

TRANSCRIPT OF AN EXCERPT FROM THE RECORDING OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND ALEXANDER HAIG ON JUNE 4, 1973, FROM 11:58 A.M. to 12:35 P.M.

[The President has just listened to the tape of his February 28, 1973, meeting with John Dean and is describing to Haig what he heard.]

PRESIDENT:

Then, for the first time, we got to the Watergate at that point. He said that the, that uh, that, that they were using probation officers and the judge. Dean, of course, in a very flagrant way said [inaudible]. And then I said, "First try to get [inaudible] something that no one, no injuries and so forth. And that this is just a very flagrant thing." And I said, uh, I said that "if a black, if a black held up a store with a gun, uh, he'd get perhaps two years." And Dean kind of negatived two years, he'd get a suspended sentence. [inaudible] And then he said, then he told me these fellows may even get out on bail. He said the point would come [inaudible]. Then we got into the courts. [President then discussed judicial appointments for approximately two and one-half minutes] Now we go into Sullivan. He said he watched him work with Huston. "He's a good man, reliable, et cetera." He said Felt was known as the "White Rat." [inaudible] the FBI. And, uh, the question that he raised was he, is he Jewish. And Dean said, "He could be," and I said, "well, the tendency is for our Jewish friends to leak to each other." I said, "we have that here at the White House." [inaudible] And Dean said, "Well, there will never be a leak from me, 'cause I don't know how to leak. I couldn't possibly leak." I mentioned that the people in jail ... I said,

"I feel for these guys in jail, particularly for Hunt; his wife has been killed." Dean said, "Well, they're all hanging in tough." I said, "What are they doing, looking for clemency?" He said, "yes." And I said, "We couldn't do it." I said, "Maybe it will get so absurd, so poetic and so forth that, that we could do something later on," and that was that. That was the only talk about clemency. But my remark was "[inaudible] clemency [inaudible]." And then we got into the disruption of, by the Democrats. And he pointed out that McGovern had a Dick Tuck on his payroll. [inaudible] didn't come off. And then I said, "what the hell did Segretti do?" And Dean said, "he did some funny things, but nothing really serious." And he said, "we could keep," and he said, "Chapin is not involved, except tangentially. He would run back to Herb Kalmbach for the bacon," uh, but, he said, "Herb is a strong man who makes, has a lot of intellectual [inaudible]." And I said, "then they are going to bring in his, uh, representation of the President at San Clemente, my private [inaudible]. Nobody's asking for that. Ah, but the important thing to note here, not about Kalmbach's [inaudible], but before. You see Kalmbach raised money before, because, I have said, the defendants...it seems to me is that the fact that, uh, I read it in some, well... The money was sent through a bank in Mexico, or through Mexico. [inaudible] And Dean said, "that can all be explained." But he didn't mention the fact that Ehrlichman and so forth up to this point, that after this Kalmbach raised money [inaudible]. Even if [inaudible], I want to put that in a box. [inaudible] Uh, I said, "Look Baker is [inaudible] is to get Baker and others to come out to run this show like a court. What would you say?"

He said, "excellent idea. Make it a model of [inaudible]." And Dean then talked about the past. He said, "well, I, it's, it's been a long road, but I'm convinced that [inaudible], but I'm convinced we'll make it." That was the implication [inaudible]. There was no talk of, he didn't even suggest cover-up. [inaudible] about the hearings, and I [inaudible], and I said, I said, "John, you must have had the President's [inaudible]." And Dean replied, he said, "I know, I know." I said, "When I heard about this, I thought they were all crazy. I thought they were nuts." He said, "I know." Then he said at one point, he said, "I know that they will be after Colson, Ehrlichman, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman. They might even be after Dean." This is, at that point, I said, "No, they can't do that, because [inaudible]." That was all. On the first, the next day, the question was whether Kleindienst could convince Baker [inaudible]. Uh, "Gray," he said, "is a different story. [inaudible]." And then he said, "Weicker [inaudible]." Then Dean said, he said, "I never gave the FBI records to Segretti." [inaudible] And then I said, "Yes, John," I said, "you were conducting an investigation for the White House." He said, "That's right. And I was entitled to sit in on those interviews." And I said, "[inaudible] talk about Gray" and I said, "it looks to me like [inaudible]." And I said to, uh, 'we've got to, got to get Kleindienst to, to get through his thick German head [inaudible], but we, about how this FBI...hell, it's the worst position. The FBI cannot turn raw files over to the Senate or anyone else."

Then I asked him for a memorandum with regard to, uh, how the Democrats [inaudible]. One [inaudible] Dan Schorr. And I said, "Well, we all know about that," I said, "that's understandable." Ah, but there was no bugging involved. That was simply a, a study had been made [inaudible]. But as you know, that was one reason [inaudible], Dan Schorr, he never intended to hire him, and neither would anybody else. What happened was [inaudible] check on the son of a bitch, due to the fact that he was [inaudible]. But that's a national security matter. But, uh, that's the whole story, and it isn't much really. We have been so kind, so good as far as using the FBI [inaudible], compared with previous administrations. We then talked about DeLoach. DeLoach had had lunch [inaudible]. DeLoach said, "there has been, there was no bugging under President Kennedy they say," [inaudible], and I told Gray, and then I told Dean, that I had told Gray when he came in, uh, and I said the same thing about the [inaudible] the FBI, the lie detector test. And, uh, Dean said, "[inaudible]." And I said, "I agree. But the goddamn thing's gotta be cleaned out. You gotta have [inaudible]." And I also told DeLoach that we have other evidence [inaudible]. I also told him, "tell Kendall so that DeLoach will be put on notice that we have [inaudible]. We talked about the possible [inaudible]. The difficulty with all the FBI reports coming out [inaudible] the Bureau, we can't survive [inaudible]. Then we came back to [inaudible] about sitting in on the investigation [inaudible]. Gray bitched about his sitting in on the investigation. I said, "John, nobody ever said anything about [inaudible] investigation." Dean insisted because he had conducted an investigation for the President. Dean again, [inaudible], commented on Gray,

