

Restoring Confidence

April 15, 1973-A

K—And I've thought for months that something was wrong.

P—Sorry to hear you say that. No—that's my problem—what to do. Poor (expletive removed)—they're all—they've got a right to a fair trial.

K—I've tried about two or three thousand in the last twenty years and I did (unintelligible). The two aspects of this that have an overriding importance beyond them is the institution of (unintelligible) and also the criminal justice system.

P—Right. Only the people have got to have confidence (unintelligible) and frankly you could come out stronger.

K—Yeah.

P—You just prove that you will take on even your friends.

K—That's right.

465

April 15, 1973-B

H—What you can do is express your faith in the system. You know there is a lot to be gained from this if the damn system comes out right.

P—That's right.

H—In restoring people's faith in the system, rather than in this jackass kangaroo court.

P—Yeah.

484

Watergate Not Overriding Issue

April 14, 1973-H

P—I read (unintelligible) front page the Haynes Johnson (unintelligible) story today about—story on (unintelligible).

E—I haven't had a chance to read that. I saw the headlines.

P—It's not corroborated of course, but they said their survey of the country and all showed that the President's support that first the support regarding the war was not (unintelligible)—the economy is the problem (unintelligible) but the overriding issues that are (unintelligible) Watergate. (unintelligible), but John that is just not true.

445

April 14, 1973 - G

P—Fine. Well, John, you have had a hell of a week—two weeks. And of course poor Bob is going through the tortures of the damned.

E—Yeah. That family thing is rough.

P—I know the family thing. But apart from the family thing, you know, he is a guy that has just given his life, hours and hours and hours you know, totally selfless and honest and decent. That is another thing! Damn it to hell, I am just about to say. Well you know you get the argument of some, anybody that has been charged against, you should fire them. I mean you can't do that. Or am I wrong?

E—No, you are right.

P—Well, maybe I am not right. I am asking. They say, clean the boards. Well, is that our system?

E—Well that isn't a system. You know, that is a machine. That's—

P—That's right. I feel, honestly,—I mean, apart from the personal feeling we both have for Bob, don't

426

you? But you know, I raised this myself. One way out is to say, well look, as long as all these guys have been charged, out they go and they can fight this battle and they can return when they get cleared. Is it not good, is it?

E—You know I don't think it is. I don't think that is anyway to run a railroad.

427

P—Well, the point is, whatever we say about Harry Truman, etc. while it hurt him a lot of people admired the old bastard for standing by people

E—Sure—

P—who were guilty as hell

E—Yep

P—and damn it I am that kind of person. I am not one who is going to say, look, while this guy is under attack, I drop him. Is there something to be said for that, or not?

E—I don't think, number one, I don't think you would gain anything by it. The problem doesn't go away.

P—No they will say, oh, that Nixon's top person, closest man to him, in the office four or five hours a day, and out he goes. Everything must be wrong!

E—Yep—that is it. That is liking separating Siamese twins.

P—We have done so many good things, you know, which Bob has worked on so arduously, and damn it, so there will be fragments here and there. Well, people make mistakes, but you don't fire a guy for a mistake do you?

E—No.

P—Not for a well-intentioned mistake. But my whole view of drawing up the line.

427

Halderman

April 14, 1973 - G

P- And
the thing about Bob, as I say, is this: I get back to a
fundamental point. Is he guilty or is he not? In my
view, he is not, you know.

E—Yep.

P—And if he isn't—even if it means that the whole
country and the Congress and all the members of the
Senate and House say resign, resign, the President says,
No. I will not take a resignation from a man who is
innocent. That is wrong. That is contrary to our system,
and I am going to fight for him.

E—Uh, huh.

P—If evidence is brought out to the contrary, fine.
Then we will take a look at it.

425

Dragging it out

April 14, 1973 - D

P—Well, a year from now. It will soon be different.

E—Oh, yeah.

P—Nope, seriously—

E—Six months.

P—Nope, sooner than you think. Let me tell you, John, the thing about all this that has concerned me is dragging the damn thing out. Dragging it out and being—and having it be the only issue in town. Now the thing to do now, have done. Indict Mitchell and all the rest and there'll be a horrible two weeks—a horrible, terrible scandal, worse than Teapot Dome and so forth. And it isn't—doesn't have anything to do with Teapot.

