

TRANSCRIPT OF A RECORDING OF A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND JOHN EHRLICHMAN ON APRIL 14, 1973 FROM 11:22 TO 11:53 P.M.

PRESIDENT: Uh, and uh, damn it. I'm, I'm, I'm that

kind of person. I'm not one that's gonna, gonna, gonna say, "Look, before this guy's under attack. I, I, I, I, I'd drop 'em."

EHRLICHMAN: Um.

PRESIDENT: Don't you, uh, is there something to be said

for that or not?

EHRLICHMAN: Uh, I don't think uh' number one I don't

think you'd gain anything by it, if a

problem doesn't go awry.

PRESIDENT: No, they'll say, "Oh, Jesus that does show

that Nixon here is, here is top person, the closest man to him? in the office four or

five hours a day, and out he goes."

EHRLICHMAN: Yep.

PRESIDENT: But, Christ everything must be wrong.

EHRLICHMAN: Yep, that's it.

PRESIDENT: and, and.

EHRLICHMAN: ...then separate the Siamese twins.

PRESIDENT: We've done so many good things, you know,

which Bob has worked on so arduously and uh, God damn it, so there will be, there will be

fragments here and there, but Christ we,

people, make mistakes. You don't fire a guy

for a mistake, do you?

EHRLICHMAN: No

PRESIDENT: No, not for a, not for a well intentioned

mistake.

EHRLICHMAN: No, that's right, that's right.

PRESIDENT: But, uh, I just uh, my whole view of drawing

up the line. At one point you're going to

talk to Dean.

EHRLICHMAN: I am. I, I...

PRESIDENT: What are you going to say to him?

EHRLICHMAN: Well, I'm gonna try and get him, I'm gonna

try and get him around a bit, it's going to

be delicate.

PRESIDENT: Get him around in what way?

EHRLICHMAN: Well to uh, to uh, get off this uh, passing

the buck business. It's...

PRESIDENT: ...John, that's...

EHRLICHMAN: ...It's a little touchy and I don't...

PRESIDENT: John, that's...

EHRLICHMAN: ...and I don't know how far I can go.

PRESIDENT: ...not going to, uh, that's not going to

help you. Look, he's gotta look down the road to, to one point, that, uh, there's only one man that could restore him to the ability to practice law in the case things

still go wrong.

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum. Um hum.

PRESIDENT: Now that uh, uh, he's got to have that in

the back of his mind.

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: And he's got to know that'll happen. You

know, I don't, you don't tell him

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: but you know and I know that

EHRLICHMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: with him and Mitchell, there isn't gonna be

a God damn question. Because we got a bum rap. God damn it if Lipschitz gets off with

a...

EHRLICHMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...with copping a plea...

EHRLICHMAN: (Laughs)

PRESIDENT: ...and, and getting a suspended

sentence, what in the name of Christ is this

all about. well" what it involves, of

course, we have to be fair, it involves, uh,

the highest...

EHRLICHMAN: The king of the mountain...

PRESIDENT: The king of the mountain...

EHRLICHMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...the, uh, trying to keep, uh, suppress the

facts and so forth. I do, and I think you

thought I was sort of, sort of being

facetious about saying get everybody, all these people and this includes LaRue, and

Mardian and of course uh, of course

Kalmbach. Uh, they've gotta have it and Dean too. They've gotta have a straight damn line that, of course we raised money. Be very honest about it. But, uh, we raised

money for a purpose that we thought was

perfectly proper.

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum. Uh hum.

PRESIDENT: But we didn't want to shut 'em up. These

men were guilty.

EHRLICHMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Right?

EHRLICHMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: And uh, they are, we weren't trying to shut

them up, we just didn't, we didn't want 'em

to talk to the press.

EHRLICHMAN: Yeah, yeah.

PRESIDENT: That's perfectly legitimate, isn't it? Or

is it? Legitimate not to want them to talk

to the press.

EHRLICHMAN: I think it is. I uh, I, I don't have a

perfect understanding of the, of the law on

that and I...

PRESIDENT: You'd say that old Dick was really shaken?

EHRLICHMAN: Yeah. PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRLICHMAN: He really was.

PRESIDENT: God damn it. I, I told him once, I said,

"Dick, I said, the real target here is Mitchell." He said, "Oh no, it can't be." You know, now, he's sort of got the idea, I

think, that probably it's Haldeman or

Colson.

EHRLICHMAN: Well, he uh, he, I'm sure he's going to call

me first thing in the morning.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. But with him I would be very tough,

I'd say, "Dick, uh, let's not crap around, I mean, they're after Mitchell and they're going to get him, at the present time. At least that's what our evidence, that's what,

what our information...

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: "...indicates

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: ...and so here's where we go."

EHRLICHMAN: And he's probably doing a little checking

with his U.S. Attorney tonight.

PRESIDENT: He'd do that?

EHRLICHMAN: Oh sure, sure. He has to make the ultimate

prosecutive decision or else he has to del, delegate it to somebody. So he's entitled

to know-

PRESIDENT: Your point is that he would delegate to the

Dean. I think the Dean is the best one to

delegate it to.

EHRLICHMAN: Yeah, I do too.

PRESIDENT: Rather than you know, rather than, John, the

suggestion that well you resign and then we'll put another Attorney General. That

would be a,...