and I said, "the trouble with Gray, he has outward self-confidence but not inward self-confidence. [inaudible]." Dean said, "well, then Gray will be okay." I said "well, what we have to do is to clean out the FBI, like substituting in the CIA. We've got to get [inaudible]." Then we talked about Gray's investigation of Watergate. Uh, that, uh, that he was proud of his investigation, and Dean said "[inaudible]." What he meant by that I don't know. Then I recounted to him that I had talked to Gray [inaudible], "yes, I have heard about that." Uh, he said, "the difficulty with Gray is that he was around the country making speeches rather than sitting on top of the investigation." A little [inaudible] comes in there. What Dean was trying to do was to get Gray [inaudible].

HAIG:

[inaudible]

PRESIDENT:

T: [inaudible] and I gave him a copy of my book Six

Crises to read the chapter on Hess. He's too lazy.

[inaudible]. The whole thing was, you never know

when one of these conversations...But, you know, I

[inaudible] Christ, you know, pick up the paper and

see that he says the President [inaudible] this,

this, [inaudible] our quote "five minutes of conversation,"

Al.

HAIG:

I mean, they're the ones that really [inaudible] said anything [inaudible] their man.

PRESIDENT:

I don't know. You mean at the beginning?

HAIG:

[inaudible] to get to the telephone. [inaudible] Well, this is a good thing to do. [inaudible] There's no question.

PRESIDENT:

Well, they put out the [inaudible]. And then they put out this whole [inaudible]. I hope the fellows on the Hill are not panicking because of that thing [inaudible].

HAIG: I don't have any signs of panic this morning. That, what I'm saying, look, what the hell, if this had been

three weeks ago we would be in [inaudible].

PRESIDENT: Would they?

HAIG: Yes, sir. But, eh, the, our [inaudible]. We're not

there yet. [inaudible]

PRESIDENT: Well, I [inaudible] Here, first of all, first of

all, he's, he's demolished in the sense that from the

first of January we have not, not [inaudible]

HAIG: [inaudible]

PRESIDENT: ... now this is through February. Well, I've got about

another half-hour. I don't know what the hell is on

it . [cough]

HAIG: You see it's so good because nobody is [inaudible]. I

mean, you don't know whether he ...

PRESIDENT: But goddamn it...

HAIG: Some kind of remark that the son of a bitch could

twist out of context. [inaudible] in general, where,

where...what the worst trouble [inaudible]. Now, if

he's going into a full-fledged perjury job, [inaudible],

then we can take the son of a bitch on.

PRESIDENT: That's right. But I want to tell you. As you do know,

we have one problem-it's that damn conversation of

March 21st due to the fact that, uh...by reason of

Hunt's [inaudible]. But I think we can handle that.

HAIG: I think we can -- that's, that's [inaudible].

PRESIDENT: Bob can handle it. You know that's what I...Bob will

say, "I was there; the President said...."

HAIG: [inaudible]

PRESIDENT: [inaudible] Well, we'll see what else is [inaudible].

HAIG: [inaudible] for your own peace of mind. [inaudible] just

can't recall [inaudible].

PRESIDENT: As you know, we're up against unscrupulous people.

HAIG: Well, we're going to be in great shape on that. [inaudible]

The guy left me at one o'clock last night. [inaudible];

started again this morning; got Buzhardt in on it. [inaudibl

What the hell's he doing.

PRESIDENT: You take this issue here, now take clemency, that's well handled. [inaudible] And it's well handled in that March 21st thing. I put it in the context of that we couldn't even consider clemency, clemency until after the '74 election; that is the way I put it. But, what the hell, in two years, poor bastards are in jail that

long. I said I didn't, can't even consider it.

HAIG: Frankly, sir [inaudible] it's conceivable, now, when we get working with the minority of the panel [inaudible].

It may be that, uh, [inaudible]. Well, that's, you know,

that's the judgment I would make now.

PRESIDENT: I know. It's very important [inaudible]. Not even

Buzhardt knows.

HAIG: Well, you know, Buzhardt knows this because you told him.

[inaudible] But he knew also because he knew we were checking on wire taps, on the Johnson years. [inaudible]

Secret Service that came around [inaudible] handle it for, for Johnson [inaudible]. So he knows it, but, I, I

take it, the only one who knows.

PRESIDENT: Well, I -- no further. He should have told [inaudible].

I don't want it put out that somebody is, uh, is saying that I checked, uh, the President's records and it's got no [inaudible]. If you get back [inaudible] about national security.

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

PRESIDENT: This is hard work.

HAIG: Yes.

PRESIDENT: But I've got to do it. Got to do it. And it's best

for me to do it too.

HAIG: Only you. Only you.

PRESIDENT: Thanks a lot, Al.... Oh, uh

PRESIDENT: ([inaudible]