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TRANSCRIPT PREPARED BY THE IMPEACHMENT  
INQUIRY STAFF FOR THE HOUSE JUDICIARY  
COMMITTEE OF A RECORDING OF THE PRESIDENT'S  
WORK-DAY, JUNE 4, 1973

[Noise]

[The President switches on the recording of  
February 28, 1973. A recognizable utterance  
occurs at [33]: Dean says, "...the others  
were arguing that the Committee up on the  
hill broaden its mandate to include other  
elections." The recording continues. At  
[684] the recording ends.]

[Noise]

PRESIDENT: Bull, please. Steve. Hello. Thank you.

[Pause. Bull enters]

PRESIDENT: I finished this one.

BULL: Well, that's it. I just finished  
calibrating this ore here.

PRESIDENT: What's this?

BULL: This is the next day, uh, and--

PRESIDENT: The twenty-seventh, yeah.

BULL: Yes sir. And that will mean  
[unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: You mean, you mean you didn't have this  
office done?

BULL: On the twenty-seventh [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT [lengthy unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

and BULL:

PRESIDENT: We do have this office done, haven't we?

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Then why wouldn't we have that?

BULL: I'm-not-sure. It may have been an equipment  
failure. It was a twenty-five minute  
meeting [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Well, you got to go down and get some, uh  
[unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

BULL: There are three meetings.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

BULL: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: Well, we didn't [unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

BULL: That's what I mean, and that's the thing I  
wanted to impress on [unintelligible] I'm  
not sure whether he understands the  
sensitivity.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] or anybody else. Nobody should know.

BULL: [Unintelligible] no one besides yourself,

PRESIDENT: You.

BULL: me, Haldeman, Butterfield.  
[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]  
[Lengthy segment with no speaking]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

BULL: It's happened once or twice before. They're activated by different, uh, by different means.

PRESIDENT: I see. Well --[unintelligible]

BULL: All right sir. [Pause] Mr. President, if you do want to hear any of the others,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

BULL: here's what their numbers are. I'll be around. This first one goes from one eighty-six to three eighty-five  
[unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Right.

BULL: The second one, if you'll run it ahead to six twenty-five --

PRESIDENT: I agree. I know.

BULL: And then they're really --you, you only got three digits here

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah.

BULL: and if you go past a thousand you start rewi--you know, and start again at zero. So actually this final meeting is one o'clock to one-ten. [unintelligible] There are a couple of telephone calls. There's a call made that day to, uh, to [unintelligible]. We have the calls. We have, have the telephone calls. [Unintelligible] There is one that, uh, [unintelligible] your conversation with Dean [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] We have the calls. They're on here?

BULL: No sir. They're on a separate reel. [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: Get lost, Steve.

BULL: All right sir.

[The President switches on an unidentified recording. At [1146] he switches off the recording]

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TRANSCRIPT PREPARED BY THE IMPEACHMENT  
INQUIRY STAFF FOR THE HOUSE JUDICIARY  
COMMITTEE OF A RECORDING OF A MEETING  
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND ALEXANDER HAIG ON  
JUNE 4, 1973.

PRESIDENT: Uh, General Haig, please. Hello. Thought I'd take a break for a minute or two. Could you come over? Thank you. Bye. Come in. Hello. O.K.

HAIG: Uh, I think we got Nel coming around again now.

PRESIDENT: You have.

HAIG: I going to use him as [unintelligible] for a price. MacGrudy and Buzhardt

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HAIG: and, uh, [unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: Right.

HAIG: [Unintelligible] You know, uh, a second thing is, uh, I talked to Elliot about the wiretaps.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HAIG: He has found in, in a Justice Department file, confirmation that newspaper people, political figures were tapped. During the Kennedy period. Kennedy removed all of 1961's

wiretaps from the Justice Department. We think they're still in the FBI. The FBI--

PRESIDENT: We don't about our individuals, yet. We haven't found any there, in there, as yet, have we?

HAIG: No. But the FBI is working on -we have right now confirmation that the character of the past, in the past, is no different than the character now. That includes newspaper people--

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] were, were newsmen tapped during Kennedy period?

HAIG: They were. We had in that kind of a rec-One case confirmed in Justice.

PRESIDENT: Brandon?

HAIG: We don't know who it is, and, he's

PRESIDENT: I know he --

HAIG: he's carrying the names.

PRESIDENT: I know.

HAIG: He's going to be over tonight.

PRESIDENT: Brandon? Brandon's been zapped for years. That's what Hoover told me.

HAIG: Now the names -He'll be over here tonight. (Unintelligible] uh, of this preliminary check. They're going on with work in each, each case. I told them--

PRESIDENT: Right.

HAIG: that as soon as that's finished  
**RESTRICTED-"D"** I sent Rick down, and he's working on it attentively. But I had a meeting this morning with, uh, LeBraun and uh, uh, Len.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HAIG: We all think that we should -We want to get something--

PRESIDENT: Hold it till you get it.

HAIG: quickly -Well, we think we ought to get something out quickly.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. It's -You mean -Oh, I see your point.

HAIG: Uh, we, we I've got, uh, a baby now which it'd be well to get this story

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HAIG: out.

PRESIDENT: Get our story on.

HAIG: And we're thinking the "Filler" game-plan will look--

PPUSSIDENT: Good. It's a good counterattack right now.

HAIG: Right.

PRESIDENT: Right.

HAIG: Uh,

PRESIDENT: The -well, I think highly, but I thought you had urged we should wait [unintelligible].

HAIG: Well, I wanted to be sure --

PRESIDENT: There were newsmen. Yeah.

HAIG: There were newsmen and, and government officials.

PRESIDENT: We could just say, "Newsmen were included."

HAIG: That's right.

PRESIDENT: We don't need to -Nobody's going to counteract that.

HAIG: Yeah. We're working out the game-plan to have, uh, maybe Scott come out of the leadership meeting tomorrow. That could, uh



PRESIDENT: Right.

HAIG: Come back with a complete pressing: we knew this went an in the past, and

PRESIDENT: And we had, and I--

HAIG: the preliminary results confirm.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Well, why don't we do this. The leadership meeting tomorrow I can say Senator Scott asked we privately whether or not there were any other [unintelligible]. I've got the figures, gentlemen, and here they are. And newsmen were tapped.

HAIG: [Unintelligible] located, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT: You have? -

HAIG: Yes sir, if you'd like me to set it up for you [unintelligible].

PRESIDENT: Uh -Oh, well, I'm -Well, I've -Yeah, uh, but I'm I haven't finished this. I, I've done the, I've done the first half hour. Got two more, ten minutes on this one and I think there's nothing in them but, I, uh, uh, assume that, but, uh -Why don't you just stand by. Or, or, I'll buzz you when I'm ready. [Unintelligible].

HAIG: O.K.

PRESIDENT: Good.

HAIG: So, it's uh, -I -We're going to have some good stuff in

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HAIG: this weekend. This is, uh -We'll get that out tomorrow. And that will enable Gerry to stand up on Wednesday and clobber McCloskey and -'cause he's been getting scoops on wiretaps. [Unintelligible] Christ, he could stand up and just crucify him.

PRESIDENT: Right.

HAIG: Uh, now another thing that's come up is, uh, Herb wants to announce his resignation Tuesday. I told him to hold up. With the idea if he did it Tuesday, and we had some reorganization, including Ron,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ILNIG: on Wednesday.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HAIG: I was very fussy by it. Uh, so, he, he's going to do whatever best suits our purpose.

PRESIDENT: Sure.

HAIG: I'm seeing two FBI guys this afternoon as potential FBI directors so that we -it looks as though we've done a thorough job.

PRESIDENT: [sighs] right.

HAIG: Uh, Richardson wants very much to get Ruckelshaus over there as Deputy Attorney General. I don't think so. He's not a good team--

PRESIDENT: He's, uh, not our man.

HAIG: Yeah. It's not a good team.

PRESIDENT: Want me to take a minute to tell you what's on this crap?

HAIG: Yes. Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT: You haven't got Buzhardt yet, have you?

HAIG: Well, Buzhardt's standing by over the -The trouble is there's six file cases down there of Dean's stuff. He's going through the first two that Dean's been into, because they look like they'd be the ones that we should be looking at.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah.

HAIG: And he's working on it full time.

PRESIDENT: It's good that Dean asked him to, uh,

HAIG: Oh God!

PRESIDENT: get his own file out of there, because the fact that [unintelligible]. See that's, see that's the thing I was really concerned about.

HAIG: Well, we all were, and that's, that's

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HAIG: a godsend.

PRESIDENT: Let me just get the, go over this so you can, uh, you know, reassure you a little on it. [Unintelligible] you know. I, I think about it. This is the meeting of the twenty-eighth, an hour an ten meeting, an hour and ten minute meeting. It'll also tell you why I, uh, I don't want others doing it, and why we cannot, uh, why, uh, uh, you know, you -I'm feeling [unintelligible] this report. Why we I re -without regard to Watergate, according to [unintelligible] just, uh, hang fire [unintelligible]. But, first, -uh, it was about, uh, it started with executive

privilege. We discussed, uh, uh -Dean says, "You're not withholding any information on there, you know, on that, that line, line. We had a press conference and I got you a history for every bit of information that we're going to cooperate with." And then, Dean had an idea to run Stans up first to pursue as a stalking horse, as he put it. Uh, he said he can sandbag them, that's the word, then went on to say he thought that the public was bored on the, the Watergate back there. He said Stans is a victim of circumstance. He said, uh, he went on to say, "The White House is not involved."

HAIG:

Great.

PRESIDENT:

This is, this is a [unintelligible]. Quote Dean, "The White House is not involved." I've got that, and I'm writing to them. He talked about Colson. Colson expected a lawsuit, but, you know, he said that, "Well, that has a sobering effect," because it would show their position [unintelligible]. Uh, it's, uh -talked to him about Colson. [Unintelligible] but that was all right. Then the question as to how to deal with Baker, uh, because you see I just, uh, and I, and I don't know. The question was whether Timmons could do it. And, uh, and I told him that Dean would be available to talk to him, that he'd be number

one, so let's [unintelligible] everything centered in one person. Well, we talked about Gray. Uh, he said, that, uh, Dean was talking about, uh, he said, Nell, he's comfortable with his testimony," and so forth, that kind of thing. And I said, "Well, I would be very close to [unintelligible]." And I told him that I had never seen Gray socially. That I know Hoover much better, and I've not been, uh -President Johnson whose been, uh, more Uh, then we let went back to Colson. I would have vulnerability for, uh, regarding another area. You and Dean and I -I [unintelligible] who he's talking about Colson's various things, but not [unintelligible] that case. He says he could win the suit but lose the war. This is Dean talking. But he said on the other hand, uh, it'd be a good idea. And then the question of all the lawsuits [unintelligible]. Fourteen million dollars worth were brought [unintelligible] on our side; seventeen on their side. I said, "Well, all those suits should be settled. We should drop, uh, uh" -He said, "I agree totally." So that was that. Then he wondered how the Democrats could borrow money and so forth, and not report it. So he said, "McGovern's files were in terrible shape." I said, "Well let's get that brought out in the hearing." Uh, and then he said, "Well, maybe the media can bring it out. Maybe that's

something that Colson -Uh, told him to go over and make sure you get a word with Kleindienst, uh, because Kleindienst was also talking to the Committee about whether we should interrupt the questioning and on whether we should have interrogatories. And Dean said, "The President isn't going to hide any information." He said, "That's the, that's the line that we should -That's the truth [unintelligible] should say. [sigh] He said, "The hearings are tough," and so forth and so on. Uh, "Everyone can still pull, pull their same oar." "Frankly," said he, "they've pulled them." And I said, it was [unintelligible] he said, "[Unintelligible] pardon, look, they're going to be that [unintelligible] they're going to be [unintelligible]." Uh, then he went -then he said, "Ervin's a puppet for Kennedy."

HAIG: He said that?

PRESIDENT: "The fine hand of Kennedy is in this whole thing. Kennedy's men were on the floor during the debate, uh. Uh, Dash is a Kennedy man -which we're trying to document that. That story should [unintelligible] sometime." This is Dean talking. Then I said, "Johnson believed Bobby bugged him." I did. He said, uh, "Abe Fortas was the guy who was in charge of that sort of thing. He was a big Kennedy man."

He told me a [unintelligible] story where a doctor in the FBI, [unintelligible] to the FBI, set it up so that a doctor would examine Jenkins and say that he was having brain problems. A brain tumor. The FBI refused to approve the story.

HAIG: No, I hadn't heard the story.

PRESIDENT: Well, Hoover wouldn't play it. I missed a point. [snaps fingers] Then we got into the '68 bugging. We didn't have any bugging, you know. Uh, and then he went into this very interesting thing with regard to this thing: Hoover told Pat Coyne, Pat Coyne told Nelson Rockefeller, and Nelson Rockefeller told Kissinger that newsmen were bugged, uh, whether by us, or by, uh, others, I don't know, uh, or [unintelligible] -but anyway that's the, that, that thing came out. But, it gives you an idea of the kind of thing we were talking about.

HAIG: Yes sir. It does.

PRESIDENT: And, uh, uh, the grapevine of the Bureau is that, uh, they did it. Records, however, show no evidence. [Unintelligible] should be fired.

HAIG: Should be fired.



PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] and I told him that Hoover told me, told Mitchell that I had been bugged [unintelligible]. [Unintelligible] it's in a memorandum, where the Agnew plane out of Chicago had been bugged. DeLoach was then going to go through Mitchell [unintelligible]. Time magazine, uh,

**RESTRICTED-"B"**

HAIG: No.

PRESIDENT: No. Then, we talked about getting out the '68 story. Getting out the President's story. Uh, Goldwater had been [unintelligible] Goldwater [unintelligible]. Then, for the first time, we got into Watergate, at that point. He said that the, that uh, uh, that they were using probation officers [unintelligible]. Dean [unintelligible] in a very

flagrant way said [unintelligible]. And then I said, "Thirty five year sentence -then went into something, no weapons, and no injuries and so forth. And this is just a very flagrant thing." Uh, I said, uh, I said, "For example, if a black held up a store with a gun, uh, he'd get perhaps two years." And Dean kind of -"Yeah, he'd get two years, and he'd get a suspended sentence."

HAIG: That's a [unintelligible].

PRESIDENT: And then, he said, then he told me these fellows can't even get out on bail. He said the point would come that--Then we got into the Court. About, what [unintelligible]. And I said, "When is that son-of-a-bitch Baz-Bazelon going to get out of there?" [Unintelligible]. Uh, see we tried to get a bill to get Bazelon out, so that we can, A And he said, "Well, I think he's going to wait us out " And I said, "dell, we've got to get, uh, a list, uh, a kind of a list of the best people in the country for judges: Circuit Court, District Court, and Supreme Court. We've got to do that in a hurry."

HAIG: Did he agree?

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] On to the Supreme Court. And here's the kind of thing that you would not want [unintelligible] uh,

the press [unintelligible] out. We talked about a black, Mar-he pointed out that Marshall was in bad health. I said, "Well, I didn't, I didn't know whether that was confirmed or not." And I said, "In my view," I said, of there's a, there's a good fellow, uh, a black, who's that fellow, Brown, who's the head of the Equal Economic Opportunity," but I said, "maybe Jewels Lafontaine is the best." I said, "There you kill two birds with one stone. You've got a black and a woman." And he said, "Brilliant-- she's great. She'd be fine."

**RESTRICTED-"D"**

Right. [Unintelligible] but that's the kind of talk we had.

HAIG: Uh, yeah. But [unintelligible] you can't, you can't make it public.

PRESIDENT: Well, we can't -but he might.

HAIG: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: But I, is that going to be bad? What the hell difference does that make? That is irrelevant to this whole investigation. And, uh, I said, "The people in the Senate can't possibly vote against Jewel." He says, "Absolutely."  
[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**] I told him to talk to Kleindienst about this whole problem [unintelligible]." He sympathized. I said, "How would you like Teddy Kennedy to propose the judges?" [Unintelligible] I said, "I want you to know that appointments are not going to go on the basis of -they, they're saying that you need a Jewish seat." And I said, "Now look, there's no Jewish seat on that Court." I said, "There are Jews all around this White House." I said, "You've got Arthur Burns; you've got Henry Kissinger; you've got [unintelligible]." And I said, "What we have to do, we've got to ri- realize we've got to appoint some [unintelligible]. They may not be quite up to what we think is the standard, but we've got to get them and pull them up." I said, "That's the way our system works." Uh, uh, I said, "Republicans are worse than the Democrats in this respect, because they're snobbish. And here's Nixon telling him, 'We've got to spread the base. And, uh [unintelligible]."

HAIG: (Unintelligible] absolutely, uh [unintelligible].

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

HAIG: [Unintelligible] but there isn't any difference.

