

TRANSCRIPT OF A RECORDING OF A MEETING
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND H.R. HALDEMAN IN
THE OVAL OFFICE ON JUNE 23, 1972 FROM 10:04
TO 11:39 AM

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Background noises, banging noises and
scratching noises. (Unintelligible speech)

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) I've told that you've got,
they've got magnificent photos

HALDEMAN: No, they don't. See, that was all hand held
camera without lighting. Lousy footage.
It's good in content, it's terrible in film
quality. (Twenty second pause.)

PRESIDENT: Well, you'll have Rose there. (Noise)
(Pause) You know she deserves to be seen in
here, she ought to be in here.

HALDEMAN: Well, no problem. Run her in if you want to
sure

PRESIDENT: That's right. Got so God damned much
(scratching noises)

HALDEMAN: God damned.

PRESIDENT: I understand, I just thought
(unintelligible) If I do, I just buzz.

HALDEMAN: Yeah. Ah

PRESIDENT: Good, that's a very good paper that he
prepared. At least it volunteered one thing
they haven't got in there is the thing we
mentioned with regard to the Armed Services.

HALDEMAN: I covered that with Ehrlichman who says that
can be done and he's moving. Not only Armed
Services, but the whole government.

PRESIDENT: GSA? All government?

HALDEMAN: All government procurement, yeah. And,, ah, I talked to John about that and he said that was a good idea. So, ah, Henry gets back at 3:45.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, I told, ah, Haig today I'd see Rogers at 4:30.

HALDEMAN: Oh. good, O.K.

PRESIDENT: Well, if he gets back at 3:45, he won't be here until 4:00 or 4:30.

HALDEMAN: It'll be a little after 4:00.
(Unintelligible) 'til approximately 5:00.

PRESIDENT: Well, I have to, I'm supposed to go to Camp David at 5:00. Rogers doesn't need a lot of time, does he?

HALDEMAN: No sir.

PRESIDENT: Picture?

HALDEMAN: Just posing that's all. He

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: just brief - called me about it yesterday afternoon and said I don't want to sit in the meeting with Henry, I understand that but there may be a couple of points Henry

PRESIDENT: Yeah, sure.

HALDEMAN: wants me to be aware of.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible/**REMOVED**) call him and tell him we'll call him as soon as Henry gets here, which will be between 4:30 and 5:00 o'clock (unintelligible) Good. (Pause)

HALDEMAN: okay --that's fine. Now, on the investigation, you know, the Democratic break-in thing, we're back to the--in the, the problem area because the FBI is not under control, because Gray doesn't exactly know how to control them, and they have, their investigation is now leading into some productive areas, because they've been able to trace the money, not through the money itself, but through the bank, you know, sources the banker himself. And, and it goes in some directions we don't want it to go. Ah, also there have been some things, like an informant came in off the street to the FBI in Miami, who was a photographer or has a friend who is a photographer who developed some films through this guy, Barker, and the films had pictures of Democratic National Committee letter head documents and things. So I guess, so it's things like that that are gonna, that are filtering in. Mitchell came up with yesterday, and John Dean analyzed very carefully last night and concludes, concurs now with Mitchell's recommendation that the only way to solve this, and we're set up beautifully to do it, ah, in that and that ...the only network that paid any attention to it last night was NBC ...they did a massive story on the Cuban...

PRESIDENT: That's right.

HALDEMAN: thing.

PRESIDENT: Right.

HALDEMAN: That the way to handle this now is for us to have Walters call Pat Gray and just say, "Stay the hell out of this ...this is ah, business here we don't want you to go any further on it." That's not an unusual development,...

PRESIDENT: Um huh.

HALDEMAN: ...and, uh, that would take care of it.

PRESIDENT: What about Pat Gray, ah, you mean he doesn't want to?

HALDEMAN: Pat does want to. He doesn't know how to, and he doesn't have, he doesn't have any basis for doing it. Given this, he will then have the basis. He'll call Mark Felt in, and the two of them ...and Mark Felt wants to cooperate because...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: he's ambitious

PRESIDENT: Yeah'.

HALDEMAN: Ah, he'll call him in and say, "We've got the signal from across the river to, to put the hold on this." And that will fit rather well because the FBI agents who are working the case, at this point, feel that's what it is. This is CIA.

PRESIDENT: But they've traced the money to 'em.

HALDEMAN: Well they have, they've traced to a name, but they haven't gotten to the guy yet.

PRESIDENT: Would it be somebody here?

HALDEMAN: Ken Dahlberg.

PRESIDENT: Who the hell is Ken Dahlberg?

HALDEMAN: He's ah, he gave \$25,000 in Minnesota and ah, the check went directly in to this, to this guy Barker.

PRESIDENT: Maybe he's a...bum.

PRESIDENT: He didn't get this from the committee though, from Stans.

HALDEMAN: Yeah. It is. It is. It's directly traceable and there's some more through some Texas people in--that went to the Mexican bank which they can also trace to the Mexican bank ...they'll get their names today. And (pause)

PRESIDENT: Well, I mean, ah, there's no way I'm just thinking if they don't cooperate, what do they say? They they, they were approached by the Cubans. That's what Dahlberg has to say, the Texans too. Is that the-idea?

HALDEMAN: Well, if they will. But then we're relying on more and more people all the time. That's the problem. And ah, they'll stop if we could, if we take this other step.

