

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 14, 1970

This is a compendium of quotations from the speeches, messages, statements and remarks of President Nixon. It is sent to you with the thought that the ideas, themes and words on these pages will be useful in discussing the philosophy and thrust of the Nixon Administration. Certainly these lines will wear well with consistent repetition.

James Keogh

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CAMPUS UNREST

I think all of those who have a responsibility for providing educational leadership must recognize that there can be no compromise with lawlessness and no surrender to force if free education is to survive in the United States of America.

Speech to the U. S. Chamber of Commerce
April 29, 1969

We do not want the Federal Government interfering in and responsible for discipline in every college and university in this country. The responsibility for discipline in colleges and universities should be on the college administrators.

News Conference
June 19, 1969

They are trying to say that they want peace. They are trying to say that they want to stop the killing. They are trying to say that they want to end the draft. They are trying to say that we ought to get out of Vietnam. I agree with everything that they are trying to accomplish.

Comment concerning student News
Conference, May 8, 1970

I noted that the Scranton Commission hearings had been interpreted by some as indicating that the evidence was mounting to a conclusion that one way to bring peace on campus was to end the war in Vietnam.... I would have to respond to that in this way: I want peace on the campus, but my major obligation is to adopt policies that I consider will bring peace to the world.

News Conference, July 20, 1970

CHINA

I think of the other half of the Communist world, Communist China, seven hundred million people, not yet a super power, but seven hundred million people isolated not only from the United States and the free world, but isolated from the Communist world. And I think of what a dangerous world it would be and what an unhappy world it would be if those seven hundred million people, ten years from now, when you will have been out of college 5 or six years, or 20 years from now when you will have been out 15 years, if those seven hundred million, who will then be eight hundred million or nine hundred million, are still living in angry isolation from all the rest of the world.

Remarks to Presidential Scholars,
June 4, 1970

DESEGREGATION

There is a fundamental distinction between so-called "de jure" and "de facto" segregation: de jure segregation arises by law or by the deliberate act of school officials and is unconstitutional; de facto segregation results from residential housing patterns and does not violate the Constitution.

One of the mistakes of past policy has been to demand too much of our schools. They have been expected not only to educate, but also to accomplish a social transformation. Children in many instances have not been served, but used -- in what all too often has proved a tragically futile effort to achieve in the schools the kind of a multiracial society which the adult community has failed to achieve for itself.

If our schools fail to educate, then whatever they may achieve in integrating the races will turn out to be only a Pyrrhic victory.

Deliberate racial segregation of pupils by official action is unlawful, wherever it exists. In the words of the Supreme Court, it must be eliminated "root and branch" -- and it must be eliminated at once.

Statement on Desegregation
March 24, 1970

Successfully desegregating the nation's schools require more than the enforcement of laws. It also requires an investment of money.

Message to Congress concerning
Emergency School Aid Act of 1970
May 21, 1970

DESEGREGATION (cont'd)

Our policy is cooperation rather than coercion.

News Conference
July 20, 1970

DESEGREGATION (cont'd)

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News Conference
July 20, 1970

THE DRAFT

Ultimately, the preservation of a free society depends upon both the willingness of the beneficiaries to bear the burden of its defense -- and the willingness of government to guarantee the freedom of the individual.

By upholding the cause of freedom without conscription, we will have demonstrated in one more area the superiority of a society based upon belief in the dignity of man over a society based on the supremacy of the state.

Message to Congress on Draft Reform
April 23, 1970

THE ECONOMY

Inflation is a form of economic aggression against the very young and the very old, the poor and the thrifty.

Message to Congress
March 26, 1969

We must be realistic; as we gently, but firmly, apply the brakes, we are going to experience some "slowing pains." Just like growing pains, these are a healthy development -- but they are painful, nevertheless.

Instead of relying on our jawbone, we have put some backbone in government's determination to hold the line for the consumer.

Cost of Living Address
October 17, 1969

Now millions of Americans are forced to go into debt today because the Federal Government decided to go into debt yesterday. We must balance our Federal budget so that American families will have a better chance to balance their family budgets.

It is time to quit putting good money into bad programs. Otherwise, we will end up with bad money and bad programs.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

THE ECONOMY (cont'd)

What we are doing here is to deal with the problems of a nation in transition from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy.

Now many people wonder why we are easing some of the restraints on the economy before we have seen dramatic results in slowing down the rise in the cost of living. Why, they ask, don't we keep on with all of our measures to hold down the economy until price rises stop completely?

Let me put it this way: It is a little like trying to bring a boat into a dock. You turn down the power well before you get to the dock and let the boat coast in. Now if you waited until you reached the dock to turn down the power, you'd soon have to buy a new dock or a new boat.

In the same way, we're heading for the dock of price stability: We have to ease up on the power of our restraint and let our momentum carry us safely into port.

The fight against inflation is everybody's business.... If businessmen and workingmen are willing to raise their sights by lowering their demands, they will help themselves by helping to hold down everybody's cost of living.

Long before the art of economics had a name, it was called "political arithmetic." The American people expect their elected officials to do their political arithmetic honestly.

Economic Policy Address to the Nation
June 17, 1970

EDUCATION

We must stop congratulating ourselves for spending nearly as much money on education as does the entire rest of the world -- \$65 billion a year on all levels -- when we are not getting as much as we should out of the dollars we spend.

Mankind has witnessed a few great ages when understanding of a social or scientific process has expanded and changed so quickly as to revolutionize the process itself. The time has come for such an era in education.

Message to Congress on Education
Reform, March 3, 1970

No qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money. That has long been a great American goal; I propose that we achieve it now.

Message to Congress concerning
Higher Education, March 19, 1970

THE ENVIRONMENT

The 1970s absolutely must be the years when America pays its debt to the past by reclaiming the purity of its air, its waters, and our living environment. It is literally now or never.

Statement of January 1, 1970

The great question of the seventies is, shall we surrender to our surroundings, or shall we make our peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damage we have done to our air, to our land, and to our water?

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Through our years of past carelessness we incurred a debt to nature, and now that debt is being called.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

The reason why the environment must come first is that it is one area that, unless we do it now, it won't make any difference what we do later.

Remarks in Chicago, Illinois
February 6, 1970

The fight against pollution, however, is not a search for villains. For the most part, the damage done to our environment has not been the work of evil men, nor has it been the inevitable by-product either of advancing technology or of growing population. It results not so much from choices made, as from choices

THE ENVIRONMENT (cont'd)

neglected; not from malign intention, but from failure to take into account the full consequences of our actions.

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At the turn of the century, our chief environmental concern was to conserve what we had -- and out of this concern grew the often embattled but always determined "conservation" movement. Today "conservation" is as important as ever -- but no longer is it enough to conserve what we have; we must also restore what we have lost. We have to go beyond conservation to embrace restoration.

Message to Congress on Environmental
Quality, February 10, 1970

The task of cleaning up our environment calls for a total effort by ourselves and by our next generation. We shall be reaching out, therefore, in an effort to enlist millions of helping hands, millions of willing spirits, millions of volunteer citizens who will put to themselves the simple question: What can I do?

Remarks Concerning the Message
to Congress on Environmental
Quality, February 10, 1970

FOREIGN RELATIONS

After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation.

Inaugural Address, January 20, 1969

Partners are not expected always to agree. But they are expected to consult.

After 20 years, the Atlantic Alliance must adapt to the conditions brought on by its success. It must pool not only its arms but also its brains.

Speech to NATO Council
February 24, 1969

When there is trust between men who are leaders of nations, there is a better chance to settle differences than when there is not trust. I think that one of the accomplishments of this trip is that we have established between the United States of America and the major nations of Europe... -- a new relationship of trust and confidence that did not exist before.