PRESIDENT: No, but I mean, I'm trying to point out now, that in this [unintelligible] you, you'll know the damn truth [unintelligible] reference to Watergate [unintelligible]. That maybe something that's a plus. But God damn it, my recollection is correct. Now we go into Sullivan. He said he watched him work with Huston. "He's a good man, reliable, et cetera." He said Felt was known as the "White Rat" at the, at the, uh, FBI. And, uh, the question, uh, I think he raised, is he, uh, is he Jewish. And, uh, Dean said, "He, he could be."

**RESTRICTED-"D"**

I said, "We have that here at the White House." So he says, "Huh?"

HAIG: [chuckles] Exactly right.

PRESIDENT: And Dean says, "Well, there will never be a leak from me, 'cause I don't know how to leak. I couldn't possibly leak." The question that we got people in jail. I said, "I feel for these guys in jail, particularly for Hunt; his wife has been killed, and so forth. Dean said, "Well, they're all hanging in tough." I said, "What are they doing, looking for clemency?" He said, "Yes." And I said,

"We couldn't do it." [unintelligible] said, "Well, maybe it will get so absurd, so political, and so forth, that we could do something later on", and it was dropped. That was the only talk about clemency, and my remark was: "[Unintelligible] clemency, and let's keep it clean." Then, we got into this disruption of, by the Democrats. And he pointed out that McGovern had, uh, Dick Tuck on his payroll. He tried to do a couple of [unintelligible] didn't come off. And then I said, "What the hell did Segretti do?" And Dean says, "He did some funny things, but nothing really serious." And he said, "We could keep--," and he said "Chapin is not involved, except tangentially." He said, "They're going after Herb Kalmbach with a vengeance." Uh, "But", he said, "Herb is a strong man who makes, has a logical explanation for everything." And I said, "Look, they are going to bring in his, uh, representation of the President at San Clemente, my private [unintelligible]. Nobody's asking for that." Uh, but the important thing to note here, is not about Kalmbach afterward, but before. You see, Kalmbach raised money before, because, I have said, but the thing that concerns me is that, the fact that, uh, I read this in some [unintelligible] the money was sent through a bank in Mexico, or through Mexico. [Unintelligible] Watergate thing. And Dean said, "That can all be

explained." But he didn't mention the fact that [unintelligible], and so forth, up to this point, that afterwards Kalmbach raised money, which is the point that I--he even indicated [unintelligible], to put that in a box.

HAIG:

Yes sir.

PRESIDENT:

It's not--uh I said, "Get Baker, uh, what we ought to do is get Baker and the others to come out to run this hearing like a court. No hearsay." He said, "Excellent idea. Make it a model of [unintelligible]" [Unintelligible] and Dean said, talking about the past, he says, "Well, I, it's', it's been a long way, but I'm convinced that [unintelligible] but I'm convinced we're going to make it." That could be an implication that we, that, just, ju--no [unintelligible] he didn't even suggest cover-up. Uh, we talked about the hearings, and I, and they are just--and I said, I said, "John, you [unintelligible] that the President has told the truth." And Dean emphatically said, "I know, I know." I said, "When I heard about this, I thought they were all crazy. I thought they were nuts." He said, "I know." Then he said at one point, "You know they don't -they'll be after Colson and Ehrlichman, Haldeman and Ehrlichman. They might even be after Dean." This is, at that point, I said, "No, they can't be after you--why?" That was all.

On the first, the next day, the question was whether Kleindienst would [unintelligible] Baker [unintelligible]. Uh, Gray, Dean said, had given a story in his testimony that he wanted so terribly to be confirmed. And when he said records would be available to any Senator--FBI records. Then I went into the business about the Hiss case, how they wouldn't even let us have anything, let alone records--raw files is what he meant. Then Dean emphatically says, "I never gave the FBI records to Segretti. I never showed him an FBI record." And I said, "Yes, John," I said, "You were conducting an investigation for the White House." He said, "That's right. And I was entitled to sit in those investigations." [Unintelligible] talked about Gray, and I said, "It looks to me like he's going to be done. He's trying to pamper the Senators." "That's right," Dean says, "he's bull-headed." Then I said to-uh "We've got to,

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just to show you the kind of colorful language, [unintelligible] that we, about how this FBI thing --Hell, it's the worst [unintelligible]. "The FBI cannot turn raw files over to the Senate or anywhere.' else!" Then I asked him for a memorandum. with regard to uh, how the Democrats had used the FBI. One little thing, the Dan Schorr [unintelligible]. And I said, we all know



about that." I said, "Let's understand--" Uh, but there was no bugging involved, That was simply, uh, a uh, study had been made [unintelligible]. Uh, but as you know, that was one where [unintelligible]. Dan Schorr, we never intended to hire him, and he knew it, and everybody else knew it. What happened was we just asked for a name check on the son-of-a-bitch, due to the fact that he was [unintelligible]. It was a national security matter. But, uh, that s an old story, and, uh, it isn't much really. We have been so kind, and so good, as using the FBI concern is concerned, compared with previous administrations. We then talked about DeLoach. DeLoach had had lunch after seeing Kleindienst. And he said, Klein-- DeLoach said, "There, there had been no bugging under President Kennedy they say", and I told Gray, and then I told Dean that I had told Gray when he came in, uh, when I said the same thing about the [unintelligible] and I urged him to give all the FBI people lie detector tests. And then, uh, Dean said, "Yes, but that should be after the hearings." And I said, "I agree. But the God damned place has got to be cleaned out. You got to have this be believed [unintelligible]. And I also tell DeLoach that we have other evidence." [Unintelligible] And I also came to him to tell Kendall that, so that DeLoach would be put

on notice that we have had some information on that [unintelligible]. I never trusted DeLoach, myself, because, he's a politician [unintelligible/**REMOVED**] I pointed out [unintelligible] the difficulty with all [unintelligible] FBI [unintelligible] the Bureau can't survive [unintelligible] came back with us, uh, then, about sitting in on the investigation [unintelligible]. Then Gray bitched about his sitting in on the investigation. Said, "John, nobody ever sat in on an FBI investigation before." Dean insisted because he was conducting an investigation for the President. [Unintelligible] No question about it. Commented on Gray, and I said, "The trouble with Gray, he has outward self-confidence but not inward self-confidence." And I gave an analogy [unintelligible]." Dean said, "Well, then Gray will be O.K." I said, "Well, what we have to do is to clean out the FBI like Schlesinger was doing with the CIA. We've got to get the dead wood out," or words to that--Then we talked about Gray's investigation of Watergate. Uh, that, uh, that he was proud of his investigation, and Dean said, "Though he caused us some grief." What he meant by that I don't know. Then I recounted to him that I had talked to Gray once. [unintelligible] "Yes, I, I've heard about that." Uh, he said, "The difficulty with Gray is that he was around the country making speeches rather than sitting on top of the investigation." A little finger comes in there. What Dean was

trying to do was to get Gray -- not -- Get my point?

HAIG: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] and I gave him a copy of my book Six Crises to read the chapter on Hiss. [Handles paper] That's two days of it.

HAIG: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: All day tomorrow. You never know when another of these conversations--But, you know, I ordered it! Christ, you know, you pick up the paper and it says: "Dean says that the President"-- This, now these are, but this, this, this is an hour, almost, an hour and forty-five minutes of conversation, Al.

HAIG: And they're the ones that really think there's been anything. They wanted their man.

PRESIDENT: I don't know. You mean at the beginning? [Unintelligible]

HAIG: [Unintelligible] I got to tell Steve to get the telephone. If you have a call, so that we're sure he didn't have someone there. [Unintelligible] Well, this is a good thing to do.

PRESIDENT: I know.

HAIG: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HAIG: [Unintelligible] Do you have a question?

PRESIDENT: Well, they put out the [unintelligible]. They had McCloskey [unintelligible] too, and then they put out [unintelligible]. I hope the fellows on the Hill are not panicking because of that thing [unintelligible] over the weekend.

HAIG: I don't have any signs of panic this morning. That's why I'll tell you, we're over the hump. Hell, if this had been three weeks ago you'd be in, uh, --our phones would be buzzing every minute.

PRESIDENT: Would they?

HAIG: Yes sir. But, uh, the-- our, our-- We're getting close to the time when we won't really want it dismantled. We're not there yet. Hell, we're getting close to it.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Well, I ought to go through this crap.

HAIG: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Here, first of all, first of all, he, he's demolished in the sense that from the first of January he has not, not -

HAIG: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Now, this is through February. Well, I've got one other half-hour--I don't know what the hell is on it [cough].

HAIG: You see it's so good because nobody in Congress likes him. You know, you don't know whether he--

PRESIDENT: God damn it, how?

HAIG: Some kind of remark that the son-of-a-bitch could twist out of context. [Unintelligible] No [unintelligible] no general with, uh, with, uh,

PRESIDENT: What?

HAIG: The worst trouble he could do, even if, if he's reasonably accurate--Now, if he's going into a full-fledged perjury job, uh, of the greatest magnitude, then we can take the son-of-a-bitch on.

PRESIDENT: That's right. Well, as I told you, we do know we have one problem: it's that damn conversation of March 21st due to the fact that, uh, [unintelligible]. But I think we can handle that.

HAIG: I think we ca--can. That's that's, yeah we can handle it.

PRESIDENT: Bob -He'll get up there and say that--Bob will say, "I was there; the President said--"

HAIG: That's exactly right.

PRESIDENT: So, we'll see what else is in the God damned--

HAIG: [Unintelligible] for your own, really your own peace of mind. You--

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HAIG: You just can't recall [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [Sigh] As you know, we're up against ruthless people.

HAIG: Well, we're going to be in great shape now, 'cause we're going to prepare. [Unintelligible] really put the screws on him for that. That guy left here at one o'clock last night. Worked on them at home, started again this morning. Got Buzhardt in on it [unintelligible/**REMOVED**] what the hell's he doing.

PRESIDENT: You taking this issue here, now take clemency, that's well handled, isn't it?

HAIG: Text book.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. And it's well handled in that March 21st thing. I

put it in the context of that I said you couldn't even consider clemency, clemency until after the '74 election --is the way I put it. But, what the hell, in two years, bastards are in jail that long. I said I didn't-- can't even consider it.

HAIG: Yeah, you see, it probably wouldn't hurt, uh, I mean it's conceivable now when, when we get working with Buzhardt you go down the line here. Uh, it may be that, uh, [unintelligible] Well, that's, you know, that's the judgment I wouldn't make now

PRESIDENT: I won't. It's very important [unintelligible]. However, not even Buzhardt knows.

HAIG: Well, you know, Buzhardt knows this because you told him, in your office. [Unintelligible] Uh, but he knew it also because when you were checking on wiretaps, on the Johnson years, uh, with the Secret Service, it came out. Uh, those bellyaches who'd been handling it for Johnson, as a matter of fact --So he knows it, but, I, I tell you, he's the only one who knows.

PRESIDENT: All right. No further. He shouldn't tell anyone. I'd rather-- I don't want it put out that somebody is, uh, been saying, uh, they're going to get the, uh, the President's records and it s got--

HAIG: Oh.

PRESIDENT: Let's just assume we goofed. If you get back to Buzhardt you tell him you had national security stuff.

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

PRESIDENT: [Sigh] This is hard work.

HAIG: Yes.

PRESIDENT: But I've got to do it. Got to do it. And it's best for me to do it too.

HAIG: Only you. Only you.

PRESIDENT: Thank you a lot, Al. Oh, uh, what about Buzhardt's stuff? [unintelligible]

HAIG: [unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: Al, we can put out the story to the effect that he has [unintelligible] that he has [unintelligible], chronologies, telephone recordings, and all that sort of thing.

HAIG: Why do you honestly--?



PRESIDENT: I wonder if that's Hunt.

HAIG: That's [unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

[Haig leaves; the President returns to listening to recorded conversations.]

[The President switches on an unidentified recording. [At Reel #2, 626] he switches off the recording]

PRESIDENT: Steve Bull, please. Hello. Ready for another batch.

[Noise]

[Bull enters]

BULL: Mr. President, were you able to get another[unintelligible] on this

PRESIDENT: I finished that.

BULL: tape?

PRESIDENT: Fine. This is all about--No, that's the twenty-seventh. No, that's--

BULL: Yes sir. The problem with the [unintelligible] is-- very active day, [unintelligible] the other problem is [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes.

BULL: changed tapes during the day.

PRESIDENT: You think it was in this office? I think--

BULL: No sir. It was in the Oval Office.

PRESIDENT: Ha!

BULL: In the Oval Office--

PRESIDENT: I thought so. [Unintelligible] the first time I saw Dean [unintelligible] the Oval Office.

BULL: It a a shame that, I mean [unintelligible] sequence.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] No difference. Well, what do you have? What others do you have?

BULL: This is what we have right--this is all I have right now sir.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]. Where are your other meetings [unintelligible]?

BULL: Al has those.

PRESIDENT: Well, [unintelligible] get me out the-- Just pick, pick up the, uh, balance of the meetings.

BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: through the, uh-- I don't want them. I don't need to hear them. I don't need the twenty-first or the twenty-- Uh, the twenty-first I don't need unless, uh, [unintelligible]

BULL: That's the, uh, the [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: March, March [unintelligible] I don't need April. I need April 15. I need the 16th. [Unintelligible] correct [Pause] There were two on April 16th. I think there is one the second [unintelligible]. You can skip April 15.

BULL: And March 21st.

PRESIDENT: March 21st, that's right. I have those.

BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Okay. I'll check. Haldeman's got them [unintelligible]. No, Ziegler's got them. [Unintelligible]. All right. [Unintelligible] very short. You get the log right way. See what we have left [unintelligible]. Okay. Good.

[Bull leaves. President switches on an unidentified recording. At [1079] the President switches off the recording.]

PRESIDENT: Steve [unintelligible]. [A telephone rings twice] Yeah? Got some more?

Understand, I, I want the stuff in March, though, first, before you even search the--

Uh, have you got, uh, or, or, do you have-- you don't have your chronology, huh?

Yeah. [clears throat] The, uh, uh Bob Haldeman has it, basically. Why don't you just give him a ring. Do you know how to do it?

Just call him and say, Uh, "After March first."

Oh, uh, yeah -What did I have -oh yeah, March first?

I've done the twenty-seventh, right?

Twenty-eighth. March first.

Okay. See what he has between there and the, uh--

[Unintelligible] chronology after that. [Unintelligible) and you'll get -he has the dates [unintelligible]

I know Ziegler's got them.

He says he doesn't, huh?

Okay. Go ahead and ask Bob, if, if you can. [unintelligible] got them, I know, or somebody does. Okay. [the President hangs up]

PRESIDENT: Steve Bull please. [A telephone rings]  
Steve, so that

I don't waste time, you might as well get the sixteenth over and I'll run through that. That isn't a very long meeting, is it?

Yeah. But you see there was--Uh, you can't even figure it out, but there's one that--I met him very briefly in the morning and then briefly at noon. The two meetings--

[Unintelligible] over that. That's good. Fine. [the President hangs up]

Ziegler please. [ring] Hello. You surviving today?

Yeah.

You did.great, huh?

Yeah. Good.

Yeah.

That Dean story going to be told?

Watergate. Sure.

But then went on to say that the men were pestered by him.

Yeah. [Unintelligible]

Yeah.

That's right.

Don't you have the, uh, the list with the times that I saw Dean and so forth. I was just--

Well, cou-would You mind taking them in to Steve. He, uh, he needs it, uh--  
[unintelligible]

[Unintelligible] uh, you know what I mean, the times that I saw [unintelligible] You know what I mean. You sure you gave them to Steve?

[Unintelligible] so that he doesn't have to get it from, uh--I just called Steve and said, well, "You have to call Bob Haldeman to find out if he's got them first."

If you've got them, if you've got the list, get the God damned thing in to him, would you please?

All right, fine. Just reconstructing my own notes here [Unintelligible] As you know, there were absolutely no meetings in January [unintelligible] the first, first one was actually the twenty-seventh and not the twenty-eighth. [Unintelligible]

There, there was one-on the twenty-seventh [unintelligible) and one on the twenty-eighth and, uh, two, on the first.

Thank you. Absolutely nothing  
[unintelligible] Absolutely nothing. I  
mean, uh, I don't know what the hell he's  
talking about. Now, there may be--I haven't  
gotten into the, into March stuff. Uh, I  
mean, you get to March twenty-first, that's  
the first time he came in and  
[unintelligible] you may have something in  
there. But, it was about Executive  
Privilege and Pat Gray and that's--you know  
what I mean, I, I, that was my-- uh, and,  
uh, you know, getting, trying to get some  
information on, uh, the bugging of my plane,  
and, uh, checking the FBI leaks with Felt  
leaking and he was doing that. Uh, having,  
having a long conversation about judges, who  
is the better judges and so forth and so on.  
[unintelligible] But you, know what I mean, a  
lot of, a lot of stuff like that and he  
doesn't have a God damn thing in that  
respect. So, so, we're into March, in any  
event. [Unintelligible] absolutely nothing  
in January. Nothing in February, and uh,  
uh, nothing through, nothing until just  
March--Now if it's in March, I think we're  
pretty much home free. What do you think?  
There may be.



