

CHAPTER 2

NIXON AND THE PRESIDENCY

PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT VITAL

from Nixon statement of April 30, 1973:

But in matters as sensitive as guarding the integrity of our democratic process, it is essential not only that rigorous legal and ethical standards be observed, but ~~that~~ also that the public, you, have total confidence that they are both being observed and enforced by those in authority and particularly by the President of the United States.

* * . * * *

I want the American people, I want you to know beyond the shadow of a doubt that during my terms as President, justice will be pursued fairly, fully, and impartially, no matter who is involved. This office is a sacred trust and I am determined to be worthy of that trust.

I WILL NOT DESTROY THE PRESIDENCY

From Nixon question-answer session in Houston on March 19, 1974:

I am not going to give up to any demand that I believe would weaken the Presidency of the United States. I will not participate in the destruction of the office of the President of the United States while I am in this office.

I am in charge

April 15, 1973 - H

P—Right. Let me say this. The main thing, Henry, we must not have any question, now, on this, you know I am in charge of this thing. You are and I am. Above everything else and I am following it every inch of the way and I don't want any question, that's of the fact that I am a way ahead of the game. You know, I want to stay one step ahead of the curve.

- PETERSEN

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April 16, 1973 - B

P (to D) - As soon as I got the Magruder thing I got in Kleindienst and then at 4:00 p.m. we got in Petersen. Kleindienst withdrew and assigned Petersen. I said, "Alright, Henry, I don't want to talk with Kleindienst anymore about this case. I am just going to talk to you. You are in charge. You follow through and get to the bottom of this thing and I am going to let the chips fall where they may." We have covered that all the way down the line. Now I had to follow him to a certain extent on the prosecution side. On the other hand on the PR side I sure as hell am not going to let the Justice Department step out and say look we dragged the White House in here. I've got to step out and do it, John. Don't you agree?

D—That's right.

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April 16, 1973 - E

P —you understand now, you're talking only to me.

HP—Yes, Sir.

P—and there's not going to be anybody else on the White House staff.

HP—Yes, Sir.

P—In other words, I am acting counsel and everything else. I don't want it from anybody else (inaudible).

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P—Well then don't (inaudible)—let's just—better keep it with me then.

HP—All right.

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I am in charge - I think

April 16, 1973 - F

Z—His point is that, what Rose's point is, in the position of stampeding on (unintelligible) how this has been (unintelligible) this. But this point, the President is too closely tied in as an investigator and too closely tied in to the Grand Jury proceeding itself. In other words, he (unintelligible) in his view of this is to have the first (unintelligible) and suggests that the President is (unintelligible).

P—(Unintelligible). I don't.

Z—No, not affect. But the President is becoming as an investigator involved in knowledge and awareness of the Grand Jury proceedings.

P—Oh, yeah. Yeah.

Z—Which well could affect direction of those proceedings. He has contacted Petersen.

P—Well, all the facts are going to show just otherwise though when it comes out, but go ahead.

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April 14, 1973 - A

P—The point on Mardian, well, let me say I don't think that Mardian or LaRue or Mitchell or Magruder or anybody want to hurt the President.

H—No, sir.

E—I feel that way. Colson? How about Colson?

H—He—of course, I just think he will do everything he can not to hurt the President.

P—Yeah. That has got to be true of everybody because it isn't the man, it's the office.

H—Sure.

P—But also it happens to be true. I wish I knew about the (expletive deleted).

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April 14, 1973 - G

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

E—Yeah.

P—Right

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E—Yeah, and you have to move on to more important things

P—Yes, that's right. OK. boy, see you tomorrow.

E—Right, sir.

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April 16, 1973 - B

P—No, I don't want, understand when I say don't lie. Don't lie about me either.

D—No, I won't sir—you—

P—I think I have done the right thing, but I want you to—if you feel I have done the right thing, the country is entitled to know it. Because we are talking about the Presidency here.

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P—The record. Here is what I have done—here is what I have done—here is what we think the President ought to do and when, you see what I mean? And then if we have to use these things, I pray to God we don't, you guys don't deserve them. You don't deserve them.

D—Well, the important thing is not them, it is you.

