

Excerpts from The Nixon Tapes

compiled by Phillip W. Weiss

The excerpts contained herein are from the Nixon tapes. They reveal a President Richard M. Nixon who is patriotic, pragmatic, speaks directly, plainly, bluntly and at times crudely, and has an uncanny ability to grasp complex issues and boil them down to their basics, all the while keeping in mind the political impact of his decisions. Nixon identifies issues and confronts them directly. He does not obfuscate. His principal confidante is his National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger who provides advice on a wide range of foreign policy issues that affect the security of the United States and the world. What Nixon decides matters. Nixon has a sharp intellect but is not an academic. He operates in a highly charged political climate populated by a few friends and many enemies. He alone makes the final decisions on matters that can mean peace or war. Nixon is preoccupied with trying to end the Vietnam War without abandoning the South Vietnam, reducing nuclear arms without weakening the United States, improving relations with Communist China without abandoning Taiwan, liberating the dollar from gold, and reducing the Soviet influence in the Mideast. He also follows the 1971 World Series. Most apparent, Nixon acts in accordance with what he believes is the best interest of the United States.

Source:

Richard M. Nixon. *The Nixon Tapes*. Ed. Douglas Brinkley and Luke A. Nichter. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company: New York, NY 2014

All historical events noted in parentheses are taken directly verbatim from the Timeline of Key Events section of the book (pages 734-740).

(February 16, 1971: Nixon begins secretly recording conversations and meetings in the Oval Office and in the Cabinet Room.)

"He's a rascal, but by golly, he's our rascal..." 11 2/18/71

"Let 'em squeal."

Let 'em squeal. Let 'em squeal. Look at Woody Hayes after a football game. 24
2/26/71

"... PR crazy."

The whole damn Defense Department is PR crazy. 24 2/26/71

"... the summit thing."

I've prepared the way, incidentally, for the summit thing. Not just the summit, but the SALT thing. I told [Secretary of State William] Rogers I didn't have any confidence in [ACDA Gerald] Smith. I didn't want him to have any discussions with him until I had him in. But I said, "I've been thinking a great deal about this SALT mess. I might want to make a statement or I might want to write a letter or something." And I said, "If I do, look, I'll tell you, and you're going to tell Smith, but I'm not going to let him in." 27 2/26/71

"He's a small player ..."

I told Bill, I said, "We have got – I've got to take the credit," I told him, "for anything that happens in arms control." And I said, "It can't be Smith who's going to get the credit," I said. "He's a small player and I don't trust him." 27 2/26/71

"... combat."

I know about combat. 34 2/27/71

"... five million ... popped into bake ovens!"

Good God! You know, his people were crucified over there. Jesus Christ! And five million of them, popped into bake ovens! 38 3/9/71

"... damn deal."

Just make any kind of damn deal. 41 2/12/71

"... knocking the livin' bejeezus ..."

Let me tell you, Henry, I have that feeling. There are other reasons. I just know that going in there and knocking the livin' bejeezus out of those in Laos ...

“... such a tizzy ...”

And it scared ‘em. And part of it – and it sent the international establishment into such a tizzy, and these people are deeply proud. The other thing – and I think your point is – these bastards, they’ve got to look at their hole card now.

“He did what he was told.” 47 3/18/71

“... good God ...”

Why – good God, there’s no men! 48 3/18/71

“...what the hell?”

So, what the hell? 50 3/18/71

“... writing for Readers Digest ...”

I traveled for eight years by myself. I paid it all out of my own pocket. I earned the money by writing for the Readers Digest, Henry. 52 4/6/71

“... bomb the goddamn North ...”

Hell, if you think Cambodia had flower children fighting, we’ll bomb the goddamn North like it’s never been bombed. 53 4/6/71

“... bomb those bastards ...”

We’ll start doing it. And we’ll bomb those bastards, and then let the American people – let this country go up in flames. 53 4/6/71

“... ain’t nothing more to negotiate.”

Look, Henry, the difficulty of our position is this: you’ve got to know that there will be come a time when there ain’t nothing more to negotiate. 53 4/7/71

“... wish to Christ ...”

I wish to Christ they had to live someplace else. I wish they did. 53 4/7/71

“... do the right thing.”

I have to do the right thing. 54 4/7/71

“... the murder of Diem.”

You see, Billy, the key thing here was Kennedy’s, and I must say our friend Lodge’s, agreement to the murder of Diem. 55 4/7/71

“Keep the faith.” 55 4/7/71

“We’re going to win.” 55 4/7/71

“... the China thing ...”

**I deal with the China thing for long-range reasons – very, very important reasons.
60 4/12/71**

“... much less predictable ...”

**You can never predict how the Chinese are. They are much less predictable than the Russians. The Russians are predictable. The Chinese are not predictable. 61
4/13/71**

“The Russian people are pro-American.” 65 4/13/71

“... nice little truisms ...”

Well, we can have a lot of nice little truisms about travel. 64 4/13/71

“... treated his staff like dogs ...”

Kennedy was cold, impersonal, he treated his staff like dogs, particularly his secretaries, and the others. He was not a beat man, he didn’t read, all these other things. His staff created the impression of warm, sweet, and nice to people, reads lots of books, a philosopher, and all that sort of thing. That was pure creation of mythology. 70 4/15/71

“Courage, boldness, guts?”

For Christ’s sake, can’t we get across the courage more? Courage, boldness, guts? Goddamn it! That is the thing. 70 4/15/71

“Guts!”

What is the most important single factor that should come across out of the first two years? Guts! Absolutely. Guts!

“... sheer, unadulterated guts ...”

But on the other hand, just sheer unadulterated guts, and boldness stand alone. And coolness under fire. 71 4/15/71

“Oh, shit! Really? Oh, God!” 71 4/15/71

“... a hell of a move.”

You know, when you stop to think of eight hundred million people, and where they're going to be. Jesus, this is a hell of a move. 724/15/71

“They know that's cosmetic.” 74 4/17/71

(The Supreme Court rules that busing children as a means of dismantling dual school systems is constitutional in *Swann v. Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971). The Nixon White House is not supportive of the ruling.)

“What was Zhou Enlai like? How did he look physically?” 85 4/21/71

“... people are sick of it ...”

The war presents a very serious problem. You see, the war has eroded American confidence up to this point. The people are sick of it, and so, therefore, our game here, of course, must be to deal with it. 87 4/21/71

“... how we survive ...”

Everything has to be played, now, in terms of how we survive... 87 4/21/71

“The ... gamble cost us.”

The Laotian gamble cost us. It cost us very, very seriously. 87 4/21/71

“... dropped us ten points ...”

The action in Laos, itself, dropped us ten points in the polls. 88 4/21/71

“... don't worry so goddamn much ...”

I mean, don't worry so goddamn much about the Vietnamese election. You'd better worry about our own. 89 4/21/71

“... sick of the military.”

I have to tell you, I'm getting sick of the military, anyway. They drag their feet about everything, and they – the bastards want everything, and they're selfish. 89 4/21/71

“... the public thing.”

If it's not television, it's gone. You see, the point is that you have to realize that that's what really matters in terms of the public thing. After all, the television at the present time is – has zeroed in on these people. It'll zero in on the demonstrations Saturday. And then they'll try to play with it the next two weeks. They're stringing it out, and it's highly unconscionable reporting on the part of television. 92 4/23/71

“... they know goddamn well ...”

They do, because, despite all the way we, look, put the cosmetics on, Henry, they know goddamn well that what our policy is, is to win the war. 92 4/23/71

“Nobody really cares what happens to South Vietnam.” 92 4/23/71

“... would never have agreed ...”

Let me tell you something: without China, they would never have agreed to the SALT. 100 4/23/71

“Maybe, but a president is expected to be intelligent.” 70 4/15/71

(April 24, 1971: Five hundred thousand people in Washington, DC, and 25,000 in San Francisco march against the Vietnam War.)

“... we are in trouble ...”

If those POW start running around, coming into this general election, and veterans, you're in real – we are in trouble like you wouldn't – and you may tell all of them. 10-54/26/71

“... five percent ... give you hell.”

Like it's with veterans. We got ninety percent of the veterans – ninety-five percent of the veterans, but five percent go around and give you hell. See? 105 4/26/71

“... drop some loose change ...”

The difference between them [the Chinese] and the Russians is that if you drop some loose change and try to pick it up, the Russians step on your fingers and fight you for it. The Chinese don't do that. 108 4/26/71

“... pales that into nothing.”

