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RECORDING OF THE
MEETING BETWEEN
THE PRESIDENT AND
MESSRS. DEAN AND
HALDEMAN ON
MARCH 13, 1973 FROM
12:42 TO 2:00 P.M.

(REEL #1 OF 2)

ITEM 412.1

SONY CORP.
TOKYO JAPAN

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RECORDING OF THE
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ITEM 42.1

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TRANSCRIPT PREPARED BY THE WATERGATE
SPECIAL PROSECUTION FORCE OF THE
RECORDING OF THE MEETING BETWEEN THE
PRESIDENT AND MESSRS. DEAN AND HALDE-
MAN ON MARCH 13, 1973, FROM 12:42 TO
2:00 P. M.

HALDEMAN: Say, did you raise the question with the President on, on, uh, Colson as a consultant?

DEAN: No, I didn't.

HALDEMAN: Was that somebody [inaudible]?

DEAN: It was . . . The thought was . . .

HALDEMAN: And I don't . . .

DEAN: hiring him as a consultant without doing any consulting . . .

HALDEMAN: Yes.

DEAN: if he wants, if he wants it for continued protection on, uh . . .

HALDEMAN: Solely for the purposes of executive privilege protection. So that . . .

DEAN: It is one of those things that is kept down in the personnel office, and nothing is done on it.

PRESIDENT: What happens to Chapin?

DEAN: Well, Chapin doesn't have quite the same problems appearing that Colson will.

HALDEMAN: Yeah but -- you have the same, you, you have the same problems as Chapin appearing versus Colson.

PRESIDENT: Well, can't . . .

HALDEMAN: None of these . . .

PRESIDENT: that would be such an obvious fraud to have both of them as consultants, that won't work. I think he is right. Uh, you would have to leave Chapin.

HALDEMAN: Well, you can't make Chapin a consultant, because we have already said he is not.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: Because we wanted the separation. The question is. . . if he. . . are you then, going to let . . . as of now, the way they have interpreted executive privilege, is that you are not going to let Chapin testify.

PRESIDENT: Anybody.

HALDEMAN: Because it applies to executive privilege but. . . [inaudible] by the former people in relation to matters while they were here.

DEAN: And the problem area is. . .

HALDEMAN: That same thing would apply to Colson.

DEAN: Well, yes, if Chuck were truly going to be doing nothing from this day on.

HALDEMAN: That's right. He is concerned about what he is doing. Colson is concerned about what he is doing from now on, if he would apply the consulting thing to what . . . to if he were called regarding actions taken now. . .

DEAN: That's right.

HALDEMAN: that relate to . . . Watergate actions.

DEAN: [inaudible] he will be out stirring up, you know, uh, counter-news attacks and things of this nature and, uh. . .

PRESIDENT: Jesus Christ. Is he supposed to do that and be consulting with the President on it?

DEAN: No, no. But he is consulting, uh, you know, wide open consultantship. It doesn't mean he's consulting with you.

HALDEMAN: Your idea was just to put this in the drawer, in case.

DEAN: Put it in the drawer, and then decide it.

HALDEMAN: It would be a consultant without pay.

DEAN: I'd even tell Chuck that, uh, that, well, just tell Chuck something [inaudible] there is something in the drawer. And just say we . . .

PRESIDENT: There is no reason to tell Chuck is there? Why. . . I would, I would tell him that for reasons not to say anything, frankly.

HALDEMAN: The point would be to date it back last Saturday, so it is, uh. . .

DEAN: Continuous.

HALDEMAN: That is his consultant fee stopped. . .

PRESIDENT: For the present time, but he is still available for purposes of consulting on various problems and the like.

DEAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: Unpaid consultant?

DEAN: Yes.

[LAUGHTER]

HALDEMAN: We have some of those.

DEAN: Good ones.

? That's right.

HALDEMAN: Well, uh. . .

PRESIDENT: What are the latest developments Bob should get something on?

DEAN: Yeah. Uh. . . .

PRESIDENT: Before we get into that uh, . . . uh, I was wondering . . . about [inaudible] jackassery about some kid who was infiltrating peace groups, which of course is perfectly proper. Christ, I would hope it works. I would hope, I would expect we were heavily infiltrated that way too.

DEAN: The only, the only problem there, Mr. President, is that. . .

PRESIDENT: Did he get paid?

DEAN: He was paid.

PRESIDENT: By check?

DEAN: He was paid by personal check of another person over there who, in turn, was taking it out of expense money. Uh, when the ultimate source of the money -- is. . . as best, as quickly as we've been able to trace it -- was pre-April 7th money, uh, uh, there could be some potential embarrassment for Ken Reitz, uh, along the way.

PRESIDENT: Oh! Working for him.

DEAN: So he is. But I, I think it is a confined situation. Obviously, it is something that will come up with the Ervin hearings, but, uh, it is not, not another new Liddy-Hunt, uh, operation.

PRESIDENT: Well, it is such a shit-ass way to think.

DEAN: Oh, it is.

PRESIDENT: For Christ sake.

DEAN: It is.

PRESIDENT: I mean, uh, what, what happened to the kid? Did he just, uh, decide to be a hero?

DEAN: That's right. He apparently chatted about it around school, and the word got out, and he got confronted with it and he knew he had chatted about it, so there he was. It's, uh, absurd, it really is. He didn't do anything illegal. Uh

PRESIDENT: Apparently you haven't been able to do anything on my . . .

DEAN: But I have, sir, my. . .

PRESIDENT: project of getting on the offensive.

DEAN: Now, to the contrary!

PRESIDENT: Based on Sullivan.

DEAN: Now . . .

PRESIDENT: Have you kicked a few butts around?

DEAN: I have all of the information taht we have finished -- that we've collected. There is some there, and, uh, I have turned it over to Baroody. Baroody is having a speech drafted for Barry Goldwater. And there is enough material there to make a rather sensational speech just by: "Why in the hell isn't somebody looking into what happened to President Nixon when, during his campaign? Look at these events! How do you explain these? Where are the answers to these questions?" Uh, there is enough of a thread.

PRESIDENT: Double standard.

DEAN: You know and I've pulled all the information . . .

PRESIDENT: All . . . the Senator then should also present it to the, uh, to the Ervin Committee and demand that that be included.

DEAN: A letter.

PRESIDENT: He is a Senator, a Senator . . .

DEAN: What I am working on now is a letter to Senator Ervin saying this has come to my attention, and why shouldn't, uh, why shouldn't this be a part of the inquiry? And he can spring out '64 and then quickly to '72. And we've got a pretty good speech there, if we can [inaudible] get out our materials.

PRESIDENT: Good!

DEAN: So it's in the mill.

HALDEMAN: These friends that we've got

DEAN: That's right.

HALDEMAN: Thank God. Why haven't we had anyone involved in it before?

PRESIDENT: Just didn't have enough stuff? It could have

been anybody [inaudible]. For example, the investigations were supposed to have been taken for the 34 million-odd contributed to McGovern. Oh Christ, it is all hanky-panky, and their records [inaudible] are just too bad to find out.

DEAN: That is one of the problems.

PRESIDENT: Is that the problem?

HALDEMAN: Won't that be an issue?

DEAN: That will be an issue. That we have. . . There is a crew working that, also.

PRESIDENT: Do you need any IRS stuff?

UNKNOWN: Would you like some coffee?

DEAN: No, thank you, I'm fine. Uh, there is no need at this hour for anything from IRS, and we have a couple of sources over there that I can go to. I don't have to fool around with Johnnie Walters or anybody, we can get right in and get what we need.

