

TRANSCRIPT OF A RECORDING, OF A MEETING
AMONG THE PRESIDENT, H.R. HALDEMAN AND JOHN
EHRlichMAN. ON APRIL 14, 1973, AT 2:24 TO
3:55 P.M.

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(Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: All finished?

EHRlichMAN: Yes air. All finished. He is an innocent man in his heart, and in his mind, and he does not intend to move off that position. he appreciated the message of, that, uh, good feeling between you and him.

PRESIDENT: He got it, that, huh?

EHRlichMAN: And he appreciated my

PRESIDENT: Why don't you give me your, uh-- How did you, uh, get this little chapter and verse

EHRlichMAN: Well, I started out by saying that this was a subject that was so difficult for you to talk to him personally about, that, you had asked me to do this.

PRESIDENT: And that you had made a study

EHRlichMAN: ..that you had had me doing this. That I had presented you with a set of conclusions that were admittedly hearsay, but that pointed in the direction of, uh, the, uh, of his exposure, and Jeb's, and other people, and that you were having me systematically talk to these people because, in the course of this investigation, we had discovered a frame of mind on the part of some people that they should stand mute in order to help the President, and that your sense was that the Presidency was not helped by that, and that it was not my purpose to tell anybody what he should do, but only to tell him that as far as your view of the interests of the Presidency were concerned, that they were not served by a person standing mute, for that only, for that reason alone. Now, there might be plenty of reasons why a person would want to stand mute and put the government on its proof.

And that wasn't the question. And obviously be, And then he said, "Well, what you're saying to me is that the President is reserving to me all my options," and I said, "Of course he is, John. The only thing that he doesn't want you to feel is that you don't have the option of going in and talking, if you want to do so. That you have completely every option to go in or not to go in." And he said, well he appreciated that, but he had not been taking the position he had for the reason that he thought he was necessarily helping or hurting the Presidency, but he said, "You know, these, these characters pulled this thing off without my knowledge." He said, "I never saw Liddy for months at a time." And he said, "I didn't know what they were up to." And he said, "Nobody was more surprised than I was. We had this meeting, and, and," uh, he, he lobbed, uh, mud balls at the White House at every opportunity -it was very interesting how he dragged it in, uh, yeah...

UNIDENTIFIED:

EHRlichman: ...one after the other. But for instance, he said, uh, "There were these meetings, uh, uh, these characters came over to my office and, uh, Liddy put on this million dollar presentation which was perfectly ridiculous. Says it comes the origin of that, of course, was in the White House where Bob Haldeman and I talked about something called the Operation Sandwedge. That was really the grandfather of this whole thing. And, of course, that was never put together because we couldn't get the right people to do it, and -They were talking about Joe Woods and people of that kind," and so he said "It never happened."

PRESIDENT: What is Operation Sandwedge?

HALDEMAN: It's, it was something that Jack Caulfield

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) Oh, yes.

HALDEMAN: ...came up with back in 171, and we-needed some intelligence and ought to set up our own Intertel.

EHRlichman: So then he went on to say that, uh,, uh, uh, there were only those meetings he's still hung up on the only three, uh, only three meetings thing. He made it very clear to me that he didn't ever believe there was a fourth meeting. He said that, of course

HALDEMAN: He wasn't in the fourth meeting, John. There were only three meetings as far as he's concerned.

EHRlichman: No, no, but he didn't refer to three or four, he referred to the, the meetings themselves. He, he argues that there was no meeting after the million dollar meeting, let me put it that way.

HALDEMAN: Oh, really.

EHRlichman: Right. That's the sense of what he was saying. I didn't press him on it and I tried to play him with kid gloves. In fact, I never asked him to tell me anything.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRlichman: He just came forward with all this stuff.

PRESIDENT: Right.

EHRlichman: Uh, he says that, uh, uh, actually, uh, Magruder is going to have a problem with all this because Dean talked Magruder into saying the wrong thing to the Grand Jury, and, uh, uh, so Magruder's got a problem.

PRESIDENT: My God, Mitchell was there

EHRlichman: Yep.

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PRESIDENT: Isn't that the meeting they're referring to?

EHRlichman: Yes, sir.

HALDEMAN: Sure.

PRESIDENT: Mitchell was there when Dean talked him into saying the wrong things?

HALDEMAN: That's what he says. That's what the, that's what Mitchell says.

PRESIDENT: What does Dean say about it?

EHRlichman: Dean, uh Dean says it was Mitchell and Magruder who agreed.

HALDEMAN: Well, uh, -

EHRlichman: It must have been the quietest meeting in history because everybody's version is that the other two guys talked.

PRESIDENT: Go ahead. Let's hear the rest of it.

EHRlichman: Well, it goes on like that. Uh, his, his characterization of all this is that he was a very busy man, that he wasn't keeping track of what was going on at the Committee, that this was engendered as a result of Hunt and Liddy coming to Colson's office and getting Colson to make a phone call to, uh, Magruder and that, uh, he, Mitchell, was just not aware that all that happened until, uh, Van Shunway brought Liddy into Mitchell's office sometime in June, and that's the first he had knowledge of it. Much later in the conversation,

HALDEMAN: Before the discovery?

EHRlichman: Uh, well, I don't know.

(Unintelligible)

EHRlichman: I don't know. He didn't, he didn't
(Unintelligible)

EHRlichman: You can listen to it. I've got it taped.
(Unintelligible)

EHRlichman: But in any event, much later, uh, I said
that the Grand Jury felt, or the U.S.
Attorney felt, that they had John, uh,
wired. And he said, "Well, what possible
evidence could they have to, uh, feel that
way?" And I

PRESIDENT: John Dean or John Mitchell?

EHRlichman: John Mitchell. And I said, "Well, I
understand that one version of the facts-is
that Magruder brought you a memo with a
number of targets on it, and that you
checked off the targets that you wanted."
And he said, Why, that, nothing could be
further from. truth than that.

PRESIDENT: That was John Dean's version?

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: That's what he said he said to Mitchell?

EHRlichman: Right. Then'--

HALDEMAN: What Mitchell said to me was that he did not
he said, "I checked, I signed off on it."

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Go ahead.

HALDEMAN: I said, "You mean you initialed it," and he
said, "No."

EHRlichman: Then, uh, I said, uh, they had res jectae by
Hunt and Liddy having a conversation, and
Liddy saying to Hunt, "Yes, I know how you
don't like this stuff. We have to do it
because Mr. Mitchell insists on it." He
said, "I never saw Liddy for five months.
From February to

June, I never laid eyes on him." He said, "I think Liddy is the source of a lot of my problem here, he's using my name, and so forth." Uh, so it's very much of a hard line thing. He said, uh, uh, "If I'm Indicted, it is gonna be very hard, but," lie said (Clears Throat) "I have to think of my reputation." Uh, he said, "I can't let people get away with this kind of thing," and he said, "I am just going to have to defend myself every way I can." "Because," he said, "Obviously I can't get a, I can't get a fair trial in the city of Washington by any stretch of the imagination. We'll just have to see how that all comes out." Uh, he said, "I an sorry to hear that so much of this is going to come to the White House." Uh he said, uh, "Certainly it's not in the President's interest to have all this kind of thing come out." He made a great point of the \$350,000. He says that his recollection -and he said, "You want to check this because," He said, "I'm not, I'm very vague on the facts of this." But he said, I, uh, uh, I, I told him about Strachan, because Strachan used to work for him. And I told him that Strachan had been, and has to go back and correct from 350 to 328. Well, he said, "That wasn't the only invasion of that money." And I said, "Oh?" And he said, "No, you would have to check with John Dean on this but," he said, "it's my recollection that Dean had Strachan draw other money out of that fund for payment to these defendants." And I said, "Well, that's the first I heard of that. I understood that Strachan had gone to Bob and said what about this fund, and Bob said send it back to the Committee and, uh, that Strachan had taken it to LaRue as a representative of the Committee." He said, "Yes, I think that's the way it all went, but not until some of it had been tapped for the defendants." And I said, uh, uh,...

HALDEMAN:

(Coughing) I think your defense is, it was not known to anybody over here who was gonna, whoever received it.

EHRlichman: No. I said (tapping) "Was that before the money got to LaRue?" And he said, "Yes, I am sure it was." And I said, "Well, who would know about that cause I've never heard that before?" And he said, "Well. I think Dean." So --

PRESIDENT: The \$328,000 is wrong, too, them?