You know, he may of raised, for example--  
Well, one thing-- He may of raised-- the  
possibility is that he might have talked  
about Haldeman's three-fifty before the  
twenty-first.

Yeah.

Well, I know. I have a, sort of a feeling  
he could, uh--

Yeah. But he didn't say, but he didn't  
indicate the, the, [unintelligible] may have  
talked about Ehrlichman going to Kalmbach  
[unintelligible] but, but, but let me say it  
was in Ma--March.

The whole damn thing, his entire statement  
was that on the twenty-first he came in and  
said, "We're blackmailing." Well, that was  
the first time he ever said that.

But I don't know what the hell-- been all  
this talk about chronologies, tape re--  
telephone calls [unintelligible]

Uh, thirty-five meeting [unintelligible].  
Now on executive privilege, we're talking  
about, for Christ's sake [unintelligible].  
But, uh, but--

That's right.

That's right.

I, I, I've got [unintelligible] right now.  
Sixteenth. Uh, my recollection on that one  
is good. But, uh, so why don't you try to  
find, uh-or can you do that  
[unintelligible]?

Uh, hm, well nobody. [unintelligible]

[Unintelligible] we've done.

Finished. [Unintelligible]

[Unintelligible] has it. Go ahead.

March sixth is the next one.

Yeah.

All right.

[Unintelligible] find that. How long is  
that?

[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

March the fifteenth [unintelligible]

Hold the telephone calls till later. I mean  
that, uh, by the way--

Okay. But uh, can you get some March over  
now, or, uh, uh, or, or, or can you dign  
those out? Or, uh--

Fine.

You should tell him unequivocally. I could  
of told him that. That's a very good idea.  
Good. [Unintelligible]

When, when will you be back? If you stay  
there

[unintelligible]

**RESTRICTED-"D"** Isn't that  
something? What's a Vice-President  
[unintelligible] they through McCloskey in  
[unintelligible]. I think we, we can, we  
can certainly pull the [unintelligible] out  
of that. That's a tough story, but, uh, you  
know, we [unintelligible] God damn thing  
[unintelligible] beyond that or  
[unintelligible]. It doesn't really say  
that. Haldeman and Ehrlichman in their  
testimony totally refused that.  
[Unintelligible]

[Unintelligible]. Be sure that list gets  
into Steve.

[The President hangs up]

Steven Bull, please.

[A telephone rings four times]

[Clears throat] Yeah. Ziegler said he gave  
that to Haig.

Fine. But now, uh, Steve, I'm really more  
interested in the, uh, I don't know, the  
sixteenth?--

I'd be more interested in the day before  
that. So, why don't you--

[Unintelligible] the April ones; I want to do them last.

Get that.

Anything in March, yeah [unintelligible]. Get that piled up for me, I'm going to work all afternoon on it.

Okay. Bye.

[The President hangs up]

[PAUSE]

WAITER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: No, I'm not going to bother with them. I had a late breakfast. I'll just have a little coffee, please.

WAITER: Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT: Thank you.

[PAUSE]

General Haig, please. General Haig, please. Hello.

[The President hangs up]

[PAUSE]

Hello.

I wondered -have you got any from Buzhardt yet?

Good.

I'll be damned!

The guy took it all off?

Not normal to take it out if he, uh--

"Not in this file". We can say it's, uh, not there.

But he [unintelligible] yet?

I mean, it was good to do this exercise.

Take, take eight hours of my day [laughs] and do it.

Sure.

Okay.

[The President hangs up]

[PAUSE]

PRESIDENT: Let me have a little half of cottage cheese and pineapple there, if you don't mind.

WAITER: Certainly will.

PRESIDENT: Thank you.

[PAUSE]

PRESIDENT: Come in. I have to work here tonight. Be sure they know at the House.

VOICE: Yes sir. Yes sir.

[PAUSE]

Steve Bull, please.

How we coming, Steve?

[Unintelligible]. April. I-- that isn't what I want. I, I said I've got to have the March stuff first, you know.

I just -I only want one, you know.

Will you get me March sixth [unintelligible]. Get that [unintelligible] I can start on that, but you see--

Now, I've got to finish this today, and I --

But you --

[Unintelligible]

[Unintelligible] save my time [unintelligible] Well if you've got the sixteenth stuff, uh, don't get the March stuff, just bring it over here, and I'll start working on that.

All right.

[The President hangs up]

[PAUSE]

[Bull enters]

PRESIDENT: Arduous process, isn't it?

PRESIDENT

or BULL: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

BULL: What I can do, I'll just sit outside and set them up.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

BULL: Just change recorders. You sit in -This is March sixth. Only about a ten-minute meeting, sir.

PRESIDENT: Ten minutes? Oh Christ's sakes.

BULL: And I have a copy of, uh, the log for [unintelligible/**REMOVED**] This is, this is, the, uh, draft that Ziegler had, uh --

PRESIDENT: [Lengthy unintelligible/**REMOVED**] Haig. Now, we've got March sixth, and you'll bring me -You, you know the length of this. Just as soon as it's finished, I'll buzz you.

BULL: Yes sir. Bye.

PRESIDENT: March sixth?

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: That's good.

THE PRESIDENT SWITCHES ON, AN UNIDENTIFIED RECORDING. AT [REEL # III, 180] THE PRESIDENT SWITCHES OFF THE RECORDING.]

[Bull enters]

PRESIDENT: A replacement?

BULL: Yes. [Unintelligible]

[Pause]

PRESIDENT: Is that ready, Steve, for me now?

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: How long is this one? Fifteen minutes, yeah

BULL: No, twenty-five minutes.

PRESIDENT: Twenty-five minutes. [Unintelligible] The date?

BULL: It's the uh, seventeenth. March seventeenth. If you're having difficulty hearing, the other option is to go to earphones so the chance is slightly more audible. But its, uh, a little uncomfortable after awhile.

[Noise. Long Pause]



PRESIDENT: How long is this one?  
BULL: This is just a short one, about five minutes.  
  
PRESIDENT  
and BULL: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]  
PRESIDENT: Is this the eighth?  
BULL: Yes sir.  
PRESIDENT: Get that list for me.  
BULL: Yes sir.  
PRESIDENT: You got another one ready out here?  
BULL: Yes, I have a-- That's a long one sir. That's an hour and-- about an hour and fifteen minutes [unintelligible]  
PRESIDENT: But would you see if [unintelligible]  
BULL: All right sir.  
[Noise. Pause.]  
PRESIDENT: All right. It's ready?  
BULL: Yes. This, this cuts out the [unintelligible] now.  
PRESIDENT: Yes.

[Noise. Pause]

PRESIDENT: What is that?

BULL: A series of telephone calls, and part of this-- here's a meeting [unintelligible] Kissinger [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Yeah. All right. I won't need that one, Steve. All right.

[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: [Picks up telephone] Yeah. Oh no, no, no, no, no. I'll call him later. Fine. Goodbye. He doesn't need to return-- I'll call him. [The President hangs up.]

[Pause]

PRESIDENT: Steve, uh [unintelligible]

[Pause]

PRESIDENT: So as not to waste time [unintelligible] Why don't you take this one and do it. See what I mean? Now, all I want is some-- understand, brief, very brief notes, you know what I mean. You understand, uh, this is probably about the-- preparing for the press conference. My guess is that it's, uh, it, uh, may relate to, uh,

you know, if there's anything that comes in it-- You, you can recognize what it is, can't you?

BULL: Yes sir. I think so.

PRESIDENT: What we're looking for.

BULL AND

PRESIDENT: [Lengthy unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

BULL: You want me to continue on this one, sir?

PRESIDENT: Oh, you haven't finished it?

BULL: No sir. I've had to go back. I didn't attempt to-- this office does not get very good, uh, recording.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

[Noise]

BULL: [Unintelligible]

[The President picks up telephone]

PRESIDENT: You finished the meeting yet?

Good.

Fine. Fine.

Okay. Well

Sure. Sure

[The President hangs.up.]

[Pause. The President picks up telephone.]

PRESIDENT: Hi Henry. You want the facts on some good news, huh.

Oh yeah.

Oh yeah.

Oh good.

Yeah, that's good. Good.

You'll be there tomorrow, will you? I've got a heavy day today so I can't, uh, but--

Uh, that's what I meant-- eight thirty.

Good. Good.

Great. Great. Well we'll have a talk. Later, okay.

That's, that's very interesting.

Okay.

[The President hangs up.]

[Noise. Pause.]

PRESIDENT: with regard to telephone calls, I think I looked through them in a more relaxed way. They're not so hard to listen

to. Do you have a machine for those, or--?

BULL: Yes sir. The problem is, though, uh, they're on one continuous tape. The tape runs for about a month.

PRESIDENT: [Sighs]

BULL: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: Well--

BULL: The telephone calls [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah. [Lengthy unintelligible/**REMOVED**] You've got the whole roll for the month of March?

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] two in April [Lengthy unintelligible/**REMOVED**] We don't need the April ones. [Lengthy unintelligible/**REMOVED**] Get these done, Steve [unintelligible]. How long do you think you could get? [Unintelligible] What you need? [Unintelligible]

BULL: Well, I think prob-, since [unintelligible] just cut out the tape and [unintelligible] splice it back [unintelligible]. It's only one roll of tape. [unintelligible] John Dean.

PRESIDENT: order it now so that I could I have it by tonight.

BULL: All right sir.

BULL

AND PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

BULL: Well I can return the telephone call tonight.

PRESIDENT: Huh?

BULL: You want me to return your telephone call--

PRESIDENT: Why don't you finish uh-- What are you doing now?

BULL: March fourteen.

PRESIDENT: March fourteenth. You're, uh-- Moore and Dean?

BULL: Yes sir. Moore and Dean. [unintelligible]

BULL

AND PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

BULL: I'll do those two [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Do what?

BULL: Uh, I'll finish these, these two on the fourteenth.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Finish the two on the fourteenth. That's right. Then, if you could turn to on the, uh, the telephones. Get them so that I can--

BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Oh, I could listen to the whole damn thing  
in about an hour -the telephone calls.

BULL: Right sir. [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Huh?

BULL: That's, that's why I had

PRESIDENT: I know.

BULL: That's just, just March, and,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

BULL: you don't want any in--

PRESIDENT: I don't need the April call. No.

PRESIDENT

AND BULL: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

BULL: [Unintelligible] now is the sixteenth.  
Thirty-one minute meeting [unintelligible].

[A telephone rings]

PRESIDENT: Hello. Yeah.

Hello. How'd your meeting go?

Fine. Good.

You bet.

Oh ho ho! That! No, I meant how'd your economic meeting go?

And I meet with them tomorrow?

Right. Right. Right

Yeah.

Yeah.

Right. Right. Sure. Right.

Yeah. Good. Yeah. Yeah.

I wonder if they're putting us on there?

I wonder if he could've just, uh, carried all out. Can, can Buzhardt tell him?

[Unintelligible] Ha. Ha.

What's [unintelligible] think?

[Unintelligible] They're bluffing.

Yeah. Good.

Fred Buzhardt?

Yeah. Yeah. Well, that's, that's, that's fine.

Overlook this now. I mean, you know what it means.



Yeah. Great. I know [unintelligible] overlook it.

Okay. What I'm going through-- this is the hardest work I've ever done in my life.

Been at it seven hours now. I'm going to do it the rest of the evening [unintelligible] That all right?

PRESIDENT: I tell you this. Based on what I've seen so far, that, uh--

Damn fraud. The whole thing

But, uh, the only thing it uh--but if be something a little later [unintelligible] I'm-- only up to the fifteenth of March. Sixteenth of March.

I thought it was awful close when you were [unintelligible] and incidentally, there at least in two or three places, one before a press conference. I ask him how-- can I say that no one in the White House is involved? He said "Yeah."

And then I-- then he conducted the investigation [unintelligible] He told me that. And you know-- He-- I, I know that's what he told me. Nevertheless, we can't use this.

But at least there's your satisfaction.

The other thing-- The only-- the one, one point-- you know, in retrospect [unintelligible] but I was trying to run down-- just who the hell could be, could be there. Anyhow, I'll go down to [unintelligible] and, uh [unintelligible]. He was talking about how they, uh, uh, as we say, uh-- and he-- too ensconced. It was about the thirteenth.

Strachan.

Now, he didn't expand on it [unintelligible] but, what apparently he was refer-- and he indicated that Strachan had, uh, testified to the grand jury. And I said, "Well that, that doesn't tie Haldeman in?" "No, not necessarily." Uh, but, uh, the point is, huh, you see, what he was apparently saying was that if Strachan got the [unintelligible] information [unintelligible]. At the time it made no impression on me at all. It didn't make-- it didn't even ring any bells, you know what I mean. On the other hand, looking back, I suppose Dean could say "I [unintelligible] the fact that Gordon Strachan [unintelligible]"

Point is, I then probably talked to Haldeman about it [unintelligible] [laughs] He did.

Yeah. Well, anyway, I'll go ahead and do this first if you think it's [unintelligible]

Yeah. Yeah [unintelligible] tell him how much I appreciate I know, if he thinks that one's hard, he should be trying to do this.

But I think there's a lot of bluff in this God damn thing, you know what I mean.

If, if I did, uh-- we've had all these meetings of cover-up, but now, you know, they're-- if you read-- listen to it now, you can see what the son-of-a-gun was up to. Uh, you can see that he was involved, but you know.

Yeah. He had some but you see, I didn't think of it at the time. Never, never occurred to me.

Okay.

[The President hangs up.] [Pause.]

PRESIDENT: Excuse me, Steve. Hi. When I finish with this one will you be here ready with another one? Fine. [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**] Thank you.

[Noise. Pause.]

PRESIDENT: Where do you stand now?

BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: That's the seventeenth.  
PRESIDENT  
AND BULL: [Unintelligible]  
PRESIDENT: Did you finish transcribing the one you had?  
BULL: Yes air. That particular one ended very shortly thereafter.  
PRESIDENT: Yeah. Nothing more on it. [unintelligible] the press conference.  
BULL: Yes sir.  
PRESIDENT: You'll do-- you're going to do another one. though, are you?  
BULL: Yes air, on the-- it's the [unintelligible] press conference also.  
PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]  
BULL: Yes sir. Try to edit down those calls, so--  
PRESIDENT: Hm?  
BULL: If I, if I can edit down those telephone calls [unintelligible] simpler for you to--  
PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah. I know. I would say, though, that also talking-- you know, if I can get the God damn thing so

that I could, uh, listen to them--

PRESIDENT

AND BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Where do you stand on them? The ones you're supposed to do but you didn't even listen to.

BULL: [Unintelligible] the, uh, March fourteen.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. [coughs]

BULL: You want do the March, uh, seventeenth down here.

PRESIDENT: You can do the fifteen th, too, can t you?

BULL: I'll do the fifteenth.

PRESIDENT: Can you do that, too?

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Uh, you do all of them. You do the Moore/Dean meetings over there [unintelligible] I'll do this stuff now. [unintelligible) Let me know.

BULL: Yes sir.

[Noise. Pause.]

PRESIDENT: Vanilla please.

WALTER: Yes air.

PRESIDENT: Vanilla. Hello [unintelligible] and, uh, give me a new one, that's run out. Oh fine. Good.

[Noise. Pause.]

PRESIDENT: Steve

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Steve. This one, uh, I, I, I., guess I'll have you check it here.  
[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**] so maybe you can-- can take it now, uh--

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] Yeah, and see whether it's longer than that or not. Don't, uh don't need to listen to it, understand. Just pick up the first, uh, you know you got the number from the first.

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Well, let me show you how. Give me the number of the first. [unintelligible] What is the number for the first?

BULL: Oh, where this began?

PRESIDENT: Yeah. You know.

BULL: I'm sorry, I, I don't have it down.  
[unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: We'll have a hell of a time--

BULL: I can vouch for that (unintelligible] it was  
the end of Haldeman conversation, just as  
you left.

PRESIDENT: Okay. Check out [unintelligible] see if  
I've missed something.

BULL: We did lose the, uh, second Moore  
conversation-- Moore, uh, Ziegler--uh, uh,  
Moore, uh, Dean conversation from here, for  
some reason.

PRESIDENT: We lost it?

BULL: We lost that one, and we don't have the  
telephone call which he made from Camp David  
to John Dean-- a twenty-four minute call.

PRESIDENT: That's all right. Do we have the ones, uh,  
from Key Biscayne?

BULL: No sir.

PRESIDENT: We don't have those recorded, right?

BULL: We don't have those.

-

PRESIDENT: Okay.  
[Pause]  
PRESIDENT: Find out what it was? Oh, come in.  
ZIEGLER: Yes sir.  
PRESIDENT: Sorry.  
ZIEGLER: That's all right. [unintelligible]  
PRESIDENT: Yeah. [unintelligible]  
ZIEGLER: No, they said, you know the dix haven't come back sir.  
PRESIDENT: No. [unintelligible] Well, I guess I'll have one now. Hah! Working my butt off here. This is hard work. [unintelligible]-- no, no, no, no, no. No, he's, he's got it. Going to bring it anyway. Whew! Hah! Damn it's hard work.  
ZIEGLER: It sure is [unintelligible]  
PRESIDENT: I've always wanted to do it.  
ZIEGLER: It's so worthwhile to do.  
PRESIDENT: Well, it is. You learn a few things, in retrospect. You can see what the hell was going on.



