



TRANSCRIPT OF A RECORDING OF A MEETING
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND JOHN DEAN ON
FEBRUARY 27, 1973, FROM 3:55 TO 4:20 P.M.

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PRESIDENT: Good afternoon, John, how are you?

DEAN: Pretty good.

PRESIDENT: I, uh, discarded some (unintelligible) won't interrupt us (unintelligible) uh, uh, did you get your talk with Kleindienst yet?

DEAN: I just had a good talk with him.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, fine. Have you got him, uh, positioned properly, the uh--

DEAN: I think, I think he is.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) properly--ah, has he talked yet to Baker?

DEAN: No, he hasn't, he, uh, he called Sam Ervin and offered to come visit with both he and Baker. And, uh, that was done last week.

PRESIDENT: Uh, huh.

DEAN: But he thought that timing would be bad to call Baker prior to the joint meeting. So he says after I have that joint meeting, I'll start working my relationship with Baker.

PRESIDENT: Well, Baker left with me that he was going to, going to set up a joint meeting well, anyway (unintelligible). I see. So Kleindienst has talked to, uh, uh, he has talked to Ervin and Ervin said-- (unintelligible).

DEAN: Ervin has left it dangling and said, "I'll be back in touch with you." Uh, I think-, what, what disturbs me a little bit about Baker was his move to put his own man in as minority counsel, so quickly, without any consultation as he had promised consultation. And I'm told this man may be a disaster himself, the minority counsel.

PRESIDENT: He is? What do you mean to, is he--?

DEAN: Well he's a, well I can't knock age, he's 30, he's 30 years of age, he doesn't know a thing about Washington.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: So we'll have to--

PRESIDENT: Baker, Baker says that he puts the blame on the White House. He says, whatchamacallits his name, Korologos called him and suggested somebody else, that was a great mistake. Course I didn't know anything about that, apparently.

DEAN: Well Baker apparently is quite open in his felicity I want to counsel with you all, and I don't want to move until I've told you what I'm going to do, and then he did just the reverse. So it was curious: one, that he wanted a meeting with you. Uh, secondly: that, uh, he suggested Kleindienst as a conduit...

PRESIDENT: That's correct.

DEAN: ...and there is hope, I think that, uh, he may try to keep an eye on this thing and not let it get into a total circus up there.

PRESIDENT: Who? Baker.

DEAN: Baker, Baker might.

PRESIDENT: Well that's what he indicated, he indicated but of course, of course with the regard to his, uh, situation, his position though, and with regard to Kleindienst's position, I, uh, I shook Kleindienst up a bit but (unintelligible) really is the, is the fellow who's going to get most out of this (unintelligible) is Mitchell. Said others are gonna get hurt too, but Mitchell is, ah, the real problem is whether or not Mitchell will--uh, get him on perjury.

DEAN: Hum.

PRESIDENT: I said now look, ah, perjury's very damn hard thing to prove too, fortunately. But, uh, if you, uh (unintelligible) keep from poppin' off, I said, well, I, I, I talked (unintelligible) did ya ever talk to Mitchell about this. Never has.

DEAN: No.

PRESIDENT: He says he has never talked to him. Did you go into the Mexican part of it with Kleindienst or did you get...

DEAN: Well, I...

PRESIDENT: ...into any substance at all?

DEAN: I've always, I've always braced Kleindienst in the past about, you know, the potential implications of what this whole investigation the Bureau conducted, what the U.S. Attorney's Office was doing

PRESIDENT: That's right.

DEAN: ...what the trial meant...

PRESIDENT: That's right.

DEAN: ...I think this could come to haunt...

PRESIDENT: That's right.

DEAN: If it gets out of hand, I don't want to get into a lot of specifics.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: I, at this last meeting, I just sat with him and said Dick, I said, "I don't think I ought to brief you on everything I know. I don't think..."

PRESIDENT: That's right.

DEAN: ...that's the way to proceed. But if I see you going down the wrong track, I'm going to have to tell you why.'

PRESIDENT: Um hum. Good, good. What did he say?

DEAN: He said, "I agree, that's the way it, should stand."

