

CHAPTER 3

NIXON AS A HUMAN BEING

NIXON THE PROMISE

From interview with Mike Wallace on C.B.S. IN Oct. 1968:

I think I will conduct the Presidency in a way that I will command the respect of the American people....Some public men are destined to be loved, and other public men are destined to be disliked, but the most important thing about a public man is not whether he's loved or disliked, but whether he's respected. So I hope to restore respect to the Presidency at all levels of my conduct.

(Quoted in NEW YORK TIMES, 8/23/72)

from Nixon press conference of September 5, 1973:

But as we move in those [foreign policy] areas and as we move on the domestic front, the people will be concerned with what the President does, and I think that will restore the confidence.

from Nixon press conference of October 26, 1973:

Now we come to a new special prosecutor. We will cooperate with him. And I do not anticipate that we will come to the time when he would consider it necessary to take the President to court. I think our cooperation will be adequate.

Some Bad Predictions

P = M, Sept 15, 1972

This thing is just one of those side issues and a month later everybody looks back and wonders what all the shooting was about. OK, John. Good night. Get a good night's sleep. And don't bug anybody without asking me? OK? Yeah. Thank you."

B-61

April 16, 1973 - D

H—I said, we are all steeped in this, but look at the newspaper. Where is the Watergate today?

P—Well in the country it is not that big. It is just a little bit in the evening news and it should be handled as a news story. I am not going to go on and say, look, we are in a hell of a shape. It will be a big news story, it will be a big story for a couple or three weeks. Let's face it,—

H—Yep, that's right.

P—But it is not going to be at the moment. We are going to have one hell of a time.

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April 17, 1973 - B

H—You know where the Watergate story is in the Washington Post today? Page 19.

E—(unintelligible)

P—I know. I know. And it'll be page 19 five months from now if we handle it right.

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to go with NIXON the WARRIOR

from SIX CRISES:

When a man has been through even a minor crisis, he learns not to worry when his muscles tense up, his breathing comes faster, his nerves tingle, his stomach churns, his temper becomes short, his nights are sleepless. He recognizes such symptoms as the natural and healthy signs that his system is keyed up for battle. Far from worrying when this happens, he should worry when it does not.

from interview with A.P.'s Saul Pett, 1 / /74:

I believe in the battle, whether it's the battle of a campaign or the battle of this office, which is a continuing battle. It's always there wherever I go. I, perhaps, carry it more than others because that's my way."

GAMES, BATTLES—for NIXON THE WARRIOR

From Nixon Victory speech, 11/8/72:

The important thing in our process, however, is to play the game. And in the great game of life, and particularly the game of politics, what is important is that on either side more Americans voted this year than ever before.

And the fact that you won or you lost must not keep you from keeping in the great game of politics in the years ahead....

Sept 15, 1972

D—On this case, There is some bitterness between the Finance Committee and the Political Committee—they feel they are taking all the heat and all the people upstairs are bad people—not being recognized.

P—We are all in it together. This is a war. We take a few shots and it will be over. We will give them a few shots and it will be over. Don't worry. I wouldn't want to be on the other side right now. Would you?

B-63

Feb 28, 1973

P— ... all this business is a battle and they [Congress] are going to wage the battle.

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April 14, 1973 - G

P—But when you are in a battle, if you are going to fight a battle, you are going to fight it to the finish.

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April 17, 1973 - G

E—Now I have no illusions about this process, when you give it the test of credibility. Everybody gets

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used up. There is nothing left so you just have to expect that that's the end of the ball game.

P—Well, it is for this time, but now and then you have one fight and win the battle.

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Famous Lost Words on Corruption

"This administration has proved that it is utterly incapable of cleaning out the corruption which has completely eroded it and re-establishing the confidence and faith of the people in the morality and honesty of their government employes. The investigations which have been conducted to date . . . have only scratched the surface. For every case which is exposed, there are ten which are successfully covered up and even then this administration will go down in history as the 'scandal-a-day administration.'

