "man with a great future."

Grandson Studying Here

A spokesman for the accounting firm of Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., 345 Park Avenue, said yesterday

able Relations With U.S.

tribute anything good for... however, if an international... ite can be brought about... will no longer be any... n for a permanent United... s fleet stationed in the... terranean. And at that... that would reduce the... n for the presence of a... t fleet."

the question how long... rican troops should remain... rope, he said: "Until there... real East-West detente... obviously normal to keep... rican troops in Germany... if there is a real detente... e would be no more reason... such detachments except... symbolic units. But the... that you have troops in... many now does not irritate... so have we."

Conversation in Moscow

he general was reminded... the official Soviet account... his conversations with Sta... in December, 1944, quoted... as saying: "French policy... pels Frenchmen to desire... t of all mutual-assistance... t with the Soviet Union,"... ed if that was still true, he... wered:

"When Germany is a danger... i. If there is a German dan... e, we would have to have an... lance. You must remember... w much both Russia and... nce suffered from Germany... Germany were to become a... power militarily, economi... lly and in a nuclear sense,

system, he spoke for a few... moments in a way that sug... gested that he was getting ju... st beyond his depth. He conf... essed rather disarmingly: "Of... course, you know, I am not a... great expert on these things."

Nevertheless, he plunged... ahead, speaking of gold as the... world criterion for the balance... of payments between states... and saying that a common... value must be agreed upon... Obviously, he added, its value... has to be increased.

Neutral Stance in Mideast

Again discussing the Middle... East, he indicated that the... French considered themselves... neutral as between the Israelis... and the Arabs, in the sense that... they would support either side... if attacked by the other. "In... 1967 I told Israel not to attack,"... he recalled. "I also told the same... to the Arabs. We told both... sides that we would hold either... one responsible if it attacked... the other."

A question about Nigeria and... the Biafran civil war, then... going on, led to a discussion... of Canada.

"There is a French people... there," he said. "They do not... want to be anything else. There... is also an English people, and... in the West there is a people... that is almost American."

"They must make up their... own union on the basis of re... ciprocical engagements on such... things as defense or currency,

World Leaders, W

'Last Giant' of War Era Is Eulogized by Brandt

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Former Premier David... Gurion of Israel said de... "was never an enemy... Israel" and called him... greatest French leader o... 20th century."

The Soviet Premier, A... Kosygin and the Party G... Secretary Leonid I. Bre... sent a message expressing... found condolences." It sa... name of General de Gau... inseparable for all Soviet... from the joint struggle... of Soviet Union and France... grim years of the Second... War."

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my friend
Margaret Thatcher - do better do
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good ideas to make
practical

(Smith/Cawley)
January 14, 1991
8 A.M.
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Lincoln

From the life of Nations emerge great, even mythic, figures. Churchill. / Sadat. / Dwight Eisenhower. / ^{Ms. Thatcher} ~~Margaret Thatcher.~~ / All showed -- as was said of Charles DeGaulle -- that "greatness knows no national boundaries." Each changed the course not only of their country but of history. //

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Today, Ronald Reagan is eighty years old -- yet as young as the American spirit -- for America will never grow old. You often spoke of America as a "shining city on a hill" -- and helped make it so. Embodying what you described as the American song: "Hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair." //

Think of America. / You helped restore faith in our Nation -- and in ourselves. / Think of the world. You knew that human dignity forms the essence of democracy. So you spoke loudly, and

eloquently, for freedom's values and ideals. // From Korea to Normandy, you lit the "morning star of liberty." Mr. President, you not only made ours a safer world in which to live. You made ours a far better world in which to live. //

For that, Mr. President, future generations will revere you. But if you'll forgive me, I would like to close on a personal note. I have known many individuals in my career of public service. I have never known a better friend, or inspiration. No man could have been kinder -- no loyalty more abiding. No one could have taught me more about the idea we call America. //

When your favorite President died in 1945, the New York Times wrote, "Men will thank God on their knees, a hundred years from now, that Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House." It will not take 100 years -- millions do so today -- for us to thank God that you were a President who truly blessed America. //

You often talked of "winning one for the Gipper." Mr. President -- my dear friend -- you helped win one for freedom around the world. // God bless you and Mrs. Reagan. And God bless these United States of America.