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]

DEAN: I've been preparing the, uh, answers for the briefing book and I just raised this with Ron, uh. It's my estimation, for what it is worth, that probably this week will draw more Watergate questions than any other week we are likely to see, uh, given the Gray hearings, the new revelations about -- they are not new, but they are now substantiated -- about Kalmbach and Chapin that have been in the press.

PRESIDENT: To the effect of what phase?

DEAN: That Chapin directed Kalmbach to pay Segretti, the alleged saboteur, somewhere between \$35 and \$40,000. Uh, there is an awful lot of that out in the press now.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: There is also the question of Dean appearing, not appearing -- Dean's role. There is more stories in the Post this morning that are absolutely inaccurate about my turning information over to the Re-Election Committee for, uh. Some woman over there, Mrs. Hoback, signed an affidavit, gave it to Birch Bayh, said that "I was brought into, uh, Mardian's, Bob Mardian's office within 48 hours after a private interview I had with the [inaudible] and confronted with it."

HALDEMAN: How did they know that?

DEAN: Well, it came from internal sources over there. That's how they knew it!

PRESIDENT: From what?

DEAN: Internal sources -- this girl had told others that she was doing this, and they just told, uh, they just quickly sent it to the top that she was out on her own.

PRESIDENT: Did she quit?

DEAN: She did. There have been two or three of those.

HALDEMAN: Why did she do that? Was she mad?

DEAN: She is a registered Democrat.

HALDEMAN: Why did we take her in?

DEAN: I'll . . . To this day, I do not understand what she was doing. And she was . . .

PRESIDENT: Who was she working for?

DEAN: She worked in Stans' operation.

PRESIDENT: Why did he have her working for him?

DEAN: It wasn't a good move. He had . . . In fact, that was one of our problems -- the little pocket of women that worked for Maury Stans. No doubt about it, that, uh, things would have sailed a lot smoother without that pack. Not that they have anything that was devastating.

PRESIDENT: But, now, with regard to the question, so forth, sure it would be my opinion though not to, not to dodge it just because there are going to be questions.

DEAN: Well, it's going to be. . . You are probably going to get more questions this week. And the tough questions. And some of them don't have easy answers. For example, did Haldeman know that, uh, there was a Don Segretti out there? That question is likely.

PRESIDENT: Did he? I don't know.

DEAN: Yeah, he had knowledge that there was somebody in the field doing prankster-type activities, uh . . .

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]

DEAN: So at this . . . the other thing

PRESIDENT: What about, what about my taking, basically, just trying to fight this thing one at a time. I am only going to have to fight it later, and it is not going to get any better. I don't think the way to get into it, did he know or not. I think legislatively this is a matter being considered by the Committee and I am not going to comment upon it. I don't want to get into the business of taking each charge that comes up in the Committee and commenting on it. It is being considered by an investigative. . . I am not going to comment on it.

DEAN: That, that is exactly the way I have drafted these. I have kept them general answers.

PRESIDENT: I will just cut them off. No [inaudible] I think, John if I start breaking up just like on the Court thing on the Watergate stuff, I am not going to comment on it. I know all of these questions. I am not going to comment on it. That is a matter for the

Committee to determine. Then, I will repeat the fact that I, as far as the Watergate matter is concerned, no sir, I am not going to comment on it, on anything else. Let the Committee find out. What would you say? You don't agree with that?

DEAN: Well, uh, the bottom line, on a, on a draft that before I came over for lunch was. . . But if you have nothing to hide, Mr. President, here at the White House, why aren't you willing to spread on the record everything you know about it? Why doesn't the Dean Report be made public? Why doesn't everyone come out? Why does Ziegler stand up there and bob and weave, and no comment? That's, that's the bottom line.

PRESIDENT: Alright. What do you say to that?

DEAN: Well. You

PRESIDENT: We are furnishing information. We will do something.

DEAN: I think we probably, of course, we have . . .

PRESIDENT: We have cooperated.

DEAN: We have cooperated with the FBI in the investigation of the Watergate.

PRESIDENT: That's right.

DEAN: We will cooperate with the investigation of, a proper investigation by the Senate.

PRESIDENT: We will make statements.

DEAN: And, indeed, we have nothing to hide.

PRESIDENT: All this information, we have nothing to hide. We have to. . . we have to handle it.

DEAN: Um hum.

PRESIDENT: What else can we do really. You see, I can't be in the position of basically hunkering down because we have a lot of tough questions on Watergate, and not go out and. . .

DEAN: Certainly.

PRESIDENT: talk on other issues because there are going to be. . . it is not going to get better. It is going to get worse. Do you agree?

DEAN: I would agree. I think it's cyclic somewhat. I think that after the Gray thing takes one course one way or the other, there will be a dead period of news on Watergate until the Ervin hearings start again.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: This has obviously sparked the news again.

PRESIDENT: Well, let me just, just run over the questions again. Now, if it is asked, "What about Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Segretti, and so forth," that is a matter being considered by the Senate Committee and I am not going to comment on it. That's true.

DEAN: That is correct. That is specifically spelled out in their resolution that they will . . .

PRESIDENT: I am not going to comment on something being considered by a Committee. It includes such answers as I have already indicated. I am just not going to comment on it. I have already indicated my views on the Watergate thing.

DEAN: Did Mr. Chapin's departure have something to do with his involvement with Segretti?

PRESIDENT: As you know [inaudible]. And, uh, what about, what about Mr. Dean? My position is the same. [inaudible] We have been cooperative . . . cooperated with the Justice Department, the FBI -- completely in trying to furnish information under our control in this matter. We will cooperate with the Committee under the rules I have laid down in my statement on Executive Privilege. Period. Now what else?

DEAN: Well, then you will get a barrage of questions probably on, will you supply, will Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Dean go up to the Committee and testify?

PRESIDENT: No! Absolutely not.

DEAN: Mr. Colson?

PRESIDENT: No! No.

DEAN: I think that. . .

PRESIDENT: No! Absolutely not.

DEAN: I. . .

PRESIDENT: No! It isn't a question of, the question is not. . . under what somebody or. . . Ziegler or somebody had said that we, we in our executive privilege statement it was interpreted as meaning that we would not furnish information and all that. We said we will furnish information, but we are not going to be called to testify. That is the position. Dean and all the rest will furnish you information. Won't you?

DEAN: Yes. Indeed I will!

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Sure.

DEAN: Well, I think possibly by the time. . .

PRESIDENT: My feeling, John, is that I better hit it now, frankly, just as it is, and, uh, rather than just let it build up where we are afraid of these questions and everybody, so forth, and let Ziegler go out there and bob and weave around. I know the easy thing is to bug out, but it is not. . .

DEAN: You're right. I was afraid for the sake of debate, but I was having reservations. And, uh. . .

PRESIDENT: I think so.

DEAN: it is, a, uh, bullet biter and you just have got to do it because they are not to go away, these questions. Now the other thing that we talked about in the past, and I still have the same problem is to have sort of a well "here all it is" approach. Uh, if we do that . . .

PRESIDENT: And let it all hang out.

DEAN: And let it all hang out. Uh, let's say with the Segretti situation.

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]. We have passed that point.

DEAN: We have passed that point plus the fact, they are not going to believe the truth. That's the incredible thing.

PRESIDENT: They won't believe the truth, [inaudible] believe we've convicted seven people!

DEAN: That's right! They will continually try to say that there is [inaudible]

PRESIDENT: They'll say, "Haldeman did it." And someone will say I did it.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: When we get to that question -- they might question his political savvy, but not mine! Not on a matter like that!