PRESIDENT: All right. Fine.

HALDEMAN: and they seem to feel the thing to do is get them to stop?

PRESIDENT: Right, fine.

HALDEMAN: They say the only way to do that is from White House instructions. And it's got to be to Helms and, ah, what's his name? Walters.

PRESIDENT: Walters.

HALDEMAN: And the proposal would be that Ehrlichman (coughs) and I call them in

PRESIDENT: All right, fine.

HALDEMAN: and say, ah...

PRESIDENT: How do you call him in, I mean you just, well, we protected Helms from one hell of a lot of things.

HALDEMAN: That's what Ehrlichman says.

PRESIDENT: Of course, this is a, this is a Hunt, you will--that will uncover a lot of things. You open that scab there's a hell of a lot of things and that we just feel that it would be very detrimental to have this thing go any further. This involves these Cubans, Hunt, and a lot of hanky-panky that we have nothing to do with ourselves. Well what the hell, did Mitchell know about this thing to any much of a degree?

HALDEMAN: I think so. I don 't think he knew the details, but I think he knew.

PRESIDENT: He didn't know how it was going to be handled though, with Dahlberg and the Texans and so forth? Well who was the asshole that did? (Unintelligible) Is it Liddy? Is that the fellow? He must be a little nuts.

HALDEMAN: He is.

PRESIDENT: I mean he just isn't well screwed on is he? Isn't that the problem?

HALDEMAN: No, but he was under pressure, apparently, to get more information, and as he got more pressure, he pushed the people harder to move harder on

PRESIDENT: Pressure from Mitchell?

HALDEMAN: Apparently.

PRESIDENT: Oh, Mitchell, Mitchell was at the point that you made on this, that exactly what I need from you is on the--

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible)

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PRESIDENT: All right, fine, I understand it all. We won't second-guess Mitchell and the rest. Thank God it wasn't Colson.

HALDEMAN: The FBI interviewed Colson yesterday. They determined that would be a good thing to do.

PRESIDENT: Um hum.

HALDEMAN: Ah, to have him take a...

PRESIDENT: Um hum.

HALDEMAN: An interrogation, which he did, and that, the FBI guys working the case had concluded that there were one or two possibilities, one, that this was a White House, they don't think that there is anything at the Election Committee, they think it was either a White House operation and they had some obscure reasons for it, non political,...

PRESIDENT: Uh huh.

HALDEMAN: or it was a...

PRESIDENT: Cuban thing--

HALDEMAN: Cubans and the CIA. And after their interrogation of, of...

PRESIDENT: Colson.

HALDEMAN: Colson, yesterday, they concluded it was not the White House, but are now convinced it is a CIA thing, so the CIA turnoff would...

PRESIDENT: Well, not sure of their analysis, I'm not going to get that involved. I'm (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: No, sir. We don't want you to.

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PRESIDENT: You call them in.

PRESIDENT: Good. Good deal. Play it tough. That's the way they play it and that's the way we are going to play it.

HALDEMAN: O.K. We'll do it.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, when I saw that news summary item, I .of course knew it was, a bunch of crap, but I thought, ah, well it's good to have them off on this wild hair thing because when they start bugging us, which they have, we'll know our little boys will riot know how to handle it. I hope they will though. You never know. Maybe, you think about it. Good!

HALDEMAN: Mosbacher has resigned.

PRESIDENT: Oh yeah?

HALDEMAN: As we.expected he would.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: He's going back to private life (Unintelligible) Do you want to sign this or-should I send it to Rose?

PRESIDENT: Ah, yeah(scratching noise)

HALDEMAN: Do you want to release it?

PRESIDENT: O.K. Great. Good job, Bob.

HALDEMAN: Kissenger?

PRESIDENT: Huh? That's a joke.

HALDEMAN: Is it? Ah, O.K.

PRESIDENT: Whenever Mosbacher was, a came for dinners, ah, you see held have to be out there escorting the person in and when they came through the receiving line, Henry always was with Mrs. Mosbacher and she'd turn and the aide would say this is Mrs. Kissinger.

HALDEMAN: I see.

PRESIDENT: He made a little joke.

HALDEMAN: O.K.

PRESIDENT: Well, good.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) Congressional guidance to get into the Mills thing at all with you. It was reported that somebody, Church met with Mills.

PRESIDENT: Big deal. I was going to ask him about it.--

HALDEMAN: Well, what happened there is, that's true. (Clears throat) Church went to Mills.

PRESIDENT: Is it pay as you go or not?

HALDEMAN: Huh?

PRESIDENT: Is it pay as you go or not?

HALDEMAN: Well, Church says-it is, our people don't believe it is. Church told Mills that he had Long's support on adding social security and Wilbur equivocated on the, ah, question, when Johnny Burns talked to him about whether he would support the Long/Church Amendment, but Long and Church tell him that it is fully funded and our people are afraid Mills is going to go along if they put the heat on him as a partisan Democrat to say that this would be damned helpful just before our Convention to stick to this to the, to the White House. Ah, Johnny Burns' view, he talked to Wilbur about it afterwards and this has been changed so don't be concerned about it.

PRESIDENT: I should call them.

HALDEMAN: You should call Mansfield and you should tell Mansfield that Burns is going to fight this in conference and that he will demand that it go to rules and he will demand a three-day-lay-over, which means he will carry the conference over until July 7th, which would be, and then before they even start the action, so it will mean they have to stay in, they can't...

