



TRANSCRIPT PREPARED BY THE IMPEACHMENT
INQUIRY STAFF FOR THE HOUSE JUDICIARY
COMMITTEE OF A RECORDING OF A MEETING AMONG
THE PRESIDENT, JOHN DEAN AND H.R. HALDEMAN
ON MARCH 13, 1973, FROM 12:42 TO 2:00 P.M.

July 8, 1974

TRANSCRIPT PREPARED BY THE IMPEACHMENT
INQUIRY STAFF FOR THE HOUSE JUDICIARY
COMMITTEE OF A RECORDING OF A MEETING AMONG
THE PRESIDENT, JOHN DEAN AND H.R. HALDEMAN
ON MARCH 13, 1973, FROM 12:42 TO 2:00 P.M.*

HALDEMAN: Say, did you raise the question with the President on, on, uh, Colson as a consultant?

DEAN: No, I didn't.

HALDEMAN: Was that somebody [unintelligible]?

DEAN: It was -the thought was --

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: well [unintelligible] it's a consultant without doing any consulting -Yeah.

HALDEMAN: He wanted it [unintelligible]

DEAN: He wants it for continued protection on, uh--

HALDEMAN: Solely for the purposes of, of executive privilege protection. So that--

DEAN: One of those things that's kept down in the personnel office, and nothing's done on it.

*The quotation marks used in this transcript are for convenience and do not indicate verbatim quotation by the speaker.

PRESIDENT: What happens to Chapin?

DEAN: Well, Chapin doesn't have quite the same problems appearing that Colson will.

HALDEMAN: Yeah but -you have the same, you, you have the same problems as Chapin appearing versus Colson.

PRESIDENT: U411, can't -That would be such an obvious fraud to have both of them as consultants, that that won't work. I think he's right. Uh, you'd have to leave Chapin --

HALDEMAN: Well, you can't make Chapin a consultant, I -we've already said he's not,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: Icause we wanted the separation. The question is, if he -are, are you then, going to let As of now, the way they have interpreted executive privilege, is that you are not going to let Chapin testify,

PRESIDENT: Anybody.

HALDEMAN: because it applies to executive privilege but

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

HALDFJW: by the former people in relation to matters while they were here.

DEAN: And the problem area is that Chuck --

HALDEMAN: That same thing would apply to Colson.

DEAN: Well, yes, if Chuck were truly going to be doing nothing from the, this day on.

HALDEMAN: That's right. He's concerned about what he's doing. Colson's concerned about what he's doing from now on, and he would apply the consulting thing to what, to if he were called regarding actions taken now

DEAN: That's right.

HALDEMAN: that relate to Watergate actions.

DEAN: Probably 'cause, because [unintelligible] he will be out stirring up, you know, uh, counter-news attacks and things of this nature and --

PRESIDENT: Jesus Christ. Is he supposed to do that and be consulting with the President on it?

DEAN: No, no. But he's consulting, uh, it's a, you know, wide open consultantship. It doesn't mean he consults with you.

HALDEMAN: Your idea was just to put this in the drawer, in case [unintelligible]

DEAN: Put it in the drawer, and then

PRESIDENT: Not decide it.

HALDEMAN: Uh, it would be a consultant without pay.

DEAN: I'd even tell Chuck that, uh, that, well, just tell Chuck something,

HALDEMAN: Better not tell Chuck. Chuck's [unintelligible]

DEAN: is, there is something in the drawer. And just say we --

PRESIDENT: There is no reason to tell Chuck is there? Why -I would, I would tell him that, uh, for -he's not to say anything, frankly.

HALDEMAN: The point would be to date it back last Saturday, so it, it's continuous.

DEAN: Continuous.

PRESIDENT: That, that is his consultant fee stopped, for the present time, but he's still available for purposes of consulting on various problems and the like.

DEAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: Unpaid consultant?

DEAN: Yes.

[Laughter]

HALDEMAN: We have some of those.

PRESIDENT: Good ones.

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Well, uh -What are the latest developments Bob should get something on?

DEAN: Yeah. Uh -

PRESIDENT: Before going into that uh, uh, I was wondering on that, on that, [unintelligible] jackassery about some kid who was in filtrating peace groups, which of course is perfectly proper. Christ, I hope they were. I would hope, I would expect we were heavily infiltrated that way, too.

DEAN: The only, the only problem there, Mr. President, is that --

PRESIDENT: Did he get paid?

DEAN: Uh, he was paid, uh --

PRESIDENT: By check?

DEAN: Uh, he was paid by personal check of another person over there who, in turn, was taking it out of expense money. Uh, when the ultimate source of the money -as best, as quickly as we've been able to trace it -was pre-April 7th money. Uh, there, there could be some potential embarrassment for Ken Reitz, uh, along the way.

PRESIDENT: Oh. Working for him.

DEAN: So he is -But I, I, I think it's a confined situation. Obviously it's something that's going to come up with the Ervin hearings, but, uh, it's not, not another new Liddy-Hunt, uh, operation.

PRESIDENT: Well, it's such a shit-ass way to think.

DEAN: Oh, it is.

PRESIDENT: For Christ sake

DEAN: It is.

PRESIDENT: I mean, uh, what, what happened to the kid? Did he just, uh, decide to be a hero?

DEAN: That's right. He apparently chatted about it around school, and the word got out, and he got confronted with it and he knew he'd chatted about it, so there he was. It's, uh, absurd; it really is. He didn't do anything illegal. Uh-

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]. Apparently you haven't been able to do anything on my

DEAN: But I have, sir --

PRESIDENT: project of take the offensive

DEAN: No, to the contrary.

PRESIDENT: based on Sullivan.

DEAN: No, uh -

PRESIDENT: Did you kick a few butts around?

DEAN: Uh, I have all of the information that we have finished -that we've collected. There is some there, and, uh, I've turned it over to Baroody. Baroody is having a speech drafted for Barry Goldwater. And there's enough material there to make a rather sensational speech just by: "Why in the hell isn't somebody looking into what happened to President Nixon when, during his campaign look at these events. How do you explain these? Where are the answers to these questions?" Uh, there's enough of a thread, I've--

PRESIDENT: Double standard.

DEAN: Yeah, and I've, I've pulled all the information--

PRESIDENT: Also, the Senator then should also present it to the, uh, to the Ervin Committee and demand that that be included.

DEAN: A letter -

PRESIDENT: He Is a Senator,

DEAN: What I'm working on now
PRESIDENT: a senator
DEAN: is a letter to Senator Ervin saying, "This has come to my attention, and why shouldn't, uh, why shouldn't this be a part of the inquiry?" And he can spring out of '64 and then quickly to '72. And, and we've got a pretty good speech, uh, Baroody tells me, if we can get out our material.
PRESIDENT: Good.
DEAN: So it's in the mill.
HALDEMAN: Good. [Unintelligible] friends have you got [unintelligible]
DEAN: That's right.
PRESIDENT: Thank God.
HANDEMAN: Why has there never been [unintelligible] come up and did it before?
PRESIDENT: Just wasn't enough stuff. They couldn't get anybody to pay any attention. For example, the investigations were supposed to have been taken for the thirty-four million-odd contributed to McGovern in small Oh Christ, there's a lot of hanky-panky in there, and the records used on it are just too bad to find out anything.

DEAN: That's one of the problems that he has--

PRESIDENT: That's the problem, and can that be an issue?

DEAN: That will be an issue. That we have -There is a crew working that, also.

PRESIDENT: Do you need any IRS [unintelligible] stuff?

DEAN: Uh Not at the --

WAITER: Would you care for some coffee?

DEAN: No, thank you, I'm fine. Uh, there is no need at this hour for anything from IRS, and we have a couple of sources over there that I can go to. I don't have to fool around with Johnnie Walters or anybody, we can get right in and get what we need.

PRESIDENT: Talk to Elliot Gompers [phonetic].

DEAN: I've, I've been preparing the, uh, the answers for the briefing book and I just raised this with Ron, uh. It's my estimation, for what it's worth, that probably this week will draw more Watergate questions than any other week you're likely to see, uh, given the Gray hearings, the new revelations about they're not new, but they're now substantiated -about Kalmbach and Chapin that have been in the press.