E—Yeah.

P—I mean there is no venality involved in the damn

404

thing, no thievery or anything of that sort of thing. Nobody got any paper. You know what I mean?

E—Yeah. That's true.

H—Glad to hear it.

405

Doing the Right Thing

April 14, 1973 - D

P—It's the right thing. We all have to do the right thing. Damn it! We just cannot have this kind of a business, John. Just cannot be.

394

April 15, 1973 - A

P—Let me tell you what concerns me, if I may. I want to talk to the special prosecution a little bit. You know, it's embarrassing and all the rest, but it'll pass. We've got to—we've got to just ride it through Dick.

K—Yes

P—Do the best we can. Right?

K—Yes sir.

P—We don't run to the hills on this and so forth. The main thing is to handle it right.

K—Those are my inclinations Mr. President.

P—Well you know—we've got to handle it right.

K—That's right.

455

Small things?

April 14, 1973. C.

P—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) the damn thing—and the Ervin Committee get credit in the Watergate thing?

H—Yeah.

P—I don't know. Am I seeing something (unintelligible) that really isn't (unintelligible) or am I?

H—No, no. That was the thing I was trying to get at this morning. That what that proves is the President's, in my view, the President's course was right. The President wasn't covering up. The President was cooperating with the proper place and the proper place

378

had 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.

Harming Other People

March 26, 1973 - B

D—Well, I thought (inaudible) by keeping on top of it it would not harm you. Maybe the individuals would get harmed.

P—We don't want to harm the people either. That is my concern. We can't harm these young people (inaudible). They were doing things for the best interests of their country—that is all.

184

April 27, 1973 - B

P—(unintelligible) I just don't want to see guys get hurt that didn't know what the hell they were doing.

HP—And we don't want to either.

P—(unintelligible)

779

March 13, 1973

P—Well, so be it. I noticed in the news summary Buchanan was viewing with alarm the grave crisis in the confidence of the Presidency, etc.

D—Well the best way—

P—How much?

D—Pardon?

P—How much of a crisis? It will be—I am thinking in terms of—the point is, everything is a crisis. (expletive deleted) it is a terrible lousy thing—it will remain a crisis among the upper intellectual types, the 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. (unintelligible)

B-115

Feb. 28, 1973

P - The people who are most disturbed about this (unintelligible) are the (adjective deleted) Republicans. A lot of these Congressmen, financial contributors, et cetera, are highly moral. The Democrats are just sort of saying, "(Expletive deleted) fun and games!"

Everybody Dies 71

Sept. 15, 1972

H—Isn't that ridiculous—this silly thing.

P—Yes (Expletive deleted). Goldwater put it in context when he said, "(expletive deleted) everybody bugs everybody else. You know that."

D—That was priceless.

P—It happens to be totally true. We were bugged in '68 on the plane and in '62 even running for Governor—(expletive deleted) thing you ever saw.

B-59

Feb. 28, 1973

^P —they've got problems, and we've got problems. You see this Vesco thing coming up burns my tail. I raised hell with Haldeman on this and he didn't do anything about. I guess he couldn't. What

78

(expletive omitted) became of our investigation of their financial activities? (Expletive omitted) They cancelled debts, they borrowed money. What the hell is that?

79

Feb. 27 1973

P—What did Segretti do that came off?

D—He did some humorous things. For example, there would be a fund-raising dinner, and he hired Wayne the Wizard to fly in from the Virgin Islands to perform a magic show. He sent invitations to all the black diplomats and sent limousines out to have them picked up, and they all showed up and they hadn't been invited. He had 400 pizzas sent to another—

P—Sure! What the hell! Pranks! Tuck did all those things in 1960, and all the rest.

B-38

TRUTH

From 1968 campaign speech:

America is in trouble today not because her people have failed but because her leaders have failed. Let us begin by committing ourselves to the truth, to see it like it is, and to tell it like it is, to find the truth, to speak the truth, and to live the truth.

(Quoted in Wash. POST, 7/12/73)

March 17, 1973

D - For the sake of debate, but I was having reservations. It is a bullet biter and you just have to do it. These questions are just not going to go away. Now the other thing that we talked about in the past, and I still have the same problem, is to have a "here it all is" approach. If we do that . . .