PRESIDENT: All right

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) democratic convention and (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Go ahead,

HALDEMAN: Ah, Clark made the point that he should handle this, not you and he is, is doing this through Scott to Byrd, who is acting (unintelligible) still in the hospital. And ah, Clark's effort is going to be to kill the Church/Long Amendment. They got another tactic which is playing with a dangerous game. But they are thinking about, which is, if they put Social Security.on (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: They will bust it up.

HALDEMAN: that they will put Revenue Sharing and H.R. 1 on it and ah, really screw it up.

PRESIDENT: I would. Not dangerous itself, but. Buck it up.

HALDEMAN: They're playing with it, and ah, they, they understand. Clark is going off with the mission to kill the petition.

PRESIDENT: Revenue Sharing won't kill it, but H.R. 1 would.

HALDEMAN: So, that's what he is off to.

PRESIDENT: But, boy, if the Debt Ceiling isn't passed start firing (unintelligible) ah, government workers. I really mean it, cut them off. They, they can't do this, they've got to give us that Debt Ceiling. Mills has said that he didn't want to do anything on the Debt Ceiling earlier. Well, it's O.K. it's O.K.

HALDEMAN: Well, Burns says that he is justifying it on the basis that they have told him that it's finance. Ah, Ehrlichman met with them the Republicans on Senate Finance yesterday and explained the whole thing to them. They hadn't understood

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: the first six months financing and they are with it now and already to go and hanging on that defense. He feels, that they very much want, ah, the meeting with you before the recess in the Senate, finance Republicans,

PRESIDENT: All right. Certainly.

HALDEMAN: So, we'll do that next week. Did you get the report that the British floated the pound last night?

PRESIDENT: No, I don't think so, they have?

HALDEMAN: They did.

PRESIDENT: That's devaluation?

HALDEMAN: Yeah. Flanigants got a report on it here.

PRESIDENT: I don't care about it.

HALDEMAN: You want a run down?

PRESIDENT: No, I don't care. Nothing we can do about it.

HALDEMAN: Speculation run on it. He argues it shows the wisdom of our refusal to consider convertability until we get a new monetary system.

PRESIDENT: Good, I think he's right. It's too complicated for me to get into. God damn it (unintelligible) so that's fine. I, I understand.

HALDEMAN: Burns expects a five day per cent devaluation against the dollar.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. O.K. Fine. Well...

HALDEMAN: Burns is concerned about speculation about the lira. Nothing short of it.

PRESIDENT: Well, I don't give a shit about the lira, (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: That's the substance of that. (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: How are the House guys (unintelligible) Boggs (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: All our people, are, they-think, they think it's a great, a great, ah...

PRESIDENT: Well, ah, I hate to brag about it--there aint a vote in it. But only George Shultz and people like that that think it's great (unintelligible). There's no votes in it, Bob. Or do you think there is?

HALDEMAN: No, (unintelligible) vote (unintelligible) I think it's, it looks like a Nixon victory (shuffling) major piece of legislation (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: When?

HALDEMAN: Not til July. But I mean, our guys analysis is that it will not going to get screwed up. The Senate will tack a little bit of amendment on it, but not enough to matter and it can be easily resolved in Conference.

PRESIDENT: Well, what the hell, why not accomplish one thing while we're here, but (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Maybe we will.

PRESIDENT: Yep, not bad.

HALDEMAN: In spite of ourselves.

PRESIDENT: O.K. what else have you got that's amusing today?

HALDEMAN: I don't know. That's it.
(Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Bright new shine. Huh! Oh, I meant to-do some work before you come down.

PRESIDENT: (unintelligible) good coverage?

HALDEMAN: Good newspaper play lousy television play and they covered all the items, but didn't, you gotta (unintelligible) but maximum of two minutes

PRESIDENT: Expected.

HALDEMAN: A little-less than two minutes and sure that's all we're gonna get, one thing if you decide to do more in-office ones

PRESIDENT: Remember, I. I when I came in I asked Alex, but apparently we don't have people in charge. I said MacClary's scheme was to let them come in and take a picture--an Ollie picture but shit, what good does an Ollie picture do?

HALDEMAN: Doesn't do any good.

PRESIDENT: Don't know what it was, but I don't well, apparently he didn't get the work.

HALDEMAN: Well, I think we ought to, we ought to try that next time. If you want to see if it does us any good, and it might, let them.

PRESIDENT: Well, why wasn't it done this time?

HALDEMAN: I don't know.

PRESIDENT: Was it raised?

HALDEMAN: I don't know.

PRESIDENT: Because I know you said and (unintelligible) Ollie sat back there and he was going to start to (unintelligible) but, shit, Ollie's pictures hang there and nobody sees them except us.

HALDEMAN: Now what you've got to it's really not the stills that do us any good on that.

PRESIDENT: Hell, I (unintelligible) cameras (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: We've got to let them come in

PRESIDENT: Yeah

HALDEMAN: With the lights.

PRESIDENT: Well in the future, will you make a note to (unintelligible) the first, Alex, Ron or whoever it is no Steve. I have no objection to them coming in, and taking a picture with stills, I mean with the cameras. I couldn't agree more. I don't give a good shit about the newspapers.

HALDEMAN: You're going to get newspaper coverage anyway.