DEAN: No. I have a thing on Sullivan that I have. Sullivan, as I told you, has been prompting me and I said, "Bill, I would like for my own use, to have a list of some of the horrors that you are aware of." Well, he hasn't responded back to me, but he sent a note yesterday saying that, "John, I am willing at any time to testify to what I know if you want me to." What he has, as we already know, has got a certain degree of. . . it's a dynamite situation what he's

got already -- the '68 bugging, the surveillance of Goldwater.

PRESIDENT: I thought he said he saw that the '68 bugging was ordered, but he doesn't know whether it was carried out.

DEAN: That's right. Uh. . .

PRESIDENT: But at least he would say, for example [inaudible]

DEAN: Well, I have never talked with Bill about it. I have never really gone into details, because he has always been very up close about it, but he is now getting to the point if we wanted him to do this, someone -- and I don't think the White House should do it -- should sit down with him and really take him over cross-examination of what he does know and how strong it is, what he can substantiate.

PRESIDENT: Who the hell could do it if you don't?

DEAN: Well, that's, that's probably -- there is no one. That's the. . .

PRESIDENT: Problem.

DEAN: That's the problem. Now the other thing, if we were going to use a tactic like this: Let's say in the Gray hearings. . .

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]

DEAN: where everything is cast that we are, we're the political people and they are not -- that Hoover was above reproach, which is just not accurate, total bull shit. The person who could, would destroy Hoover's image is going to be this man, Bill Sullivan. Uh, that is what is at stake there. Also, it is going to tarnish quite severely. . .

PRESIDENT: Some of the FBI.

DEAN: some of the FBI. And a former President.

PRESIDENT: Fine.

DEAN: Uh, he is going to lay it out, and he's, and just all hell is going to break loose once he does it. It is going to change the atmosphere of the Gray hearings and it is going to change the whole atmosphere of the Watergate hearings.

PRESIDENT: Not much.

DEAN: Now the risk. . .

PRESIDENT: How will it change, John?

DEAN: How will it change? Because it will put them in context that, uh, of government institutes were used in the past for the most flagrant political purposes.

PRESIDENT: How can that help us?

DEAN: How does it help us?

PRESIDENT: I am being the devil's advocate. . .

DEAN: I appreciate what you are doing.

PRESIDENT: Red herring. Is that what you mean?

DEAN: It is a red herring. It is what the public already believes. It is just that the people would just, I would say react, that, Oh Christ, more of that stuff! They're all, you know, they're all bad down there! Because it is a one way street right now. . .

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]

DEAN: Pardon.

PRESIDENT: Do you think the press would use it? They may not play it.

DEAN: It would be difficult not to. Uh, it would be difficult not to.

PRESIDENT: Why is it Sullidan'd be willing to do this?

DEAN: I think the, the quid pro quo with Sullivan is that he wants someday back in the Bureau very badly.

PRESIDENT: That's easy.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Do you think after he did this to the Bureau that they'd want him back? Gray, if there is Gray.

DEAN: Uh, probably not. I think that he could also possibly do. . . What Bill Sullivan's desire in life is, is to set up a national, or domestic national security intelligence system, a plan, a program. He says we are deficient. We have never been efficient, since Hoover lost his guts several years ago. If you recall, he and Tom Huston worked on it. Tom Huston had your instructions to go out and do it and the whole thing just crumbled.

PRESIDENT: Do you think Hoover would have cooperated?

DEAN: That's all Sullivan really wants. Even if we could put him off studying it for a couple of years, we could put him out in the CIA or some place else where he felt. . .

PRESIDENT: Put him there, we will do it.

DEAN: I think that's what the answer is. I've never really. . .

PRESIDENT: There is no problem with Sullivan. We'll put him [inaudible]. He is a valuable man. Uh, now would the FBI turn on him and piss on him?

DEAN: There would be some effort at that. That's right, they would say he was disgruntled. He was canned by Hoover. He is angry, he is coming back. But that would kinda, I would think a lot of that would be lost in the, uh, shuffle of what he is laying out. I don't know if he has given me his best yet. I don't know if he's got more ammunition than he has already told me. Those were just a couple off-the-cuff remarks.

PRESIDENT: And that's where you stood . . . Why do you think he is now telling you this? Why is he doing this now?

DEAN: Well, the way it came out is, when I, when the Time Magazine article broke on the . . .

PRESIDENT: Fact. . .

DEAN: fact that it charged that the White House had directed that newsmen and White House staff people be subject to some sort of surveillance for national security reasons. I called, in tracking down what had happened, I called Sullivan and I said, "Bill, you had better come over and talk to me about that and tell me what you know." I was calling to really determine whether he was a leak. That's one of the reasons . . . I was curious to know where this might have come from because he was the operative man at the Bureau at the time. He was the one who did it. Uh, he would not . . . You know he came over and he was shocked and, uh, distraught and the like. . . [inaudible] his own, his own [inaudible] Frankly, then, after going through his explanation of all what had happened, he started volunteering this other thing. He said, "John, what, this is the only thing I can think of during this Administration that has any taint of political use but it doesn't really bother me because it was for national security purposes." These people worked with sensitive material that was getting out, was getting out to reporters.

PRESIDENT: What we ordered?

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Of course, [inaudible] the stuff was involved with this goddamn Vietnam War.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: That's what it was.

DEAN: Then he told me about going to Paris and working with the Paris police on Kraft and all that, and he said, "That doesn't bother me," but he said, "John, what does bother me is that you all have portrayed as politically using" . . .

PRESIDENT: And we never did.

DEAN: And we never have! And he said the Eisenhower Administration didn't either.

PRESIDENT: Never.

DEAN: He said the only times that he can recall that there has been a real political use has been during Democratic tenure. I said, for example, Bill, what are you talking about? Then he told me this example of the Walter Jenkins affair, when DeLoach. . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: AND Fortas, etc. --

PRESIDENT AND DEAN: [inaudible]

PRESIDENT: The Kennedy's, the Kennedy's used it, let me say, politically on that steel thing.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: That was not, that was not national security, was it?

DEAN: No. Now I asked, I asked somebody about that and they told me what happened there is that, uh, they were being defensive of Kennedy, and so the person would defend Kennedy [inaudible]. He was saying that Kennedy had given Hoover orders and Hoover, being typical in his response, tried to get it yesterday as far as the answer for the President. And that is why sending people out in a plane in the middle of

the night really fell on Hoover. And, and this might be more over there though, who knows.

PRESIDENT: It is still wrong!

DEAN: Sure.

PRESIDENT: Good God. Can you imagine somebody -- steel company that raised hell or an automobile company about something, some silly thing, Ruckelshaus does, and we send FBI agents out to arrest? Jesus Christ, you know. Does he know about the bugging of Martin Luther King?

DEAN: Yep!

PRESIDENT: I'd wonder if he'd tell that, that would be good.

DEAN: I think he would tell everything he knows.

PRESIDENT: You do?

DEAN: Uh huh. That's what I am saying he is, he is, he is a bomb! Now the fact is. . .

PRESIDENT: You think we could get him to do this?

DEAN: Well, that is, that's the real problem of how it's structured, how it could be done. He sent me this note and I called up and I said, "Bill, I appreciate getting that note very much." I said, "It takes a lot of guts to send a note like that to me." And he said, "It has been a pleasure to see a man standing up blowing up a little smoke up him and the like." He said, "Well, John, I mean it! I am perfectly willing to do anything you want. If you want me to go up and testify, I will." I said, "Well, how much, you have just given me some tidbits that you in our conversation and I would really like to again repeat: Can you put together what you do know; just for your own use right now, just put it together on a pad -- go through all your recollections; and also tell me how you can substantiate them; -- and, what kind of cross-examination you might

be subject to on it if you did testify." So he is doing that. Now, the question I've, I've had is, how in the world can we program something like this? I just have a feeling that it would be bad for, one, Bill Sullivan to quietly appear up on some Senator's doorstep, and say, "I have got some information you ought to have." Well, "where did you get it? Why are you up here?" "Well, the White House sent me." That would be bad! The other thing is, maybe this information could be brought to the attention of the White House, and the White House could say to the, uh, . . . to, uh, Eastland, "I think you ought to call an executive session and hear his testimony. This is quite troublesome, the information that has been presented to us. It is so troublesome, we can't hold it here and hope to uh, and rest comfortable."