PRESIDENT: To the effect of what? They--

DEAN: That Chapin directed Kalmbach to pay Segretti, the alleged saboteur, somewhere between thirty-five and forty thousand dollars. Uh, there is an awful lot of that out in the press now.

PRESIDENT: Yeah

DEAN: There is also the question of Dean appearing, not appearing -Dean's role.. There was more stories in the Post this morning that are absolutely inaccurate, Uh, about my turning information over to the Re-election Committee for uh, uh -some woman over there, Mrs. Hoback, signed an affidavit, gave it to Birch Bayh, said that I was, uh, brought into Mardian's, Bob Mardian's office within forty-eight hours after a private interview I had with the Bureau, and confronted with it. How did they know that? Well, it came from internal sources over there, is how they knew it

PRESIDENT: From what?

DEAN: Internal sources -this girl had told others that she was doing this, and they just told, uh, just quickly filled her to the top when she was out on her own.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible]

DEAN: She did. Said we had two or three of those.

PRESIDENT: Why did she do that? Was she mad?

DEAN: She's a registered Democrat.

PRESIDENT: Why did we take her in?

DEAN: I'll -To this day, I do not understand what she was doing. And she was --

PRESIDENT: Who was she working for?

DEAN: She worked in Stans' operation.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] that was a bright move.

DEAN: it wasn't a good move. He had -in fact, that was one of our problems, was the, uh, the little pocket of women that worked for Maury Stans. No doubt about it, that was things would have sailed a lot smoother without that pack. Not that they had anything that was devastating.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Well, now, with regard to the questions, and so forth, sure, uh, it would be my opinion, though, not to, not to dodge it just because there are going to be questions.

DEAN: Well, it's going to be -You're probably going to get more

questions this week. And the tough questions. And some of them don't have easy answers. For example, did Haldeman know that, uh, there was a Don Segretti out there? That question is, is likely.

PRESIDENT: Did he? I don't know.

DEAN: He had, he had knowledge that there was somebody in the field doing prankster-type activities.

PRESIDENT: Uh huh.

DEAN: Uh --

PRESIDENT: So I don't know that. [Unintelligible]

DEAN: So at this -I mean that's the other thing --

PRESIDENT: Yes, but what about, what about my taking, uh, basically, just trying to have to fight this thing at one time. I can fight it later, but it's not going to get any better. I don't think that the way to get into this, did he know or not, I think the thing to say "This is a matter being considered by a committee and I'm not going to comment upon it while it's being -I don't want to get into the business of taking each charge that comes up in the Committee and commenting on it. It is being considered by, and it's being investigated. I'm not going to comment on it."

DEAN: Well, that's, that's exactly the way I drafted these. I have kept them general answers.

PRESIDENT: And I just cut them off. No. If I start getting, I think, John, if I start breaking dawn -it's like on the Court thing -the Watergate stuff, I'm not going to comment on it. I know all of these questions. "'I am not going to comment on that. That's a matter for the Committee to determine.'" Then, I'll repeat the fact that I, as far as the Watergate matter is concerned, there was no knowledge there, I am not going to comment on anything else. Let the Committee find out. What would you say? You don't agree?

DEAN: Well, uh, the bottom line, on, on a draft that -before I came over for [laughs] lunch -was, well, if you have nothing to hide, Mr. President, here at the White House, why aren't you willing to spread on the record everything you know about it? Why doesn't the Dean Report be made public? Why doesn't everyone come out? Why does Ziegler stand out there and bob and weave, and no-comment? That's, that's the bottom line.

PRESIDENT: Well, all right. What do you say to that?

DEAN: Well --

PRESIDENT: You -we are furnishing information. We will do something.

DEAN: I think we -well, of course, we have --

PRESIDENT: We have cooperated.

DEAN: We have cooperated with the FBI in the investigation of the Watergate.

PRESIDENT: That's right.

DEAN: We will cooperate with the investigation of, a proper investigation by the Senate.

PRESIDENT: Right. We will make statements.

DEAN: And, indeed, we have nothing to hide.

PRESIDENT: We have furnished information; we have nothing to hide. So we have [unintelligible] have to handle it.

DEAN: Uh huh.

PRESIDENT: What else can we do, really. I mean, we can't -you see, I can't be in the position of basically hunkering down because we got a lot of tough questions on Watergate, and not go out

DEAN: True.

PRESIDENT: and, and talk on other issues because they're going to be, they're embarrassing. It's not going to get better. It's going to get worse. Do you agree?

DEAN: That's--I would agree. I think it's cyclic somewhat. I think after the Gray thing takes one course one way or the other, there'll be a dead period of news on Watergate until the Ervin hearings start again.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: Uh, this has obviously sparked the news again.

PRESIDENT: Well, let me just, just run over the questions again. Now, isn't it best, "What about Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Segretti, and so forth." "That's a matter which is being considered by a Senate committee; I'm not going to comment on it." That's true, isn't it?

DEAN: That's correct. That's specifically

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: spelled out in their resolution that they will--

PRESIDENT: I am not going to comment on that one [unintelligible] being considered by a committee. [Unintelligible] as I have already indicated. Uh, I am just not going to comment on it. You already indicated my views on the Watergate thing.

DEAN: Did Mr. Chapin's departure have something to do with his involvement with Segretti?

PRESIDENT: No. The answer's "No". And, uh, "But what about, uh, what about Mr. Dean?"]My position is the same: "We going to be -We were We've been cooperative. We cooperated with the Justice Department, with the FBI completely -in trying to, in furnishing information that was relevant in this matter. We will cooperate with the Committee under the rules that I have laid out in my st--my statement on executive privilege." Period. Now what else? Let's see.

DEAN: Well, then, you'll get a barrage of questions probably on, will you supply, will Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Dean go up to the Committee and testify?

PRESIDENT: No. Absolutely not.

DEAN: Mr. Colson.

PRESIDENT: No. No.

DEAN: I think that's -

PRESIDENT: No. Absolutely not. I No. It isn't a question of, the question is not under what, uh, or somebody, or Ziegler, or somebody had said that, uh, that we, we in our executive privilege statement it was interpreted as

being that we would not furnish information. Oh, well. We said we will furnish information, but we're not going to publicly testify. That's the position. But, will Dean, and all the rest, will they furnish, you'll furnish information, won't you?

DEAN: Yes. Indeed I will.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Sure.

DEAN: Well, I think possibly by the time--

PRESIDENT: See, that's what I do. My feeling, John, is that I better hit it now, frankly, as tough as it is, and, uh, rather than just let it build up to where we, we're afraid of these questions and everybody and so forth, and let Ziegler get out there and bob and weave around. I know the easier thing is just to bug out, but I'd rather hit it now.

DEAN: You're right. I was afraid for the sake of debate, 'cause I was having reservations. And, uh,

PRESIDENT: I think so.

DEAN: uh, it is a, it, it's a bullet-biter and you just got to do it, and, because they're not going to go away, the questions. Now the other thing that we talked about in

the past, and I, I still have the same problem, is to have sort of a "Well, here it all is" approach. Uh, if we do that -

PRESIDENT: And let it all hang out.

DEAN: And let it all hang out, uh,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: uh, let's say with the Segretti situation -

PRESIDENT: I guess, I guess if we were going to do that, we have passed that point.

DEAN: We have passed that point plus the fact, they're not going to believe the truth. That's the incredible thing.

PRESIDENT: They won't believe the truth, they don't even believe when they convicted seven people.

DEAN: That's right. They will continually try to say that there is [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: They'll say, "Haldeman did it." And then they'll say I did it.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: I don't think they'll get to that point. They might question his political savvy, but not mine. Not on a matter like that.

DEAN: [Laughs]. No. Well, the thing on Sullivan which I have. Sullivan, uh, who as I told you, and, have been prompting him and I said, "Bill, I would like, for my own use, to have a list of some of the horrors that you're aware of." Well, he hasn't responded back to me, but he sent me a note yesterday saying that, "John, I am willing at any time to testify to what I know if you want me to." What he has, as we already know, has got a certain degree of, uh -it's a, it's a dynamite situation what he's got already the '68 bugging, the surveillance that Goldwater [unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: It's not -we [unintelligible] on the '68 bugging, that it was ordered, but he doesn't know whether it was carried out.