PRESIDENT: I don't see why in the hell (unintelligible) good objective play

HALDEMAN: Oh, yeah.

PRESIDENT: In terms of the way it was handled.

HALDEMAN: As far as the news was concerned it was damned good.

PRESIDENT: And it got across our point and it made the point, you know, (unintelligible). Needless to say they sunk the bussing thing, but there was very, very little on that (unintelligible) Detroit (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: Two networks covered it.

PRESIDENT: We'll see what Detroit does. We hope to Christ the question isn't asked again what (unintelligible) the son of a bitch if necessary. Hit it again. Somebody (unintelligible) bussing thing back up again.

HALDEMAN: What's happened on the bussing thing. We going to get one or not? Well, no, we're out of time now (pause) O.K. (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: I guess it is sort of impossible to get the word to the research people that when you say 100 words, you mean 100 words.

HALDEMAN: Well, I'm surprised because this is Buchanan, and I didn't say time on this one, I said 100 words, and uh, Pat usually takes that seriously, but that one is, I have a feeling maybe what happened is that, that he may have started short and he may have gotten into the, the editing, process, I meant you know the people, the clearance process who say you have to say such and such, although I know what's happened. But I doubt it (noise makes it unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: I don't know, maybe it isn't worth going out and talking (unintelligible) Maybe it is.

HALDEMAN: Well, it's a close call. Ah, Ehrlichman thought you'd, you probably, he, he

PRESIDENT: What?

HALDEMAN: Well, he said you probably didn't need it. He didn't think you should, now at all. He said he felt fine doing it.

PRESIDENT: He did? The question, the point is, does he think everybody is going to understand about the bussing?

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: And, ah, well Lonzo says no,

HALDEMAN: Well, this, the fact is somewhere in between, I think, because I think that is missing some...

PRESIDENT: Well, if the fact is somewhere in between, we better do it.

HALDEMAN: Yeah, I think Mitchell says, "Hell yes. Anything we can hit on at anytime we get the chance...and we've got a reason for doing it...do it."

PRESIDENT: When you get in these people...when you get these people in, say: "Look, the problem is that this will open the whole, the whole Bay of Pigs thing, and the President just feels that" ah, without going into the details...don't, don't lie to them to the extent to say there is no involvement, but just say this is sort of a comedy of errors, bizarre, without getting into it, "the President believes that it is going to open the whole Bay of Pigs thing up again. And, ah because these people are plugging for, for keeps and that they should call the FBI in and say that we wish for the country, don't go any further into this case", period!

HALDEMAN: OK

PRESIDENT: That's the way to put it, do it straight.
(Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Get more done for our cause by the
opposition than by us at this point.

PRESIDENT: You think so?

HALDEMAN: I think so, yeah.

PRESIDENT: Still (unintelligible/**REMOVED**) moves
(unintelligible) very close election
(unintelligible) he keeps saying if he moves
a-little-

HALDEMAN: They're all...that's the whole thing. The
Washington Post said it in it's lead
editorial today. Another "McGovern's got to
change his position," and that that would be
a good thing, that's constructive. Ah, the
white wash for change.

PRESIDENT: Post prints the news so they'll say that is
perfectly all right.

HALDEMAN: Cause then they are saying...on the other
hand...that maybe we're not so smart. We
have to admire the progress he's made on the
basis of the position he's taken and maybe
he's right and we're wrong.

PRESIDENT: To be very (unintelligible/**REMOVED**)
(laughs).

HALDEMAN: Sitting in Miami played into our hand a
little bit.

PRESIDENT: No.

HALDEMAN: They, ah eliminated their law prohibiting
male homosexuals from wearing female
clothing, now the boys can all put on their
dresses so the gay lib is going to turn out
6,000, fags to (laughs). I hope they
(unintelligible) them.

PRESIDENT: How did they (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: I heard...I think...

PRESIDENT: They sure test the effect of the writing press. I think, I think it was still good to have it in the papers, but, but let's...perfectly...from another standpoint, let's just say look, "Because people trying and any other God damned reason, I just don't want to go out there (unintelligible) what better way to spend my time than to take off two afternoons or whatever it was to prepare for an in-office press conference." Don't you agree?

HALDEMAN: That's, that's the best--

PRESIDENT: Otherwise I spend, I spend an hour, ah, whatever it was...45 minutes or so with television executives (unintelligible) all in and outs (unintelligible). "Look, we have no right to ask the President anything (unintelligible) biased." (Unintelligible) says I'm going to raise hell with the networks. Agree? And look, you've just not got to let Klein ever set up a meeting again. He just doesn't have his head screwed on tight. (unintelligible) You know what I mean. He just opens it up and sits there with eggs on his face. He's just not our guy at all is he?

HALDEMAN: No.

PRESIDENT: Absolutely, totally, unorganized.

HALDEMAN: He's a very nice guy.

PRESIDENT: People love him but God damned is he unorganized.

HALDEMAN: That's right, he's not.

PRESIDENT: But don't you agree that, that's worth doing and that it's kind of satisfying.

HALDEMAN: Sure. And as you point out there's some fringe benefits with, with going through the things is a good exercise for you...

PRESIDENT: That's right.

HALDEMAN: In the sense of getting caught up on certain items...

PRESIDENT: Right.

HALDEMAN: It's a good exercise for the troops in having to figure out what the problems are and what the answers are to them.