PRESIDENT: On the Executive Privilege one, I worked with, uh, talked to John Ehrlichman a little and decided that the last paragraph, which, uh, should modified so that it covers what I might have to say if I were asked at a press conference, he'll indicate what it, but in, in a nut shell, uh, rather than simply, flatly say that I think that what we should say is uh, that uh, that uh, that the uh, that members of the President's staff I will not appear before a formal session of the Commission, committees. However, under proper, appropriate circumstances that uh, informal discussions, or so forth can be conducted to obtain information and so forth and so on--appropriate, I want, I want to tell you what you're, what we're up against, right here's, uh, Kleindienst, Kleindienst has indicated to me, I don't know whether he did to you, that uh, he felt that the back-up position should be an executive session of the Committee. And I said, "Well, that's a hell of a difficult thing the, for the men." I said, "I think that the position should be one of a, that our position should be one of a, a, a solution. That you can't written interrogatories (unintelligible) which is unlikely, of the two committee--I, uh, the, the ranking committee members and the counsel, questioning any member of the White House staff, you know, under proper, you know restrictions...

DEAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: ...and so forth and so on. I put that to Baker as well and, uh, (unintelligible) said Baker, Baker probably, uh, probably wants to get, the same reason that Ervin does, because of the publicity and so forth, wants to haul down the White House staff and...

DEAN: Um.

PRESIDENT: ...put them in the glare of those lights.

DEAN: True.

PRESTIDENT: Uh, that we cannot have. That we cannot have. On the other hand, we cannot have a stonewall, so that it appears that we're not letting them. And so I think we've got to be in a position to, did ya discuss this with Kleindienst, as to what the position would be on that point? That, I think, John, is the important thing that Kleindienst has gotta stand God damn firm on..

DEAN: I did, I talked to Dick about that. I said that, uh, "One, there's a statement forthcoming. I don't know the timing on it."

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: The Department will issue. I said that, it's fortunate the context it's coming out in, because Clark Mollenhoff solicited the statement in a press inquiry that's coming out in unrelated context and not related to Watergate per se.

PRESIDENT: Right, right.

DEAN: And so that'll be out soon and that will define what the outer perimeters are. It also gives--

PRESIDENT: Have Kleindienst say that nobody from the White House staff will testify before a committee.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Of course, that doesn't help much at all.

DEAN: Well, under normal circumstances, if they're--

PRESIDENT: ...if they were normal.

DEAN: That's the, there's little, uh, slide in there. And then what, in a practical matter I told 'em would probably happen, would be much like the Flanigan situation where there's an exchange and the, the issues become very narrow as to the information that's sought.

PRESIDENT: Well, you worked with, uh, if you'd talked to John Ehrlichman, you worked at revising that last paragraph.

DEAN: We've done that.

PRESIDENT: Oh, you've already worked with him on that.

DEAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: And, uh, well, after I see his, uh, this Cardinal Midi (phonetic) take me about, I think five, we ought to get rid of him in about, ah, fifteen or twenty minutes. You might bring it down and, uh, you've got it written already?

DEAN: Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT: Then let me take a look at it again.

DEAN: Uh huh.

PRESIDENT: And we'll approve the statement, I don't want to put it out right now because I, I, just depends (unintelligible) I decide to do on the, do on the, the press thing.

DEAN: It'd probably be easier not to have those questions in your press conference per se.

PRESIDENT: I, I, would prefer, that's what I want to do, is to have this statement come after the press conference, to say, if they ask anything about it, that "I've covered that in a statement that will be issued tomorrow on Executive Privilege. It's very complicated (unintelligible) that's what I had in mind. I'd rather not be questioned on the statement.

DEAN: Mollenhoff himself will debate you right there on the subject.

PRESIDENT: Right. So I'll say I'm covering

DEAN: And I did talk to Mollenhoff yesterday at, uh, Rogers' request.

PRESIDENT: ...(unintelligible) want to look in the case.

DEAN: Tell him I want to look in the case and I had an extended discussion with him on the Executive Privilege question. Of course, he differs somewhat from where we're coming out, but he agrees that certainly the President has the legal authority to do that and he agrees also that it's, uh, it's--

PRESIDENT: Well, in his case, I mean what was he, talking about?

DEAN: Well, he says, he thinks that all White House staff should be ready to run up to the Hill and testify and he asked...

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible).