P—And let it all hang out.

D—And let it all hang out. Let's with a Segretti— etc.

P—We have passed that point.

B-100

March 13, 1973

P—Is it too late to go the hang-out road?

D—Yes, I think it is. The hang-out road—

P—The hang-out road (inaudible).

D—It was kicked around Bob and I and—

P—Ehrlichman always felt it should be hang-out.

D—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.

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

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

119

P—I mean put the story out PR people, here is the story, the true story about Watergate.

120

March 22, 1973

P—Do you think we want to go this route now? Let it hang out so to speak?

D—Well, it isn't really that—

H—It's a limited hang out.

D—It is a limited hang out. It's not an absolute hang out.

P—But some of the questions look big hanging out publicly or privately.

220

D—What it is doing, Mr. President, is getting you up above and away from it. That is the most important thing.

P—Oh, I know. I suggested that the other day and they all came down negative on it. Now what has changed their minds?

D—Lack of candidate or a body.

H—Laughter.

221

April 17, 1973-6

P (to R) - I saw Dean at least (unintelligible) times. At Camp David, he was to write the (expletive deleted) up so we could put out a statement. He said, "I really can't write a statement that you can put out." So I must say, I've done everything I can to get to the bottom, Bill, as you can see. I said, "John, you got to let it all hang out—now find out—you got to tell me what the hell the score is so we'll know how to deal with this. We're not going to be nibbled to death by a thousand hurts."

721

Getting the truth out?

March 21, 1973 - A

D—Liddy said if they all got counsel instantly and said we will ride this thing out. Alright, then they started making demands. "We have to have attorneys fees. We don't have any money ourselves, and you are asking us to take this through the election." Alright, so arrangements were made through Mitchell, initiating it. And I was present in discussions where these guys had to be taken care of. Their attorneys fees had to be done. Kalmbach was brought in. Kalmbach raised some cash.

142

P—They put that under the cover of a Cuban Committee, I suppose?

D—Well, they had a Cuban Committee and they had—some of it was given to Hunt's lawyer, who in turn passed it out. You know, when Hunt's wife was flying to Chicago with \$10,000 she was actually, I understand after the fact now, was going to pass that money to one of the Cubans—to meet him in Chicago and pass it to somebody there.

P—(unintelligible) but I would certainly keep that cover for whatever it is worth.

143



P—These fellows though, as far as what has happened up to this time, are covered on their situation, because the Cuban Committee did this for them during the election?

D—Well, yeah. We can put that together. That isn't of course quite the way it happened, but—

P—I know, but that's the way it is going to have to happen.

170

P wants everyone to kill the truth?

April 14, 1973 - F

H—Of course there is nothing Jeb said that is inconsistent with anything that Chuck has said.

P—Oh, that could be right. Chuck could say, yes, the Liddy project, sure but I thought the Liddy project was something else.

H—That's right. That's what he does say.

P—He does, huh?

H—Yeah.

414

April 14, 1973 - G

P— John, too, I wonder if we shouldn't reconsider, if you shouldn't, I mean you have to consider this—rather than having Colson go in there completely blind, give him at least a touch up—or do you think that is too dangerous.

E—Say that again—I didn't quite hear it.

P—Colson—rather than just saying nothing to him, if it isn't just as well to say—look you should know that Magruder is going to testify, etc., or is that dangerous according to Kleindienst?

E—I'm not so sure. I have to call him anyway tomorrow.



E—Well, I can say something very brief. I don't need to indicate that he said anything to me.

P—Yeah, that you understand that he has talked. I mean, not to the Grand Jury but to—

E—Yeah, I think I could safely go that far.

P—And say that he should know that before he goes, and be prepared.

E—Friday—I will call him in the morning.

P—Let me put it this way: I do think we owe it to Chuck to at least—

E—Sure

P—So that he doesn't, I mean, go in there and well frankly on a perjury rap—

E—I understand. I don't think he is in any danger on that but—

P—Why wouldn't he be in any danger, because he's got his story and knows pretty well what he is going to say?