But look at after Laos, the people over two to one thought it had failed and yet here comes the Chinese move, the Ping-Pong team, and something more significant that pales that into nothing. It can have an enormous significance. 110 4/27/71

“... this gay thing.”

Let me say something before we get off this gay thing. I don't want my views misunderstood. I am the most tolerant person on that of anybody in this shop. They have a problem. They're born that way. You know that. That's all. I think they are. Anyway, my point is, though, when I say they're born that way, the tendency is there. By my point is, that Boy Scout leaders, YMCA leaders, and others, bring

them in that direction, and teachers. And, if you look over the history of societies, you will find of course that some of the highly intelligent people – Oscar Wilde, Aristotle, et cetera, et cetera – were all homosexuals. Nero, of course, was, in a public way, in with a boy in Rome. 111-112 4/28/71

“... just go out and be gay.”

The Greeks. And they had plenty of it. By God, I am not going to have a situation where we pass a long a law indicating, “Well, now kids, just go out and be gay.” They can do it. Just leave them alone. That’s a lifestyle I don’t want to touch. 112 4/28/71

“... go off their rockers.”

Drinking at eighteen. Because, well, seventy-five percent of the kids might drink at eighteen, most kids, twenty-five percent that drink at eighteen would probably go off their rockers. 112 4/28/71

“... girls don’t swear.”

Why is it that girls don’t swear? 112 4/28/71

“... an awful unattractive person.”

A man drunk, and a man who swears, people will tolerate and say that is a sign of masculinity or some other damn thing. We all do it. We all swear. But you show me a girl that swears and I’ll show you an awful unattractive person. 112-113 4/28/71

“... Old Testament stuff, not New Testament stuff.”

None of the smart girls do swear, incidentally. That’s why you should tell a dirty story about a girl. The reason is, basically, that once you start ... on just as crude as a man. And believe me, they call it the theory of ethics. The hell with it. It’s what made this country. Hell, it goes, Henry, back to the Jewish religion. That’s where most of it is, you know. You read the Old Testament, this Old Testament stuff, not New Testament stuff. 113 4/28/71

“... too common, too crude.”

All girls, almost all girls, are potentially interested in some sort of relationship with a man one way or other, and they’re going to have it. God damn it! You don’t put it all out there! You just make it too common, too crude. 113 4/28/71

“... Communist societies ... goddamn pure.”

I do think that as a society starts to tell all the decent, God-fearing people in this country, and there are still a hell of a lot of them, that the homosexual, the sixteen-year-old that drinks, the public houses of prostitution, you’ll have a

decadent society. You'll have a decadent society. Now, let's take a look at the Communist societies, for whatever they're worth. Let's take a look at them. All revolutionary societies, for whatever they are worth. They're goddamn pure. 113
4/28/71

"... make the quick shot ..."

Well my point is that he {Rockefeller} does not have the subtlety of moving around. He is the kind of guy that wants to make the quick shot, dramatic, you know, bold. 114 4/28/71

"... do things bold ..."

Now, goddamn it, we're going to do things bold, but we don't want to fall down doing it. 114 4/28/71

"... got to deal ..."

We've got to deal with the Russians 114 4/28/71

"... it's dead."

I mean, as far as SALT is concerned, it's dead. 114 4/28/71

"You can do it." 5/6/71 114

"... the war has to be ... settled."

Well, let me say, before I get there, the war has to be pretty well settled. 114
5/6/71

"... gobbledygook ..."

But, Al, to the average person in the country, that's just another ... gobbledygook like the one we made before. 116 5/6/71

"... have something that means something ..."

We've got to have something that means something to domestic people, here.
117 5/6/71

"Screw it." 117 5/6/71

"... reaction to duress ..."

See my point? I don't want to have actions taken which appear to be in reaction to duress, or to the Senate. 118 5/6/71

“... South Vietnam – North Vietnam.”

First, there can't be a presidential visit to China as long as they're supporting South Vietnam – North Vietnam. 118 5/6/71

“... the China thing, ... the Russian thing ...”

We don't want to throw the China thing, until we get the Russian thing, one way or the other. Because once you do that, you knock off the Russian summit. 118 5/6/71

“... let both strings play out ...”

My point is you've got to play, you've got to let both strings play out a bit. 118 5/6/71

“We're going to hit 'em.” 119 5/6/71

“... jackass statements ...”

They can't make some of the jackass statements they make without paying consequences. 119 5/6/71

“We've got to cut the diddling”. 119 5/6/71

“All that really matters ...”

All that really matters is the talk that's going in in that Senate at the present time. 119 5/6/71

“... till hell freezes over ...”

And on the ABM, I'll delay that goddamn thing till hell freezes over, if necessary. 120 5/6/71

“Why the hell should they?”

They aren't going to talk. Why the hell should they? 121 5/6/71

“... the goddamn war ...”

We'll end the goddamn war and blame – and say, “We ended it, they started it.” 125 5/10/71

“... for the election.”

Cease-fire, and all the rest. I'd make it July 1. If you put it September 1 it looks like you're doing it just before the election, and for the election. See my point? 125 5/10/71

“... they’ve got us by the balls.”

He knows goddamn well we’re not going to agree. You know, on the prisoner thing, their attitude is a cold-blooded deal. They’re not going to do a damn thing on prisoners. You know why? They know they’ve got us by the balls. 125
5/10/71

“... weathered the storm ...”

We have weathered the storm of demonstrations and so forth, extremely well. 127 5/10/71

“... the intelligent critics ...”

We – it’s to the consternation of all the intellectual, all of the intelligent critics of our policy. They’re worried as hell about it, that we didn’t cave for – by God, I just don’t know, Henry, whether – how you can be a lot tougher now. 127 5/10/71

“... goddamn Russians.”

We’ve got to turn on the goddamn Russians though. 128 5/10/71

“Cambodia was right.” 128 5/13/71

“Laos was right, too.” 128 5/13/71

“... kicked ... hell ...”

The South Vietnamese went in and kicked the hell out of a lot of North Vietnamese. 129 5/13/71

“... a little package for bombing ...”

Tell him I want a, a little package for bombing the North. 129 5/13/71

“... bang ‘em.”

When you’ve got to anything you’re going to do, we want to be in a position to bang ‘em. 129 5/13/71

“Well, just, just have no illusions.” 129 5/13/71

“Never take such a chance.” 131 5/18/71

“... by the balls.”

We got them by the balls, then we go, right? 132 5/18/71

“... a hell of a job.”

It's a hell of a job. I read the, your memorandum. It's a hell of a job. 132 5/18/71

“... burn the house down ...”

If it fails, listen, we'll burn the house down ourselves. 133 5/18/71

“... a bunch of cheap politicians and cowards.”

By God, if we can get this SALT thing, this will really make these bastards look like a bunch of cheap politicians and cowards. 133 5/18/71

“... a slimy son of a bitch ...”

Look, they're Communists. They have an American section analyzing American opinion. They also have American agents over here. You got a fellow like Joe Kraft, who's a slimy son of a bitch, constantly saying, “Nixon can't get along with the Russians.” Now, it just may be they decided they could – that is what could move them, those great historical facts. 133 5/18/71

“... to use the word “agree,” “agree.”

That's what worries me, because the announcement gives us more than we asked for. Even I didn't have the heart to say – to use the word “agree,” “agree.” 134 5/18/71

“... a hunch ...”

I just have a hunch here, a feeling that there's something going on there. I think that this Russian thing has a hell of a lot more to do with China than anything else. They're scared of them. 137 5/21/71

“... flushing it.”

There ain't going to be no doubt about flushing it. 134 5/18/71

“I don't think so.”

Both cannot have seats in the UN. I don't think so. 137 5/21/71

“We are carrying a burden ...”

Except in Vietnam. Really the problem – our enemies and the press, people like Resor keep hacking away. We are carrying a burden, then we have to make a sale nobody will buy. 139 5/25/71

“... start out fresh ...”

Frankly if we start out fresh, we would put, I mean, Communist China in the UN, right? And we wouldn't dream of letting Communist China take over fifteen million Taiwanese any more than we'd let North Korea take over South Korea. That's another point. 140 5/27/71

“We can't do that.”

And Murphy has said that Chiang says that they'd accept two-China provided we give them the Security Council seat. We can't do that, it won't work. Nobody can guarantee the Security Council seat. 140 5/27/71

“... changed its position ...”

The United States has changed its position and is trying to develop the support for it. 141 5/27/71

“... the China lobby ...”