EHRlichman: Well, if Mitchell is to be believed, that's right, uh, that's the inference. But, uh, you don't know of any-other withdrawal do you, Bob?

HALDEMAN: Well, I told you

EHRlichman: Yep.

HALDEMAN: ...the \$328,000 was not returned in one trip.

EHRlichman: But it all went to LaRue?

HALDEMAN: That's what I'm told.

PRESIDENT: ...In one trip? I mean he did it twice?

UNIDENTIFIED: Yep.

HALDEMAN: Here, here's the sequence on that. We wanted to get the money back to the Committee. The Committee wouldn't take it. Mitchell wouldn't let LaRue take it. I said give it all back. LaRue, Mitchell said no. Then they got desperate for money, and being desperate for money took back -I think it was \$40,000. And that's all they would take. I still said, "Take it all back, not just, not just, not just a segment of it", and made, uh, the point that I didn't see what the problem was. If they needed money and we wanted to get rid of money, it seemed to me it was of mutual interest in working it out. And that, then, was what happened. The balance -If, if \$40,000-were taken in one trip then whatever -(unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Tell Strachan in his testimony on Monday that he better be, he better be clear that he didn't give it all in one bunch.

HALDEMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: Right, 'cause Strachan has testified apparently that he gave the whole bundle at once.

HALDEMAN: No, sir, he has not.

EHRlichMAN: No, he wasn't asked that.

PRESIDENT: He wasn't asked?

HALDEMAN: His testimony in that area is not wrong.

PRESIDENT: Good.

EHRlichMAN: Now, John kept referring to, kept using a phrase, protecting the rights of people." One of the ways that he used that phrase was in response to my question--about what he thought I oughta do with the information that I had collected in the last several weeks.

(Unintelligible)

And he said, uh, "Well, you have to first of all consider the rights of the individual." I said, "Yes. At the same time, here is the President sitting here now with a body of hearsay and not absolute knowledge. Uh, my inclination is to give it to Kleindienst." And, uh, he thought about that awhile and he said, "Yes, I guess that's, that's the best thing he could do." I said) "Now you should know that Kleindienst just said that if you, in any way, get the crack in this case, that he is going to step aside, regardless of this whole case." And I said, "I understand Henry Pre, Petersen also will."

HALDEMAN: Really?

EHRlichMAN: And, yeah,

HALDEMAN: I think you've got to be kidding.

EHRlichman: ...and, uh, I said "That the thing Kleindienst is pushing for is a special prosecutor." John said, "That would be a grave mistake because it would be subversive to the orderly process of justice if everytime you have an important case you strive to put together an ad hoc process."

PRESIDENT: Well, how ridiculous-the present prosecutor's going like hell anyway.

EHRlichman: Uh, so, uh, I said, uh, "At least, he thought he should step aside." He got a very wry smile on his face, and he said, "Well it's great to have friends isn't it?" He says, "Especially the way that we stuck by them" -- meaning the ITT business, I assume.

PRESIDENT: Because of Kleindienst.

EHRlichman: Uh, so, uh, that was a, that was an interesting little aside. He said, "I Would be very grateful if you would all kind of keep me posted."'

HALDEMAIN: Really?

EHRlichman: And I said, "Fine." He knew that we were talking to Chappie Rose. Uh, I told him no decision had been made about a Special Counsel, but that we were inclined not to appoint a Special Prosecutor; that you were...

PRESIDENT: He doesn't mind a Special Counsel?

EHRlichman: And, he thinks it's a good idea to have a Special Counsel. He suggested that maybe the Special Counsel should be the one to go talk to Kleindienst, rather than, uh, somebody from the White House staff. And, uh, uh, so that, that was his only reaction to that. Uh, I told him again that I thought he ought to be represented, and that Paul O'Brien was now a target of this Grand Jury and that I thought he really had to think about getting

representation. He said he had given it a lot of thought, but that be, uh, didn't think that he would want to make a change yet. He thought he would wait and see how O'Brien got along. Uh...

HALDEMAN: Which confirms he considers O'Brien to be his attorney?

EHRlichman: Right.

HALDEMAN: That's interesting.

EHRlichman: Uh, (tapping), he asked me how he was involved, in, in, what I had heard about the prosecutor's view of Mitchell's involvement in the obstruction of justice suit. I said that f really had not been able to find anybody who was an efficient actor, who really went to a defendant and said, "Don't talk," or so and so. And he said, "Well, I, I really wonder if you ever will, other than their lawyers, because, uh, my impression of this is that they were the ones who were worried about their fees and who were really coming to us rather than for any of us going to them to bring about a change in testimony. Matter of fact," he said,

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) ... all along

EHRlichman: "the thing that, uh, that we were talking to Dean about," he said, "I wasn't really worried about what they testified to. I was worried about what they'd say to the press."

HALDEMAN: Exactly when Hunt made the challenge.

EHRlichman: Yep.

HALDEMAN: That, somehow, Dean doesn't see that, that way.

EHRlichman: Well, we've got to talk to him some more. Uh, he, uh, he, Mitchell, did not mention Martha at all, or and I didn't raise it. That was just not even in the conversation.

UNIDENTIFIED: (Coughing) Yeah.

EHRlichman: Uh, Oh, I told him that, uh, the only way that I knew that he was mentioned, insofar as the aftermath was concerned, was that from time to time he would send Dean over saying, "Hey, we need money for this," and he said, uh, "Who told you that?"

HALDEMAN: John Dean.

EHRlichman: And I said, "John that's, that's. that's common knowledge. And, uh, Dean, among others has told me that." Uh, I said, "Dean has not been subpoenaed. He has not testified and, as a matter of fact, the way they are proceeding down there, it looks like they are losing interest in him."

(Unintelligible)

EHRlichman: I, in a sense, well said this to John because I wanted him to be impressed with the fact that, uh, uh, we were not jobbing him.

PRESIDENT: Oh, I get it, the point. Yeah. Yeah.

EHRlichman: We were -Dean (unintelligible). That's it.

PRESIDENT: Does he know that Magruder's going to confess?

EHRlichman: I said that in-the course of calling to invite people to come talk with me today, and I indicated that there were more than two, that the person who called was told that Dean intended to, uh --

PRESIDENT: Magruder.

EHRlichman: Pardon me, er,er, Magruder intended to make a clean breast of it and that, that was first party information and very reliable, and that that would tend to begin to unravel this thing from the center -in both directions. And he agreed with that. Now he said, which version is it that Magruder is going to testify to? Is it the one that he gave Bob and me in Bob's office, or is it some other version?"

HALDEMAN: That's not true.

EHRlichman: I said

PRESIDENT: What was the version he gave Bob? Was it another version?

EHRlichman: Well, he let me tell you what Mitchell said. It was another gigging of the White House. Uh, he said, uh, uh, "You know, uh, in Bob's office, Magruder said that Haldeman had cooked this whole thing up over here in the White House and, uh

PRESIDENT: Had he said that?

EHRlichman: Well, I mean, that's, you know, the sort of

PRESIDENT: All right.

EHRlichman: And that, uh, uh and that sort of

PRESIDENT: Now wait a minute. Your conversation with Mitchell is the one where, uh

HALDEMAN: I've got the notes somewhere.

PRESIDENT: ...where Mitchell (unintelligible) is one here Mitchell falls down on (unintelligible). Very good. It's good you have it too, but, uh

EHRlichman: Mitchell's theory

PRESIDENT: Wait a minute, whatever his theory is, let me say a footnote

EHRlichman: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...one, one footnote is, uh, that, uh, his, uh, throwing it off on the White House isn't going to help him one damn bit.

EHRlichman: Uh, uh, unless he can, unless he can peddle the theory that Colson and others were effectively running the Committee through Magruder and freezing him out of the operation,

PRESIDENT: Hum.

EHRlichman: ... which, is kind of the story line he was giving me.

HALDEMAN: Did he include me in the others?

EHRlichman: Yep.

HALDEMAN: That I was freezing him out of the operation?

EHRlichman: That you, in other words, he didn't say this baldly or flatly, but you accumulated a whole, uh, a whole bunch of things, and it's Colson, Dean and Bob
(Unintelligible)

EHRlichman: ...working with Magruder, and uh, that that was sort of the way the line up went.