"IT IS TYPICAL of the moral standards of the administration that when they are caught red-handed with pay-off money in their bank accounts the best defense they can give is that they won the money in a poker game, a crap game, or by hitting the daily double.

"A new class of royalty has been created in the United States and its princes of privileges and pay-offs

include the racketeers who get concessions on their income tax cases, the insiders who get favorite treatment on government contracts, the influence peddlers with keys to the White House, the government employe who uses his position to feather his nest.

The great tragedy, however, is not that corruption exists but that it is defended and condoned by the President and other high administration officials. We have had corruption defended by those in high places.

"If they won't recognize or admit that corruption exists, how can we expect them to clean it up?"

—Nov. 13, 1951:

Sen. Richard Nixon in his denunciation of the Truman Administration at the Hotel Statler, Boston.

PROMISE OF NO POLICE STATE

ONE FINAL POINT: You talk about police state. Let me tell you what happens when you go to what is really a police state: You can't talk in your bedroom. You can't talk in your sitting room. You don't talk on the telephone. You don't talk in the bath-

room. As a matter of fact, you hear about going out and talking in the garden. Yes, I have walked many times through gardens in various places where I had to talk about something confidential, and you can't talk even in front of a shrub. That is the way it works.

What I am simply saying is this, my friends: There are police states. We don't want that to happen to America. But America is not a police state, and as long as I am in office, we are going to be sure that not the FBI or any other organization engages in any activity except where the national interests or the protection of innocent people requires it, and then it will be as limited as it can possibly be. That is what we are going to do.

—Interview at the convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Washington, April 16, 1971

Radio speech of Sept. 19, 1968:

It's time once again we had an open administration—open to ideas from the people and open in its communication with the people—an administration of open doors, open eyes and open minds....

This involves surrounding the President with men of stature, including young men, and giving them responsibilities commensurate with that stature. It requires a Cabinet made up of the ablest men in America, leaders in their own right and not merely by virtue of appointment—men who will command the public's respect and the President's attention by the power of their intellect and the force of their ideas....

Officials of a new administration will not have to check their consciences at the door, or leave their powers of independent judgement at home.

(Quoted by David Broder in
Phila. INQUIRER, 5/8/73)

RESTORING MORAL AUTHORITY

Theodore Roosevelt called the presidency "a bully pulpit." Franklin Roosevelt called it pre-eminently "a place of moral leadership." And surely one of a President's greatest resources is the moral authority of his office. It's time we restored that authority—and time we used it once again, to its fullest potential—to rally the people, to define those moral imperatives which are the cement of a civilized society, to point the ways in which the energies of the people can be enlisted to serve the ideals of the people.

What has to be done, has to be done by President and people together, or it won't be done at all.

—Radio speech, Sept. 19, 1968

INTEGRITY OF WHITE HOUSE MUST BE REAL

from Nixon Statement of April 30, 1973:

We must maintain the integrity of the White House, and that integrity must be real, not transparent. There can be no whitewash at the White House.

RESTORING RESPECT FOR LAW

IT IS TIME for some honest talk about the problem of order in the United States.

Let us always respect our courts and those who serve on them. But let us also recognize that some of our courts in their decisions have gone too far in weakening the peace forces as against the criminal forces and we must act to restore that balance . . .

If we are to restore order and respect for law in this country there is one place to begin. We are going to have a new attorney general of the United States.

I pledge to you that our attorney general will be directed to launch a war against organized crime in this nation.

I pledge to you that the next attorney general of the United States will be an active

belligerent against the loan sharks and the numbers racketeers who rob the urban poor.

I pledge to you that the next attorney general will open a new front against the filth peddlers and the narcotics peddlers who are corrupting the lives of our children.

Let this message come through clear from what I say tonight—time is running out for the merchants of crime and corruption in American society . . .