But I've got to handle these domestic people – the hardliners in the House and Senate, some of the columnists, and people, frankly, who are part of the China Lobby which is still a considerable group. 141 5/27/71

“... seeping out ...”

You see, thing is seeping out is what I'm concerned about. 141 5/27/71

“... a monumental decision.”

What is going to come out is that, this is a, this isn't, even announcing two Chinas is a monumental decision. And it is a monumental decision, it's a hell of a news story. 142 5/27/71

“... we've got no position ...”

Well Christ almighty, so we've got no position, just go out and say so. Goddamn it, I do it every day in a press conference. 144 5/27/71

“... awfully reasonable ...”

When you go to two-China, that's going to appear awfully reasonable to a hell of a lot of people. 145 5/27/71

“It's a technical matter.” 145 5/27/71

“... goddamn well got to decide ...”

Brezhnev has goddamn well got to decide whether he wants to come or not. 146 5/27/71

“What the hell ...”

What the hell are we going to talk about there? 146 5/27/71

“So then we’ve got to hammer them.” 146 5/27/71

“You got to deal ...”

Are we going to have a summit at all with the Russians? You got to deal with the Chinese, we’ll go to China earlier. Why not? 146 5/27/71

“I hate to do it.”

I hate to do it, I hate to do it, I hate to do it, I know. And they’ve been my friends. 147 5/27/71

“Somebody is selling them a bunch of shit.” 147 5/27/71

“This guy was apparently keeping notes.” 147 5/27/71

“The son of a bitch ...”

Now Johnson didn’t do that. The son of a bitch didn’t tell me about the bombing pause, except on the telephone. 149 5/28/71

“... these damn bastards ...”

You know how these damn bastards react to everything. Even now, they say it’s all political. 150 5/28/71

“... got to milk the publicity ...”

We got to milk the publicity out of every achievement. And everything has got to be a presidential initiative. 150 5/28/71

“... the least important is Vietnam.”

The Berlin thing is really more important, really, in terms of world peace, than either the Mideast or – I mean, in order of magnitude, the least important is Vietnam. It never, never, never has risked world war. You know that. Hell, we all know that. I mean, I’ve been making that speech for twenty – for ten years. You know it’s true. China’s going to intervene? Russia’s going to intervene? None of them will ever intervene. Second, the next is the Mideast. That has the elements that could involve the major powers, because it’s important. But compared in the order of magnitude, the Mideast to Berlin, Christ, it’s light-years difference. Berlin is it. 151 5/28/71

“... down the tubes.”

The Russians will let – they’d let Egypt go down the tubes. They will never let Berlin go down the tubes. 152 5/28/71

“All right. We’ll be bastards.” 153 5/29/71

“Nothing is easy. Nothing is easy in these times.” 156 5/29/71

“They’re doing a great job.” 157 6/4/71

“Great!” 157 6/4/71

“... play the casualty line ...”

I mean, get the – Scali to get out the – play the casualty line. And, it’s what we said has happened. We said it would go down after Cambodia. It did. We said it would go down after Laos. It did. Now, just keep pointing. In other words, it’s a good point to, to go. 161 6/4/71

(June 10, 1971: Nixon quietly ends the U.S.-China trade embargo, which had been in effect for more than two decades, in the process of normalizing relations with the world’s most populous country.)

(June 12, 1971: Daughter Patricia (“Tricia”) Nixon marries Edward Ridley Finch Cox at the White House.)

“... Johnson’s was nothing ...”

Yeah. I was reading a news summary, and just thinking of the public that we have. As you say, Johnson’s was nothing compared to this. ‘Cause Christ almighty, at least he didn’t have it coming from within his administration. 162 6/12/71

“What’s he up to?”

What’s he up to? Is he trying to fork – trying to recircuit the wires? Is that it? 162 6/12/71

“I’d better do it.” 164 6/12/71

“We can arrange that.” 164 6/12/71

“Big Minh is just dumb.” 165 6/12/71

“Goddamn it, we just need a general.” 167 6/12/71

“... not being hopeful ...”

I'm not being hopeful, bur nevertheless, there's a chance. 167 6/12/71

“... every stinking political fellow ...”

Hell, these, these people will – you can be sure, too, that every stinking political fellow like Clifford will try to get in on that chance. You realize what this would do to them politically?

“... absolutely dead.”

If we pull off the negotiations, they'd be absolutely dead. 167 6/12/71

“It's no problem.” 169 6/12/71

“The China thing – that's a rough one.” 169 6/12/71

“... playing with fire ...”

You see, we're playing with fire, playing with fire. 169 6/12/71

“... what, how, when, do?”

Exactly. Without saying: what, how, when, who? 169 6/12/71

“... too goddamn much ...”

You know, there's been too goddamn much been going on. That's the problem.
170 6/12/71

(June 13, 1971: The New York Times begins publishing the Pentagon Papers, a forty-volume study of the Vietnam War based on highly classified Pentagon records from the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. While not directly implicated, the Nixon White House unsuccessfully seeks an injunction to prevent further publication.)

“Nothing else of interest in the world?” 171 6/13/71

“... fire the top guy.”

Now, I would just start right at the top and fire some people. I mean, whatever department it came out of, I'd fire the top guy. 171 6/13/71

“... a question of leadership ...”

Let's be realistic. The key to this sort of thing is what the two major nuclear powers will do. It's a question of leadership at the top – I don't mean at the top of the governments, but at the top of the group of five. 172 6/15/71

“... the cosmetics ...”

Apart from the cosmetics of a Five-power discussion, the real issue is the Two-Power relationship. 172 6/15/71

“... very explosive.”

As for the Middle East, there is, of course, a fear of a U.S. – Soviet condominium. Of course, Soviet and U.S. interests are quite different. We both have constituents we may not be able to control, and this makes the situation very explosive. 173 6/15/71

“We can succeed.” 173 6/16/71

“... our enemies in this country ...”

We can, but on the other hand, we must not give our enemies – and I'm not referring to our enemies in North Vietnam, but our enemies in this country – we cannot give them the weapons to kill us with. 173 6/16/71

“We'll have to hope for the best.” 175 6/16/71

“... the drug thing ...”

Getting back to this problem, that we had yesterday in the drug thing, as you can see, that is a – that is just an enormously potent issue. 175 6/16/71

“... shoot up those drug places.”

Maybe our own people just go in and shoot up those drug places. I don't know why, but we've got to get – and this hurts us. It has to be done, or we've got a massive investigation on our hands. 175 6/16/71

“Leave it in Vietnam ...”

Let 'em sell it, put it on the black market, anything they want. Leave it in Vietnam if it'll help. 177 6/16/71

"We can commit to that." 178 6/16/71

"Well, let's take the offensive on that." 181 6/16/71

"... we'd done Lam Son ..."

**You can talk all you want about Lam Son, but, how in the world, how in the world would casualties have been averaging twenty, unless we'd done Lam Son, right?
181 6/16/71**

"... I'm surprised ..."

It's refreshing to have some guys who are willing to stand up and speak out as you have, particularly in light of the fact that you read polls, and they say, if you ask the individual, "Do you favor getting all Americans out of Vietnam in 1971?" and I'm surprised it isn't a hundred percent! 182 6/16/71

"... people are sick of the war ..."

So all of this adds up to this, it adds up to the fact that a majority of the American people are sick of the war, a majority now think it was a mistake to go in, a majority of the American people want to get out as quick as they can, and many want to get out regardless of the consequences. 182-183 6/16/71

"... Johnson lied, Kennedy ... lied ..."

Also, other attitudes that have been created by the media are ideological. Most American servicemen serving abroad are brutes, savages. Second, that many others who have served abroad are dope addicts. Third, in any event, the morality is such that Johnson lied, Kennedy before him lied, and naturally you assume that because we were lied into war, that now as we are getting out probably we're lying as we get out. 183 6/16/71

"... South Vietnamese have to survive for a while ..."

The answer is that the United States' record in Vietnam is full of heroism and self-sacrifice, and so forth. And that under all these circumstances, it's time for, when Americans look back on this difficult time in their history, that they're going to look back with some pride. It's going to take some time, take some time. It'll take some luck. The South Vietnamese have to survive for a while after we leave, et cetera. 183 6/16/71

"... the Cavett thing ..."

When you go on some of these TV shows like the Cavett thing you're going to get banged, and you'll feel terribly discouraged and say that the whole country is against you. And so forth. But I think you've got to remember, we have to remember that, now I would serve your same [fellow servicemen still] in Vietnam,

once you get out, that now you would you have the added burden of having to get back and reassure people that those who do come back, like Kerry and the rest, don't speak for all. 183 6/16/71

"It's terrible." 185 6/29/71

"... panting for that summit ..."