DEAN: That's right. Uh

PRESIDENT: But at least he will say that

DEAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: Tell them, for example, I mean I

DEAN: I would think --

PRESIDENT: That kind of thing.

DEAN: Well, I've never talked to Bill about this so it must be --

I've never really gone into detail, because he's always been very up close about it, but he is-now getting to the point if, if~,lwyw wanted him to do this, someone -and I don't think the White House should do it -should sit down with him and really take him over cross-examination of what he does know and, and how strong it is, what he can, can substantiate.

PRESIDENT: John, who the hell could do it if you don't?

DEAN: Well, that's, that's probably -there's no one. That's the, uh --

PRESIDENT: That's the problem.

DEAN: That's the problem. Now, the other thing is, if we were going to use a tactic like this: Let's say in the Gray hearings

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: where everything is cast that, that we're, we're, that we're the political people and they're not -that Hoover was above reproach, which is just not accurate.

PRESIDENT: Bull shit. Bull shit.

DEAN: Total bull shit. The, uh, the person who could, would destroy 1 Hoover's Image is going to be this man, Bill Sullivan. Uh, that's what's at stake there. Also, it's going to tarnish quite severely, uh--

PRESIDENT: Some of the FBI.

DEAN: some of the FBI. And a former President.

PRESIDENT: Fine.

DEAN: Uh, he's going to lay it out, and he, it's just all hell is going to break loose once he does it. It's going to change the atmosphere of the Gray hearings. It's going to change the whole atmosphere of the Watergate hearings.

PRESIDENT: Not much.

DEAN: Now the risk

PRESIDENT: How will it change, John?

DEAN: How will it change? Because it'll put them in context that, that, uh, a government institute was used in the past for the most flagrant political purposes.

PRESIDENT: Hoow does that help us?

DEAN: How does it help us?

PRESIDENT: I'm being, I'm just being --

DEAN: Yeah, I, I appreciate what you are doing.

PRESIDENT: Red herring. Is that what you mean?

DEAN: Yes. It's a, it's a red herring. It's what the public already believes. It's just that people would just, I would say react, that, oh Christ, more of that stuff. Uh, they're all, you know, they're all bad down there. Because it's a one way street right now --

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: Pardon.

PRESIDENT: Do you think the press would use it? They may not play it.

DEAN: It'd be difficult not to. Uh, it'd be difficult not to.

PRESIDENT: Why is it that Sullivan'd be willing to do this?

DEAN: I think the, the quid pro quo with Sullivan is that he wants someday back in the Bureau very badly.

PRESIDENT: That's easy.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Do you think after he did this to the Bureau that they'd want him back? "They," if there is a "they."

DEAN: Uh, probably not. But I think that, uh, he could also possibly do -What, what Bill Sullivan's desire in life

is, is to set up a national, or domestic national security intelligence system, a plan, a program. He says we're deficient. Uh, we've never been ef--, efficient, since Hoover lost his guts several years ago. If you recall, he and Tom Huston worked an it. Uh, Tom Huston had your instruction to go out and do it. Then the whole thing just crumbled.

PRESIDENT: Do you think Hoover would have cooperated?

DEAN: That's all Sullivan really wants. Even if we just put him off studying it for a couple of years, we could put him out in the CIA or some place else where he felt --

PRESIDENT: Put him there; we'll do it.

DEAN: I think that's what the answer is. I've never really--

PRESIDENT: No problem with Sullivan. We'll put him -I mean, he's a valuable man. Uh, now, would the FBI then turn on him, piss on him?

DEAN: There would be some effort at that. That's right, they would say he's disgruntled. He was canned by Hoover. He is angry, he's coming back. But that would kind of, I would think a lot of that would be lost in the, uh, in the shuffle of what he is laying out. I don't know if he's given me his best yet. I don't know if he's got more

ammunition than [unintelligible] he has already told me. Those were just a couple off-the-cuff remarks.

PRESIDENT: And that's why you said that -Why do you think he is now telling you this? Why is he doing this now?

DEAN: Well, the way it came out is, when I, when the Time Magazine article broke on the fact that it charged that the White House had directed that newsmen and White House staff people be, uh, subject to some sort of surveillance for national security reasons, I called, in tracking down what had happened, I called Sullivan and I said, "Bill, you'd better come over and talk to me about that and tell me what you know." I was calling-him to really determine if he was a leak. That's one of the reasons. I was curious to know where this might have come from because he was the operative man at the Bureau at the time. He's the one who did it. Uh, he would not, you know, he came over and he was shocked and, uh, distraught, and, and the like [unintelligible] his own, uh, uh, his own [unintelligible] [laughs] frankly, uh, and then, and after going through his explanation of all what had happened, he started volunteering this other

thing. He said, "John, what, this is the only thing I can think of during this Administration that has any taint of political use but it doesn't really bother me 'cause it was a national security purpose. These people worked --there was sensitive material that was getting out, was getting out to reporters."

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] what we ordered?

DEAN: That's right

PRESIDENT: Of course, [unintelligible] the stuff was involved in the God damned Vietnam War.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: That's what it was.

NOTE: At this point, a portion of the discussion has been deleted.

DEAN: But he said, "John, what does bother me is that you all have been portrayed as politically using--"

PRESIDENT: And we never did.

DEAN: And we never have. He said the Eisenhower Administration didn't either. The only

PRESIDENT: Never.

DEAN: times that he can recall that there has been a real political use has been during Democratic tenure. I said, "For example, Bill, what are you talking about?" Then he told me this example of, of, uh, the Walter Jenkins affair, when DeLoach

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: and, and Fortas, and --

PRESIDENT

and DEAN: [Unintelligible]

PRESIDENT: The Kennedys, the Kennedys used it, let me say, politically on that steel thing.

DEAN: That's right

PRESIDENT: That was not, that was not a national security, was it?

DEAN: No. Now I asked, uh, I asked somebody about that and they told me that what happened there is that, uh they were being defensive of Kennedy, and so that the person who would defend Kennedy necessarily -was saying that Kennedy had given Hoover orders and Hoover, being typical in his response, tried to get it yesterday as far as the answer

for the President. And that's why he sent people out in the middle of the night and the blame really fell on Hoover. And, and this might be [unintelligible]-over there though, who knows.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: Well, that's right.

PRESIDENT: It's still wrong.

DEAN: That's right. Sure.

PRESIDENT: Good God. Can you imagine if somebody -steel company that had raised hell about, uh, or an automobile company, about, something, silly thing, Ruckelshaus does, and we send FBI agents out to arrest? Jesus Christ, now. Does he know about the bugging of Martin Luther King?

DEAN: Yep.

PRESIDENT: I wonder if he'd tell that, that would be good.

DEAN: I think he would tell everything he knows.

PRESIDENT: You do?

DEAN: Uh huh. That's why I'm saying he is, he is, he is a trem-he's a bomb. Uh, now the fact is --

PRESIDENT:

You really have to keep telling --

DEAN:

well, if that's, that's the, the real problem is, how it's structured, how can it be done. Uh, he sent me this note and I called up and I said, "Bill, I appreciate getting that note very much." I said, "It takes a lot of guts to send a note like that to me." And he said I said, "It's kind of a pleasure to see a man stand up, blowing a little smoke up him and the like." Uh, he said, "Well, John, I mean it. I am perfectly willing to do anything you want. If you want me to go up and testify, I will." I said, "Well, how much, you have just given me some tidbits that you, in our conversation and I would really like to again repeat: Can you put together what you do know; just for your own use right now, just put it together on a pad, go through all your recollections; and then also tell me how you can substantiate it, and, what kind of cross-examination you might be subject to on it if you did testify." So he is doing that. Now, the question I've, I've had is, how in the world can we program something like this? The, wa--I, I just have a feeling that it would be bad for one Bill Sullivan to quietly appear up on, uh, on some Senator's doorstep, and say, "I've got some information you ought to have." "Well, where did you get

it? Where -why are you up here?" "The White House sent me." That would be bad. The other thing is, maybe this information could be brought to the attention of the White House, and the White House could say to the, uh, to, uh, Eastland, "I think you ought to call an executive session and hear his testimony. This is quite troublesome, the information that has been presented to us. It's so troublesome, we can't hold it here and hope to, uh, and rest comfortable."