ZIEGLER: Yeah. Sure.

PRESIDENT: But at the time you didn't see it. Bring us a scotch and soda, please. First, uh, for whatever it's worth, uh, Buzhardt has been through Dean's file, and there isn't a God damned thing it.

ZIEGLER: That's what he thought. You said that you can get a mark on a man [clears throat] if you see him working, and I didn't think he was a disciplined type to do that. I would see him at work, see him come-- know how he handled the [unintelligible] and so forth. You know, that's what I thought.

PRESIDENT: Now, with regard to our meetings that we have here, uh, just to give you a quick run-down: [sighs] Up until about the s-, the s--, seventeenth, [unintelligible] seventeen, [unintelligible] there was no discussion whatever of basic conceptions of Watergate.

ZIEGLER: [unintelligible] March?

PRESIDENT: Yes. Then there started the discussion of substance. Then, it wasn't until the twenty-first, however, that I turned my [unintelligible] 'cause that's when he came in with the cancer in the heart of the presidency

thing. That didn't [unintelligible]. So, you'd be interested to know that-- uh, unfortunately I do not have the telephone logs for calls I made, I made-- I called him a couple of times from Camp David, and I called him a couple of times from Key Biscayne, in addition to the time I was with you. We don't have any recordings of those. So--

ZIEGLER: But I recall pretty clearly what you said.

PRESIDENT: No. No, you remember that one, but I called him a couple of other times.

ZIEGLER: Yes.

PRESIDENT: The twenty-third. So he may have something there. I don't think he's be [unintelligible] do you?

ZIEGLER: No.

PRESIDENT: But if he did, he did.

ZIEGLER: But that was, that was,

PRESIDENT: In the [unintelligible) period.

ZIEGLER: it was after the twenty-first.

PRESIDENT: Twenty-third, yeah. Well, no, it wasn't earlier. [unintelligible]

BULL: [Unintelligible] time was incorrect  
[unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Time was incorrect?

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: But, I'm through with that

BULL: You're though with that. Would you like to  
take break for a while sir?

PRESIDENT: Yes. I'm going to take it right now. Now,  
get me, though, the next one.

BULL: You want the next one set up? Sir?

PRESIDENT: Where are you now?

BULL: You're up to the seventeenth. You just  
finished the seventeenth.  
[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: If you could get these calls--

BULL AND

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: Well, like I say, I don't need the  
twenty-first, 'cause Haldeman's got the  
notes on that one. Why don't you give me--  
let's try this one. Right here. It'll be--

BULL: March thirteenth [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: This unfortunately doesn't say whether it's the EOB or the Oval, Oval-- it doesn't say [unintelligible] Have those two ready. [unintelligible]

[Bull leaves]

Yeah. Like everything else, it's not a perfect case a pretty good one [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Yes.

PRESIDENT: The total nonsense that at forty-one meetings we talked about cover-up in fact [unintelligible], you know, about, uh, Watergate. On the twenty-seventh, the first time we met-- you don't need to make notes-- Well, I, I wrote twenty-eighth, because I did that one first. Was about Executive Privilege. And we went on and on and on. Uh, his idea of sending Stans out as a stalking horse, you know, and, uh, and, uh, who is to, uh, uh-- how to deal with Baker. Dean-- he will be able to talk about that. Uh, uh, I didn't know Gray well, socially. All that crap. Uh, Colson [unintelligible] about bringing a lawsuit. He had vulnerability [unintelligible] in other ways. [unintelligible] That whole suit should be dropped. I said it would be fine if they would. That was all, you know what I mean, for Christ sakes. [Unintelligible] uh, "The President's not

going to hide any Information," says Dean. [unintelligible] and incidentally, they're going to be, If they're going to get partisan then he'd rather than they be partisan. Uh, Ervin is a puppet for Kennedy. Kennedy is, uh, oh-- a lot of that. [unintelligible] Johnson believed that Bobby bugged him. Abe Fortas knew it, and so forth and so on. [unintelligible] The '68 bugging. Hoover was [unintelligible] and so forth and so on [unintelligible] Time magazine article at that time.

**RESTRICTED-"B"**

Then we had-- I don't why the hell we had It a long discussion about judges. And this shows you why we cannot have Presidential [unintelligible] No effect on this case, but it would be very embarrassing If it were out. We couldn't deny it. Uh, well, first, we talked about the fact this is a thirty-five year sentence. There's no weapons, there's no-- jees, it's ridiculous. Blacks who've held up a store with a gun could have got off with a suspended sentence or something like that. Guys can't get out on bail. Everybody but Bazelon-- why can't we get him to retire, and all that sort of thing. The Supreme Court. He said Marshall has a bad

heart. "Hell," I said, "well there's a couple of black woman that I-- Brown," and I said, "Jewels". I said, "Why not, why not two birds with one stone: a black woman." We talked about that, and, uh, then

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But that's the kind of thing-- and I said, "You know, those bastards in the Senate couldn't vote against Jewels." That's the kind of talk that goes on.

ZIEGLER: Of course it does! God God!

PRESIDENT: IF that kind of thing comes out, it's all right with me. If it does just-- well, we just say: [unintelligible], you know what I mean.

ZIEGLER: Yeah. I mean what could, well--

PRESIDENT: I could put out the fact that Haldeman [unintelligible] Senators bastards and said that Brennan was a boob.

ZIEGLER: That-- Mr. President! That doesn't-- I don't--

PRESIDENT: I may, may just tell them. And I talked about Jews.

ZIEGLER: of course.

PRESIDENT: I said we're not going to-- there's no Jewish seat. I said, "I've got them all around me." I said, "I've got Kissinger and I've got Stein, and [unintelligible]." But I said, "It's time to get a few ethnics on the Court. You've got to take some people and bring them up." I said, "The Democrats are much better than we are. The Republicans are snobs." I said, "We've got to spread the base [unintelligible] So, we talked about [unintelligible] Sullivan [unintelligible]. Called Felt the "White Rat." Known as the "White Rat." Uh, the question was whether he's Jewish. Uh, and I, said, and I pointed out our

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But Dean says, "They'll never be a leak out of me. I just don't know how to leak."

ZIEGLER: [Laughs]

PRESIDENT: Then I said, "I feel for those guys in jail, particularly Hunt." And Dean says, "They're hanging in tough. They're--". Now, that rings a bell. [unintelligible]. And I

said, "Are they looking for clemency?" He said "Yes". And I said, "We couldn't do it." He said, "Well, you know, it may get so absurd., politically, and so forth, that we should watch it close [unintelligible]"

ZIEGLER: [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: The point is, that, that the discussion was only, uh-- not in terms of, uh, of uh, anything serious.

ZIEGLER: Of course not!

PRESIDENT: I said, I said, "Are, are they looking for clemency?" I asked the question. And he said "Yes." And I said, "We couldn't do it."

ZIEGLER: And he said "Hanging in tough," but he said that in the framework of what his knowledge was. Not in the framework of what your knowledge was.

PRESIDENT: Hell no. I, I didn't know what the hell-- hanging in tough by not saying anybody else was involved, and so forth, but I didn't, I wasn't telling him that.

ZIEGLER: Sure.

PRESIDENT: Not at this point. Uh, we talked about the disruption of my campaign. What did Segretti do. We've got to



keep Segretti in perspective. Chapin really [unintelligible] bad rap. They're going to go after Kalmbach because the money came from [unintelligible]. Dean says there'll be a logical explanation for [unintelligible] Uh, Kalmbach is tough. Uh, uh, uh, it can all be explained. The money to a bank in Mexico [unintelligible] he says that can all be explained. Uh, I say, "Get the hearings on [unintelligible]." Uh, I said, "It's a battle we can, uh, uh -" We thought that-- Then Dean said--this should've rung a bell-- I-- it's been a long road. I thought it was a long road. And it's a long road ahead but I can-- and then I thought, in perspective-- what the hell he was talking about.

ZIEGLER: Sure.

PRESIDENT: I said, I said to him, I said, "John, the important thing is the President has told the truth." And he said, "I know." And I said, "You know, when I heard about it, I thought they were crazy. I thought they were nuts." Dean says, uh-- Oh, then the point is that he could-- could he raise the money. Could we [unintelligible] Dean [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: That's right. And this is just before the, uh, Gray--

this was the Gray test--

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] as well as Colson, Haldeman and Ehrlic--, Ehrlichman.

ZIEGLER: The Ervin hearings and the--

PRESIDENT: Gray hearings, right. [Handles paper] Yeah. [Unintelligible] the first of March. Uh, question again: has Kleindienst seen Ervin and Baker yet? Gray gave the store away, you know, records [unintelligible] that kind of thing. Uh, then I told him about the Hiss case. And how we did this and that. [unintelligible] book and told him to read it. Uh, and Dean said, Dean said that, "I did not give the FBI records to Sirica. It's a damn lie." And, uh, I said, Nixon, uh RN, the White House is simply conducting its own investigation. Right? He said "Yes." [unintelligible] Ziegler is conducting the White House investigation and suggested this lie go through. Matter of fact, he wanted to take what I didn't do, uh-- See, where [unintelligible] couple of them. And, uh, variation on the tape involved, uh, [unintelligible] Dean, or, or the fact that nobody at the White House was involved.

ZIEGLER: Okay.

PRESIDENT: Then we had some, I had some [unintelligible]. He said that, he said that-- I, I referred to Gray as being dumb, dumb, pampering to the Senators. Dean said, "He's bullheaded." Uh, and I said, "[unintelligible] the a FBI is going to anybody who's terrible." And I said,

**RESTRICTED-"D"**

ZIEGLER: It's great stuff! [Laughs] Can you imagine that, though, being

PRESIDENT: -- being spread in the public record? This is why, you've got to keep this [unintelligible] but this cannot you can't give the President's papers out, can you?

ZIEGLER: No, you can't, but--

PRESIDENT: Of course he didn't make a record of this.

ZIEGLER: No, no. That's not--

PRESIDENT: Well, let's go on. Nixon asked Dean-- Oh, yeah, yeah, I told him that I can't confuse the FBI and the CIA. This was, this is on [unintelligible]. Damn sure of that. I said, uh, "That's a tough one." I said, uh, but I said, "They're [unintelligible] bugging him." I said, "You were just trying to get information on him. I said,

there wasn't really [unintelligible] on the God damn staff. I said it was done at a lower level [unintelligible] We've answered that Shore thing before.

ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: How we handled it-- We, we insisted that we were considering him for a job.

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible] That's all right. That's my view. That's what I was told.

PRESIDENT: I said, "We have been so kind and so good compared to previous Administrations in our use of the FBI. And then this Kleindienst report: bugging the President's plane. Now I told Gray to give them all lie detector tests, after the hearings. Uh, and Dean said, "After the hearings [unintelligible] the FBI, because of the leaks." We tried to tell DeLoach that he lied to the Attorney General [unintelligible] said that we had not bugged the plane. [unintelligible] I never trusted DeLoach. Politican to the degree. I believe he talked to the Post, uh, this is [unintelligible]. Dean: "They bitched because I sit in on the investigation." Dean insisted-- came because he was-- and Dean says, "I insisted because I was conducting an investigation for

the President." Dean said [unintelligible] "Gray," I said, "had outward self-confidence but not inward." Dean says, "He'll be O-- you know [unintelligible]." And I said, "Well, we're going to clean out the FBI like Schlesinger did the CIA [unintelligible] good enough too-- Oh, he couldn't. He said, "Gray is very proud of his investigation of Watergate." And then he said though he-- here's another [unintelligible]-- though he caused us a lot of grief. And I just-- He then went on to say-- And I pointed out, I said, "I talked to Gray once. I, I was [unintelligible] I heard about that. He said, "What?" I said, "What's the problem here? He said, "Well, the trouble was he was travelling around the country making speeches rather than staying on top of the investigation. But you see, in that respect, what he was really [laughs] saying was that he had a [unintelligible] on Gray. [Unintelligible] I, I pointed out that the FBI did not, uh, [unintelligible]. And, also, the first, uh, uh we get on FBI files, uh, [unintelligible] Sandberg on amnesty, you know. Dean said "We could team on this thing." Now, February twenty-seventh. We go back to the first one. This is the first time I saw him very much. It was about Kleindienst and Baker and Gray. About our [unintelligible] have its effect on Baker on getting a minority counsel. And he said, "Minority counsel

is [unintelligible]. Curious as to why Baker mentioned it. However, this is not-hard to avoid a circus and so forth. And then, I said, "You know, I showed Kleindienst up with that." Oh I quoted him. And, uh, [unintelligible] fact that, uh, whether or not, uh, Mitchell in this whole matter might be involved in perjury. I said, "That's the question in this whole case. [Unintelligible] question [unintelligible]. You know, that was pretty well--

ZIEGLER: Sure he would.

PRESIDENT: around. And then he said, he, Dean had said that, "I told Kleindienst that I don't think I should brief you on all I know. If you get on the wrong track I will tell you." And I said, "Good", about the whole thing. I don't know what he meant, did I? I think that's what he was simply, uh-I, I gathered from that he had told Kleindienst that. He didn't tell me that. Anyway, but there again, now there's a little glimmer again that Dean is not coming through. [Unintelligible] session Baker, White House staff, Mollenhoff, uh, etcetera, etcetera. The Hiss case, Brandon, uh, from the FBI, uh-- And we hadn't bugged much compared to the others, uh-- they used the FBI to cover uh, uh-- and so forth. Why didn't Sullivan-- andy help [unintelligible]. Sullivan took all the records when he left. He didn't protect

the White -uh you've heard that story before, Ron. He gave them back to Mardian.

ZIEGLER: Yeah

PRESIDENT: All this comes out in here.  
[Unintelligible] Gray. Felt, uh, placed, uh, against Gray and against Green and against Sullivan back. Another interesting thing: He heard that Sandy Smith had told Petersen about it all-- Felt. And then he just dropped it aside. Petersen, bless his soul, has b-en a valuable man to us. He was proceeding from one assumption, Ron,

ZIEGLER: And that was that you were aware--

PRESIDENT: and [unintelligible] with another. Well, that-- Yeah, that's right! And that, uh, and that there's been a hell of a damn lousy investigation. They really had watered the God damn thing. Now later on, you see where Jeb Magruder and-- the yeoman. He knows about the yeoman, about the yeoman. Can't blow the whistly on [unintelligible]. [Unintelligible] lied on a written interrogation and then he went here's what Dean said: "You, Mr. President, are not holding anything back." [Sighs] [unintelligible] said, Dean, "-- , uh-- Before the election what I will do is just keep your [unintelligible], just as before the election. I only

bothered Haldeman and Ehrlichman on the things that were absolutely essential. [Unintelligible] Huh?

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Now we go to March sixth. That carries u0s to March sixth. There you are, there's all of February up till [unintelligible]. Now what the hell is there?

ZIEGLER: Not a thing.

PRESIDENT: About a coverup?,

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible] In his frame of mind

PRESIDENT: Hell yes!

ZIEGLER: and in the context of today you could there are some things there that--

PRESIDENT: Oh, hell yes! Oh yeah. I would not back then! March the sixth was a [unintelligible/**REMOVED**] I said, "Were we right to send Gray down?" He said, "Yes." He has a point there. I was not [unintelligible/**REMOVED**] out that, uh, Sullivan in one of his reports, uh, the deal on Chan-- or John Chancellor where he had a full-fleet investigation an Chancellor. Did you hear about that?

ZIEGLER: No.



PRESIDENT: LBJ had a [unintelligible].  
ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]  
PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] Dean-- that's where I got  
[unintelligible]. March the sixth.  
[Bull enters]  
PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] Okay.  
BULL: The meeting, again, in the EOB with Moore  
and Dean is lost.  
PRESIDENT: Totally?  
BULL: Yes sir. [Unintelligible] set up  
[unintelligible] the twenty-first in the  
Oval Office.  
PRESIDENT: Hm?  
BULL: Your machine is set up for the meeting with  
Moore and Dean in the Oval Office, sir.  
PRESIDENT: I understand. [Unintelligible)  
BULL: We've done seventeen sir.  
PRESIDENT: This you don't have. Is that right?  
BULL: Not available.

PRESIDENT: You sure.

BULL: Yes air.

PRESIDENT: Make a note: Uh, that Moore does his, uh, then [unintelligible]. March the nineteenth, Row. Moore-- Did Moore [unintelligible].

BULL: You might also-- you also left one [unintelligible] unavailable on the thirteenth, Sir.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] The fourteenth

BULL: Yes sir

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Moore-- Hill, Hill, Hill remember what the hell he--

ZIEGLER: Mr. President, that's all three press conferences.

PRESIDENT [Unintelligible]

or ZIEGLER:

PRESIDENT: That must be a press conference. The one on the nineteenth [unintelligible] press conference. Now, why was this? You have the twentieth here?