P—No—well, I know maybe it isn't me personally, it is this place.

Le Presidency, C'est moi

April 15, 1973 - A

P—No—no—I know—No—I'm just trying—understand—I want to know what is the right thing to do and understand we are going to come out of this thing. The Justice Department and the Presidency are going to come out clean because I don't tolerate this kind of stuff. But the point is, Dick, I also. I can't—I can't let an innocent man down. That's my point.

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April 27, 1973-A

P—Sit down, sit down. I was down in Mississippi today. We have gotten a report that, ah, that really we've got to head them off at the pass. Because it's so damned—so damn dangerous to the Presidency, in a

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sense. There's a reporter by the name of Hersh of the New York Times you probably know.

HP—He's the fellow that did the Vietnam stories.

P—Right. Who told Bittman, who told O'Brien, apparently that they have information—Hersh has information I don't know. You can't ever tell who is saying "this is from Hersh" or "this is from Bittman." Information indicating that Dean has made statements to the prosecuting team implicating the President. And whether—and whether—the *Post* has heard similar rumors. Now, Henry, this I've got to know. Now, understand—I have told you everything I know about this thing.

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HP—Mr. President, I tell you, I do not consider it,

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you know, I've said to Titus, "We have to draw the line. We have no mandate to investigate the President. We investigate Watergate." and I don't know where that line draws, but we have to draw that all the time.

P—Good. Because if Dean is implicating the Presidency—we are going to damned well find out about it.

HP—Yeah. My understanding of law is—my understanding of our responsibilities, is that if it came to that I would have to come to you and say, "We can't do that." The only people who have jurisdiction to do that is the House of Representatives, as far as I'm concerned.

P—That's right. But I want you to know, you tell me, because as far as I'm concerned—

HP—I'll call them. Do you want me to call from here or outside?

P—Use the Cabinet Room and you will be able to talk freely. And who will you call, who will you talk to there?

HP—I'll call Silbert. If he's not there, I'll get Titus.

P—You'll say that "This is the story some New York Times reporter has and Woodward of the *Post*, but Hersh is reporting that Dean had made a statement to the prosecutors." Now understand that this is not a Grand Jury thing. Now damnit, I want to know what it is.

HP—I'll call right away.

P—And I need to know.

HP—Yes, sir.

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the Presidency, C'est moi

April 27, 1973 - B

P—So there you are. You've got to knock that—
Crack down. If there's one thing you have got to do,
you have got to maintain the Presidency out of this. I
have got things to do for this country and I'm not
going to have—now this is personal. I sometimes feel
like I'd like to resign. Let Agnew be President for a
while. He'd love it.

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IMPEACHMENT

from Nixon letter of May 13, 1970 to Emanuel Celler, ex-chairman of House Judiciary Committee:

The power of impeachment is, of course, solely entrusted by the Constitution to the House of Representatives. However, the executive branch is clearly obligated, both by precedent and by the necessity of the House...having all of the facts before reaching its decision, to supply relevant information to the legislative branch...to the extent compatible with the public interest.

(Quoted in Phila. INQUIRER, 1/21/74)

IMPEACHABLE OFFENSE or I guess I should be impeached

from Nixon press conference of March 6, 1974:

QUESTION: Mr. President, your attorneys have taken what is seen as the narrow view on impeachment, saying that impeachment should be limited to very serious crimes committed in one's official capacity. My question is, would you consider the crimes returned in ~~the~~ the indictments last week—those of perjury, obstruction of justice and conspiracy—to be impeachable crimes if they did apply to you?

PRESIDENT: Well, I've also quit beating my wife.

= Of course the crime of perjury is a serious crime. And of course the crime of obstruction of justice is a serious crime and would be an impeachable offense. And I do not expect that the House committee will find that the President is guilty of any of these crimes to which you have referred.

From Associated Press dispatch of June 7, 1974:

Federal Jury Names Nixon Co-Conspirator

WASHINGTON (AP) — The disclosure that a federal grand jury has named President Nixon an unindicted co-conspirator in the Watergate cover-up case added a potentially explosive

Watergate was grounds for impeachment be based on the evidence rather than what the grand jury concluded.

