

TRANSCRIPT OF A TAPE RECORDING OF A
CONVERSATION BETWEEN PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON
AND RICHARD MOORE ON APRIL 19, 1973 FROM
3:45 TO 5:00 P.M.

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3:45 P.M. TO 5:00 P.M.

MOORE: (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Come in, come in.

MOORE: Fine. Nice to see you. Be good to visit. I heard you were wonderful with the Jewish leader today, but I...

PRESIDENT: Ha, ha, ha, ha.

MOORE: You were also so good and so strong on the announcement the other day. You want me here?

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Any place. That's fine.

PRESIDENT
AND MOORE: (Unintelligible)

MOORE: ...you're not smoking a pipe anymore?

PRESIDENT: Yeah, you know I only smoke this -somebody gave me--I, uh, I 'm not a smoker, as you know. But, uh...

MOORE: Good thing.

PRESIDENT: Perhaps in the evening, I'll smoke a (unintelligible with tape noise). Are you a smoker?

MOORE: I quit for ten years and then, pardon me, but during the campaign, uh...

PRESIDENT: Goddamn campaign.

MOORE: ...got to smoking cigars.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible).

MOORE: I'm not as cool as you are and, uh, I find myself, smoking a cigar though. (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: How's that. Muriels?

MOORE: They're little Dutch cigars.

PRESIDENT: um-hum.

MOORE: But, uh, uh, they're good (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Yeah. I was gonna say that and I, I, I only hope that this miserable thing on Watergate doesn't rub off on you at any rate (tape noise) can only rub off on you in a tangential way. I mean you were their adviser...

MOORE: Well...

PRESIDENT: ...I guess, but, you know, but there you are.

MOORE: The thing had to, uh, happened to to reach me on a gradual - but I think, uh, -

PRESIDENT: Did they, did you talk to them yet?

MOORE: No. I don't, uh, -I was put off a day or two more. It was at 3:30 yesterday.

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: At about noon, they spoke to the Bureau. Some agent told me.

PRESIDENT: When you go down, believe me, tell 'em everything you know, but, uh, don't, uh, let it rub off on you.

MOORE: I ran into Chapman just after I got the subpoena Chapman Rose.

PRESIDENT: Right. Right.

MOORE: And, uh, so I sat down--

PRESIDENT: Incidentally, as you know, he talked to me but I guess that's about what (unintelligible)...

MOORE: ...Now, I, I,

PRESIDENT: ...(Unintelligible).

MOORE: Sir, I was just -I assume that's...

PRESIDENT: ...(Unintelligible).

MOORE: ...by God...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...that won't be --the, the water pipes are going. It won't get me (unintelligible). That was mine with yours. But,...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: But, it occurred to me that, uh, ah, they're gonna test you and all that nonsense but if so, then it'll be a test. You know, it could be a lot -- ask me what I said to you, in your presence.

PRESIDENT: I don't think that'll be asked.

MOORE: (Unintelligible) Special Counsel. I don't think it will. But they say, "Have you ever talked to the President about it?" I think they'll say that that matter is one of Executive Privilege.

PRESIDENT: Yes. Well, now I...

MOORE: (Unintelligible)...

PRESIDENT: What I would say, I'd say, "Of course I have."

MOORE: Yes.

PRESIDENT: "Of course, I have. And there's, uh, the President's--..."

MOORE: ...position.

PRESIDENT: "The President's view is my personal point of view."

MOORE: Good.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

MOORE: Well, that's good. I'd much prefer that but, uh,...

PRESIDENT: I'd say, "Yes, of course I have. The President's uh, expressed his views and his views are accurate" or whatever you want to say.

MOORE: It was very well expressed. But, uh,...

PRESIDENT: But go ahead, uh, what, what did Chapman tell you to do?

MOORE: He said, "Look, you've got to tell the truth." He said, "About the last thing the President needs is any more non-truth telling."

PRESIDENT: That's right.

MOORE: He said, "You don't to have phrase it the way they want you to phrase it." Put it that way.

PRESIDENT: Exactly right. Which of course they're gonna try to, they're gonna try to, get you to phrase it in the a way that will sink somebody else.

MOORE: I know.

PRESIDENT: Can't do.

MOORE: I know. And, uh, uh, (tape noise) has told you --I, I guess, but we don't know what it is but -- of course, I had met him privately.

PRESIDENT: There's the problem.

MOORE: Yeah. Uh -- uh -- when I -- what he would sigh and say this thing was getting so awful and he'd hint around and duck.

PRESIDENT: When was this?

MOORE: Oh, over the last -- I got active in this -- course I was in on the Segretti thing--

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: We discussed that back in October and then again in December.

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: And I met Chapin-about it. In an advisory role. And then, uh, in Watergate I, was on, occasionally on something (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible with tape noise) about this in January?

MOORE: Oh, no, during -sometime in -between December and say February.

PRESIDENT: Oh, after the election.

MOORE: Oh, yes, yeah.

PRESIDENT: Now, okay.

MOORE: Before the election, my role consisted-wasn't a very good task, but they started meeting -- Cliff Miller and I were sort of PR advisors to Mitchell, Stans, and--

PRESIDENT: Well, didn't -- in those before the election, uh, Ziegler tells me that all those who talked to Dean, Dean's flatly said, nobody in the White House was involved."

MOORE: Dean--

PRESIDENT: Cause I asked him that question. You know that's the first thing I asked him...

MOORE: Sure.

PRESIDENT: ...throughout. I said, "now, John I've got to know this one thing, was anybody in the White House involved"? He said, "No." And we, then, of course, came to the post period.

MOORE: He had always denied...

PRESIDENT: And that he...

MOORE: ...(unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: ...denied, denied that he was involved.

MOORE: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: What he acknowledged to me, and was the general type of thing, he said, "Oh, Liddy came in with the damndest plan" and he said "it involved all kinds of crazy things."

PRESIDENT: Right. That was plan number one.

MOORE: "And I said get those charts the hell out of here, that sort of thing, can't contemplate something like that. That shouldn't be...

PRESIDENT: ..."talked about (unintelligible).

MOORE: ..."in the presence of Attorney General."

APRIL 19, 1973 FROM 3:45 P.M. TO 5:00 P.M.

7

PRESIDENT: Right. Right.

MOORE: Dean has told you a good...

PRESIDENT: ...told me though, he told me about his three conversations and so forth.

MOORE: Yeah. Well...

PRESIDENT: He's been very forthcoming about that.

MOORE: Yeah. Well, he told me that and I said, "Well, John, I, I would have a, a hard, hard time believing that John Mitchell knew this thing was going on."

PRESIDENT: --I asked Dean early, you know, when I first--

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: when I first got into was when, uh, basically just before the whole goddamn thing that, that crazy McCord got into it.

MOORE: Right.

PRESIDENT: And I'm glad, I'm glad it's out. I want it done. Finished. Don't you agree?

MOORE: Absolutely finished.

PRESIDENT: Get the son-of-a-bitch finished. I thought it should have been long ago,...

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...what the, what the --I'm afraid that our great, dear friend, John Mitchell is the culprit. Cause John Mitchell knew about it. John Mitchell just couldn't bear going before--frankly saying right after the caper saying, "well, whoa, whoa this was a terrible thing. I didn't approve of this specific and I condemn it." And that's what he should have said. But he didn't do it.

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: As a result, ever since then they've had the responsibility of taking care of the defendants' counsel and some of their expenses and so forth and so on. And getting other people involved and that's just been wrong.

MOORE: You said it the first time, a cover-up--zealots do things in the campaign which is one thing, is bad enough...

PRESIDENT: Right

MOORE: ...but covering 'em up is what kills ya,.

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

MOORE: And that's what--

PRESIDENT: As far as my knowledge is concerned, that's the real tragedy. I didn't really, I never saw Dean until after the election. Well, except to sign my wills, as I recall. And I never, even occurred to me to ask him because apparently he had told -- I, I, before my press conference in California, for Ziegler, Ziegler's been asking for guidance and I said, "what is the situation?" He said, "Well, I talked to Dean." I said, "Does he say nobody was involved?" He said, "all right, then you can say that." It's the only thing we could do, wasn't it? What else could we --

MOORE: Absolutely, and, then t-- but has he...

PRESIDENT: But I think, I really think, I really think, Dean, naturally he was covering Mitchell (unintelligible with tape noise) What do you think?

MOORE: Well, I don't know, well, I was not that close to his side of it, you know, at that time. (Unintelligible) that was August 29th.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: It made you sick, so, I was involved in the convention, getting ready for it,...

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: ...and so forth. And this thing still looked like nothing but a, almost as Ron said, a third rate burglary. (Unintelligible). And, uh, I, I don't recall being surprised at his finding or, or questioning him. I frankly thought, at that time, that this was Liddy (unintelligible)...

PRESIDENT: Just took off.

MOORE: ...money.

PRESIDENT: Well, I thought that too.

MOORE: That it wasn't (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: That was my belief throughout, (unintelligible). I would have maybe called Mitchell and said, "John for Christ's sakes..."

MOORE: Yeah. Yeah.

