



“There is a great deal of goodness in this country, a great deal of moral strength and fiber still left, and that, in the end, is what really matters.”

*His Hopes, Promises, Dreams
and Fears* — *In His Own Words*

"Nobody is a friend of ours. Let's face it! Don't worry about that sort of thing."

—March 13, 1973

"No, I tell you this it is the last gasp of our hardest opponents. They've just got to have something to squeal about it."

—March 13, 1973

"... I believe in playing politics hard, but I am also smart."

—March 27, 1973

"I mean, after all, it is my job and I don't want the presidency tarnished, but also I am a law enforcement man."

—April 14, 1973

"I want the most comprehensive notes on all those who tried to do us in. They didn't have to do it. If we had had a very close election and they were playing the other side I would understand this. No—they were doing this quite deliberately and they are asking for it and they are going to get it. We have not used the power in this first four years as you know. We have never used it. We have not used the Bureau [FBI] and we have not used the Justice Department but things are going to change now. And they are going to do it right or go."

—Sept. 15, 1972

"You really can't sit and worry about it all the time. The worst may happen but it may not. So you just try to button it up as well as you can and hope for the best, and remember basically the damn business is unfortunately trying to cut our losses."

—Sept. 15, 1972

"You can't do it [grant clemency] politically until after the '74 elections, that's for sure. Your point is that even then you couldn't do it... No—it is wrong that's for sure."

—March 21, 1973

"That's why for your immediate things you have no choice but to come up with the \$120,000, or whatever it is. Right? ... Would you agree that that's the prime thing that you damn well better get that done?"

—March 21, 1973

"Well, the point is, whatever we say about Harry Truman, et cetera, while it hurt him a lot of people admired the old bastard for standing by people... who were guilty as hell... and damn it I am that kind of person. I am not one who is going to say, look, while this guy is under attack, I drop him."

—April 14, 1973

"Take a hard line... Anything on that they better watch their damned cotton picking faces. Because boy, if there's one thing in this case as Henry [Petersen] will tell you, since March 21st when I had that conversation with Dean, I have broken my ass to try to get the facts of this case."

—April 27, 1973

"I don't know what we can do. The people who are most disturbed about this (unintelligible) are the (adjective deleted) Republicans. A lot of these congressmen, financial contributors, et cetera, are highly moral. The Democrats are just sort of saying, (expletive deleted) fun and games!"

—Feb. 28, 1973

"The next President must unite America. He must calm its angers, ease its terrible frictions, and bring its people together once again in peace and mutual respect. He has to take hold of America before he can move it forward."

"This requires leadership that believes in law, and has the courage to enforce it; leadership that believes in justice, and is determined to promote it; leadership that believes in progress, and knows how to inspire it."

—Sept. 19, 1968

“I do want you to know that—the members of the press—that I am very proud of our White House staff . . . “It is a remarkable staff, remarkable in its quality, in its devotion. I was going to say also in its youth, apart from its years, it at least has the vigor, the determination, the imagination of youth, and . . . the boldness of youth . . .

“I want the members of the press to hear this. I believe it very strongly. It is a devoted staff, an intelligent staff, with a very high I.Q. and with a much higher, if that is possible, D.Q., a dedication quotient. And the I.Q. sometimes can come out of a university or a college or out of your own background. . . . But, on the other hand, that dedication quotient can only come from your hearts, from the fact that you really believe in this country, you believe in what this administration is trying to do for this country, and you are willing to give that extra hour or hours of devotion so that we can get it done. I just hope we don't let you down . . .”

—Jan. 20, 1971

“Don't get the impression that you arouse my anger. You see, one can only be angry with those he respects.”

—Oct. 26, 1973

“Now that all the members of the press are so delighted I lost, I'd like to make a statement . . . You've had a lot of opportunity to attack me, and I think I've given as good as I've taken . . . Just think how much you'll be missing. You won't have Nixon to kick around any more. Because this is my last press conference.”

—Nov. 7, 1962

“The difference now . . . is the electronic media. I have never heard or seen such outrageous, vicious, distorted reporting in 27 years of public life. I am not blaming anybody for that. Perhaps what happened is that what we did brought it about . . .”

