

TRANSCRIPT OF A RECORDING OF A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND H.R. HALDEMAN ON APRIL 25, 1973 FROM 7:46 TO 7:53 P.M.

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PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

OPERATOR: Thank you

PRESIDENT: Ya

HALDEMAN: Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT: Is there any, uh, way that, uh, even

surreptitiously or discreetly or otherwise I mean, that, ah, way you could determine whether uh, this matter of whether I Dean-might have walked in there with a recorder

on him? I don't know.

HALDEMAN: No, I don't think there is any way. I think

ya gotta, so remote as to be almost beyond

possibility. And uh, and if he did

(unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Well we've gotta I mean, its, it

(unintelligible), but the point is that that's ah, that's a real bomb isn't it?,

HALDEMAN: Ah, ya.

PRESIDENT: Sure is. -That, that's what may be his,

bomb. In other words he (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: No...

PRESIDENT: Put that on the desk, with Henry Petersen,

and says, "I gotta recording of the

President of the United States and here's

what he said."

HALDEMAN: Well, that would be very hard.

PRESIDENT: If he did it, then we'd say, "yes..."

HALDEMAN; (Unintelligible) virtually impossible

PRESIDENT: "(Unintelligible) Not virtually impossible.

'If he did it we'd say, "Yes, sir, that was

a recording and I was investigating..."

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: On the other hand (laughs) it'd be god damn

hard on, I mean, he'd run that in the press

that'd be (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Yeah

PRESIDENT: Well, no way to, no way to find out is

there?

HALDEMAN: No, there isn't any, there isn't any

(unintelligible) no way anybody would

know...

PRESIDENT: We have no...

HALDEMAN: Except him.

PRESIDENT: record of uh, we don't have any

(unintelligible) as to whether he has

done...

HALDEMAN: None

PRESIDENT: that before, have we?

HALDEMAN: None. We have no evidence at any time under

any circumstances, and I've, you know, been involved in enough, you know, what is going on that I, I just find it impossible to,

think that, that there would

(unintelligible) you know, it could possibly

be the case.

PRESIDENT: Ummh. One thing about those things you

think that you know when a fellow walks into me, and I didn't look at him that closely, but you were there, god damn I mean, I, I'd think that it's a little, it's, it's, even the smallest ones are bulky enough that you mean, with a fellow like Dean you'd sort of see that wouldn't ya, where do you carry them, in your hip pocket or your, breast

pocket?

HALDEMAN: Oh, under your arm, you know, where they

carry a pistol holster or somethin.

PRESIDENT: Um hmm, ya. Well...

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) I really don't think

it's--it's so remote as to be almost beyond

the...

PRESIDENT: Ya, ya

HALDEMAN: ...realm of possibility

PRESIDENT: In this matter nothing is beyond the realm

of possibility. (laughter)...

HALDEMAN: No, that's true but ah...

PRESIDENT: Ya...

HALDEMAN: And, and...

PRESIDENT: But of course we draw the sword on that if

ah, if ah...

HALDEMAN: (clears throat) I think if, if that's the

subject he has in mind, that he, he's just going to do it on the basis of his own, you know, his own record afterwards, there's no

check.

PRESIDENT: Oh well, on that we'll destroy him.

HALDEMAN: And ah...

PRESIDENT: It's his word against...

HALDEMAN: You know from the big (unintelligible)...

PRESIDENT: His word against...

HALDEMAN: Something like that...

PRESIDENT: His word--what? His word against the

President's the ah, the ah, (unintelligible)

you were there but particularly the

President's on that (unintelligible). The

only other thing is of course his

conversation with regard to the, I mean, the

little slip in your office about the...

HALDEMAN: But that.

PRESIDENT: That was so casual.

HALDEMAN: I don't think you're going to have the, have

the problem with that. I mean, other than, other than perhaps an effort to, to base it

on his conversation and you know, his memorandum afterwards or had he done

something like that, but. he didn't usually

do that.

PRESIDENT: Didn't he?

HALDEMAN: Ummh ummh.

PRESIDENT: He didn't write conversations memorandum?

HALDEMAN: Not usually.

PRESIDENT: Hm. He probably did on this one. But uh,

(unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: As I said it sounds as if he had notes which

you, you said he thought he did to speak from you know he might have used that ah...

