

# White House Transcripts of 3 Nixon-

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## Haldeman Conversations on June 23, 1972

Special to The New York Times

(INCOMPLETE)  
WASHINGTON, Aug. 5—Following are transcripts released by the White House today of three conversations between President Nixon and H. R. Haldeman on June 23, 1972. The White House said the transcripts were as complete as the quality of the tape recordings would permit.

### FIRST TRANSCRIPT

**Meeting: The President and Haldeman, Oval Office, June 23, 1972 (10:04-11:39 A.M.)**

(Unintelligible)

P (Unintelligible) . . . they've got a magnificent place.

H No, they don't. See, that was all hand-held camera without lighting—lousy place. It's good in content, it's terrible in film quality.

P (Unintelligible) Rose, she ought to be in here.

H No, well let her in if you want to, sure—

P That's right. Got so goddamned much (scratching noises)

H Goddamned.

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

H Yeah. Ah—

P Good, that's a very good paper at least (unintelligible) The one thing they haven't got in there is the thing we mentioned with regard to the armed services.

H I covered that with Ehrlichman who says that can be done and he's moving. Not only armed services, but the whole Government.

P GSA? All government?

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

P I told Haig today that I'd see Rogers at 4:30.

H Oh, good, O.K.

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

H It'll be a little after 4:00 (unintelligible) 5:00.

#### Trip to Camp David

P Well, I have to, I'm supposed to go to Camp David. Rogers doesn't need a lot of time, does he?

H No sir.

P Just a picture?

H That's all. He called me about it yesterday afternoon and said I don't want to be in the meeting with Henry, I understand that but there may be a couple of points Henry wants me to be aware of.

×P Sure.

×P (Unintelligible) Call him and tell him we'll call him as soon as Henry gets here, between 4:30 and 5:00 (unintelligible) Good.

H O.K., that's fine.

H Now, on the investigation, you know the Democratic break-in thing,

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

P That's right.

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

P What about Pat Gray—you mean Pat Gray doesn't want to?

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

P Yeah.

#### What Would Be Said

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

P This is CIA? They've traced the money? Who'd they trace it to?

H Well they've traced it to a name, but they haven't gotten to the guy yet.

P Would it be somebody here?

H Ken Dahlberg.

P Who the hell is Ken Dahlberg?

H He gave \$25,000 in Minnesota and, ah, the check went directly to this guy Barker.

P It isn't from the committee though, from Stans?

×H Yeah. It is. It's directly traceable and there's some more through some Texas people that went to the Mexican Bank which can also be traced to the Mexican Bank—they'll get their names today.

×H—and (pause)

P Well, I mean, there's no way—I'm just thinking if they don't cooperate, what do they say? That they were approached by the Cubans. That's what Dahlberg has to say, the Texans too,

that they—

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

P All right.

H And you seem to think the thing to do is get them to stop?

P Right, fine.

H They say the only way to do that is from White House instructions. And

it's got to be to Helms and to—ah, what's his name—? Walters.

P Walters.

#### What Proposal Would be

H And the proposal would be that Ehrlichman and I call them in, and say, ah—

P All right, fine. How do you call him in—I mean you just—well, we protected Helms from one hell of a lot of things.

H That's what Ehrlichman says.

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

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

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

H He is.

P I mean he just isn't well screwed on is he? Is that the problem?

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

P Pressure from Mitchell?

H Apparently.

P Oh, Mitchell. Mitchell was at the point (unintelligible).

H Yea.

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

#### Colson Interviewed

H The F.B.I. interviewed Colson yesterday. They determined that would be a good thing to do. To have him take an interrogation, which he did, and that—the F.B.I. guys working the case concluded that there were one or two possibilities—one, that this is a White House—they don't think that there is anything at the election committee—they think it was either a White House operation and they had some obscure reasons for it—nonpolitical, or it was a Cuban and the C.I.A. And after their interrogation of Colson yesterday, they concluded it was not the White House, but are now convinced it is a C.I.A. thing, so the C.I.A. turnoff would—

P Well, not sure of their analysis,

I'm not going to get that involved. I'm (unintelligible).

H No, sir, we don't want you to.

P You call them in.

H Good deal.

P Play it tough. That's the way they play it and that's the way we are going to play it.

H O.K.

P When I saw that news summary, I questioned whether it's a bunch of crap, I thought, er, well it's good to have them off us awhile, because when they start bugging us, which they have, our little boys will not know how to handle it. I hope they will though.

H You never know.

P Good

H Mosbacher has resigned.

P Oh yeah?

H As we expected he would.

P Yeah.