—Oct. 26, 1973

“I have never taken on a member of the press individually. I have never called a publisher since I have been President. I have never called an editor to complain about anything. I have never called a television station to complain about it, and I never shall, as long as I have the opportunity to talk to the American people on a program like this directly. Then if I fail to communicate, it is my fault.”

—March 22, 1971

“ . . . The only way justice can truly be done in any society, is for each member of that society to subject himself to the rule of law—neither to set himself above the law in the name of justice, nor to set himself outside the law in the name of justice.”

—March 11, 1971

“America stood for spiritual and moral values that far transcended the strength and the wealth of the nations of the Old World. “And that is what we all want America to be on its 200th anniversary, not just big, not just strong, and not just rich, but a good country in every sense of the word—good at home, good in our relations with other nations and the world . . . There is a great deal of goodness in this country, a great deal of moral strength and fiber still left in this country and that, in the end, is what really matters.”

—Feb. 2, 1971

“I think eventually the entire tape will be made available, and as far as I am concerned, when any individual who is looking at it objectively . . . will conclude, first, that the President had no knowledge before the 21st . . . second, that the President never authorized clemency . . . and third, that the President never authorized the payment of money to the defendants for the purpose of hushing them up.”

—March 6, 1974

“Let me explain very carefully that the principle of confidentiality either exists or it does not exist. Once it is compromised, once it is known that a conversation that is held with the President can be subject to a subpoena . . . and be

listened to by anyone, the principle of confidentiality is thereby irreparably damaged . . . So whether it is a paper or whether it is a tape, what we have to bear in mind is that for a President to conduct the affairs of this office and conduct them effectively, he must be able to do so with the principle of confidentiality intact.

—Aug. 22, 1973

“We admit the scandalous conduct. Thank God there has been no personal gain involved. That would be going much too far, I suppose.”

—Aug. 22, 1973

“I could stand here before this audience and make all kinds of excuses, and most of you probably would understand because you are busy also. Seventy-two was a very busy year for me. It was a year when we had the visit to China, it was a year when we had the visit to Moscow and the first limited nuclear ban on defensive weapons, you recall, as well as other very significant events . . .

“Now, during that period of time, frankly, I didn’t manage the campaign. I didn’t run the campaign. People around me didn’t bring things to me that they probably should have because I was frankly just too busy trying to do the nation’s business to run the politics.”

—Nov. 17, 1973

“I can say categorically that his [Dean’s] investigation indicates that no one in the White House staff, no one in this administration, presently employed, was involved in this very bizarre incident.”

—Sept. 4 1972

“I think that under these circumstances we are doing everything we can to take this incident and to investigate it and not to cover it up. What really hurts in matters of this sort is not the fact that they occur, because overzealous people in campaigns do things that are wrong. What really hurts is if you try to cover it up. I would say that here we are, with control of the agencies of the government and presumably with control of the investigatory agencies of the government . . . We have cooperated completely. We have indicated that we want all the facts

indicated that we want all the facts brought out and that as far as any people who are guilty are concerned, they should be prosecuted.”

—Sept. 4, 1972

“We need to recognize, first, that politics is not merely some kind of game to be played hard and played for keeps, with everyone defending his own interests as best he can. It is not just a competition in which one man or one party seeks to defeat another. It is not an auction in which the prize of office is awarded to the highest bidder for the favor of the voters.

“Instead, in the highest sense, our democracy is a sacred trust which all of us who participate exercise together on behalf of those who cannot yet participate.”

—Nov. 5, 1972

“Individuals who serve here do not serve to get re-elected but to do great things. And they could be even greater when you don’t have to worry about re-election.

“Now, what we want to do, we want everybody to think the challenge is just as great. The leader has to whip them up. The team goes just as fast as the leader, as the quarterback and coach, and I am both.”

—Dec. 20, 1972

“I don’t want a government of yes men, but one drawn from the broadest possible base—an administration made up of Republicans, Democrats and independents, and drawn from politics, from career government service, from universities, from business, from the professions—one including not only executives and administrators, but scholars and thinkers. Only if we have an administration broadly enough based philosophically to ensure a true ferment of ideas, and to invite an interplay of the best minds in America, can we be sure of getting the best and most penetrating ideas. “But such men are not attracted to an administration in which all credit is gathered to the White House and blame parceled out to scapegoats,

or in which high officials are asked to dance like puppets on a presidential string. I believe in a system in which the appropriate Cabinet officer gets credit for what goes right and the President takes the blame for what goes wrong. Officials of a new administration will not have to check their consciences at the door, or leave their powers of independent judgment at home."