BULL: Yes air. The twentieth is, is--

PRESIDENT: That's up there.

ZIEGLER: You said the twenty-first. Do you mean the twenty-third?

BULL: Uh, yeah, uh-- I'm sorry. The twentieth is on, is right on there. The nineteenth--

PRESIDENT: The nineteenth is, the nineteenth is Mr. Moore and Mr. Dean, right? Well, we want Dick Moore to give Ron Whatchamacallit or whatever the hell his name is, you know, Dean-- [unintelligible]. EOB apparently doesn't pick up at all.

BULL: It doesn't work quite, uh, very well at all, sir. Mr. President, you and Dean were on the twenty-first you were in the-- you had a report on the, uh, [unintelligible] twenty-second.

PRESIDENT: I don't have a report, but I-- they were there.

Yeah. Let me explain, Steve. If they were there, God damn it, they will [unintelligible]. I could assume, correct?

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Okay. The twenty-first and the twenty-second, Ron. Uh, the twenty-- twenty-first I got Bob already-- the twenty-second [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Well-- know if you can-- I don't think you can. He's, he's got it all in our file and I don't-- let's just forget it. I think after the twenty-first we forget what the hell-- What do you think?

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Do you agree?

BULL: I'll get to work putting together all the telephone calls.

PRESIDENT: You get the telephone calls so I can look through them tonight after [unintelligible] All right?

BULL: Okay.

PRESIDENT: Thank you. Huh?

BULL: I'll just work at that here so

PRESIDENT: Yes sir.

BULL: if you have any problems with that I can--  
[Bull leaves]

PRESIDENT: Ervin/Baker: this is all [unintelligible]

BULL: They're all just [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] Then he says, "Must hum the same tune or we create problems." Not just remember, he was just talking

about the witnesses

ZIEGLER: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: who were [unintelligible]. The seventh, talked about Gurney. I suggested questions that they could ask.

ZIEGLER: They re all related to the Ervin Committee hearings.

PRESIDENT: Gurney-- like the questions that they could ask, and so forth. [Unintelligible] Gray, and asked, [unintelligible]. This is all a question of how to get good questions out to Gray with regard to how the FBI had been used politically before, had never been used politically for us. Well, the last-- Oh, I came around at the very conclusion, I said, "Well, there may be-- it may hurt the FBI but I'm sure--you know, we, we just-- and nothing was done in the future. Segretti didn't, no he didn't turn over-- Dean didn't turn over again. He kept coming back [unintelligible] Said "We are clean," quote. "Uh, I know these guys. None is worth a God damn-- these investigators. Now you've been [unintelligible]."

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] I should have put Wilson in the job. Ahh! [Unintelligible] for Gray he's, he's very much with Gray.

[Unintelligible] had withdrawn from the case--that's a good break. Cha-- Chapin never hired anyone [unintelligible] way out of hand [unintelligible]. Pat Gray even though he-- He reported then on the Gray hearings. Then there was something about making Colson a consultant-- put him in a drawer or something. He, for example, you could give him a position, uh-- Executive Privilege for things now-- he has it previously, anyway, at any vote, so that was [unintelligible] done or not.

PRESIDENT

or ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: I said, "Did Haldeman know about Segretti." He said "No--" Well, he said, "One likely question for Haldeman about [unintelligible] Segretti. [unintelligible]. And I said, "Did he?" He said, "No." [Unintelligible] Dean [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: This was on the, uh--

PRESIDENT: This is the thir-- thirteenth now, the thirteenth.

ZIEGLER: Thirteenth, yeah.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible) questioning. And then, an interesting point and again, uh, this triggers something-- this is the thirteenth. Why not have it all let-- all hang out approach," I said. He says, "Exactly because they won't

believe the truth." We do let it all hang out. And watch this shit. Back to Sullivan, who testified but he doesn't give in, in writing. If Huston had your instructions, you know, for doing things that were--Hoover failed on the national security areas-- then the whole thing crumbled, crumbled.

ZIEGLER: [Laughs]

PRESIDENT: It just-- we-- But that's all you-- He said that Hoover lost his guts. He must have known [unintelligible] Huh? Actually, I'm not sure that he knew the paper hadn't gone through. Huston was out there [unintelligible] forget. Incidentally, how about those others things [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: The, uh, FBI clips?

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] I have that morning?

ZIEGLER: They expect, they expect the list Friday morning, or tonight. Al said [unintelligible] we have a program with Scott, which Al's got--

PRESIDENT: Yeah. [Unintelligible] Just getting the numbers. We have nothing else but numbers.

ZIEGLER: That's right. And we have a scenario that Scott can bring it up at the leader's meeting:

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: This is what you can say, and-

PRESIDENT: Yeah. You asked me about it and I do have it, yeah I mean, Sullivan knows everything [unintelligible/REMOVED] Gray hearings again [unintelligible]. This is all on the thirteenth. The Gray hearings, I don't-- [unintelligible/REMOVED] playing our game. Focus is on us. We've got to get our story out. He mentioned the NBC broadcast [unintelligible] Dean said, "Well, no" he says, "if you have to send him up though, they ask why. [Unintelligible] course that was Mitchell's [unintelligible]. [Unintelligible] about the Texas guy who gave the money back, Allen-- what kind of crap we talking about! But there, he said, "Well it wasn't yours for Watergate." And I said, "Why'd he put in his letter?" Oh, I don't know. He wanted the check in Miami, and the Margaret check, and all that sort of thing. [Unintelligible] he shouldn't have done that [unintelligible] cash the check [unintelligible] Mexico. This is getting back to Watergate. Now on the thirteenth, we finally get the little memory of what the hell was going in this. Sloan is weak, scared. He said, "We are [unintelligible] him." I guess we all knew that though, about Sloan.



ZIEGLER: Well, su-- Sloan, uh, resigned in August.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: People pretty well much felt that, uh, his concern about Stans--

PRESIDENT: Kalmbach was sensitive about same story [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Oh, I see.

PRESIDENT: And, uh, I pointed out I only see him once a year when he brings in the tax brief. [Unintelligible] returns. [Unintelligible] said he'd be a good witness. Check his story fifty times. He will be ready. Mitchell will be ready. Stans will be ready. Dean talked-- thirteenth of March.

ZIEGLER: About [unintelligible]?

PRESIDENT: Huh?

ZIEGLER: Have you [unintelligible]?

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Magruder said that [unintelligible]. The people around here won't be with us. [Unintelligible] when will the judge sentence? [Unintelligible] judge is Incredible. There may be a mis-trial. And I, I said, "Well I like that

he's a hanging judge, and I, I," I said, I "like hanging judges." [Unintelligible] This, this is-- Oh, now we're on the thirteenth. I said, "Who the hell are they after here?" And, uh, I said, uh, "My guess is that it's Mitchell and Haldeman." Understand what I'm saying.

ZIEGLER: Sure.

PRESIDENT: Mitchell and Haldeman.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] Haldeman has a [unintelligible]. Now, I said, "Chapin--" He said, uh, "They will not, because that's circumstantial. Uh, I said, "Colson knew Hunt." He said, "Chapin didn't know about Watergate." [Unintelligible] Then he said, "Strachan knew about Watergate." I mean, I was very, uh, I, uh-- "Are you sure about that?" Then he said, "But he's tougher than [unintelligible]. [Unintelligible] problems with Strachan. I came back to it. I said, "what do you know?" I gathered from what he said that he'd had nothing to do with the planning or conception of it then-- I think he may have gotten some materials.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: You understand?

ZIEGLER: Sure.

PRESIDENT: But I didn't react to that as uh, any great God damned aston-- astonishment. You know what I mean? But when he said "tough as nails," I suppose he left the impression that maybe Strachan had lied about it. But he probably didn't. Strachan probably told the truth. Now, if he say the materials [unintelligible] but anyway, he nailed Strachan there. Colson knew Hunt. He thinks he had knowledge that something was going on over there. Dean talking [unintelligible]. He doesn't think he has any subject knowledge. That's what Dean tells me. He says [unintelligible] thirteenth.

ZIEGLER: of March.

PRESIDENT: Right. Dean tried to drag in the [unintelligible].

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Then I came back to this. I said, I said, "John, is it too late for the hang-out route?" "Exactly." I said, "Ehrlichman and Haldeman are for it." [Unintelligible]. And then Dean says, "The dangers in the hang-out-- there are dangers in the hangout," and he said, "I think I can convince Ehrlichman that there's dangers in it for him."

ZIEGLER: You see, but [clears throat] here, Mr. President [coughs] what you were talking about, what you had in mind, was not, at least in my impression,

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]  
ZIEGLER: was not payments to people  
PRESIDENT: Huh?  
ZIEGLER: or awareness of payments to people. What  
you had in mind was relaying  
PRESIDENT: The hang-out (unintelligible)  
ZIEGLER: the hangout in terms of Segretti, whatever  
PRESIDENT: Segretti, and, and the Watergate!  
ZIEGLER: Hm?  
PRESIDENT: Planned the God, God dman Watergate!  
ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: There's no cover-up in this, uh to this point, period -not one talk of cover-up.

ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: You know, not one bit. There's a little-- that the feeling of it through here Strachan, and, uh, this, you know, they're "hanging tough" and so forth. He comes back to this. He says, "No one of the White House knew it was done, but some may have seen the re-, the proofs of it."  
[Unintelligible] What the hell is that? He doesn't-- He's not sure. Now he came back to Sullivan. This business about the fact, he says, "This cop up there knows more about Chappaquiddick than anyone in the country and we should get it out. Know the cop?" Got back to Kalmbach, somehow. The, uh [unintelligible] perfectly legal [unintelligible] funds and so forth. We're going to get Sullivan in and talk to him, [unintelligible] you know, and so forth and so on [unintelligible] whether or not we had used the FBI (unintelligible) for national security purposes. Said, "Yeah. The only exception, of course, was that son-of-a-bitch Schorr." But there-- actually it was national security though [unintelligible] [laughing] we didn't say that. Okay. We just ran a name check on the son-of-a-bitch.

ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Har Nothing! Now, the on the sixteenth, began some thinking,

ZIEGLER: On the fourteenth, what happened?

PRESIDENT: Nothing there. Just the press conference. Well, that's where we met them, uh, you see Steve, he's got something

ZIEGLER: Well I was, uh

PRESIDENT: very interesting.

PRESIDENT

AND ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

[Bull enters]

PRESIDENT: Steve,

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: give Ron the one little quote out of that log thing crap that you had to listen to. This was all-- fourteenth was all press conference.

ZIEGLER: That's right. That-- Well, I remember--

PRESIDENT: You were in on part. It's, it's terrible, it's' because we lost the best part.

BULL: The question was posed how do we ans-, how do we answer the question whether we [unintelligible]. Uh, the response was that the [unintelligible] investigation was conducted and the report given to me.

PRESIDENT: I was supposed to say that-- no pr, or, Ziegler was supposed to say that.

BULL: No, the President

PRESIDENT: The President. Yeah.

BULL: You were supposed to say that. And, uh no information was found, uh, that would be

PRESIDENT: -- any way implicate anybody at the White House. There it is. There it is.

BULL: That was Dean's recommended response to the question.

PRESIDENT: So, in that context --that's all the way through.

ZIEGLER: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: He said, "Our report--"

ZIEGLER: That's all the way through the gardners to him.

PRESIDENT: I said be sure there's no cover-up with regard to the FBI and so forth, and so on Gray or anything. Then we went into the no written Dean report. But, I said--

But he said-- I said "Why don't you give me copy of your findings?" And have Gray give it to the FBI. Talked about Baker-again. I said that if Baker gets on the wrong side of this issue it will destroy his chance to be a leader. [Pause] He had no contacts with the Ervin Committee that were worth a damn. [Unintelligible] Goldwater make a speech, Sullivan-was preparing [unintelligible] And I say, "Get the story out." Then he suggested Ziegler could get a statement based on Dean's investigation [unintelligible]

[Bull leaves]

ZIEGLER: I remember when that came up. I said that I thought sworn affidavits were a bad idea.

PRESIDENT: Anyway, so much-- at least he tried. Some questions you can't ans-- Then Dean-- some questions you can't ans--, you can't answer. No question, you can't answer because it'll get people in trouble. 'Cause we're so close now, we can't-- I wond-- He suggested fighting day and [unintelligible] Then he says, again, "[unintelligible] runs into a whole flock of new problems which haven't emerged yet. We need a good master plan." And,



uh, I'd like to talk a bit more about it. I said, "Why, why don't you and Moore go to Camp David and get us a plan."  
[unintelligible] I was thinking in

ZIEGLER: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Talked about Mitchell's bad advice on Carswell, Kleindienst, and so forth I said that. "Can the White House position cover now? Keep that front and center.  
[Unintelligible] Can't have Liddy in any relation to the White House [unintelligible]." And he said, well, if he [unintelligible/REMOVED]. But anyway, though [unintelligible] [sighs] Now we come to the seventeenth. Kleindienst wanted to turn Baker off [unintelligible] FBI. According to Haldeman, Mitchell told Haldeman-- and he said possibly Dean. And I said "What?" Dean too. Because I was over this like a blanket. And I said, "John, you didn't know about it?" He said, 'That's right, I have no knowledge. No prior knowledge.' He says, "How would you not to drag you, not to drag you." He was telling me that there was a cover-up?

ZIEGLER: Not at all.

PRESIDENT: Anyway, then he said -started talking about Magruder: "Jeb's good, though [unintelligible] drag everything with him.

ZIEGLER: But I mean every day that Mitchell-- I heard him say that,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: I would have related it to Mitchell.

PRESIDENT: I know. And he said that he'd seen Li-- Liddy right after it happened. And he said, "No one is the White House except possibly Strachan [unintelligible] knew about it." He said, "Magruder had pushed him without mercy." Said he talked to Dean right after it happened. Then I say, "Don't you think Haldeman pushed him?" And Dean-- I, I, said, "I don't recall him pushing him. Dean says, "I agree." And he said, "Strachan may have pushed him." He says, "He probably had [unintelligible]" Bull shit. But you see again, this is a-- they knew what-- who was pushing for him. And I said, "I don't know why the hell they went in." A million dollars and [unintelligible]. Now here's one-- I don't know what the hell I was saying here, but-- I said, you

know, "The thing here is that Magruder, Magruder put the heat on. Sloan starts pissing on Haldeman." He said, "That couldn't be, uh, [unintelligible]." I said, "We've got to cut that off. We can't have that [unintelligible] I said [unintelligible]). But we just stopped right there. There was no-- I suppose he could say there that I was telling him to cover-up. [unintelligible]."

ZIEGLER: I suppose he could say that in, the context of that time, but still, there's nothing,

PRESIDENT: I didn't know--

ZIEGLER: nothing, Mr. President,

PRESIDENT: didn't know that Magruder, uh, was lying. He was-- or that Sloan was.

ZIEGLER: You knew no perjury was committed. All of this relates more to political problems before the Ervin Committee and charges that could be made --

PRESIDENT: Yeah. This one here is that, I was going to-- it relates to the fact: why can't we get a report out of this, no, and so forth. I said, "Well, looking to the future, here are the problems. We got this guy, this guy, And this guy." And I said, "Magruder is the, uh one guy-- and that's

going to bring it right up to home. That'll bring it right up to the, the White House, the President." And I said, "We've got to cut that, that-- that ought to be cut out.

ZIEGLER: But keep in mind, Mr. President, that you were not at this point talking about the trial. What you're talking about is the Ervin Committee hearings. Now, there is no illegality in having received information you see,

PRESIDENT: Yeah

ZIEGLER: from the wiretapping operation. My view, if, if-- in hearing this, would have been in the context of the Ervin Committee hearings. If someone would say, "Well Strachan received the material. I remember going through this exercise with Bob. I said, "Bob, did you ever receive the material?" He said, "No." Now--

PRESIDENT: Then he went on to say-- and here's the point that I hope he covers writing our statement-- Remember I told you-- Ellsberg-- don't say that I learned it for the first time from Petersen.

ZIEGLER: No. That's right.

PRESIDENT: We didn't [unintelligible]. Here's when I learned it. I was [unintelligible] exactly right. He told me, on the

seventeenth. Seventeenth. He says, Ehrlichman's got a call. Now, I said, "What the hell does he want?" Says, well-- then he told me about this God damned picture and Ellsberg, and so forth-- that was the first time I ever heard about it.

[unintelligible] Now this-- incidentally, when I, uh, I was just thinking of this, that, uh, we, assure him that-- I wondered, frankly, if Ehrlichman might have told you earlier and was lying to protect me. That he didn't, I didn't know my God damned thing. Ehrlichman never should of sold. So there it was. Dean told me the sixteenth of March.

ZIEGLER: Seventeenth.

PRESIDENT: Huh?

ZIEGLER: Seventeenth.

PRESIDENT: Seventeenth of March. It has nothing to do with Ervin. Then he mentioned Chappaquidick.