DEAN: ...as to what they're doing and it's a rare exception when the President invokes the privilege. I said, "Clark, that's got to be the other way around. The staff can't operate if they're going to be queried on every bit of communication they had with the President."

PRESIDENT: That's right.

DEAN: Mansfield, himself, Mr. President, has recognized that communications between you and your are protected. He said this in a policy statement before they issued this resolution up there on, uh, having confirmable individuals agree they'd testify before they are confirmed.

(Pause)

PRESIDENT: Well...

DEAN: I'm--

PRESIDENT: ...as for confirmable individuals are concerned, they're all available for testimony though.

DEAN: That's right. It's no problem there.

PRESIDENT: It's no problem there.

DEAN: There's not a giveaway by any means on that.

PRESIDENT: ...They, of course, will, uh, they, they, they, I guess, we, we would not normally claim Executive Privilege for Cabinet officers would we?

DEAN: Uh, no sir. Only, only if in, say the rare instances where we have already, where they're going for information which should be protected. Investigative files, uh, classified material or say, aid programs or something, when we did it in the last--IRS files. Those are the instances in which we've done it.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: And they're quite, uh, traditional and, and should be expected by the Congress when they go after information like that.

PRESIDENT: I think, I think went over to Kleindienst, I said just to show you how the worm turns here, what we went through in the Hiss case. There we were, investigating, not, uh, espionage by a political, what one political organization against another, but a charge of espionage against the United States of America, which was a hell of a lot more serious. And in that case, the Department of Justice, the White House, the FBI totally stonewalled the committee. The FBI would not furnish any information and here the FBI had a chance to furnish information to this committee.

DEAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: That's according to Gray, right?

DEAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: All right. The Department of Justice refused to give us any information at all and, of course the White House used Executive Privilege and the press was all on their side. You see that was...

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: ...that was a, that's, sure it's whose ox is being gored. Now here you got so-called espionage involving a political organization and, uh, so now (unintelligible).

DEAN: Well, you know I've been...

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible).

DEAN: ...and in, in, uh, doing some checking.

PRESIDENT: I told Dick a (unintelligible). That's what our Democratic friends did when we were trying to get information.

DEAN: Lyndon Johnson, uh, was probably the, uh, greatest abuser of the FBI, I'm told by people, some of the old hands over there.

PRESIDENT: He used it for everything.

DEAN: He used it as his personal, uh--

PRESIDENT: But didn't he use it against the press?

DEAN: He...

PRESIDENT: That's ah--

DEAN: ...used it against the press, he used it against his own party, uh, back in '64 when the Walter Jenkins thing broke, uh, he had high officials of the FBI out trying, to strong-arm a doctor to say that this man had a brain tumor, uh, Walter Jenkins, he also, then, turned his, the FBI loose on the Goldwater staff, uh, this sort of thing is starting to seep...

PRESIDENT: Uh, who knows?

DEAN: ...out now.

PRESIDENT: Is it getting out?

DEAN: Uh, I'm sorry. (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: But you, of course, know the incident of his, uh, (unintelligible) the, the famous incident of the bugging of our plane...

DEAN: That's right.

PRESTIDENT: which, uh, maybe--they really know is true. And you know, the instances that they talk about, about the, uh, about our bugging, the FBI stuff, believe me, I know exactly what those were.

(Sensitive Material Deleted)

DEAN Um hum. Now they're so--

PRESIDENT: And then, of course, the other things involved leaks out of the NSC, where we, they bugged Haig, Lake, or Halperin, I mean. But that was all.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: We were as limited as hell, I mean Hoover, good God, we could have used him forever. He's, he's-- but Johnson had just apparently, just used them all the time for this sort of thing.

DEAN: That's what I'm learning. There's more and more of this--

PRESIDENT: Who's, who's who from the FBI is trying to put out this stuff on us?

DEAN: God, I thought, I wish I knew, Mr. President, uh.

PRESIDENT: You don't believe it's a--

DEAN: I've heard there're, there're several names that are bantered around. I, I tried for example, to track the leak.

PRESIDENT: You don't think it's Sullivan?

DEAN: N, no, I., I confronted Sullivan, as a matter of fact, right after this, I said, "Bill," I said, uh, I called him into my office, I said, "I want to tell you what Time Magazine said they have." His reaction was not that of a man who has leaked something. Uh--

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: And then he helped.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible).