PRESIDENT: "...let's do it." I, I, of course I couldn't believe anybody as smart as Mitchell would ever have allowed (unintelligible) So stupid.

MOORE: So unlike him. I saw him for a year over there, you know. You know you can't do that kind of thing you do...

PRESIDENT: That's right. (tape noise) come on now to Dean and when you began to get -- what's, what's there to know.

MOORE: Well,--

PRESIDENT: I like those cigars.

MOORE: To the best of my recollection, I really got involved when, and it makes sense, uh, right after the Senate passed the resolution setting up the Committee.

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: Which was mid-February. (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: As a matter of fact, Dick, it's an interesting coincidence, the first time I ever saw Dean was when you and Dean came in together. Remember you and Dean came in together that day.

MOORE: Yes. (Unintelligible) Executive privilege discussion in the press conference (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: That's right.

MOORE: Now, I did state that well, after one of those meetings, that, "John, things are moving into a point where the President may be being disserved, maybe doesn't know what the, what the problems are." John was hinting, at that time, about the darn problems.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: And I think he told me that he was gonna (unintelligible) it or--

PRESIDENT: Come in and see me alone.

MOORE: That's right, he did. Yes.

PRESIDENT: He did. By his credit, he came in. He said now -- he didn't lay it, yes, he laid it out pretty much. He laid out his concern that Mitchell did know about the four meetings where Mitchell testified or put out a line--or not testified. Where Magruder denied there was any. He said that was wrong, and he went on to -- he didn't indicate the subornation of perjury point which apparently, he's stuck into very deep now where he, he pointed to Magruder in his testimony.

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: See that's about it.

MOORE: Occasionally, he would say to me, you know, "I've got to struggle with this thing without doing that. I, I haven't meant to do anything," he said, "but Magruder's gonna try to finger me or somebody else."

PRESIDENT: Yeah. How's he gonna handle it?

MOORE: He said, "What I told him was you've gotta tell the truth." He said, "I told him what kinds of questions he was going to be asked. I talked to him, but I never and, and I'd say 'It's up to you' (unintelligible). "

PRESIDENT: He told me the same thing.

MOORE: Yeah. And I believe him.

PRESIDENT: Cause I, uh, -huh?

MOORE: I believe John.

PRESIDENT: You don't believe do you believe him now?

MOORE: Uh, No. I, w-well, I think the bigger liar is Magruder. (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Well Magruder is.

MOORE: Yeah. Well Magruder is, is, is -the question of credibility.

PRESIDENT: Magruder's lying more than Dean?

MOORE: I think so. I have a personal complaint...

PRESIDENT: Is Magruder trying to do Dean in?

MOORE: Yeah. They hate each other, Magruder, Dean told me...

PRESIDENT: I just -- what?

MOORE: Dean told me, at some point, you know, he said, "the one I worry about in all this is Magruder." He said, he's not gonna go down alone. He's saying that if he goes down, he's gonna take the whole cover-up, particularly me. This is so. (Tape noise) "I coached him on his testimonies. I didn't, I didn't. I gave him his options. I told him what the options were."

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: And, uh, he said...

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) tell you about Magruder?

MOORE: He said, "what's" -I mean he was talking about Bob Finch and said, "by the way, Jeb Magruder came up here and, what's wrong with him because he was telling all kinds of crazy tales (tape noise) conducting a meeting on a job hunt -- a job interview. Uh, uh, (unintelligible) had gone to great lengths to get him an opportunity for a, for a job interview and had him come up-- (tape noise) talk to Dean for a minute. (Unintelligible) Bob was sitting around with the Secretary of State in California. (Unintelligible) (tape noise) I told Finch "what's the matter with this kid?" Can't any of us put a job but he wanted my support for uh, a candidacy.

Yeah, Yeah (tape noise)...

(tape noise) Incredible isn't it?
(Unintelligible).

I gotta -- And then he said no, but I do have enough support. For instance, Len Firestone said he's all for it (tape noise) You and I and Len Firestone and some of the (tape noise) in Len's office and (tape noise) chance.

PRESIDENT: Chance.

MOORE: No chance except in industry, but no dice. Oh. Better plan prove a lie. So Pat said what's, what's with that Kid?

PRESIDENT: So maybe Dean is the, correct then.

MOORE: So--

PRESIDENT: Now go ahead now.

MOORE: Well, in any place, Jeb is a name dropper and, I mean, just judging, from the man I know probably always exaggerates his role a little bit. Likeable. Ya know did a good job in so many things.

PRESIDENT: I don't know him at all.

MOORE: But in this contest of credibility I would go with, uh...

PRESIDENT: Dean.

MOORE: ...anybody, but, but Jeb Magruder. (Unintelligible) thing to know. Jeb had his part in the midst of a point where he poke John instead of defending him. I'm giving up hope on John.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) Magruder.

MOORE: I mean, I, I, I'm not.

PRESIDENT: I'm afraid, I'm afraid. I'm afraid what basically they had La Rue in, La Rue by virtually the same, John's employee, he must know some things and, uh, (unintelligible).

MOORE: I don't know, you know, you know everything or do you? I know nothing. I don't know but a spectator --

PRESIDENT: I don't know I, I frankly don't know--

MOORE: I don't think you ought to--

PRESIDENT: I'm just not going to ask

MOORE: ...Just doesn't make any damn difference--

PRESIDENT: This doesn't make any difference I mean about...Christ, I love all these people, they're all doing it for me, uh, er, uh they thought, but La Rue, and uh, Mardian, the rest were in the cover-up, they had to be (tape noise) (Unintelligible) Let's get back to Dean and uh. Then what happened after - remember you and he came in the office, then he came in alone, then I saw him at least three or four other times because I thought he was in charge of the damn thing.

MOORE: Well, he was.

PRESIDENT: And then we had him, when he went to Camp David what happened? Were you with him there to help him write that paper.

MOORE: No, no, he was up there and, right now he seemed to be quite, quite upset. He was all right (unintelligible) I talked to him on the phone. He called me (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: At Camp David?

MOORE: He was up there for--

PRESIDENT: You know why I sent him there because he was under,--Everybody was out at his house and I said, I said,...

MOORE: ...(Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: ...and I said "John, we need a, --Ya know, my whole view was, all, all along."
Remember, Dick, let's get out a report. We never, there was no Dean report to correlate.

MOORE: Right, Right.

PRESIDENT: Let's get the whole thing out. Get all the whole business of Segretti and the rest. He was trying to write it -- came back and said he couldn't write it.

MOORE: He was, uh, I don't think he was in very good form up there. I don't know what it was. Wife was never there. Uh--but he was--hard to describe, just had a feeling, he was, conversation with him wandered a little bit and he was ...He was nervous and concerned (unintelligible) was involved. He said, "(unintelligible) I just went walking in the woods for two hours. I can't put this together." and you know, uh (unintelligible with tape noise). I never saw it but--

PRESIDENT: I think his problem was that when he put it together he saw that he was involved.

MOORE: This thing began to focus on and in actuality until the last few weeks he was very capable, but--some conversation; some Dean said, uh, you know that, something that he knew beforehand, before it was in the press. He said to the U.S. Attorney which was the first time he'd ever said that, --about Watergate. The press said he told them that he knew about Watergate.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: So he said that would make, one person in the White House who did know the facts who would be the author of the report.

PRESIDENT: No, uh. His answer to that ' would be that he knew that such a plan was presented but he did not know that it was approved.

MOORE: I see. (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Sure that could be. I didn't that's what Haldeman told me. I kept asking him, I said now...

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...cause hell the moment that I knew that he knew about it, I'd have to fire him. But he never said that.

MOORE: No. I meant as of, all I, know, is I saw this third item in the paper, saying the first time he said that he knew what it was all about. I guess he didn't. That it was presented, but not that it was approved.

PRESIDENT: That was his, that was his story and I...

MOORE: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: ...am inclined to agree with him.

MOORE: I, that, that's right.

PRESIDENT: I'm inclined to agree with him.

MOORE: I think (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: John Dean was too smart to have this man babble on.

MOORE: Somebody must have said it. I still think, at that point it still seems to me, what happened was that (unintelligible with tape noise) getting information these guys were going to do all kinds of things to it, protect the President, protect the surrogates. You want to know what the, these guys are going to do to us...

PRESIDENT: You're the one we're protecting, aren't you?

MOORE: ...and protect the Convention and Liddy presented an elaborate plan. You know (unintelligible) kidnapping. (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Kidnapping? Well I don't know. Kidnapping.

MOORE: Yeah, kidnap the ringleaders of the demonstrators (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Have Liddy (unintelligible)

MOORE: Well, he wore a shoulder holster when he was a young attorney (unintelligible). What does that prove? What does that prove? And, uh, I thought, therefore, that what got approved was, okay, you do need a budget, you do need a (unintelligible), you do need this work, but keep,...

PRESIDENT: But they didn't approve anything. (unintelligible)

MOORE: ...keep, keep it within the law and we'll do it. Don't tell us anymore about it.

PRESIDENT: That's, that's got to be Mitchell.

MOORE: That's got to be Mitchell. Yes, and, and he's gonna have a credibility contest with, uh, several people but, uh, particularly Magruder. Well, several people but Magruder --

PRESIDENT: Magruder is, I think, a consummate liar at the present time.