PRESIDENT: The fault is the, White House's rather than his.

HALDEMAN: He's got an impossible problem with that.

PRESIDENT: Well, I...

HALDEMAN: The poor guy is putting

PRESIDENT: It's bad if he gets up there and says that, It's a hell of a problem, for us. HALDEMAN: It's a Problem for us. No question. But there's no way he can prove it

EHRlichman: He has a very, very bad tremor.

PRESIDENT: He's always had that.

EHRlichman: Well, I've never noticed

PRESIDENT: Shakes.

EHRlichman: ... it as bad as this.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Yeah.

HALDEMAN: It's always been bad.

PRESIDENT: You've done your, uh, done your duty today.
(Unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: The next question is,

EHRlichMAN: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: ...the next question is whether you see Magruder or not and you're now set to see him at 4 o'clock, and if we're going to cancel him, we should do it right now.

EHRlichMAN: see no purpose in seeing him.

PRESIDENT: Why, because Magruder's, uh, Magruder's aware of the fact now that we -

HALDEMAN: Magruder's already going to do what John's going to tell him to do, so

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: So far, we've got it all

PRESIDENT: Our purpose of course, uh (unintelligible) do it. Our purpose, as I understood it -what I mean Bob, was to keep a record for the (unintelligible).

EHRlichMAN: All right. For that purpose maybe I should. Now, maybe what I should do -

HALDEMAN: Let him tell you what be told me, and then you say, "Good.

EHRlichMAN: Exactly.

PRESIDENT: I'd like to get, I'd like to get what the hell he's, uh, what he's going to say.

EHRlichMAN: All right. All right.

PRESIDENT: I would particularly like to get what the hell he's going to say about Strachan.

EHRlichman: All right.

PRESIDENT: I mean, I'd say, apparently, uh, you could say, "Look John, look Jeb, I have to conduct this investigation on the White House. (Unintelligible)." If he says Strachan knew, say how do you know he knows?

EHRlichman: All right.

PRESIDENT: Do you think you should ask him that or do you not want to go digging. I that?

HALDEMAN: Why not?

EHRlichman: Okay. (Tapping)

PRESIDENT: All right.

EHRlichman: Yeah-Once he tell me that be, that he intends to go forward to tell the truth, he has nothing to lose by talking to me.

PRESIDENT: Hell. Well, I know. The point is that I want it to seem you want him to be, without guiding him or leading him, you can at least maybe get that out.

EHRlichman: Right.

HALDEMAN: Well, his lawyer will be there.

EHRlichman: Right.

PRESIDENT: The other thing is what about the, what about the, uh, of course, you realize that if he says something about Strachan, then, of course', that puts an obligation on us to do something about Strachan doesn't it?

EHRlichman: Well, at least to corroborate it or, or, uh, investigate it, or, or go forward on it.

HALDEMAN: You could do it by questioning Strachan?

EHRlichman: Among other things.

HALDEMAN: Here's where it ends up.

EHRlichman: Well, if it ends up that way, why then you have a sort of a dog fight. Now, let

PRESIDENT: Excuse me go ahead, sorry

HALDEMAN: I didn't think, Jeb is, let me put it, let me say this, I don't think Jeb wants to hang Strachan. I think Jeb is worried about the fact that in going through this, he is going to, to, he thinks, to a degree, implicate Strachan. Now, that's the same kind of thinking as Strachan and Chapin, who were both very concerned about getting me into the Segretti thing. In other words, they they see any involvement, any mentioning of the name as being a problem.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: I don't think Jeb sees it or understands the question of whether he really got Strachan in or not, and I'm not sure how far he decided he intends to go with, with Strachan.

EHRlichman: He didn't say, he didn't really make it clear?

HALDEMAN: No. He just said, unfortunately, this whole thing is going to come up and if it comes up

PRESIDENT: Bob

HALDEMAN: ... but then, what's, what's the problem with Gordon? And he said, "Well, I don't know. That depends on what other people say."

PRESIDENT: Other people, meaning like a secretary, you mean, or somebody who typed

HALDEMAN: Could be.

PRESIDENT: ...typed a memorandum.

HALDEMAN: Could be.

PRESIDENT: To a degree, I think I see in Strachan's case the, well, the other possibility, of course, would be, uh, may be they're very likely, oh, I think it might be this Bob, that, uh, they're gonna ask the question, Who told you to do this Jeb, Mr. Magruder?" (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: He's flatly denied that Strachan told him to do it. Now, Larry did, Larry did, he brought back that exact story that he, that he --

PRESIDENT: Colson. What about the Colson (unintelligible).

EHRlichman: Uh, he says that he's going, going to have to hurt Mitchell.

HALDEMAN: He says, "The one I'm going to hurt is Mitchell, and to some degree, John Dean and maybe Gordon."

PRESIDENT: He's obviously talked this through. Isn't it worthwhile for you to find out, uh,

HALDEMAN: I think we have to,

PRESIDENT: ...I think we owe it to ourselves to find out about John Dean, for example, what he, now understand, that he thinks (unintelligible) this is true (unintelligible)...us.

EHRlichman: All right. I think that's right. This is probably a golden opportunity in a way.

PRESIDENT: Right. To find, well, let me put it this way. We've got to find out what the hell he's gonna say

EHRlichman: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...so that we'll know what to expect, you see

EHRlichman: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: ...rather than have the God damned thing go on our heads.

EHRlichman: Right.

PRESIDENT: The interesting thing is, uh, did, did, did Bob tell you are you, uh, prepared to say that he says that, uh, he, uh, Magruder, said that they'll indict him and not Mitchell. That's a hard damn theory. Isn't that what you told me? Bob, didn't you tell me that?

HALDEMAN: No. No. He said everybody, no, he said "Everybody is going to fall an this." He wasn't meaning indictments. He was meaning gonna talk.

PRESIDENT: Oh.

HALDEMAN: Himself, LaRue and so on.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: He said everybody's, everybody's going to drop except John. And, he's gonna get out of it. (Unintelligible)

EHRlichman: That's correct. That's correct.

HALDEMAN: He didn't mean that, that Mitchell wouldn't be indicted. He meant that Mitchell, Mitchell was the only one who was going to continue to hardline, that everybody else had given up. And that's why he's given up. His point is, his keeping quiet now or lying now serves no purpose cause all they're gonna do is get him on a perjury count as well as everything else. If he can clean up anything he can live with himself better. He's faced the fact that he's had it.
(Pause)

PRESIDENT: Uh huh, so that means LaRue and O'Brien. Is that right?

HALDEMAN: Depends on how far they go.

EHRlichman: That's right.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Jeb doesn't know anything much about that.

PRESIDENT: it's under cover. They'll push him. I think he can put up a pretty good fight on the thing, don't you?

HALDEMAN: I would think so. I, I would be, uh --

PRESIDENT: Even if they indict him, it's going to be a damn hard, hard, intricate case to prove. You've got to prove motive there, don't you, John?

EHRlichhan: Yes. Dean, (Clears Throat) Dean argues that in a, in a conspiracy, uh, such as they're trying to build, they may not have to prove the same kind of animus as to some of the participants, but only that they were, that they were in it. Uh, I, I would have to read the cases. I just don't know what the law is.

PRESIDENT: Of course, you've got their, you've got their defendants the same way, I guess, uh,

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: .. I guess, uh, that key witness there is Hunt.

EHRlichman: Well, the defendants, and then it's, uh, the defendant's lawyer, Bittman.

PRESIDENT: Hunt and Bittman. They're both, Hunt will testify tomorrow.

EHRlichman: My, my guess is that a fellow like Bittman has probably negotiated immunity for himself, and has

HALDEMAN: Dean strongly feels they wouldn't give it to him.

EHRlichhan: Yeah, I know.

PRESIDENT: They will?

HALDEMAN: Will not.

EHRlichman: But that, uh, he's gonna, he's gonna tell about a lot of conversations he had with a lot of people.

PRESIDENT: Bittman is?

EHRlichman: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Do we know that?

EHRlichman: Well, I don't know that, but I know for instance, that Bittman had a conversation with Colson that was a Watergate conversation. And, uh, uh, I know, I know what Colson says about it -that he was brilliant and adroit, avoided any

HALDEMAN: And he says Bittman's recollection of it would be exactly the same as Colson's his recollection of the of the specific conversation but he says Bittman may draw conclusions from it.