E—Yeah, I think he is pretty pat, but I will talk to him in the morning and give him a cautionary note anyway.

Tell the Truth!

April 14, 1973 - B

P—Thank God. Don't ever do it John. Tell the truth. That is the thing I have told everybody around here. (expletive omitted) tell the truth! All they do John is compound it.

P—That (characterization omitted) Hiss would be free today if he hadn't lied. If he had said, "Yes I knew Chambers and as a young man I was involved with some Communist activities but I broke it off a number of years ago." And Chambers would have dropped it. If you are going to lie, you go to jail for the lie rather than the crime. So believe me, don't ever lie.

D—The truth always emerges. It always does.

P—Also there is a question of right and wrong too.

D—That's right.

P—Whether it is right and whether it is wrong. Perhaps there are some gray areas, but you are right to get it out now.

Memorandum of Implementation of Decision

April 16, 1973 - H

P—Well, I wanted to get you in bed earlier tonight than last night, and I want to get to bed too. Let me say first, I just want to know if there are any developments I should know about and, second, that of course, as you know, anything you tell me, as I think I told you earlier, will not be passed on.

HP—I understand, Mr. President.

P—Because I know the rules of the Grand Jury.

663

April 17, 1973 - B

P—Petersen has said to me, he says that there is—because of the evidence that has come in here—that Haldeman and Ehrlichman should (unintelligible) now I'm faced with that damned hardship.

to H and E

(Material not related to Presidential actions deleted)

629

P—Wait a minute. Wait a minute. Then Petersen said, he said, "We've got to have corroborative testimony." So you see what I mean?

E—Yeah.

P—Before we could get—Let me put it this way. He realizes that before he could try to give Dean immunity he's got to have corroborative testimony on the value of Dean's evidence. That's what he's trying to get at the present time. That's why he was calling Stracman, Colson, Kalmbach, et al. The purpose of it being, John, to get corroborative evidence that would say, well, Dean's evidence is so valuable as far as other people are concerned, that we can therefore give him immunity.

* * *

P—Yeah, (unintelligible) And I'll tell you what Petersen did tell me. He did say this much. I said, "what about Dean?" and he said, "Well, we haven't made a deal with him yet." I think I told you about this—

E—Yep.

P—I said, "Why do you have to make a deal?" And he says "Well, he wants to make a deal." And I said, "What do you mean let him off?" He said, "Well, that's what you do, Mr. President." I said, "Well," I

633

said, "you're sort of (unintelligible)." We've had some real good talks.

634

Letter of Resignation

April 13, 1973 - B

D—Well, that's right. Well, the thing is in phrasing the letter is important. You don't call anybody involved when it is their problem, so that is why I would like—

P—Well, understand those are my dictations. They are only a form for you. You work it out and work it out so that it would be one that would apply to you and work out the answer to Ehrlichman and Haldeman's letter. Just a form that I can give anybody—
Strachan—

521

April 16, 1973 - C

P—I told him I would like to have that letter and he said, "What about Haldeman and Ehrlichman?" I said they have already told me that they will resign in case—naturally nobody is going to resign around here until somebody—until I get better information, until I can satisfy myself with Petersen, etc. And he said, "Well, do you mind if I take the letters and I prepare them? I would like to prepare them so that in the event I have to go to trial they won't prejudice me in that." I said, "Fine, fine. Prepare me what you think your letter of resignation should be." So there it is. So he is thinking in both terms, apparently. I am just guessing and I think that it is altogether proper, because he should have a letter of that sort. But I told him, as I told Haldeman and Ehrlichman last night, there is no question about people resigning around here. I've got their letters of resignation in hand anytime I want them.

to H and E

524

from Nixon statement of April 30, 1973:

It was the system that has brought the facts to light and that will bring those guilty to justice—a system that in this case has included a determined Grand Jury, honest prosecutors, a courageous Judge, John Sirica, and a vigorous free press.

The Hon. St. Hasselton

April 13, 1973-

P- I think that Glazer and Silbert are giving, trying to give, Dean an incentive to lie in order to get Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

757

P- I'm not sure that Glazer is telling the truth.