PRESIDENT: Three or four things. Ah, Pat, Pat, raised the point last night that probably she and the girls ought to stay in a hotel on Miami Beach. First she says the moment they get the helicopter and get off and so forth, it destroys their hair and so forth. And of course, that is true, even though, you turn them off and turn them on so forth and so on. Ah the second point here is.

HADLEMAN: Could drive over...

PRESIDENT: Well, the point is, I want to check with Dean to be sure what the driving time is. If the driving time with traffic is going to be up to an hour...

HALDEMAN: Oh no.

PRESIDENT: With the traffic...

HALDEMAN: But they have an escort.

PRESIDENT: How long would it take?

HALDEMAN: Half an hour. Less than half an hour. You can make it easily in a half hour without an escort and they would and, they should have an escort. They should arrive with...and they may not like it..it may bother them a little, but that's what people expect...and you know at the Convention, Christ, every county sheriff has...

PRESIDENT: She has another point though which I think will please everybody concerned. She says, "Now look. You go there". She says as far as she was concerned, she would be delighted, the girls would be delighted to every reception everything that they have there. They want to be busy. They want to do things and they want to be useful. Of course, as you know, our primary aim is to see that they are on television, when they come into the halls for now, coming into the halls, you see, they may not be shooting the hall at that time, they're not planning on television. But my point is, I think it would be really great if they did the delegations of the big states. Just to stop in, you know (unintelligible). Each girl and so forth can do them separately.

HALDEMAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) The second thing is just go by and say hello, and they'll, they'll do the handshakers (unintelligible) you know which would be in our interest. You know.

HALDEMAN: Well, the big point is, there's, there's several major functions that they may want to tie that into.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah.

HALDEMAN: There's a strong view on the part of some of our strategists that we should be damned careful not to overuse them and cheapen them. That they should...there is a celebrity value you can lose, by rubbing on them too much.

PRESIDENT: I couldn't agree more.

HALDEMAN: And so we have to (unintelligible) their eagerness to participate should not override a need...

PRESIDENT: California delegation (unintelligible) son-of-a-bitches, think I'm here. I mean we I re going to have that whole bunch in.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: You understand...they're willing. Have them do things that will do the important things and so forth, and so on.

HALDEMAN: There's the question. Like the Sunday night they have the gala, whether they should go to that...now-at least the girls should go with their husbands. I think I ought to go too.

PRESIDENT: Yep. You know.

HALDEMAN: The question is, whether Pat...on thought that was raised was that if the girls and their husbands go down on Sunday and Pat wait and come down with you on Tuesday. I think Pat should go down and should be there cause they'll have the Salute all over.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: I would rather.

PRESIDENT: Okay.

HALDEMAN: She should arrive separately. I think she should arrive with the girls. Another thought was to have the girls arrive Sunday, Pat arrives Monday and you arrive Tuesday. I think you're overdoing your arrivals. Just a bit.

PRESIDENT: No, no, no. She arrives with the girls and they...they should go. I agree.

HALDEMAN: But I don't think you have to be there until Tuesday.

PRESIDENT: I don't want to go near the God damned place until Tuesday. I don't want to be near it. I've got the arrival planned (unintelligible) my arrival of, ah

HALDEMAN: Now, we're going to do, unless you have some objection. I think, we should do your arrival at Miami International, not at a Homestead.

PRESIDENT: Yes, I agree.

HALDEMAN: Ah, we can crank up a hell of an arrival thing.

PRESIDENT: Alright.

(Fifteen second pause)

PRESIDENT: I want to make a suggestion, is for you ah, and perhaps, ah Colson probably (unintelligible). I was thumbing through the, ah last chapters of Six Crisis last night, and I also read the (unintelligible) chapters (unintelligible) Warm up to it and it makes a lot of fascinating reading. Also reminds you of a hell of a lot of things that happened in the campaign press you know, election eve coverage, the (unintelligible) etc. etc.

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: So on and so on. I want you to reread it, and I want Colson to read it, and anybody else.

HALDEMAN: O.K.

PRESIDENT: And anybody else in the campaign. Get copies of the book and give it to each of them. Say I want them to read it and have it in mind. Give it to whoever you can.

HALDEMAN: O.K. Sure will.

PRESIDENT: Actually, the book I must say reads awfully well...have to look at history (unintelligible) I want to talk to you more about that later in terms of what it tells us about what our campaign should be like.

HALDEMAN: O.K.

PRESIDENT: In other words (unintelligible) the media and so forth to that to a great extent, is responsible for what happened to Humphrey closing the gap in '68. In nineteen-if that's true, it did not apply in 1960. The media was just as bad as it was (unintelligible) little, little, Kennedy got bad only within the last two weeks. But nevertheless in 1960 we ran...

HALDEMAN: It was a dead heat.

PRESIDENT: ...all the way through the campaign, and it never changed. Clearly, it may be...it may be that our as you read this you'll realize how intensive our campaign was...how much we did on television, you know. We didn't have--We had only one telethon at the end. It may be that our '60 campaign was extremely much more effective

PRESIDENT: and it may be too, that we misjudged the dates. You read it through and particularly read the newspaper analysis and see what I mean. I mean, it's, it's...even realizing '68 was much better organized.

HALDEMAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: It may be we did a better job in '60. It just may be. It may tell us something. Anyway, would you check it over?