PRESIDENT: Why couldn't we have him present it to Eastland?

Why an executive session? That doesn't serve. . .

DEAN: Well, that, one, because you're trying. . . the first approach would be not to destroy the Bureau, not to tarnish the names, it's going to leak out of there quite obviously. If it doesn't, we could make sure it did. Uh, if, if, uh, Sullivan went up to Eastland cold and just said, or Hruska, I would think they would say, "Go on down back down to the Department of Justice where you work, and let's not start all this."

PRESIDENT: Suppose another thing, Patrick Gray says to whether Eastland or whether Hruska or anybody on that Committee, who is a tiger on the Committee on our side on the Committee -- [inaudible]

DEAN: Gurney, Gurney has been good. Gurney was good during the ITT Committee hearing. He will study, he will get prepared. Uh

PRESIDENT: But, would he go after the Bureau?

DEAN: Not quite after the Bureau. What they are doing is taking the testimony of somebody who is going after the Bureau.

PRESIDENT: I know that. I am just thinking.

DEAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: They will look down the road and see what would be the result of what they are doing is, won't they? I would think so. [inaudible] Would they go after Johnson? Let's look at the future. Look at the, uh. . . How bad would it hurt the country, John, to have the FBI so terribly discredited?

DEAN: Do you mind if I take this back and kick it around with Dick Moore? . . . these broader questions. I think it would be damaging to the FBI, but maybe it is time to shake the FBI and rebuild it. I am not so sure the FBI is everything it is cracked up to be. I am convinced the FBI isn't everything the public think it is.

PRESIDENT: No.

DEAN: I know quite well it isn't.

PRESIDENT: If we can get Jerry Wilson in there other than a political appointee -- What is your feeling at the moment about Gray? Can he hang in? Should he? I don't know. Awfully close.

DEAN: They are going to vote. . . They have an executive session this afternoon to invite me to testify.

PRESIDENT: Sure.

DEAN: There is no question, they are going to invite me.
Uh, I would say, based on how I handle the: (1) the formal letter that comes out of the Committee asking for information, and I programmed that if they do get specific just what in the hell they do want to know that I've got, and lay it out in the letter that's sent down here asking me to appear so I can be responsive, fully. . .

PRESIDENT: Respond to the letter in full.

DEAN: Respond to the letter in full. I think I have, I feel I have nothing to hide, as far this issue they've raised.

PRESIDENT: Would you respond under oath?

DEAN: I think I would be willing to, yes.

PRESIDENT: That is what I would say: That is, what I would prepare in the press thing. He will respond under oath in a letter. He will not appear in a formal session.

DEAN: [inaudible]

PRESIDENT: They might then say, "Would he be willing to be questioned under oath?"

DEAN: That is not what the question is. Yes, I would be willing to be questioned under oath, but we are not going up.

PRESIDENT: No, no! But here?

DEAN: No. I think that would be a hell of a bad precedent.

PRESIDENT: O.K. I just wanted to be sure we don't cross that bridge. I agree, but you would respond to written interrogatives.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: That's it. O.K.

DEAN: Now, uh, after that, if we've been responsive, their argument for holding up Gray's confirmation based on me should be gone. Sure, they are going to say it raises more questions than it answers, but if we're. . . but that can go on forever. We've taken the central point that they want answers to, given them the responses, that puts something in Eastland's hand that can say, "Alright, it is time to vote." And Eastland says he's got the votes to get Gray through. Now, what happens on the Senate Floor is something else, because Byrd is opposing Gray, and Byrd's got good control of that Southern bloc.

PRESIDENT: Not totally.

DEAN: No.

PRESIDENT: Byrd is running for leader of the whole Senate.
[inaudible]

DEAN: But Mansfield, on the other hand, of course, has come out and said that he favors, initially he supported Gray's confirmation.

PRESIDENT: My feeling is that they would like [inaudible], they would like to have an excuse not to. And maybe they will use not you. . . but all this crap about hearings [inaudible].

DEAN: Well if they say, if they say they have to hold up Gray's confirmation until the Watergate hearings are completed. . .

PRESIDENT: That's great!

DEAN: That's the vehicle.

PRESIDENT: That's a vote really for us. . .

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: because Gray, in my opinion, should not be the head of the FBI. Not because of any character flaws or thoughtless flaws, but because he is going to be too much like Kleindienst. After going through the hell of the hearings, he will not be a good Director, as far as we're concerned.

DEAN: I think that is probably true. He will be a very suspect Director. Not that I don't think Pat won't do what we want. I do look at him a little differently than Dick in that regard. Like he is still keeping in close touch with me. He is calling me. He has given me his private line. We talk at night, how do you want me to handle this, so and so forth. So he still plays, playing in tight, and is still being involved. I think he. . .

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]

DEAN: he can't do it. He's under, he's going to be under such surveillance by his own people -- watch every move he is making -- that it would be a difficult thing for Pat. Not that Pat wouldn't want to still play ball, but he may not be able to.

PRESIDENT: I agree. That's what I meant.

DEAN: Pat has already gotten himself in a situation where he has this Mark Felt as his number two man. These other people are surrounding him. If you put a guy like Jerry Wilson in there he could just, you know, wipe this and say, "Gentlemen, I'm putting my own team in, and I'm going to bring people in I've met around the country who are good office directors; Sacks out of Chicago," whoever, and just put his own team together for, for the Headquarter's Office.

PRESIDENT: So where do you come out?

DEAN: Gray's already been locked in with major personnel decisions. I wouldn't be surprised to see death occur if they say that they cannot go forward with Gray's hearings because of Watergate.

PRESIDENT: Where would that be done, John, at what [inaudible]

DEAN: It could happen. It would simply be voted on first in the, in the Committee, in the Judiciary Committee. The question is, then, whether it will be put on the calendar by the leadership, as soon as. . .

PRESIDENT: The leadership might determine that we will not put it on the calendar until after the Watergate hearings.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: That we would then, Gray would then, in turn, say that I will not wait that long.

DEAN: "Gentlemen, this is, this is damaging to the leadership of the FBI, and I will have to withdraw based on this." What would be nicest for all would be to get Gray voted out of the Committee. . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: with a, with a positive vote, uh, enough to get him out of the Committee, and then lock him at limbo there.

PRESIDENT: What is Moore's judgment about Sullivan? Does he know?

DEAN: Yeah, he, uh, uh, he says, says it speaks dynamite. And he says, and we both agree, that it is the way it would be done, would be a secret. What it was done. Whether it is the sort of thing that you leak out and do? Have to be very carefully thought through. Have to be -- have to decide ahead should the White House not be involved or should we be involved? If we're going to play with it, we are gonna probably have to say that we were

involved and structure it in a way that there is nothing improper with our involvement.

PRESIDENT: The difficulty with the White House being involved is that if we are involved in pissing on Johnson [inaudible]

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: that why we really ought to be [inaudible] that he just. . .

DEAN: I suppose the answer is saying not to have to say to him. . .

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]

DEAN: This is something -- you've "you have intimated a few things to me, uh, the proper place to take that information is to the Senate Judiciary Committee or to the Attorney General, possibly." [Pause] And then have Dick take it to the Committee. Or is that too close to the President, still?