H He's going back to private life (unintelligible). Do you want to sign this or should I send it to Rose?

P (scratching noise).

H Do you want to release it?

P O.K. Great. Good job, Bob.

H Kissinger?

P Huh? That's a joke.

H Is it?

P Whenever Mosbacher came for dinners, you see he'd have to be out escorting the person in and when they came through the receiving line, Henry was always with Mrs. Mosbacher and she'd turn and they would say this is Mr. Kissinger. He made a little joke.

✓H I see. Very good. O.K.

#### A Meeting With Mills

×H (unintelligible) Congressional guidance to get into the Mills thing at all. It was reported that somebody—Church met with Mills.

P Big deal (unintelligible).

H Well, what happened there is—that's true—Church went uh?

P Is it pay as you go or not?

H Well, Church says it is, our people don't believe it is. Church told Mills that he had Long's support on adding Social Security and Wilbur equivocated on the question when Johnny Burns talked to him about whether he would support the Long/Church amendment, but Long and Church telling him that it is fully funded—and our people are afraid Mills is going to go along if they put the heat on him as a partisan Democrat to say that this would be damned helpful just before our convention to stick this to the White House. Ah, Johnny Burns, he talked to Wilbur about it afterwards and this has been changed, so don't be concerned about it—you should call Mansfield and you should tell Mansfield that Burns is going to fight this in conference and that he will demand that it go to Rules and he will demand a three-day lay-over, which means he will carry the conference over until July 7, which would be—and then before they even start the action, so it will mean they have to stay in—they can't—

P All right.

H (Unintelligible).

P Go ahead.

#### 'A Dangerous Game'

H Clark made the point that he should handle this, not you, and is doing this through Scott to Byrd, who is acting (unintelligible) still in the hospital. And ah, Clark's effort is going to be to kill the Church/Long amendment. They got another tactic which is playing a dangerous game, but they are thinking about, which is, if they put social security on (unintelligible) that they will put revenue sharing and H. R. in it and really screw it up.

P I would. Not dangerous at all. Buck up.

H They're playing with it—they understand. Clark is going off with the mission to kill it.

P Revenue sharing won't kill it. But H. R. I would.

H So that's what he is off to.

P But, boy if the debt ceiling isn't passed start firing (expletive deleted) government workers. Really mean it—

cut them off. They can't do this—they've got to give us that debt ceiling. Mills has said that he didn't (unintelligible) of the debt ceiling earlier. Well, it's o.k. It's o.k.

H. Well. Burns says that he is justifying it on the basis that they have told him that it's finance. Ehrlichman met with them the Republicans on Senate Finance yesterday and explained the whole thing to them. They hadn't understood the first six-months financing and they are with it now and all ready to go and hanging on that defense. He feels, and they very much want, a meeting with you before the recess, Finance Republicans.

P. All right. Certainly.

#### "British Floated the Pound"

H So, we'll do that next week. Did you get the report that the British floated the pound?

P No, I don't think so.

H They did.

P That's devaluation?

H Yeah. Flanigan's got a report on it here.

P I don't care about it. Nothing we can do about it.

H You want a run-down?

P No, I don't.

H He argues it shows the wisdom of our refusal to consider convertibility until we get a new monetary system.

P Good. I think he's right. It's too complicated for me to get into. (unintelligible) I understand.

H Burns expects a 5-day percent devaluation against the dollar.

P Yeah. O.K. Fine.

H Burns is concerned about speculation about the lira.

P Well, I don't give a (expletive deleted) about the lira. (Unintelligible)

H That's the substance of that.

P How are the House guys (unintelligible) Boggs (unintelligible)

H All our people are, they think it's

a great—a great ah—

×P There ain't a vote in it. Only George Shultz and people like that that think it's great (unintelligible) There's no votes in it, Bob.

×P Or do you think there is?

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

P (unintelligible)

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

P Well, what the hell, why not accomplish one thing while we're here.

H Maybe we will.

P—Yep. Not bad.

H—In spite of ourselves.

P—O.K. What else have you got that's amusing today?

H—That's it.

P—How's your (unintelligible) (Voices fade) coverage?

#### 'Good Newspaper Play'

H—Good newspaper play—lousy television—and they covered all the items, but didn't (unintelligible) you gotta (unintelligible) but maximum few minutes (unintelligible).