Boy, if they only knew what the hell was coming up, they'd be in here panting for that summit, wouldn't they? Huh? 186 6/29/71

(June 30, 1971: The Twenty-sixth Amendment to the Constitution is adopted, granting eighteen-, nineteen, - and twenty-year-olds the right to vote.)

"... we know who our friends are."

Just say that we, that our – as far as the Republic of China is concerned that we have – we know who our friends are. And we are continuing to continue our close, friendly relations with them. As for their vital interests, what you really mean by vital interests, what you mean is, are we going to turn them over to the ChiComs, is that it? 186 6/30/71

"... really rather ridiculous ..."

I mean if they get in – if they should – and when they – that's why the whole two-China thing is so really rather ridiculous, even if we eventually have to come to that. But our position will basically be that we support the Republic of China and especially in the UN. We will continue to. We will not support any resolution – our China position will not support any propositions that have the Republic of China put out of the UN. 187 6/30/71

"We won't manage to break our treaties." 187 6/30/71

"... because they're there."

But we must have in mind, and they must be prepared for the fact, that there will continue to be a step-by-step, a more normal relationship with the other – the Chinese mainland. Because our interests require it. Not because we love them, but because they're there. 187 6/30/71

"... personal considerations ..."

The personal considerations here are – we'll put it this way, we're not about to engage in what the Kennedy administration did with Diem. Because they might think that way. Either physically or philosophically, we don't do that to our friends. 187 6/30/71

“... the hell with the UN.”

To be perfectly frank with you, if I were to be, if I were in their position, and the UN, as I say, the UN moves in that direction, I would just say the hell with the UN. What is it anyway? It's a damn debating society. What good does it do? 188
6/30/71

“... just give hell ...”

They talk about hijacking, drugs, the challenges of modern society, and the rest just give hell to the United States. That's all they do. 188 6/30/71

“... our interests ...”

I mean, it does not serve our interests to put anything up to the UN. As you know, none of our vital interests have ever been submitted to the UN and will never be while I'm here. 188 6/30/71

“Good God.”

Well, you can just stop and think of what would happen if anybody with a decent system of government got control of the mainland. Good God. 189 6/30/71

“... they wouldn't amount to a goddamn.”

There'd be no power in the world that could even – I mean, you put eight hundred million Chinese to work under a decent system and they would be the leaders of the world. The Indians – you could put two hundred billion Indians to work, and they wouldn't amount to a goddamn. 189 6/30/71

“... they got what it takes.”

But the Chinese, they're all over Asia. I know. They've got what it takes. 189
6/30/71

“... hurt our friends.”

But the point is we take no comfort in seeming to hurt our friends. 190 6/30/71

“... bandits, thugs, international outlaws ...”

I look around the world, and you have to deal sometimes with a bunch of damn bandits. We do. And we're dealing with bandits, thugs, international outlaws, and so forth. But sometimes you have to because our interests are so deeply involved. 191 6/30/71

“... he's gonna have to testify ...”

Is this about the Papers? Do you think he's gonna have to testify on the Papers? Us that what he – the Pentagon Papers? 192 7/1/71

“... seventeen million people ...”

We’re not going to turn the country over – seventeen million people – over to the Communists against their will. 192 7/1/71

“... what they are saying ...”

We are not going to - what they are saying is to turn seventeen million South Vietnamese over to the Communists against their will. 192 7/1/71

“... the man who did Cambodia ... who did Laos.”

I want you to put in that this is the man who did Cambodia, This is the man who did Laos. This is the man who will be, who will look to our interests, and who will protect our interests without regard to political considerations. 193 7/1/71

“... thin it down ...”

I would thin it down a bit so that you can get to the stuff that really counts very soon. 194 7/1/71

“Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah.” 195 7/1/71

“... you just can’t slap them ...”

I mean, you can’t just slap them, or they’ll say, “To hell with you,” and they get tough. 196 7/3/71

“... natural allies ...”

Although they should be our natural allies, interestingly enough, shouldn’t they? 197 7/3/71

“Who, but America?”

Who’s going to keep the Japanese restrained? Who, but America? 197 7/3/71

“... they need us ...”

God, they need us. If you really think straight, they need us desperately. 197 7/3/71

“... the cosmetics.”

“What’s done, Henry” – you know what I mean? He just can’t keep going over there and diddling around, because he gets too impressed by the, basically, the cosmetics. He really does, I mean, as much as he’s – as realist as he is, you know it does impress him. Cosmetics usually impress him. 198 7/6/71

“... they’re suckering us ...”

But Henry’s just got to get him a little bit, got to be more – you know, he always has these long, goddamn tortuous meetings with Dobrynin, and it seems very interesting, very exciting, and all that sort of thing. Al, they’re suckering us along.
199 7/6/71

“... ass-pick ...”

They’re going to ass-pick to pay a bigger price, which we will have to consider.
200 7/6/71

(July 9, 1971: Nixon send National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger to Beijing, China, to meet with Prime Minister Zhou Enlai. The propose of the visit is to come to an agreement on the future visit by President Nixon.)

(July 15, 1971: Nixon makes an announcement that he will be the first president of the United States to visit the People’s Republic of China, ending more than two decades of isolation and hostility.)

“Shut up and get out!” 204 7/19/71

“... this son of a bitch is unpredictable.”

Oh, well. You know, it shows what you’ve done. You know another thing too that shakes them, Henry. They worry, worry in a different sense, the information, gut issue. I was their fear. This shakes them up completely because people say, they say, “This son of a bitch went into Cambodia; the son of a bitch went into Laos; this son of a bitch may be a disaster; this son of a bitch is unpredictable. We don’t know what he’s going to do.” 205 7/19/71

“... goddamn loose on Vietnam ...”

We’re going to be goddamn loose on Vietnam though, Henry. 205 7/19/71

“... we’ve got the hole card ...”

No gloating ever. No. No. I agree. I think that the very cool and strong position that we know what we’re doing, we’ve got the hole card, and we’re not going to gloat over you. 205-206 7/19/71

“... this goddamn country.”

Tell me about Pakistan now. I read the, I see now the Beatles are out raising, money for them. You know, it’s a funny thing, the way we are in this goddamn country. We get involved in all these screwball causes. 209 8/2/71

“The goddamn Indians.” 209 8/2/71

“That little son of a bitch ...”

Oh, I was – I just made a note this morning of that. I saw that Gromyko was down there talking to that damn Indian foreign minister. That little son of a bitch is insufferable. 210 8/9/71

“Goddamn it, who’s given them a billion dollars a year?” 211 8/9/71

“Shit, the Russians aren’t giving them a billion dollars a year, Henry.” 211
8/9/71 8/8

“... some way you could plant ... a story.”

In fact, could I suggest one thing? Is there any way that you could, in your conversation [with the Chinese], or otherwise get it across – is there some way you could plant, some way where the Democrats are, Democratic people are? That kind of a story? Or do you think they obviously are going to see it anyway?
211 8/9/71

“... beat the shit out of us ...”

The Chinese may have mixed emotions about who will be elected. But they damn well want to beat the shit out of us, Henry. 213 8/9/71

“... damn Democrat candidates ...”

All the damn Democrat candidates think the Russians are nice guys. 211
8/9/71

“I’d just lay the goddamn wood to him.” 213 8/9/71

“... beat the shit out of us ...”

The Chinese may have mixed emotions about who will be elected. But they damn well want to beat the shit out of us, Henry. 213 8/9/71

“... take an hors d’oeuvre.”

Besides the public sentiment they can take Israel any day that they want to take an hors d’oeuvre. 214 8/9/71

“... really trying to punish ...”

Getting back to the Russians – I mean, on the Indians, yeah, they’re really trying to punish the Paks, but they sure as hell don’t want a war down there. 214
8/9/71

“... their offensive thing ...”

Well, the difficulty with zero ABM – it’s just a simple point. Zero ABM, plus a freeze, basically – and that’s what it is on their offensive thing – means that we freeze, in terms of ourselves, into an inferior position, both ways. 218 8/10/71

“... we’re already inferior ...”

But if you look at those charts, we’re already inferior, except in numbers, of course, of weapons, and it’s because of MIRVing – which we may have, basically, four or five years, if somebody doesn’t knock that out. So, we don’t want to freeze right now. Right? Is that right? 218 8/10/71

“... the jackasses ...”