PRESIDENT: First hand, if he takes it to the Committee, it's better to . . . if the Committee's conducting a hearing . . . Wait a minute . . . he works for the Attorney General, doesn't he?

DEAN: Right. . . if he takes it to Kleindienst, Kleindienst is going to say, "Bill, just don't do it because you are going to take DeLoach's name down with it, and DeLoach is a friend of ours."

PRESIDENT: Bull shit.

DEAN: Something I have always questioned.

PRESIDENT: Nobody is a friend of ours. Let's face it! Don't worry about that sort of thing.

DEAN: Well, something I will [inaudible] kick around with Dick Moore.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: But first of all, I've got to, uh, just have to be thought through every inch of the way. Either late yesterday afternoon. . .

PRESIDENT: Sure.

DEAN: If not, Bob said, uh, when I talked to him -- he said he was quite excited about it. And Ehrlichman said, gave a very good, "uh huh." I said well, I'm not going to rush anything on this. We've a little bomb here that we might want to drop at one time down the road.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, yeah.

DEAN: Maybe, maybe the forum to do it in is something totally out of the Committee context between the Gray confirmation hearings and the Watergate hearings. Maybe let him go over to US News, or. Who knows, what it would be, but we ought to consider every option, now that we've got it, and see if . . .

PRESIDENT: Rather than doing it at a hearing, do "Meet the Press", and that will force the hearing to call him. That's another way to be doing this. Have him be selected to give an interview, to give an interview to US News [inaudible] "Wires in the Sky" or something. A respected damn reporter -- why not to a jackass like Mollenhoff? [inaudible -- "questions"]

DEAN: Well, that is interesting. Now, Mollenhoff is, is close, but my God, you can't program Mollenhoff to do anything.

PRESIDENT: No.

DEAN: [inaudible]

PRESIDENT: And we also are here in a position where Mollenhoff that has been fighting us some. Maybe, maybe Mollenhoff would be a pretty good prospect for this

thing. It is the kind of a story he loves, he digs on something. You couldn't call him, however, [inaudible]. The son of a bitch loves to talk too much [inaudible] he is a hell of, hell of a guy. I shall [inaudible]

DEAN: O.K. Call Clark and say -- can I call Clark and say, "Listen, Clark, a guy has brought me a piece of dynamite I don't even want in the White House?"

PRESIDENT: He will write that, won't he?

DEAN: Yeah. Because that doesn't look like such a set-up deal. Well, Clark Mollenhoff is the first guy to uncover a shield of anything, and he will say no way.

PRESIDENT: But he's willing do it.

DEAN: Uh huh.

PRESIDENT: That is very important [inaudible]

DEAN: Uh huh.

PRESIDENT: Broadens the scope [inaudible]. Getting [inaudible] don't you feel that is the need here to broaden the scope?

DEAN: The focus is right on us. That's the problem.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, nothing on the Democrats.

DEAN: Nothing.

PRESIDENT: Nothing on what the previous three Administrations did?

DEAN: Nothing. It's making -- Hunt, if Hunt is still a Washington story -- you go out of this city and you can't find anybody who even knows what's happening. Although it has increased in the network coverage. That NBC thing last night, which is just a travesty as far as the very thing Ron was talking about about shabby journalism, they took the worst edited clips

they could out of context, to respond to things they were saying on the east. And then had a little of clip of Ron saying, "Well, I deny that." And he was denying something totally other than what they were talking about in their charge. It was incredible. Someone is going through and putting that altogether right now and Ron ought to be able to have a field day back with that one on NBC. It was just, it was very, very dishonest television reporting of sequence of events, but out of sequence.

PRESIDENT: Well, you see, John [inaudible] Ervin is up there [inaudible] Republicans even think he is a great Constitutional lawyer -- it just makes us wonder about our first decision to send a candidate [inaudible] sending Gray up. Probably a mistake. We didn't anticipate. . .

DEAN: Uh.

PRESIDENT: Or you think not. Who knows?

DEAN: Who knows? That is right. If you didn't send him up, why didn't you send him up. Because he was. . .

PRESIDENT: I know, but that's one thing.

DEAN: That's true.

PRESIDENT: That's one thing. You send somebody else up to take them on, not a big clown. You know what I mean?

DEAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: I won't even announce any [inaudible]. I think the problem, the reason that the Senate was not [inaudible] being reasonable was that [inaudible] a lot of this stuff hanging out [inaudible] Ervin Committee.

DEAN: Well, you know one, one thing, the saturation level of the American people on this story is cracking.

Pretty close to the saturation level in this city is getting pretty high now, and they can't take too much more of this stuff.

PRESIDENT: Think not?

DEAN: There is nothing, nothing really new's coming out.

PRESIDENT: I talked with some kid and he said I don't think that anybody, incidentally, would care about somebody infiltrating the peace movement that was demonstrating against the President, particularly on the War in Vietnam. Do you think so?

DEAN: No!

PRESIDENT: Anyway, I don't care about that. What happened to this Texas guy that gets his money back? Was he. . .

DEAN: All hell broke loose for him after that. This was Allan.

PRESIDENT: No, no. Allan -- yeah.

DEAN: Allan, not Duncan, there were two [inaudible]. All hell broke loose for Allan for this reason: He, uh, the money apparently originally came out of a subsidiary of one of Allan's corporations down in Mexico. It went to a lawyer in Mexico who put it down as a fee billed to the subsidiary, and then the lawyer, the Mexican lawyer, sent it back into the States, and it came back up here. But the weakness of it is, is that the Mexican lawyer: (1) didn't have a legitimate fee; (2) it could be corporate contribution. So Allan wanted, Allan had personally put a note up with the corporation to cover it. Allan, meanwhile, is having problems with his wife, and a divorce is pending. And tax problems -- so he

PRESIDENT: [inaudible] Watergate -- put it off -- lay it off --
[inaudible] the fact that it was being used for Watergate.

DEAN: I don't know why that went in the letter. It wasn't used for the Watergate. That is the interesting thing.

PRESIDENT: It wasn't?

DEAN: No, it was not. What happened is these Mexican checks came in. They were given to Gordon Liddy, and said, "why don't you get these cashed?" Gordy Liddy, in turn, took them down to this fellow, Barker in Florida, who said he could cash these Mexican checks, and [inaudible] must be Barker's bank account back in here. They could have been just as easily cashed at the Riggs Bank. There was nothing wrong with the checks. Why all that rigamorole? It is just like a lot of other things that happened over there. God knows why it was all done. It was totally unnecessary, and it was money that was not directly involved in the Watergate. It wasn't a wash operation to get money back to Liddy and the like.

PRESIDENT: Who is going to be the first witness up there?

DEAN: Sloan.

PRESIDENT: Unfortunate.

DEAN: No doubt about it. He's. . .

PRESIDENT: He's scared?

DEAN: He's scared, he's weak. He has a, a compulsion to, a, cleanse his soul by confession. Therefore, we are giving him a lot of stroking. Uh, and I'm going to deal with that. Funny thing is this fellow goes down to the Court House here before Sirica, testifies, as honestly as he can testify, and

Sirica looks around and called him a liar. He just said. . . Sloan can't win! So Kalmbach has been dealing with Sloan. Sloan is [inaudible] like a child. Kalmbach has done a lot of that. The person that will have the greatest problem with, as a result of Sloan's testimony is Kalmbach and Stans. So they are working closely with him to make sure that he settles down.

PRESIDENT: Kalmbach will be a good witness.

DEAN: Oh, yes.

PRESIDENT: Knowing what Kalmbach has been through.

DEAN: Kalmbach has borne up very well. In fact, I decided he may be. . .