#

Leave as a personal note.
 In closing, I want to thank you for your many kindnesses to Barbara and me. I want to thank you for your confidence. I know full well I would not be President today were it not for your trust and confidence in me eleven years ago when you chose me as your running mate.

January 14, 1991

MEMORANDUM

TO: CHRISS WINSTON
 CURT SMITH

FROM: CAROLYN CAWLEY *cc*

RE: REAGAN BIRTHDAY VIDEO REMARKS

p.1/para.2:

Curt, I can not find this quote about De Gaulle anywhere. Did you have any luck over the weekend? If not, how about substituting one of these Nixon quotes:

"...the quality of vision that could see the grand sweep of history at a time when others focused on the events of the moment."

-- RN in a personal letter to Mrs. De Gaulle and President Pompidou upon the death of De Gaulle on November 11, 1970

-- this quote fits right in the context of the paragraph as it now reads.

"Greatness knows no national boundaries...."

-- RN in a personal letter to President Pompidou. November 11, 1970

p.2/para.2:

Re: NYT on FDR --

The quote should read:

"Men will thank God on their knees, a hundred years from now, that Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House."

593-1532

To: Stephanie
Blessey
fr: Dr.

Dr. Elmer Bako
810 Loxford Terrace
Silver Spring, Md. 20901

Abroad in America:

Visitors to the New Nation

1776-1914

Edited and with an Introduction by

MARC PACHTER, *Historian*

National Portrait Gallery

Co-edited by

FRANCES STEVENSON WEIN, *Editor*

National Portrait Gallery

Published in association with the

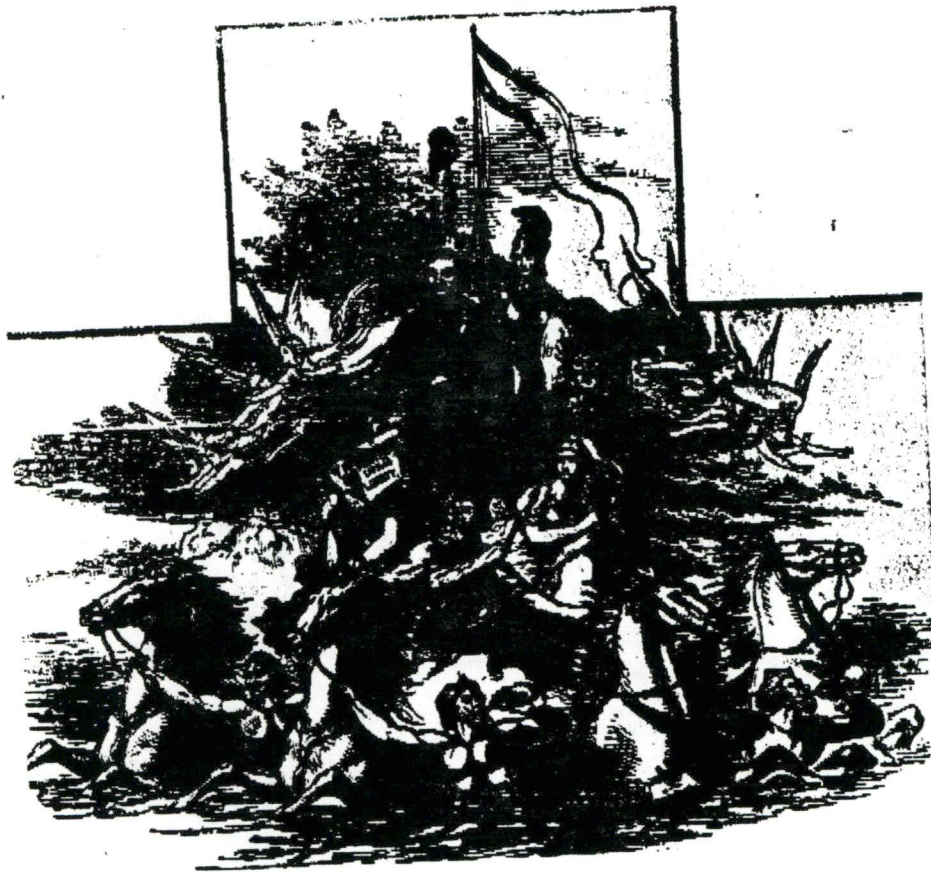
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Amsterdam · Don Mills, Ontario · Sydney*





Kossuth Attended by the Spirits of Freedom and History and the Guardian Genius of Hungary, with his Own Good Angel Calmly Bearing him through Space to America, by an unidentified artist, wood engraving, from Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion, December 27, 1851. The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

In December 1851, Kossuth sailed into the New York harbor a hero. Americans, feeling a kinship with the Hungarians in their effort to win freedom and constitutional liberty, hoped to see, in the words of Daniel Webster, an "American model at the Lower Danube."