News Conference
March 4, 1969

I believe we must build an Alliance strong enough to deter those who might threaten war, close enough to provide for continuous and far-reaching consultation, trusting enough to accept the diversity of views, realistic enough to deal with the world as it is, and flexible enough to explore new channels of constructive cooperation.

FOREIGN RELATIONS (cont'd)

We are not allies because we are bound by treaty; we bind ourselves by treaty because we are allied in meeting common purposes and common concerns.

Address to the North Atlantic Council
April 10, 1969

If I were to set forth the objectives for our approach to the problems of this hemisphere, it would be in these words: I want our policies to be ones which are derived from open eyes, open ears, open minds, and open hearts.

Remarks - Pan American Day
OAS Assembly, April 14, 1969

Any of us who have traveled in the Soviet Union know, as we meet the Russian people in all of the far flung areas of that country, that the Russian people and the American people are not natural enemies. The Russian people and the American people, on the contrary, are natural friends. We have somewhat the same sense of humor.... We like much of the same kind of music. We respect each other.

Remarks on May 23, 1969

I am confident that in the years ahead Americans can look back on this period of our history with all of the difficulties that have been presented to us, and we are going to be proud that we played a great role in the world; that we did not back away from the challenges that were presented to us; and that as a result of what we did, as a result of the sacrifices that Americans made, the world was a better place for everybody to live in.

Remarks on Midway Island, June 8, 1969

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Remarks on Midway Island, June 8, 1969

FOREIGN RELATIONS (cont'd)

Peace in Asia cannot come from the United States. It must come from Asia. The people of Asia, the governments of Asia, they are the ones who must lead the way to peace in Asia.

Remarks in Manila, July 26, 1969

Our determination to honor our commitments is fully consistent with our conviction that the nations of Asia can and must increasingly shoulder their responsibility for achieving peace and progress in the area. The challenge to our wisdom is to support the Asian countries' efforts to defend and develop themselves, without attempting to take from them the responsibilities which should be theirs. For if domination by the aggressor can destroy the freedom of a nation, too much dependence on a protector can eventually erode its dignity.

What we seek for Asia is a community of free nations, able to go their own way and seek their own destiny with whatever cooperation we can provide -- a community of independent Asian countries, each maintaining its own traditions and yet each developing through mutual cooperation. In such an arrangement, we stand ready to play a responsible role in accordance with our commitments and basic interests.

Statement in Bangkok
July 28, 1969

And I know this, in my heart as well as in my mind: If peace and freedom are to endure in this world, there is no task more urgent than lifting up the hungry and the helpless, and putting flesh on the dreams of those who yearn for a better life.

FOREIGN RELATIONS (cont'd)

Our partnership should be one in which the United States lectures less and listens more. It should be one in which clear, consistent procedures are established to ensure that the shaping of the future of the nations in the Americas reflects the will of those nations.

This I pledge to you tonight. The nation that went to the moon in peace for all mankind is ready, ready to share its technology in peace with its nearest neighbors.

Remarks at the Inter-American Press
Association, October 31, 1969

Neither the defense nor the development of other nations can be exclusively or primarily an American undertaking.

The nations of each part of the world should assume the primary responsibility for their own well-being; and they themselves should determine the terms of that well-being.

We shall be faithful to our treaty commitments, but we shall reduce our involvement and our presence in other nations' affairs.

To insist that other nations play a role is not a retreat from responsibility; it is a sharing of responsibility.

The result of this new policy has been not to weaken our alliances, but to give them new life, new strength, a new sense of common purpose.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

FOREIGN RELATIONS (cont'd)

The postwar period in international relations has ended... then the slogans formed in the past century were the ideological accessories of the intellectual debate. Today, the "isms" have lost their vitality -- indeed the restlessness of youth on both sides of the dividing line testifies to the need for a new idealism and deeper purposes.

This vision of a peace built on partnership, strength and willingness to negotiate is the unifying theme....

We are not involved in the world because we have commitments; we have commitments because we are involved. Our interests must shape our commitments rather than the other way around.

Report to the Congress
February 18, 1970

As we think of the world in which we live, a world of different peoples, different races, different religions, different philosophies, we realize that we cannot find answers to all the differences. We will not always be all the same, not either among peoples or nations or within a nation, but we can be unified on those great principles that really matter -- the right of all people to be free, the right of all people to be independent of foreign domination, and the right of all people to live in peace.

Welcome Remarks for President
Suharto, May 26, 1970

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The task of Government is not to make decisions for you or for anyone. The task of Government is to enable you to make decisions for yourselves. Not to see the truth of that statement is fundamentally to mistake the genius of democracy.

Remarks: White House Conference
on Food, Nutrition and Health
December 2, 1969

Government exists to serve the needs of people, not the other way around. The idea of creating a set of "programs," and then expecting people to fit themselves into those programs, is contrary to the American spirit; we must redirect our efforts to tailor government aid to individual need.

Message to the Congress on Man-
power Program
August 12, 1969

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Federal spending must be in response to present needs, not a reflex caused by old habits. The savings we make now are dollars enlisted in the fight against inflation, and there is no need more urgent to all the people than the need to hold down the rising cost of living.

Message To The Congress Proposing
Federal Economy Act of 1970
February 26, 1970

Now in government everyone knows what a "sacred cow" is. It is a program that is not fair to all the people, not fair to the taxpayer, but one that is fiercely defended by some special interest group. I believe the time has come to herd these sacred cows out of the Federal budget.

Remarks concerning Federal
Economy Act of 1970, February 26, 1970

I am a political man. I know how popular it is to be for big spending programs in an election year. But I also know that big spenders are only popular as long as they are picking up the check -- when somebody else picks up the check they become very unpopular. And when the American people learn that the big spenders in Congress are primarily responsible for higher prices, and eventually even higher taxes, I think the American people will turn on the big spenders politically.

News Conference
July 20, 1970

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

A great nation cannot renege on its pledges. A great nation must be worthy of trust.

Address to Nation on Vietnam
May 14, 1969

There is no advancement for Americans at home in a retreat from the problems of the world.

Only societies that believe in themselves can rise to their challenges. Let us not, then, pose a false choice between meeting our responsibilities abroad and meeting the needs of our people at home. We shall meet both or we shall meet neither.

Remarks at Air Force Academy
Commencement, June 4, 1969

This is the period of time in which, whether peace or freedom survives in the world will depend upon what happens in the United States of America.

Remarks: National Governors'
Conference, September 1, 1969

We know that with power goes responsibility.

We are neither boastful of our power, nor apologetic about it. We recognize that it exists; and that as well as conferring certain advantages, it also imposes upon us certain obligations.

Remarks: General Assembly of the UN
September 18, 1969

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY (cont'd)

We have faced other crises in our history and have become stronger by rejecting the easy way out and taking the right way in meeting our challenges. Our greatness as a nation has been our capacity to do what had to be done when we knew our course was right.

Address to the Nation
November 3, 1969

When men write the history of this Nation, they will record that no people in the annals of time made greater sacrifices in a more selfless cause than the American people sacrificed for the right of 18 million people in a faraway land to avoid the imposition of Communist rule against their will and for the right of those people to determine their own future free of outside interference.

Report on Vietnam
April 20, 1970

If, when the chips are down, the world's most powerful nation, the United States of America, acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world.

Whether I may be a one-term President is insignificant compared to whether by our failure to act in this crisis the United States proves itself to be unworthy to lead the forces of freedom in this critical period in world history. I would rather be a one-term President and do what I believe is right than to be a two-term

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY (cont'd)

President at the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power and to see this Nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history.

Situation in Southeast Asia
Address to the Nation
April 30, 1970

The United States of America is the only nation in the free world that has the power and the influence that can determine whether freedom does survive in the world over the next 25 years.

Remarks to Presidential Scholars
June 4, 1970

MIDDLE EAST

A peace which speaks not only about the integrity of nations,
but also for the integrity of individuals.