PRESIDENT: Why, why on the other hand doesn't he just present it to Eastland? I mean, uh -Why executive session? That doesn't serve --

DEAN: Well it would, one, because you're trying -The first approach would be not to destroy the Bureau, not to tarnish the name. It's going to leak out of there, though, quite obviously. If it doesn't, we'd make sure it did. Uh [coughs] If, if, uh, Sullivan went up to Eastland cold and just said, or Hruska, I would think they would say, "Go on back down to the Department of Justice where you work, and let's not start all this."

PRESIDENT: Suppose another thing, Patrick Cray says to either Eastland or to, or to Hruska or anybody on that Committee Who is the tiger on the Committee on our side, on the Committee, the Judiciary Committee?

DEAN: Cook's --

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: Gurney, Gurney has been good. Gurney was good during the ITT hearings, and he -he'll study, he'll get prepared. Uh --

PRESIDENT: But, would he go after the Bureau?
[Unintelligible]

DEAN: They're not going after the Bureau. What they are doing is, they're taking the testimony of somebody who is going after the Bureau.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. I know that. I'm just thinking of the --

DEAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: They all look down the road and see what would be the result of what they are doing is, won't they? I would think so. I mean, I'm just trying, how -Would they go after Johnson? Let's look at the distant future. Uh, look at the -How bad would it hurt the country, John, to have the FBI so terribly discredited? [Unintelligible]

DEAN: [Unintelligible] I've, I've, kicked this around with Dick Moore, these, these broader questions, and, I think it would be damaging to the FBI, uh, but maybe it's time to

shake the FBI and rebuild it.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: I'm not so sure the FBI is everything it's cracked up to be. I, I'm convinced the FBI isn't everything the public thinks it is.

PRESIDENT: No.

DEAN: I know quite well.it isn't.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] if you could get, uh, Jerry.Wilson in there rather than a political appointee. What is your feeling at the moment about Gray? Can he hang in? Should he? I don't know.

DEAN: Uh --

PRESIDENT: Awfully close.

DEAN: I -they're going to vote this They have an executive session this afternoon to invite me to testify.

PRESIDENT: Sure.

DEAN: Uh, there's no question, they're going to invite me. Uh, I would say, based an how I handle the: (1) the formal letter that comes out of the Committee asking for information, and I programmed that they do get specific, just

what in the hell do they want to know that I've got, and lay it out in the letter that's sent down here asking me to appear so I can be responsive, fully --

PRESIDENT: Respond to the letter.

DEAN: Respond to the letter in full. I think I have, I feel I have nothing to hide, as far as, uh, the issue they've raised.

PRESIDENT: Would you respond under oath?

DEAN: I think I would be willing to, yes.

PRESIDENT: That's what I'd say because that's what I am preparing in the press thing. I'll say you'll respond under oath in a letter. You will not appear in a formal session.

DEAN: That's, that's our present position.

PRESIDENT: What if they say, what if they say, "Would he be willing to be questioned under oath?"

DEAN: That's not what the question is. Yes, I'd be willing to be questioned under oath, but we're not going up.

PRESIDENT: No, no. But here?

DEAN: Oh. I think that would be a hell of a bad precedent.

PRESIDENT: Okay. I just wanted to be sure we don't cross that bridge. I agree. You -but you would respond to written inter rogatories.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: That's it. Okay.

DEAN: Now, uh, after, after that, if we've been responsive, their argument for holding up Gray's confirmation based on me is, should be gone. Sure, they're going to say it raises more questions than it answers, but if we're but that can go on forever. We've taken the central points they want answers to, given them the responses, that puts something in Eastland's hand that can say, 'All right, it's timei it's time to vote.'" And Eastland says he's got the votes to get Gray through. Now, but what haipens on the Senate Floor is something else, 'cause Byrd is opposing Gray. Byrd's got good control of that Southern bloc.

PRESIDENT: Not totally.

DEAN: No.

PRESIDENT: Byrd is running for leader of the whole Senate. A lot of them may desert him on this.

DEAN: But Mansfield, on the other hand, of course, has come out

and said that he favors, initially he supported Gray's, uh, confirmation.

PRESIDENT: My feeling is that they would like [unintelligible] I think that they'd like to have a, an excuse not to do it. Maybe they'll use, not you, but all this crap about hearings [unintelligible]

DEAN: Well if they say, if they say they have to hold up Cray's confirmation until the Watergate hearings are completed --

PRESIDENT: Oh That's great.

DEAN: That's the vehicle

PRESIDENT: The best of both worlds for us, John,

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: because Gray, in my opinion, should not be the head of the FBI. Not because of any character or other flaws or thoughtless flaws, but because he is going to be too much like Kleindienst. After going through the hell of the hearing, he will not be a good Director, as far as we're concerned.

DEAN: I think that's probably true. He'll be a, he'll be a very suspect Director. Not that I don't think Pat won't do what we want. I, I read him a little differently than

Dick in that regard. Like he's still keeping close touch with me. He's calling me. He's given me his private line. We talk at night, just how do you want me to handle this, so and so forth. So he still plays, playing in tight, and still being involved. But I think he--

PRESIDENT: But he couldn't do it.

DEAN: But he can't do it. He's under, he's going to be under such surveillance by his own people' watch every move he's making -uh, that'll be the difficult thing for Pat. Not that Pat wouldn't want to still play ball, but he may not be able to.

PRESIDENT: I agree. That's what I meant.

DEAN: Pat has already gotten himself, himself, in a situation where he's got this Mark Felt as his number two man. These other people are surrounding him. If you put a guy like Jerry Wilson in there he could just, you know, wipe this, and say, "Gentlemen, I'm putting my own team in, and I'm going to bring people in I've met around the country who are good office directors; SAC's out of Chicago," wherever, and just put his own team together for the, for the Headquarter's Office.

PRESIDENT: So where do you come out?

DEAN: Gray's already been locked into, to major personnel decisions. I wouldn't be surprised to see [unintelligible] occur if they say, that they cannot go forward with Gray's hearings because of the Watergate.

PRESIDENT: Where would that be done, John, at what point in the Committee or on the Floor or both?

DEAN: It could happen. It would certainly be voted on first in the, uh, uh, in the Committee, in the Judiciary Committee.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: The question is, then, whether, uh, it'll be put on the calendar by the leadership. I assume that that's --

PRESIDENT: The leadership might determine that we will not put it on the calendar until after the Watergate hearings.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Then we could then, Gray could then come in and say I will not wait that long.

DEAN: And they'll -when they -you're "This, you're, this is damaging to the leadership of the FBI, and I will have to withdraw based on this." What would be nice for all would be to get Gray voted out of the Committee

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: with a, with a positive vote, uh, enough to get him out of Committee, and then lock him at limbo there.

PRESIDENT: What is Moore's judgment about Sullivan? Does he know?

DEAN: Yeah, he's, uh, uh, he says it's a piece of dynamite. He says it depends and we both agree, that it, it -the way it would be done would be a secret, whether it was done. Whether -this isn't the sort of thing we could just leap out and do. Have to be very carefully thought through. Have to be -have to-decide in advance should the White House not be involved or should we be involved? If we're going to play with it, we are going to probably have to say that we were involved and structure it in a way that there is nothing improper with our involvement.

PRESIDENT: The difficulty with the White House being involved is that if we are involved in pissing on Johnson, [unintelligible] that concerns me.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: That's why it really ought to be, I mean -If he could just

DEAN: I suppose the answer is saying, to, to have him -to say to him

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: You've got, you know, this is something
-"What you've, you've intimated a few things
to me, uh. The proper place to take that
information is to the Senate Judiciary
Committee or to the Attorney General,
possibly." And then have Dick take it to
the Committee. Or is that too close to the
President, still?

PRESIDENT: First hand, if he takes it to the Committee,
it's better if the Committee's conducting a
hearing. [Unintelligible] Wait a minute, he
works for the Attorney General, doesn't he.

DEAN: That's right. If he takes it to
Kleindienst, Kleindienst is going to say,
"Bill, just don't do it because you are
going to take DeLoach's name down with it,
and DeLoach is a friend of ours."

PRESIDENT: Bull shit.

DEAN: Something I have always questioned.

PRESIDENT: Nobody is a friend of ours. Let's face it.
Don't worry about that sort of thing.