773

March 21, 1973 - J

P—Let's make a point that raw files, I mean that point should be made that we are standing for the rights of innocent individuals. The American Civil Liberties Union is against it. We are against it. Hoover had the tradition, and it will continue to be the tradition. All files are confidential. See if we can't get someone inspired to put that out. Let them see what is in one.

6-133

April 17, 1973 - G

P—And I have a feeling for a guy that's supposed to uphold the rights of innocent before (unintelligible) are guilty or not. Well, let me say this. I've got to live with myself. I don't want to do it in that (unintelligible). That isn't fair.

718

CHAPTER X

NIXON AND HIS FRIENDS

FAT GRAY

from Nixon press conference of March 2, 1973:

I believe/^{that} the Senate will find, based on his record since he was nominated, that he has been fair, he has been efficient and that he will be a good, shall we say, lawman in the tradition of J. Edgar Hoover and I am sure that the Senate will overwhelmingly approve him. .

from Ehrlichman-Dean phone conversation, March 7 or 8, 1973

(source: Senate Watergate Hearings, Book 7, p. 2951):

EHRLICHMAN: Well I think we ought to let him hang there. Let him twist slowly slowly in the wind.

DEAN: That's right. I was in with the boss ~~EEK~~ this morning and that's exactly where he was coming out. He said I'm not sure that Gray's smart enough to run the Bureau the way he's handling himself.

EHRLICHMAN: Well, OK, you're on top of it. Good.

March 13, 1973

P - Gray, in my opinion, should not be the head of the FBI. After going through the hell of the hearings, he will not be a good Director, as far as we are concerned.

D.... he can't do it because he is going to be under such surveillance by his own people—every move he is making—that it would be a difficult thing for Pat. Not that Pat wouldn't want to play ball, but he may not be able to.

P—I agree. That's what I meant.

B-107

March 21, 1973 - A

P—No, he is just quite stubborn and also he isn't very smart. You know—

D—He is bullheaded.

132

P—He is smart in his own way but he's got that typical (expletive deleted) this is right and I am going to do it.

133

March 22, 1972

E—(first part not audible) Eastland is going to postpone any further hearings on Gray for two weeks and allow things to cool off a little bit. He thinks Gray is dead on the Floor.

P—He's probably right—poor guy.

194

H—Gray, the symbol of wisdom today and future counsel for tomorrow.

D—Maybe someone will shoot him.

Laughter.

195

*

*

*

P—Well let's talk about Gray—the problem with him is I think he is a little bit stupid.

P—Frankly, I think too maybe Kleindienst doesn't help him any.

197

April 14, 1913 - 11

P - I know Rogers like the back of my
hand and Rogers does not like me,
mean tough problems...

308

Feb. 20, 1973

P- Baker is a smoozy - impressionable.

76

March 27, 1973

P to K

How about this—why don't you get him on the telephone—and get him down there. It is sort of a line with Baker saying he doesn't have any contact with the White House. Well, of course, he didn't want that—that is his fault—not our fault. We have to accept that would not be the right thing—on the other hand, it is essential for you to give him guidance.

200

* * *

P-

Alright, let's leave it this way—you will handle Baker now—you will babysit him starting like in about ten minutes? Alright.

(End of telephone conversation)

201

March 13, 1973

P— How bad would it hurt the country, John, to have the FBI so terribly damaged?

D—Do you mind if I take this back and kick it around with Dick Moore? These other 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.

P—No.

D—I know quite well it isn't.

B-115

Feb 28, 1973

P—Edgar Hoover, on the other hand, I have seen socially at least a hundred times. He and I were very close friends.

D—This is curious the way the press—

P—(expletive deleted)—Hoover was my crony. He was closer to me than Johnson, actually although Johnson used him more. But as for Pat Gray, (expletive deleted) I never saw him.

D—While it might have been a lot of blue chips to the late Director, I think we would have been a lot better off during this whole Watergate thing if he had been alive. Because he knew how to handle that Bureau—knew how to keep them in bounds.

P—Well, Hoover performed. He would have fought.

77

That was the point. He would have defied a few people. He would have scared them to death. He has a file on everybody.

78

April 16, 1973 - B

P—Support your own—and this was necessary to do. If we had had Hoover under more control, as Lyndon Johnson did, it would have been better.

513