Letter to the President of American
Near East Refugee Aid
October 21, 1969

I have noticed several recent stories indicating that the
United States is one day pro-Arab and the next day is pro-Israel.
We are neither pro-Arab nor pro-Israel. We are pro-peace.
We are for security for all the nations in that area.

News Conference
January 30, 1970

MILITARY STRENGTH

But to all those who would be tempted by weakness, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be.

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1969

Whoever is President of the United States, whether it is the man standing before you today, or whether it is his successor, let us be sure that whenever our President sits at a conference table with any other nation that the United States is never a second-rate military power.

Remarks at American Legion Dinner
March 15, 1969

And whether it is in my administration or in the next, I never want the President of the United States, when he sits down at a conference table, to be in a second-rate position as far as the strength of the United States is concerned.

Remarks at the National Association
of Broadcasters
March 25, 1969

If we are to move successfully from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation, then we have to demonstrate -- at the point at which confrontation is being tested -- that confrontation with the United States is costly and unrewarding.

Address to the Nation on Vietnam
May 14, 1969

MILITARY STRENGTH (cont'd)

We today honor the Armed Forces of the United States. To me you are the peace forces of the world because without the strength of the United States of America there would not be peace in the world and there could not be the survival of freedom in the world.

Remarks Aboard the USS Saratoga
May 17, 1969

The adversaries in the world are not in conflict because they are armed. They are armed because they are in conflict, and have not yet learned peaceful ways to resolve their conflicting national interests.

The American defense establishment should never be a sacred cow, but on the other hand, the American military should never be anybody's scapegoat.

I believe we must take risks for peace -- but calculated risks, not foolish risks. We shall not trade our defenses for a disarming smile or charming words.

Remarks at Air Force Academy
Commencement, June 4, 1969

You will generally find that negotiations occur, negotiations which end war, only when the balance of power changes significantly, only when one party or the other concludes that as a result of the shift in the military balance they no longer have an opportunity to accomplish their goal militarily and, therefore, they had best negotiate.

Television Conversation with the
President, July 1, 1970

NATIONAL DESTINY

Eight years from now America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetime of most people now living, mankind will celebrate that great new year which comes only once in a thousand years -- the beginning of the third millennium.

What kind of a nation we will be, what kind of a world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices.

The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep.

What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of past agony is that without the people we can do nothing -- with the people we can do everything.

To match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people -- enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.

With these, we can build a great cathedral of the spirit -- each of us raising it one stone at a time, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing.

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1969

The central race in the world today is neither an arms race nor a space race. It is the race between man and change. The central question is whether we are to be the master of events, or the pawn of events.

Remarks at the National Governors'
Conference, September 1, 1969

NATIONAL DESTINY (cont'd)

Our land, this land that is ours together, is a great and a good land. It is also an unfinished land, and the challenge of perfecting it is the summons of the seventies.

The moment has arrived to harness the vast energies and abundance of this land to the creation of a new American experience, an experience richer and deeper and more truly a reflection of the goodness and grace of the human spirit.

America, which has pioneered in the new abundance, and in the new technology, is called upon today to pioneer in meeting the concerns which have followed in their wake -- in turning the wonders of science to the service of man.

I see a new America as we celebrate our 200th anniversary 6 years from now.

I see an America in which we have abolished hunger, provided the means for every family in the Nation to obtain a minimum income, made enormous progress in providing better housing, faster transportation, improved health, and superior education.

I see an America in which we have checked inflation, and waged a winning war against crime.

I see an America in which we have made great strides in stopping the pollution of our air, cleaning up our water, opening up our parks, continuing to explore in space.

Most important, I see an America at peace with all the nations of the world.

This is not an impossible dream. These goals are all within our reach.

NATIONAL DESTINY (cont'd)

In times past, our forefathers had the vision but not the means to achieve such goals.

Let it not be recorded that we were the first American generation that had the means but not the vision to make this dream come true.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

NATIONAL PRIORITIES

This anti-inflationary budget begins the necessary process of reordering our national priorities. For the first time in two full decades, the Federal Government will spend more money on human resource programs than on national defense.

The Budget Message
February, 1970

When we look at the Defense budget we find that our national priorities have already changed.... In 1962, during the Kennedy administration, 48 percent of the Budget went for Defense and 29 percent for non-Defense programs. By 1968, it was still 44 percent for Defense and 34 percent for non-Defense programs. Now it is 41 percent for non-Defense programs in our 71 budget and 37 percent for Defense purposes.

As these priorities have been reordered, it has meant that the Defense budget has been cut. It was \$1.7 billion less in 1970 than in the previous year. And our budget for 1971 is, as you know, \$5-1/2 billion less than for last year.

News Conference
July 20, 1970

NATIONAL UNITY

No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together.

This means black and white together, as one nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law; to insure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man.

The simple things are the ones most needed today if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us.

To lower our voices would be a simple thing.

In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading.

We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another -- until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices.

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1969

I believe the Republican Party should be a national party. I don't believe in writing off any section of the country. I have attempted to make our appeal nationally, to the South, to the North, the East, the West, and to all groups within the country.

News Conference
September 26, 1969

NATIONAL UNITY (cont'd)

And so tonight -- to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans -- I ask for your support.

Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand: North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that.

Address to the Nation
November 3, 1969

But I also know this...that when the security of America is involved, when peace for America and for the world is involved, when the lives of our young men are involved, we are not Democrats, we are not Republicans, we are Americans.

Remarks in the House Chamber
November 13, 1969

In this great free country of ours, we debate -- we disagree, sometimes violently, but the mistake the totalitarians make over and over again is to conclude that debate in a free country is proof of weakness. We are not a weak people. We are a strong people. America has never been defeated in the proud 190-year history of this country, and we shall not be defeated in Vietnam.

Report on Vietnam
April 20, 1970

In seeking peace, let us remember that at this time only this Administration can end this war and bring peace. We have a program for peace -- and the greater the support the

NATIONAL UNITY (cont'd)

Administration receives in its efforts, the greater the opportunity to win that just peace we all desire.

Interim Report to the Nation on the
Cambodian Sanctuary Operation
June 3, 1970

Everything you do really matters, because when any part of our country is isolated, when any part of it is torn apart, when there is hatred in any part of the country or prejudice, it hurts the whole country. So, anything that you can do to alleviate that, anything that you can do in a very small way can be very, very big.

Remarks to Presidential Scholars
June 4, 1970

In my view, the American people are not interested in political posturing between the Executive Branch and Capitol Hill. We are coequal branches of government, elected not to maneuver for partisan advantage, but to work together to find hopeful answers to problems that confound the people all of us serve.....

For our part, we are willing to travel more than halfway to work with Congress to accomplish what needs to be done. The time for staking out political claims will come soon enough.

Let us resolve, therefore, to make the legislative issue of the 1970 campaign the question of who deserves greater credit for the Ninety-first Congress record of accomplishment, not which of us should be held accountable because it did nothing. The country is not interested in what we say, but in what we do -- let us roll up our sleeves and go to work.

Message to Congress
October 13, 1969

NATIONAL VALUES

I know America. I know the heart of America is good.

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1969

My concern and our concern today is not with the length of a person's hair, but with his conduct in relation to the community; not with what he wears, but with his impact on the process by which a free society governs itself.

I speak not of private morality, but of public morality -- and of "morality" in its broadest sense, as a set of standards by which the community chooses to judge itself.

At first glance, there is something homely and unexciting about basic values as we have long believed in them. We feel apologetic about espousing them; even the profoundest truths become cliches with repetition. But they can be like sleeping giants: slow to rouse, but magnificent in their strength.

Freedom is a condition; it is also a process. And the process is essential to the freedom itself.

In a free society, the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected.