Well, incidentally, the jackasses have been trying to get us to stop MIRV, and that’s worse than stopping ABM. Right, Mel? 219 8/10/71

“... everybody squealing ...”

It would seem it’s rather interesting that there’s always these issues that stir the people up. It’s hard to realize it. About a year ago, eighteen months ago, it was MIRV everybody squealing about MIRV, you know, “We got to stop MIRV.”

“... whatever advantage ...”

The advantage that we have, whatever advantage that we have, has to be maintained by the MIRVing of the system. 220 8/10/71

“... a hell of a bang.”

One of the things – we talk about these huge weapons, and – but one that is – I mean, after all, the bang of one-tenth – of one-tenth of a Polaris is a hell of a bang. Right? 222 8/10/71

“...preemptive capability ...”

How long do we have a preemptive capability with China, you think? 223 8/10/71

“... all that crap.”

Because then you have – it’s a good time. The weather’s a little better and all that crap. 226 8/11/71

“... we’re not going to go anyplace ...”

Well, the campaigning in New Hampshire itself is really all February and part of March. But we can’t say that we’re not going to go anyplace until April. 227 8/11/71

“When you got something, use it.” 227 8/11/71

“For talking, we need a week in China.” 228 8/11/71

“... the Jordan thing ...”

Put yourself in the position they are in. Bill [Rogers] and his people over there, naturally, are proud men, and they're intelligent men, and the test. They do like to think that they run foreign policy. They don't, and they're just finally learning it. Because in every major decision, they have either been against it or don't know about it. They didn't do SALT. They didn't do Cambodia and Laos. And they were very glad not to do it. They had no influence on our whole – they peed, you know, on all of our programs. Take the Jordan thing. Christ, they didn't do anything except screw that one up. 229 8/11/71

“We have played a very goddamn tough, skillful game here.” 229 8/11/71

“... unsophisticated people.”

I knew the China thing would be big because of the land of mystery. But the reason this is dramatic is that a trip [to the Soviet Union] would not have occurred to unsophisticated people. 230 8/11/71

“I mean the Russian thing is going to be one hell of a story.” 230 8/11/71

“They [the Department of State leaders] do not think big.” 231 8/11/71

“... talk philosophy ...”

You've got to talk philosophy; you've got to be a great mosaic and you put in the pieces. 231 8/11/71

“... piddling little goddamn things ...”

State is not thinking in mosaic terms. The Communists do. The Chinese do. The Russians do. We must. The British used to. They don't anymore because they aren't a power anymore. And the British are only thinking about how much they're going to get and whether or not whipped cream goes with their strawberries, going to be higher or less and that sort of thing. They're down to the piddling little goddamn things which are not worthy of a parliament. 231 8/11/71

“... the international monetary thing ...”

Looking at what we, what is needed now, in order to stop the crisis, if we look at the international monetary thing, all that is needed is to close the gold window That stops the crisis, right? 233 8/12/71

“... stir up a lot of people ...”

**There’s no use to stir up a lot of people about things they don’t understand. 233
8/12/71**

“... the whole thing at one time ...”

**Now, the question is, if we do the whole thing at one time, could we do it now,
tonight? 234 8/12/71**

“... good God ...”

**Nobody knows what the public reaction will be to the gold window, I mean,
because, frankly, good God the people that are the experts don’t know what the
hell it might be! 234 8/12/71**

“The professionals are all so jittery.” 235 8/12/71

“... thinking correct.”

Let me see if I can get your thinking correct. 236 8/12/71

“You just never know, do you?” 239 8/12/71

“... bite the bullet ...”

If we have to bite the bullet, we bite it. 239 8/12/71

“... we should make every sacrifice ...”

**He [Paul Volcker] thinks that we should make every sacrifice domestically to save
the dollar internationally. I do not agree with that. 239 8/12/71**

“... cut our guts out ...”

**Our primary goal must be a continued upward surge in the domestic economy.
And we must not, in order to stabilize the international situation, cut our guts out
here. 240 8/12/71**

“Blood, sweat, and tears, hell no.” 240 8/12/71

“We must have no illusions.” 240 8/12/71

“Well, the shorter it is, the simpler it can be.” 241 8/12/71

“... da-da-da-da-da-da.”

We think it is time for the United States to do this, that, and the other thing, da-da-da-da-da-da! 243 8/12/71

“Just crack it out there.” 8/12/71

“... that goddamn thing ...”

As far as the budget cut is concerned, you don't have to explain anything, people are going to know that goddamn it, he's cutting the budget. 243 8/12/71

“... thank God ...”

As far as the wage-price freeze is concerned, they're going to say thank God, we've got a wage-price freeze. 243 8/12/71

“... words should be very brief.”

Where action is so powerful, the words should be very brief. 243 8/12/71

“... da-da-da-da.”

I would say that for the past twenty-five years we've seen a gradual deterioration of our position, and we've had this situation, we've had these monetary crises and so forth, and its time now to call it off. What we're going to do is do these things. First, we're going to close the gold window and we'll be prepared to negotiate about this sort of thing and have a more stable situation. Second, we're going to have an import tax, da-da-da-da. Third, we're going to do this thing. 244 8/12/71

“... screw it up beyond belief ...”

I'd hate to have Congress go in there, because they'll put in exceptions and screw it up beyond belief. 244 8/12/71

“... no problem ...”

Now, the freeze you don't have to go to the Congress. Other legislative proposals, no problem, you can just send these to the Congress. But this one – go ahead. 245 8/12/71

“...smack that later.”

I do think that the idea that they would pour in the imports and then we would aggravate the balance of payments is probably true, but then we would hold that in reserve, and smack that later. 245 8/12/71

“... it has some appeal ...”

Think about the border tax. It has some appeal to me. 247 8/12/71

“...we are opening up Pandora’s box ...”

The quota thing, just testing it out, is just desperate. It is totally wrong, and I have come down, John, against the textile thing. I’ve been wrestling with that and [unclear], But I just can’t, I’ve come down against the use of that national security authority. Mitchell is for it. Stans is for it. Hodgson is for it, in fact, all the most political people. I’ll tell you what, if we do it there, we are opening up Pandora’s box, and I’ll have to do it for steel, and it’s stretching one hell of a lot. I think Lincoln, well, not that he would, he’d probably have to resign. 248 8/12/71

“Maybe it’s not possible.” 249 8/12/71

“What’s unanimous is we’re in a crisis.” 249 8/12/71

“... our backs are against the wall ...”

Rather than that we are doing this because our backs are against the wall, we’re simply saying we’re doing this because it’s time to change this obsolete system to set up a new system in its place, and these are the steps that we’re going to take, and now we’re prepared to negotiate with our friends around the world, to tend to solve the problem. 250 8/12/71

“... some very tough customers ...”

I feel we’re dealing in the world with some very tough customers, and I feel that, that we, like with the Japanese, if we say well, we’ll put some quota on, and that sort of thing. Well Christ, they don’t believe it, and naturally we want them to feel it. I’m inclined to think that we’ll act first, talk later, after we’ve shot the gun out of their hands. 250-251 8/12/71

“... sit on their butts and don’t work.”

I don’t think, John, it would be in our interest, it isn’t in the interest of world leadership to step up and say the United States is going to isolate itself with a fifteen percent wall around it because also that’s very bad for American industry. A lot of these guys are going to sit on their butts and don’t work. 251 8/12/71

“... bend the law ...”

I think we have got to bend the law. Let me say, we’re not bending the law. So somebody will sue us, so what the hell! We’ll be sued for two years. We’ll fight that damn thing in the Supreme Court. Right? 251-251 8/12/71

"... ducks in a row ..."

Well now John, John Mitchell [Nixon was speaking to John Connally], let's get the ducks in a row then. 252 8/12/71

"Arthur [Burns] just needs his wisdom." 253 8/12/71

"... a lot of time gassing."

But if we have a meeting, we'll spend a lot of time gassing. 254 8/12/71

"... get them to do their thinking and homework ..."

What I meant is how do we get a lot of them to do their thinking and homework before they get to the meeting. 254 8/12/71

"... willing to sit in and talk all night ..."

Listen, I am perfectly willing to sit in and talk all night, you know, if it's useful. 255 8/12/71

"... the damn decisions ..."

I'd just as soon not have another speechwriter there. I'm going to do all of the writing myself, of course, but I, that's the reason that I've got to have the damn decisions made fairly soon so that I'll know what's going to go in. 255 8/12/71

"... crisp, reassuring, and brief ..."