Government can pass laws. But respect for law can come only from people who take the law into their hearts and minds—and not into their hands.

—Acceptance speech, Republican National Convention, Miami Beach, Aug. 8, 1968

THE PEOPLE of this country want an end to government that acts out of spirit of

neutrality or beneficence of indulgence toward criminals. They want government that will set itself up as an irreconcilable enemy of crime, a government that will wield its full powers to guarantee that for the criminals that torment the innocent, society's retribution will be ample and swift and sure.

The idea in a free society is that the chief deterrent to criminals is the respect for law, in the respect for legitimate authority, in the respect for the rights of others that is the standard moral code of every citizen.

—Submitted to Republican National Convention Committee on Resolutions, July 31, 1968

EVERYONE MUST OBEY THE LAW

BUT OUR FOUNDING Fathers had the genius to set up a system, a system of government in which there was provided a

peaceful means to change those laws that we don't like. Now, that's worked very well in this country for 190 years, and I believe that any system of government that provides a method for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies breaking the law or engaging in violence.

I take that position because if you accept the proposition that each individual is going to determine what law is right and what law is wrong, that might be very well for a professor, it might be very well for a highly intelligent individual, maybe a minister, who can make these value judgments. But if you are going to say to the great mass of American people, "You only have to obey the laws that you agree with and you have a right to disobey the laws you don't agree with," you have anarchy in this country.

—Regional television broadcast,
WHDH-TV, Boston, Oct. 18, 1968

THE GENIUS of our system, the life force of the American way, is our ability to hold fast to the rules that we know to be right and to change the rules that we know to be wrong. In that regard, we would all do well to remember our constitutional roles: For the legislatures, to set forth the rules; for the judiciary, to interpret them; for the executive, to carry them out.

—National Conference of the Judiciary,
Williamsburg, Va., March 11, 1971

MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO OBEY LAW

Nixon press conference, 6/22/72:

When we talk about the spirit of the law and the letter of the law, my evaluation is that it is the responsibility of all, a high moral responsibility to obey the law and to obey it totally.

(from transcript in NYTimes, 6/23/72)

CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY

from 1968 campaign speech:

We must reestablish again the principle that men are accountable for what they do, that criminals are responsible for their crimes.

(Quoted in news analysis in Phila.
EVENING BULLETIN, 5/13/73)

ONE OF THE OPERATIVE principles of a free society is that men are accountable for what they do. No criminal can justify his crimes on the basis of some real or imagined grievance against his society. And our sympathy for the plight or the past of a criminal cannot justify turning him loose to prey again upon innocent people.

In the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, this country set it as a goal to "establish justice" in these states. Just as justice dictates that innocent men go free, it also means that guilty men pay the penalty for their crimes. It is that second part of justice to which the nation must begin to address itself in earnest.

—Statement, New York, May 8, 1968

April 15, 1973- A

P—Got to have somebody over here to do—the
(expletive removed) thing—what the (expletive re-
moved) do you do?

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From televised debate with John Kennedy, Oct. 13, 1960:

It makes you realize that whoever is President is going to be a man that all the children of America will either look up to or will look down to. And I can only say that I'm very proud that President Eisenhower restored dignity and decency and, frankly, good language to the conduct of the presidency of the United States. And I only hope that should I win this election, that I could [see] to it that whenever any mother or father talks to his child, he can look at the man in the White House and say: "Well, there is a man who maintains the kind of standards personally that I would want my child to follow."

(Quoted in TIME, 5/20/74)

SMALL THINGS

Remarks at a state dinner, July 31, 1973:

Lot others spend their time dealing with the murky, small, unimportant, vicious little things. We will spend our time building a better world.

(juxtapose with "Small Things" excerpt from transcript, 4/14/73-C, p. 378)

April 19, 1973

S—Last time I saw you it was crowded—out at the Wardman Park—the Shoreham—I could have lifted my feet off the floor and watched you—you and your family on the podium.

P—What was that?