"We have the responsibility under the Constitution to con-

dent an unindicted co-conspirator.

As such, Nixon was not charged with a crime.

The published reports ap-

Post. Both newspapers said sources disclosed that the grand jury at first wanted to indict the President but Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski told the panel it was

from New York Times, February 28, 1974

2/28/74
Obstruction of Justice

"The President has decided not to comply with our outstanding requests for recordings for the grand jury investigations of the Watergate break-in and cover-up and certain dairy industry contributions, asserting that to do so would be inconsistent with the public interest and the constitutional integrity of the office of the Presidency. . . . The President has refused to reconsider this earlier decision to terminate his cooperation with this investigation."

*Leon Jaworski, Special
Watergate Prosecutor, Feb. 14, 1974*

"Whoever willfully endeavors by means of . . . misrepresentation [or] intimidation . . . to obstruct, delay or prevent the communication of information relating to a violation of any criminal statute of the United States by any person to a criminal investigator . . . shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both."

*Title 18, United States Code,
Sect. 1510*

"A criminal offense on the part of the President is the requirement for impeachment."

President Nixon, Feb. 25, 1974

from NYTimes, June 9, 1973

Operative Texts 6/9/73

"The President . . . shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

*Constitution of the United States,
Art. II, Section 3.*

"I, Richard Nixon, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, so help me God."

*President Nixon, Jan. 20, 1969,
repeated Jan. 20, 1973*

* * *

"Mail coverage. Covert coverage is illegal and there are serious risks involved. . . ."

"Surreptitious entry. Use of this technique is clearly illegal; it amounts to burglary."

*Recommendations of the Interagency
Committee on Intelligence (ad hoc),
June 25, 1970*

"The President has carefully studied the special report of the Interagency Committee on Intelligence (ad hoc) and made the following decisions: . . ."

"Mail coverage. Restrictions on covert coverage are to be relaxed. . . ."

"Surreptitious entry. Restrictions on the use of surreptitious entry are to be removed."

*White House Decision Memorandum,
July 15, 1970.*

(Rescinded after protest by J. Edgar Hoover.)

* * *

"I want the public to learn the truth about Watergate, and those guilty of any illegal actions brought to justice."

President Nixon, May 22, 1973

Treach won't hurt me, but don't investigate me

April 27, 1973 - B

P—(expletive removed). You've got to believe me. I am after the truth, even if it hurts me. But believe me, it won't.

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P—Well, there's only this one charge I give to you, among many others, and that is: If any of this—I mean, I can't allow it. Believe me that even prosecutors shouldn't even have informed you of this one. Or me—I—

HP—They have described it as bombast, and rhetoric, and—you know, posing—

P—You examine them tomorrow. And you tell them, they are my men. I'm for them too. I want them to do the job. I want this to come out solid and right here.

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April 27, 1973 - B

P—OK. Take a hard line. Gergen to Woodward. Anything on that they better watch their damned cotton picking faces. Because boy, if there's one thing in this case as Henry 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. Right? Tried to get that damn Liddy to talk. We tried to get—finally got Gray to refresh his memory. (unintelligible)

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P—I'd call Daniels. Hersh told Bittman who told O'Brien that Dean had testified that there was a new—that the President was involved, right?

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RZ—Not testified, but told the prosecutor or something.

P—Told the prosecutor that the President was involved, right?

Let me ask Henry a question. You have Titus and those saying Dean, neither Dean or his lawyers, have said anything of that sort except this one thing.

HP—They said, "tying in the President" not in the Watergate but in other areas and the prosecutor said, "Stop! We don't want to get in this. We don't want to discuss this."

P—(unintelligible)

HP—What I think is its bombast, its negotiation—it's ah—

P—Again make it clear that Henry's made his check.

RZ—Just to put this into prospective. This is not, as I sense it, about to break in the papers. This is just rumor type.

P—Well, kill it. Kill it hard.

RZ—OK, sir. (Ziegler leaves)

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April 14, 1973 - G

P—Now wait a minute. I am not adverse to it. My feeling frankly is this: that you know I was just thinking tonight as I was making up my notes for this little talk,

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you know, what the hell, it is a little melodramatic, but it is totally true that what happens in this office in these next four years will probably determine whether there is a chance and it's never been done, that you could have some sort of an uneasy peace for the next 25 years.