ZIEGLER: [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: It's a hell of a [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: See, all of Bud's contacts with the discussion of the break-in [unintelligible]. Now even making reference to the Ellsberg trial on the seventeenth of March--

PRESIDENT: Well, it was mentioned that Ervin [unintelligible] was having a problem with regard to [unintelligible]. We weren't talking about the trial at all.

ZIEGLER: Sure.

PRESIDENT: And, they had [unintelligible]. You understand, now--

ZIEGLER: But the Justice Department had an [unintelligible]. That's the problem.

PRESIDENT: They didn't have a God damned [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: There is nothing in here said to you that would have lead you to any conclusion that you should have acted in any way, because Dean had--

PRESIDENT: The whole point-- there's another reason I shouldn't have. Dean was-- I don't like her--

ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: He is in tough with the Justice Department. Now he sees Kleindienst every day. Christ, I was so [unintelligible] for anything that he would be tem-- passing over to Justice-- he would pass it!

ZIEGLER: That's what I'm saying. See my point, yeah-

PRESIDENT: If anybody ever asks why you don't pass something over, you learn from Dean. Christ, how could they the time be that-- April the sixteenth. Dean had that obligation! And I assumed he was in direct contact with them.

ZIEGLER: And you were talking about political problems. Now their legal problems-- political

PRESIDENT: problems as they related to the Ervin Committee hearings and one could come out in the course of those hearings, uh, in the question. The-- damn I know that's the case. And those notes were [unintelligible] I was probably worried about the other ones too, [unintelligible]. At least I hear about Strachan [unintelligible] Haldeman involved in the God damn thing --

ZIEGLER: Sure you were. That's why you asked that question.

PRESIDENT: That's why I said, "Cut it off at the pass." But what I was thinking there, was basically, uh, not to get all these guys pissing on each other. But Dean could go out-- just probably with some justification, and said that he, uh-- could probably say that he told the President about all this, and warned him about all this. Dean said, "Strachan--"

ZIEGLER: No question. There's no [unintelligible].

PRESIDENT: Strachan? This has been a very confidential source, so you guess you've heard it.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**] Ron, is this: that God damn it, we were all wrong here. Didn't want Ehrlichman involved or Haldeman involved.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: That's right. We were all about that.

ZIEGLER: You didn't feel they were.

PRESIDENT: But getting down, listening to this thing, the one through the seventeenth, it totally explodes Dean's proposition or whatever. You were discussing

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible] in the cover-up.

PRESIDENT: Yeah! Aspects of the cover-up. [unintelligible] From his standpoint it was. So let's hear him testifying on that. What did he, Ron? Who the hell is going to answer Dean? [unintelligible] How do we handle that? Haldeman can handle him on the twenty-first, which is the tough one, but he can handle him-- I think. [unintelligible]



find out what the hell he was doing, and so forth. But, uh, what about this?

ZIEGLER: These, I think, are already handled.

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] getting out a certain time. I don't follow them. Uh, Buzhardt said that Dean made a friendly gesture to him Saturday. Did you hear about that?

ZIEGLER: No, I didn't hear about the friendly gesture. No.

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] he didn't want to be a traitor [unintelligible]. Buzhardt gave him a tape, and, uh, it's-- a lawyer now-is playing it. Very, very tough [unintelligible] after what Dean [unintelligible]. The lawyer was here [unintelligible] the lawyer [unintelligible] God damn [unintelligible]. Dean is likely to tell the lawyer the story from his vantage point.

ZIEGLER: Of course.

PRESIDENT: God damn it! Oh, it's unbelievable [unintelligible] I didn't [unintelligible]. I expressed total amazement when he mentioned Strachan. Yeah, and I didn't believe him. [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: [unintelligible] I asked Bob, as I was [unintelligible]

I said, "Bob, you never received any of this stuff." And he said, "No," he said, [unintelligible].

PRESIDENT: I think Strachan did [unintelligible] Strachan approved the bugging.

ZIEGLER: [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: And there's no talk about the three-fifty.

ZIEGLER: Not at all. I don't think there's any talk about the three-fifty until into April

PRESIDENT: Ah, yes there was. March twenty-first.

ZIEGLER: You sure?

PRESIDENT: I'm sure. Dean told me, Dean [unintelligible] that was part of the whole God damned investigation. I, I thought he may have told me a little before, that's why I left that's a little loose. But up till the seventeenth, at least we had a little talk [unintelligible]. The point is, that we've got the whole God damn thing for the month of March [unintelligible], Ron. For whatever it's worth. But you, you, you, can hear what kind of crap it is.

ZIEGLER: That's right. [unintelligible] after the investigation,

after a full ten months of a thorough investigation by the Justice Department and putting trust in people around you, that this would be handled while you were in the process of everything else that happened in 1972. God damn it, in March, when this started coming to you, you can tell by your reactions.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: You were saying, "What in the hell is this going on?" And--

PRESIDENT: I should have reacted before the twenty-first of March, actually Dean shouldn't have had to come in to me with the "cancer in the heart of the presidency." To his credit he did.

ZIEGLER: That's right. He did.

PRESIDENT: Haldeman didn't tell me that; Ehrlichman didn't tell me that.

ZIEGLER: And actually when John Dean did that, on the twenty-first--

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Why do you say that? That he did?

ZIEGLER: Well, I think if he wouldn't have, uh, it would not have been [unintelligible], would have not have been the thing that you would have moved, which you did, on the matter relating to [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] How you getting along with those calls about through?

BULL: Yes sir. I'm logging them [unintelligible].

PRESIDENT: If you get them down to an hour, I can get them done tonight, maybe.

BULL: All right, sir. Fine.

PRESIDENT: Fine.

BULL: By the way, I found that I just can't-- not able to reproduce them, so I, I'm writing them down by numbers [unintelligible] it's faster. I'm just logging them on a sequential calendar.

PRESIDENT: Can they do that?

BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Great. [Sighs] God [unintelligible].

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Well you know I wonder if frankly Ron, when I first saw, uh, heard about the God damn story, that Haldeman [unintelligible] Watergate. I mean, God, maybe we were trying to [unintelligible] cover-up. Watergate. I really did! I didn't know what the hell [unintelligible] I honestly didn't know!

ZIEGLER: I remember, when I looked at that log, and I saw myself misleading on the fourteenth, I said, "what on earth is he talking about?" Then I immediately recalled that on the fifteenth there was a press conference, and then I immediately recalled that that was the period when we were talking about Gray, and Dean was being asked to appear, and we were preparing the President as to how he would respond to Executive Privilege, and would his counsel go up, and television, before the Ervin Committee hearings, and anticipating those kinds of questions.

PRESIDENT: What is your view, Ron, as to how we handled the whole Dean problem and so forth and so on? I don't know, uh it's, uh, this whole deal related to the press. John Dean [unintelligible].

ZIEGLER: I think we let, uh, let Dean run his string a little bit at least that's what I'd do at this point,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: and not, uh, be supposed that--

PRESIDENT: We can't let it run to the point that it hurts us too much.

ZIEGLER: No. No.

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] Well, you counteract-- you, you, you at least deny it, I suppose.

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: We denied that anything before-- so, [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Well, not many that were denied.

PRESIDENT: No. No. I know that, but [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Yes sir. And then, if it begins to hurt too much, I would think that we would bring Moore into a backgrounding session probably with a member of the prosecuting --

PRESIDENT: Can you do that?

ZIEGLER: Moore? Not directly, maybe. [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: You see, he's a witness in the God damn case himself. [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Well then maybe we can do it through a third party. May be Buzhardt will do it or something. Begin to get a [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: The, the background what? That there are these thirty-five--

ZIEGLER: --were really twenty meetings, thirteen phone calls

PRESIDENT: --thirteen phone calls--

ZIEGLER: and they related to Ervin Committee,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: uh, Gray hearings--

PRESIDENT: Axe!

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: All the way through this.

ZIEGLER: Sure.

PRESIDENT: Obviously [unintelligible] anybody else around here trying to get him to axe, in my opinion. Oh, [unintelligible] each of them have other fish to fry. And it was [unintelligible]. I didn't want to burn Mitchell unless-- I didn't want to burn Mitchell [unintelligible]. The key

to this thing, Ron, is Mitchell. Always been the key [unintelligible] cover-up-- Dean did it [unintelligible] for Haldeman and Ehrlichman. Dean [unintelligible] himself. He did it for John Mitchell! So did Magruder do it for Mitchell. Magruder lied for Mitchell. You know that.

ZIEGLER: Sure.

PRESIDENT: And nothing before the twenty-seventh. That they related to this, this, this, this, this, this, this and this. Not till the twenty-first of March did he come in and talk about a cover-up.

ZIEGLER: And he did not in any way suggest that he was involved directly. And--

PRESIDENT: On the twenty-first he did.

ZIEGLER: He did?

PRESIDENT: He said, "Even Dean." See, I re-- then, what I gave in these notes here, he suggested that Dean might be called. Too, remember how he, where he said, "Because I've been over this like a blanket?"

ZIEGLER: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: But then I said, "But you had no knowledge." It hit him hard. He said, "No, you--," You see, I was really trying to get him to God damn



PRESIDENT: That's the tragic [unintelligible]. Mitchell would never step up to this. Well, I suppose, would you? No. No. Former Attorney General step up and say he bugged. Shit. I wouldn't. What I would step up and say: "Look [unintelligible] damn thing and so forth but I gave responsibility for [unintelligible], uh, a suspended sentence or a misdemeanor slapped in the face or whatever the hell [unintelligible]." But one denied it, under oath, uh-- he was stuck! See-- God damn it!

ZIEGLER: The perjury's the thing that is the problem

PRESIDENT: Hm?

ZIEGLER: The perjury's the thing that is the problem involved.

PRESIDENT: There is now I guess. But you notice Dean advanced Mitchell right in the last [unintelligible] Mitchell [unintelligible] Dean is guilty now.

ZIEGLER: It'll be close.

PRESIDENT: What? [Unintelligible] He suborned Magruder to perjury in Mitchell's presence! That's the, that's the major lie in this whole God damn thing, Ron.

ZIEGLER: Dean knew, again.

PRESIDENT: Of course he knew. He knew all of this.

ZIEGLER: Sure he did.

PRESIDENT: He knew all of it. He didn't tell me-- you hear any of that in here?

ZIEGLER: No sir.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: But the prosecutor's--

PRESIDENT: But, but you see, in fairness to Dean, when he mentioned the fact that Strachan was involved, he mentioned the fact that, uh, that, uh, that it was not well to let it C all hang out, that Ehrlichman might have a problem and so forth, he might well have drawn the conclusion, Ron, that the President wanted him to keep the lid on.

ZIEGLER: Yeah. The political lid in the Ervin Committee hearings, not the legal lid in terms of the trial.

PRESIDENT: That's the difference. I see.

ZIEGLER: That's the difference. That's the conclusion I had during this whole period. Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Your talking about the Ervin Committee?

ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: We're talking [unintelligible] about the trial. The trial is over.

ZIEGLER: We were concerned about the Ervin Committee and what they would press for in terms not that illegality, but in terms of political embarrassment. Uh, you know, of, uh, of, uh, uh, some of the, some--

PRESIDENT: Well, in any event--

ZIEGLER: But the Justice Department--

PRESIDENT: Don't you think it's interesting though to run through this-- really, the God damn record is not bad, is it?

ZIEGLER: There's no-- no [unintelligible]. Makes me feel very good. Not that I--

PRESIDENT: They've got [unintelligible] because I was sitting there like a dumb turkey. Not so much acting to some of these God damn things, because--

ZIEGLER: It's a [unintelligible] theory.

PRESIDENT: Hm?

ZIEGLER: It's a [unintelligible] theory. Five men sit in a room, and what occurs in that room or what is said in that room means

something different to each man based on his perception of events that preceded it. And that is exactly what this is exactly what it is.

PRESIDENT: But I did say, Ron, now that you mention it, Magruder, Sloan pissing on each other, and I said the good thing to do is cut it off at the pass. [Unintelligible] That's Ervin Committee, I must admit.

ZIEGLER: Just totally Ervin Committee.

PRESIDENT: Well, Dean-- Suppose Dean goes out and says so?

ZIEGLER: Well, that's why I think we should let, let Dean run his string, because he's saying so much-- so much is being said for him

PRESIDENT: Uh huh.

ZIEGLER: that all is becoming so confused and distorted. That's why we can't begin at this point-- this is only my view--

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah.

ZIEGLER: to respond clip by clip to everything that

PRESIDENT: I couldn't agree more

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible] says about you, because actually Dean has a, well, a tendency, coming out of all this very [unintelligible], very, you know--

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: And then he will have to be cracked, or dealt with in some way which we should determine down the line. Uh--

PRESIDENT: Like what? What would be the other way except for cracking?

ZIEGLER: I think just right on a position.

PRESIDENT: Not many options, you know.  
[Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Yeah [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] lawyers [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Clear based on this.

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: We've got him dead right on that, Ron, haven't we?  
[Bull enters]

PRESIDENT: What you got there?

BULL: The principle calls, sir. The ones made on-  
three calls made on March fourteenth that  
are relatively short ones.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

BULL: Uh--

PRESIDENT: Those are the first calls I made, uh?

BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Yeah. I didn't make any in February.

ZIEGLER: It's March tenth [unintelligible]

BULL: We don't have, we don't have a record of  
March tenth, unfortunately sir. It's from  
Camp David.

PRESIDENT: Any from Camp David I don't have or Key  
Biscayne.

ZIEGLER: No, there were, there were no calls before  
March.

PRESIDENT: There were none before March. I know that.  
I know that. I know that. I know that. Go  
ahead.

BULL: Uh, we have a call that Ziegler, that Ron  
placed in your presence to, uh, to, uh, Dean

PRESIDENT: I don't care about that.

BULL: and so, I-- it's noted on here. You've got an extended call

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

BULL: on March sixteenth. I'm, I'm sorry an extended call an March sixteenth and a rather extended conversation on March twentieth, that'll run you about twenty minutes, sir. In total a--

PRESIDENT: Each was twenty?

BULL: This final call, on March twentieth, that's the last one we have a record of, sir.

PRESIDENT: All right.

BULL: March twentieth. So what I have is about, oh, about close to forty minutes of telephone calls or better.

PRESIDENT: That's all you've got reported?

BULL: That's all we have, sir.

PRESIDENT: You don't have the calls that I made before? You're sure?

BULL: Unfortunately not. We have no mechanism in Florida, and no there is one at Camp David, but it's only on the phone in, in, uh, next to your couch, down in-- I'm not familiar with which phone it is.

PRESIDENT: Fine. Okay. That's good. Now, uh, this works the same as the others?

BULL: Yes sir. It's right [unintelligible] It's set for the first one now. Just [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Fine

BULL: triple digit really, you just assume that it's a four digit setting in there [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: All right. Fine. Fine. Fine. Have them give you something to eat out there.

BULL: All right sir. [Unintelligible]  
[Bull leaves]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: We're in the--

PRESIDENT: You're not surprised in, uh-- you don't find anything in his files with regard to, uh, to records. My thought [unintelligible] today was that he probably took everything out.

ZIEGLER: Well, I wouldn't think so, because, uh, 'cause, uh, Fred was very shrewd in checking that. He went not only through his meetings with you during this period, but he went through



previous periods back at, uh, routine [unintelligible] involved in the [unintelligible]. And also his pattern of operating and there were no mem-con. I recall, for example, there were-- the time that we were going to bring that fellow from Virginia on board as Supreme Court Justice. He wouldn't have done them

PRESIDENT: Powell?

ZIEGLER: No, the, uh--

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: If he would have done mem-cons, there would have been a pattern in his file that would show that. And he couldn't have taken out his whole file if there's nothing there each day. [Clears throat] Not only of meetings with you, but just his normal pattern and his files apparently, according to Fred-- he's going to take another look at them-- are not organized in that way. And this was always my sense. He's just not that type of a disciplined man.

PRESIDENT: Maybe he's taken them all out and put them in one place other there? [Unintelligible] look carefully.

ZIEGLER: Fred look pretty carefully.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible)

ZIEGLER: He's going to go back at them again. But, uh, [unintelligible] Fred doesn't [unintelligible]. You know, his statements up to this time have been [unintelligible].

PRESIDENT: Right. What I was saying about this crap is that it's reassuring up to a point, but in fact, uh, at least, in this whole business we, we sat there and we conspired about a coverup [unintelligible] or not. We did talk about it on the twenty-first. That's a tough conversation. Unless Haldeman [unintelligible]-which he will. [Sighs] But I think we can survive that, too. Do you?

ZIEGLER: Yeah, absolutely. We'll survive it all.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] recollect what I thought that we had to be facing a God damned traitor. Uh, I mean, why we could raise a million dollars [unintelligible] but how the hell could you get it to him? It's wrong, that's the key thing. Haldeman remembers that. He's got--

ZIEGLER: Sure he would say that.

PRESIDENT: Hm?

ZIEGLER: You would not have, you would have not approved of anything. [Unintelligible] Well, we've got the boys all squared up thinking about something else.

PRESIDENT: What is that?