S—That was election night.

P—Election night—you were there? Oh boy. That was a great night? Well, that was what it was all about.

S—Yes, it sure was.

P—Well, we'll survive this. You know—people say

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this destroys the Administration and the rest—but what was this? What was Watergate? A little bugging! I mean a terrible thing—it shouldn't have been done—shouldn't have been covered up. And people shouldn't have and the rest, but we've got to beat it. Right.

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April 17, 1973-6

P—I think the people will probably—they will have a view that—the *New York Times* will have a view in an editorial tomorrow that the President should fire the whole White House staff.

R—Oh well, that isn't—

P—Anybody who did it. But I think the people—I don't know. Correct me if I am wrong. I think they

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like a man who stands up to them—not to condemn people before they're proven. I don't know.

April 17, 1973-D

HP—I guess Bill Rogers was shocked too? (Pause)
God Almighty.

P—Bill—I think everybody is shocked, but we are
in it. So what do you do? In this thing—in these
things—you've got them, you handle them and go on
to something else—that's what we are going to do.

HP—Damn, I admire your strength. I tell you.

P—Well, that's what we are here for.

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I'm not going to screw around

April 15, 1973 - E

P—Right. Let me ask you this—why don't I get him in now if I can find him and have a talk with him?

HP—I don't see any objection to that, Mr. President.

P—Is that all right with you?

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HP—Yes Sir.

P—All right—I am going to get him over because I am not going to screw around with this thing. As I told you.

HP—Alright.

P—But I want to be sure you understand, that you know we are going to get to the bottom of this thing.

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April 15, 1973 - A

P—(expletive removed) I would want to appeal the Chicago Seven, the Berrigans, and the Ellsbergs and all those (expletive removed). And they've fooled around all this time. Well it's a hard thing, Dick, hard thing. These fellows, even the Cubans—or even perhaps they most of all. They were doing (unintelligible) they were helping the campaign.

K—That's right. Sure.

P—And they just—just showed incredibly bad judgment—right?

April 15, 1973-A

K—And I've thought for months that something was wrong.

P—Sorry to hear you say that. No—that's my problem—what to do. Poor (expletive removed)—they're all—they've got a right to a fair trial.

K—I've tried about two or three thousand in the last twenty years and I did (unintelligible). The two aspects of this that have an overriding importance beyond them is the institution of (unintelligible) and also the criminal justice system.

P—Right. Only the people have got to have confidence (unintelligible) and frankly you could come out stronger.

K—Yeah.

P—You just prove that you will take on even your friends.

K—That's right.

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April 15, 1973-B

H—What you can do is express your faith in the system. You know there is a lot to be gained from this if the damn system comes out right.

P—That's right.

H—In restoring people's faith in the system, rather than in this jackass kangaroo court.

P—Yeah.

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Watergate Not Overriding Issue

April 14, 1973-H

P—I read (unintelligible) front page the Haynes Johnson (unintelligible) story today about—story on (unintelligible).

E—I haven't had a chance to read that. I saw the headlines.

P—It's not corroborated of course, but they said their survey of the country and all showed that the President's support that first the support regarding the war was not (unintelligible)—the economy is the problem (unintelligible) but the overriding issues that are (unintelligible) Watergate. (unintelligible), but John that is just not true.

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April 14, 1973 - G

P—Fine. Well, John, you have had a hell of a week—two weeks. And of course poor Bob is going through the tortures of the damned.

E—Yeah. That family thing is rough.

P—I know the family thing. But apart from the family thing, you know, he is a guy that has just given his life, hours and hours and hours you know, totally selfless and honest and decent. That is another thing! Damn it to hell, I am just about to say. Well you know you get the argument of some, anybody that has been charged against, you should fire them. I mean you can't do that. Or am I wrong?

E—No, you are right.

P—Well, maybe I am not right. I am asking. They say, clean the boards. Well, is that our system?