PRESIDENT: This is the clemency conversation?

HALDEMAN: Yep.
(Pause)

PRESIDENT: And his conclusion would be that he felt the President offered clemency?

HALDEMAN: No. His conclusion is that, that, he, he, uh, Colson will have Hunt out by Christmas, because you know what kind, what kind of pull I have here in the White House. I'll be able to work it out. That's what he would, would imply ~y saying --

PRESIDENT: What, how does Colson handle that?

EHRlichman: He says he's got a tape or a wire, uh; uh, a memo or something that says exactly what he said.

HALDEMAN: It's just a memo. He wrote a, he wrote a memorandum of the conversation immediately after the conversation. Which will, that's all it is, is his side of the story.

PRESIDENT: You don't think this, this would lead to an indictment of Colson do you?

EHRlichman: (Sighs) I haven't any idea. Dean seems to think everybody in the place is going to get indicted. (Laughs) No, this afternoon Well, I

HALDEMAN: They're all doing the same thing. What Dean said is just looking at the worst possible side of the coin that you could make a list of everybody who in some way is technically indictable in the cover-up operation. And that list includes, in addition to Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Colson, Dean,

PRESIDENT: Because they all discussed it?

HALDEMAN: Strachan, Kalmbach, Kalmbach's go-between. Kalmbach's source, LaRue, Mardian, O'Brien, Parkinson,

EHRlichman: Bittman

HALDEMAN: Bittman, Hunt, uh, and, and, you know, so, and just to keep wandering through the impossibles, he said maybe the route for, for everybody on that list to take a guilty plea and, and get immediate, uh, uh, what do you call it, pardon, or, uh,

PRESIDENT: Clemency.

HALDEMAN: clemency

PRESIDENT: From the President.

HALDEMAN: Hmm. That shows you-the somewhat incredible way unclear-state (Laughs) of some of John Dean's analytical thinking.

EHRlichman: No way.

PRESIDENT: It's a shame. There could be clemency in this case and at the proper time, having in-mind the

extraordinary sentences of ' Magruder, and so forth and so on, but you know damn well...

HALDEHAN: It's gotta be down the road

PRESIDENT: It's ridiculous. They all know that. Colson knew that. I mean when you talked to Colson and he talked to me.

EHRlichman: The, uh, Magruder thing is 4 o'clock and it's still on.

HALDEMAN: Yeah. I think I have to go confirm it

EHRlichman: All right.

HALDEMAN: Should I?

EHRlichman: I think so. It's an opportunity Now the question is whether I ought to get a hold of Kleindienst for, say 5 o'clock and get this thing all wrapped up.

PRESIDENT: Have you determined it should be Kleindienst rather than Silbert?

EHRlichman: Yeah. Dean's right about that. I'm sure.

PRESIDENT: I didn't know you'd talked to Dean.

EHRlichman: Well, I did, I asked Dean's advice on this. He said Silbert would ask you to wait a minute, he'd step out of the room, he'd come back to get you and he'd walk you right into the Grand Jury.

PRESIDENT: Oh.

EHRlichman: And, uh, he, he doesn't dare handle a communication like that personally, from the standpoint of the later criticism. He says the better route would be to go to Kleindienst, who will probably step aside and refer you to the Dean. The Dean, in turn, would say to Henry Petersen, "They'd done this little investigation over at the White House, they've collected a bunch of hearsay, there doesn't seem to be much new, but they've got it

There for anybody who wants it." Petersen, -in-turn, would inform Silbert, who would, thank God, I got more than I can handle here now, we'll wait and Interview that guy later."

PRESIDENT: The purpose in doing this is what? (Sighs)

EHRlichman: The purpose of doing it is to

PRESIDENT: The White House conducted its investigation and turned it over to the Grand Jury.

EHRlichman: Turned it over to the, to the Justice Department.

PRESIDENT: Before the indictment?

EHRlichman: Right.

PRESIDENT: How much are you going to tell them?

EHRlichman: I, I think I'd let 'em drag it out of me in a way. I don't know, I just really haven't thought that part through.

PRESIDENT: Because they would say, "Why did the White House wait for the Justice Department to do all this?"

EHRlichman: "Did the White House know?" is probably the way this would come. Yes

PRESIDENT: Yes. And you'd say, yes, as a matter of fact

EHRlichman: We had, we had been at work on this for some time. The President, the President

PRESIDENT: ...President ordered an independent investigation.

EHRlichman: ...needed it known.

PRESIDENT: I had ordered an independent investigation at the time McCord had something to say. Right.

EHRlichman: All right.

PRESIDENT: At that time, you conducted an investigation.

EHRlichman: And that a, at the time, I was ready to report to you my tentative conclusions, and they were no more than that, you felt that they were sufficiently serious that, uh, well that, you felt that one overriding aspect of the report was that some people evidently were hanging back feeling that they were somehow doing the President a favor. That the President had me personally transmit to them his view that this ought to be a complete open thing; that may or may not have played some part in Jeb Magruder's subsequent disclosures to the Grand Jury. In any event, uh, uh, rather than for us simply to hold the information that we did have in the White House, we turned it over to the Justice Department for whatever disposition they wanted to make of it.
(Pause)

PRESIDENT: If Mitchell is indicted here, you think he's going to be convicted?

EHRlichman: Yeah, I think so. I can't guarantee it, but I would be amazed once, once Magruder goes in there.

PRESIDENT: But, that's only one man.

EHRlichman: Ah, that's plenty.

PRESIDENT: Is it?

EHRlichman: Oh, yes sir, and uh, well

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) know criminal law?

EHRlichman: With all the other stuff they've got, uh,

PRESIDENT: All the other stuff they've got?

EHRlichman: ... they have a way of corroborating, uh --

PRESIDENT: All right. So let's go down the road. Mitchell's indicted, when do you think this is going to happen? With Magruder going in today, it could come sooner.

EHRlichman: Could be. Could be, although Dean feels it will not be before May 15th,, at the earliest, and now with the glut of people coming in, it may be later than that, could be toward the end of *-* #

PRESIDENT: Because they want to make

EHRlichman: They will want to do it all at once.
(Pause)

STEWARD: Yes, air?

PRESIDENT: I'll have consomme. Thank you.

ERRlichman: I might have Dick and Joe came over at 5 o'clock.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRlichman: And tell them what we've done, tell them that I will reduce the report (Clears Throat) to, to typewriting, which it is not now.

HALDEMAN: He could probably be over sooner if you wanted. He's at his lawyer's office.

EHRlichman: Why don't we do it as soon as we can?

HALDEMAN: 3:30?

EHRlichman: No sense sitting around here.

PRESIDENT: Make it 3:30.

EHRlichman: Seems like we always have a drum on the lawn when these things are going on. We had a band out there when Hickel came in.

HALDEMAN: Oh, really? Uh, would you, uh, check Jeb and see if they, why not have him, come over and see us here.

EHRlichman: Yes air.

PRESIDENT: What is the situation then with Mitchell? Undoubtedly, he will change the venue (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: If he could come at 3:30, that would be better here.

EHRlichman: Well, I'd think he'd have maybe a better chance of getting it judged in a different venue, uh (Noises in Background) concerning the witnesses, than he would certainly here in Washington who would feel the political heat of letting the Senate go on. I, I don't know how to calculate that. That's uh, it's a good question. But, I mean, you'd have to have it in a place like Missoula, Montana.

PRESIDENT: This is a national story. EMAN: (Unintelligible) Gee, Pascagoula, Mississippi, might be better.

EHRlichman: Yeah, that would be better. (Pause) Miami would be the place, best place for it.

PRESIDENT: With you here, you men and Dean, and without going as far as, uh, as we did a month ago, and so forth and so on, he said they will, uh, probably indict a pretty big bag.

HALDEMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: Is that right?

HALDEMAN: Could. Now he does not think he does, his opinion is that they will not reach him.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: He does not think he's a target and he doesn't think he will be. He thinks he might be, but he doesn't think he will and if he's not, it doesn't go any ., that, that means it isn't going any further than the White House.

EHRlichMAN: Well, I'm not so sure you can say, uh

HALDEMAN: That's right. He said they may be after bigger targets.