DEAN: Well, it's something I will, tag I think I
ought to [unintelligible] kick around with
Dick Moore, 'cause --

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: But first of all, I've got to, uh, just have to be thought through every inch of the way. It came here

PRESIDENT: Sure.

DEAN: late yesterday afternoon.

PRESIDENT: Sure.

DEAN: It was not -Bob said, uh, when I talked to him, he said he was quite excited about it, as Ehrlichman said, gave a very favorable "Uh huh." Uh, and I said, "Well, I'm not going to rush anything on this. It's -We've a little bomb here that we might want to drop at one

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: point down the road."

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah.

DEAN: Maybe, maybe the forum to do it is something totally out of the Committee context between the Gray confirmation hearings and the Watergate hearings. Maybe let him go over to U.S. News, or, who knows what it would be, but we ought to consider every option, now that we've got it, and see if --

PRESIDENT: Rather than doing it in a hearing, doing it in the press. Then that will force the hearing to call him. That's another way you can do on this. Have him be selected to

DEAN: Give an interview.

PRESIDENT: to give an interview. I would do it in U.S. News. Do it in [unintelligible] wire service guy or something. A respected damn reporter. Why not go to a jackass like Mollenhoff? No, he's too close to us.

DEAN: Well, that's interesting. Now, Mollenhoff is, is close but by God, you can't program Mollenhoff to do anything.

PRESIDENT: No.

DEAN: And if, uh

PRESIDENT: No. And also, we are in a position on Mollenhoff, who's been fighting us some, that maybe, maybe Mollenhoff would be a pretty good prospect for this thing because it's the kind of a story he loves, he digs on some. You couldn't tell him, however, uh [unintelligible] story part. Or Sullivan just goes to talk to him, says, "Well, now, hell, you're a hell of a, hell of a guy, and, uh, I just want to tell you a few things."

DEAN: or, can you call Clark and say -can I call Clark and say, "Listen, Clark, a guy has brought me a piece of dynamite I don't even want in the White House"?

PRESIDENT: He will write that, though, won't he?

DEAN: Yeah. Because that'd look like that's a set-up deal. Well, Clark Mollenhoff is the first guy to uncover

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: [unintelligible) anything, and he will say no way.

PRESIDENT: But he's willing to do it.

DEAN: Uh huh.

PRESIDENT: That's very important, at least.

DEAN: Uh huh.

PRESIDENT: Broadens the scope. Getting to the bottom of the whole thing, don't you feel that that's the need here is to broaden the scope of the damned thing, instead of --

DEAN: The focus is right on us. That's the problem.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Nothing on the Democrats, and nothing,

DEAN: Nothing.

PRESIDENT: nothing on what the previous three Administrations did

DEAN: Nothing. It's making,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: well, it, it -of course it's still a Washington story. You go out of this city

PRESIDENT: I know.

DEAN: and you can't find anybody that even knows what's happening. Although it's increased in the network coverage. That NBC thing last night, which is just a travesty as far as --the very thing Ron was talking about, about shabby Journalism. They took the worst edited clips they could, out of context, to respond to things they would say on the lead and they would have a little clip of Ron saying, "Well, I deny that.'" And he was denying something totally other than what they were talking about in their charge. It was incredible. Someone is going through and putting that all together right now, and, Ron ought to be able to have a field day back with that one on NBC. It was just ver--, it was very, very dishonest television reporting of a sequence of events. It was out of sequence.

PRESIDENT: Well, you see, John -Yeah. I know the situation. Ervin gets up there and, you know, gassing around, he was huffing and puffing about his being a great Constitutional lawyer and all. I guess it just makes us wonder about our first decision, doesn't it, (unintelligible] about sending Gray up. Probably a mistake, but then, we didn't anticipate --

DEAN: Well --

PRESIDENT: Or you think not. Who knows?

DEAN: Who knows? That's right. Uh, if you didn't send him up, why didn't you send him up. Because he was

PRESIDENT: Right. I know. That's what they

DEAN: That's true.

PRESIDENT: That's what they -- You send somebody else up to take them on, not a big clown. You know what I mean?

DEAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: I won't even announce any [unintelligible]. I think the problem is, the reason that the Senate was not [unintelligible] being reasonable was because [unintelligible] a lot of this stuff hanging out there [unintelligible] Ervin Committee.

DEAN: Well, we, you know, one, one thing is that I, the saturation level of the American people on this story is [laughs] depressing. Pretty close in fact (laughs) the saturation level in this city is getting pretty high now. They can't take too much more of this stuff.

PRESIDENT: Think not?

DEAN: Nothing, nothing really new is coming out.

PRESIDENT: Some kid, they said-I don't think that anybody, incidentally, will care about somebody infiltrating the peace movement that was demonstrating against the President, particularly on the war in Vietnam. Do you think so?

DEAN: No.

PRESIDENT: Anyway, I don't care about that. What happened to this Texas guy that took his money back? Was he --

DEAN: All hell broke loose for him after. This was Allen.

PRESIDENT: No, no. Allen -yeah.

DEAN: Allen, not Duncan, there were two

PRESIDENT: Nothing to do [unintelligible]

DEAN: [Unintelligible]. All hell broke loose for Allen for this reason: He, uh, uh -The money apparently originally came out of a subsidiary of one of Allen's corporations down in Mexico. It went to a lawyer in Mexico who put it down as a fee billed to the subsidiary. Then the, then the lawyer, the Mexican lawyer, sent it back into the States, and it came back up here. But, the weakness of

it is, is, uh, the Mexican lawyer: (1) didn't have a legitimate fee; (2) it could be corporate contribution. So Allen wanted; and Allen had personally put a note up with the corporation to cover it. But Allen is meanwhile having problems with his wife, and a divorce is pending, and tax problems. So he --

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]. The only problem I saw there was where you put it off -lay it off [unintelligible] the fact that it was being used for Watergate.

DEAN: That's -I don't know why that went in the letter. I, uh -it wasn't used for the Watergate. That's the, that's the interesting thing.

PRESIDENT: It wasn't?

DEAN: No. It was not. What happened is these Mexican checks came in. They were given to Gordon Liddy, who said, "What do we -why don't you get these cashed?" Gordon Liddy, in turn, took them down to this fellow, Barker, in Florida, and said, "Would you cash these Mexican checks." Uh, and so that's how they went through Barker's bank account back in here. They could have been just as easily cashed at the Riggs Bank. There was nothing wrong [laughs] with the checks. Why all that rigamarole? It's just like

a lot of other things that happened over there. God knows why it was all done. It was totally unnecessary, and it was money that was not directly involved in the Watergate. It wasn't a, a wash operation to, to get money back in to Liddy, and the like.

PRESIDENT: Who is going to be the worst witness up there?

DEAN: Sloan.

PRESIDENT: Unfortunate.

DEAN: Without a doubt. He's -

PRESIDENT: He's scared?

DEAN: He's scared. He's weak. He has a, uh, a compulsion to, uh, cleanse his soul by confession. Now, we're, he's going, we're giving him a lot of stroking, uh, telling him you're doing a beautiful job. The funny thing is, this fellow goes down to the Court House here before Sirica, testifies [laughs] as honestly as he can testify, and, Sirica looks around and calls him a liar. (Laughs) He's a sad -Sloan can't win. So Kalmbach has been dealing with Sloan. Sloan [unintelligible] as a child. Kalmbach has done a lot of that. The person that will have the greatest problem with -as a result of Sloan's testimony is Kalmbach

and Stans. So they're working closely with him to make sure that he settles down.

PRESIDENT: Kalmbach will be a good witness.

DEAN: Oh yes.

PRESIDENT: Knowing what Kalmbach has been through.

DEAN: Kalmbach has borne up very well. In fact, I decided he may be

PRESIDENT: Kalmbach, Kalmbach, of course, this is somewhat embarrassing, he is, they say, lawyer for the President. Well, hell, I don't need a lawyer. He handles that, that property out there.

DEAN: He's sensitive on that point. He, uh, over -he saw a briefing, uh, saw a transcript of a, of a briefing where Ron was saying, "Well, he's really not, that's not the right nomenclature, this 'personal attorney.'" Herb said, "Well, gee whiz. I don't know if Ron knows what all I do." And I said, "Herb, well, don't worry about it."