The United States of America . . . declared by this unparalleled act their resolve to become the protectors of human rights. . . . Others spoke, you acted, and I was free! . . . At this act of yours tyrants trembled, humanity shouted with joy, the Magyar nation, crushed but not broken, raised its head with resolution and with hope, and the brilliancy of your stars was greeted by Europe's oppressed millions as the morning star of liberty.

Kossuth had his official welcome two days later when he was escorted by a deputation of prominent New Yorkers aboard the steamer *Vanderbilt*, amidst the salvos of the nearby forts and the cheers of the throngs on nearby ships. Castle Garden was filled with thousands of people, waiting for the procession which formed at the Battery. As the procession moved up Broadway, Kossuth, standing up in an open carriage, his feathered Hungarian hat (soon very fashionable wear for many thousands of liberal Americans, and called a "Kossuth hat") in his right hand, escorted by some of his Hun-

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JOSEPH NATHAN KANE

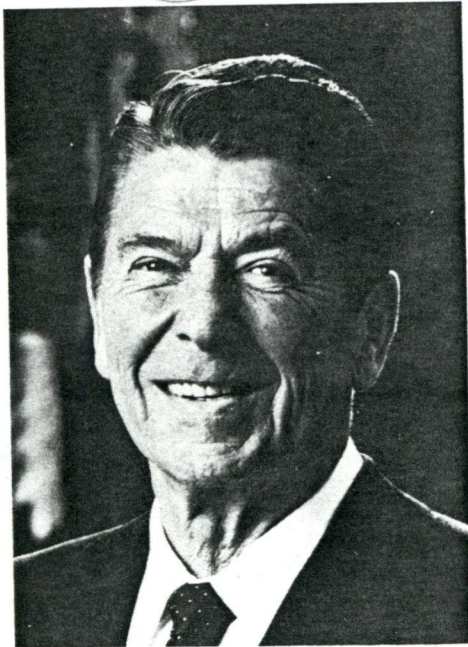
Facts About the Presidents

A COMPILATION OF
BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL
INFORMATION

Fifth Edition

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY
NEW YORK
1989

40th PRESIDENT



Michael Evans. The White House

Ronald Reagan

RONALD WILSON REAGAN

BORN Feb. 6, 1911
BIRTHPLACE Tampico, Ill.
COLLEGE ATTENDED Eureka College, Eureka, Ill.
DATE OF GRADUATION June 7, 1932, four-year course, B.A. degree (sociology and economics)
RELIGION Episcopalian
ANCESTRY English-Scots-Irish
OCCUPATION Motion picture actor, corporate spokesman, state governor
DATE AND PLACE OF FIRST MARRIAGE January 24, 1940, Glendale, Calif.
AGE AT MARRIAGE 28 years, 352 days
DATE OF DIVORCE July 19, 1949 (final decree)

YEARS MARRIED 9 years, 176 days
DATE AND PLACE OF SECOND MARRIAGE Mar. 4, 1952, Los Angeles, Calif.
AGE AT SECOND MARRIAGE 41 years, 26 days
POLITICAL PARTY Republican
STATE REPRESENTED California
TERM OF OFFICE Jan. 20, 1981-Jan. 20, 1989
TERM SERVED 8 years
ADMINISTRATION 49th, 50th
CONGRESSES 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th
AGE AT INAUGURATION 69 years, 349 days
OCCUPATION AFTER TERM Retired; author

PARENTS

FATHER John Edward Reagan
BORN July 13, 1883, Fulton, Ill.
MARRIED 1904, Fulton, Ill.
OCCUPATION Shoe salesman
DIED May 18, 1941, Hollywood, Calif.