E—Well that isn't a system. You know, that is a machine. That's—

P—That's right. I feel, honestly,—I mean, apart from the personal feeling we both have for Bob, don't

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you? But you know, I raised this myself. One way out is to say, well look, as long as all these guys have been charged, out they go and they can fight this battle and they can return when they get cleared. Is it not good, is it?

E—You know I don't think it is. I don't think that is anyway to run a railroad.

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P—Well, the point is, whatever we say about Harry Truman, etc. while it hurt him a lot of people admired the old bastard for standing by people

E—Sure—

P—who were guilty as hell

E—Yep

P—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. Is there something to be said for that, or not?

E—I don't think, number one, I don't think you would gain anything by it. The problem doesn't go away.

P—No they will say, oh, that Nixon's top person, closest man to him, in the office four or five hours a day, and out he goes. Everything must be wrong!

E—Yep—that is it. That is liking separating Siamese twins.

P—We have done so many good things, you know, which Bob has worked on so arduously, and damn it, so there will be fragments here and there. Well, people make mistakes, but you don't fire a guy for a mistake do you?

E—No.

P—Not for a well-intentioned mistake. But my whole view of drawing up the line.

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April 14, 1973 - G

P- And
the thing about Bob, as I say, is this: I get back to a
fundamental point. Is he guilty or is he not? In my
view, he is not, you know.

E—Yep.

P—And if he isn't—even if it means that the whole
country and the Congress and all the members of the
Senate and House say resign, resign, the President says,
No. I will not take a resignation from a man who is
innocent. That is wrong. That is contrary to our system,
and I am going to fight for him.

E—Uh, huh.

P—If evidence is brought out to the contrary, fine.
Then we will take a look at it.

Dragging it out

April 14, 1973 - D

P—Well, a year from now. It will soon be different.

E—Oh, yeah.

P—Nope, seriously—

E—Six months.

P—Nope, sooner than you think. Let me tell you, John, the thing about all this that has concerned me is dragging the damn thing out. Dragging it out and being—and having it be the only issue in town. Now the thing to do now, have done. Indict Mitchell and all the rest and there'll be a horrible two weeks—a horrible, terrible scandal, worse than Teapot Dome and so forth. And it isn't—doesn't have anything to do with Teapot.

E—Yeah.

P—I mean there is no venality involved in the damn

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thing, no thievery or anything of that sort of thing. Nobody got any paper. You know what I mean?

E—Yeah. That's true.

H—Glad to hear it.

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Doing the Right Thing

April 14, 1973 - D

P—It's the right thing. We all have to do the right thing. Damn it! We just cannot have this kind of a business, John. Just cannot be.

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April 15, 1973 - A

P—Let me tell you what concerns me, if I may. I want to talk to the special prosecution a little bit. You know, it's embarrassing and all the rest, but it'll pass. We've got to—we've got to just ride it through Dick.

K—Yes

P—Do the best we can. Right?

K—Yes sir.

P—We don't run to the hills on this and so forth. The main thing is to handle it right.

K—Those are my inclinations Mr. President.

P—Well you know—we've got to handle it right.

K—That's right.

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Small things?

April 14, 1973 - C

P—You know in one sense, Bob, it's better to (unintelligible) a couple of these small things but it's much better to hand it to the Grand Jury. McCord may move on the theory that Mitchell will be sorry and the others too (unintelligible) the damn thing—and the Ervin Committee get credit in the Watergate thing?

H—Yeah.

P—I don't know. Am I seeing something (unintelligible) that really isn't (unintelligible) or am I?

H—No, no. That was the thing I was trying to get at this morning. That what that proves is the President's, in my view, the President's course was right. The President wasn't covering up. The President was cooperating with the proper place and the proper place

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had come to the proper result, which is to find out in an orderly manner without tarring innocent people, to find out what's going on.

Harming Other People

March 26, 1973 - B

D—Well, I thought (inaudible) by keeping on top of it it would not harm you. Maybe the individuals would get harmed.