PRESIDENT: Ya that, but I mean, but he didn't make any

notes in any conversation I ever had with him, he always sat there and then probably as a (unintelligible) with a good memory, you can go back and write everything down

you can remember.

HALDEMAN: Ya, ya.

PRESIDENT: But ah, he's always had or made a memorandum

of the conversation afterwards and I said this and that, on the other hand, Ziegler had a good point about Dean which he made a

few days ago, he said John Dean's

credibility is nil because...

HALDEMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: The Dean report has proved to be false and

everything else and...

HALDEMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: And you have something to say and that's

what we gotta have in mind here now without

you and John to get too god damned

discouraged about this because basically John Dean, ah, his report, uh, that he now claims that he didn't make, his subornation

of perjury, his everything else

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: He's ah, who the hell is to believe what

he's going to say now, and he's saying it now for what purpose? He's going to be, of course, saying, "Well I, they're making me

the scape goat and all the rest, and

therefore I'm going to tell all," and he's going, and as he says, "I'll try this," his attorney says, "This administration right up

to the President," he didn't say the President, but you know that's what they

said.

HALDEMAN: Yeah, but that's (unintelligible) the

purpose--when you get down to trying to do

it, they got a very tough time.

PRESIDENT: Purpose of course was to get everybody-which

now the Prosecutor Chuck, Bob, is not about

to give 'em.

HALDEMAN: Really?

PRESIDENT: No, sir, they're not. Oh, Petersen says

that I said, "Now alright, you make your judgment on your own," I said, "not on my behalf. He said "No,' he says, "he's

just--much involved.as a principal. We just can't do it." And frankly I think it's just

as well. I think if ...

HALDEMAN: He's right.

PRESIDENT: I think if you--I think if you're in a

position now, that if you gave him immunity, he would sit there the rest of our lives.

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Hanging it over ya, and the point is that

ah, now if he's going to have this pissing contest (unintelligible) all right, bring it out and fight it out and it'll be a bloody god damn thing, you know in a strange kind

of way that's life, isn't it

(unintelligible)' probably be understood and be rough as a cob, an we'll survive and some people you'll even find (unintelligible) in

Mississippi you'll find a half a dozen

people that will be for the President. Who

knows?

HALDEMAN: (Laughs) Be a lot more than that.

PRESIDENT: (unintelligible) No. We do still have some

support in the country, I hope. But, uh

HALDEMAN: Yep.

PRESIDENT: But we shall see, do you agree?

HALDEMAN: Absolutely.

PRESIDENT: (Laughs)

HALDEMAN: No question.

PRESIDENT: Ya, ya, that's right-Despite all the polls

and all the rest, I think there's still a hell of a lot of people out there, and from what I've seen, they're-you know, they, they want to believe, that's the point, isn't it?

HALDEMAN: Why sure. Want to, and do.

PRESIDENT: All right. By the way, I thought there was

just a th--thought that maybe. you could

check th-that thing...

HALDEMAN: No

PRESIDENT: But there no way you can check it.

HALDEMAN: There isn't anything to check.

PRESIDENT: You've never heard that, uh, that he's ever

done that before.

HALDEMAN: Never, never.

PRESIDENT: Um hmm. Although as I say, if worse comes

to worse, an he has one, well, we've got

one. (Laughs).

HALDEMAN: Yup.

PRESIDENT: No. But what I mean is-you've gotta live

with it, that's it

HALDEMAN: Well know it's there at least, an uh--

PRESIDENT: That's right, that's right, that's right.

Tomorrow th-, th-, th-, there's a little left on what the one you had this day,

right?

HALDEMAN: Yep.

PRESIDENT: Um hmm. But-but you were there during that

discussion.

HALDEMAN: Yep.

PRESIDENT: And I suppose that we probably discussed how

the hell we get the 120, right? I don t

remember it.

HALDEMAN: No, no. I don't think so, I think it was,

you know, just sort of a rehash of the other

thing...

PRESIDENT: That's right.

HALDEMAN: and basically going into the impossibility

of doing it.

PRESIDENT: And the next day you, I suppose the question

is, well, did you get the 120, I may have asked him that, I don't know. I don't think

I did but I...(laughs).

HALDEMAN: I'm not even sure there was a second.

PRESIDENT: Well anyway——I listen to it tomorrow ant

lemme know. Will ya?

HALDEMAN: Yep.