AGE AT DEATH 57 years, 309 days
MOTHER Nelle Clyde Wilson Reagan
BORN July 24, 1885, Fulton, Ill.
DIED July 25, 1962, Santa Monica, Calif.
AGE AT DEATH 77 years, 1 day

For additional data see the end of this section and also specific subject headings in the index

BI

Ronald Wilson Reagan
Children of John Edward Wilson Reagan
 (John) Neil Reagan, b. Ronald Wilson Reagan

CF

By first wife, Jane Wynn
 Maureen Elizabeth Reagan, b. 1917, Los Angeles, Calif.; m. John D.C.; m. David Sills, Calif.; m. Dennis F. Hills, Calif.
 Michael Edward Reagan, b. 1918, Los Angeles, Calif.; m. Pamela Putnam, 1975, Paris

By second wife, Nancy
 Patricia Ann Reagan Davis, b. Oct. 21, 1928, Los Angeles, Calif.; m. Ronald (Skip) Prescott, New York City

MRS. RONALD

THE ELECTION OF

NOMINATIONS FOR

Republican Party Con

July 14-17, 1980, Joe Nominated for Presi Calif.

Nominated for Vic Walker Bush, Tex.

Reagan was nominated for nomination

Ronald Wilson Reagan

John Bayard Anderson

George Herbert Walker Bush

Anne Legendre Armstrong

Abstentions, 4

Total number of votes

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Democratic Party Con

Aug. 11-14, 1980, York, N.Y.

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Mondale, Minn.

Carter was nominated for nomination and

Jimmy Carter, Ga., Edward Moore Kennedy

William Proxmire, Wis. Koryne Hobal, Minn. Scott Milne Matheson

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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October 22, 1990

SECTION: Vol. 203; No. 17; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 1077 words

HEADLINE: Docutrama; TRB - American foreign policy

BYLINE: Kinsley, Michael

BODY:

It was hard to watch the Civil War series on PBS without thinking: Please, let's not have a war in the Persian Gulf. When I read in The Washington Post that local stores had been running out of blank videotape, I figured that Ken Burns's justly hyped documentary had given Saddam Hussein a good three extra months to come to his senses. I hope I'm right.

But there was a second reaction as well. The series would not have been as gripping if it merely portrayed the war as a hell of slaughter. There was also a sense of sharing in an epic drama, a sense that the actual participants on both sides had as well. For most of those who survived--and most did survive--the Civil War was the most important event in their lives. In fact, it was one of the main things that gave their lives meaning. The TV series emphasizes this. Almost its very first lines are a quotation from Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.: "We have shared in the incommunicable experience of war. We have felt, we will feel, the passion of life to its top . . . In our youths, our hearts were touched by fire."

This second reaction--almost of envy for those who lived through the Civil War--also has implications for the current foreign policy debate. Do we, as a nation, need great purposes in the world? Opposition to war in the Persian Gulf has been monopolized by a newly resurgent right-wing isolationism of the pre-world War II variety. Even before August 2, the innate American skepticism of foreign entanglements" (George Washington) was being exploited by those who oppose not merely bloodshed but any "extra-national ideal" such as promoting democracy or ending hunger that "treats our Republic as a means to some larger end" (Patrick Buchanan).

The death of communism gives these conservatives a chance to complete the vision they are pleased to call "nationalism" but which is in fact a vision of a passive nation, both domestically and internationally. It is the job of society, through the government, to protect America from incoming missiles, to keep the streets safe and free of potholes, and to enforce norms of sexual behavior and expression. That's about it. They see nothing spiritually ennobling about larger national goals.

The desire to lay down the weary burdens of the cold war, and resentment over the refusal of wealthy allies to pull their own weight, are both legitimate. It is typical of the Democrats to have fumbled the issue of "burden sharing," which has been there for the taking for years. But the conservative isolationists retreat too far.

Americans want to live in history. They want their lives to have meaning beyond having lived, prospered amid family and friends, and died at a ripe

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age. To be sure, throughout history most people have gotten more history than they wanted: wars and other plagues that denied them the comforts of normal life. Part of America's blessing, emphasized by leaders since Washington, has been a geographical exemption from most of this kind of history. The Civil War is the great exception. But a hunger for history helps to explain our fascination with the Civil War.

Francis Fukuyama has been rightly mocked for declaring last year that history was over. But he was shrewd and correct to observe that without history, life would be boring. And he was honest to note within himself "a powerful nostalgia" for reasons to live "that called forth daring, courage, imagination, and idealism." The PBS Civil War series sent conflicting messages: war is hell, but struggling for a great cause (even the wrong cause) is grand.