DEA He told me, he said, "If this ever comes, down to the very short strokes," he said, "As far as I'm concerned this was Hoover and Sullivan. No one else. And I'm ready to stand forward and take it at that." I said, "Well, I don't think it's ever going to be that because, uh--

PRESIDENT: Well, what, why would it be Hoover and Sullivan, did Hoover order him to do it?

DEAN: Hoover ordered him to do it.

PRESIDENT: In order to ah--

DEAN: They did this--so he could say I could cite examples chapter and verse of Hoover telling me to do things like this.

PRESIDENT: Now Sullivan knows that their, it was terribly limited--it was limited.

DEAN: That's right.

(Sensitive Material Deleted)

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: And that I must say, I think we did request though, did we say find out the leaks, and so Hoover goes and, uh, bugs people.

DEAN: Well, I, I think

PRESIDENT: That's the way to do it.

DEAN: ...the way it's postured now, uh, we can stonewall it, ah, Gray can go up there in his confirmation hearings and he's not gonna have to bother with it, because they'd accused him in the article of being, sitting on top of the bugs...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: ...it was there once he came in, which is not factual.

PRESIDENT: Well, there weren't any.

DEAN: There were none there when he came in.

PRESIDENT: Well, three years ago that this happened...

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: ...and there hasn't been a God damned thing since.

DEAN: That's correct.

PRESIDENT: Right.

DEAN: That's correct.

PRESIDENT: Another thing you can say, too, John, is the fact that all this had to do with the war...

DEAN: I know.

PRESIDENT: ...and now the war is over.

DEAN: Now--

PRESIDENT: Now Johnson, on the other hand, went bugging his political opponents, and every son -of-a- everything you can imagine. We've been, that's the problem, getting a real bum rap, aren't we?

DEAN: We cert--, we are getting a terrible rap, ah--

PRESIDENT: You stop to think of, we got rid, we got rid of the Army bugs, we got, you know, that Army ah, espionage business, intelligence business, we got, you remember that?

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Uh, we've limited the FBI things to national security bugs, to very, very certain few, probably too few.

DEAN: We're, we're now (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: But somebody's gonna get a shock one day, and they'll wonder why we didn't bug 'em, huh?

DEAN: That's right. We are getting a bad rap.

PRESIDENT: Well, for example...

DEAN: The fact is--

PRESIDENT: ...as you know, as you know, Hoover did bug Martin, Martin Luther King.

DEAN: That's right, I was aware of that also.

PRESIDENT: Well, Christ yes, Hoover used to tell us about what his, what a, a morally depraved son-of-a-bitch he was--and Johnson probably ordered him to do it, now let's face it.

DEAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: So, ah, I don't, well you can't blame Hoover. I'm sure he didn't do it unless, ah, Johnson asked to, but Johnson was that kind of a man, he used the FBI as his own private patrol, but God, we've been as careful, I've, I've talked to Hoover any number of times, but we've never ordered anything like that. But he'll come in with his little things.

(Sensitive Material Deleted)

DEAN: Johnson, ah...

PRESIDENT: Huh?

DEAN: ...Johnson, used the FBI to cover the, ah, New Jersey convention before he dropped out, officially, he had all the delegates--

PRESIDENT: He did?

DEAN: That's right, which is kind of fantastic.

PRESIDENT: Sullivan knows this?

DEAN: Um hum, Sullivan is a wealth-of-knowledge and the more I, you know, sort of generally chat with him about these problems, the more it comes out he's the man that can also document--

PRESIDENT: Why did Hoover have a fight with him? It's a hell of a mistake for Hoover to do that. Sullivan knows too much.

DEAN: That's right, ah.

PRESIDENT: Why didn't Sullivan squawk?

DEAN: I think Sullivan probably is loyal to the...

PRESIDENT: ...institution--

DEAN: ...the institution and doesn't want--

PRESIDENT: Somebody over there is not, can he help you find out who the hell is not? Isn't it a possibility...

DEAN: He advised--

PRESIDENT: ...the guy that--Time Magazine's lawyer, you don't think it's him?