MOORE: Ah, he...

PRESIDENT: They can't give him immunity can they? And I don't see how they can give Dean immunity.

MOORE: Uh, I guess they could if they wanted to, but--

PRESIDENT: Give Magruder immunity, I suppose.

MOORE: Well, I don't know what they're... what the U.S. Attorney's Office is gunning for but I assume they're gunning for Haldeman and possibly Ehrlichman, away.

PRESIDENT: I think (unintelligible) Ehrlichman
(unintelligible) either top or bottom. I, I
mean on a conspiracy.

MOORE: But with Haldeman they start at the top.
When it began they did things, they even
(unintelligible) If the Segretti rubs off
(unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Uh huh.

MOORE: But, uh, you have, Chapin and then you have
to spell out the damnedest, three hundred
fifty thousand. Did anybody show you Jack
Anderson's column (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Uh huh.

MOORE: And, uh, people would say how could you take
that much money out of the White House
without Haldeman's approval? "I didn't say
I did it on my own." I think he did. Ah,
but they'll say he authorized it. (tape
noise). Dean told him to do it.

PRESIDENT: You told them you needed the money and so
forth. Well, coming along here...

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: I look back at Dean's -Dean has now said
they're not going to make him a scapegoat.

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: I didn't notice anything this time. Well
what's he talking about? Who's he talking
about? Haldeman?

MOORE: Haldeman and Ehrlichman. He, he

PRESIDENT: Why's he mad at them?

MOORE: Well...

PRESIDENT: What did they do to him?

MOORE: In his defense. I think--Well, Sir, obviously he's been talking to his new wife who said, "John, you're (unintelligible) now these guys pushed you into this (unintelligible)..."

PRESIDENT: In other words that he was an agent of those who...

MOORE: ...these fellas talked you into it.

PRESIDENT: Now, how was Ehrlichman in on that agent, let me tell you, in what respect?

MOORE: Well...

PRESIDENT: How, how do you see that? Tell me what do you...

MOORE: Well, I, I don't know, uh...

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

MOORE: ...if he has any problems. Well, he was--for one thing he said this isn't gonna be made public--, answered "I didn't say that, I mean, you are crazy. Ehrlichman had nothing to do with all this."

PRESIDENT: Ehrlichman had no prior knowledge...

MOORE: That's for sure.

PRESIDENT: ...about any of this.

MOORE: Of course, nobody here had prior knowledge.

PRESIDENT: And I think -- Well, they claim Haldeman did in this respect, they say that a budget was sent over. This is the story. That it was dropped. The, uh, and it was sent to Strachan and Strachan, it is assumed, sent it to Ehrlichman. Strachan denies ever getting a budget showing that there was bugging in it and of course, therefore, Haldeman, of course, denies that he ever saw it, and I believe Haldeman. I don't think Haldeman lies.

MOORE: I don't think Haldeman lies.

PRESIDENT: The other point is that they said that the, the, that the tape was sent over and of course, Strachan says we got material that says confidential sources report, but that he...

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...didn't know, no idea that, it was that and, of course, Haldeman probably, then, he said the stuff was so useless that he didn't even have Haldeman see it. Now that's what they said. I believe that.

MOORE: I don't know what I want, but what the hell...

PRESIDENT: So Dean, Dean can't testify on that point. He can't say that -- or Magruder. Magruder can't say -- Magruder can say he sent it, but, uh, nobody can say that it got here.

MOORE: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Go ahead. Come back to Dean on Ehrlichman. What else does he say Ehrlichman...

MOORE: Well, he starts by saying -- it goes back...

PRESIDENT: Yeah

MOORE: Those people (unintelligible) that goes back to the Plumbers.

PRESIDENT: Yes. The Liddy's. That was all in the, all in the national security area, Dick. I know all about that.

MOORE: All right. I was just...

PRESIDENT: That involved -- that involved -- I know exactly what it was. It involved the time of the ... what the hell was it. The--

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Edgar Hoover wouldn't do Ellsberg because Louis, uh, Marx, the daughter was married. Marx was a friend of Hoover's. You know the story there.

MOORE: Ahh.

PRESIDENT: The toy man. The daughter was married to Ellsberg and Edgar -- just personally -- just couldn't bring himself to get into it. So we had to do something on Ellsberg and, and the capabilities up here to try to get information on the Ellsberg case. But now on that score... There was no bugging, I found. They had the FBI do bugging once it got into the case, let me assure you, but, but as far as the -- there was this crazy thing where Hunt goes out and breaks into the psychiatrist's office and has a picture taken. I mean, I mean, uh, (unintelligible) look at some files and so forth. But, Ehrlichman, Ehrlichman had no knowledge of, of that particular thing. He did not approve anything like that and so forth and so on. And I don't know what-Dean's talkin' about the Plumbers. Is that it?...

MOORE: He never spelled it out in all this time. we've said, this is gonna be (unintelligible) burglary rifling the psychiatrist's files.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. What else?

MOORE: And, uh, then he got vague. Never--

PRESIDENT: He got vague?

MOORE: He mentions Krogh as having a problem I think it has to do with the same thing. But he says things'd be better off not knowing. (Unintelligible) well, by this time (unintelligible/**REMOVED**) see Dita Beard...

PRESIDENT: Yeah, that was Hunt.

MOORE: And, and then Hunt and Liddy, uh--and, and I felt (unintelligible) because Chuck had had the disposition of this guy...

PRESIDENT: Ha, ha.

MOORE:

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PRESIDENT: Except, except Dean and he says he's not gonna be a scapegoat.

MOORE: Yeah. He's gonna testify I think that...

PRESIDENT: Lash out on that sort of thing.

MOORE: Oh, yeah. Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Don't you think so?

MOORE: He might. He might. Uh,...

PRESIDENT: Is that relevant in a trial?

MOORE: Well, in the Grand Jury anything is relevant. See Dean isn't going to the Grand Jury.

PRESIDENT: Well, I told Petersen however, told Petersen, I said, "Now, uh, bring out anything else you want," but I said, "you cannot go into the national security area." I said that first thing. That's proper to tell him, don't you agree?

MOORE: I would think so.

PRESIDENT: ...if it was national security.

MOORE: Yes, certainly.

PRESIDENT: I said, I said the, uh, Ellsberg--and I told him exactly what this involves, this national security stuff. I said if it's anything else, you can ask 'em anything.

MOORE: I think this grand jury and this prosecutor have so much under cover. (Unintelligible). I don't know these U.S. Attorneys, Glanzer, Silbert,...

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Really tough. I don't know, that's their job.

MOORE: Yeah, sure it is, but I don't think they're gonna be looking for stuff like that. I think they're gonna, if they can, if they can complete the Watergate and related things, I think they're even gonna probably drop, pretty much, the Segretti side of this thing.

PRESIDENT: Well, that's nothing, Segretti plead the, self-incrimination and what shit.

MOORE: That's right. So...

PRESIDENT: Now what else has Dean got on--on Haldeman? I just, I didn't--

MOORE: I don't know. Well, well, uh, my problem is that, uh, it all relates to post June, June 17 arrangements to, payments to...

PRESIDENT: That Haldeman was in that?

MOORE: Well, I don't know. I don't know, sir.

PRESIDENT: Does Dean say he was?

MOORE: Well, let me tell you what he said about, uh,--Well, at the La Costa meeting--did John Ehrlichman talk to you about the La Costa meeting?

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah. Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. That's right. In California.

MOORE: Yes. Just the background so that--let me give you the focus or perspective. We got sent for...

PRESIDENT: Dean was there?

MOORE: Yes. Dean and I got sent for on a Friday afternoon, the day after the Senate passed the resolution...

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: ...for the Select Committee. Could we come out for the weekend to talk about the,...

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: ...the Watergate.

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: We got the airplane and we went...

PRESIDENT: That was at Hal--at our initiative, wasn't it?

MOORE: Sure.

PRESIDENT: I ordered that.

MOORE: That's right. So, we had two people...

PRESIDENT: I just wanted to be sure--the President's trying to in-, investigate this thing. I think I was.

MOORE: Yes, I got that loud and clear because our bags were packed, we were in the hall we were going to take one week at (unintelligible) we were able to divert to,...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...to the airport. I went to California--

PRESIDENT: So you went to La Costa. So what happened then?

MOORE: Well, we had two meetings: h, one on Saturday, one on Sunday. Several hours each. Uh, one up in uh, Ehrlichman's office at the compound and the other one at the cottage at La Costa.

PRESIDENT: You didn't see me on that occasion?

MOORE: No, sir. No. You were there.

PRESIDENT: I was boating. But, I didn't, they didn't intercept me.

MOORE: You were boating. This was--actually what it was

PRESIDENT: ...brainstorming.

MOORE: ...was, was this: Alright, you guys, the Committee is formed, they got, they passed the resolution, what are we ready to (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible). Alright.

MOORE: And the answer was we're not, uh, going to be organized, we're not set up for it. Uh, we (unintelligible) yes, we're gonna be working and studying but we didn't have any organization, we didn't have people who do trial, books...