PRESIDENT: Kalmbach, of course, is somewhat embarrassed, as he is, they say lawyer for the President. Well, hell, I don't need a lawyer. He handles that property out there.

DEAN: He is sensitive on that point. He overheard. . . saw a briefing, saw a transcript of a briefing where Ron was saying, "Well, he is really not, right nomenclature, 'personal attorney.'" Herb said, "Well, gee whiz. I don't know if Ron knows what all I do." And I said, "Well, Herb, don't worry about it."

PRESIDENT: What I meant is -- I don't care about it, but I mean -- it is just the fact that it is played that way, that he is in talking to me all the time. I don't ask him anything.

DEAN: I know that.

PRESIDENT: I don't talk to him about anything. I don't know, I see Herb once a year when we see income tax returns.

DEAN: That's right!

PRESIDENT: Now, true, he handles our San Clemente property and all the rest, but he isn't a lawyer in the sense that most people have a lawyer.

DEAN: No, no. Although he didn't even handle the estate plan, he has some, you know, dove-tailing on it.

PRESIDENT: Anyway, we don't want to back off of him.

DEAN: No. He's, he's solid. He is solid.

PRESIDENT: He will, how does he tell his story? He's got a pretty hard row to hoe, he and Stans have.

DEAN: He'll be good. He's going over every -- Herb is the kind of guy who will check, not once, not twice, on his story, not three times, but probably fifty to a hundred times. Literally. He will go over it. He will know it. There won't be a hole in it. He'll, probably he'll do his own Q and A. He'll have people cross-examine him from ten ways.

PRESIDENT: Good.

DEAN: He will be ready, as John Mitchell will be ready, as Maury Stans will be ready.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: Uh.

PRESIDENT: Mitchell is now studying, is he?

DEAN: He is studying. Sloan will be the worst witness. I think Magruder will be a good witness. This fellow, Bart Porter, will be a great witness. They've already been through a grand jury. They have been through trial. They did well. And then, of course, people around here.

PRESIDENT: None will be witnesses.

DEAN: They won't be witnesses?

PRESIDENT: Hell, no. They will make statements. That will be the line which I think we've got to get across to Ziegler in all his briefings where he is constantly saying we will provide information. That is not the question. It is how it is to be furnished, not furnish it in a formal session. That would be a break down of the privilege. Period. Do you agree with that?

DEAN: I agree. I agree. I have always thought that's the bottom line, and I think that is the good thing about what's happening in the Gray hearings right now. If we, they send a letter down with specific questions, I send back written interrogatories, sworn. You know, as a lawyer, that you can handle written interrogatories, where cross-examination is another ball game.

PRESIDENT: I know.

DEAN: You can make a person look like they're inaccurate even if they, even if they are trying to tell the truth.

PRESIDENT: Well now, really, you can't mean that! [inaudible] All the face-making and all that crap. Written interrogatories you can handle.

DEAN: Can be artfully, accurately answered and give the full information.

PRESIDENT: [inaudible] Well, what about all the sentencing. When the hell is he going to sentence?

DEAN: We thought he was going to sentence last Friday.

PRESIDENT: I know he should have.

DEAN: No one knows what in the world Sirica is doing. It is getting to be a long time now. It frankly is.

PRESIDENT: Certainly.

DEAN: And no one really has a good estimation of how he will sentence. There is some feeling that he will sentence Liddy the heaviest. Liddy is already in jail, he is in Danbury. He wants to start serving so he can get good time going. Hunt, he'll probably be very fair with.

PRESIDENT: Why?

DEAN: Pardon?

PRESIDENT: Why?

DEAN: He likes Hunt. He liked Hunt. He thought Hunt was being open with him and candid, and Hunt gave a statement in open court that he didn't know of any higher ups involved and Hunt didn't put him through the rigors of trial. Hunt was a beaten man who lost his wife, was ill, and they tried to move to have him severed from the trial. And Hunt did not try to cause a lot of problems. Bittman was cooperative, whereas Liddy played, played the heavy in the trial. His lawyer raised all the objections and the like, and embarrassed the judge for some in-chambers things he had said.

PRESIDENT: But Liddy is going to appeal the sentence?

DEAN: Liddy is going to appeal the decision, the trial. He will appeal, appeal that.

PRESIDENT: He will appeal the trial?

DEAN: Trial. . .

PRESIDENT: He was convicted.

DEAN: There is an outside chance that this man, this judge, has gone so far in his zeal to be a special prosecutor. . .

PRESIDENT: Well, some of those statements from the Bench. . .

DEAN: Incredible statements!

PRESIDENT: To me, to me incredible!

DEAN: Commenting on witnesses testimony before the jury, was just incredible. Incredible! So he may, there may be a mistrial. I don't, or maybe reversible error even. I don't know.

PRESIDENT: What about the Cubans?

DEAN: The Cubans will probably be thought of as hired hands, and nowhere near the sentence of Liddy, I would think. Uh, not all of them. Barker, the lead Cuban, may get more than the others. It is hard to say. I, you know, just don't have any idea. Sirica is a strange man. He is known as a hanging judge.

PRESIDENT: Chances are, he's a wop.

DEAN: That's right. He's tough. He is tough. Now, the other thing, Sirica, there was some indication that Sirica might be putting together a panel. There is a system down there now, based on informal agreement, where a, a judge, sentencing judge convenes a panel of his own to take advice from. If Sirica were being shrewd, he just might get himself a panel and take their recommendations.

PRESIDENT: When will the Ervin thing be hitting the fan [inaudible] standpoint of time?

DEAN: Well, I would say the best indications we have now is that public hearings will probably start about the first of May. Now, there will, you know, there'll be a big, probably, bang of interest, initially. We have no idea how they will proceed yet. We do have sources to find that out, other than Baker. Incidentally, Kleindienst

was, was, had called Ervin again, returned the call.
Ervin is going to see him this week, uh, with Baker.

PRESIDENT: Public hearings the first of May. Well, that'll be a big show. Public hearings. I wouldn't think, though, I know from experience, my guess is that, could get through about three weeks of those and then I think it begins to peter out somewhat. Don't you agree?

DEAN: No, I. . .

PRESIDENT: ITT went longer, but that was a different thing, and it seemed more important.

DEAN: When I told Bob, oh, several months ago, I hope they don't think [inaudible]. He said the way they could have those hearings and do a masterful job on it, would be to hold one hearing a week on Thursdays, Thursday mornings, they cover it live. That way, you get live coverage that day; you get the networks that night; the national magazines that week; get the weekend wrap-ups. You can stretch this thing out for nearly. . .

PRESIDENT: Our members of the Committee at least should say, let's get it over with, and go through five day sessions, etc.

DEAN: Well, you see, they're not that, I don't think they are that perceptive. They just think they are.

PRESIDENT: Well, so be it. This is a -- I mean I noticed in the news summary Buchanan was viewing with alarm the [inaudible] the grave crisis /in the confidence of the Presidency, and so forth.

DEAN: Well, the best way. . .

PRESIDENT: How much?

DEAN: Pardon?

PRESIDENT: How much of a crisis? I mean, it will be, it will be in the newspaper [inaudible] everything is a crisis. [inaudible] We screw around with this thing for a while -- it is a terrible lousy thing -- it will remain a crisis among the upper intellectual types, the ass holes, you know.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Soft heads, our own, too -- Republicans -- and the Democrats and the rest. Average people won't think it is much of a crisis unless it affects them. Unless it goes on and on and on.

DEAN: I think it will pass. I think after the Ervin hearings, they are going, find so much -- there will be some new revelations. I don't think that the thing will get out of hand. I have no reason to believe it will.