EHRlichMAN: Yeah. The name, names are kind of peeling off, uh, uh,

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) like Ehrlichman and Haldeman?

EHRlichMAN: ...like yours truly.

PRESIDENT: Yep.

HALDEMAN: I don't, I think, I think

EHRlichMAN: I don't

HALDEMAN: ...he's trying to get attention with that, John. I

EHRlichMAN: He got it.

HALDEMAN: I don't think he believes it.

EHRlichMAN: (Laughs)

PRESIDENT: I don't think though, I can't see that. John Dean had said we all got to keep our thinking perspective with John, Kleindienst a but tangential uh, anything, relationship either of you had with the God damned thing is nothing compared to Dean's because he sat in on the God damn meetings.

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: He did participate directly in the thing.

EHRlichman: Oh I'm certain, there's an element of

HALDEMAN: As, as, however, and if he, he can, uh -he's on a somewhat higher level admittedly, but he can establish himself in a similar role to that of Strachan, say that he was merely a messenger, a conduit, agent.

EHRlichman: Boy, Mitchell.

HALDEMAN: ...he's not a principal

EHRlichman: Mitchell sure doesn't agree with that. He'd be a tough I assume Mitchell will never testify. That, that would be my assumption. That, uh

HALDEMAN: Well, one thing I was thinking of that we didn't talk through, but I'm sure you thought through and I have talked to him and told him I was reporting to the President, is that, that the outcome of the Magruder thing is that there will never be any public Magruder testimony.

EHRlichman: That's right.

HALDEMAN: So the question of what Magruder's testimony amounts

EHRlichman: Well, no

HALDEMAN: ...to is only in terms of what the Grand Jury is

EHRlichman: No, that's not right, Bob. Because he will, he'll be indicted, he'll plead guilty, he'll be sentenced.

HALDEMAN: That's right.

EHRlichman: Then he's available.

HALDEMAN: To the Committee?

EHRlichman: Well, to, to the Committee or to the Court as a witness in somebody else's case.

PRESIDENT: Oh, he is?

EHRlichman: Sure. He'll be brought back in his prison denims, changed into a business suit and be put on the stand.

PRESIDENT: Oh.

HALDEMAN: Really?

EHRlichman: Sure.

HALDEMAN: Why doesn't he take the Fifth on possible additional self-incrimination?

EHRlichman: ...they'd give him immunity.
(Noise)

HALDEMAN: Sounds nice for awhile, anyway. This stuff wasn't hanging on any of those things anyway.

EHRlichman: No. No.

HALDEMAN: I think we just go to face that fact that whatever the story in it's going to be out (unintelligible).

EHRlichman: Well, you'll have the entire story out, plus probably two other stories that two other guys make up.

HALDEMAN: That's right.

EHRlichman: And that anything and everything that's said will be believed.

HALDEMAN: And at least one of which will be enormously damaging to us.

EHRlichman: There would be no way

HALDEMAN: Not provable, but damaging

EHRlichman: ...no way to deny it.

PRESIDENT: It's terrible when they get such a big bag.

EHRlichman: Yep.

PRESIDENT: What does all this mean with regard to the, our posture here. Would you say let's take the gas? In terms of not, not, not cooperating with the Committee and so forth. You're not going to, you're now looking at another month of it.

HALDEMAN: I don't think we should take that chance.

PRESIDENT: See if we can in a month or more. I don't wanta, I don't wanta, Bob, you see the point is I don't wanta cooperate with the Committee unless I get a resolution of the entire Republican Caucus in the Senate. We can't do that. (Unintelligible) based on the (unintelligible). Do you not agree? (Unintelligible)

EHRlichman: Look, what, what should I say to Ervin and Baker on Monday?

PRESIDENT: That's exactly why I am raising this point. (Unintelligible with Noise)

EHRlichman: One thing,

HALDEMAN ...the lawyer's office...okay
(On Phone):

EHRlichman: I think Magruder and Mitchell and others,

PRESIDENT: If they show up at the Senate

EHRlichman: ...will not be witnesses at the Ervin hearings.

PRESIDENT: You just, you just told me (unintelligible) that they could be witnesses at that trial.

EHRlichman: Well, they can, but the, the point is that the, the, well, alright, after, after the trial, after their trial and their sentencing,

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Of Mitchell.

EHRlichman: ... they, they could be subpoenaed,

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRlichman: ... and they would be delivered up to the Committee.

PRESIDENT: But why, oh, you mean until Mitchell is tried, they can't be, uh

EHRlichman: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Why?

EHRlichman: Until they stand trial, well, uh, it would prejudice their rights.

PRESIDENT: Not only they, but he's already given,, pled guilty.

EHRlichman: Ah. Well then, then Magruder could be a witness after he's, after he's been sentenced. If he wanted to be and, uh,

PRESIDENT: Wanted to be?

EHRlichman: Now, here's the, here's the tricky point. Whether or not Ervin can grant immunity to someone who has been sentenced and is serving a sentence is something that I don't know, whether that would make any difference or not. I have no doubt that a judge can, but I don't know whether the Senate can.. I think Ervin's best bet is to suspend as soon as these indictments are announced. I mean that's if he were smart, that's what he'd do, and just let this thing tear everything up, and then come around afterwards and touch up places that have been missed. Just sort of go around the battlefield and get the coup de grace.

PRESIDENT: Well, after they get through this, this kind of indictment, there isn't going to be that-much gas in the Ervin Committee. I mean, they'll go ahead, but I mean they'll say well, now, what the hell, there's old Segretti, shit he's too' small.
(Unintelligible) On the other hand, people

EHRlichman: He gets the leavings.

PRESIDENT: What?

EHRlichman: He gets the leavings. That's all.

HALDEMAN: They'll delve into it because their, their whole pitch is that this isn't the Watergate, it's the use of, the misuse of money and all that sort of stuff.

PRESIDENT: I Know, but

HALDEMAN: They're going to run that money game down. Where did it come from

EHRlichman: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: ... where did it go?

EHRlichman: Mitchell, said, incidentally

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) million dollars?

HALDEMAN: Well, yeah.

EHRlichman: ... Mitchell said that, uh, uh, we should take great care to establish that three fifty came from the pre-'72 campaign money.

HALDEMAN: Right.

EHRlichman: And, "Questions in your mind about that?" And he said, "No. My impression is that this is where it came from," but he said, "Maury Stans and Herb Kalmbach spent a week together trying to

tie all these various funds down as to source and that's a big loose end."

PRESIDENT: Well, you better, let's get that one. Well, there was no question about that, was there, Bob?

HALDEMAN: Not in my mind.

EHRlichman: Well, but you see Maury and Herb

HALDEMAN: The question was that, there was, well a lot more than that the question was how much of it would we set aside. It came down to three fifty.

EHRlichman: Maury

PRESIDENT: Who brought it over here? Maury?

HALDEMAN: No. Gordon Strachan went over there and got it. Well, either Sloan brought it over here or Strachan went over there. I'm not sure which. Strachan took delivery from Sloan.

PRESIDENT: We heard this one before the campaign started, in other words

HALDEMAN: It was April sixth.

PRESIDENT: April sixth?

EHRlichman: That may make a problem.

PRESIDENT: After the day of the,

HALDEMAN: The day before the seventh

PRESIDENT: It was April seventh? But it was the night before.

HALDEMAN: Yeah, it was cash that had been, John (unintelligible) -ed over from the seventh.

EHRlichman: But John Implied that they had bigger problems and that they had to use this money to make up shortages some place else or some--, I don't

know. He didn't get into all this, but he said

HALDEMAN: They never told me that.

EHRlichman: They had problems with making their accountings all come out even, Kalmbach and Stans.

HALDEMAN: Kalmbach assured-me all the time that the tack, the cash from '70 was intact, except for some that, that, uh, we knew had been used. But, uh what was intact was, there was supposedly about two million. What was intact was about a million six and, uh, the question--it was way more than three fifty in other words, many times that--and the question was how much of that million six, and they convinced me that you, you don't want very, you don't want a million six. or it could have been restored to two million (unintelligible) but you don't want that because under the new laws and everything, there is no way that you could find to spend it. There isn't that much stuff you can spend on that wouldn't be traceable. And, uh, so somehow figure of three fifty was negotiated as being reasonable figure that might be, you know, would cover what might come up, but, uh, wouldn't be Impossible and wouldn't put that big a hole in the campaign. So it was (Pause) so it was no go. That was money that was not really

PRESIDENT: Didn't belong to the Committee?