HALDEMAN: Yep.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) check another thing. (unintelligible) Moscow worked out the book and Chuck Lichtenstein (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: He was, I'm not sure if he still is.

PRESIDENT: Could you find out from him what chapters of the book he worked on. Ah, I didn't I don't, Moscow worked on the heart attack thing. I did most of the dictating on the last two, but I've been curious. I know, I know Lichtenstein worked on the one thing, but could you find out which chapters he worked on. Also find out where Moscow is what's become of him...what's he's doing in ten years. (unintelligible) we really ought to say hello to him (unintelligible) and we might find it useful for our purposes, future, despite the agony and all that. You'll find this extremely interesting, read (unintelligible/**REMOVED**).

HALDEMAN: I've read, read that a number of times (unintelligible) different context (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Ah, I would say another ting...Bud Brown (unintelligible) on my (unintelligible) did you read it? (Unintelligible) candidates.

PRESIDENT: I don't know who all you discussed that with. Maybe it's not been handled at a high enough level. Who did you discuss that with? (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: MacGregor and Mitchell.

PRESIDENT: Huh?

HALDEMAN: MacGregor and Mitchell, that's all.

PRESIDENT: Yep. (Unintelligible) I don't mind the time ...the problem that I have with it is that I do not want to have pictures with candidates that are running with or with Democrats...or against Democrats that may either be silent or, or might be for US. On the other hand, all sophisticated Democratic candidates you understand the God damned candidates (unintelligible) they gotta get a picture with the President. The way to have the pictures which the candidate-this would be a very clever thing, is to call both Democrats...the good Southern Democrats and those few like Delaney who did have a picture with me, see, and then call them up and say look this school came on and they took a picture and may be the President wants you to know if you would like a picture, if you would like to come down to the office, you know, you, you can have a picture taken that you are welcome to use. How does that sound to you as a cover? Let me say this. I'm not ...I'm not...I think that getting to the candidates out there that are very enthusiastic and so forth may help us a bit. If the candidates run too far behind you, it drags you too much.

HALDEMAN: Yeah. That's right.

PRESIDENT: On the, on the other side, I don't think it's going to hurt you particularly, I mean, ah, if you always (unintelligible) there's some quality but, ah

HALDEMAN: Oh, yeah, but they aren't going to (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN and

PRESIDENT: (Conversing together, unintelligible.)

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) quite candid with you. I think when I ran in '46, remember I would have gotten on my hands and knees for a picture with Harold Stassen and, you know, gave the whole story. But we oughta try to do what we can (unintelligible) in the House or do as well as we can, and in the Senate.

HALDEMAN: Well to have our loyalists feel that we're doing...

PRESIDENT: That's right.

HALDEMAN: That's the short end of the thing.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) and I'll be glad to do it next week and...

HALDEMAN: I think on that basis we can handle the Democrats. Say "Look they had a picture," and then call each one. I mean they'll have to check this list (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Check each one who's a friend and say look we got this, if you'd like, the President wants to know if you'd like a picture with him, you know, this is not on a basis of support...See?

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: See, tell 'em not going to make any statement, just say I'm not going to make any statement. They have, they have a picture, he'd be glad to have a picture.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) Good, good.

PRESIDENT: That's right. Be glad to if you like, but it's up to you and so forth (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: You did the Democrats in here. Do the, you did the, would you do a, would you do the Repub-, do a different picture so that, in turn you don't always get the same full shot.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Another point I was going to mention to you, Bob, is the situation with regard to the girls. I was talking to Pat last night. Course Tricia had trouble with (unintelligible) and she mentioned that, she mentioned, Tricia said that apparently when she was in Allentown there were 20 or 30 thugs, labor thugs out booing.

HALDEMAN: Hmmmm.

PRESIDENT: Ah, and when she went to Boston, ah, to some art, presenting her Chinese things to the art gallery there, **RESTRICTED-"D"** from the press that were pretty vicious. What I mean is they came through the line and one refused to shake. One was not with the press. She refused to shake hands, so forth and so on. Tricia had a very personal point (unintelligible) good brain in that head. She said first she didn't believe that the event that they do locally (unintelligible) understand. You know she does the Boys' Club, the Art Gallery and the rest (unintelligible) She says the important thing is to find this type of reason to go into the damn town and to do television, which of course they do. Now she says why (unintelligible) control the place. She says in other words go in and do the Republican group. Now sure isn't (unintelligible) to say you did the Republican group, as it is in the Allentown Boys Club? Right?

PRESIDENT: But, that's the newspaper story.
(unintelligible) The point is, I think
Parker has to get a little more thinking in
depth, or is it Codus now who will do this
sort of thing? (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: They are both working on it.

PRESIDENT: What's your off-hand reaction on that, Bob?
I do not want them, though, to go in and get
the hell kicked out of them. Is that right?
(Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: There's no question, and we've really got to
work at that.

PRESIDENT: Yep. (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Ya, but I think, I'm not sure, if you can't
get the controlled non-political event, then
I think it is better to do a political event
(unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: For example, now the worse thing
(unintelligible) is to go to anything that
has to do with the Arts.

HALDEMAN: Ya, see that, it was (unintelligible) Julie
giving that time to the Museum in
Jacksonville.

PRESIDENT: The Arts, you know, they're Jews, they're
left wing, in other words.

HALDEMAN: Stay away.

PRESIDENT: Make a point.