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: ...and do research and this kind of thing.

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: So, well, we're gonna see what we can expect, we've got everything, television, the make-up of the committee, what kind of things, can we do anything about what counsel they get. But the first, the very first thing was, well, isn't this, I think that, in a sense, a job for the Committee. Uh, the White House can't be answering every day, uh, it came to us, but through the Committee. So the Committee's got to be set up in public so they, can hire people, lawyers, (unintelligible)...

PRESIDENT: Yeah. That's best.

MOORE: ...And I remember the worst thing that someone said was, "Well, have you had a lot of input from John Mitchell? Is he making plans? Is he, uh, got the Committee under control?" "No, he's back in New York practicing law. We haven't heard from him at all." "Well, Dick, will you, after this meeting, would you go up and see him and fill him in on this whole damn thing, and get him to..."

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: "...some things such as hire people, get some (unintelligible) this group,..."

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: ...spend all their time here.

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: Quite a few things on the list.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible.)

MOORE: And uh, so that, that's everything, well, that was set up the first day. Now, of course, there was all this kind of discussion on the second day--I don't know the exact words, there was a reference to--about Dean, "by the way, they need more money for those fellows."

PRESIDENT: Right, and?

MOORE: I don't think anybody raised it. I am paraphrasing the thing. Uh (tape noise) I can't say, I don't know how it came up but maybe it's Mitchell's turn, maybe he can do some of it. This was the first time that came, I don't know, at any rate; when in other words, (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Dean said "they need more money."

MOORE: (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Your recollections are Ehrlichman said to send them to LaRue.

MOORE: I don't know who Ehrlichman or Haldeman or, or, uh, now look...

PRESIDENT: Or even Dean.

MOORE: "Can't LaRue handle it or something of that sort?" And it came up as to whether maybe John Mitchell and someone, oughta, and, and someone I think, John and this was facetious (unintelligible) said "Maybe Rockefeller can get us some money. Oh, he could always get all he wants from Rockefeller--all he has to do is ask Rockefeller, we know about that."

PRESIDENT: Well, now on that...

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Money for what?

MOORE: Well, I didn't ask...

PRESIDENT: That's the point.

MOORE: But, I sensed that, that, uh
(unintelligible) on that. So it was
suggested, "Dick, you go up there, tell
John, you know, relay this to him." And I
didn't react or think about it particularly
(unintelligible) see what they say.

PRESIDENT: But, As far as that conversation is
concerned, I'm just trying to get it, you
know, in terms of the Ehrlichman, Haldeman,
those participating in it.

MOORE: Right.

PRESIDENT: Dean says they need more money. I presume
that they could say they need more money for
attorney's fees or what have you. What are
they gonna--Or, was it a payoff to do
something else?

MOORE: No, you wouldn't say it about that.

PRESIDENT: Well, that's the important thing.

MOORE: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: That's a damned important point.

MOORE: Yes, sir, it, it most certainly is.

PRESIDENT: And Dean may have (unintelligible).

MOORE: The question is, the question is what was
the--what, what--was their prior knowledge
from bottom to Ehrlichman and Haldeman.
That there was a fund...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...that was being--had been raised and being replenished to compensate these fellows for withholding or altering their testimony...(unintelligible)...

PRESIDENT: Right. If it was for that purpose...

MOORE: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: ...it was obstruction. If it was for the purpose of attorneys fees and so forth, that's a different thing.

MOORE: Well, now, uh, that's, that's cheering because no purpose would stick, and I didn't know what--

PRESIDENT: I don't know whether I--what the law is, but I would assume that I was, I'm just guessing--

MOORE: Well, I would have had the feeling that you don't have to pay them, but look, what have we got to do with them? Now the reason why we are paying their lawyer's fees...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...is that in return for (tape noise) their funeral oration.

PRESIDENT: Well what, in effect Ehrlichman and Haldeman, I suppose, could say "Well, listen, that's not our problem, that's Mitchell's problem,

MOORE: Uh, that's right.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

MOORE: That's right.

PRESIDENT: I don't have to tell you.

MOORE: **RESTRICTED-"D"**

PRESIDENT:

MOORE: **RESTRICTED-"D"**

PRESIDENT: That's it, that's right. (Unintelligible) that's a negative setting.

MOORE: (Unintelligible) I'm trying, to, the best of my ability, I have not, because I can't talk to any body. I've haven't talked to John.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: Um-but that doesn't quite go to the question, even without my trip. What was that remark? What was it about? And what was your understanding? Why didn't they ask what it was for? But, I don't know. I don't know. I think it is I can see how these things, how you get into them.

PRESIDENT: So many things come up.

MOORE: I don't know what, what the knowledge was-

PRESIDENT: Now, Dean, uh, Dean spoke to me as we went on--you remember the reason that I, frankly, took him off finally and put Ehrlichman on was that it was quite clear that he couldn't write his damn (unintelligible) too much about it. I didn't want to embarrass him anyway. I thought I could see motion by then (unintelligible) I didn't put somebody else on it because I didn't want anybody to nail me. The attorney for Hunt, and uh, and he, and then he pointed out you just can't go down this road (unintelligible with tape noise)

MOORE: Dean, now thinks (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Dean, Dean, said, well--

MOORE: Does this, uh,--

PRESIDENT: Haldeman is there, Haldeman, I mean Dean, now. This is much later.

MOORE: Yes, I would like to--if I may interrupt. Uh, the first time I got the direct notion that they -were appealing through Dean for money, for silence was about a week before the sentencing which--

PRESIDENT: This is, much later. This is a much--This is toward the end of the--This is toward the end of the time I saw Dean. The last time I saw him, as a matter of fact (unintelligible) million or something (tape noise) at all. I said we can't, uh, I said (unintelligible) "--How long--How much did you have to pay." And he said, "a million dollars, you'd have to pay that over four years." I said, "you can't do that."

MOORE: No, uh--

PRESIDENT: But that was when we, uh,--

MOORE: Never got (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: When we, uh, that was it--

MOORE: I, I gave him a lecture on the blackmail thing when, when he planned the schedules, "I got a problem? I just got a word today that Hunt had been holding us up. He wants \$40,000," I think that was the figure.

PRESIDENT: Forty thousand for his silence, and seventy thousand for his lawyers. That's what--he told me this.

MOORE: Before held been sentenced. Lots of bold typing in escrow at the top.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: And that was a personnel--but, uh, but--

PRESIDENT: You heard about that too (unintelligible) He mentioned that to me too.

MOORE: I was alone with him.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: And that one (unintelligible) I didn't--I'm afraid of never stopped to think of instructions, I was sort of, you know--

PRESIDENT: I was thinking of it either on that occasion. I wasn't prepared to pay any damn blackmail.

MOORE: So, I couldn't say that. I said John, whoever you are talking to, and I don't know what it is, tell him let the guy talk to him and get his blackmail, because once you do it, he's dead.

PRESIDENT: Well, we could use the blackmail term up in the Senate.

MOORE: Well, you know, I had a client, a client once, who was being blackmail--and it nearly killed him.

PRESIDENT: That's right.

MOORE: I said cut it off now, and there's nothing he can say at this point.

PRESIDENT: Well, Dean, to his credit said that when he was with me.

MOORE: Yeah. Yeah.

PRESIDENT: But I understand...

MOORE: Yeah, but this was

PRESIDENT: ...that was raised later and, uh, that, and that Mitchell apparently raised the money.

MOORE: (unintelligible) John wasn't (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: He did? About that?

MOORE: Well, I don't know if it was that sum of money, but he indi-, indicated to me once that, that, that--that, ah, I think it was in that same thing I don't know--"I mean I have to call Mitchell," he said. Now this was after the long, long after La Costa, long after my visit, and when, John laughed about it, I said (unintelligible) -- you know John Mitchell, well, you know, you know how, he feels about the younger fellows. I said, "there must be a program, John. We gotta get you to work at the Committee," I laughed when I said that and I talked to him and some other people. Do all the things he was supposed to do, about spending more time, you know. Well, you know.

PRESIDENT: What'd he say about this money?

MOORE: Well...

PRESIDENT: ... was that discussed? Were you just talking (unintelligible) about.

MOORE: Uh, no um...

PRESIDENT: Dean apparently did talk to Mitchell then about the payoff, so he'll nail Mitchell .on that.

MOORE: Yeah. I'd say--now, among other things--somewhere along the line, I was a little embarrassed...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...to ask him. I said, uh, something was said about what do you need and the other guy (unintelligible), the other guy was Rockefeller. (unintelligible/**REMOVED**)...

PRESIDENT: (unintelligible)

MOORE: ...and then he said, I think he said, something--"you know after all, I am a participant." That, that, that was the first thing I'd come to feel (unintelligible) stay out of the situation.

PRESIDENT: Well, let me say this, thank God we didn't have any money. None was given.

MOORE: Yeah. Yeah.

PRESIDENT: But Dean did raise it. So, I guess we're in--hmm.

MOORE: Now if it came from Mitchell, then, then--this trip of mine if, you know, if I'd had any feeling, about that oh, (unintelligible) had any sense of where me, are today, I would have called off the trip, but I didn't. I didn't (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: That's right.