The process of freedom will be less threatened in America, . . . if we pay more heed to one of the great cries of our young people today. I speak now of their demand for honesty: intellectual

NATIONAL VALUES (cont'd)

honesty, personal honesty, public honesty. Much of what seems to be revolt is really little more than this: an attempt to strip away sham and pretense, to puncture illusion, and to get down to the basic nub of truth.

Whether our values are maintained depends ultimately not on government, but on people.

A nation can only be as great as the people want it to be.

A nation can only be as free as the people insist that it be.

A nation's laws are only as strong as the people's will to see them enforced.

A nation's freedoms are only as secure as the people's determination to see them maintained.

A nation's values are only as lasting as the ability of each generation to pass them on to the next.

To those intoxicated with the romance of violent revolution, the continuing revolution of democracy may sometimes seem quite unexciting. But no system has liberated the spirits of so many so fully. Nothing has ever "turned on" man's energies, his imagination, his unfettered creativity, the way that freedom has. We can be proud that we have that legacy.

We should not fall into the easy trap of confusing the production of things with the worship of things. We produce abundantly; but our values turn not on what we have but on what we believe.

Remarks at Karl Mundt Library
Dedication, June 3, 1969

NATIONAL VALUES (cont'd)

Only shortly beyond the nation's 200th anniversary lies the year 2000. These dates, together, can be targets for our aspirations. Our need now is to seize on the future as the key dimension in our decisions, and to chart that future as consciously as we are accustomed to charting the past.

Statement concerning National Goals
Research Staff, July 12, 1969

When we think of those who have gone before, it reminds us that the reason we can see further than those of yesterday is that we have the privilege sometimes of standing on the shoulders of the giants who have gone before us.

Remarks at dinner for Apollo 11
Astronauts, August 13, 1969

Heroism is the Nation's greatest asset, greater than gold. Like gold, heroism must be uncovered.

Presentation of Medal of Honor
Ceremony, October 9, 1969

What does this mean, this common interest in football of Presidents, of leaders, of people generally? It means a competitive spirit. It means, also, to me, the ability and the determination to be able to lose and then come back and try again, to sit on the bench and then come back. It means basically the character, the drive, the pride, the teamwork, the feeling of being in a cause bigger than yourself.

That is what America needs today. What we need in the spirit of this country and the spirit of our young people is not playing it safe always, not being afraid of defeat -- being ready to get

NATIONAL VALUES (cont'd)

into the battle and playing to win; not with the idea of destroying or defeating or hurting anybody else, but with the idea of achieving excellence.

Remarks at National Football Foundation
Dinner, December 9, 1969

We in the area of politics have an enormous responsibility to see that the wonders of science are turned to the benefit of mankind.

This is the central problem of our time, whether it is in the environment, whether it is in the problem of defending our security, or in any other area.

Remarks at Presentation Ceremony
for the National Medal of Science
February 16, 1970

When the time comes when the young in your land or our land lose their spirit of adventure, when they want to play everything safe, when they don't want to take the risks, when they don't want to take a chance, when they consult their fears rather than their hopes and desires and dreams, then your country and my country will not have the capability of greatness, which you have in your country and which we hope we have in ours.

Toast to the Prime Minister of
Denmark, April 14, 1970

What really counts is not how well a person does when things go well, but how he reacts when he faces tragedy or the possibility of tragedy.

Remarks concerning Apollo 13
Honolulu, Hawaii, April 19, 1970

NATIONAL VALUES (cont'd)

As we think of the beginning of this country 190 years ago, we think of it as the land of the free. We should all be reminded that it could not be the land of the free if it were not also the home of the brave.

Remarks on presenting the Medal of
Honor, May 14, 1970

NEW FEDERALISM

After a third of a century of power flowing from the people and the States to Washington it is time for a New Federalism in which power, funds and responsibility will flow from Washington to the States and to the people.

We can no longer have effective government on any level unless we have it on all levels. There is too much to be done for the cities to do it alone, or for the States to do it alone -- or for Washington to do it alone.

This Administration brought into office both a commitment and a mandate to reverse the trend of the last three decades -- a determination to test new engines of social progress. We are committed to enlist the full potential of the private sector, the full potential of the voluntary sector and the full potential of the levels of government closer to the people.

Message to the Congress on Revenue
Sharing
August 13, 1969

Consider for a moment the name of this Nation: the United States of America. We establish minimum national standards because we are united; we encourage local supplements because we are a federation of States; and we care for the unfortunate because this is America.

One of the key points I want to make tonight is, in a sense, very similar to one I made on my recent visits to our NATO partners and to our friends in Asia. Washington will no longer

NEW FEDERALISM (cont'd)

try to go it alone; Washington will no longer dictate without consulting. A new day has come, in which we recognize that partnership is a two-way street, and if the partnership is to thrive, that street has to be traveled -- both ways.

Remarks at the National Governors
Conference, September 1, 1969

I want the members of our Cabinet to know what the people out in the heartland think. I want them to know what their needs are, what they think we ought to do. That is why we are here.

Remarks in Indianapolis
February 5, 1970

AN OPEN WORLD

We seek an open world -- open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people -- a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation.

We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy.

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1969

I want to say to you that in the time that I am in this office ... the major goal that I will have will be to bring peace to this world, real peace, and also to hasten the day when we can have a truly open world, open cities, open borders, open countries, open minds, open hearts, open eyes. That is what we want. That is what you want.

Remarks to American Field Service Students
July 22, 1969

In that spirit, then, let us press toward an open world -- a world of open doors, open hearts, open minds; a world open to the exchange of ideas and of people, and open to the reach of the human spirit; a world open in the search for truth, and unconcerned with the fate of old dogmas and old isms; a world open at last to the light of justice, and the light of reason, and to the achievement of that true peace which the people of every land carry in their hearts and celebrate in their hopes.

Remarks at General Assembly of UN
September 18, 1969

PEACE

For the first time, because the people of the world want peace, and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace.

The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America -- the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization.

If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind.

The peace we seek -- the peace we seek to win -- is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes "with healing in its wings"; with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny.

As we learn to go forward together at home, let us also seek to go forward together with all mankind.

Let us take as our goal: Where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent.

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1969

The men of the past thought in terms of blockades and walls; the men of the future will think in terms of open channels. The men of the past were trapped in the grey overcast of cold war; the men of the future... will be free to walk in the warm sunlight of a just peace.

Remarks in West Berlin, February 27, 1969

PEACE (cont'd)

In the past generation, since 1941, this Nation has paid for 14 years of peace with 14 years of war. The American war dead of this generation has been far greater than all of the preceding generations in America's history. In terms of human suffering, this has been the costliest generation in the two centuries of our history.

Perhaps this is why my generation is so determined to pass on a different legacy. We want to redeem that sacrifice. We want to be remembered, not as the generation that suffered in war, but as the generation that was tempered in its fire for a great purpose: to make the kind of peace that the next generation will be able to keep.

Remarks at the Air Force Academy
Commencement, June 4, 1969

Those great principles and those great desires and those great dreams that unite men are infinitely stronger than those that divide them.

And as we learn to dream together, we shall learn to work together, we shall live in peace together.

Remarks in Montreal, Canada
June 27, 1969

I would simply add to that great slogan that I understand all of you have of walking together and talking together, let's dream together too.... Remember above everything else, the American people are with you in their hearts, they want for you what we want for ourselves, the right to be free, the right to move ahead, the right to talk together and walk together and to dream together.

Remarks to American Field Service Students
Students, July 22, 1969

PEACE (cont'd)

The concept of peace is as old as civilization, but the requirements of peace change with a changing world. Today we need a new definition of peace -- one which recognizes not only the many threats to peace, but also the many dimensions of peace.... In today's rapidly changing world, there is no such thing as a static peace or a stagnant order.... There is true peace only when the weak are as safe as the strong; only when the poor can share the benefits of progress with the rich; and only when those who cherish freedom can exercise freedom.