PRESIDENT: Middle America, put that word out, Middle
American type of people, do light reading,
auxiliary, do a Veterans auxiliary
(unintelligible). Why the hell doesn't
Parker get that kind of thing going? Most of
his things

PRESIDENT: are elite groups except, I mean, do the cancer thing, maybe it was nice for Tricia to go up and ride a bus for two hours or go out and do some God damned park in Oklahoma, that's alright, but my view is, Bob, relate it to Middle America and not the elitist, ah. Do you agree?

HALDEMAN: Yep. I sure do.

PRESIDENT: And, ah, I'm not critical. I think they are doing a hell of a job.

HALDEMAN: They really are.

PRESIDENT: The kids are willing.

HALDEMAN: But she can improve.

PRESIDENT: There again, Tricia had a very good thought on this, but let's do Middle America.

HALDEMAN: Yep.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) I don't know whether Alex told you or not, but I want a Secret Service reception some time next week. I just, I just gotta know who these guys are. They and their wives. (Pause) Don't you think so? I mean, it's just, I really feel that they're there, that ah., I see new guys around, and Jesus Christ they look so young.

HALDEMAN: Well, they change them, that's one problem that whoever you have a reception with now would be different totally (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Get 100 men then and so it's 200 and I shake their hands and thank them and you look (unintelligible) too (unintelligible). They know a hell of a lot about us, let's make it, friends.

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Absolutely.

PRESIDENT: I don't think there's any problem, but I just think it's a nice.

HALDEMAN: They all, you have such, that's why it's a good thing to do, cause they are friends, and they have such overriding respect for you and your family, that a

PRESIDENT: I wouldn't want the whole group, but I think (unintelligible). Third point, I would like a good telephone call list for California, but not, not a huge book, and the kind is, this would be a good time where (unintelligible) I suggest you thank the people for their support. Ah, for example, Colson had me call (unintelligible) the other day, it was the right thing to do, but here you could take, ah, the key guys that have worked, I, I wouldn't mind calling a few very key contributors, maybe, but we're talking about magnitude of ten, very key ten.

HALDEMAN: Yeah, you mean ten people?

PRESIDENT: Ya.

HALDEMAN: Oh, I thought you meant \$10,000.

PRESIDENT: No, ten, Ah, I was thinking of very key (unintelligible) people like that worked their ass off collecting money, just to say that, they people that (unintelligible) the people that are doing the work, very key political (unintelligible) just to pat them on the back. I mean that means a helluva lot very key political VIPs, you know, by political VIPs, ah, if you go to Harry Dent just get the South, you're gonna have to get a better (unintelligible). Our problem is that there are only two men in this place that really give us names, plus Rose, one is Dent, the other is Colson, who know, and we just aren't getting them. But I mean, ah, and then editors (unintelligible) by editors and, and television people, like a (unintelligible) call (unintelligible) but a few

PRESIDENT: key editors who are just busting their ass for us where there's something to do. But give me a good telephone list and then Rose should give me a few personal names, like I do a lot of things, but I called Harrison here today some (unintelligible) and things of that sort. But I think this would be a very good use of my time while I'm in California. Something I never mind doing it, you know, when I've got an hour to put my feet up and make a few calls, don't you agree?

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: I think of the campaign, that's going to be a hell of a weapon. I think sometimes when we're here in Washington, you know, supposedly doing the business of the government, that I can call people around the country, those people that will come out for us and so forth, like (unintelligible) for example, Democrats come out for us. They're going to get telephone calls from me right across the board. Any Democrat or labor union. (Unintelligible).

HALDMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Religious leaders (unintelligible) say something. You gotta be careful some ass over in (unintelligible) check on (unintelligible) that's why you can't have Klein (unintelligible). He just doesn't really have his head screwed on, Bob. I could see it in that meeting yesterday. He does not.

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: He just doesn't know. He just sort of blubbers around. I don't know how he does TV so well.

REEL 2 BEGINS

PRESIDENT: He's, he's just sensational on that.

HALDEMAN: That goes to the cool medium business again, you see, you know. This, this is, if that, what's his drawback, is really an asset (unintelligible) economics.

END REEL 1

PRESIDENT: If you would do this. Pat, and tell Codus, to raise (unintelligible) 30 days, so I can go to Camp David and she can go in a half hour to Key Biscayne she might want to stay there where she's got the proper security and not the noise and so forth and so on. That she can go in less than half hour with the escort. Do you think you can? Frankly, in Miami Beach it will take, damn near, (unintelligible), but we can arrange it either way? Leave it to her choice.

HALDEMAN: It wouldn't take as long. It wouldn't.

PRESIDENT: But, leave it to her choice - she'd - it's.

HALDEMAN: She'd be so miserable. If she's at Miami Beach she's a prisoner in that hotel.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. That's right. Tell her, tell her that's fine. But it's up to her. Fair enough. I'll be anxious to see about (unintelligible) signing that stuff (unintelligible). You know, uh, it's not the best of (unintelligible), but I suppose most of our staff (unintelligible) but that Six Crises is a goddamned good book, and the final story reads like a novel. That's what this is a novel. Uh, Caracas was fascinating. The campaign of course for anybody in politics should be a must because it had a lot in there of how politicians are like. What happens after elections, and how you do things. And, of course,

PRESIDENT: the Kruschev thing is a classic as of that time. I think part of the problem you know, for example, for example, I'm just thinking research people something they really missed, Jimmy Burns. Pat and I came back, she came back and she said this is Burns (unintelligible). No, she had remembered, she said she would rather give a party than (unintelligible). That's the problem as far as hiring (unintelligible) three or four parties for 50 each, and Burns flew all the way up (unintelligible) party (unintelligible) and Jimmy Burns said, "Well, the Vice President is (unintelligible) hard for me to come, I just want you to know if you'd have won (unintelligible), but because you lost (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: That's great.