PRESIDENT: Oh, yes -- there would be new revelations in Watergate. They, they, they would be quick [inaudible].

DEAN: Apparently, they would want to find out who. . .

PRESIDENT: Is there a higher up?

DEAN: Is there a higher up?

PRESIDENT: They're really, let's face it, after, I think they are really after Haldeman.

DEAN: Haldeman and Mitchell.

PRESIDENT: Mitchell -- I mean, Colson is not a big enough name for them. He really isn't. You know, he is a star on their side, but Colson's name doesn't bother them [inaudible] Colson. They are after Haldeman and after Mitchell. Don't you think so?

DEAN: Sure. I bet they'd take Ehrlichman and if they could drag him in but they're not going to be able to drag him into the election. . .

PRESIDENT: Haldeman, Haldeman's problem is Chapin.

DEAN: Bob's problem is, is circumstantial.

PRESIDENT: What I mean is, let's look at the circumstantial. I don't know, Bob had nothing, didn't know any of those people like the Hunts and all that bunch. Colson did, but Bob, Bob did know Chapin.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Now, however the hell much Chapin knew I will be God damned, I don't know.

DEAN: Chapin didn't know anything about the Watergate, and. . .

PRESIDENT: Don't you think so?

DEAN: No, absolutely not.

PRESIDENT: Did Strachan?

DEAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: He knew?

DEAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: About Watergate?

DEAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: Well, then, Bob knew, he probably told Bob. He may not have. He may not have.

DEAN: He was judicious in what, in what he had relayed, and, uh. [noise interference] Strachan testified

PRESIDENT: What will he say? Just go in and say . . .

DEAN: He'll [inaudible] and stonewall it and say, "I don't know anything about what you are talking about." He has already done it twice as you know, in interviews.

PRESIDENT: I guess he should, shouldn't he?

DEAN: What?

PRESIDENT: I suppose we can't call that justice, can we? We can't call it [inaudible]

DEAN: Well, [inaudible]

PRESIDENT: I can justify that [inaudible]

DEAN: Well, it is a personal loyalty to him. He doesn't want it any other way. He didn't have to be told. He didn't

have to be asked. It just is something that he found was the way he wanted to handle the situation.

PRESIDENT: But he knew? He knew about Watergate? Strachan did?

DEAN: Yes.

PRESIDENT: I will be damned! Well, that is the problem in Bob's case. Isn't it? It's not Chapin then, but Strachan. Strachan worked for him, didn't he?

DEAN: Yes. They would have one hell of a time proving that Strachan had knowledge of it, though.

PRESIDENT: Who knew better? Magruder?

DEAN: Well, Magruder and Liddy.

PRESIDENT: Oh, I see. The other weak link for Bob is Magruder, too. He having hired him and so forth.

DEAN: That applies to Mitchell, too.

PRESIDENT: Mitchell -- Magruder. Where do you see Colson coming into it? Do you think he knew quite a bit, I can't . . . I can't . . . yet he could know a great deal about a lot of other things and not a hell of a lot about this. I don't know.

DEAN: Well, I have never . . .

PRESIDENT: He sure as hell knows Hunt. That we know. And was very close to him.

DEAN: Chuck has told me that he had no knowledge, specific knowledge, of the Watergate incident before it occurred. There have been tidbits that I have raised with Chuck. I have not played any games with him. I said, "Chuck, I have indications. . ."

PRESIDENT: What indications? The lawyer has to know everything.

DEAN: That's right. I said, "Chuck, people have said that you were involved in this, involved in that, involved in this." He said, "That is not true," and so on and so forth. Uh, I don't, I think that Chuck had knowledge that something was going on over there. A lot of people around here had knowledge that something was going

on over there. They didn't have any knowledge of the details of the specifics of, of the whole thing.

PRESIDENT: You know, that must, must be an indication of the fact that we had Goddamn poor pickings. Because naturally anybody, either Chuck or Bob, were always reporting to me about what was going on. If they ever got any information they would certainly have told me that we got some information, but they never had a Goddamn thing to report. What was the matter? Did they never get anything out of the damn thing?

DEAN: I don't think they ever got anything.

PRESIDENT: A dry hole?

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Jesus Christ.

DEAN: Well, they were just really getting started.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. But, uh, Bob one time said something to me about the fact we got some information about this or that or the other, but I, I think it was about the Convention, as they were planning, I said [inaudible]. So I assume that must have been MacGregor, I mean not MacGregor, but Segretti.

DEAN: No.

PRESIDENT: What about Segretti?

DEAN: Well, Segretti really wasn't involved in the intelligence gathering to speak of at all.

PRESIDENT: Oh, he wasn't?

DEAN: No, he wasn't, he was out, he was out. . .

PRESIDENT: Who the hell was gathering intelligence?

DEAN: That was Liddy and his, his outfit.

PRESIDENT: Apart from Watergate?

DEAN: Well, that's, that's right. That was part of their whole -- Watergate was part of intelligence gathering, and this was their first thing.

PRESIDENT: I guess that's what it was.

DEAN: What happened is. . .

PRESIDENT: That rather a stupid thing!

DEAN: [inaudible] incredible, incredible -- that's right.
That was Hunt.

PRESIDENT: To think of Mitchell and Bob would have allowed --
would have allowed -- this kind of operation to be in
the Committee!

DEAN: I don't think he knew it was there.

PRESIDENT: You kidding? You don't think that Mitchell knew about
this sort of thing?

DEAN: Oh, no, no! Don't mis. . . . I don't think that he
knew the people. I think he knew that Liddy was out
intelligence gathering.

PRESIDENT: Well?

DEAN: I don't think he knew that Liddy would use a fellow
like McCord, for God's sake, who worked for the
Committee. I can't believe that. Uh. . .

PRESIDENT: Hunt?

DEAN: I don't think Mitchell knew about Hunt either.

PRESIDENT: Well Mitchell thinks -- thought, well, gee, and I
hired this fellow and [inaudible] I told him to
gather intelligence.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Maybe Magruder says the same thing.

DEAN: Magruder says -- as he did in the trial -- it was, uh,
well, of course, my name has been dragged in as the
guy who sent Liddy over there, which is an interesting
thing. That a. . .

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]

DEAN: That's right. Well what happened is -- Magruder asked for a lawyer -- he wanted to hire my deputy over there for General Counsel and I said, "No way. I can't give him up."

PRESIDENT: Was Liddy your deputy?

DEAN: No, Liddy never worked for me. Uh, there was this fellow Fred Fielding who works for me. And I said, "I can't give him up." He said, Magruder said, "Will you find me a lawyer?" I said, "I will be happy to look around." I checked around the White House, Krogh said, "Liddy might be the man to do it, to go over there -- he would be a hell of a good lawyer. He has written some wonderful legal opinions over here for me, and I think he is a good lawyer." So I relayed that to Magruder.

PRESIDENT: How the hell does Liddy stand up so well?

DEAN: He's a strange man, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT: Strange or strong?

DEAN: Strange and strong.

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]

DEAN: Uh, he, his loyalty is, I think is just beyond the pale. He's just -- nothing.

PRESIDENT: He hates the other side too, doesn't he?

DEAN: Oh, absolutely! He is strong. He really is.

PRESIDENT & DEAN: [inaudible]

PRESIDENT: Is it too late to, frankly, go the hang-out road?

DEAN: Yes, it is. Yes, I think it is. The hang-out road. . .

PRESIDENT: The hang-out road seems to be rejected [inaudible]
I understand

DEAN: It was kicked around. Bob and I and. . .

PRESIDENT: I know Ehrlichman always felt it should be hang-out.