—Sept. 19, 1968

"Giving up power is hard. But I would urge all of you, as leaders of this country, to remember what the truly revered leaders in world history are those who gave power to the people, and not those who took it away."

—Jan. 22, 1971

"The administration's failure to inform the American people of the full costs of the war—its failure to take the people fully into its confidence on the war—has sown distrust and suspicion about the war, both here and abroad."

—March 7, 1968

"The present welfare system has become a monstrous, consuming outrage—an outrage against the community, against the taxpayer, and particularly against the children it is supposed to help."

—Jan. 22, 1971

"The trouble with government today in this country—and I think I can summarize it in a word—is this, that to the average person out there in New York, in California, in Florida, wherever he may live, to that average person he looks at government, all government, and he is fed up with it, and the reason he is fed up with it is that it costs too much, it doesn't work, and he can't do anything about it."

"That is why our new revenue-sharing proposals, I think, have very, very great meaning . . ."

"We are either going to have to reform the machinery of government in the United States or it is going to break down completely . . ."

" . . . The way to make people more responsible, the way to get better people in the government, is to give them, it seems to me, more responsibility."

—March 22, 1971

"Throughout the five years that I have served as your President, I have had one overriding aim, and that was to establish a new structure of peace in the world that can free future generations of the scourge of war. I can understand that others may have different priorities. This has been and this will remain my first priority and the chief legacy I hope to leave from the eight years of my presidency."

—Jan. 30, 1974

"The United States holds the key as to whether peace survives and whether freedom survives. That demands a strong United States—strong militarily, strong economically, and strong in the character of its people, a people with a sense of vision, not turning inward and tearing each other apart, and not becoming soft as they become rich."

"But it also requires, whoever may be in this office, a strong President. I will never leave this office in a way which resigning would be, or failing to fight impeachment would be. That would make it more difficult for future Presidents to make the tough decisions."

—May 14, 1974

" . . . Amnesty means forgiveness. We cannot provide forgiveness for them. Those who served paid their price. Those who deserted must pay their price . . . The price is a criminal penalty for disobeying the laws of the United States."

—Jan. 31, 1974

"The average American is just like the child in the family. You give him some responsibility and he is going to amount to something. If, on the other hand, you make him completely dependent and pamper him and cater to him too much, you are going to make him soft, spoiled and eventually a very weak individual."

—Nov. 9, 1972

“... My strong point is not rhetoric, it isn't showmanship, it isn't big promises—those things that create the glamor and the excitement that people call charisma and warmth. “My strong point, if I have a strong point, is performance. I always do more than I say. I always produce more than I promise.”

—Jan. 2, 1972

“Let me just say this: I want to say this to the television audience—I made mistakes, but in all of my years of public life, I have never profited, never profited from public service. I have earned every cent. And in all my years of public life, I have never obstructed justice. And I think, too, that I could say that in my years of public life, that I welcome this kind of examination, because people have got to know whether or not their President is a crook. Well, I am not a crook. I have earned everything I have got.”

—Nov. 17, 1973

“People probably think the President was jumping up and down, barking orders, at those times. Actually, I have a reputation for being the coolest person in the room. In a way I am—I have trained myself to be that. The great decisions in this office require calm.”

—Dec. 20, 1972

“In speeches or press conferences or interviews you have to be up and sharp. You can't be relaxed. The Redskins were relaxed in their last game of the regular season and they were flat and got clobbered. “You must be up for great events. Up but not up tight.

“Having done it so often, I perhaps have a finer honed sense of this. But you can overdo it, overtrain and leave your fight in the dressing room.”

—Dec. 20, 1972

“I see a day when Americans are once again proud of their flag. When once again at home and abroad, it is honored as the world's greatest symbol of liberty and justice.

“I see a day when the President of the United States is respected and his office is honored because it is worthy of respect and worthy of honor.”

—Aug. 8, 1968

“When I was 12, there was a great all-American scandal, the Teapot Dome scandal. People involved in the government of the day had connived at the misappropriation of government oil reserves. I remember my father holding forth against ‘crooked politicians’ and ‘crooked lawyers’ for weeks. And I vaguely remember announcing to the family at that time that I was going to be a lawyer, ‘the old-fashioned kind of lawyer, the kind that can't be bought.’ That's what my mother used to say, anyway.”