DEAN: He speculates, and, the speculation is generally, is it's either Sullivan himself, Mark Felt, who is--

PRESIDENT: I know, the lawyer says that.

DEAN: That's right. Ah, and the other one is a fellow Tom Bishop who is now departed, who was in charge of their public information and where--

PRESIDENT: Does he know about these things, Hoover didn't tell people like that, about these things...

DEAN: No.

PRESIDENT: ...did he?

DEAN: For example, the '68 thing, I try-, was trying to determine who might know about that.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, ah...

DEAN: Hoover, apparently...

PRESIDENT: Ah, I guess.

DEAN: ...Hoover apparently told Pat Coyne, Patrick Coyne, who used to be on the NSC staff.

PRESIDENT: I know, I know, I believe, is he still living?

DEAN: I don't, I don't know the man.

PRESIDENT: He told Pat Coyne?

DEAN: He told Pat Coyne; Coyne told Rockefeller; Rockefeller relayed this to Kissinger, this was one channel that might have it in a public domain. The other is when Sullivan took the records, or all the documents in connection with this, ah, out of his office, and out of the Bureau, he also instructed the Washington Field Office to destroy all their records, which they did. Ah, Hoover, incensed at this, that he couldn't reconstruct, that he didn't have the records and couldn't get them from Sullivan, tried to have the Washington Field Office reconstruct them, which they couldn't. As a result of that movement and flailing around by Hoover, a lot of people in the agency were aware of what had happened and it was on the grapevine.

PRESIDENT: Oh, that's when it happened then, the night Sullivan left, he took the records with him-

DEAN: He took the records with him

PRESIDENT: And that's the only records there were?

DEAN: ...and that's the only records there are.

PRESIDENT: He did it out of, uh, I mean, pissed off at Hoover.

DEAN: No, ah, he was doing it to...

PRESIDENT: Protect...

DEAN: ...protect, ah--

PRESIDENT: ...the Bureau.

DEAN: No, he was doing it to protect the White House and the people over here.

PRESIDENT: Oh, oh, but for Christ sakes, Hoover, I mean, (unintelligible).

DEAN: Hoover never got his hands on the records is what happened. Sullivan has them, Sullivan had his, ah, his pissing match with Hoover and then took them with him at that time.

PRESIDENT: I see.

DEAN: And then he turned them over to Mardian ultimately.

PRESIDENT: I see.

DEAN: And--

PRESIDENT: That's how we got them.

DEAN: And then--

PRESIDENT: Where's Sullivan now?

DEAN: Sullivan is back at Justice in the Drug Intelligence (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: We owe him something.

DEAN: We do. He wants to go back to the Bureau and work on, ah, domestic, ah--

PRESIDENT: Why is it that Gray doesn't want him?

DEAN: I think Mark Felt has poisoned Gray on this issue and I think once Gray--

PRESIDENT: Well, who in the hell, somebody is doing Mark Felt in. You know what, do you, do you believe the Time Magazine lawyer? Is Felt (unintelligible), is he capable of this sort of thing?

DEAN: Well, let me tell you where I, where else heard that from, ah, was Sandy Smith, ah, I had told, not, not the lawyer but somebody else told Felt was his source...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: ...and this came to Henry Petersen, Petersen's an old hand over there, as you know, and, ah, bless his, soul, he's a valuable man to us. Ah--

PRESIDENT: Yeah. What did he say?

DEAN: Ah, he said that he wouldn't put it past Felt but, ah, the other thing I was talking to Kleindienst about this when I was over there, he said if Felt is the source...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: ...and if we gets Felt way out of joint we are in serious trouble.

PRESIDENT: 'Cause he knows so much?

DEAN: He knows so much.

PRESIDENT: What's he know?

DEAN: I don't know, I didn't ask for specifics with, ah, he said, one thing, he said he could knock.

PRESIDENT: Does he know about Sullivan stuff?

DEAN: Yes, he knows about that. I called Felt, asked him what he knew about it and he was, for example, very cool when I, I said "There's a Time Magazine story running, Mark, ah, that in '68...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: or, or '69 and '70...

PRESIDENT: Yes.