ZIEGLER: Henry's trip. They're all buzzing around one said they're going, you know -it's different concentration and ya know-- which is good,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: At least in that press room.

PRESIDENT: Sure. Are they all obsessed with the Dean story today?

ZIEGLER: Yeah. Uh, no. That's-- they're funny. That's why this could be a great one. They went to the thing with Gerry. Then Gerry this afternoon booked through the Paris thing. And that's all they're talking about. Buzzing around and blowing it out of proportion. But they are thinking about something else. Wednesday if we get Laird and Petersen, they can-- of course. Herd's going to announce that he's leaving tomorrow. Which will be--

PRESIDENT: The staff. Yeah.

ZIEGLER: Then, then the announcements this week--

PRESIDENT: Thursday--

ZIEGLER: Well, Wednesday or Thursday with Laird. Uh, then the Friday--

PRESIDENT: Wednesday with Laird. Thursday with the, uh, with the thing from Paris.

ZIEGLER: Yeah. Thursday the thing from Paris. Then Friday the activity even Saturday--

PRESIDENT: Friday, from Florida

ZIEGLER: That's right

PRESIDENT: or something on economics while he's sitting there. Uh, Flo-- uh,

ZIEGLER: economics [unintelligible]. Then Saturday, from Florida, the FBI guy. It's going to be a good week. It's going to throw them off track.

PRESIDENT: The Ervin Committee will, [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Huh?

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible] Liddy and Hunt. That doesn't matter. I'm not being, uh, uh,

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] Polyannish?

ZIEGLER: Polyannish. I don't go as far as some would go. Yeah, I've been-- Haig-- close enough to learn on our own [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Sure they are,

ZIEGLER: Things are not turned around yet. There is a different tone, uh, here. We still have [unintelligible] but you got, you know, people are hanging in tough. This is going to be, uh, you might say looking [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: You think people are hanging tough now?

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Now, uh, then you've got the Cox element. Called in for the Ervin Committee to disband today in his press conference.

PRESIDENT: Did he?

ZIEGLER: Oh yes.

PRESIDENT: Well you think Cox did?

ZIEGLER: Oh yes!

PRESIDENT: At a press conference?

ZIEGLER: Yes. Two o'clock. Held a press conference. Said that they shouldn't run, hold the hearings. You've got Ervin coming back against him. You've got guys like even Tony Lewis, and good old Safire, agreeing with the, with the point about justice cannot be served in this way. All that debate and and discussions started to build.

PRESIDENT: Good

ZIEGLER: Which is very good. And then we take our time.

PRESIDENT: Cox doesn't want the Ervin Committee?

ZIEGLER: No sir. Of course not.

PRESIDENT: He wants his show.

ZIEGLER: He wants his show, and he may end up resigning now. That's what Fred said [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Did he?

ZIEGLER: He said that Cox-- He feels he's attempting to move to a position where he can resign because he can say "I can't possibly do this." [Clears throat.] And he said Cox is realizing this now. Cox is realizing the same thing now that others who refused to take the Special Prosecutor's job realized earlier:

PRESIDENT: Uh, that it's damn tough.

ZIEGLER: It's damn tough.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. The case has probably already been poisoned. Except that I would think Cox would be delighted to have a chance to crack the President.

ZIEGLER: Well, that probably was his original motive. But we've got, uh -Not to get the President, but, uh

PRESIDENT -[unintelligible] him.

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: The Ervin Committee-[unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

ZIEGLER: He probably [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: The thing we've got to remember, Ron, is that, uh, Dean does not have what he says he has.

ZIEGLER: Right?

PRESIDENT: Uh, I don't know if he has any papers or other information at home. I've only heard-says he's got some documents to prove something, but I have-- based on this, he may not have that either.

ZIEGLER: No, I don't think so

PRESIDENT: Maybe he's taped telephone calls. He could.  
ZIEGLER: I don't think so. He was not that kind of man.  
PRESIDENT: Yeah. But on the other hand, you, you've got his oral testimony  
ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]  
PRESIDENT: which he will give [unintelligible)  
ZIEGLER: Well, I think it's too early to make a judgment--  
PRESIDENT: Uh, it is too early. Yeah.  
ZIEGLER: Yeah. That's right.  
PRESIDENT: A little later then. [Unintelligible]  
ZIEGLER: Ignore it--  
PRESIDENT: Start, star--, start a--  
ZIEGLER: --or start a backfire.  
PRESIDENT: Yeah.  
ZIEGLER: It's too early to start a backfire.  
PRESIDENT: It's too early to start a backfire when we don't know when we don't know what he's going to do. Built up [unintelligible]



ZIEGLER: Or the third option is just some point down the road you just [unintelligible].say that once [unintelligible] in response to a question, uh, by counsel [unintelligible] that's all he could say [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] Let's move on that.

ZIEGLER: We're not going to go through this silly [unintelligible] Mr. President [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: That's your point that you had originally. Nobody would believe we [unintelligible] And God damn it they shouldn't.

ZIEGLER: But you may have to say [unintelligible] but you were betrayed and mislead for, uh, for uh, ten months. You're not going to allow this betrayal-- these self-serving, uh, uh, points of view be taken by individuals, uh, hinder the work of this nation.

PRESIDENT: Okay. Well, this is interesting, isn't it?

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. This morning I was reading what in [unintelligible] Christ this son-of-a-bitch could have. We're you?

ZIEGLER: I wondered what-- I don't know if I have the heart of the man, but IP I have a pretty good feeling.

[Pause. Bull enters.]

PRESIDENT: Steve. Hello. Steve, which one do you have on here now. I, I-- my list is gone. I-- somebody took it out, but, uh this here now. Which one is on here now?

BULL: This is March twentieth sir.

PRESIDENT: I don't want March twenty-first because Haldeman [unintelligible]. Let's go back to where we were. March fifteenth I've got. [Unintelligible] March nineteenth you don't have. [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**] Ziegler against Moore [unintelligible).

PRESIDENT

or BULL: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: Telephone calls [unintelligible]

BULL: This is March twentieth.

PRESIDENT: I'm going to do this now.

BULL: That's three [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: March twentieth, which is of, uh

BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Then I'm going to do this [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT

or BULL: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: This is what, fifty minutes.

BULL: Approximately fifty, fifty minutes. Yes sir.

[Bull leaves.]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] I'm going to need, I'm going to work now for about forty five minutes, so you can [unintelligible]

WAITER: What'll you have sir.

PRESIDENT  
or Waiter: [Unintelligible]

[Pause. Bull enters.]

PRESIDENT: Did you see a [unintelligible]?

BULL: Would you like me to [unintelligible] sir?  
PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]  
[Bull leaves. Pause.]  
PRESIDENT: Let Steve come in. I want him to-- give him something to do here.  
VOICE: Steve.  
BULL: Yeah.  
PRESIDENT: Steve.  
BULL: Yes sir.  
PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] a mistake [unintelligible]. See if your list there-- cause if I'm wrong, check on it. O.K.  
BULL: Yes sir.  
PRESIDENT: Ron, one of them you have a check on. Oh, March the twentieth, before the twenty-first, uh, the conversation relates to something [unintelligible] something, apparently a report, that Dean and Moore came in to see me about-- Ziegler, they have given copies of Ziegler's records and he said that it raises as many questions as it answers.

Remember that? Just write your best recollection of that.

ZIEGLER: [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Now, the things we've got as-- Steve!

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: You show us the ones that you want Ron to check with Dick Moore to get his recollection of the God damn meeting so I won't have to listen to them.

BULL: All right sir.

PRESIDENT: I can't-- they're not [unintelligible]

BULL: March fourteenth. The meeting with, uh [unintelligible] Actually two meetings.

PRESIDENT: You've got one already and I have one [unintelligible]. You see, what, what is the problem here? The problem about what, the EOB meeting?

BULL: Yes sir, the EOB meeting's apparently lost, sir.

PRESIDENT: All right. Which one do you have?

BULL: I have the, uh, [unintelligible] afternoon session with Moore [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: You've got the morning?

BULL: Uh, I have the afternoon session, sir.

PRESIDENT: What about this one here? What is it, March fourteenth morning. You've got that?

BULL: This is the one I don't have, sir.

PRESIDENT: Well, that's not the afternoon, that's the morning.

BULL: I, I've got the afternoon. We need the morning session.

PRESIDENT: All right. The morning session with Dean, Ziegler and Moore.

ZIEGLER: On the fourteenth.

PRESIDENT,

BULL, ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] I was there too.

BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Uh, now. On the fourteenth also I met with Mrs. Maureen Dean. Now do we have that, or—

BULL: Yes sir, that's the one I made you here. That's the recorder.

PRESIDENT: You've got that?

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: O.K. That's the one that you just set out here. Crap about the press conference, right?

BULL: Crap about the press conference, right. The positive statement that Dean would conduct an investigation with the appearance that [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Yeah. "Nobody in the White was involved." You've got that, Ron. O.K. All right.

BULL: Then on March nineteenth, Moore and Dean in the EOB [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: March nineteenth [unintelligible] O.K.

BULL: I have March

PRESIDENT: March twentieth.

BULL: twentieth [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: What was it about [unintelligible] Committee but I'll check that.

PRESIDENT: I don't, I don't know what it Probably related to this was a statement that Moore and Dean had worked up, to publish, you know, a so-called report. You had objected

because it raised as many questions as it answered. Uh, uh, just fine. Just, just want to be sure that -You get Moore, you know, and very -just nail him down. Now, you understand. Start working right

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Fourteenth. A meeting at EOB. Right?

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] in the afternoon, approximately 12:45.

BULL: 12:47 is the exact--

PRESIDENT: Fine. Okay. Fine. On March,

BULL: On March the nineteenth, sir.

PRESIDENT: March the nineteenth, I met with Moore and Dean in the EOB office. This is from five to five-forty one. About thirty-five minutes.

BULL: O.K.

PRESIDENT: Ask Dick Moore what the hell his recollection is on that. Is that clear?

BULL: Yes sir.



PRESIDENT: All right. I met with Dean and Moore again on March the twentieth. Wait a minute, am I listening to that now?

BULL: Yeah. Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Right now.

BULL: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Got that one.

BULL: And March twenty-first I think you've already received--

PRESIDENT: I've got that on, I've got it, I've got it on-- Bob Haldeman has that one.

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: March, uh, [unintelligible] Ziegler [unintelligible] Haldeman [unintelligible]

BULL: He was there for a portion of the time.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Almost all.

BULL: Right sir.

PRESIDENT: 5:27 to 6:05

BULL: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Hall, that's damn near all of it. Of course these things could be wrong. Check the log. I don't want to keep you from something else.

ZIEGLER: No sir. There's nothing more important. No sir.

PRESIDENT: That's right. Fine. And, uh--

ZIEGLER: Is Dick here or is he [unintelligible]?

BULL: I haven't seen him [unintelligible]  
[Ziegler leaves]

BULL: but I think, I think we ought to run down [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Good. Thank you.  
[Bull leaves. Pause.]

PRESIDENT: Hello. I want the, uh, eggs with the, uh--

WAITER

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]  
[Pause]

PRESIDENT: Open a new bottle.  
[Long pause. Bull enters.]

PRESIDENT: Steve, take this out, I'm finished with that.

BULL: All right, sir.

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] O.K.

BULL: Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT: Now the same machine works here, right?

BULL: Yes sir. I'll hang around [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Getting any of those others to work?

BULL: No sir. [unintelligible] Well, it, it's going to be improved now, and--

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] Did you find Moore and Ziegler?

BULL: Excuse me?

PRESIDENT: Did you find Moore and Ziegler: Ziegler you were--

BULL: Ziegler, Ziegler isn't on [unintelligible] you want to see him again?

PRESIDENT: Well he was checking with Moore with regard to [unintelligible] Check with Ziegler, see if he wants to see me.

BULL: All, right.

[Bull leaves. Pause. Bull enters]

BULL: Mr. President, uh, Dick Moore is on his way down from Greenwich, Connecticut. Uh, Ziegler has that in hand. He doesn't need to see you. He just asked me to relate to you that he mentioned-- uh, Ehrlichman was in the office that something had raised more questions than it answered. He was referring to a letter [unintelligible] to the Eastland Committee-- probably the Eastland Committee when Gray's confirmation was before it. He thought--

PRESIDENT: This was a statement that Dean was going to put out-- not with regard to the Eastland Committee. But-- we'll check it again tomorrow. O.K.?

BULL: All right sir, fine.

PRESIDENT: Where-- is he still at home, or-- ?

BULL: No, he's at, he's over in his office.

PRESIDENT: Have him come over. Just for a minute. Fine.

[Bull leaves.]

PRESIDENT: Anolla please. Some Catsup, Anolla.

WAITER: Oh, yes sir.

[Pause. Ziegler enters.]

PRESIDENT: Ron,  
ZIEGLER: Yes sir.  
PRESIDENT: Would you check on that twentieth thing because-- Listen to this thing-- I haven't [unintelligible]. What it was a statement Dean was going to put out, or through you, assuming it didn't have anything, a God damn thing to do with the Ervin Committee. Right?  
ZIEGLER: No. It was about--  
PRESIDENT: A very full statement. Dean and Moore and I argued it for about an hour and ten minutes. I just listened to the damn thing.  
ZIEGLER: I have a draft.  
PRESIDENT: No-- dra-- Yeah. The, uh-- I don't have the damn draft.  
ZIEGLER: Well, the statement that he prepared  
PRESIDENT: Dean did? to send, I think, to Eastland-- All right.  
ZIEGLER: but it was after the seventeenth.  
PRESIDENT: This was the twentieth of March.

ZIEGLER: Right. And this would have been-- On the seventeenth he brought my record--

PRESIDENT: He gave it to me-- and there are long lapses where I read the God damned thing in my office.

ZIEGLER: Right. On the, uh, seventeenth he brought something into my office, but I can't remember what it was. I think it was, maybe a letter.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Then he drafted another letter to, to Eastland, which is amazing because it says that [unintelligible] that "The fact that I conducted an investigation on this matter, at the direction of the President, made it inappropriate for me to obtain FBI information relevant to their investigation."

PRESIDENT: Uh hm.

ZIEGLER: To the contrary--

PRESIDENT: He did it. As a matter of fact he discussed this whole memorandum, as Moore [unintelligible/**REMOVED**] will remember it. During the whole conversation.

I went over it line by line. I went over Segretti, went over your, uh, your, your statement, went over his statement. Everything else. Yeah. It's all in there. Go ahead.

ZIEGLER: He says, "To the contrary, in an investigation of this importance," referring to his, "it was incumbent on me to obtain all available information."

PRESIDENT: Every statement, though, that he wanted you to put out in his stand.

ZIEGLER: I know, this is a letter that he was going to send to the Chairman

PRESIDENT: I get it. Didn't know what it was. Was it a statement to the Chairman, or who--

ZIEGLER: "And then [unintelligible] it has been alleged that I showed FBI interviews to Donald Segretti. That was a totally false [unintelligible]. That type of letter.

PRESIDENT: Well, find out from Moore what the hell we discussed on the twentieth of March.

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Whether it was that or a statement you were to make [unintelligible]

I showed FBI interviews to Donald Segretti. That was a totally false [unintelligible]. That type of letter.

PRESIDENT: Well, find out from Moore what the hell we discussed on the twentieth of March.

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Whether it was that or a statement you were to make [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: I've got that note here. Dick Moore's on his way by train from Connecticut [unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] sit down, and reconstruct about the things you remember. What the hell we discussed.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: I'm not worried about it.

ZIEGLER: Me either.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] It was all about, how we get the facts out. You know, Segretti, and, uh, how we have a counterattack



ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Dean-- let me think if there's some way we can get to him. [Unintelligible] He's not, you know-- he's scared. But he's not bad-- you don't agree? All through this the guy talks-- plus he's a Goldwater fan [unintelligible] what the hell is he, is he prob--, is the matter with this man! Hm?

ZIEGLER: He's scared.

PRESIDENT: Well, yeah. That's logical. Who the hell wants to go to prison? [Unintelligible] I agree. Just scared, uh

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: about Magruder, Sloan and all the rest.

ZIEGLER: He's scared about [unintelligible] committee.

PRESIDENT: Oh, sure. Just Senator [unintelligible]. But boy he's sure on our side through the twentieth.

ZIEGLER: He sure was. [Laughs] He sure was.

PRESIDENT: What really is interesting to me is that through, till the twenty-first of March, Ron, those [unintelligible] you-- God damn it, they didn't talk about coverup! They never

mentioned coverup until then. And that, uh, Bittman was trying to blackmail us. He never mentioned it once. [Unintelligible] mentioned the three-twenty or the three-fifty. They don't mention a God damn thing.

ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: It's a strange thing about this isn't it? I'm-- you don't agree?

ZIEGLER: Yes I do agree. Well, I'll lock these up and get going first thing in the morning. I'll get [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: But you leave at about noon, don't you?

ZIEGLER: No, I leave at ten o'clock, but that will give me time [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Well, I'll make sure [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: And we just want, just mem-cons with regard to these meetings.