HALDEMAN: Belonged to the Committee. What happened-really is that, that. We made a contribution to the Committee, that, that

PRESIDENT: Yeah, That's what it was.

HALDEMAN: ...the friends of Nixon in seventy

EHRlichman: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: ...made a million three contribution to the Committee and kept three fifty of what it had of, of its carry over funds.

EHRlichman: That's, that's the way to argue that.

HALDEMAN: That's the way it was

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) finish it, if you got time, finish it. It's all there. We'll talk another time. I think Bob, that uh

HALDEMAN: We can't reach Magruder. There's no answer. (Unintelligible) He might be walking over or something. If he arrives here, they'll let us know.

PRESIDENT: Uh, we better get the other things out of the way. (Beginning of Reel Two) Uh, I think we're going to be, uh, I don't want to be hammered into those hearings. I mean I don't want to, I don't want to, I know, I know the hearings will all the hell on us anyway but I don't want (unintelligible), but I don't (unintelligible). (First Reel Ends) What is involved here. Uh, we'll take I think we'll take a hell of a beating (unintelligible) what is involved here

EHRlichman: Uh huh.

PRESIDENT: in the next thirty days, a lots, heat; we'll take with regard to uh, why we aren't appearing, why we are not going to appear before the Committee. Now, how do we answer that? We answer that by saying the Committee won't agree to our, the proper ground rules? Is that correct?

EHRlichman: We say we don't want to turn it into a circus. We want, we want our testimony received in a judicious and probitive way. We are willing to have our people go, but only under the right circumstances.

PRESIDENT: Well.

HALDEMAN: You get it by the Kissinger thing for releasing the record of your negotiations down channel.

EHRlichHAN: Yep.

HALDEMAN: Simply say that this is what we offer.

EHRlichMAN: Yep.

HALDEMAN: We stand ready to meet this offer whenever the enemy is willing to talk.

EHRlichMAN: Seriously.

PRESIDENT: Then the question would then arise.

HALDEMAN: Tell 'em we'll resume the bombing

PRESIDENT: (Laughter) uh

EHRlichMAN: I think it will

PRESIDENT: Probably not?

EHRlichMAN: Probably-not in the light of, the heat from he Grand Jury and so on.

HALDEMAN: I still think you can

PRESIDENT: If we have

HALDEMAN: Maybe it can't be done, but there ought to be a way to turn the Grand Jury thing strongly in our way, which is that this, this proves the rightness of the President's approach of full cooperation with the proper process of justice

EHRlichHAN: Yep.

HALDEMAN: which is bringing people, even at the very highest level, to account.

PRESIDENT: You were cooperating.

EHRlichman: Yeah. I think we should do that.

HALDEMAN: We've been cooperating all along.

EHRlichman: No question about that. '

HALDEMAN: And, and the value of that is
(unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) the first man out should
not be favored (unintelligible). You
understand the importance of that and so
forth and so on. Then I've got the
(unintelligible) if you can get it to them.
Trying to think of-how to use you
effectively in this too, John, is a -

EHRlichman: I have to be, uh, I have to be unwilling to
tell the press what I discovered because of
the rights of individuals.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRlichman: Unless we want to get Mitchell and Magruder
off. I could sure as hell give them an iron
clad defense.

PRESIDENT: Oh. Oh, I meant the Gray hearing.

HALDEMAN: What's wrong with that?

PRESIDENT: It's time the Grand Jury has indicted, uh
(unintelligible)

EHRlichman: No, I could, I could prejudice

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

EHRlichman: ...I could prejudice their rights in such a
way that they could...

PRESIDENT: Oh.

EHRlichman: ...never get a fair trial.

PRESIDENT: I guess you're right. You can't do it. See, Bob, that's the problem, you can do (unintelligible) cooperate with the Grand Jury (unintelligible)

EHRlichman: Well, how about if I

PRESIDENT: It's wrong.

HALDEMAN: What's wrong with prejudicing their rights?

EHRlichman: Well, I don't-know. Uh,uh. How about if I were to do this.

HALDEMAN: You get your indictment, but you don't get anybody in jail.

EHRlichman: I could say that I made a report. I could say that I made a deal. I could say that you instructed me to do certain things. One of the things you instructed me to do was talk to Magruder. Another thing you instructed me to do was to talk to the Attorney General. And I did all those things.

PRESIDENT: And you did, but not Mitchell.

EHRlichman: And then I wouldn't mention who else. I could say I talked to other people.

PRESIDENT: I did you talk to Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Ehrlichman?"

EHRlichman: I,I,I am not gonna get into any other names of any people.

HALDEMAN: "Then why did you name Mr. Magruder?"

PRESIDENT: 'Cause he's testifying. That's the only difference. I don't know. You always come up with what not to do to those people.

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

EHRlichman: Yeah, right.

PRESIDENT: Does (unintelligible) know Bob, uh, the uh Aren't we really sort of, sort of uh, in a

position where we'd better know who's falling apart in that damn Grand Jury. I mean, at least, pull the wire on something there. I mean, I really think you do. I mean, uh, they're (unintelligible). It seems to me that a hell of a lot of the issue about doing something involves our inability to convey the fact that we're willing to cooperate. That we're willing to waive executive privilege and keeping our people silent. Now that's what I'm really trying to do (unintelligible) ... I don't know.

EHRlichman: We will get

HalDEMAN: I've always heard that that's the right, that that's the point that kind of argument.

PResIDENT: Is that (unintelligible).

HalDEMAN: (Unintelligible) one day, one day plus story, uh.

PResIDENT: Yeah.

HalDEMAN: The price for which is, uh, weeks of cha

PResIDENT: Disaster.

HalDEMAN: Disaster.

EHRlichman: But the thing that's wrong with that is while it's a one day plus story, it's also the elimination of ninety days of negative stories.

PResIDENT: ... before you ever get there. That's the point.

HalDEMAN: And it's setting up ninety days of other negative, more negative stories.

EHRlichman: Well, maybe. Maybe. Uh. That's a very good question.

PResIDENT: The question is how much more negative is there.

EHRlichman: You could have

PRESIDENT: Then have the Senators go out and characterize it and all that crap.

EHRlichman: You c- You could have peace with honor if we could get them to agree, as I believe they will, that executive privelege is reserved till the tine of questioning. (Pause)

HALDEMAN: They've pretty much stipulated that, haven't they?

EHRlichman: That's right.

PRESIDENT: What do you mean reserved till the time ?

EHRlichhan: I mean -

PRESIDENT: Negotiated?

EHRlichhan: No.

HALDEMAN: You got all these privileges regarding the individual question

EHRlichman: Right.

HALDEMAN: ... you only waive privilege as to appearance.

EHRlichman: Right.

HALDEMAN: But you also appear, adhere the merits of each individual question as to whether it relates to privilege or not and ask you what you want question by question. It will be by your representative accompanying the witness. (38 second pause) And Connally's happy dream that I go up there charging away at the Senate doesn't work.

PRESIDENT: I think Henry has a good point here too and, and uh, the thought about it is, he doesn't want Bob to be the first witness and if there is an

overrule and the cause was empty it makes sense. Although, let me say I do think that, uh, we still ought to consider are we still considering the possibility of getting out the, uh, Segretti story?

EHRlichman: Yes. Uh.

PRESIDENT: No way we could do it?

EHRlichman: I think, I think getting out the Haldeman story would be more useful in the light of Magruder and others going down to testify.

PRESIDENT: In other words you'd get that out before they testify?

EHRlichman: If possible.

PRESIDENT: Before they get (unintelligible).

EHRlichman: Yep, yeah.

HALDEMAN: The beat purview story you'd get out would be a White House story.

PRESIDENT: That's right.

EHRlichman: About how we've been working at this.

HALDEMAN: Which meets Henry's objections. Well, it's the Haldeman story, but you can't do it other than the whole thing. I'ts the

EHRlichman: You say to Haldeman I have investigated. Packaged up the whole (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: What I can do is, basically, just having an Ehrlichman report. You can (unintelligible) some of the Dean report. Uh, that would be (unintelligible) an Ehrlichman report that he makes and here is the situation with regard to the White House involvement. I haven't gone into the Committee thing. Now

EHRlichman: The current charges, the current charges on White House involvement primarily are Haldeman charges.