PRESIDENT: Well, what I meant is that this -I don't care about that, but I meant, it's just the fact that it's played that way, as if he's in, that I am, he's in talking to me all the time. I don't ask him [unintelligible]

DEAN: I know that.

PRESIDENT: I don't talk to him about anything. I mean, I don't know, I see Herb once a year when he brings the income tax returns.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: I'm sure that he, he handles that San Clemente property and all the rest, but he's, he isn't a lawyer in the sense that most people have a lawyer.

DEAN: No, no. Although he didn't even handle the estate plan, he's done some, you know, dove-tailing on it, like --

PRESIDENT: Well, but anyway, we don't want to back off of him.

DEAN: No. Anyway he's solid. He's solid.

PRESIDENT: He will, uh, how does he tell a story when he gets, [unintelligible]? He's got a pretty hard row to hoe, he and Stans have.

DEAN: He'll be good. He's going over every -Herb is the kind of guy who will check, not once, not twice, on his story, not three times, but probably fifty to a hundred times. Literally. He will go over it. He will know it. There won't be a hole in it. He'll have thought it he, he'll do his own Q. and A. He'll be have people cross-examine him from ten ways.

PRESIDENT: Good.

DEAN: He will be ready, as John Mitchell will be ready, as Maury Stans will be ready.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: Uh, it's uh --

PRESIDENT: Mitchell is now studying, is he?

DEAN: He is studying., Sloan will be the worst witness. I think Magruder will be a good witness. This fellow, Bart Porter, will be a good witness. They've already been through it, they've been through Prand Jury. They have been through trial. Uh, they did well. [Coughs] And then, of course, people around here

PRESIDENT: I [unintelligible]

DEAN: won't be witnesses.

PRESIDENT: They won't be witnesses.

DEAN: Won't be witnesses.

PRESIDENT: Hell, no. They will make statements. That's -That'll be the line which I think we've got to get across to Ziegler, in all of his briefings where he is constantly saying we

will furnish information. That is not the question. It is how it's to be furnished, and we will not furnish it in a formal session. That would be to break down the privilege. Period. Do you agree with that?

DEAN: I agree. I agree. I have always thought that's the bottom line, and I think that's the good thing about what's happening in the Gray hearings right now. If we, they send a letter down with specific questions, I send back written interrogatories, sworn. You know as a, as a lawyer, that, uh, you can handle written interrog--, interrogatories, where cross-examination is another ball game.

PRESIDENT: I know.

DEAN: They can -you can make a person look like they're inaccurate even if they're, even if they are trying to tell the truth.

PRESIDENT: "Well now, really, you sh--, you can't mean that." You know, uh, I know -All their face-making and all that crap. I know; [unintelligible]. Written interrogatories you can --

DEAN: Can be artfully, accurately answered and give the full information.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] that there will be total and full [unintelligible]

Well, what about the sentencing. When the hell is he going to sentence?

DEAN: We thought he was going to sentence last Friday. Uh,

PRESIDENT: I know; you've said that.

DEAN: no one knows what in the world Sirica is doing. It's getting to be a long time now. It frankly is.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: And no one really has a good estimation of how he will sentence. There's some feeling that he will sentence Liddy the heaviest. Liddy's already in jail; he's in Danbury. He wants, he wanted to start serving so he can get good time going. Uh, but Hunt, he'll probably be very fair with.

PRESIDENT: Why?

DEAN: Pardon?

PRESIDENT: Why? Why Hunt?

DEAN: He likes Hunt. He liked Hunt. He thought Hunt was being open with him and candid, and Hunt gave a statement in open court that he didn't know of any higher-ups involved and, and, uh, Hunt didn't put him through the rigors of

trial, And Hunt was a beaten man, the loss of his wife, uh, was ill, they tried to move and have a, him severed from the trial. And Hunt didn't cause a lot of problems. Bittman was cooperative, uh. Whereas Liddy played the, played the heavy in the trial. His lawyer raised all the objections and the like, and embarrassed, uh, the judge for some in-chambers things he'd said, and --

PRESIDENT: But Liddy's going to appeal the sentence?

DEAN: Liddy is going to appeal the decision, uh, the trial. He will appeal, appeal that.

PRESIDENT: He will appeal the trial?

DEAN: Trial -And there's --

PRESIDENT: He was convicted.

DEAN: There is an outside chance that this man has gone, this judge has gone so far in his zeal to be a special prosecutor --

PRESIDENT: Well, some of those statements from the bench --

DEAN: Incredible statements.

PRESIDENT: To me, to me, incredible.

DEAN: Commenting on witnesses' testimony before the jury, was just incredible. Incredible. So he may have, there may be a mistrial. I don't There may be reversible error, even. I don't know.

PRESIDENT: What about the Cubans?

DEAN: The Cubans will probably be thought of as hired hands, and nowhere near the sentences of Liddy, I would think. Uh, not all of them. Barker, uh, the lead Cuban, may get more than the others. It's hard to say. I, you know, I just don't have any idea. Sirica's a strange man. He is known as a hanging judge. Uh --

PRESIDENT: That's the kind that I want.

DEAN: That's right. [Laughs]

PRESIDENT: I understand.

DEAN: That's right. He's tough. He, he is tough. Now, the other thing, Sirica -there was some indication that Sirica might be putting together a panel. They have this system down there now, based on this informal agreement, where a judge, a sentencing judge, convenes a panel of his own to take advice from. If Sirica were being shrewd, he just might get himself a panel and take their recommendations.

PRESIDENT: When will the Ervin thing be hitting the fan most, I mean [unintelligible]

DEAN: Well, I would say that, uh, uh, the best indications we have now is public hearings will probably start about the first of May. Now, they will, you know, there'll be a big, probably, bang of interest, initially. We have no idea how they will proceed yet. We do have sources to find that out, other than Baker. Incidentally, Kleindienst was, was, had called Ervin again, returned the call. Ervin is going to see him this week, uh, with Baker. That's --

PRESIDENT: Public hearings the first of May. Well, that'll be a big show. The public hearings, I wouldn't think, though, I know from ex--, experience that, my guess is that, uh, I they could get through about three weeks of those and then I think it begins to peter out somewhat. Do you agree?

DEAN: No, I --

PRESIDENT: ITT went longer, but that was a different thing, and it seemed more important.

DEAN: When I told Bob, oh, several months ago, I hope they don't think [unintelligible]. He said the way they could have

those hearings and do a masterful job on us* is to hold one hearing a week on Thursdays, Thursday mornings, they cov--, they cover it live. That way, you'd get live coverage that day; you'd get the networks that night; the national magazines that week; the -get the weekend wrap-ups. You could stretch this thing out for nearly -

PRESIDENT: We should insist -Our members of the Committee at least should insist, "Let's get it over with, and go through five day sessions, and so forth."

DEAN: Yeah. Well, they, you know, they, they're not that, I don't think they are that

PRESIDENT: No.

DEAN: perceptive to, to figure that.

PRESIDENT: Well, so be it. This is a, I mean, I noticed in the news summary Buchanan was viewing with alarm the [unintelligible] the great crisis in the confidence of the Presidency, and so forth. [Unintelligible]

DEAN: Well, the best way --

PRESIDENT: How much?

DEAN: Pardon?

PRESIDENT: How much of a crisis? I mean, it'll be, it'll be in a newspaper [unintelligible] but the point is that every thing is a crisis. I mean, Christ, we've had -screw around with this thing for a while [unintelligible] it'll be mainly a crisis among the upper intellectual types, 'the ass holes, you know, the

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: soft heads, soft -our awn, too -Republicans, Democrats and the rest. Average people won't think it is much of a crisis unless it affects them. But it'll go on and on and on.

DEAN: Well, I think it'll -I, I, you know, I think after the Ervin hearings, they are going to find so much there will be some new revelations. Uh, I don't think that, uh, the thing will get out of hand. I have no reason to believe it will.

PRESIDENT: Oh, yes, there'll be the revelations in, in Watergate. They, they [unintelligible]? That's the point.

DEAN: Well, they want to, they want to find out who --

PRESIDENT: who -is there a higher-up?

DEAN: Is there a higher up?

PRESIDENT: They're really, let's face it, after, I think they are really after, uh, Haldeman.

DEAN: Haldeman and Mitchell.