Toast to the Acting President of India
in New Delhi, July 31, 1969

It is essential, absolutely essential, that we have a generation of peace for Asia and the world.

Remarks in Pakistan, August 1, 1969

I believe that if human beings can reach the moon, human beings can reach an understanding with each other.

Nations can have widely different internal orders and live in peace. Nations can have widely differing economic interests and live in peace.

The United States believes that the rights of all nations must be equal, but we do not believe that the character of all nations must be the same.

Remarks in Bucharest, Romania
August 2, 1969

There are differences that divide the world today -- very deep differences. But as we saw very dramatically and very

PEACE (cont'd)

movingly in Bucharest today and yesterday, those things which unite men and women in the world are much stronger than those which divide us.

Remarks at Mildenhall Air Force Base
England, August 3, 1969

In today's world, there can be no stability without change -- so that peace becomes a continuing process of creative evolution. It is no longer enough to restrain war. Peace must also embrace progress -- both in satisfying man's material needs and in fulfilling his spiritual needs.

As we look to the future, however, keeping the peace is only part of our task. We also must concentrate on building the peace.

Of this one thing I am sure: The people of the world, wherever they are, want peace. And those of us who have the responsibilities for leadership in the world have an overwhelming world mandate from the people of the nations we represent to bring peace, to keep the peace, and to build the peace.

In this new age of "firsts," even the goal of a just and lasting peace is a "first" we can dare to strive for. We must achieve it. And I believe we can achieve it.

Remarks at the General Assembly
of the UN, September 18, 1969

PEACE (cont'd)

If it [the plan for peace in Vietnam] does succeed, what the critics say now won't matter. If it does not succeed, anything I say then won't matter.

Address to the Nation
November 3, 1969

No goal could be greater than to make the next generation the first in this century in which America was at peace with every nation in the world.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

So, I would say to all of you, let it be written that this generation had the courage and the character to end this war, and win a peace that the next generation will have a chance to keep.

Remarks to the U. S. Jaycees
June 25, 1970

In 1939 I thought Neville Chamberlain was the greatest man living and Winston Churchill was a madman. It was not until years later that I realized that Neville Chamberlain was a good man, but Winston Churchill was right.

Comments to College Students at
the Lincoln Memorial, May 9, 1970

QUALITY OF LIFE

Americans have long given their first concerns to the protection and enhancement of Life and Liberty; we have reached the point in our history when we should give equal concern to "The Pursuit of Happiness."

Message to the Congress on the Arts
and the Humanities, December 10, 1969

Our purpose in this period should not be simply better management of the programs of the past. The time has come for a new quest -- a quest not for a greater quantity of what we have but for a new quality of life in America.

In the next 10 years we shall increase our wealth by 50 percent. The profound question is: Does this mean we will be 50 percent richer in a real sense, 50 percent better off, 50 percent happier?

Or does it mean that in the year 1980 the President standing in this place will look back on a decade in which 70 percent of our people lived in metropolitan areas choked by traffic, suffocated by smog, poisoned by water, deafened by noise, and terrorized by crime?

These are not the great questions that concern world leaders at summit conferences. But people do not live at the summit. They live in the foothills of everyday experience. It is time for all of us to concern ourselves with the way real people live in real life.

Now I realize that the argument is often made that there is a fundamental contradiction between economic growth and the quality of life, so that to have one we must forsake the other.

The answer is not to abandon growth, but to redirect it.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

REALISM

Together, as men of the Old World and of the New World, we must find ways of living in the real world.

We can afford neither to blind our eyes with hatred, nor to distort our vision with rose-colored glasses. The real world is too much with us to permit either stereotyped reacting or wishful thinking to lay waste our powers.

Let us then count ourselves today among the hopeful realists.

Remarks: North Atlantic Council,
20th anniversary of North Atlantic
Treaty, April 10, 1969

REFORM

The Federal Government has been assigned many new responsibilities in the last several decades -- many of which it carries and many of which it fumbles. Many of the disappointments and frustrations of the last several years can be blamed on the fact that administrative performance has not kept pace with legislative promise.

Statement concerning Government
Reorganization, March 27, 1969

A third of a century of centralizing power and responsibility in Washington has produced a bureaucratic monstrosity, cumbersome, unresponsive and ineffective.

A third of a century of social experiment has left us a legacy of entrenched programs that have outlived their time or outgrown their purposes.

A third of a century of unprecedented growth and change has strained our institutions, and raised serious questions about whether they are still adequate to the times.

Address to the Nation
August 8, 1969

We confronted the fact that in the past 5 years the Federal Government alone has spent more than a quarter of a trillion dollars on social programs -- over \$250 billion. Yet far from solving our problems, these expenditures had reaped a harvest of dissatisfaction, frustration, and bitter division.

Never in human history has so much been spent by so many for such a negative result.

REFORM (cont'd)

We can no longer afford the luxury of inefficiency in government. We cannot count on good money to bail us out of bad ideas.

Remarks at National Governors
Conference, September 1, 1969

The legislative program of this Administration differs fundamentally from that of previous administrations. We do not seek more and more of the same. We were not elected to pile new resources and manpower on the top of old programs. We were elected to initiate an era of change. We intend to begin a decade of government reform such as this nation has not witnessed in half a century. Some months ago, a Washington columnist wrote in some pessimism that if ours is not to be an age of revolution then it must become an age of reform. That is the watchword of this Administration: reform.

Message to the Congress
October 13, 1969

Now, as we enter the seventies, we should enter also a great age of reform of the institutions of American government.

As a people, we had too many visions -- and too little vision.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

REFORM (cont'd)

We in government often are quick to call for reform in other institutions, but slow to reform ourselves. Yet nowhere today is modern management more needed than in government itself.

Message to the Congress concerning
Reorganization, March 12, 1970

REFORM, RESTORATION AND RENEWAL

Since this is a school crowd primarily, I will add one final thought: when I was in school, we used to talk about the three R's. I still think they are important, reading, writing, arithmetic, and so forth. But if you are going to talk about some three R's today, I would put it this way: ...I would like to give you three new R's, and here they are: First, this age for your generation must be an age of reform, reform of our governmental institutions.... Second, this must be an age of restoration, restoring the natural resources of this country.... Finally, I hope we can make this an age of renewal in which we renew the spirit of the American people.

Remarks in Hanover Park, Illinois
February 6, 1970

My Administration's aim here (concerning the environment) as in all that we do is reform, restoration, and renewal.

Remarks concerning the Message to
the Congress on Environmental
Quality, February 10, 1970

REVENUE SHARING

For a third of a century, power and responsibility have flowed toward Washington -- and Washington has taken for its own the best sources of revenue.

We intend to reverse this tide, and to turn back to the States a greater measure of responsibility -- not as a way of avoiding problems, but as a better way of solving problems.

Address to the Nation
August 8, 1969

In proposing to begin the sharing of Federal tax revenues with the States -- to be spent as the States see fit -- we are putting our money where our principles are. The power to tax is the power to destroy; but the sharing of tax revenues provides the power to build.

Remarks at the National Governors'
Conference, September 1, 1969

RULE OF LAW

Government can maintain the dikes against obscenity,
but only people can turn back the tide.

Message to the Congress
May 2, 1969

Our problem at this time is to see to it that all over America our laws, the written laws, deserve the respect of all Americans, and that those who carry out the law, who have that hard, difficult, grueling, sometimes dangerous task of enforcing the law -- that they carry out their responsibilities in a way that deserves respect.

...we also know that in this country, unless we have not only respect for our laws, but for the men and women who are doing their very best to carry them out fairly and equitably, we are not going to continue to survive as a free country.

The greatest guarantee against the emergence of a police state in America is a competent, effective, just police force throughout our nation.