PRESIDENT: That's right.

EHRlichman: Well, I didn't go into White House involvement. I assumed that

PRESIDENT: No. I

EHRlichman: ...that what you needed to know from me, and I mean this would be what I would say, uh, "What the President needed to know was the, uh, truth or falsity of charges that were leaking out with regard to...

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRlichman: ...uh, Committee for the Re-election personnel and, any connections to the White House that might exist."

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

EHRlichman: "That was the area of Inquiry rather than whether anybody in the White House was involved

PRESIDENT: I agree.

EHRlichman: ...in the first place."

PRESIDENT: I've been trying to get you out there in a way that you'd never go into all that stuff across the street

EHRlichman: I know. I understand. I understand.

PRESIDENT: ...other than the fact that you are going to go before the indictments.

EHRlichman: Well, I'd do it before. The Indictments and say, look, we have great confidence in the Grand Jury process

PRESIDENT: That's right.

EHRlichman: ...and I don't want to do anything that is going to in any way impair that process.

PRESIDENT: That's right. A number of people have been called before that Grand Jury, and I'm not gonna

EHRlichman: The the, uh -

HALDEMAN: I'd say everything I've found has been turned over to the Justice Department,

EHRlichman: Exactly.

HALDEMAN: Relating to that,

PRESIDENT: ... everything that the Grand Jury is considering.

EHRlichman: And I doubt seriously that I discovered anything new. What I probably did was simply bring into the White House for the first time a body of information that otherwise was available. (Noise) Other people, other investigators undoubtedly could do the same thing that I did and maybe a lot better. But we had had no occasion, previously, to bring all that information before us. 'Uh, I talked to Kleindienst, so I got what the what the Justice Department had. I got, uh, stuff from all over and we brought it in and we tried to assemble it in a way that, uh, was meaningful for the President, and, uh

HALDEMAN: Did you review the FBI files?

EHRlichman: No.

HALDEMAN: Why not? That's the original source you said was the most extensive investigation in history. Why the hell didn't you look at it?

EHRlichman: I didn't look at it because I didn't need to look at it. I got a summary.

PRESIDENT: Dean was working the summary.

EHRlichman: No, and, and, uh, the Justice Department.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, go ahead.

EHRlichman: And, uh, uh

PRESIDENT: I think that's easy enough (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: I do too.

EHRlichman: I didn't, I didn't try and duplicate the work of the U.S. Attorney. Uh, what I, what I tried to do was simply determine for the, to the, to the Pre, for the President's use and for the President's use only whether or not there was substance to charges that we were hearing, and whether or not there was White House involvement with relation to those charges and to determine whether or not the White House ought to be doing anything about its own personnel or about others that it was not doing. We were not trying to determine what the U.S. Attorney should do or the Grand Jury should do or the Justice Department should do. At the same time it (unintelligible) for us to withhold anything from the Justice Department in the, with the thought that some of this information might not have been previously available to them. So, uh, I'm not gonna go into it. I'm not going to tell you what I found.

PRESIDENT: Well, but here's the Haldeman story that we found.

EHRlichman: But no, uh, uh. I'm not going to tell you specifically what I found because obviously, uh, the the purpose of my work was simply for the President to form judgments as, as the basis for the President to form judgments with regard to, uh, uh, White House personnel and other government personnel, and uh, to determine whether or not the White House was actually in any way impeding the progress of

the prosecutorial (Burp) effort Excuse me by anything that we were inadvertently doing. And, uh, so that's, uh, not that's not very fancy and I'd want to think that through and try to

PRESIDENT: So what I'm, what Vin trying to get is how you get his story out. That's what I'm (unintelligible).

EHRICHMAN: Oh. I see. I just put that out just flat put that out. And do it hang it on the peg of the Ervin Committee setting a date for their first day of hearings.

PRESIDENT: You mean you'd ask for an early date?

EHRICHMAN: No. They will, they will

HALDEMAN: ...they will announce Wednesday,

EHRICHMAN: ...they will Wednesday, announce it.

PRESIDENT: Right.

EHRICHMAN: ...their hearing schedule.

PRESIDENT: ...and then, then Haldeman will make his statement

EHRICHMAN: Haldeman makes his statement and says, well I have been sitting here waiting for a chance to be heard. We obvious now that it's going to be umpty-ump days before

PRESIDENT: We make an arrangement.

EHRICHMAN: Well, first of May is the earliest.

HALDEMAN: When they start.

EHRICHMAN: Yeah. And they, then your there will be six witnesses

HALDEMAN: And think what, then when they hear McCord and six witnesses

EHRICHMAN: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: ...before that, before us.

EHRlichman: No, he could say it now looks like it will be several months before I would get a chance to be heard before the Ervin Committee at best, and so, I'd like to make a statement at this time going into a number of charges that have been

PRESIDENT: ...that have been bandied about,

EHRlichman: Right.

PRESIDENT: Then you the way I would handle that, I would say, "Now let's take the Segretti matter", -uh, no "First, let's take Watergate." You say, "I had no knowledge, etc., etc., etc., etc." Uh. "Let's take the Segretti thing. Now, here are the facts." Uh. Then I would point out to (unintelligible) point out (unintelligible) self-incrimination (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: No.

EHRlichman: Well, we don't know that.

HALDEMAN: Huh?

PRESIDENT: Okay, John. Then you can go down with Segretti?

HALDEMAN: Well, our view is clearly established, which is uh, totally supported, that, that, uh, Segretti, Segretti's instructions were that he was to do nothing illegal.

EHRlichman: And, uh the

HALDEMAN: And, uh, well in answer to the question how could you launch a guy out

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: ...(unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: That's one of the reasons that they that, the, his being a lawyer was

PRESIDENT: Now, now here's what's in that

HALDEMAN: looked into.

PRESIDENT: ...(unintelligible) uh, and, uh, third, there are charges of money, of, of, of money with cash (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: I have a whole list of the general charges.

PRESIDENT: Well, the point is on the money thing (unintelligible) than that, I'd, I'd say it says here, "The money, uh, yes, there was \$350,000 left over from the campaign in 1970. Uh, it, uh, it was delivered to the White House

HALDEMAN: You see that ties to the same fund that Kalmbach see you get a question, how could I authorize the expenditure of funds for Segretti?

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: Well, I've already established in the Segretti thing that Kalmbach had these funds left over for the campaign and that's what I would assume he would use.

PRESIDENT: Right. Right.

HALDEMAN: He was the custodian in spite of the fact,

PRESIDENT: ...that, uh, these funds, these funds were, uh, were made available for private polling and so forth and so on. "They were used only for, uh \$28,000 was used for \$22,000 for ad, advertising and the balance of 500 and 328 was returned to...

HALDEMAN: They get very excited about that advertising money; as soon as they find that out, they are going to track that down. And that, we have a rocky gun zone.

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PRESIDENT: Is it Vietnam?
HALDEMAN: It was "Tell it to Hanoi".
EHRlichman: Hmph
HALDEMAN: It was a "Tell it to Hanoi" ad countering Vietnam, anti-Vietnam veterans.
PRESIDENT: Was that it?
HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible)
PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)
HALDEMAN: Wasn't (unintelligible)
PRESIDENT: That's good.
HALDEMAN: It went to Baroody which was the turn out
EHRlichman: Bill or another Baroody?
HALDEMAN: No, Sam or Charlie or something.
EHRlichman: Sam.
HALDEMAN: It's not Edgar or somebody. One of the others.
PRESIDENT: That was the "Tell it to Hanoi? ads.
HALDEMAN: Whatever it was, it wasn't I was scared to death it might be something.
PRESIDENT: Yeah.
HALDEMAN: A Colson ad but it wasn't. At least that's what Gordon thinks.
EHRlichman: Mitchell kept lobbing out little tidbits about Colson's operation
PRESIDENT: Hmmmm.

EHRlichman: ...about sending rioters up to the Capitol steps and other things that he knew about.

PRESIDENT: Well, that was separate from all of Mitchell's stuff, though, wasn't it? What Colson did?

EHRlichman: Well, he was, he was saying it's, it's really too bad that all this is coming out because there's so much sordid stuff that would be, that will be imputed to the White House.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) not still sending rioters to the Capitol steps. What do you mean?