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: ...that would be a hell of an admission that

Christ, that we thought...

EHRLICHMAN: He, he isn't gonna want to do that would be

my guess. He isn't gonna want to resign at

this point.

PRESIDENT: He shouldn't, uh, you know, when I come to

think about it. I think that he should for other reasons. But uh, Jesus, if we could get the Ellsberg case over, I'd just like to

get that FBI guy.

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum, uh hum.

PRESIDENT: Is there any way at all that you can?

You're going to talk to Ziegler-that you can

get out the fact that you, you have conducted a thorough investigation?

EHRLICHMAN: We'll work on that. I think there is.

PRESIDENT: I think we have to get that out...

EHRLICHMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: ...don't you?

EHRLICHMAN: I think so.

PRESIDENT: The President is calling the signals.

EHRLICHMAN: I, I suspect that somebody's going to put it

together. I, my, hunch is the New York Times will. They're going to put together, you see, they have the story that Colson was

in yesterday.

PRESIDENT: And they know that Mitchell was in.

EHRLICHMAN: And, of course, the, all the wires have that

Mitchell was in today.

PRESIDENT: They have? Um hum.

EHRLICHMAN: So, uh, somebody's going to start stringing

all this together.

PRESIDENT: And so what would happen? You'd have

Ziegler or yourself go out and say, "Yes, I have seen them." Or you, haven't thought

that through.

EHRLICHMAN: Well, I think I'd, I wouldn't have to say

I'd seen them. I could a, we could a, say that uh we, we've had a job of work going on

for several weeks .

PRESIDENT: But you can say that the President, because

of the charges that have been made, wanted an independent investigation made. And he

ordered, directed you to make it.

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: You've made an independent investigation of

the situation, because the President wants, if there's anybody is, who is guilty in this

thing, he said, uh, he must through the

Judicial processes be brought to, brought to

the bar. Is that what you'd say?

EHRLICHMAN: Yep. Well, or, or simply to aid you in uh,

in uh, analyzing the steps that ought to be taken here. You're, you're being asked to

do a lot...

PRESIDENT: You could say the President...

EHRLICHMAN: ... of quite extraordinary things.

PRESIDENT: You could say, "The President, President

wants this matter cleaned up, once and for

all."

EHRLICHMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: It's been hanging around and yacked about

and innocent people have been hurt in the

process...

EHRLICHMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: ...and charges are being throwing around now

we've got a Judicial process and we want

this thing...

EHRLICHMAN: Beyond that...

PRESIDENT: ...finished.

EHRLICHMAN: ...beyond that you've had all kinds of

Senators and Congressmen calling for the

appointment of uh,...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRLICHMAN: ...of uh, special commissions and all that

kind of thing...

PRESIDENT: So you're it.

EHRLICHMAN: ...for, for, uh' you uh, to come to any sort

of a judgment on those kinds of proposals

you have to, have a pretty clear

understanding of the facts.

PRESIDENT: Right. Well, with Dean, I think you could

talk to him in confidence about uh, about a

thing like that, don't you? He isn't

gonna...

EHRLICHMAN: I'm not sure. I, I just don't know how, how

much to lean on...

PRESIDENT: I see.

EHRLICHMAN: ...that reed at the moment. But, uh, I'll

sound it out.

PRESIDENT: Well, you start with the proposition, "Dean,

uh, the President thinks you've just been a' you know, you've carried a tremendous load and he has, his affection and loyalty to you

is just undiminished...

EHRLICHMAN: Alright.

PRESIDENT: "...And uh, now let's see where the hell we

go and...

EHRLICHMAN: Uh Hum.

PRESIDENT: "...we can't get the President involved in

this." His people, just, I mean that's one thing we don't want to cover up, but uh...

EHRLICHMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...uh, there are ways that he can and then

he's got to say that, that, for example, you start with him certainly on the business of

the obstruction of justice.

EHRLICHMAN: That's right. That's right.

PRESIDENT: Say, "Look John, let's, we need a plan

here...

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: "...And uh,...

EHRLICHMAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: "...so that uh, so that LaRue, Mardian and

a, a, the others." I mean Christ, uh...

EHRLICHMAN: Well. I'm not sure I can go that far with

him.

PRESIDENT: No. He can't make the plan up

EHRLICHMAN: (Unintelligible) I'll sound it out.

PRESIDENT: Right. Well, get a good night's sleep.

EHRLICHMAN: Thank you sir.

PRESIDENT: I'll bet you do...

EHRLICHMAN: Alright.

PRESIDENT: ...sleep well. And if you don't have a way,

it's a curious thing, uh, not curious at all but uh, John it's, it's, it's just, it's well, it's terribly painful of course, and I was thinking you know, to have, to go to

that damn dinner tonight.

EHRLICHMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: But my point is, well, it is painful and I

just feel better about getting the God damn

thing done.

EHRLICHMAN: Good.

PRESIDENT: Or, or do you agree?

EHRLICHMAN: Absolutely.

PRESIDENT: And after all, I'm, it's my job and I don't

want this, I don't want the Presidency

tarnished, but also I don't, I, I, I'm a law

enforcement man.

EHRLICHMAN: Yep.

PRESIDENT: And, right?

EHRLICHMAN: Yep, and you've got to move on to more

important things.