MOORE: But the trip, uh, the trip, it, it--

PRESIDENT: The trip to New York.

MOORE: The trip to New York to see John, to report...

PRESIDENT: But you didn't really...

MOORE: ...that, that...

PRESIDENT: ...two or three times. It just didn't strike you.

MOORE: No. No. A little bit, but I thought of it--the way that...

PRESIDENT: (unintelligible)

MOORE: It was all after the fact.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: Now, I'm afraid I wasn't--the good lawyer, I should have. Here you know, I was playing the public relations side. If a commitment had been made, then raising the money later, doesn't change anything. It's still a cover-up job.

PRESIDENT: Yep.

MOORE: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: And if the purpose is to keep him from talking.

MOORE: Sure.

PRESIDENT: The question is that the purpose is to help a man who's in trouble. You can do that, but you can't keep him from talking.

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Isn't that the point?

MOORE: It is, but who's gonna believe we wanted to help these guys because we felt sorry for them, it, it..*

PRESIDENT: Well, I know. That's the point: it's hard to believe.

MOORE: Yeah. Yeah. And, uh, the pattern is very disconcerting on this.

PRESIDENT: That's right.

MOORE: And now, the point is that there was some knowledge of what that money was for-if it was for taking advantage of the rules (unintelligible) George Bush told me, (unintelligible) the other day. He was complaining about this (unintelligible) draw him out. "Mardian (unintelligible) to come over and got me in the corner and said, 'They're asking me for \$30,000.'" The Committee. (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Jesus Christ.

MOORE: He said, "If they're trying to raise a fund for these Watergaters, (unintelligible) figure out (unintelligible) what that is all about. He was mad at that. (unintelligible). He said, he said, you know, like so many people, he would say lay it all out, that--

PRESIDENT: He's worried as hell. We -all are.

MOORE: But...

PRESIDENT: And yet we should lay it all out and that's what we've finally done, I guess.

MOORE: Well, they're not satisfied. This money--the, the chief thing is--well, I don't know what the, fair interpretation is of the \$350,000 which...

PRESIDENT: That undoubtedly went, it seems to me--we don't know, it was returned, uh, but it went, uh,--LaRue got it as an agent, according to Haldeman, as an agent for the Committee, but on the other hand, it's cash and all that. But it went there and, uh, they, they--it certainly would be implied that Haldeman, would, Haldeman approved it for that purpose. I mean that's what they're gonna try to say.

MOORE: (unintelligible) and, uh, and I noticed...

PRESIDENT: That's Haldeman's vulnerability.

MOORE: Yeah. According to, uh, that so-called testimony, uh, uh, Strachan said, uh, "I did it. I decided myself to take it back." Well, that's not gonna to do (unintelligible with tape noise/**REMOVED**)

PRESIDENT: (unintelligible with tape noise) go into that.

MOORE: **RESTRICTED-"D"**

PRESIDENT: The one that, that ultimately concerns--the 350 is water under the bridge.. The last one concerns me only because of he made mention in my presence, which he shouldn't have done, but nevertheless he mentioned. I must say that's what really triggered my own (unintelligible) for Christ's sake. Then I raised the I critical point, "How much is that gonna cost? Cost you a million dollars (unintelligible)"

MOORE: This was in a recent conversation you had with Dean?

PRESIDENT: Almost the last one I had with him.

MOORE: Where he said--would, would you repeat that what he said.

PRESIDENT: I said what I recall was that--Dick, he was talking about the problem, you know, I said, the problem with this thing as well the problems of the obstruction and I said "Well, what, like what?" "Well for example, Bittman has speak-spoken to me in the (tape noise) but after that he called Mitchell, from what I gather.

MOORE: He didn't tell you that before the fact. Dean told you this after the fact. After it was all over.

PRESIDENT: Oh. You mean before the money was raised?

MOORE: I mean at the time that I was in the string of meetings with you and Dean.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: (unintelligible with tape noise)

PRESIDENT: (unintelligible with tape noise) what the hell did he talk about in those meetings?

MOORE: We talked--the first two meetings were executive privilege on our approach to this...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ... (unintelligible) committee. The, uh, third meeting, uh, nothing like this. A general question, what are our tactics, what we should do we do about preparing.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: Dean had some ideas such as we ought to challenge the other Senators to, uh, put their campaign records at the disposal...

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah, he wants to take on (unintelligible)...

MOORE: Yeah. And that, uh, uh, we might get some kind of material from Bill Sullivan. These are all tactical things that--,

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Oh, I had forgotten Sullivan.

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: He got a report from Sullivan and didn't think it was very good actually.

MOORE: Yeah. Then we talked about, uh, maintaining a strong position on separation of powers

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...but we never got into any factual stuff.

PRESIDENT: The money thing was raised with me in a meeting where Haldeman was there. He raised this point about this.

MOORE: Uh huh. Well, the damnest stuff open (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: No. Apparently, I think, they got it.

MOORE: I think that was (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: He was not unconcerned. No. No. Later (unintelligible). Later, I think, I think, he got-I don't know. I guess they got money. I don't know. Maybe they didn't. Maybe that's why Hunt's talking. But at least they're--

MOORE: But--if, if anybody takes Mitchell in the worst light, and looking at it, you know--If there is-- Now let me put it like this: There was some knowledge of payment procedure, or the need for money, uh, talking about LaCosta. And I'm not trying...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...to make trouble for anybody, I'm trying to put it--

PRESIDENT: But then Ehrlichman could have told somebody.

MOORE: No, no. What I'm wondering very frankly, is they were on that, that-they're on this track--this, the case they're trying to make, I think, is that either Haldeman or Ehrlichman or both not--only had knowledge of but approved and perhaps helped the obstruction operation.

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: That they wanted to keep this, you know, (unintelligible) from coming out and were trying to protect you and...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...in a desperate situation they said all right, you know, go ahead and pay them off-- And if this is the case they're trying to prove, I don't know how much of a case they have. Uh, uh. John mentions, uh, that, that, uh, they can (unintelligible) with another (unintelligible). He thought it was, uh, for Hunt--

PRESIDENT: John Ehrlichman?

MOORE: Yes, John Ehrlichman. Excuse me. Ah. That he thought this was for Hunt, to keep-because otherwise Hunt was going to start writing articles for Life Magazine to earn some money and-it's to replace that. It's not an obstruction thing. It's a case of--

PRESIDENT: Giving up thing.

MOORE: Give him some funds so he wouldn't write, start writing news stories.

PRESIDENT: And did Dean mention that to him?

MOORE: No, John mentioned this (unintelligible)
It's the kind of thing that they have to
have, I don't know where he got that but see
John Dean was talking -- was getting it to
Mitchell at the U.S. Attorney, he told me...

PRESIDENT: Yes. Sure was

MOORE: ...through his lawyer who's apparently
friendly over there and, well, he showed me
a piece of paper, uh, two or three days
before he, or that weekend, (unintelligible)
he asked me to come out on something else.
He said this -I've been talking to my
attorney. Summing up what they're doing
over there. He said, "here's what I see"
and he had a list of indictments. He had a
list of Mitchell, Dean, LaRue, Mardian with
a question mark.

PRESIDENT: Right, right.

MOORE: ...and then he had Ehrlichman, Haldeman,
Colson, Strachan,

PRESIDENT: How did this money thing. La Costa I didn't know this La Costa. And the question of, uh, the, uh, th, uh, Dean said, that what? That La Costa (unintelligible with tape noise).

MOORE By the way, uh, I got him to -- they have, there's a money problem. I can't recall the exact words.

PRESIDENT: Unintelligible

MOORE: I'm not a very good reporter.

PRESIDENT: Okay.

MOORE: They, they need the money. Uh. Haven't got too much time or it's...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...conclusion or something like that. One of the two, either Bob or John said, "Well, can't La Rue get, go on round and, uh, raise it?" I, I can't remember beyond that...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...whether somebody'd said he'd been to the well too often, or he shouldn't or La Rue was questionable or I don't know what it was. And then perhaps, that (unintelligible) the word which was (unintelligible) said that, sometimes, (unintelligible) I think it was facetious, said, "All he has to do is ask Nelson Rockefeller, and he's got half a million dollars any time he wants it."

PRESIDENT: Who John?

MOORE: John Ehrlichman said that. And someone said, "Well, Dick, when you see him, why don't you tell him about this." I'm not kidding. It's m problem. It's not theirs.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: Uh, I think it was the afore stated purpose. I spent five hours with John. I was there, if I'd gone up to ask him that question, I didn't need to-- I expected to be doing the whole bloomin' thing. Before the Committee (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Now, the other fact beyond that was that, uh, Dean, let's see, uh, regarding, uh...

MOORE: (Unintelligible with tape noise) excuse me, excuse me.

PRESIDENT: Where were you, after La Costa. And then there's another time that you got Dean asking, uh, (unintelligible, with noise).

MOORE: Is that about the blackmail or, or John?

PRESIDENT: The blackmail.

MOORE: The blackmail conversation...

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible).

MOORE: ...was in, uh, in, in March.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: I would say probably. It was about a week before the sentencing which took place around the 21st of March.