One tremendously appealing thing about Israel, to Americans who visit there, is that here is a country full of people very much like us—modern, middle class, educated—who are nevertheless living in history. They don't have to waste time pondering the purpose of life. They are inventing a nation. And they are dramatically at risk every day, no matter how normal the day seems otherwise. We American visitors are hypocrites, of course: we could trade places, but don't. Still.

While today's Republicans seem to have no interest in anything between bellicosity on the one hand and national passivity on the other, the challenge and opportunity for Democrats is to find alternatives that satisfy both the craving for peace and the craving for crusade. Yes, William James and Jimmy Carter: the moral equivalent of war. This is what Democrats are sometimes pleased to call a "basic human need." There are extreme libertarians who want to privatize the potholes, who oppose national endeavor, foreign or domestic, as an infringement on individual freedom, and who are deeply suspicious of any talk of national purpose as potentially fascistic. But even they would find their lives quite empty if the great campaign they are dedicating themselves to were suddenly won.

Ronald Reagan did not mind treating our Republic as a means to some larger end. He understood that Americans like to have a sense of national purpose. Thus his endless references to America as "the last, best hope of mankind" and "a shining city on a hill." But Reagan refused to call upon Americans as individuals to do anything more than sit there and shine. George Bush, by inaugurating our biggest "foreign entanglement" since Vietnam from his golf cart at Kennebunkport, found the perfect expression of our hypocritical desire to be in history and eat it too. Unfortunately, the adventure he started probably can't be completed without interrupting the golf game.

There are missions for America in the world that don't require bloodshed. There are ways to feed the hunger for national purpose that neither recklessly ask for too much sacrifice nor fatuously ask for none at all. Democrats used to be good at this sort of thing. The Marshall Plan and the Peace Corps are two stellar examples.

The hunger for larger purpose is a refined appetite, arguably even a decadent one. The people of Eastern Europe are thrilled to anticipate a time when they can turn their backs on politics and enjoy the boredom and comfort of bourgeois life. But at the ends of their lives they will still look back on the struggles leading up to and following the year 1989, as Oliver Wendell Holmes looked

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back on the Civil War, as the great adventure of their lives. Will today's Americans have anything like that to look back on? Maybe the Persian Gulf. But let's hope we can find something better-more noble and less costly-than that.

MICHAEL KINSLEY

TYPE:

column

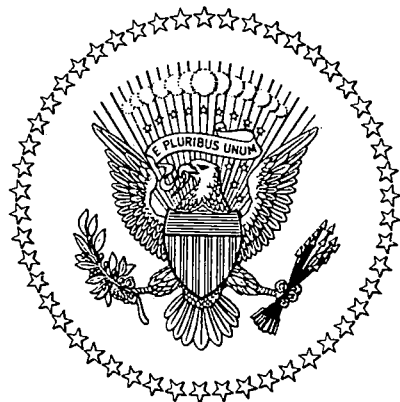
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Intervention (International law), Political aspects; Military policy, Analysis; Armed forces in foreign countries, American, Public opinion

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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan



1985

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 28, 1985

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1988

self-determination, for those inalienable rights that make for human dignity and progress.

America must remain freedom's staunchest friend, for freedom is our best ally and it is the world's only hope to conquer poverty and preserve peace. Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war. Every victory for human freedom will be a victory for world peace.

So, we go forward today, a nation still mighty in its youth and powerful in its purpose. With our alliances strengthened, with our economy leading the world to a new age of economic expansion, we look to a future rich in possibilities. And all of this is because we worked and acted together, not as members of political parties but as Americans.

My friends, we live in a world that's lit by lightning. So much is changing and will change, but so much endures and transcends time.

History is a ribbon, always unfurling. History is a journey. And as we continue our journey, we think of those who traveled before us. We stand again at the steps of this symbol of our democracy—well, we would have been standing at the steps if it hadn't gotten so cold. [Laughter] Now we're standing inside this symbol of our democracy, and we see and hear again the

echoes of our past: a general falls to his knees in the hard snow of Valley Forge; a lonely President paces the darkened halls and ponders his struggle to preserve the Union; the men of the Alamo call out encouragement to each other; a settler pushes west and sings a song, and the song echoes out forever and fills the unknowing air.

It is the American sound. It is hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair. That's our heritage, that's our song. We sing it still. For all our problems, our differences, we are together as of old. We raise our voices to the God who is the Author of this most tender music. And may He continue to hold us close as we fill the world with our sound—in unity, affection, and love—one people under God, dedicated to the dream of freedom that He has placed in the human heart, called upon now to pass that dream on to a waiting and hopeful world.