Remarks at the FBI National Academy
Graduation, May 28, 1969

The American people in our cities, in our small towns, and in this country are fed up to here with violence and lawlessness and they want candidates who will take a strong stand against it. I think that is the message for the candidates in the future.

News Conference
June 19, 1969

RULE OF LAW (cont'd)

We have heard a great deal of overblown rhetoric during the sixties in which the word "war" has perhaps too often been used -- the war on poverty, the war on misery, the war on disease, the war on hunger. But if there is one area where the word "war" is appropriate it is in the fight against crime. We must declare and win the war against the criminal elements which increasingly threaten our cities, our homes, and our lives.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

Let our proud claim be that we ask Americans to obey the law, not because they fear it, but because they respect it.

Remarks at the U. S. Jaycees Convention
June 25, 1970

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

In 1917 the total number of Americans passed 100 million, after three full centuries of steady growth. In 1967 -- just half a century later -- the 200 million mark was passed.... I believe that many of our present social problems may be related to the fact that we have had only 50 years in which to accommodate the second hundred million Americans.

When future generations evaluate the record of our time, one of the most important factors in their judgment will be the way in which we responded to population growth. Let us act in such a way that those who come after us -- even as they lift their eyes beyond earth's bounds -- can do so with pride in the planet on which they live, with gratitude to those who lived on it in the past, and with continuing confidence in its future.

Message to Congress on Population
Growth, July 18, 1969

On May 6 I asserted to the Congress that "the moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself. For all time."

Speaking for this administration, I not only accept the responsibility -- I claim the responsibility.

This Nation cannot long continue to live with its conscience if millions of its own people are unable to get an adequate diet.

Remarks: White House Conference
on Food, Nutrition and Health
December 2, 1969

SOCIAL PROBLEMS (cont'd)

The decade of the sixties was also a period of great growth economically. But in that same 10-year period we witnessed the greatest growth of crime, the greatest increase in inflation, the greatest social unrest in America in 100 years. Never has a nation seemed to have had more and enjoyed it less.

We can fulfill the American dream only when each person has a fair chance to fulfill his own dreams. This means equal voting rights, equal employment opportunity, and new opportunities for expanded ownership. Because in order to be secure in their human rights, people need access to property rights.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions.

Message to Congress
July 8, 1970

SOUTHERN STRATEGY

What the South has wanted and what the South deserves
[is] a one-nation policy -- not a southern strategy and not a
northern strategy, but a one-nation strategy.

News Conference
July 20, 1970

SPACE

As we explore the reaches of space, let us go to the new worlds together -- not as new worlds to be conquered, but as a new adventure to be shared.

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1969

On that historic day when the astronauts set foot on the moon, the spirit of Apollo II truly swept the world -- a spirit of peace and brotherhood and adventure, and a spirit that thrilled to the knowledge that man had dreamed the impossible, dared the impossible, and done the impossible.

Address to the Nation
August 8, 1969

Our Nation will attain its social objectives, I believe, only if we develop a new spirit of adventure in their pursuit. We must become pioneers in reshaping our society even as we have become pioneers in space. We must show a new willingness to take risks for progress, a new readiness to try the untried.

Statement on Reorganization of the
Office of Economic Opportunity
August 11, 1969

We stand on the threshold of a time when the impossible becomes possible -- a time when we can choose goals that, just a generation ago, would have seemed as unreachable as the moon seemed to be unreachable then. We can reach those goals.

The Spirit of Apollo gave us a brief, glittering glimpse of how far we can stretch. Thousands of minds, thousands of hands, all were marshaled in selfless dedication in achieving a great human dream -- and the dream came true.

Remarks: National Governors'
Conference, September 1, 1969

SPACE

A great nation must always be an exploring nation if it wishes to remain great.

Statement of March 7, 1970

By no means should we allow our space program to stagnate. But -- with the entire future and the entire universe before us -- we should not try to do everything at once. Our approach to space must continue to be bold -- but it must also be balanced.

Statement of March 7, 1970

SPIRIT OF APOLLO

In the words of the plaque the Apollo astronauts expect to leave on the moon, they go, "in peace for all mankind." The adventure is not theirs alone, but everyone's; the history they are making is not only scientific history, but human history. That moment when man first sets foot on a body other than the earth will stand through the centuries as one supreme in human experience, and profound in its meaning.

Proclamation Concerning Apollo 11
July 16, 1969

Because of what you have done the heavens have become a part of man's world. As you talk to us from the Sea of Tranquility, it inspires us to redouble our efforts to bring peace and tranquility to earth.

For one priceless moment in the whole history of man, all of the people on this earth are truly one -- one in their pride in what you have done and one in our prayers that you will return safely to earth.

Telephone Conversation to the Moon
July 20, 1969

Be optimistic and idealistic about the future. I realize the kind of teamwork, the kind of scientific achievement, the kind of idealism that we saw in that space shot, that landing on the moon, if we could just bring all that to bear on the problems here on earth, the problems of our environment, the problems of adequate food, health, and shelter, and progress, a fair share for everybody in this earth, if that can be done, what a world we can create.

Remarks: American Field Service
July 22, 1969

SPIRIT OF APOLLO (cont'd)

As we think of that great venture into space, as we think of the first man setting foot on the moon, we realize the meaning that that has, clearly apart from the technical achievement, that if man can reach the moon, that we can bring peace to the earth. And that should be the great lesson of that great space journey for all of us.

A great French philosopher once said that true friendship comes not when we look at each other, but when we look outward together in the same direction.

For just a few moments, the whole world looked outward together in the same direction toward the moon. And as we did that, we were brought closer together.

Remarks in Manila, July 26, 1969

We have a saying in our country: The sky is the limit. And up until the time that these two men set foot on the moon, that was the ultimate that anyone could say -- the sky is the limit.

And now, no longer, is the sky the limit. Because of what happened -- not simply because two Americans set foot on the moon, but because two men who represented all mankind, all the people on the earth, set foot on the moon -- the sky is no longer the limit. And if we can soar beyond the sky, certainly we can find the way to bring peace and progress to those who live beneath the sky on this earth.

Remarks in Djakarta, July 27, 1969

As I stand here today, I really feel in my heart that it is that spirit, the spirit of Apollo, that America can now help to bring to all relations with other nations. The spirit of Apollo transcends geographical barriers of other nations. It can bring the people of the world together in peace.

Remarks: Upon Return from Trip
Around the World, August 3, 1969

SPIRIT OF APOLLO (cont'd)

We thank you for raising our sights, the sights of men and women throughout the world to a new dimension -- the sky is no longer the limit.

Remarks: Dinner for Apollo 11 Astronauts
August 13, 1969

The three astronauts did not reach the moon, but they reached the hearts of millions of people in America and in the world. They reminded us in these days when we have this magnificent technocracy, that men do count, the individual does count.

Remarks Concerning Apollo 13
Houston, Texas, April 18, 1970

As we look at what you have done, we realize that greatness comes not simply in triumph but in adversity. It has been said that adversity introduces a man to himself.

Remarks upon presenting the
Presidential Medal of Freedom to
the Apollo 13 Astronauts.
Honolulu
April 18, 1970

SPIRIT OF '76

Only 7 years from now, in 1976, America will celebrate its 200th birthday as a nation. So let us look ahead to that great anniversary in the Spirit of Apollo -- and discover in ourselves a new Spirit of '76.

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Let me put it in historical perspective. When this Nation was founded in 1776 -- 13 colonies, 3 million people, very weak militarily, poor economically -- the men who founded this Nation said: "We act not just for ourselves, but for the whole human race. "

That was a presumptuous thing for them to say then. But some way that Spirit of '76 appealed to all the world.

Remarks: National Governors
Conference, September 1, 1969

The pace of change and progress has escalated to the point in America today that we could accomplish as much in the next seven years in achieving some of the goals that America wants to achieve ... as we did in all the history of the country up to this time.