P—We don't want to harm the people either. That is my concern. We can't harm these young people (inaudible). They were doing things for the best interests of their country—that is all.

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April 27, 1973 - B

P—(unintelligible) I just don't want to see guys get hurt that didn't know what the hell they were doing.

HP—And we don't want to either.

P—(unintelligible)

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Crisis

March 13, 1973

P—Well, so be it. I noticed in the news summary Buchanan was viewing with alarm the grave crisis in the confidancy of the Presidency, etc.

D—Well the best way—

P—How much?

D—Pardon?

P—How much of a crisis? It will be—I am thinking in terms of—the point is, everything is a crisis. (expletive deleted) it is a terrible lousy thing—it will remain a crisis among the upper intellectual types, the soft heads, our own, too—Republicans—and the Democrats and the rest. Average people won't think it is much of a crisis unless it affects them. (unintelligible)

B-115

Some Republicans are moral

Feb. 28, 1973

P - 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!"

Everybody Does It

Sept. 15, 1972

H—Isn't that ridiculous—this silly thing.

P—Yes (Expletive deleted). Goldwater put it in context when he said, "(expletive deleted) everybody bugs everybody else. You know that."

D—That was priceless.

P—It happens to be totally true. We were bugged in '68 on the plane and in '62 even running for Governor—(expletive deleted) thing you ever saw.

B-59

Feb. 28, 1973

P —they've got problems, and we've got problems. You see this Vesco thing coming up burns my tail. I raised hell with Haldeman on this and he didn't do anything about. I guess he couldn't. What

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(expletive omitted) became of our investigation of their financial activities? (Expletive omitted) They cancelled debts, they borrowed money. What the hell is that?

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Feb. 28, 1973

P—What did Segretti do that came off?

D—He did some humorous things. For example, there would be a fund-raising dinner, and he hired Wayne the Wizard to fly in from the Virgin Islands to perform a magic show. He sent invitations to all the black diplomats and sent limousines out to have them picked up, and they all showed up and they hadn't been invited. He had 400 pizzas sent to another—

P—Sure! What the hell! Pranks! Tuck did all those things in 1960, and all the rest.

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TRUTH

From 1968 campaign speech:

America is in trouble today not because her people have failed but because her leaders have failed. Let us begin by committing ourselves to the truth, to see it like it is, and to tell it like it is, to find the truth, to speak the truth, and to live the truth.

(Quoted in Wash. POST, 7/12/73)

put it all hang out

March 13, 1973

D - For the sake of debate, but I was having reservations. It is a bullet biter and you just have to do it. These questions are just not going to go away. Now the other thing that we talked about in the past, and I still have the same problem, is to have a "here it all is" approach. If we do that . . .

P—And let it all hang out.

D—And let it all hang out. Let's with a Segretti— etc.

P—We have passed that point.

B-100

March 13, 1973

P—Is it too late to go the hang-out road?

D—Yes, I think it is. The hang-out road—

P—The hang-out road (inaudible).

D—It was kicked around Bob and I and—

P—Ehrlichman always felt it should be hang-out.

D—Well, I think I convinced him why he would not want to hang-out either. There is a certain domino situation here. If some things start going, a lot of other things are going to start going, and there can be a lot of problems if everything starts falling. So there are dangers, Mr. President. I would be less than candid if I didn't tell you there are. There is a reason for not everyone going up and testifying.

P—I see. Oh no, no, no! I didn't mean to have everyone go up and testify.

D—Well I mean they're just starting to hang-out and say here's our story—

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P—I mean put the story out PR people, here is the story, the true story about Watergate.

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March 22, 1973

P—Do you think we want to go this route now? Let it hang out so to speak?

D—Well, it isn't really that—

H—It's a limited hang out.

D—It is a limited hang out. It's not an absolute hang out.

P—But some of the questions look big hanging out publicly or privately.