PRESIDENT: Mitchell -I mean, Colson is not a big enough name for them. He really isn't. You know, he is a thorn in their side, but Colson's name bothers them none. So they get Colson. They're after Haldeman and after Mitchell. Don't you think so?

DEAN: That's right. Or I bet they'd take Ehrlichman if they could drag him in but they've been unable to drag him in in any way.

PRESIDENT: Ultimately, uh, Haldeman, uh, Haldeman's problem is Chapin, isn't it?

DEAN: Bob's problem is, is circumstantial.

PRESIDENT: What I meant is, looking at the circumstantial, I don't know that [unintelligible]. On top of that, Bob had nothing, -didn't know any of those people, like the Hunts and all that bunch. Colson. did. But, uh, Bob, Bob did know Chapin.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Now, what -Now however the hell much Chapin knew I'll

be God damned, I don't know.

DEAN: Well, Chapin didn't-know anything about the Watergate, and -

PRESIDENT: You don't think so?

DEAN: No. Absolutely not.

PRESIDENT: Did Strachan?

DEAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: He knew?

DEAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: About the Watergate?

DEAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: Well, then, Bob knew. He probably told Bob, then. He may not have. He may not have.

DEAN: He was, he was judicious in what he, in what he relayed, and, uh, but Strachan is as tough as nails. I --

PRESIDENT: What'll he say? Just go in and say he didn't know?

DEAN: He'll go in and stonewall it and say, "I don't know anything about what you are talking about." He has already done it twice, as you know, in interviews.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. I guess he should, shouldn't he, in the interests of -Why? I suppose we can't call that justice, can we? We can't call it [unintelligible]

DEAN: Well, it, it

PRESIDENT: The point is, how do you justify that?

DEAN: It's a, it's a personal loyalty with him. He doesn't want it any other way. He didn't have to be told. He didn't have to be asked. It just is something that he found is the way he wanted to handle the situation.

PRESIDENT: But he knew? He knew about Watergate? Strachan did?

DEAN: Uh huh.

PRESIDENT: I'll be damned. Well, that's the problem in Bob's case, isn't it. It's not Chapin then, but Strachan. 'Cause Strachan worked for him.

DEAN: Uh huh. They would have one hell of a time proving that Strachan had knowledge of it, though.

PRESIDENT: Who knew better? Magruder?

DEAN: Well, Magruder and Liddy.

PRESIDENT: Ah -I see. The other weak link for Bob is Magruder, too. He having hired him and so forth.

DEAN: That's applies to Mitchell, too.

PRESIDENT: Mitchell--Magruder. Now, where do you see Colson coming into it? Do you think he knew, knew quite a bit, I can't I can't -yet he could know a great deal about a lot of other things and not a hell of a lot about this, but I don't know.

DEAN: Well, I've never --

PRESIDENT: He sure as hell knows Hunt. That we know. And was very close to him.

DEAN: Chuck has told me that he had no knowledge, uh, specific knowledge, of the Watergate incident before it occurred. Uh, there have been tidbits, that I have raised with Chuck, I have not played any games with him, I said, "Chuck, I have indications -"

PRESIDENT: Don't play games.

DEAN: I don't. --I --

PRESIDENT: You've got to be -the lawyer has got to know everything,

DEAN: That's right. And I said, "Chuck, people have said that you were involved in this, involved in that, involved in this." And he said, "I -that's not true," and so on and so forth. Uh, I don't, I think that Chuck had knowledge that something was going on over there. A lot of people around

here had knowledge that something was going on over there They didn't have any knowledge of the details of the specifics of, of the whole thing.

PRESIDENT: You know, that must, must be an indication, though, of the fact that, that they had God damn poor pickings. Because naturally anybody, either Chuck or Bob, uh, was always reporting to me about what was going on. If they ever got any information they would certainly have told me that we got some information, but they never had a God damn [laughs] thing to report. What was the matter? Did they never get anything out of the damn thing?

DEAN: No. I don't think they ever got anything.

PRESIDENT: It was a dry hole, huh?

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Jesus Christ.

DEAN: Well, they were just really getting started.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah. But, uh, Bob one time said something about the fact we got some information about this or that or the other, but, I, I think it was about the Convention, what they were planning, I said [unintelligible]. So I assume that must have been MacGregor, I mean not MacGregor, but Segretti.

DEAN: No.

PRESIDENT: Bob must have known about Segretti.

DEAN: Well, I -Segretti.really wasn't involved in the intelligence-gathering to speak of at all.

PRESIDENT: Oh, he wasn't?

DEAN: No, he wasn't, he was out just, he was out--

PRESIDENT: Who the hell was gathering intelligence?

DEAN: That was Liddy and his, his outfit.

PRESIDENT: I see. Apart from Watergate?

DEAN: That's, well, that's right. That was part of their whole -Watergate was part of intelligence-gathering, and this

PRESIDENT: Well, that's a perfectly legitimate thing. I guess that's what it was.

DEAN: What happened is they --

PRESIDENT: What a stupid thing. Pointless. That was the stupid thing.

DEAN: That was incredible. That's right. That's right.

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] to think that Mitchell and Bob would allow, would have allowed this kind of operation to be in the Committee.

DEAN: I don't think he knew it was there.

PRESIDENT: You kidding?

DEAN: I don't --

PRESIDENT: You don't think Mitchell knew about this thing?

DEAN: Oh, no, no, no. Don't mis-I don't think he knew that people -I think he knew that Liddy was out intelligence gathering.

PRESIDENT: Well?

DEAN: I don't think he knew that Liddy would use a fellow like McCord, for God's sake, who worked for the Committee. I can't believe that. Uh, you know, that --

PRESIDENT: Hunt? Did Mitchell know Hunt?

DEAN: I don't think Mitchell knew about Hunt either.

PRESIDENT: So Mitchell's thing is [unintelligible] said, "Gee, and I hired this fellow and I told him to gather intelligence, but I -" Maybe [unintelligible].

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Magruder says the same thing?

DEAN: Magruder says that -as he did in the trial -he said, it was, uh, --"Well, of course, my name has been dragged in as the guy who sent Liddy over there," which is an interesting thing. That's a --

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible]

DEAN: That's right. They said, well what happened is --Magruder asked for a lawyer -he wanted to hire my deputy over there for General Counsel and I said, "No way. I can't give him up."

PRESIDENT: Was Liddy your deputy?

DEAN: No, Liddy never worked for me. Uh, there was this fellow Fred Fielding who works for me. And I said, "I can't give him up." He said, Magruder said, "Will you find me a lawyer?" I said, "I will be happy to look around." I checked around the White House, Krogh said, "Liddy might be the man to do it, to go over there -he would be a hell of a good lawyer. Uh, he has written some wonderful legal opinions over here for me,

PRESIDENT: Right.

DEAN: and I think he is a good lawyer."

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: So I relayed that to Magruder.

PRESIDENT: How the hell does Liddy stand up so well?

DEAN: He's a strange man, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT: Strange or strong, or both?

DEAN: Strange and strong.

PRESIDENT: Good.

DEAN: Uh, he -his loyalty, I think, is just beyond the pal He's just -nothing.

PRESIDENT: He hates the other side too.

DEAN: Oh, absolutely. He's strong. He really is.

PRESIDENT: Well, what about the hang-out thing?

[Unknown person enters, receives instructions from the President to take something to Haldeman, and leaves the room.]

PRESIDENT: Uh, is it too late to, to, frankly, go the hang-out road? Yes, it is.

DEAN: I think it is. I think -Here's the -The hang-out road --

PRESIDENT: The hang-out road's going to have to be rejected. I, some, I understand it was rejected.

DEAN: It was kicked around. Bob and I and, and, and --

PRESIDENT: I know Ehrlichman always felt that it should be hang-out. [Unintelligible]

DEAN: Well, I think I convinced him why that he wouldn't want to hang-out either. There is a certain domino situation here. If some things start going, a lot of other things are going to start going, and there are going to be a lot of problems if everything starts falling. So there are dangers, Mr. President. I'd be less than candid if I didn't tell you the -there are. There's a reason for us not -not everyone going up and testifying.