PRESIDENT: And Dean...

MOORE: Dean said to me., "Boy, these punks, I tell ya, uh, uh, I just got word that Hunt..." and I thought he said \$40,000,"is demanding that \$40,000 be..." anyway a large sum of money, "be placed in his account or in escrow..."

PRESIDENT: ... (unintelligible).

MOORE: "...or deposited before he gets sentenced because he wants to have it there and know it's there before."

PRESIDENT: "Before he gets sentenced."

MOORE: "Before he gets sentenced." And he said...

PRESIDENT: After what happened.

MOORE: ... (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: He said that to you?

MOORE: He said that to me. And I said, ...

PRESIDENT: What did you say?

MOORE: "John, for heaven's sake, ...

PRESIDENT: This is blackmail.

MOORE: I said, "This is blackmail and whoever you talk to, whatever you're doing, tell 'em don't touch it. Uh, let this guy..."

PRESIDENT: And that's exactly...

MOORE: ... (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: And that he reported to me.

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: That's what he said to me. He said this is blackmail, \$40,000. (Unintelligible).

MOORE: (Unintelligible). If we do this, it's gonna be goddamn difficult, go on forever and so forth. I -- compounding thing was something. Mitchell, Mitchell. In any conversation I've had it was whatever you do, don't compound.

APRIL 19, 1973 FROM 3:45 P.M. TO 5:00 P.M.

45

PRESIDENT: Fine.

MOORE: (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: After that --, we've got that -- but, ah, there was another meeting, I think, when Dean, (tape noise) Haldeman, er, met in Haldeman's office and Dean asked about that money. (Tape noise) then, uh,, uh, asked Mitchell, huh?

MOORE: No. I don't he never told me about this. I don't know.

PRESIDENT: Dean-- you think he asked Mitchell for the money?

MOORE: No, I don't. I told -- I would think may be not because of the way John cut it off with me, I (unintelligible) had the feeling he wasn't (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Matter of fact, it was that particular thing that really triggered my whole -- I said, "Jesus Christ, I mean, these guys are in something here that we gotta knock off," because I knew - I said, "Christ, you can't be paying blackmail for years for this sort of thing. It's ridiculous." Ridiculous. I said, "John, John is how mach is it gonna cost to keep on paying this money? One million dollars?"

MOORE: Anybody knows...

PRESIDENT: The price goes up.

MOORE: It goes up and the day comes when something goes wrong and they'll spill anyway. So just never ending, never ending.

PRESIDENT: Thank god, we got in it. We got going there.

MOORE: Uh, uh, but, but...

PRESIDENT: On the plus side, at least, we started doing something.

MOORE: Oh, listen, I can't tell you about the reaction of the (tape noise) I talked to about the fact. We'd taken ahold, checked him out and, things like that --

PRESIDENT: The only thing I'm concerned about is my, my knowledge of that particular thing.

MOORE: Well,

PRESIDENT: I didn't inform the U.S. Attorney of it at that point, but I, of course I just had all from there, an ex parte thing from Dean.

MOORE: Ya.

PRESIDENT: But we, we investigated it right away.

MOORE: Well, all I got from that that Dean was asked by someone. I don't think I know by who (tape noise) who was making that demand and I have no idea whether he ever acted on it or not. I never...

PRESIDENT: Yeah, yeah.

MOORE: ...that stuff and I gave him my speech and that's all I know.

PRESIDENT: Blackmail speech, and he gave that to me.

MOORE: Ya, ya. But, but ah, what, the earlier situation, uh, that they refer to at uh...

PRESIDENT: M

MOORE: Well, it worries me in this sense that uh (unintelligible) my first intention uh, uh...

PRESIDENT: But your recollections are not totally clear on that.

MOORE: That's right. No, they're not. No, I wouldn't want anybody to think they were. I do think that...

PRESIDENT: Now you can't, it can't be said that either Haldeman or Ehrlichman did anything about it. They both, they didn't raise the money.

MOORE: No. The whole question is,...

PRESIDENT: They were aware of it.

MOORE: ...is whether there was any other, how were they aware of it and, and what did this, was the pattern? Because if this comes out (unintelligible) it nay never cover any other direction

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: We've got Dean, who may testify, I don't know, I assume he has testified.

PRESIDENT: Sure?

MOORE: Ya, he is supposed to have said that, get this, John Ehrlichman told me, that be didn't make a move throughout this whole thing without consulting Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

PRESIDENT: It's Haldeman and Ehrlichman?

MOORE: He says Haldeman and Ehrlichman. Ya. Now, Dean is going to say he did a lot, uh, deeply involved in raising funds for the so-called obstruction of justice is the way they've been describing it.

PRESIDENT: Ya. (tape noise)

MOORE: And it turns out that uh, with all the good will in the world, and uh obstructions may go on, that case could be made against either Bob or John who may end up with an indictment and even...Ya. Think, think about that.

PRESIDENT: Well, then (unintelligible) I'm worried about in the case of any indictments the hell with the indictments. It doesn't prove the God damned case. Both of them have lawyers, and they're talking to 'em today.

MOORE: Oh, now, I'm glad because I don't have to, I, I might as well talk to their lawyers.

PRESIDENT: Ya.

MOORE: Cause I...

PRESIDENT: Right and do that. Particularly on the La Costa thing. That's a very important thing, I, uh, wouldn't want to suggest any of perjury, but on that one **RESTRICTED-"D"** I mean it just doesn't seem to me that--

MOORE: They didn't do anything.

PRESIDENT: That's my point. If they did something,, that's a hell of a lot different thing.

MOORE: uh...

PRESIDENT: Dean discussed the problem but well anyway, that's something else.

MOORE: Well, I've been (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: I didn't, I didn't frankly,, I never heard of the La Costa thing 'til today. I hadn't heard that before you talked to roe today. I'm gonna...

MOORE: Well,

PRESIDENT:

MOORE: **RESTRICTED-"D"**

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: ...you that, and moreover, uh...

PRESIDENT: What about this? What about your communication with Dean now. He's obviously put out a statement.

MOORE: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: ...that he isn't gonna be a scapegoat. Why don't you go back and talk to him?

MOORE: Uh,...

PRESIDENT: Dangerous?

MOORE: I don't think he would talk to me.

PRESIDENT: Why?

MOORE: Well, uh, first of all,...

PRESIDENT: ...(unintelligible)

MOORE: I got the subpoena today
(unintelligible/**REMOVED**). Dean tells me
that one our staff members was
(unintelligible). Well, uh, Dean knew it.
He says -- The agent told me he knew it. So
I went by, opened the door and said "Hey."
He said, "Yes I heard." And the first
question I asked him is, "who, who'd you
talk to at the White House about this." He
said, uh, -- I said "OK," (Unintelligible)
and I closed the door. Uh, now...

PRESIDENT: I don't think there's a thing we can do on
Dean. I think Dean is...

MOORE: Dean is...

PRESIDENT: ...out to save himself.

MOORE: That's right. That statement --

PRESIDENT: But I don't know, I don't know what he can
do to save himself. I don't see how. Could
you think the U.S. Attorney can actually
afford to give him -- let's put it this way,
if they give him immunity, John, uh, uh, it
may save himself, but then he'll talk. How
can they give him immunity on everything?
He's the guy that -- subornation of perjury
and the other. He's got two terrible
counts, doesn't he?

MOORE: Well, now being realistic, he's gonna make the case...

PRESIDENT: ...that he'll nail 'em.

MOORE: ...that, that the power and the majesty of the office and then Haldeman, Ehrlichman (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Does that get you off though?

MOORE: Well,...

PRESIDENT: I've asked Petersen about that today.

MOORE: It doesn't get you off legally, but if you get -- he's gonna get...

PRESIDENT: He'll get a lesser sentence.

MOORE: Well, he's gonna go for -- let's start with immunity on the grounds that this young man who's, took a job over his head, was, got a good story on someone, something to be modest about, became so much a, a tool of these uh, uh (unintelligible) and two of the most powerful men in the world...

PRESIDENT: That's right.

MOORE: ...that, that, uh, he was led down this path and, and ended up doing-things purely because he felt he had no choice. And they were not, they were not, voluntary, they were, uh, this, not the Nuremberg Doctrine now, uh, it's a doctrine of sympathy for this...

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: ...for a young man and so while we don't -- under the Nuremberg Doctrine, he's, he's guilty morally he was so young and (unintelligible)...

PRESIDENT: You see the problem we got here, you see...

MOORE: ...(unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: The problem we got here is that, uh, Dean will say, he'll have Haldeman and Ehrlichman resign. OK. They're relying on that, if they fall on a sword (unintelligible). They point is, let's suppose you do have them resign, fire 'em, you know.

MOORE: But, but...

PRESIDENT: I don't know as it cuts your losses.

MOORE: Is there, uh, a treaty here? Uh, I had thought that Mike Mansfield, for instance, or someone like that, a decent man -- nobody wants -- sorry, even an, indictment if, if two (unintelligible with tape noise) celebrated persons (unintelligible)...

PRESIDENT: Yeah. That's right.