What ought to be said should be crisp, reassuring, and brief. 255 8/12/71

"I dredge out nuggets out of everyone." 256 8/12/71

"Yeah. Okay. At least make it eight!" [a proposed investment tax credit]. 256 8/12/71

"Well, we'll have a lot of fun." 257 8/12/71

"... the damn speech."

I've got to let them know by Saturday night, so that I can use Sunday and Monday, well, all day Sunday and part of Monday, to write the damn speech. 257 8/12/71

"... nothing worthwhile is ever safe ..."

It's one of the things where there are no safe choices, and nothing worthwhile is ever safe, and perhaps no difference. 258 8/12/71

“... just be the devil’s advocate ...”

Do you think we should have a speech? Let me just, just be the devil’s advocate for one moment. On the one side of it, rather, than going on television, and you know, talking to the American people about, the crisis we’ve got, and so on, just make up a hell of a good statement, and then background on it – You’ve got to educate them. The advantages of that are, it’s a very, the fact that it is a complicated subject, and no one could judge whether a speech, no matter how carefully written, is going to have the effect of shaping the confidence of the people. 258 8/12/71

“... we wouldn’t screw around ...”

Well. If we can get ready, that would be better, then we wouldn’t screw around and have Monday to lose another billion dollars. 259 8/12/71

“... what the hell.”

There’ll be a lot of speculation of what you’re going to do, but what the hell. 259 8/12/71.

“... Wolf. Trap. Farm ...”

Well, I’m supposed to take my wife so that we can get out. Wolf. Trap. Farm. Has anybody been to Wolf. Trap. Farm? 260 8/12/71

“... you can have my seat!”

Well, I’ll tell ya, I’ll tell ya, you can have my seat! Do you want it? 260 8/12/71

“... why screw up the market ...”

It occurs to me, hell, we don’t have to, why screw up the market tomorrow? 260 8/12/71

“... a goddamn thing.”

We won’t announce a goddamn thing. 261 8/12/71

“... everybody keeps his damn mouth shut ...”

The main purpose of going to Camp David, frankly, is to get everybody in there where they’re not going to talk to anybody. Where everybody keeps his damn mouth shut, and there’s no papers. 261 8/12/71

(August 15, 1971: Under the authority of the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 (84 Sta. 799), Nixon announces Phase I of the Economic Stabilization Program, a new economic policy of wage and price controls and a new international economic system that results in the end of the gold standard. One of the most significant postwar economic events, this announcement deals a mortal blow to the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates.)

(September 3, 1971: The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin is signed by the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and France. The agreement establishes trade and travel relations between West Berlin and West Germany and communications between East Berlin and West Berlin for the first time, greatly reducing East-West tensions and permitting further cooperation between the two blocs.)

"... a little persecuting."

I could only hope that we are, frankly, doing a little persecuting. 262 9/8/71

"We ought to persecute them [Democratic candidates]." 262 9/8/71

"... a lot of fine deals."

And on the IRS, if you can do it, are we looking into Muskie's return? Does he have any? Hubert [Humphrey]? Hubert's been in a lot of fine deals. 262 9/8/71

"Teddy? Who knows about the Kennedys? Shouldn't they be investigated?"
262 9/8/71

"... we were all pleased ..."

Well, I feel that – I kind of feel in a way that with the vote on [extending] the draft today, which I just as – of course, I mean, we were all pleased with forty-seven to thirty. 264 9/8/71

"... the poor son of a bitch."

But, getting back to [Lyndon] Johnson, don't you think he's just terribly – must be terrible frustrated, the poor son of a bitch. 265 9/8/71

"... this miserable war ..."

You know, you think of this miserable war – and, first of all, Henry, it isn't a miserable war. The goddamn war was fought for a great cause and a good cause – and we didn't have to get into it, to begin with. We shouldn't have started down the Diem trail. We shouldn't have made the Laotian deal, in my opinion. All right, that's all second-guessing. But once in it, this war could have been ended in a year or two years ... Using our air power we could have knocked those bastards right off the lot ... Yeah ... and with a victory. 266 9/17/71

"... it must be horrible ..."

Goodness sakes, if you can bring a quick, modern plan down with a machine gun, it must be a horrible, poor pilot. 269 9/18/71

“Jesus Christ!” 270 9/18/71

“... brace him damn hard ...”

I think you ought to take Dobrynin, [and] brace him damn hard on the fact that Brezhnev did not respond with regard to the offensive weapons thing at SALT.
270 9/18/71

“... the son of a bitch ...”

Henry, for Christ’s sake, I wrote a letter to the son of bitch, [Gerald] Smith, and said, “This is the line.” Why didn’t he follow the letter? 271 9/18/71

“You just leave and I’ll talk to him here.” 272 9/21/71

“You get the hell out. That’s right.” 272 9/21/71

“Hell, yes. You’re goddamn right.” 727 9/21/71

“... the president has moved ahead of all three Democratic candidates.”

You know, incidentally, one thing that may have helped us a little – I was mentioning it to Bob before – one thing that may help us at the present time with both the Chinese and the Russians is that, as Colson was pointing out here, we have a situation where both Gallup and Harris have reported within the last two weeks that the president has moved ahead of all three Democratic candidates.
274 9/21/71

“... got to play this game ...”

Well, put yourself in their position: either side has got, it would seem to me, has got to play this game with us. 276 9/21/71

“... right down our throat.”

You know, we will have – we would have – if a Kennedy or a Muskie or a Humphrey had been sitting in this chair, the United States today would have Gromyko looking right down our throat. 279 9/29/71

“... let them squeal ...”

Henry, the conservatives, I frankly think they’re – let them squeal. I’m almost inclined to think that a little of their squealiness has got to be, is just par for the course. And if they’re going to do it, they’re going to do it. 279 9/29/71

“You see, the mountain cannot labor and produce a mouse.” 287 9/29/71

“... a very realistic man, a very practical man.”

I am known, I know, as the – it’s rather ironical – as really anti-Communist and all that, but I’m a very realistic man, a very practical man. Also, I am the one who has, as I’ve often said, enormous respect for the Russian people – a great people. I know that looking at the world, even if we – even though our political systems are very different, that the future of peace in the world for twenty-five years – and nobody can look further than that, I think, - is in our hands. It’s in the hands of the United States and Russia. Nobody else. Someone else can stir it up, but if we put our foot down, we can make a great contribution. I think that the – I think that it would be a great signal to the world if – not only the announcement that we’re doing, but also if, at such a meeting, it would be said that the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Great War began – were – are again resuming. Now, of course, that doesn’t mean – we have to be practical – that we’re going to agree on systems of government, that we won’t be competing here and there. But it does mean that we have a new dialogue. A new relationship where we solve the problems. That’s what I want. 291 9/29/71

“... working very, very quietly ...”

Now, it may be that working very, very quietly – Kissinger and Dobrynin, you see – that we can explore something on the Mideast. I don’t know. 291 9/29/71

“Right. Right. Right.”

Right. Right. Right. The Mideast is so tense – so touchy, politically, in this country. 294 9/29/71

“... these bastards ...”

Because my view on Vietnam, the more I’ve thought about it, is that toward the end of the year – and I’m going to poll it in advance to see what it is – that I will say, “All right, we’ll make an announcement of some sort.” And then we – I’m assuming these bastards turn us down – and then we say that I am going to resume the bombing of military targets in North Vietnam unless and until we get the prisoners back. 298 9/29/71

“Jesus.” 300 9/29/71

“... to run down the Russians’ throat ...”

But the point is, the way it now ought to be done, frankly, you – and that, of course, means me – I ought to get in Rabin and say, “Now, look here, this is a hell of a deal. And we think we can sell – this is what we’re prepared to put, to run down the Russians’ throat, if you’ll do something.” See my point? 300 9/30/71

“... hell of an offer ...”

No, look, I mean, no, before we get – in order to get to the Russians – let me put it this way: the Israelis are the tough ones. They’re going to be a hell of a lot tougher than the Russians. Now, in order to get the Israelis to come some way, we’ve got to say – we’ve got – we mustn’t let them think the Russians are prepared to offer this, until we get a hell of an offer from them. 300 9/30/71

“Yeah. Yeah. Just keep the Middle East dangled.” 301 9/30/71

They need us – what I meant is: I have a feeling, in my talk with him [Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko], that they’re at least – the two reasons that they’re, the two things that they want from us, not only – one is that the China thing worries them, and the second is the Middle East. They really are worried about that damn place. 301 9/30/71

“What do you think, Henry?” 301 9/30/71

I don’t want you to go any further. Don’t be too – what I’m getting at is this: I want them to want something from us on the Middle East. They must want our cooperation, and we must not be in a position of wanting theirs so much. 302 9/30/71

“Keep them worried. That’s what I mean.” 301 9/30/71

“I meant exactly that.”