DEAN: Well, I think I convinced him why he would not want to hang-out either. There is a certain domino situation here. If some things start going, a lot of other things are going to start going, and there can be a lot of problems if everything starts falling. So there are dangers, Mr. President. I would be less than candid if I didn't tell you there are, there is a reason for not everyone going up and testifying.

PRESIDENT: I see. Oh no, no, no! I didn't mean to have everyone go up and testify.

DEAN: Well I mean they're just starting to hang-out and say here's our story --

PRESIDENT: I mean putting the story out PR, people, here is the story, the true story about Watergate.

DEAN: They would never believe it.

PRESIDENT: That's the point.

DEAN: The two things they are working on on Watergate. . .

PRESIDENT: Who is "they?" The press?

DEAN: The press, the Democrats, the intellectuals, . . .

PRESIDENT: The Packwoods?

DEAN: Right. Right. They would never buy it as far as one White House involvement in Watergate which I think there is just none for that incident that occurred over in the Democratic National Committee Headquarters. People just here we did not know that that was going to be done. I think there are some people who saw the fruits of it, but that is another story. I am talking about the criminal conspiracy to, to go in there. The other thing is that the Segretti thing. You hang that out, they, uh, wouldn't believe that. They wouldn't believe that, that, uh, Chapin acted on his own to put his old friend, friend

Dick Segretti in to be a Dick Tuck on somebody else's campaign. They would, they would have to paint it into something more sinister, something more involved, a part of a general plan.

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]

DEAN: No.

PRESIDENT: Segretti's stuff isn't been a bit sinister.

DEAN: It's quite humorous, as a matter of fact.

PRESIDENT: As a matter of fact, it is just a bunch of crap. It's a bunch of crap. We never knew not objected to. We don't object to such damn things, oh, anyway. On, and on and on. No, I tell you this, it is the last gasp of -- our hardest opponents. They've just got to have something to squeal about it.

DEAN: It is the only thing they have to squeal on. . .

PRESIDENT: [inaudible]. They are going to squeal and lie around. They are having a hell of time, you know.

DEAN: Oh, yeah.

PRESIDENT: They got the hell kicked out of them in the election. [inaudible] Here we are. There is not a Watergate around in this town, not so much our opponents, but basically, the media hitting at the Establishment. The Establishment is dying, and so they've got to show that after some rather significant successes we have had in foreign policy and in the election, they've got to show that it just is wrong because this, because of this. In other words, they are trying to use this to smear the whole thing.

DEAN: Well, that is why I keep, I, coming back with this fellow, Sullivan, who could, could change the picture.

PRESIDENT: How would it change it though?

DEAN: Well. . .

PRESIDENT: Saying here is another. . .

DEAN: Saying here is another and it happens to be Democrats.
Your kind, I know, I just wish. . .

PRESIDENT: If he would get Kennedy into it, too, I would be a
little bit more pleased.

DEAN: Let me tell you something that lurks at the bottom
of this whole thing.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

DEAN: If, in going after Segretti, Segretti. . .

PRESIDENT: Right.

DEAN: They go after Kalmbach's bank records, you will recall
that sometime back -- maybe you perhaps didn't know about
this -- it's very possible that right after Chappaquidick
somebody was put up there to start observing and
within six hours.

PRESIDENT: Was he?

DEAN: That's right, that man watched that -- he was there
for every second of Chappaquidick for a year, and for
almost two years he worked for, uh, he worked for Jack
Caulfield who was originally on John. . .

PRESIDENT: Oh, I have heard him talk of Caulfield.

DEAN: He worked for Caulfield originally and then he worked for,
when Caulfield worked for John, and then when I came over
here I inherited Caulfield and this guy was still on this
same thing. If they get to those bank records between
the start of July of '69 through June of '71, and they
say what are these about? Who is this fellow up in
New York that you paid? There comes Chappaquidick
with a vengeance. This guy is a, is a twenty year
detective on the New York State, New York City Police
Department.

PRESIDENT: In other words, we. . .

DEAN: He is ready to disprove and show that -- everything --

PRESIDENT: [inaudible] that wrong

DEAN: If they get to it -- that is going to come out and this whole thing can turn around on that. If Kennedy knew the bear trap he was walking into. . .

PRESIDENT: How do we know -- why don't we get it out anyway?

DEAN: Well, we sort of saved it.

PRESIDENT: Does he have any records? Are they any good?

DEAN: He is probably the most knowledgeable man in the country. He can't, you know. There are certain things he runs up against walls and they closed the records down. There are things he can't get, but he can ask all of the questions and get some, many of the answers as a, as a 20-year detective, but we don't want to surface him right now. But if he is ever surfaced, this is what they will get.

PRESIDENT: How will Kalmbach explain that he hired this guy to do the job on Chappaquidick? Out of what type of funds?

DEAN: He had, he had money left over from the pre-convention. . .

PRESIDENT: Are they going to investigate those funds too?

DEAN: They are funds that were quite legal. There is nothing illegal about those funds.

PRESIDENT: How can they, how can they investigate them?

DEAN: They can't.

PRESIDENT: Uh?

DEAN: What may happen, what may occur, they may stumble into this in going back to, say '71, on Kalmbach's bank records. They have already asked for a lot of his bank records in connection with Segretti, as to how he paid Segretti.

PRESIDENT: Are they going to go back as far as Chappaquidick?

DEAN: Well, this fellow worked in '71 on this. He was up there. He has talked to everybody in that town. You know. He is the one who has caused a lot of embarrassment for Kennedy already by saying he went up there as a newspaperman; "Why aren't you checking this? Why aren't you looking there?" Calling, pointing the press's attention to things. Gosh, the guy did a masterful job. I have never been, had the full report.

PRESIDENT: Coming back to the Sullivan thing, you'd better now go ahead and talk to him. You will now talk to Moore and then what?

DEAN: I will see if we have something that is viable. And if it's . . .

PRESIDENT: You have to talk with Sullivan again?

DEAN: Oh, yes. Yes, I tried.

PRESIDENT: Why don't the hell you get him in and talked to him.

DEAN: I asked him last night and he said to give him a day or so to get all my recollections together, and that was yesterday. So I thought I would call him this evening and say, "Bill, I would just like to know. . ."

PRESIDENT: You see, the fact talk you talk to him, it will become known. So maybe, maybe the best thing is to say our concern here is that he is to turn this over, you say we will not handle it. But anyway, it gets to the Committee and they can say the White House turns over information on the FBI.

DEAN: That's true.

PRESIDENT: I don't know how the Christ to get it down there.

DEAN: That's what I think I can kick around with Dick Moore. He and I do very well just bouncing these things back and forth and coming up with something. We would never be embarrassed about it.

PRESIDENT: To give it to a newsman, it would be a hell of a break for a newspaper.

DEAN: Oh yeah.

PRESIDENT: A hell of a story! Uh, the STAR just ran a hell of a story on a real bomb on the FBI. Then the Committee member, the man you would use, for example, in this case, would be to call Gurney, and to say, "Now look! We are on to something very hot here. I just, I'm not tell you any more. Go after it, forget you ever had this call." Then he goes. It seems to me that's a very effective way to get it out.

DEAN: Uh huh. Another thing is, I don't think Sullivan would give up the White House. Sullivan -- if I could, one liability in Sullivan here, it is his knowledge of the earlier things that occurred here.

PRESIDENT: That we did?

DEAN: That we did.

PRESIDENT: Well, why don't you just tell him -- he could say, "I did no political work at all. My work in the Nixon Administration was solely in the national security."

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: And that is thoroughly true!

DEAN: That is right.

PRESIDENT: Well, good luck.

DEAN: Alright, sir.

PRESIDENT: It is never dull is it?

DEAN: Never.