MOORE: ...are indicted by a Grand Jury for subornation, uh, uh, obstruction of justice, whatever it may be--

PRESIDENT: What's the second set? Obstruction?

MOORE: Obstruction, obstruction. (Unintelligible). And we already have a, a **RESTRICTED-"D"**

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: (Unintelligible) loss of law and order (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Correct.

MOORE: Then, uh, that just by itself is...

PRESIDENT: That's enough, right.

MOORE: ...(Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: How do you mean? Why Mansfield, I mean...

MOORE: Well, what I meant, was...

PRESIDENT: ...basically, what we have here is the judge.

MOORE: Well, what's let's start off with a, uh, lead. The thought would be - what I have that if, that, that the resignation were based on, "Yes, we let, things happened, and we were at the gate and, uh, we were, failed...

PRESIDENT: ...(unintelligible). We're innocent.

MOORE: (Unintelligible) failed in our --

PRESIDENT: "We're innocent.

MOORE: "But, but we don't intend - but we let things happen which shouldn't have happened. We should have been more alert. Uh, we failed the President and the public's entitled to expect -- and because of the accusations and do forth. The (unintelligible) people in high posts. there's no problem of, uh, --

PRESIDENT: Well, I put that to Petersen directly. I said, I said, "Let's suppose they resign." I said, "Does that change the prosecution?" He said, "No." I suppose he has to say that.

MOORE: He has to say it at that point. Now, uh, (tape noise) had -- get some support for kind of a, uh, of a (unintelligible with noise) dig in (tape noise) Mitchell.

PRESIDENT: I think he should come forward and say he was responsible for this.

MOORE: Yeah. If he, if he did, uh, -- and there'd be other resignations from here and so forth. But, but, I think, in terms of the extreme, in the public -- the, the press and various other...

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible).

MOORE: That. Kind of, of, an admission of -- not guilty -- but I think that could be resigned, too, for the same reason. So I can be a little -- in on the -- I, I, -- I hate to say to him let him resign. I, I can do the same thing. It's alright with me. Not, not to the same degree. I'm not on their level. But still that might satisfy that vultures. Uh, an admission of, of -- whatever excuses you want to make and rationalizations.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: (unintelligible) came in to, uh...

PRESIDENT: Let me say, though who, would I have them resigning (unintelligible)

MOORE: Well, now, how could we...

PRESIDENT: I mean how do work that and, uh...

MOORE: You've just now, uh, -- what about, what about an objective method. You have here a, a credibility case on the obstruction. If in the part of this package, the Attorney General would say, "These men have resigned. We've examined -- the country needs this -- I did this, uh, they've admitted -- uh, whatever the word would be, uh, -- a it'd have to be (unintelligible) drawn, that things have happened. The truth has come out. I an satisfied that to the, the, the indictment did da da da offered the possibility of a crime beyond a reasonable doubt. Uh, the Attorney General has examined the entire situation; has agreed to dismiss the Grand Jury. Uh, (tape noise) the case is a doubtful one at best. And, uh, time to get on to other things and get this case resolved."

Now if you had a little sympathy of support from people like Mansfield and even Humphrey, they might want to submit--

PRESIDENT: Get it out of the way.

MOORE: Get it out of the way and everybody would want to try not to...

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

MOORE: ...to touch the President. And by the way, nowhere, no how do I run into anybody who thinks it touches you. But if you start (unintelligible) what are you going to do. I think.

PRESIDENT: I think, it'll touch me in the sense of, say the only one -- where Dean, uh, Dean after all, we had these long conversations as, as the thing began to unfold me and particularly when he told me about Hunt's demand.

MOORE: Well.

PRESIDENT: That, that touches me.

MOORE: I should have, uh, (unintelligible) -- hard tire. You had a reasonable expect -- I was watching the date when I heard that he was talking to you. We were wondering whether you should act...

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: ...(Unintelligible) I was meeting with Ziegler and Len at John Ehrlichman's and, uh, I felt you should move pretty quick. I was also afraid of a headline like today's headline. I thought you ought to get on the front (unintelligible) which you did.

PRESIDENT: We moved about the right time, I think.

MOORE: (Unintelligible) sentencing demand. We could get it, but we could use this line.

PRESIDENT: I suppose I should have walked out, looking back, at the moment Dean told me about the forty, uh, the demand of Hunt, uh.

MOORE: No one could have known he'd want to use it -- this. Do we know whether he discussed these conversations with you?

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible, tape noise) assume he has.

MOORE: He shouldn't. That's going pretty far even for him...(Unintelligible) statement. Are we getting any, any information as to what's going on over there? What - Kleindienst or anybody?

PRESIDENT: Oh. Petersen talks to me, but I don't know how much he levels.

MOORE: (Tape noise) The question is of what Dean has said. (Unintelligible) effect of, let's say, the La Costa problem or, or, uh, you have no problem about La Costa. (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: He was going to do the reporting on it.

MOORE: Oh, if you hadn't connected your thoughts on what to do on this subject, you. And didn't you -- I remember you went up (unintelligible) Thursday. I don't know.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: You went out on the Sequoia. I think it was about 9:30 and I saw the Secret Service men standing, you were about here (unintelligible) this is something that --

PRESIDENT: But that (unintelligible)

MOORE: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: ...this is at least a week, two weeks after Dean told me about the 40,000, about the Hunt thing. (Tape noise) I, but I, must say, in that period...

MOORE: (Unintelligible) Is that the 21st? That's--

PRESIDENT: ... in that period, I was undertaking, then an investigation --

MOORE: Sure, sure. And, uh, it was an unsupported statement that Dean made that triggered you into action. See your statement said that, "Effective March 21st, I undertook a new intensive investigation." And, my gosh, I, I, know, no, I don't think you'll have any problem

PRESIDENT:

RESTRICTED-"D"

I didn't even -- I frankly didn't know what the Christ had been paying off or not. It's the first time I really knew we were paying off, I really didn't know it. I didn't know about the 350 job.

MOORE: Yeah. I...

PRESIDENT: Haldeman has been pretty -- we never --

MOORE: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: ...all of the people have been pr-- they don't bother -- hell I was ending a war and doing a few other things.

MOORE: I think everybody in the country knows that and everybody, uh, uh, the, the (unintelligible with tape noise) they use about the German Wall but my God they did (unintelligible) for you and they did protect you against the situation and they took -- they let things happen and I, I could understand it. I was right in the, in the periphery. I had nothing, uh, (unintelligible with tape noise). You had a tough situation and it was too bad. But it didn't get to you and I don't think anybody can think...

PRESIDENT: Thank God I didn't know. Now, I was just thinking if somebody had told me about this thing before, I think I would have said, "Why you stupid bastards, what the hell are you bugging the National Committee for?" It probably, probably wouldn't have occurred to me to think about it all (unintelligible). I had, I was the most, I think I was the most amazed person of all at the damned thing. I, I was floored. I thought these guys must be crazy. It's a screwy (unintelligible with tape noise) believe in it.

MOORE: For a long time you thought it was a (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: You know what I thought? I couldn't believe John Mitchell had done it. I thought it was the nuts like Liddy doin' the whole dam thing. And he had the money...

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...but exceeding their authority. That's what I thought, Dick.

MOORE: Exactly what I thought.

PRESIDENT: Then when you come in to the business of the, uh, of, uh, -- the only thing that troubles me about the whole goddamn thing is the obstruction thing. And the obstruction thing, I don't know that it's had all that much effect. I mean, it's all coming out.

MOORE: Well, I do think the thing we have to (tape noise) whether there is any other peripheral evidence that would (tape noise) really stick, and, uh, uh -- by anyone high up in the White House and specifically Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

PRESIDENT: On what? Obstruction?

MOORE: On obstruction. Cause this went on all summer and went on all fall and --

PRESIDENT: Did it?

MOORE: Oh, yeah. The first day, I mean, uh, these fellows, uh, were arrested, they didn't have any lawyers, lawyers turned up. They never had a money problem.

PRESIDENT: But, that's, uh,...

MOORE: Uh,...

PRESIDENT: ...that's, that's fair enough. Is there anything wrong with that?

MOORE: Well, I...

PRESIDENT: Getting lawyers for defendants.

MOORE: Well, I think these were not our -- we, we disowned them. They were, uh, following a detour. They were ultra vires. They were, uh,...

PRESIDENT: Well, I mean, in the knowledge that it was being done.

MOORE: Well, like what.

PRESIDENT: I mean doing it is one thing.

MOORE: Now I said -- well, let's say knowledge -- it is a felony uh, uh, for anybody to obstruct justice, to give...

PRESIDENT: Well, I understand...

MOORE: ...and the reason...

PRESIDENT: To obstruct justice is one thing. But getting them attorneys before they were convicted, I don't, I think that's another thing, getting their attorneys, taking care of their support (unintelligible)

MOORE: Well, all right. But, the point is that, I guess payments were made. These fellows were getting, you've you've read about this.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, about the payments.

MOORE: ...payments, uh and uh and the judge thing. I don't believe be didn't know where it was coming from right away.