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Huh?

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: He's so sloppy? How the hell we going to get [unintelligible] there?

ZIEGLER: Well, we'll just drill, and I'll have my s-staff go in [unintelligible] complete study on all of this. We--

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] there was nothing there though, Ron. Iv you know.

ZIEGLER: I don't mean get her into this

PRESIDENT: No, seriously

ZIEGLER: but [unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: I wouldn't [unintelligible]. But I mean [unintelligible]. Good God this whole fabrication to the effect that we met in forty meetings, thirty five meetings about coverup is bullshit!

ZIEGLER: Absolutely.

PRESIDENT: There ain't no meetings about coverup.

ZIEGLER: The, uh-- Look, the fact of the matter is, is the first word through March-- I was just reviewing the news file-- Eastland was putting a great deal of pressure on us to have Dean go before the Committee. And we were spending our time,

concerning ourselves as to how not to violate the doctrine of separation of powers. That's what it was all about. It wasn't about coverup. It wasn't about [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: I wasn't trying to coverup anything.

ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Neither was Dean, then.

ZIEGLER: At some point, I have it in my notes, the twenty-sixth of March,

PRESIDENT: The twenty-sixth.

ZIEGLER: twenty-sixth of March,

PRESIDENT: Oh yeah that.

ZIEGLER: I said to Dick Moore--

PRESIDENT: The twenty-first you told me.

ZIEGLER: No. No. Well, but--

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**RESTRICTED-"D"**

PRESIDENT: What happened the twenty-fifth?

ZIEGLER: The twenty-sixth I said, Dick Moore did, uh and I have these in my office [unintelligible]. I said "Yeah." I hope the son-of-a-bitch [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: And has lied to us.

ZIEGLER: He is not lying to us.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: On the twenty-sixth of March, and that was when-- You see, the first time that I began to be a little suspicious of Dean--

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: no-- was at a point when the, when he reacted in a way-- when I was raising hell with him-- worried about the shield law and so forth, and, uh--

PRESIDENT: What was the date on that?

ZIEGLER: the first of March--

PRESIDENT: The first of March.

ZIEGLER: and, uh, in a civil suit they, the lawyers, subpoenaed the files of a lot of newsmen and I said, "John, what in the hell are they doing in this, in the [unintelligible]."

And his response to me was erratic. Then as we moved into, into the March, he, he was in a meeting or two in my office. And he was a little erratic. And I remember the day we were sitting in here. I think it was about the fourteenth of March, before the press conference.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: And I was sitting in here and I had-- because I knew the Ervin Committee [unintelligible]. And his responsiveness, and the way he was acting, in the back of my mind, I said, not that I was suspicious of him, but that I thought this' guy who I had put all this trust in all this time is not as competent as I thought he was.

PRESIDENT: Competent. Right.

ZIEGLER: There was a mystery [unintelligible] beginning to catch up.

PRESIDENT: Took me longer. Took me to the twenty-first when he came in and just bluntly said there-

ZIEGLER: Well, I know-- Uh, we-- I didn't suspect, suspect him of any wrongdoing. I just though-- began to suspect him of incompetence. Adn this is why I was convinced, when we talk-

PRESIDENT: Ron, the important thing in this to remember is always bullshit [unintelligible] to the effect that we met thirty-five times about coverup. It is totally false.

ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Have we gotten that out? I don't suppose we have.

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: No way. Huh. Anybody backing [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Scott, uh, is doing a little bit-- backed us some.

PRESIDENT: Uh huh [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: No. About this [unintelligible) get these people along. Well, [unintelligible].

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Funny thing about life is that most of the people [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Course they do. [Unintelligible) But don't worry about it. We'll beat them.

ZIEGLER: That's right.

PRESIDENT: We're on the right side. That's the main thing, you know.

ZIEGLER: This proves it today. This drill--

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] proves it. I wondered what the hell was in that. You know, I thought maybe [unintelligible]--

ZIEGLER: No, I never had any questions about the fact that-- absolutely no question--

PRESIDENT: Buzhardt went through his whole God damn files and nothing there.

ZIEGLER: What I was concerned about is that Dean had the [unintelligible] comment that [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Well, there are a few, few

ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Nothing we can't handle except March 21, which Haldeman can. Have handle that too.

PRESIDENT

or ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

PRESIDENT: Be sure Moore knows

ZIEGLER: Yes sir

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] best recollections with regard to those-- have me come in [unintelligible]



ZIEGLER: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: No, the twentieth I've dictated just now.

ZIEGLER: Well, but your question the twentieth is what did,

PRESIDENT: EOB.

ZIEGLER: what did say--

PRESIDENT: No, no, no. Wait a minute. Now wait a minute. Don't-- God damn it-- Steve has got it all screwed up. Let me tell you about the twentieth. You should have no problem. I just dictated the twentieth. Mr. Dean and Mr. Moore from 1:42 to 2:31.

ZIEGLER: Okay sir.

PRESIDENT: Don't ask him about that. Okay?

ZIEGLER: Then I have fourteen.

PRESIDENT: Wait a minute. I'll tell you about that. No. No, not the fourteenth. Yes. Mr. Moore and Mr. Dean,

ZIEGLER: Right, and then I--

PRESIDENT: You got that?

ZIEGLER: Yes sir. Then the nineteenth. Five o'clock to 5:40.

PRESIDENT: That's right. You make him give you that.  
All right.

ZIEGLER: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Fine. You don't have to give him, you don't  
have to give him the twentieth. Don't give  
him the twentieth.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: 'cause I've got it here! Now  
[unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: Fourteenth and the nineteenth.

PRESIDENT: Right. O.K.

ZIEGLER: O.K.

PRESIDENT: O.K.

ZIEGLER: Very good sir.

PRESIDENT: It's been a good day, though, huh?

ZIEGLER: Yes'sir. And-this is a very interesting  
little draft.

PRESIDENT: What?

ZIEGLER: This is a very interesting draft. It had to  
be prepared after the eighteenth.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, but it was submitted on the twentieth  
to me. You find it finally, huh? I told  
you there was a God damn

draft there you know. What does it show?

ZIEGLER: Well, he's referring to his, his investigation and, uh--

PRESIDENT: Submitted to you, huh?

ZIEGLER: Well there was a copy [unintelligible].

PRESIDENT: Good. O.K.

ZIEGLER: O.K., sir.

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: And the reason I suppose he didn't send it though to me, he didn't move in that way, because he was worried.

PRESIDENT: Moore [unintelligible]

ZIEGLER: No, Gray withdrew.

PRESIDENT: Why, why did he withdraw?

ZIEGLER: Gray withdrew when you were in California first thing [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] You see, I think we were going to put this thing out after the twentieth.

ZIEGLER: But then we decided to go,

PRESIDENT: Then Dean came in with his,  
ZIEGLER: Then we decided to go  
PRESIDENT: Uh [unintelligible]  
ZIEGLER: with [unintelligible]  
PRESIDENT: Manolo.  
SANCHEZ: Yes air.  
PRESIDENT: [unintelligible]  
ZIEGLER: O.K. air.  
PRESIDENT: Good. Lot's of luck [unintelligible]  
SANCHEZ: [unintelligible]  
[Pause]  
PRESIDENT: Is Steven there?  
SANCHEZ: Yes sir.  
PRESIDENT: I'd like him to come in.  
[Pause]  
PRESIDENT: That has to be wrong, you see. You can't go  
from fifty-three to eighty-four.

BULL: Nineteen, fifty-three to twenty-eighty four, sir.

PRESIDENT: Twenty what?

BULL: Twenty eighty-four.

PRESIDENT: No. My, oh.

BULL: Nineteen fifty three to--

PRESIDENT: My point is that that's an hour and ten minutes on the phone.

BULL: It's--

PRESIDENT: Check it out. Check it out.

BULL: It is on there sir. [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Huh?

BULL: [unintelligible] conversation.

PRESIDENT: I know, I know it was extended, but the point that I make is that you-- it couldn't be an hour and fifty minutes on the phone.

BULL: It isn't. It doesn't come out to quite an hour and fifty minutes on the-- Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: Check it out and put it down what it actually is in terms of--

BULL: It's on that tape. There's no way I can, I can check it out.

PRESIDENT: You see, that indicates, Steve, that indicates a conversation from nineteen-- just list the numbers.

BULL: That's just the meter. That's just the meter.

PRESIDENT: This says nineteen fifty three to twenty eighty four, which is an hour and fifty minutes! Shit, there ain't no telephone conversation that long! You understand that?

BULL: That's a meter reading sir, not a, not a time

PRESIDENT: O.K.

BULL: Schedule.  
[Pause]

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] glass of wine.

SANCHEZ: Yes sir.  
[Pause]

PRESIDENT: Steve. There seems to seem-- have something wrong. I've had about thirty-five minutes of Tricia, Julie and Kissinger [unintelligible]. I can't get to this,

here, March sixteenth. Will you check to see whether it's March sixteenth [unintelligible] [Pause] [Unintelligible] listen to that, March [unintelligible] and March twentieth [unintelligible]

BULL: The meter apparently, uh, stuck someplace here sir.

PRESIDENT: It did?

BULL: No, just, just the meter reading is misleading.

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] I heard March fourteenth. All of that. I think I [unintelligible]

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: But let's get And I heard Ziegler.

BULL: [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Now, I need March sixteenth and March twentieth. That's all I need.

BULL: All right sir.

PRESIDENT: You got that. [unintelligible]

BULL: [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible]

BULL: The, uh, meter probably got stuck.  
PRESIDENT: All right.  
BULL: I just wanted to check your telephone logs  
so I can find that reference.  
[Pause]  
PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]  
BULL: Yes sir, I'll be back.  
PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]  
BULL: Yes sir.  
PRESIDENT: All right.  
[Pause]  
PRESIDENT: O.K. I don't care whether it starts at the  
beginning or anything [unintelligible]  
[Pause]  
PRESIDENT: What about the fif--, the other one. Does  
it follow on? Does the other follow on  
after this?  
BULL: No it [unintelligible]



PRESIDENT: March twentieth.

BULL: I have the [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] again? Christ, what's supposed to be on there?

BULL: [Unintelligible] I'll be right--

PRESIDENT: Let's listen let me work on this. I'll get the God damn thing.

BULL: I'll listen to tapes [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible]

BULL: This is, this is the, uh, next to last--

PRESIDENT: This is before [unintelligible]

BULL: You're right in to Dean now.

PRESIDENT: Got it. That's good.  
[Pause]

PRESIDENT: Would you, would you find this one.

BULL: Yes sir.

PRESIDENT: I found that one, but I can't find the last one.

BULL: The very last one.

PRESIDENT: See if you can find that [unintelligible]

BULL: That's right. I had-- I forgot to do that. You've been through about twelve hours of this.

PRESIDENT: Well, now, fine. But I just want to find this God damn thing [unintelligible]. Got Henry Byrd, Julie, [unintelligible] It's got to be there. Got it.[unintelligible]

BULL: Too far sir.

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible]  
[Pause]

PRESIDENT: March twentieth, right?

BULL: Yes sir.  
[Pause]

PRESIDENT: What's the trouble, Steve? You just can't find the God damn thing? What is the--

BULL: The meter's, the meter's at ten thousand

PRESIDENT: Yeah.  
[Pause]

PRESIDENT: Steve, there must be something wrong with the God damn thing. What is it?

BULL: The meter has [unintelligible] sir.

PRESIDENT: Can you find anyplace where [unintelligible] March twentieth is what we're looking for.

BULL: Yes sir. There's no announcement of dates on this [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: I know. I know. [unintelligible]

BULL: [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Find it?

BULL: I have it sir.

PRESIDENT: Good. Good. Let me get at it. I'll stay up all night. All right, fine. This is it?

BULL: Right.

PRESIDENT: The twentieth now?

BULL: Yes sir, the last one. [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: [unintelligible] O.K. I heard this. All right.

BULL: There's no longer-- that's the last one, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT: O.K.

BULL: It's [unintelligible] between--

PRESIDENT: Fits right in--

BULL: It's in there, yeah.

PRESIDENT: Nov you don't have another damn thing we can listen to, then, huh?

BULL: No sir. You've been through eight or nine hours of, uh--

PRESIDENT: Well, uh, uh-- we've missed a few now.

BULL: Missed a few.

PRESIDENT: And Moore, where the hell is he?

BULL: The, uh, fourteenth [unintelligible] Ziegler gave him a memorandum on it. On the, uh--

PRESIDENT: On the fourteenth, Ziegler [unintelligible]

BULL: Yes sir. And that will be tomorrow because Moore is on his way back from Connecticut, sir. The fourteenth is the one that I--

PRESIDENT: Well, okay. Hello.

PRESIDENT: Well, okay. Hello.  
Hi. Fine.  
Yeah. Great. Great.  
Marvelous. Great accomplishment.  
I've just spent nine hours on this crap.  
I've got to go to bed.  
The whole damn meetings are a fraud  
[unintelligible].  
I didn't realize it, but it was a damn  
fraud.  
Yeah. Uh, uh, they didn't find it in the  
files but I've listened to stuff, and you  
know, looking back I can see where he may  
have been involved.  
I wasn't involved.  
Yeah. Well, I, I've listened to stuff  
[unintelligible] and I missed more telephone  
calls: one from, two from Camp David, two  
from Florida we don't have recorded.  
But they can't be that important.  
Well, that should be answered.  
Yeah. That's right. But no, no, no, no--  
this, this is, uh-- tell me how the Laird  
thing went, Al.  
Where'd you see him?  
Great.  
[unintelligible]  
You be there, too. You've got to be there.

[unintelligible]

The main thing is to announce you're going to be with us.

He had a tremendous night.

Marvelous.

Great.

Tell him he's [unintelligible] with us. Everybody's-- great, great, great.

How's he feel about it? Is he in good spirits?

**RESTRICTED-"D"**

After our [unintelligible] yesterday [unintelligible]

That's going to shatter Dean.

Right. Right.

Al, you've done a great job, believe me. Getting Mel to [unintelligible/**REMOVED**]. You'll get a hell of a load off me if you get Mel, Bryce-- the three of you will be, uh-- you'll run the shop, you're the Chief of Staff. [Unintelligible/**REMOVED**] the other guys go out [unintelligible] you know, kiss the ass of a few-- but you don't have to [unintelligible/**REMOVED**].

Don't you think so.

Byrce feel pleased?

I'll see you [unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**]

Yeah.

I don't [unintelligible]

[unintelligible] indicates that he's going to leave and still consult with us on energy. You must say that.

[unintelligible] must not. Just say that I- he's leaving but it must not because he-- You can say, "Look John, we've got to have you on salary for something much bigger later."

Good.

[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**] Just deny that fact [unintelligible/**REMOVED**] He's-- but that's his problem. God damn [unintelligible/**REMOVED**] problem.

Tell him that I think that his staying [unintelligible] very important because [unintelligible]

[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**] back to Harvard, he's not going-- I'm sorry about [unintelligible/**REMOVED**]. I knew he was out, would be out of sorts but he just takes more time than I can give him right now.

The main point is that he is the man [unintelligible] job [unintelligible]

But the main thing is that-- I don't want him to travel abroad.

[Unintelligible/**REMOVED**] as my representative. Now Henry doesn't want that--

There's no problem about conflict of interest and all that crap. He can travel abroad, you know [unintelligible]

[unintelligible]

He's afraid I wouldn't be close enough to Mel. Good God, I would bring Mel abroad.

What, what is it? He's concerned about Mel coming at all?

Right. Yeah, well--

He knows damn well [unintelligible]

Absolutely. Absolutely.

That's great Al.

We have an eight-thirty meeting?

Right, well, I tell you, I've been through the damnedest experience today: eight hours of listening to the damn tapes and telephone calls.

We don't have some, I made two through Key Biscayne, on the twenty-third and I made two from Camp-- one from Camp David. We don't have them. [unintelligible] But I tell you, there's nothing in, nothing in these



calls.

It could. It could. It could on the twenty-third, perhaps, after we talk on the twenty-first, but uh, after that I was investigating.

That's right. But my God, you know, we've really gone through--

Yeah, and Buzhardt, too, though he [unintelligible]

Isn't that great?

[Unintelligible] Huh! Okay, we got Richardson confirmed so he said Petersen could.

Okay. Fine. See you tomorrow eight-thirty.

[The President hangs up.]

BULL: Those two outstanding days, air, the fourteenth between Moore, and, uh-- There were four of us sitting in. Then again on the twentieth Ziegler and I was in here [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: Get the best reports you can get.

BULL: Yes air. Yes, certainly will.

PRESIDENT: These telephone calls-- you just don't have [unintelligible] You sure don't?

BULL: We don't, don't have them unfortunately, sir.

PRESIDENT: Just don't have them, right? How long did I do this today?

BULL: I bet you did this about nine, an average-- had to be about nine hours, maybe more, sir.

PRESIDENT: No, no, not that much-- maybe eight-five maybe six.

BULL: I haven't totaled it all up but you've gone through many meetings, all these telephone calls.