E—Uh, huh.

P—And that's my—whatever legacy we have, hell, it isn't going to be in getting a cesspool for Winnetka, it is going to be there.

E—Yep, yep.

P—And I just feel that I have to be in a position to be clean and to be forthcoming, etc. That is why I think that on the—

E—I totally agree with that.

P—Committee, out, etc. etc.

E—I totally agree with that.

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I don't have enough time to do my job

April 16, 1973 - E

P—Just give it to the wires. Say gentlemen you wonder what the President has been doing?—where is he today?—he's in the EOB. But I want them to know that since the 21st I've been working my tail off, which I have,—I—I'm so sick of this thing.—I want to get it done with and over, and I don't want to hear about it again. Well I'll hear about it a lot, but I've got to run the country too. (Ziegler leaves)

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April 16, 1973 - G

Everyone needs help. None of us can really help another I really believe.

D—That's right. All I am trying to think is how we can get you out from under.

P—That's right. I tried to talk today about social issues, etcetera, and everyone is just interested in the Watergate issue. My days are too short—

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April 17, 1973 - B

E— Let me speak to this. I have pretty much unplugged myself of my day-to-day stuff, because with this kind of stuff going on you just can't think about anything else.

P—Of course, it's been a little hard for me to also.

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Nixon's victory speech, 11/8/72:

And now that the election is over, it is time to get on with the great tasks that lie before us.

Nixon at Republican fund-raising dinner, May 9, 1973:

We are not going to allow this deplorable incident to deter or detract us from going ahead and achieving the great goals the overwhelming number of Americans elected us to achieve in 1972.

We will respond to go forward now and achieve it. I can assure you that we will do that. We're going to make the next four years better than the last four years.

Nixon statement of April 30, 1973:

Since March, when I first learned that the Watergate affair might in fact be far more serious than I had been led to believe, it has claimed far too much of my own time and attention.

Whatever may now transpire in the case...I must now turn my full attention once again to the larger duties of this office. I owe it to this great office that I hold, and I owe it to you—to our country....

There is vital work to be done right here in America—to ensure prosperity, and that means a good job for everyone who wants to work, to control inflation, that I know worries every housewife, everyone who tries to balance the family budget in America, to set in motion new and better ways of ensuring progress toward a better life for all Americans.

Nixon TV and Radio address of August 15, 1973:

After 12 weeks and 2 millions words of televised testimony, we have reached a point at which a continued, backward-looking obsession with Watergate is causing this Nation to neglect matters of far greater importance to all of the American people.

We must not stay so mired in Watergate that we fail to respond to challenges of surpassing importance to America and the world....

The time has come to turn Watergate over to the courts, where the questions of guilt or innocence belong. The time has come for the rest of us to get on with the urgent business of our nation....

This Administration was elected to control inflation—to reduce the power and size of Government—to cut the cost of Government so that you can cut the cost of living....

from Nixon press conference of August 22, 1973:

The point that I make now is that we are proceeding as best we know how to get all those guilty brought to justice in Watergate, but now we must move ~~FROM~~ on from Watergate to the business of the people, and the business of the people is continuing with initiatives we began in the first Administration.

from remarks to 200 White House staff members on July 20, 1973:

Any suggestion that this President is ~~going~~...ever going to leave this office until he continues to do the job and finishes the job he was elected to do, anyone who suggests that, that is just plain poppycock....

There are these and other great causes that we were elected overwhelmingly to carry forward in November of 1972. And what we were elected to do, we are going to do, and let

others wallow in Watergate, we are going to do our job.

from the State of the Union Message, Jan. 30, 1974:

I believe the time has come to bring that investigation and other investigations on this matter to an end. One year of Watergate is enough. And the time has come... for all of us to join together in devoting our full energies to these great issues I have discussed tonight.

from Nixon question-answer session in Houston, March 19, 1974:

Believe me, dragging out Watergate drags down America, and I want to bring it to a conclusion as quickly as we can.