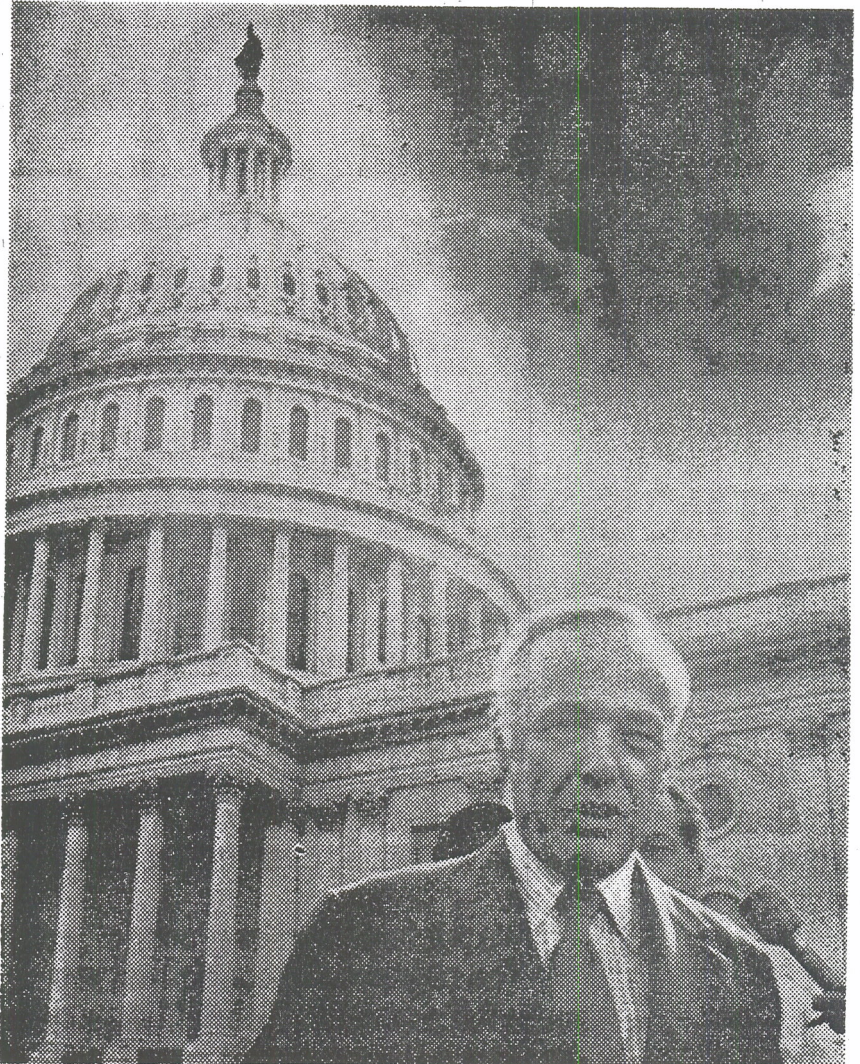
P—(unintelligible).

×H—Sure. One thing, if you decide to do more in-office ones—Remember, I, I—when I came in I asked Alex, but apparently we don't have people in charge. I said I understood, that you had told me that the scheme was to let them come in and take a picture—an Ollie picture—but (expletive deleted), what good does an Ollie picture do?

×H—Doesn't do any good.

P—Don't know what it was but apparently he didn't get the word.

H—Well, I think we ought to try that next time. If you want to see if it does



Associated Press

James D. St. Clair, President Nixon's chief defense lawyer, leaving the Capitol after briefing Congressmen on what he called the "bad news." He said Mr. Nixon would not resign because he felt it would be setting a precedent for the removal of Presidents.

us any good, and it might, let them.

P—Well, why wasn't it done this time?

H—I don't know.

P—It wasn't raised?

H I don't know. You said it—

P Because I know you said—and Ollie sat back there and (unintelligible) and I said (unintelligible) But, (expletive deleted) Ollie's pictures hang there and nobody sees them except us.

H Now what you've got to—it's really not the stills that do us any good on that. We've got to let them come in with the lights.

P Well in the future, will you make a note. Alex, Ron or whoever it is—Steve. I have no objection to them coming in, and taking a picture with stills,

I mean with the camera, I couldn't agree more. I don't give a (expletive deleted) about the newspapers.

H You're going to get newspaper coverage anyway.

P What (unintelligible) good objective play—

H Oh, yeah.

P In terms of the way it was—

H Or in the news.

P Needless to say, they sunk the bussing thing, but there was very, very little on that (unintelligible) Detroit (unintelligible)

H Two networks covered it.

×P We'll see what Detroit does. We hope to Christ the question

×P (unintelligible) SOB. If necessary. Hit it again. Somebody (unintelligible) bussing thing back up again.

H What's happened on the bussing thing? We going to get one or not? Well, no we're out of time. No. After.