DEAN: and so on and so forth. He said, I "True or false?" and, he said, "True" I said, "How do you know that?" and I said, "I've never heard of that before." He said, "Well, if you talk to Bill Sullivan, he'll tell you all about it." When he did he, sort of a general, he painted a general picture about it. Ah, just cool as a cucumber about it. Ah--

PRESIDENT: And what does he say about Time, again, how does he, is he gonna stand up for the denial?

DEAN: He says, "John, " he said, ah, I said "First of all, I don't, I don't believe this could happen," I was protecting us, as far as...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: ...doubting w7hat he had said. He said, "Well John, as far as I'm concerned, our, our phone call is totally off the record, we never had it," so that's a good one to watch, just right there.

PRESIDENT: In other words, you can't blow the whistle on Felt, just like you can't blow the whistle on the son-of-a-bitch out there, the yeoman, in the Jack Anderson case, right?

DEAN: That's right, but there will become, ah, there will come a day when Gray's comfortably in there, when other things come past, that ah--

PRESIDENT: Like what?

DEAN: I think that Gray called at some point when, if this sort of thing continues, once he gets through his confirmation, I don't know why he couldn't himself say "I'm gonna take a lie detector test and I'm gonna ask everybody in my immediate shop to take one and then we're gonna go out and ask some of the other agents to take them..."

PRESIDENT: Just for leakage.

DEAN: "...as for leakage, because this, this only hurts, ah, this whole institution."

(Pause)

PRESIDENT: Where do you, ah, where do you stand on the, how will we leave it on Kleindienst hears with regard to the, that's what there, ah, let me put it this way. You take the responsibility for Kleindienst, I'm gonna keep Ehrlichman and Haldeman out of it--out of their any relationship with Kleindienst. You should have it only, but you've got to watch him and brace him--, on the Executive Privilege thing, that you, that you tell him what the line is...

DEAN: I have, I have...

PRESIDENT: ...and where he's to stand.

DEAN: I have told him and I've s-, I said "It's gonna be important."

PRESIDENT: Didn't he raise the idea of their hurrying the Executive Session refusal?

DEAN: No, he did not.

PRESIDENT: All right. Be sure he knows what the, back up position is, which is (unintelligible), as I understand it, if we went in there under proper ah, ah, restrictions, allow, uh, two committee members to come down. Is that what you would do?

DEAN: I think we wo-, ought, if I think we ought to draw the line at written interrogatories. I think the position should be that you were holding nothing back, information wise.

PRESIDENT: That would be sworn.

DEAN: That's right, that would be sworn, uh, you can't be in a position of protecting any, anybody around here.

PRESIDENT: That's right.

DEAN: The information has to be available. But to go up there and make a circus out of the appearance of, of people--

PRESIDENT: Right.

DEAN: Ah--

PRESIDENT: Good, well let me say about ah, about Felt, it sounds as if he knows, it sounds as if maybe he's--

DEAN: Kind of watch it like a hawk, Mr. President...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: ...and I just got to watch him, ah, he's too close to Pat Gray right now...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: ...for our interests.

PRESIDENT: Pat Gray is a little naive. (Sensitive Material Deleted)

DEAN: Yeah. Well I think it's--

PRESIDENT: And he never ever has anything wrong, find out some interesting facts, but, ah, nothing ever used. I mean we just were awful careful. Joe Kraft, of course, should have been bugged. I would think the son-of-a-bitch is, ah, practically an agent to the communists.

DEAN: Well, what you said about Bob and John too, I think, as before the election, I tried to only bother them or consume any of their time when it was just absolutely essential.

PRESIDENT: Right.

DEAN: And I think that's the way it's been.

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

DEAN: He, ah

Unidentified: (Unintelligible) is here.

PRESIDENT: Fine, fine.

HALDEMAN: Did he buzz?

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PRESIDENT: I buzzed twice, that means they, for 'em to come in. (Unintelligible) buzz (unintelligible) that means.

HALDEMAN: Apparently the phones aren't working properly.

PRESIDENT: Oh fine, sure, sure, sure, have 'em come right in. Right there (Unintelligible with noise)

DEAN: Well, sir, I'll get that statement on executive privilege.

PRESIDENT: If you could, uh, if you could, uh, do your best to, uh, if you could keep me posted on (unintelligible) everything that way you need to but particularly with relation to Kleindienst. Okay?