* * * * *

I am not obsessed by how the press reports me. I am going to do my job and I am not going to be diverted by any criticism from the press, fair or unfair, from doing what I think I was elected to do, and that is to bring peace abroad, and I trust prosperity without war and without inflation at home.

from Nixon TV and Radio Address of April 29, 1974:

And here at home, there is vital work to be done in moving to control inflation, to develop our energy resources, to strengthen our economy so that Americans can enjoy what they have not had since 1956: full prosperity without war and without inflation.

Every day absorbed by Watergate is a day lost from the work that must be done -- by your President and by your Congress -- work that must be done in dealing with the great problems that affect your prosperity, affect your security, that could affect your lives.

White House Staff

Nixon's Is Record in Size

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

11/7/73

The White House staff has rather grown like Topsy. It has grown in every administration.

—President Nixon, Nov. 27 speech at Camp David.

But with the inauguration of Richard M. Nixon in 1969... the addition of staff quite suddenly and without apparent reason skyrocketed beyond all previously known limits.

—Rep. Morris K. Udall, April 24 report.

The White House staff and its surrounding bureaucracy has grown to an unprecedented size and scope during the first four years of the Nixon administration.

In his reorganization message of 1970 the President used the word "mushroomed" to describe the expansion of the Executive Office of the President during the past three decades. That mushrooming has proliferated ever since, with these results:

Since Mr. Nixon took office, the cost of operating the Executive Office of the President has risen from \$31 million to \$71 million. The

size of the Executive Office has more than doubled, to 4,216 persons. The White House staff has increased from 250 to 310 persons plus an uncounted number of other persons detailed there from various agencies.

It is the contrast between this growth and the President's announced plans for federal fiscal austerity that prompted Mr. Nixon's Camp David comment about Topsy-like growth.

"I felt from the beginning that it was important that the White House establish the example for the government in terms of cutting down on personnel, doing a better job with fewer people," the President said at Camp David. "Consequently, while there will be cuts in personnel across the government, throughout the departments, the biggest cuts will be made in the White House staff itself."

The staff cutback announcements are scheduled within the next week to 10 days, domestic affairs adviser John D. Ehrlichman

See STAFF, A14, Col. 1

Washington POST, January 7, 1973—juxtapose with Aug. 15, 1973 quote ~~XXX~~ that "I was elected to cut size and cost of gov't"

New York Times, April 22, 1973

juxtapose with 4/30/73 quote on "I must turn my attention toward inflation" →

Inflation

The Worst Month Since '51

WASHINGTON—During March, Government reports disclosed last week, American consumers experienced the worst rate of inflation in nearly a quarter century—a major worsening of an illness that had shown distinct improvement in 1971 and 1972.

But at the same time, as other reports revealed, the boom in the economy—a major cause of the rising prices—produced some good news too. First the bad news, most of it signaled in advance by earlier statistics:

• Dominated once again by food prices, the Consumer Price Index rose by eight-tenths of 1 per cent in March, bringing the annual inflation rate for the first quarter to 8.8 per cent—the highest since the Korean War in 1951. Food prices alone rose in the first quarter at the extraordinary

annual rate of 30 per cent. President Nixon's goal is an inflation rate for consumer prices as a whole of only 2.5 per cent by the end of the year, though he had set no specific goal for the first quarter.

• Another measure of inflation—the price index for the Gross National Product—rose at a 6 per cent annual rate in the first quarter, double last year's inflation.

While the shift to the less mandatory Phase 3 system of price and wage controls undoubtedly played a part in the sudden jump in the inflation rate, the underlying cause seems to be the boom, which has now brought the nation's output close to its capacity, of plant if not of labor.

But if booms are inflationary, they also have their benefits:

• Consumer incomes on an annual basis crossed the trillion-dollar mark in March for the first time, up an enormous \$90-billion, 10 per cent, from a year earlier. People clearly have the money to pay the higher prices, and retail sales in the first quarter run about 15 per cent ahead of last year.

• The G.N.P. report showed that the nation's output, after adjusting for higher prices, showed "real" growth at a rate of 8 per cent in the first quarter, the same as in the fourth

From the Washington POST:

Inflation Underestimated, U.S. Admits**Profits Rise \$11.6 Billion**By James L. Rowe Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Corporate profits jumped \$11.6 billion in the first quarter of this year and the Commerce Department said yesterday it had underestimated the rate of price increases during the same three months by 10 per cent.