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

H Well, I'm surprised because this is Buchanan, and I didn't say time on this one, I said 100 words and Pat usually takes that seriously, but that one—I have a feeling maybe what happened is that he may have started short and he may have gotten into the editing—you know the people—the clearance process—who say you have to say such and such, although I know what's happened.

P I don't know—maybe it isn't worth going out and (unintelligible) Maybe it is.

#### Ehrlichman Mentioned

H Well, it's a close call. Ah, Ehrlichman thought you probably—

P What?

×H Well, he said you probably didn't need it. He didn't think you should, not at all. He said he felt fine doing it.

×H Well, it's a close call. Ehrlichman thought you probably—

P What?

H Well he said you probably didn't need it. He didn't think you should — not at all. He said he felt fine doing it.

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

H That's right.

P And, ah, well (unintelligible) says no.

H Well, the fact is somewhere in between. I think, because I think that (unintelligible) is missing some.

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

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

×P When you get in — when you get in (unintelligible) people, say, "Look the problem is that this will open the whole, the whole Bay of Pigs thing, and the President just feels that ah, without going into the details — don't, don't lie to them to the extent to say no involvement, but just say this is a comedy of errors, without getting into it, the President believes that it is going to open the whole Bay of Pigs thing

up again. And, ah, because these people are plugging for (unintelligible) and that they should call the F.B.I. in and (unintelligible) don't go any further into this case period!

×P (Inaudible) our cause —

H Get more done for our cause by the opposition than by us.

P Well, can you get it done?

H I think so.

P (unintelligible) moves (unintelligible) election (unintelligible)

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

P (unintelligible) urging him to do so — say that is perfectly all right?

#### 'Maye He's Right'

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

P (Inaudible) I just, ha ha

H Sitting in Miami (unintelligible) our hand a little bit. They eliminated their law prohibiting male (unintelligible) from wearing female clothes—now the boys

can all put on their dresses—so the gay lib is going to turn out 6,000 (unintelligible).

P (unintelligible)

H I think

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

H That's, that's—

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

H No.

P Absolutely, totally, unorganized.

H He's a very nice guy.

P People love him, but damn is he unorganized.

H—That's right, he's not.

P—But don't you agree that (unintelligible) worth doing and that it's kind of satisfying.

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

P—That's right.

H—In the sense of getting caught up on certain items—

P—Right.

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

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

H—Could drive over—

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

H—Oh no.

P With the traffic—

H But they have an escort.

P How long would it take?

#### Girls on Television

×H Half an hour. Less than half an hour. You can make it easy in a half hour without an escort, and they would —they should have an escort. They should arrive with—and they may not like it—it may bother them a little, but that's what people expect — and you know at the Conventions—every county —she has another point though which I think will please everybody concerned. She says, "Now, look. You go there—she says as far as she was concerned she would be delighted—the girls would be delighted to very reception—everything that they have there." They want to be busy. They want to do things and they want to be useful. Of course, as you know, our primary aim is to see that they are on television (unintelligible) coming into the ball (unintelligible) shooting the hall (unintelligible) plan on television. My point is, I think it would be really great if they did the delegations of the bit states. Just to stop in you know. Each girl and so forth can do—

H Sure.

×P The second thing is—just go by and say hello, and they'll

×P They'll do the handshakers (unintelligible) you know (unintelligible).

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

P Yeah. Yeah.

×H There's—a strong view on the part of some of our strategists that we should be damned careful not to over use them and cheapen them. That they should—there is a celebrity value you can lose.

×H By rubbing on them too much—

P I couldn't agree more.

H And so we have to—their eagerness to participate should not go—

×P California delegation (unintelligible) think I'm here. I mean we're going to have (unintelligible)

×P You understand—they're willing. Have them do things—do the important things, and so forth, and so on.

H There's the question. Like Sunday night they have the (unintelligible) whether they should go to that—now at least the girls should go. I think I ought to go too!

P Yep.

#### Plan for Arrivals

H You know, whether Pat — one thought that was raised was that the girls and their husbands go down on Sunday and Pat wait and come down with you on Tuesday. I think Pat should go down and should be there cause they'll have the Salute—

P (Inaudible)

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

P No, no, no. She arrives with the girls and they—they should go. I agree.

H But, I don't think you have to be there until Tuesday.

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

H Now we're going to do, unless you have some objection, we should do your arrival at Miami International not at Homestead.

P Yes, I agree

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

×P Allright

×P (unintelligible) is for you, ah, and perhaps Colson probably (inaudible).

H I was thumbing through the, ah, last chapters of (unintelligible) last night, and I also read the (unintelligible) chapters (unintelligible). Warm up to it,

P >

and it makes, ah, fascinating reading. Also reminds you of a hell of a lot of things that happened in the campaign press you know, election coverage, the (unintelligible) etc., etc.