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Today we are the richest country in the world; we are the strongest country in the world. And, yet, in thinking of whether we are truly the hope of all mankind, we must recognize that that hope does not exist because of wealth or because of strength. It exists because of a spiritual quality that we have had from the time of our birth.

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The best-fed, best-clothed, best-housed people in the world ... the strongest nation in the world, and the richest nation in the world still will not deserve to be the hope of the world unless it has that splendid spirit, the lift of a driving dream which meant so much to the world in 1776 and for two hundred years since that time.

Remarks: Members of the American
Revolution Bicentennial Commission,
October 8, 1969

SPIRIT OF '76 (cont'd)

The demands of us in 1976 are even greater than in 1776.

It is no longer enough to live and let live. Now we must live and help live.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

SPIRITUAL RENEWAL

We find ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling into raucous discord on earth.

We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfillment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them.

To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit. And to find that answer, we need only look within ourselves.

I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice. I ask you to join in a high adventure -- one as rich as humanity itself, and exciting as the times we live in.

Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly whole.

The way to fulfillment is in the use of our talents. We achieve nobility in the spirit that inspires that use.

As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce; but as we chart our goals, we shall be lifted by our dreams.

We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light.

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1969

SPIRITUAL RENEWAL (cont'd)

We will know then that every man achieves his own greatness by reaching out beyond himself, and so it is with nations. When a nation believes in itself -- as Athenians did in their Golden Age, as Italians did in the Renaissance -- that nation can perform miracles. Only when a nation means something to itself can it mean something to others.

That is why I believe a resurgence of American idealism can bring about a modern miracle -- and that modern miracle is a world order of peace and justice.

Remarks: Air Force Academy
Commencement, June 4, 1969

The greatest privilege an individual can have is to serve in a cause bigger than himself. We have such a cause.

But let us, above all, recognize a fundamental truth. We can be the best clothed, best fed, best housed people in the world, enjoying clean air, clean water, beautiful parks, but we could still be the unhappiest people in the world without an indefinable spirit -- the lift of a driving dream which has made America from its beginning the hope of the world.

Two hundred years ago this was a new nation of 3 million people, weak militarily, poor economically. But America meant something to the world then which could not be measured in dollars, something far more important than military might.

Listen to President Thomas Jefferson in 1802: We act not "for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race."

We had a spiritual quality then which caught the imagination of millions of people in the world.

Today, when we are the richest and strongest nation in the world, let it not be recorded that we lack the moral and spiritual idealism which made us the hope of the world at the time of our birth.

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1970

SPIRITUAL RENEWAL (cont'd)

We must work as if everything depended on us. We must pray as if everything depended upon God, recognizing that America is a nation under God.

This nation...from the beginning has had a spiritual strength far more important than the enormous economic potential that we have now developed or the military strength that we now possess.

Remarks: Presidential Prayer Breakfast
February 5, 1970

As all of you know, we will be celebrating the 200th anniversary of this country. In 1776 it began, and in 1976 the birthday will be celebrated. There has been a great deal of talk about what America will want to look back on that day, how we will want this country to be remembered.

I think all of us in this room would agree that we would prefer that, as historians talk about the first 200 years of this Nation, that they would write not so much about how rich we were, or how strong we were, but perhaps more about how wise we were, how good we were, and how creative we were.

Toast to Andrew Wyeth
February 19, 1970

A few months ago when I was traveling in Europe, I was discussing with a major European leader the mutual problems that we had, the problems that we had with our youth in the United States and the problems that he had with his youth in his country in Europe.

And I pointed out to him that there were many in this country who thought that once the war in Vietnam was over that the problems of our youth would disappear. And his comment on that was very interesting.

He said, "I don't agree that that would happen." He said,

SPIRITUAL RENEWAL (cont'd)

"The problem with your youth is war." He said, "The problem with our youth is peace."

...What he was suggesting was that the problem of youth today is much more profound simply than to find a society in which we have an absence of war, because there needs to be a positive thrust, a renewal of the spirit.

Remarks: National Governors'
Conference. February 25, 1970

I have studied the lives of all the Presidents of this country, of both parties. They came from different religions. Some were better church-goers than others, but there is one thing I have noted about every man who has occupied this office, and that is by the time he ended his term in office, he was more dedicated and more dependent on his religious faith than when he entered it.

Remarks: University of Tennessee
May 28, 1970

America, when it was weak and poor, meant something more than military might and economic strength. It had the lift of a driving dream that caught the imagination of millions of people in this world.

Remarks: United States Jaycees
June 25, 1970

VIETNAM

I want to end this war. The American people want to end this war. The people of South Vietnam want to end this war. But we want to end it permanently so that the younger brothers of our soldiers in Vietnam will not have to fight in the future in another Vietnam someplace else in the world.

Let me put it plainly: What the United States wants for South Vietnam is not the important thing. What North Vietnam wants for South Vietnam is not the important thing. What is important is what the people of South Vietnam want for South Vietnam.

Our fighting men are not going to be worn down; our mediators are not going to be talked down; and our allies are not going to be let down.

Address to the Nation
May 14, 1969

The people of Vietnam, North and South, have endured an unspeakable weight of suffering for a generation. And they deserve a better future.

Address to the U. N. General Assembly
September 18, 1969

In the previous administration, we Americanized the war in Vietnam. In this administration, we are Vietnamizing the search for peace.

Address to the Nation
November 3, 1969

VIETNAM (cont'd)

Hanoi could make no greater mistake than to assume that an increase in violence will be to its advantage. If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam, I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation.

November 3rd Address and Each
Subsequent Speech on Vietnam

I know that this war is the most difficult and most controversial of any war in the Nation's history. But I know that while we have our differences about what is the best way to peace, there are no differences with respect to our goal. I think Americans want a just peace; they want lasting peace. It is to that goal that this Administration is dedicated....

Remarks in the Senate Chamber
November 13, 1969

I ask for your support for our brave men fighting tonight halfway around the world -- not for territory -- not for glory -- but so that their younger brothers and their sons and your sons can have a chance to grow up in a world of peace and freedom and justice.

Situation in Southeast Asia Address
April 30, 1970

We are ready to negotiate whenever they are ready to negotiate.

VIETNAM (cont'd)

I have pledged to end this war. I shall keep that promise. But I am determined to end the war in a way that will promote peace rather than conflict throughout the world. I am determined to end it in a way that will bring an era of reconciliation to our people -- and not an era of furious recrimination.

Interim Report on the Cambodian
Sanctuary Operation, June 3, 1970

Let me tell you what I vowed when I came into that office [the Presidency]. When I came here 17 months ago, forty thousand Americans had lost their lives in Vietnam and I made two pledges: One, I pledged to end this war, and two, I pledged to end it in a way that their younger brothers and their sons would not have to fight in another Vietnam sometime in the future.

Remarks: United States Jaycees
June 25, 1970

Now I know there are those who say the domino theory is obsolete. They haven't talked to the dominoes.

Television Conversation with the
President, July 1, 1970

I do want you to know that we are going to record sometime the history of this time, and in that history it is going to be one of the most exciting periods in all the history of man -- the landing on the moon, those three brave men who landed there.

But also out here in this dreary, difficult war, I think history will record that this may have been one of America's finest hours, because we took a difficult task and we succeeded.

Remarks: To the American Troops
in Vietnam, July 30, 1969

VIETNAM (cont'd)

In the negotiations there will not be an imposed coalition government on South Vietnam. The government of South Vietnam must be one that is chosen by the people of South Vietnam. It will be one and should be one that reflects the political forces in South Vietnam.... Under no circumstances does this Government stand for the proposition that we would attempt to negotiate an imposed coalition government on South Vietnam.