The news is expected to cause further political problems for the administration's Phase III of economic controls. The period of skyrocketing inflation and rising corporate profits corresponds to the transition from Phase II mandatory controls to the current "self-administered" price controls.

The Commerce Department said before-tax profits of corporations increased \$11.6 billion in the first quarter, to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of \$113.1 billion. The profit boost trails only slightly the record increase of \$11.7 billion recorded in the first quarter of 1971 as the nation was recovering from a recession.

The figures are likely to

give further ammunition to union leaders who are negotiating major contracts this year, including electrical and rubber workers and the Teamsters.

While corporate profits more than doubled in the first quarter from the \$5.8 billion increase recorded in the final three months of last year, consumer purchasing power—as measured by real spendable earnings—fell and was no higher than a year ago.

The real spendable earnings index computed by the Department of Labor adjusts money incomes for rising prices and increased taxes.

The Commerce Department said that prices rose even faster in the first quarter than

its preliminary report issued last month indicated. A technical index known as the GNP deflator—generally considered by economists to be the broadest and best measure of price performance in the economy—showed that inflation shot up from an annual rate of 2.8 per cent in the last three months of 1972 to 6.6 per cent in the first three months of 1973.

The 6.6 per cent annual rate is far from the administration's announced goal of slowing price increases in the economy to 2.5 per cent by the end of the year. Administration officials still contend that they will achieve the 2.5 per cent rate by the end of the

See ECONOMY, A9, Col. 1

May 18, 1973

**Prices
Up 2%
In May****Nixon Said
Eying Steps to
Cool Economy**By Peter Millus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Wholesale prices leaped ahead another 2 per cent in May, the Labor Department said yesterday, and President Nixon was reported to be sifting through a list of new alternatives for slowing down and cooling off the economy.

In the Senate Democrats

**Prime Rate
Hits Record;
Output Drops**By James L. Rowe Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A number of the nation's largest banks yesterday increased their prime lending rate to 8.75 per cent, the highest that key interest charge has ever been.

In other economic developments, the Labor Department reported that output per man-hour declined slightly in the second three months of the year, while the Commerce Department reported a 1.9 per cent increase in its leading indicators index. Steady increases in this index are supposed to portend upturns in business activity while de-

June 8, 1973

July 28, 1973

Cost of Living Climbs Again; Profits Rise

Buying Power Food and Fuel

By Peter Millus ^{3/22/74}

Washington Post Staff Writer

The cost of living sped ahead still another 1.3 per cent last month while the purchasing power of an average hour's labor continued to decline, the Labor Department said yesterday.

The Commerce Department, meanwhile, reported that after-tax corporate

By Lawrence Feinberg

Washington Post Staff Writer

Spurred by soaring fuel and food prices, the cost of living in the Washington area rose by 3.3 per cent from November to February, the steepest price increase here for any three-month period in 27 years.

Compared to a year ago, the consumer price index,

Washington Post, March 22, 1974

Economy Picture Worsens

Revised Data Shows Sharp Output Drop

By James L. Rowe Jr.

Washington Post Staff Writer

The nation's output of goods and services fell even more sharply and prices rose even more rapidly in the first three months of 1974 than was initially reported, the government said yesterday.

Inflation Rate Is Highest In 25 Years

By Hobart Rowen

Washington Post Staff Writer

The worst inflation rate in nearly a quarter of a century continued to plague the nation in March, when the consumer price index rose another 1.1 per cent, equivalent to an annual rate of 13.2 per cent.

It was the second consecutive day of bad economic news, the government having reported a recession-like drop in the Gross National Product Thursday by 5.8 per cent.

The combined squeeze of higher prices and sluggish production has government officials worried, but the current posture of the Nixon administration, fearful of worsening the inflation rate, is to try to ride out the storm without stimulative measures.

The March result compared with a 1.3 per cent increase in February and 1 per cent for

Post, April 20, 1974

Post, May 18, 1974 (juxtapose this one after the 4/29/74 quote, the two above should go before 4/29)