PRESIDENT: All right. (Unintelligible)

MOORE: There was, I think, money being, uh, I assume money was being, cash was being, maybe I spoke of this agreement of the \$350,000 (unintelligible) but that's what I'm assuming and everybody else assumes it. It's a question of, of knowledge, and, and knowledge and, and Haldeman or

MOORE Ehrlichman or Moore on that, uh, uh, without
(cont'd): action it's probably legal certainly (tape
noise). And uh, I I, I don't think this is,
uh, (unintelligible) for him to worry about
this, at least, (unintelligible) at least
but, uh, here it is. Now this notion of a,
of a treaty. Get the, get the whole thing
over, now it, it won't come and get 'em
here, but, uh, uh, review at this point, uh,
this thing's before the world and, uh...

PRESIDENT: I know.

MOORE: ...and, uh, I think there's...

PRESIDENT: There are many that are, that are just
destroyed.

Laughs.

MOORE: Well, there are some, but I, but I think
there are enough here, possibly two. At
least we've got to give it some more
thought, uh, to, to work out a pretty, a
pretty rough solution from the stand point
of the executive branch, but one that, uh,
excludes you personally, one that, uh,
causes embarrassment, not so much for the
evils of Watergate, but ineptitude and (tape
noise) that, uh, I, I bet it's a long shot,
but, but uh, I would, I would hate to see,
uh, this (tape noise) our way and in fact I
know they don't know whether the
(unintelligible) on obstruction or not. Now
it's impossible to prove it all. Now that
should be proven, but Fred La Rue at the
dark of night isn't going to the White
House, it's uh (unintelligible). Every
little thing that has had...

PRESIDENT: Trouble too on La Rue. You've got Dean and Magruder, two people who are now proving to be rather facile liars. So I think Dean's lying too, so shit. He was really running the show.

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: You know that.

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: At least, I told him that when we came in here. "John, you've carried a hell of a load, you know, on this thing," which is true. But, uh, when I referred to load, I didn't, I had no, didn't know what, what the load was.

MOORE: I know.

PRESIDENT: I thought) he was just keeping everything together, handling Ziegler and all that kind of thing.

MOORE: Mm, hmm, we certainly, we really, we can't just let go of that thing, that line. We really, I sure wish I knew what he's been saying, because this, he probably can embellish and produce all kinds of things. Approval for this or that action.

PRESIDENT: Yep.

MOORE: Dates that coincide, diary entries.

PRESIDENT: I don't believe, I don't know, but ah, about Dean, but I don't believe it would serve his interests to go so far as to attack the President.

MOORE: No. (Tape noise) I think that, uh...

PRESIDENT: I don't know how he feels about me.

MOORE: I, I --

PRESIDENT: I, I think I've been, relative to him, considering, you know, that he...

MOORE: He, He --

PRESIDENT: ...he wants to fire Haldeman and Ehrlichman I understand...

MOORE: Yeah, yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...so that he goes down with them.

MOORE: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: But uh, what do you people think? Johnny Ostram (phonetic), how does he feel about his relationship with the President, Dean?

MOORE: (Unintelligible) Well, invincible, or as uh, principled as people like Len Garment...

PRESIDENT: Yeah

MOORE: ...or John or Bob or some of the rest of them.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: I, I think -- John's a strange fellow, I don't know much about him. You know he went to three colleges, uh, I don't know what that happened

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: Had that little problem with his law firm, he...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...Uh...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: I don't know how much principle he has.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: If it is true...

PRESIDENT: Then he might attack the President.

MOORE: Well, I would worry about that. I, I -have a feeling he will attack anybody...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: ...and say anything, at this point forward, if it suits his purpose. (Unintelligible with tape noise) I was, well, we were friends I would say, John, we're going to come out of this, just keep your head and you're a lawyer and they're not going to go after you.

PRESIDENT: You kept saying that to him?

MOORE: Sure, but, but during the last, last week or ten days he was worried about it.

PRESIDENT: When, when did you last see him?

MOORE: I saw him, uh, Tuesday afternoon about twenty minutes after I got that subpoena about 4; Prior to that...

PRESIDENT: Before that when?

MOORE: Prior to that, uh, Thursday, the week before.

PRESIDENT: How was his attitude then? Scared?

MOORE: The last time I saw him (unintelligible) he was sitting there studying those yellow pages of in- indictment, the list of those to be indicted. With his own name on it. He said no. I've got better sources, better (unintelligible) information out of that U.S. Attorney's office than anybody. I've got a case made. I've got a case made against Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Colson (unintelligible) with a question mark (unintelligible) all the way down the line and uh, I don't know, I suppose, do you think I could (unintelligible). There's a young man who's sitting there brooding, getting ready to go down and uh, buy what he can in the way of immunity but, uh, I don't know.

PRESIDENT: What' s your view? Should I suggest to Petersen to give him immunity, kick the hell out of the President. Let's, I understand it isn't me personally. It's the office we've got to protect.

MOORE: Now, that's right.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

MOORE: But it's the office. But, but I, I understand (unintelligible) I would like a little time to think, and this sounds stupid...

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

MOORE: I'm, I'm a little concerned about Petersen's relationship.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. You think he was feeding Dean--

MOORE: Yes.

PRESIDENT: I'm not so --

MOORE: You saw what happened to Pat Gray and I, I--

PRESIDENT: Pat Gray --

MOORE: Well, Pat Gray got in trouble for being too close to Dean, too subservient in giving him information and so forth. Uh, --

PRESIDENT: So what do you mean? Petersen (unintelligible)

MOORE: Well, I'm just wondering whether Petersen's the one to make this decision? Uh, uh, or what his role is, uh, I'm afraid that Dean may come in. I wish we could find out what Dean had said, cause, in the summer months I think, he may say that all during the trial and during the Grand Jury investigation, Mr. Petersen was telling people what was going on in that Grand Jury room. (tape noise) It certainly undermines confidence. (tape noise) The Criminal Division is talking to one of the prospective defendants if they tell anyone as it turns out. It's an evil situation with the Senate.

PRESIDENT: Think about it, think about it without telling anybody in here about the situation, whether or not maybe under the circumstances, Dean ought to get off.

MOORE: I (unintelligible) completely. Of course, it's not right, but we've got to save the Presidency. e've got to save it.

PRESIDENT: That's right.

MOORE: And, morally, I would say this, I, make you feel a bit better. What happened was a silly God-damned burglary exercise to, to, to get started on some egotist (unintelligible) playing at cops and robbers (unintelligible). As you said, the cover-up is worse than the deed.

PRESIDENT: Right.

MOORE: And no one had an evil intent, did they? They suddenly had a situation...

PRESIDENT: They were trying to help, for Christ's sake.

MOORE: There should not be this, uh, this budget should not have been lost, McGovern should not have touched this, some damn fools broke into the --

PRESIDENT: That's right.

MOORE: So you could rationalize to whatever, that issue about changing the Presidency. My God. So, morally, isn't it, people went right along with it, I can see it, I've seen the progression myself, a gradual -- take one step after another so that even Dean, uh, uh, that hardened criminal, (unintelligible) he was only a young man, and, uh...

PRESIDENT: No, no.

MOORE: Magruder's not a criminal.

PRESIDENT: Magru--

MOORE: Mitchell's not a criminal. I think that it's sick.

PRESIDENT: La Rue.

MOORE: I think that guy Mitchell...

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

MOORE: I think (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Well,

MOORE: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Anyway, this is helpful. Think about the immunity. (unintelligible) and let me know tomorrow.

MOORE: I will.

PRESIDENT: Alright.

MOORE: I, I, I, I'd like to know, uh, would you think about Petersen, I I'd like to know more about whether, I don't want to see a headline that Petersen was uh, was collaborating with Dean (unintelligible) the man. you called in here on Sunday, and now Kleindienst says, that he disqualified himself, and that the top prosecutor turns out to be (unintelligible) here this young man (unintelligible) Mr. Dean it just is one of those new elements that adds to the coloration quite seriously.

PRESIDENT: Suppose you say if you give him immunity and they'd say you're trying to buy him off.

MOORE: And do I want a, sort of, to sit down with this and think it through, because we don't look...Firstly, Magruder has done nothing that stops you, John Mitchell, and John Mitchell, I'm afraid, is something, maybe not, but the Presidency, Dean is the key.

PRESIDENT: That's right. Jesus Christ, he was making the God damned report for me. He's the one that I relied on.

MOORE: And the man who made the report was (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: That's right. It was not written, but it was an oral report. Ziegler would ask before every press

APRIL 19, 1973 FROM 3:45 P.M. TO 5:00 P.M.

69

PRESIDENT conference about John, anybody in the White
(cont'd): House in --. Right? Dean said no. And I
think it was true. But that was not with
regard to obstruction.

MOORE: No, the whole thing with obstruction. Well,
uh, I would like to --

PRESIDENT: Okay, boy.

MOORE: The report came back maybe on, uh, I'll just
mull this --

PRESIDENT: Tomorrow about noon, what about?

MOORE: Noon tomorrow is fine.

PRESIDENT: Back eleven o'clock so I'll, I'll--

MOORE: I, I, I'll be there on (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Yes.

MOORE: I'll stand by.

PRESIDENT: Thank you.

MOORE: Bye.

PRESIDENT: Thank you.

(President coughs, background noise)