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D—What it is doing, Mr. President, is getting you up above and away from it. That is the most important thing.

P—Oh, I know. I suggested that the other day and they all came down negative on it. Now what has changed their minds?

D—Lack of candidate or a body.

H—Laughter.

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April 17, 1973-6

P (to R) - I saw Dean at least (unintelligible) times. At Camp David, he was to write the (expletive deleted) up so we could put out a statement. He said, "I really can't write a statement that you can put out." So I must say, I've done everything I can to get to the bottom, Bill, as you can see. I said, "John, you got to let it all hang out—now and out—you got to tell me what the hell the score is so we'll know how to deal with this. We're not going to be nibbled to death by a thousand hurts."

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March 21, 1973 - A

D—Liddy said if they all got counsel instantly and said we will ride this thing out. Alright, then they started making demands. "We have to have attorneys fees. We don't have any money ourselves, and you are asking us to take this through the election." Alright, so arrangements were made through Mitchell, initiating it. And I was present in discussions where these guys had to be taken care of. Their attorneys fees had to be done. Kalmbach was brought in. Kalmbach raised some cash.

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P—They put that under the cover of a Cuban Committee, I suppose?

D—Well, they had a Cuban Committee and they had—some of it was given to Hunt's lawyer, who in turn passed it out. You know, when Hunt's wife was flying to Chicago with \$10,000 she was actually, I understand after the fact now, was going to pass that money to one of the Cubans—to meet him in Chicago and pass it to somebody there.

P—(unintelligible) but I would certainly keep that cover for whatever it is worth.

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P—These fellows though, as far as what has happened up to this time, are covered on their situation, because the Cuban Committee did this for them during the election?

D—Well, yeah. We can put that together. That isn't of course quite the way it happened, but—

P—I know, but that's the way it is going to have to happen.

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I wants everyone to tell the truth?

April 14, 1973 - F

H—Of course there is nothing Jeb said that is inconsistent with anything that Chuck has said.

P—Oh, that could be right. Chuck could say, yes, the Liddy project, sure but I thought the Liddy project was something else.

H—That's right. That's what he does say.

P—He does, huh?

H—Yeah.

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April 14, 1973 - G

P— John, too, I wonder if we shouldn't reconsider, if you shouldn't, I mean you have to consider this—rather than having Colson go in there completely blind, give him at least a touch up—or do you think that is too dangerous.

E—Say that again—I didn't quite hear it.

P—Colson—rather than just saying nothing to him, if it isn't just as well to say—look you should know that Magruder is going to testify, etc., or is that dangerous according to Kleindienst?

E—I'm not so sure. I have to call him anyway tomorrow.



E—Well, I can say something very brief. I don't need to indicate that he said anything to me.

P—Yeah, that you understand that he has talked. I mean, not to the Grand Jury but to—

E—Yeah, I think I could safely go that far.

P—And say that he should know that before he goes, and be prepared.

E—Friday—I will call him in the morning.

P—Let me put it this way: I do think we owe it to Chuck to at least—

E—Sure

P—So that he doesn't, I mean, go in there and well frankly on a perjury rap—

E—I understand. I don't think he is in any danger on that but—

P—Why wouldn't he be in any danger, because he's got his story and knows pretty well what he is going to say?

E—Yeah, I think he is pretty pat, but I will talk to him in the morning and give him a cautionary note anyway.

Tell the Truth!

April 16, 1973 - B

P—Thank God. Don't ever do it John. Tell the truth. That is the thing I have told everybody around here. (expletive omitted) tell the truth! All they do John is compound it.

P—That (characterization omitted) Hiss would be free today if he hadn't lied. If he had said, "Yes I knew Chambers and as a young man I was involved with some Communist activities but I broke it off a number of years ago." And Chambers would have dropped it. If you are going to lie, you go to jail for the lie rather than the crime. So believe me, don't ever lie.

D—The truth always emerges. It always does.

P—Also there is a question of right and wrong too.