God bless you, and God bless America.

Note: The President spoke at 11:49 a.m. in the Rotunda of the Capitol. Prior to his address, the President repeated the oath of office, again administered by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, which he had taken on January 20. The Inaugural ceremony was originally scheduled to take place on the West Portico of the Capitol, but was held inside due to the extremely cold weather in Washington.

Remarks at the Inaugural Luncheon at the Capitol January 21, 1985

The President. I'm not trying to play Dean Martin. [Laughter]

Senator Mathias, honorable Members of the House, and distinguished guests, and Members of the Senate, of course.

This has been an historic day, and it's not over yet. Together, we mark the end of one term and the beginning of another. And I want each of you to know how grateful I am for all that you've done—all the energy and personal commitment that you have mustered in these last 4 years to make our

system work.

In the shifting alliances of a free government, we in this room have been intense allies on some issues, while disagreeing on others. But I think the level of respect and courtesy with which we've treated each other speaks well for us and confirms the viability of this great democratic system which is now in our care.

There's been quite a few Inaugurations in my lifetime. I missed Abe Lincoln's but—[laughter]—I do remember Calvin Cool-

idge's. [Laughter] other party at the and respected. I days.

His Inaugural progress represents t In all legislative a collaborator with all the criticism w do not hesitate to independent and in the world. It is its prerogatives. I and expect to sh responsibility bu common effort to tion." Calvin Cool

Well, I hope v that same spirit. desk in the offic believe, and that a man can acco he can do and doesn't care who

So, I hope in come that we ca challenges of our much we can acc good will and coc

We're very gra And may I offer the Members of t who are here wit President this co Bush, and to the

Thank you ver Senator Mathi publican leader c tives, Bob Miche Representative

Mr. President Speaker, and Mr and ladies and g

Four years a President one of used in opening lots that came in

We'd like to addition to giv

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Richard Norton Smith

THOMAS E. DEWEY
AND HIS TIMES



SIMON and SCHUSTER
New York

S TIMES

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 ie responsibility for abol-
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Governor's thirty-day pe-
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 to a convulsive grief that

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS

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would not be matched until John Kennedy was shot down in Dallas eighteen years later. Even the formal tributes, those strait-jacketed sentiments that come from the lips of the mighty at such times, were unguarded. Robert Taft meant every word when he described FDR as "the greatest figure of our time." The *New York Times* spoke for millions of Americans when it predicted, "Men will thank God on their knees, a hundred years from now, that Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House."

Dewey could not go that far. He did wire condolences to the widow, and wrote out a note of sympathetic support to the new chief executive. He pledged his loyalty and help "in every action you may take in the interest of the winning of the war and the establishment of a sound and permanent peace." Truman replied warmly, admitting that his new job was "a terrific responsibility" and transmitting through his appointments secretary assurances that the presidential latchstring would always be out. Truman expressed a desire to become better acquainted, and Dewey replied that he would be "happy indeed" to see the President and discuss anything "affecting the welfare of our society." He signed his letter "with expressions of high esteem and kindest personal regards."¹³

On April 14, Dewey sat in the East Room of the White House, near Anthony Eden, Chief Justice Hughes, and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, while the dead President was eulogized in a simple Episcopal service.

Dewey's thoughts were less reflective than anticipatory. From Chicago, his cousin Leonard Reid wrote of meeting Vice President Truman at a St. Patrick's Day celebration there, and being impressed by the modest, straightforward man from Missouri, whom some Republicans were already likening to Calvin Coolidge. Some 87 percent of the American people approved of their new leader, according to George Gallup. Jim Farley was one. "Truman has his feet on the ground," the old pro wrote five days after the succession, "and I feel sure he will be all right. Of course, he has some terrific problems facing him."¹⁴ "While it may be bad news for the Republican party," Dewey said of Truman's apparent success, "it will be wonderful for the country, and that is what we are all interested in."

Farley underestimated the extent of the difficulties that peace would bring. Only the most gifted of seers could have foreseen the start of the Cold War between the U.S. and Soviet Russia, as the Soviets broke most of their pledges made at Yalta, airily dismissed the idea of free elections in their new satellites, and went about the business of fomenting unrest and political instability inside the