PRESIDENT: ...still your friend. Now, that was good. Nobody had that none of our researchers or the rest. That would be a wonderful item to put in the statement.

HALDEMAN: Is that in the book?

PRESIDENT: It's in the book!

HALDEMAN: Is it?

PRESIDENT: Hell yes. I can definitely remember that one. It's in the book!

HALDEMAN: That's interesting.

PRESIDENT: That's what I was trying to tell you. Now, Andrews, Andrews (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: Let me re-read it.

PRESIDENT: I (unintelligible) that I found

PRESIDENT: (unintelligible). (Banging).
HALDEMAN: Get 'em ready out there.
ZIEGLER: We're early, we're delaying our briefing until noon for the higher education statement which we are issuing, and so forth.
PRESIDENT: Yeah.
ZIEGLER: But I thought, if you agreed, that I would not for press purposes, but just sit in the side
PRESIDENT: Yeah.
ZIEGLER: ...(unintelligible) this economic thing.
PRESIDENT: Sure. How many of them are there?
ZIEGLER: Well, there's the entire cabinet of economic advisers, I mean Council of Economic Advisers
PRESIDENT: That's great.
ZIEGLER: plus Shultz--
HALDEMAN OR
PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)
ZIEGLER: It's a fairly big group.
PRESIDENT: Shultz (unintelligible).
ZIEGLER: Well, (unintelligible) seven.
HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) yesterday.
ZIEGLER: You see.
(PAUSE)
PRESIDENT: See what I mean?
HALDEMAN: Sure.

PRESIDENT: It's the kind of thing that I get in toasts and that sort of thing, but, but you see, I don't think our guys do that kind of that should be must reading that book is crammed full crammed full crammed full, believe me, see. It would be helpful for those (unintelligible) prepare to get it. Okay. Oh, uh, can we take another second? Now, I mean, on that thing on the All Time Baseball Greats I would like to do that and, uh, if you could, if you could get it. Who was that?

ZIEGLER: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: There's already a story at random...

PRESIDENT: I saw that.

ZIEGLER: indicating that you were, that you were going to...

PRESIDENT: Four o'clock.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: Four o'clock. Right. If you would get that and if you would get the three or four of those. I don't all the time I'm only speaking of the All Time Greats of the modern era.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: People that I see (unintelligible)...

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: Pretty nice girls, and then get me sort of, a couple of other people (unintelligible) deserve that.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: And, I'll (unintelligible) and I'll go down through the quietly where these people are (unintelligible) also get me (unintelligible) and have it on hand.

ZIEGLER: So you want names?

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible).

ZIEGLER: You want names from me or just a list of others you have picked?

HALDEMAN: No, just the names that have been picked (unintelligible) various people.

ZIEGLER: Right.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible), who were the all time. greats picked by Sporting News (unintelligible).

ZIEGLER: Right, I got it.

PRESIDENT: Okay.

ZIEGLER: Yes, sir. (Unintelligible). Uh. Yeah. Incidentally, in the news summary, Howard K. Smith referred to television. Did you see that?

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

ZIEGLER: That's the only question, you are not locked to television.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) screw up.

ZIEGLER: (Unintelligible) I talked to (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: You're right. You're right. You're right. You're right. (Unintelligible) we may not know.

ZIEGLER: No, I, I, I -no, the point I'm making- (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible).

ZIEGLER: Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT: But let me say but I think, it's uh, apparently, the Today Show (unintelligible) that Martin said something.

ZIEGLER: (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) I thought he got a damn good review. (Unintelligible) two minutes of television.

ZIEGLER: I thought he was good. I thought he got good play. Particularly in light of the fact that uh, there was a helluva lot of other world news that, uh, the Washington Post (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Right.

HALDEMAN: We have an overriding (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: What, weren't how about the, how about the guys that were there? They were, they were pleased with the session.

ZIEGLER: They were pleased (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Huh? I didn't think they would be.

ZIEGLER: But they always are -

PRESIDENT: Helluva lot of news and -

HALDEMAN: Why don't we send out own machinery into motion, too?

ZIEGLER: (Unintelligible). Feel it?

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) that's sort of good, warm about it.

ZIEGLER: Right. They came to me and then said
(Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) should have some more.

ZIEGLER: And, they liked the color. They made the
point about - you know. How relaxed you
were, and at the end, sitting down and
talking about the baseball thing - after it
was over. (Unintelligible), you know, you
just chipped those things off with such ease
and so forth. It was so good.

PRESIDENT: Who was the girl who was asking
(unintelligible)?

ZIEGLER: Oh, she's with the Dallas paper.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

ZIEGLER: The good looking one who came up
(unintelligible) she's with --

PRESIDENT: Is she good looking?

ZIEGLER: Well, (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) made by a business officer.
I'll tell you (unintelligible).

(SOMEONE ENTERS)

Come right in. Come right in. How are you?
Nice to see you. This is our big
(Unintelligible).