HALDEMAN: They weren't rioters for heavens sake.

PRESIDENT: Well, they named 'em counter demonstrators. Why do you

EHRlichman: Don't tell me, tell, tell it to, to John Mitchell. (Laughs)

HALDEMAN: I don't think anybody, even Chuck Colson, can tell (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: The point is that is the (unintelligible). My thought with Bob's, though, is true, is not to make the countercharge in his in this.

EHRlichman: That's right.'

PRESIDENT: I think he should save that for the Committee. Now do you agree with that, Bob?

HALDEMAN: I don't know. It's weak

PRESIDENT: I'll even go as far as

HALDEMAN: ...it's weak if I don't.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. You've got to say

HALDEMAN: I think I've got to make it in I don't mean make it

PRESIDENT: Put it in general terms, but hold, hold the white paper.

HALDEMAN: I say (unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Hold the white paper.

HALDEMAN: ... cite some examples and say, "All these were done by the others," but I hold off on the thing that I have requested the Committee to look into, and when I'm up there I can say it's a matter of fact, you know, there's a (unintelligible) said that, that there -

PRESIDENT: I do feel that we should get this ready and really bounce it and I think that's the day to do it and slap 'er up there, and I'd say

HALDEMAN: It's ready. Oh, no, it isn't ready but it's close. But it's sure awful long.

PRESIDENT: Will it be all right?

HALDEMAN: I'm not so sure that matters.

PRESIDENT: Perfectly all right to me.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible)

EHRlichman: (Unintelligible) the d (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: And if it says if the Committee doesn't, I cannot allow, uh, I cannot allow the reputation of the (unintelligible), I mean the, the, uh, effectiveness as an Assistant to the President will be seriously damaged." "Eroded, uh, by, by false charges and so forth and consequently I am making this statement now. I will make this statement under oath. Report that I will make this statement under oath and answer questions under oath when the Ervin Committee finally gets around to hearing me." How's that sound to you, John?

EHRlichman: Sounds pretty good.

PRESIDENT: All right. Now I think I will say I will point out (unintelligible) my thoughts "I do not suggest that, uh, "I have only tried to cover in this statement questions of charges that have been made to date. That's what I've said and it has not been, and, uh, and I am sure that others will be made. And I am prepared to answer those as well."

HALDEMAN: "But I can't possibly anticipate what they"

PRESIDENT: "I cannot anticipate them. I do not, uh, I cannot anticipate them, but I'd be prepared to answer them." He won't thereby have answered through me questions of Watergate. 'Now now the only question you have left is, I suppose, sort of the peripheral, in fact, uh Dean rumbling around here and asking you and Haldeman, "How about getting us some money for Watergate defendants?" God damn. I can't believe it. I can't believe they'd put you in the for conspiracy if you were asked for that. Maybe they could.

HALDEMAN: I technically, I'm sure they could. Practically, it just seems awfully remote, but maybe that's just wishful thinking.

PRESIDENT: Incidentally, could Strachan be, find it very helpful for him to say what that twenty-two thousand dollars was for before the Grand Jury? Why not?

EHRlichman: He will have to. I can't imagine that they would

PRESIDENT: Well, they haven't asked him yet.

EHRlichman: Yeah but they will. Because

PRESIDENT: \$22,000 in (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: That makes sense.

PRESIDENT: To be sure did you tell him (unintelligible)? Huh?

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, let's be sure. Well, you could say, uh, (unintelligible), if it wasn't my (unintelligible).

EHRlichman: I probably better get up and get set up for Jeb.

HALDEMAN: Let me ask you if this there's that thing there's something else, Gordon?

PRESIDENT: Gordon?

HALDEMAN: ...that I'm supposed to ask Gordon?

EHRlichman: ...that it was delivered in pieces?

HALDEMAN: Oh, yeah.
(Pause)

PRESIDENT: There was forty thousand dollars in one occasion. (Banging) why did he deliver it because actually it was it was a large, uh, that's a large amount of money.

EHRlichman: No, they've already got him on that.

PRESIDENT: Oh, is that correct?

EHRlichman: But it all fit in a suitcase or something and (unintelligible) of support (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: The reason 14 delivered in pieces was because there was difficult for them obviously that, uh to figure out how to receive back all this cash.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: And they requested that it not be

PRESIDENT: Requested it in two Installments?

HALDEMAN: ...all at once.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Then delivered part of it at the time they asked for it, and the balance at the time they asked for it. My interest was delivering all of it as quickly as possible. I don't know what their problem was.

PRESIDENT: Could I just make the suggestion of Magruder, first, get everything you can from him, Uh.

HALDEMAN: He's bringing two lawyers with him.

EHRlichMAN: Naturally. What'll we'll, what we'll do

PRESIDENT: (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

HALDEMAN: Probably one Jewish and one Gentile.
(Laughs)

PRESIDENT: Well, you know Jeb, I Mean, I don't know what, what about (unintelligible) they Strachan, but they want Dean. Right?

HALDEMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: Just trying to get the facts and that's all there is to it.

EHRlichMAN: I'll get back to you

PRESIDENT: Be sure you convey my warm sentiments.

EHRlichMAN: Right.
(21 second pause) (Sound of door closing)

HALDEMAN: I think I ought to get Strachrin squared away.

PRESIDENT: Sure.

HALDEMAN: He covers.

PRESIDENT: Wall, we'll see what they finally come down to here (unintelligible). I, I frankly think frankly, frankly I should say I don't know, but based on what Ehrlichman tells me about the law it's a matter of withholding, evidence, as far as that was concerned. That was Mitchell's point and the matter of motive doesn't seem to be important.

HALDEMAN: Well the only sticky wicket on that is Dean. I can't understand because, 'cause -in his interest too, as well as everyone else's, to see the motive for what it was. (27 second pause)

PRESIDENT: I guess we're not surprised at Mitchell, are we?

HALDEMAN: No. It's partly true.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: What he's saying is partly t-true. I don't think he did put it together.

PRESIDENT: Hmh. He shouldn't he shouldn't throw the burden over here, Bob, on you. Now, frankly, Colson I understand, but, cause Colson certainly put the heat on over there. I don't think John would seriously have believed that you put them up to this thing.

HALDEMAN: I told you I didn't. He knows I didn't. (Unintelligible). No question of that.

PRESIDENT: I should think he knows it. He-let it all happen himself. (20 second pause) (banging on desk to beat of music) So he saw more, huh?

HALDEMAN: That's what he says.

PRESIDENT: You know he'll never he'll never go to prison. (20 second pause) What do you think about that as, a possible thing does a trial of the former Attorney General of the United States bug you? This God damn case.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible)
(18 second pause)

PRESIDENT: He'll have to take the stand at some points. (Unintelligible) hell this has happened now.

HALDEMAN: That's exactly the point. He's got no defense witness that can deny it.

(54 second pause)

PRESIDENT: You know in one sense, Bob, it's better to (unintelligible) a couple of these small things but it's much better to hand it to the Grand Jury. McCord may move on the theory that Mitchell will be sorry and the others too (unintelligible) that they have the damn, the damn thing and the Ervin Committee gets credit in the Watergate thing?

HALDEMAN: Yep.

PRESIDENT: I don't know. Am I, am I seeing something good develop

HALDEMAN: No.

PRESIDENT: ...that really isn't good or am I?

HALDEMAN: No, No. That's, that was the thing I was trying to get at this morning. That, uh, what that proves is the President's, in my view, is that the President's course was right. The President wasn't covering up. The President was cooperating with the proper place and the proper place has come to the proper result, which is to find out in an orderly manner without tarring innocent people, to find out what's going on.

PRESIDENT: You know the thing I was thinking of saying, I went around, uh, that's always the case of things here in Washington. Uh, Mayor Washington kind of 'stared, was surprised, wondered why you kidded-about nine lives. I tried to make conversation with him and so forth, damn it.

RESTRICTED-"D"

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HALDEMAN:

PRESIDENT:

HALDEMAN: **RESTRICTED-"D"**

PRESIDENT:

HALDEMAN:

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible/**REMOVED**) impossible.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible/**REMOVED**).

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible/**REMOVED**) can you finish this off (unintelligible/**REMOVED**).

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible/**REMOVED**) okay.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible/**REMOVED**)