D—That's right.

P—Whether it is right and whether it is wrong. Perhaps there are some gray areas, but you are right to get it out now.

515

April 16, 1973 - H

P—Well, I wanted to get you in bed earlier tonight than last night, and I want to get to bed too. Let me say first, I just want to know if there are any developments I should know about and, second, that of course, as you know, anything you tell me, as I think I told you earlier, will not be passed on.

HP—I understand, Mr. President.

P—Because I know the rules of the Grand Jury.

663

April 17, 1973 - B

P—Petersen has said to me, he says that there is—because of the evidence that has come in here—that Haldeman and Ehrlichman should (unintelligible) now I'm faced with that damned hardship.

(Material not related to Presidential actions deleted)

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P—Wait a minute. Wait a minute. Then Petersen said, he said, "We've got to have corroborative testimony." So you see what I mean?

E—Yeah.

P—Before we could get—Let me put it this way. He realizes that before he could try to give Dean immunity he's got to have corroborative testimony on the value of Dean's evidence. That's what he's trying to get at the present time. That's why he was calling Strachan, Colson, Kalmbach, et al. The purpose of it being, John, to get corroborative evidence that would say, well, Dean's evidence is so valuable as far as other people are concerned, that we can therefore give him immunity.

* * *

P—Yeah, (unintelligible) And I'll tell you what Petersen did tell me. He did say this much. I said, "what about Dean?" and he said, "Well, we haven't made a deal with him yet." I think I told you about this—

E—Yep.

P—I said, "Why do you have to make a deal?" And he says "Well, he wants to make a deal." And I said, "What do you mean let him off?" He said, "Well, that's what you do, Mr. President." I said, "Well," I

633

said, "you're sort of (unintelligible)." We've had some real good talks.

634

to H and E

April 16, 1973 - B

D—Well, that's right. Well, the thing is in phrasing the letter is important. You don't call anybody involved when it is their problem, so that is why I would like—

P—Well, understand those are my dictations. They are only a form for you. You work it out and work it out so that it would be one that would apply to you and work out the answer to Ehrlichman and Haldeman's letter. Just a form that I can give anybody—
Strachan—

521

April 16, 1973 - C

P—I told him I would like to have that letter and he said, "What about Haldeman and Ehrlichman?" I said they have already told me that they will resign in case—naturally nobody is going to resign around here until somebody—until I get better information, until I can satisfy myself with Petersen, etc. And he said, "Well, do you mind if I take the letters and I prepare them? I would like to prepare them so that in the event I have to go to trial they won't prejudice me in that." I said, "Fine, fine. Prepare me what you think your letter of resignation should be." So there it is. So he is thinking in both terms, apparently. I am just guessing and I think that it is altogether proper, because he should have a letter of that sort. But I told him, as I told Haldeman and Ehrlichman last night, there is no question about people resigning around here. I've got their letters of resignation in hand anytime I want them.

to H and E

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from Nixon statement of April 30, 1973:

It was the system that has brought the facts to light and that will bring those guilty to justice—a system that in this case has included a determined Grand Jury, honest prosecutors, a courageous Judge, John Sirica, and a vigorous free press.

April 19, 1973-

P- I think that Glanzer and Silbert are giving, trying to give, Dean an incentive to lie in order to get Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

754

P- I'm not sure that Glanzer is telling the truth.

773

March 21, 1973 - A

P—Let's make a point that raw files, I mean that point should be made that we are standing for the rights of innocent individuals. The American Civil Liberties Union is against it. We are against it. Hoover had the tradition, and it will continue to be the tradition. All files are confidential. See if we can't get someone inspired to put that out. Let them see what is in one.

B-133

April 17, 1973 - G

P—And I have a feeling for a guy that's supposed to uphold the rights of innocent before (unintelligible) are guilty or not. Well, let me say this. I've got to live with myself. I don't want to do it in that (unintelligible). That isn't fair.

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