I think you should tell him that I said when I used the word “preliminary” and “private,” I meant exactly that. 303 9/30/71

“... it’s not good for the Chinese.”

My idea is that the time for Taiwan to go out is next year, shouldn’t be this year, it’s not good for the Chinese. 304 10/14/71

“... our standard rule.”

Let me say, there’s never been a, no president in my memory has made a state visit longer than four days. That’s our standard rule. And I’m just not going over that. 304 10/14/71

“... we love the goddamn Chinese ...”

I just meet them at the airport and then I go in and get closeted for four days. And she [Mrs. Nixon] goes out to the goddamn schools. You know what I mean? So they get the feel of Americans; you see, there’s a missionary feel about China. And they just like the idea that we love the goddamn Chinese, that’s what I really meant about that. 304 10/14/71

“... it’s like Washington, it’s the least representative.”

That’s one thing about the Communists system, the capital is the least, it’s like Washington, it’s the least representative. It’s so tightly controlled. You get to another city, it’s an entirely different thing. 305 10/14/71

“... scare the bejeezus out of them ...”

But with Japan, I believe that we have to frankly scare the bejeezus out of them more on Japan. 305 10/14/71

“... the United States is a Pacific and an Asian power ...”

For example, we’ll take the Taiwan thing, we know what has to happen. Korea, we will work that out in an oral way. Except, I’d work that out orally. But also – but I would state very, very firmly, “Now look, the United States is a Pacific power and an Asian power, and we are going to maintain a presence there.” 305
10/14/71

“I know what we’re doing, but I want to be very careful.” 305 10/14/71

“... a great team.”

Danny [Murtaugh, manager of the Pittsburgh Pirates], I just want you to know that I saw the game on television, and you can be mighty proud of the Pirates. You beat a great team, and yours was a great team. 306 10/17/71

“... Clemente, of course, was fantastic ...”

Well. I know that, of course, Clemente, of course was fantastic, and Blass, but really, it was a team effort, the fantastic defense you had, I thought, was really outstanding. 306 10/17/71

“... I’m a little busy right now ...”

I must say, I was hoping to get out there, but I’m a little busy right now, but I caught most of the game on TV 306 10/17/71

“... the Orioles played like champions when they lost ...”

Earl [Weaver, manager of the Baltimore Orioles], I know this is a tough time for you, but let me tell you that the Orioles played like champions when they lost, and it’s, you, and I also admire your fighting spirit. 307 10/17/71

“... I’ve lost a few ...”

Well, let me tell you, you know, I’ve lost a few and I know that you don’t get many calls when you lose, but boy you fellows were great, and, I saw the game yesterday on TV, and, that was one of the greatest, and the one today was, it could have gone either way. I’m telling you [Mike] Cuellar and your boys were just fantastic. 307 10/17/71

"... there'll be another day."

So, after all, as you've pointed out, I guess no other team's won a hundred games for three straight years in the American League, and there'll be another day. Well, tell all those fellows that, I must say, when I saw, yesterday, when Frank Robinson went to third, and then, and that one, and then, I said, "My God, if an old man can run like that, he's doing all right!" 307-308 10/17/71

"Well, that was a bad vote, wasn't it?" 308 10/26/71

"We didn't get Iran, though, damn it." 308 10/26/71

"Those African countries, they're the ones that I must say were disappointing."
308 10/26/71

"Mm-hmm, mm-hmm, mm-hmm." 309 10/26/71

"We've got some fish to fry ..."

Mn-hmm. Yeah. Well, let me give some thought to this whole thing. It's a tough one, as you're well aware. We've got some fish to fry on India-Pakistan. We're trying to avoid a war there. And the UN may have to play some damn role there, because we don't want to get involved ... let me say, in that miserable place.
309 10/26/71

"... either fish or cut bait."

Now, in my view, this either fish or cut bait. There isn't any more reason to meet again. 310 11/2/71

"The point is, it's at their initiative this time; they want to meet." 311 11/2/71

"This is just the point when she [Gandhi] is a bitch." 312 11/5/71

"Now it's up to her."

Now I've talked to her, told her everything we're going to do. Now it's up to her.
312 11/5/71

"We really slobbered over the old witch." 313 11/5/71

"Did you get across with that clown [Sardar Swaran Singh, the Indian minister of foreign affairs] yesterday afternoon at five?" 313 11/5/71

“I dropped stilettos ...”

You should have heard, Bob, the way we worked her around. I dropped stilettos all over her. 313 11/5/71

“... stuck it to her ...”

We also stuck it to her on that book – Henry’s book about India-Pakistan. 313 11/5/71

“... she knew goddamn well...”

But she knew goddamn well that I knew what happened, don’t you think? 314 11/5/71

“... they’re emotionally interested in trade.”

Now the one thing is, as Bill [Secretary of State William Rogers] will tell you, that anyone who has talked to the Russians, our Russian friends, Gromyko and the rest, they’re emotionally interested in trade. 315 11/15/71

“... never say trade and political accommodations are linked.”

The way I’ve always described it is this: that you never say trade and political accommodations are linked. But the two are just inevitably intertwined. If you move on one it helps the other. 315 11/15/71

“And, so we – we’ve got a hell of a big say in this.” 315 11/15/71

“... there’s some things we’d like to get from them.”

I don’t think we want to appear to be panting so much after. I don’t think we want to be – I don’t think we – I mean I don’t – I don’t think we oughta – let me put it this way: there’s some things we’d like to get from them. 316 11/15/71

“That’s too crude.”

I don’t think you should play it that way. That’s too crude. 316 11/15/71

“... slobbering away ...”

But what I’m suggesting that you [Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans] do, to you is that you play a different game. That’s our businessmen, and they’re going over there panting around over the Soviets so much that they’re slobbering away and giving away our bargaining position. 317 11/15/71

“... give away the store.”

Bill [Secretary of State William Rogers], I’ve talked to some of these guys and, gosh, they’d give away the store. 317 11/15/71

“... not your responsibility.”

I would just simply say that that’s not your responsibility. 318 11/15/71

“... be a very shrewd trader ...”

It will do absolutely no harm at all for you to be a very shrewd trader – Yankee trader – with the Russians. That’s the way they are. They expect it and they’d be very surprised 320 1/15/71

“The Russians are a very tough bunch of bastards.” 320 11/15/71

“... magnificent little temples.”

Well. Samarkand has – you know that’s one of Genghis Khan’s residences. It has those magnificent little temples. 321 11/15/71

“... all sorts of Asians.”

And you’ll see Asians out there. That’s the interesting thing. You see you’ll get out there and you realize that Russia is not a country of Russians. There are all sorts of Asians. 321 11/15/71

“... they kick us around ...”

We respect their – we respect their people. They’ve contributed so much to this country. But basically we, we’re not too damn happy about the way they kick us around in the world. 322 11/15/71

“... he helped to defeat Nixon ...”

You have to remember that Khrushchev – incidentally, you can also recall, [he] wrote a book, he bragged that he helped to defeat Nixon in 1960. 322 11/15/71

“That just shows how much they care about our politics.” 322 11/15/71

“... what kind of man is the president?”

I think that’s probably why they agree to it. Then – I think there might be a, a – basically, they’ll want to know what kind of man is the president? 323 11/15/71

“... he’s a man you can deal with”

But particularly emphasize, though, that he’s a man you can make a deal with. But he’s a, I mean a – eyes totally open, you know, he’s a pragmatic man. 323 11/15/71

“... I’m naturally conciliatory ...”

**You could say – I must say – I mean I have to be because we deal with a Democratic Congress and I’m naturally conciliatory all the time. 323
11/15/71**

“... if it doesn’t cost too much ...”

What I had in mind, Henry is – and it think its fits in, in any event – I’d let to get, first, that major – I’m considering summoning Moorer over here – if it doesn’t cost too much - that major movement of the fleet, and an alert, and all that sort of thing, that we did at one other previous time ... – and the mining exercise, having it ready. 324 11/20/71

“... we need a propaganda thing ...”