—Dec. 8, 1968

“Chief Newman, my coach, an American Indian, produced some very fine teams at that small, little college at Whittier. We won a lot of games. But he also left a legacy to all of those who came in contact with him that stayed with us and meant something to us the rest of our lives. We were better men because we knew him, because of what he taught us.

“He was a hard driver. He was a great disciplinarian. There was no permissiveness as far as he was concerned. There were no excuses for failure. He didn't feel sorry for you when you got knocked down. He had a different definition of being a good loser. He said, ‘You know who a good loser is? It's somebody who hates to lose and who gets up and comes back and fights again.’

“I think, perhaps, as I look back at those who shaped my own life—and there are a great deal of similarities between the game of football and the game of politics—that I learned a great deal from a football coach who not only taught his players how to win but who also taught them that when you lose you don't quit, that when you lose you fight harder the next time.”

—July 30, 1971

“Now, was that wrong? And let me say that it was wrong—I am saying it, incidentally, that it was wrong, not just illegal, because it isn't a question of whether it was legal or illegal, that isn't enough; the question is, was it morally wrong; I say that it was morally wrong; I say that it was morally wrong—

if any of that \$18,000 went to Senator Nixon for my personal use. I say that it was morally wrong if it was secretly given and secretly handled.

“And I say that it was morally wrong if any of the contributors got special favors for the contributions that they made.”

—Sept. 24, 1952

“Well, that’s about it. That’s what we have. And that’s what we owe. It isn’t very much. But Pat and I have the satisfaction that every dime that we have is honestly ours.

“I should say this, that Pat doesn’t have a mink coat. But she does have a respectable Republican cloth coat, and I always tell her that she would look good in anything.

“One other thing I probably should tell you, because if I don’t they will probably be saying this about me, too. We did get something, a gift, after the election.”

“A man down in Texas heard Pat on the radio mention the fact that our two youngsters would like to have a dog, and believe it or not the day before we left on this campaign trip we got a message from Union Station in Baltimore, saying they had a package for us. We went down to get it. You know what it was?

“It was a little cocker spaniel dog, in a crate that he had sent all the way from Texas; black and white, spotted, and our little girl [Patricia], the 6-year-old, named it Checkers.

“And, you know, the kids, like all kids, loved the dog, and I just want to say this, right now, that regardless of what they say about it, we are going to keep it.”

—Sept. 23, 1952

“I have no intention whatever of walking away from the job I was elected to do. As long as I am physically able, I am going to continue to work 16 to 18 hours a day for the cause of a real peace abroad, and for the cause of prosperity without inflation and without war at home. And in the months ahead, I shall do everything that I can to see that any doubts as to the integrity of the man who occupies the highest office in this land—to remove those doubts where they exist.

“And I am confident that in those months ahead, the American people will come to realize that I have not violated the trust that they placed in me when they elected me as President of the United States . . .”

—Nov. 7, 1973

“ . . . If all that is really involved in this instance is to cart everything that is in the White House down to a committee, and to have them paw through it on a fishing expedition it will take them . . . months and perhaps even as long as a year.”

—March 6, 1974

“Well, a full impeachment trial in the Senate under our Constitution comes only when the House determines that there is an impeachable offense. It is my belief that the House, after it conducts its inquiry, will not reach that determination. I do not expect to be impeached.”

—Feb. 25, 1974

“ . . . I think the Constitution very clearly . . . defines an impeachable offense . . . as being treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. “But this President is not guilty of any of those crimes . . .”

—March 15, 1974

“But if we can end the war, if we can end the draft, if we can bring jobs and equal opportunity without the cost of war and without the cost of a rising inflation, I believe that young people as they see our very imaginative programs for reforming government, for the environment, and the rest, that they will be attracted to our party not as a party, but to our principles beyond party.”

—Jan. 4, 1971

“I believe one of America’s most priceless assets is the idealism which motivates the young people of America. My generation has invested all that it has, not only its love but its hope and its faith, in yours . . .”

“Our priorities are really the same. Together we can achieve them.

“I pledge to you that as you have faith in our intentions, we will do our best to keep faith with your hopes.”

—Jan. 14, 1971