PRESIDENT: I see. Oh no, no, no, no, no. I didn't mean go up and have them testifying. I meant --

DEAN: Well I mean just, they're just starting to hang-out and say here's our, here's our story --

PRESIDENT: I mean putting the story out to PR buddies somewhere. Here's the story, the true story about Watergate. [Unintelligible]

DEAN: They would never believe it.

PRESIDENT: That's the point.

DEAN: The point is -the two things they are working on on Watergate --

PRESIDENT: Who is "they"? The press?

DEAN: The press --

PRESIDENT: The Democrats?

DEAN: -the Democrats, the intellectuals --

PRESIDENT: The Packwoods?

DEAN: Right. Right. "They" would never buy it, uh, as far as (1) White House involvement in the Watergate which I think there is just none, uh, for that incident that occurred over in the Democratic National Committee Headquarters. People just, here, would -did not know that that was going to be done. I think there are some people who saw the fruits of it, but that's another story. I am talking about the criminal conspiracy to, to go in there. The other thing is that, uh, the Segretti thing. You hang that out, uh, they wouldn't believe that. They wouldn't believe that, that, uh, Chapin acted on his own to put his old friend, friend [unintelligible] Segretti in to be a Dick Tuck on somebody else's campaign. They would, they would have to paint

it into something more sinister, something move involved, a part of a general plan.

PRESIDENT: Shit, it's not sinister. None of it is.

DEAN: No.

PRESIDENT: Segretti's stuff isn't been a bit sinister.

DEAN: It's quite humorous, as a matter of fact.

PRESIDENT: As a matter of fact, it's just a bunch of crap. It's just is a [unintelligible]. We never knew. Never objected to -You don't object to such damn things, oh, anyway. On, and on and on. No, I tell you this, the last gasp of the, of the, you know, of the, our partisan opponents. They've just got to have something to squeal about.

DEAN: The only thing they have to squeal on.

PRESIDENT: Squeal about that, that, and perhaps inflation, but that will end. Oh, yeah, they're going to squeal and then they're [unintelligible]. They're having a hell of time, you know.

They got the hell kicked out of them in the election. [Unintelligible]. They are, they're, they're going to Watergate around in this town, not so much our opponents, but basically it's the media, uh, I mean, it's the Establishment. The Establishment is dying, and so they've got to show that after some rather significant successes we've had in foreign policy and in the election, they've got to show, "Well, it just is wrong because this is -because of this." In other words, they're trying to use this to smear the whole thing.

DEAN: Well, that's why I, in fact, I keep coming back with this fellow, Sullivan, who could,

PRESIDENT: -who could --

DEAN: could change the picture.

PRESIDENT: How would it change it though?

DEAN: Well it --

PRESIDENT: By saying you're another? Is that what it is?

DEAN: That's -yeah. But here's another, and it happens to be Democrats. Your, uh -I, you know, I just, I just wish --

PRESIDENT: If you get Kennedy in-it, too, I'd be a little more pleased.

DEAN: Well, now, let me tell you something that's
-lurks at the bottom of this whole thing.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: If, in going after Segretti, I -Segretti,
right -they go after F4lmbach's bank
records, you'll recall that sometime back
-maybe you, you perhaps didn't know about
this, it's very possible -that right after
Chappaquiddick somebody was put up there to
start observing. Within six hours.

PRESIDENT: Did we?

DEAN: That's right

PRESIDENT: I didn't know that.

DEAN: That man watched that -he was there for
every second of Chappaquiddick, uh, for a
year, and almost two years he worked for,
uh, he worked for Jack Caulfield, who was
originally on John --

PRESIDENT: Oh, I heard of Caulfield, yeah.

DEAN: He worked for Caulfield originally and then
he worked for, when Caulfield worked for
John, and then when I came over here I
inherited Caulfield and this guy was still
on this

same thing.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: Well, if they get to those bank records between, uh, it starts on July of '69 through June of '71, and they say, "What are these about? Who is this fellow that's up in New York that you paid?" There comes Chappaquiddick with a vengeance. This guy is a, is a twenty year detective on the, uh, New York State, uh, New York City Police Department.

PRESIDENT: In other words, we --

DEAN: He is ready to disprove and to show that, everything from --

PRESIDENT: [Unintelligible] consider that wrong, do we?

DEAN: Well, if they get to it, uh, it's going to come out and the whole thing is going to turn around on that one. I mean, if Kennedy knew the bear trap he was walking into--

PRESIDENT: How do we know -uh, why, why don't we get it out anyway?

DEAN: Well, we sort of saved it. [Laughs]

PRESIDENT: Does he have any record? Is it any good?

DEAN: Uh, ha is probably the most knowledgeable man in the country.

He can't, you know, there are certain things he runs up against walls when they closed the, when they closed the records down, things he can't get, but he can ask all of the questions and get some, many of the answers. As a, as a twenty year detective, but we don't want to surface him right now. But if things ever surfaced, uh, this is what they'll get.

PRESIDENT: Now, how will Kalmbach explain that he'd hired this [unintelligible] Chappaquiddick? Did he -out of what type of funds?

DEAN: We'd have -he had, he had money left over from, uh, pre-convention --

PRESIDENT: Are they going to investigate those funds too?

DEAN: They are funds that were quite legal. There's nothing illegal with those funds.

PRESIDENT: How can they, how can they investigate them?

DEAN: They can't.

PRESIDENT: Huh?

DEAN: They -The only -The -What they would -7 happens -what, wh would occur, you see, is they would stumble into this in going back to, say '71, on Kalmbach's bank records. They've

already asked for a lot of his bank records in connection with Segretti, as to how he paid Segretti.

PRESIDENT: Are they going to go back as far as Chappaquiddick?

DEAN: Well, yeah, but this, this felloaw worked into '71 on this. He was up there. He talked to everybody in that town. He, you know, he, he"s the one who caused a lot of embarrassment for Kennedy already by saying -he went up there as a newspaperman. "So why aren't you checking this? Why aren't you looking there?" And pointing the press's attention to things. Gosh, the guy did a masterful job. I have never been, had the full report.

PRESIDENT: Coming back to the Sullivan thing, you'd better now go ahead and talk to him. You will now talk to Moore, again to Moore and, uh, then what?

DEAN: Uh, I'll see if we have something that's viable. And if it's --

PRESIDENT: In other words -Have you talked to Sullivan again?

DEAN: Oh, yes. Yes, I plan on it.

PRESIDENT: Why the hell don't you get him in and talk to him? [Unintelligible]

DEAN: Well, he's -I asked him last night and he said, "John

give me a day or so to get my, all my recollections together,"

PRESIDENT: Right.

DEAN: and that was yesterday. So I thought I would call him this evening and say, uh, "Bill, I'd just like to know

PRESIDENT: You see, the fact that you've talked to him will become known. So maybe, maybe the best thing is to say "I am not concerned here," and you say that he, he's to turn this over, and you say we will not handle it. Then make, then anyway, it gets to the Committee, aren't they going to say, "The White House turns over information on the FBI?" That's the -I don't know how the Christ to get it down there.

DEAN: Well, that's what I think I can kick around with Dick Moore. He and I do very well just bouncing these things

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: back and forth and coming up with something that we don't have to be embarrassed about it.

PRESIDENT: I think a newsman, a newsman, a hell of a break for a newspaper.

DEAN: Oh yeah.

PRESIDENT: A hell of a story. Uh, maybe the Star would just run a hell of a story, I mean a real bust on the FBI. Then, and then, and

then the Committee member, the man you, you, for example, on this basis could call Gurney, and say, "Now look. We're on to something very hot here. I can just tell you, I'm not going to tell you anything more. Go after it, forget you ever had this call." Then he goes.

DEAN: Uh huh.

PRESIDENT: It seems to me that that's a very effective way to get it out.

DEAN: Uh huh. Another thing is, I don't think Sullivan would give up the White House. Sullivan --as I said could, there's one liability in Sullivan here, is that's his knowledge of the earlier things that occurred, uh --

PRESIDENT: That we did?

DEAN: That we did.

PRESIDENT: Well, now you should tell them. Oh, you mean he wouldn't, he'd say, he'd say, "I did no political work at all. My, my work in the [unintelligible] Nixon Administration was, was solely in the national security."

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: And that is totally true.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Okay. Well, good luck.

DEAN: All right, sir.

PRESIDENT: It's never dull, is it?

DEAN: Never.