I think we need a propaganda thing, with regard to broadcasts, and all that sort of thing. In other word, build it up like we did Son Tay [the North Vietnamese prison camp where, in 1970, U.S. special forces conducted a covert mission to free POW’s]. 324 11/20/71

“You know those bastards.”

You see, the fleet has to – it takes time for it to move. We know those bastards. 324 11/20/71

“... to hell with history.”

I’m sure it must have occurred to you, Henry, that regardless of how the election comes out in November, I will still be president until January 20, and I’ll be commander in chief. And, if I should have lost, I would certainly, certainly, not go out with my tail between my legs. Now, if these prisoners are not back by the time of the election, if we should lose the election, the day after the election – win, lose, or draw – we will bomb the bejeezus out of them. Because then, to hell with history. 325 11/20/71

“... Just knock the shit out of ‘em ...”

I’d take out the railroads; I’d take out the air force; I’d take out the – you know, just, just knock the shit out of ‘em for three months. 325 11/20/71

“... will kick the shit out of them ...”

But do they realize they that have to deal with, here, a man, who if he wins the election will kick the shit out of them, and if he loses the election will do it even more? 326 11/20/71

“... it occurred to me at two thirty in the morning ...”

But out of that intriguing idea – it occurred to me at two thirty in the morning - ... this morning I woke up, and I was thinking a little, and, you know, sometimes the best ideas come in. 326 11/20/71

“... a hell of a good time to bomb ...”

I’m going to be here from November 7 until January 20, come hell or high water, and that’s a hell of a good time to bomb, too. 326 11/20/71

“... knock off a few villages and hamlets ...”

I’d get the navy in. I’d get them in, and I’d say, “Boys, here’s your chance to be heroes. I want you to knock out everything. These bastards have got your buddies up there, and they haven’t turned them loose. Now punish them.” And, incidentally, I wouldn’t worry about a little slop-over, and knock off a few villages and hamlets, and the rest. We just got to do it.” 326 11/20/71

“I’d lay down an ultimatum, just like it was done in the old days.” 327 11/20/71

“... hit them for three or four days ...”

If these bastards do not come back with something, we are going to hit them for three or four days. It isn’t as much as I’d like, but we’ll do at least that much. 327 11/20/71

“I just thought that ideas would intrigue the hell out of you.” 327 11/20/71

“I mean, I would, I really would. I’d finish off the goddamn place.” 327 11/20/71

“Just knock the shit out of them ...”

Bomb Haiphong. You know, the whole thing. I would put a crippling blow on it. Go on for sixty days of bombing. Just knock the shit out of them - ... - and then, everybody would say, “Oh, horrible, horrible, horrible.” 328 11/20/71

“... kicking us in the ass for twenty-five years.”

I talked to Connally. I asked him about it. He said, “For Christ’s sakes,” he says, “the Indians have been kicking us in the ass for twenty five years.” 328 11/22/71

“They know how I feel about India.” 329 11/22/71

Now, understand, I don’t like the Indians! 330 11/22/71

“... the damn Indians ...”

Let’s remember that the Pakistanis have been our friends in these late few days and the damn Indians have not been. 330 11/22/71

“... all these little countries.”

You see, this is where the New York times and the rest are wrong, where they said that if aggression is engaged in by a democracy it’s all right. But where it’s engaged in by a dictatorship, it’s wrong. They forget that most of the countries in the world are dictatorships – including all these little countries. 330 12/8/71

“... we should be with the six hundred million Indians.”

There’s a totally immoral attitude of our critics here. First, they say, they make the point that because there’s six hundred million Indians and only sixty million in West Pakistani, we’re on the wrong side. We should be with the six hundred million Indians. 330 12/8/71

“I said since when do we determine the morality of our policy on the basis of how many people a country has?” 330 12/8/71

“... a higher degree of morality.”

If aggression is engaged in by any country, it’s wrong. And in a sense it’s even more wrong for a democratic country to engage in it because democratic countries are held to a higher degree of morality. 330 12/8/71

“... puts the issue to these sons of bitches.”

International morality will be finished – the United Nations will be finished – if you adopt the principle that because a country is democratic and big it can do what the hell it pleases. I really think that puts the issue to these sons of bitches. 330 12/8/71

“... this goddamn security problem.”

And the Joint Chiefs, the military, et cetera, cannot become our enemy. We cannot have it. And also, we can’t have this goddamn security problem! 335 12/21/71

“The president says you can’t discuss it.”

There is a federal offense of the highest order here. And you have reported it to the president. The president says you can’t discuss it. 335 12/21/71

"I want a direct question about homosexuality asked. You never know what you're going to find." 336 12/22/71

"... relationships sometimes poison a lot of things."

Because we got a couple on Hiss and Chambers. Nobody knows that, but that's the background on how that one began. They were both that way. And relationships sometimes poison a lot of these things. 12/22/71

"... may be under blackmail."

If something, he [Charles Radford, a navy yeoman who stole records from Henry Kissinger's and Alexander Haig's offices] may be under blackmail. 336 12/22/71

"... keep him scared to death ..."

The point is: is there any way that we can keep him scared to death, so that he doesn't get out and think, "Oh, I'm now going to write the book, or I'm going to do this, or that or the other thing"? 336 12/22/71

"I'd like to scare the son of a bitch to death." 336 12/22/71

"I think it's important just to silence him." 337 12/22/71

"This son of a bitch ..."

This son of a bitch [newspaper columnist Jack] Anderson really knows how to work on us. 338 12/22/71

"I think you've [John Ehrlichman] done a marvelous job of sleuthing." 338 12/22/71

"Keep this guy under wraps by scaring him to death." 338 12/22/71

But my point is now, as I say, John [Ehrlichman], your strategy is correct. We can't blow it. But we ought to get out of this. Keep this guy under wraps by scaring him to death. 338 12/22/71

"He really ought to be prosecuted ..."

He really ought to be prosecuted for it. I mean, my God! It reflects on us here. 339 12/23/71

“They can’t take it.”

That’s the problem. It hurts the military. They can’t take it. This kid will go in and rat on them. That’s for sure. 340 12/23/71

“... we fucked up ...”

Frankly, by the end, it will reflect on us because, in the end, we’re still going to be accused that we fucked up on something. 340 12/23/71

“it hurt us some.”

It’s like the Pentagon Papers. We didn’t have anything to do with it, but in the end it hurt us some. 340 12/23/71

“Let them all stew.”

There’s something wrong. There’s something screwy here. But let him [Henry Kissinger] stew. Let them all stew. 340 12/23/71

“... Henry’s case ...”

There’s certainly a particular tendency in Henry’s case, always to find blame in other people but to deny anything in his shop could be anything but perfect.

“Everybody else should go to jail!” 340 12/23/71

I mean, I’ve decided Henry is like a child in certain – he won’t know how [to] handle it. And what to do, and so forth. Just say we’re going to handle this this way, and that [Attorney General John] Mitchell sent it to us. Now, I’ve put it in the hands of the Justice Department and it’s, the blood’s going to flow here.” 341 12/23/71

“Henry’s got that intellectual arrogance.”

You must remember, though, you’ve got to remember this. That’s also Henry. Henry’s got that intellectual arrogance, too, you know. And, he will justify every goddamn thing he’s ever done. He cannot be like we are in terms of saying, well, we all justify it to an extent that he cannot. One thing he cannot bear, believe me, is to be wrong. 341 12/23/71

“... cut your losses and get out ...”

It’s like when he, did that backgrounder on the plane. He knew he screwed it up. And, it’s like, remember that other one he did out here once? Well, it’s hard. It’s hard. That’s the problem with too much education. People get the feeling that they can do no wrong, and then, well, their defense is always to show, whenever they do make a mistake, they didn’t do it. But that, actually, they were right all the time. Whenever you make a mistake, unless you cut your losses and get out, you compound it by trying to prove you’re right. That was the trouble with Kennedy and Johnson on Vietnam. Assuming it was a mistake, they compounded it by trying to prove that it wasn’t. 341 12/23/71

“That’s bullshit, don’t you agree?” 343 12/24/71

“Grip of steel. Perfect man. Yeah!” 343 12/24/71

“All of them illegal? Hah, hah. That’s good.”

Now get – take care of the yeoman. We better do something with him, but I don’t know what the hell. Have you got any ideas?

[Ehrlichman: Yeah, but they’re all illegal.]

All of them illegal? Hah, hah. That’s good.

[Ehrlichman: Put him in a sack and drop him out of an airplane.]

That would do it. Yeah. 344 12/24/71