News Conference
July 20, 1970

VOLUNTEERISM

One of the great, distinguishing characteristics of the American people is their readiness to join together in helping one another. The principle of voluntary action is not something lately grafted onto America's ways; it goes back as far as the nation's founding.

Statement of April 30, 1969

WELFARE

Nowhere has the failure of government been more tragically apparent than in its efforts to help the poor, and especially in its system of public welfare.

This new approach aims at helping the American people do more for themselves.

It aims at getting everyone able to work off welfare rolls and onto payrolls.

It [the current welfare system] breaks up homes. It often penalizes work. It robs recipients of dignity. And it grows.

Every businessman, and every working man knows what "start-up costs" are. They are a heavy investment made in early years, in the expectation that they will more than pay for themselves in future years.

In the final analysis, we cannot talk our way out of poverty; we cannot legislate our way out of poverty; but this Nation can work its way out of poverty. What America needs now is not more welfare, but more "workfare."

The task of this Government, the great task of our people, is to provide the training for work, the incentive to work, the opportunity to work, and the reward for work.

WELFARE (cont'd)

Poverty is not only a state of income. It is also a state of mind and a state of health. Poverty must be conquered without sacrificing the will to work, for if we take the route of the permanent handout, the American character will itself be impoverished.

Address to the Nation
August 8, 1969

While I cannot guarantee that the new family assistance program will work, I know that the present welfare program won't work. It is a disaster. It should be abolished. And I say it is time to move in a new direction.

Remarks: National Governor's Conference
February 25, 1970

The question is not whether we can afford this legislation, but whether we can afford to go on without it.

Statement of March 5, 1970

WHAT'S RIGHT WITH AMERICA

I simply want you to know that as I look at America today and its place in the world, I do not have that lack of faith that some seem to have. If I were to pick a time and a place in which to live, I would pick the United States of America right today, 1969.

Remarks: U.S. Chamber of Commerce
April 29, 1969

You are very fortunate to be born and to be living in the United States of America, because what you do, the life you live does matter, because the United States does matter and that is what really counts. At this time in history, the United States and its leadership is going to have an enormous impact on the future of the world for the next century. That is why I think the Presidential Scholars of 1970, while they will look back on a year of turmoil and they will look forward to what they think are years of uncertainty, will also say, what a fortunate time to be alive because the challenges are great.

Remarks: Presidential Scholars
June 4, 1970

Let me just say this: There are things wrong with this country, but the great thing about America is that we have the capacity to make those things right. This is a good country and don't you ever forget it.

Remarks: Belleville, Illinois
June 25, 1970

I believe that at this time instead of talking only about and primarily about what is wrong about America, it is time to stand up and speak about what is right about America. Because, you see, what is right about America enables us to correct those things that are wrong about America.

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WHAT'S RIGHT WITH AMERICA (cont'd)

Because America is strong and rich, because it is so productive, we are able to do things about poverty. We have the strength to do things about our environment. We have the strength to do things about our economy that no other people in the history of the world have been able to do and that no other people in the world today can afford to do.

Let us tell young Americans, all Americans, that we should love America. But let us love her not because she is rich, not because she is strong, but because America is a good country and we are going to make her better.

One hundred and ten years ago, in one of the bloodiest and most tragic instances in this world's and this Nation's history, John Brown, after the bloody raid on Harper's Ferry, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged.

When he was on his way to the gallows he rode in a wagon with his own coffin right beside him. As he rode through the Virginia countryside that day, speaking to no one in particular, he said aloud these words: "This is a beautiful country," ... John Brown could say that just before the tragic war between the States, with his own death imminent, then we, too, can say: This is a beautiful country and we are privileged to be the generation that has the responsibility to make it even more beautiful for the generations ahead.

Remarks: United States Jaycees
June 25, 1970

WORDS AND DEEDS

We may not make the headlines of today, but what we are interested in are the results of tomorrow. I believe that is what you are interested in, and that is why we are going to follow this very candid and honest discussion insofar as our hopes are concerned.

Remarks: National Association of
Broadcasters, March 25, 1969

These programs will not carry extravagant promises. The American people have seen too many promises, too many false hopes raised, too much substitution of the easy slogan for the hard performance.... This Administration will gladly trade the false excitement of fanfares for the abiding satisfaction of achievements.

Message to Congress
April 14, 1969

In our public discussions we sorely need a kind of honesty that has too often been lacking: the honesty of straight talk; a doing away with hyperbole; a careful concern with the gradations of truth, and a frank recognition of the limits of our knowledge about the problems we have to deal with. We have long demanded financial integrity in public life. We now need the most rigorous kind of intellectual integrity in public debate.

Unless we can find a way to speak plainly, truly, unselfconsciously, about the facts of public life, we may find that our grip on the forces of history is too loose to control our own destiny.

Remarks: Dedication of Karl Mundt
Library, June 3, 1969

WORDS AND DEEDS (cont'd)

Surely if one lesson above all rings resoundingly among the many shattered hopes in this world, it is that good words are not a substitute for hard deeds, and noble rhetoric is no guarantee of noble results.

Address: U. N. General Assembly
September 18, 1969

Now I know all the words. I know all the gimmicks and the phrases that would win the applause of black audiences and professional civil rights leaders. I am not going to use them. I am interested in deeds. I am interested in closing the performance gap.

News Conference
January 30, 1970

Government must say what it means, and mean what it says. Economic credibility is the basis for confidence, and confidence in turn is the basis for an ongoing prosperity.

Economic Report for 1970
February 2, 1970

YOUTH

I have a good feeling about the future of this country. I believe in young America because I know young America.... We need you. The Nation needs you. With the help of a young, vigorous American generation we can meet the great challenges that America has to meet in this last third of a century.

Remarks to Senate Youth Program
Delegates
February 7, 1969

I know that we say these days that the problem with American youth, where they have problems, is that life is so hard. I don't agree. I think the problem with American youth is that life is so easy. Perhaps what American youth needs is a challenge.

Remarks: Governors Dinner
December 3, 1969

MISCELLANEOUS

The men and women who will be valued most in this Administration will be those who understand that not every experiment succeeds, who do not cover up failures but rather lay open problems, frankly and constructively, so that next time we will know how to do better.

Message to the Congress on Poverty
February 19, 1969

We shall never make taxation popular, but we can make taxation fair.

Message to the Congress
April 21, 1969

Carved out of swampland at our country's birth, the nation's Capital city now sets a new test of national purpose. This was a city that men dared to plan -- and build by plan -- laying out avenues and monuments and housing in accordance with a common rational scheme. Now we are challenged once again to shape our environment: to renew our city by rational foresight and planning, rather than leaving it to grow swamp-like without design.

Message to the Congress
April 28, 1969

There is no Democratic or Republican way of delivering the mail. There is only the right way.

Message to the Congress
May 27, 1969

MISCELLANEOUS (cont'd)

And that brings us to think of the mystery of government in this country, and for that matter in the world, the secret of how government can survive for free men. And we think of the terms "change" and "continuity." Change without continuity can be anarchy. Change with continuity can mean progress. And continuity without change can mean no progress.

As we look over the history of this nation, we find that what has brought us where we are has been continuity with change. No institution of the three great institutions of our government has been more responsible for that continuity with change than the Supreme Court of the United States.

Remarks at Swearing-In of
Chief Justice Burger
June 23, 1969

Only by marshalling the facts can we know how to marshal our resources.

Statement concerning National Goals
Research Staff, July 12, 1969

The President [Marcos] and I share one thing in common. We are both lawyers. Today I would say that we could say, as Woodrow Wilson once said, that we have only as our clients the children of the world.

Remarks in Manila
July 27, 1969

MISCELLANEOUS (cont'd)

I always used to tell young Senators when they first came to Washington that in making the decision, they should do it not by weighing the mail but by weighing the evidence.

Comment during News Conference
March 21, 1970