H Yeah

P So on and so on. I want you to read it, and I want Colson to read it, and anybody else.

H O.K.

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

H Sure will.

P Actually, the book reads awfully well—have to look at history. I want to talk to you more about that later in terms of what it tells us about how our campaign should be run, O.K.?

H O.K. In other words, (unintelligible) the media and so forth.

P Tao a great extent, is responsible to what happened to Humphrey back in '68. If that's true, it did not apply in 1960. The media was just as bad (unintelligible) two weeks. In 1960 we ran—H. It was a dead heat.

#### 'How Much Television'

P All the way through the campaign and it never changed, clearly. It may be—it may be that our—as you read this on how (unintelligible) our campaign was... how much television, you know. We didn't have (unintelligible) at all. It may be that our '60 campaign (unintelligible) was extremely much more effective and it may be too, that we misjudged the (unintelligible). You read it through and (unintelligible) see what I mean. I mean, it's it's—even realize that '68 was much better organized. It may be we did a better job in '60. It just may be. It may tell us something. Anyway would you check it over?

H Yep.

P (unintelligible) check another—thing—gets back? Convention?

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

P Could find out from him what chapters of the book he worked on. Ah, I don't want coverage of the heart attack thing. I did most of the dictating on the last two but I've been curious (unintelligible). But could you find out which chapters he worked on. Also find out where Moscow is—what's become of him—what's he's doing ten years. Say hello to him (unintelligible) might find it useful (unintelligible) future, despite the (unintelligible). You'll find this extremely interesting. Read (unintelligible).

H Read that a number of times (unintelligible) different context—

P Ah, I would say another thing—Bud Brown (unintelligible) did you read it? (Unintelligible) candidates. I don't know who all you discussed that with. Maybe it's not been handled at a high enough level. Who did you discuss that with? (Unintelligible)

H MacGregor and Mitchell. MacGregor and Mitchell, that's all.

#### Pictures With Democrats

P Yep. (Unintelligible) I don't mind the time—the problem that I have with it is that I do not want to have pictures with candidates that are running with Democrats—or against Democrats that may either be (unintelligible) or might be for us. On the other hand, all sophisticated Democratic candidates you understand—the damned candidates (unintelligible) they gotta get a picture with the President. The way to have the pictures with the candidates—this would be a very clever thing—is to call both Democrats—the good Southern Democrats and those few like (unintelligible), who did have a picture with me, see, and then call them up and say look (unintelligible) came on and they took a picture and maybe (unintelligible) President. Wants you to know that if you would like a picture, if you would like to come down to the

office, you know, you can have a picture taken that you are welcome to use. How does that sound to you as a (unintelligible)? Let me say this. I'm not—I'm not—I think that getting to the candidates out there that are very busy and so forth may help us a bit. If the candidates run too far behind you, it drags you too much.

H Yeah. That's right.

P On the, on the other side, I don't think it's going to hurt you particularly if you always (unintelligible) there's some quality—

H O yeah, but they aren't going to (inaudible)

F (Unintelligible) quite candid with you.—I think when I ran in '46, remember, I would have gotten on my hands and knees for a picture with Harold Stassen and (unintelligible) whole story. We (unintelligible) to do what we can (unintelligible) in the House and the Senate—as well as we can.

H (Unintelligible) have our loyalists feel that we're—

P That's right. (Unintelligible) and I'll be glad to do it next week, and I think on that basis we can handle the Democrats. Say, "Look they had a picture," and then call each one. I mean they'll have to check this list. Check each one (unintelligible) and say, look (unintelligible) if you'd like a picture with him—not on a basis of support—one?

H Yeah.

P (Unintelligible) not going to make any statement—not going to make any statement. (Unintelligible) have a picture, he'd be glad to have a picture (unintelligible).

H Picture of the—

P That's right. Be glad to if you like, but it's up to you and so forth.

H You did the Democrats in here. Would you do a, would you do the Republicans? Do a different picture (unintelligible) full shot.

P Yeah. Another point I was going to mention to you. Bob, is the situation with regard to the girls. I was talking to Pat last night. Tricia and I were talking, and she mentioned—Tricia said that apparently when she was in Allentown there were 20 or 30 thugs—labor thugs out boozing.

H Hmmm.

P And when she went to Boston to present some art—her Chinese things to the art gallery there—two the (unintelligible) from the press were pretty vicious. What I mean is they came through the line and one refused to shake. One was

Continued on Following Page

Continued from Preceding Page

not with the press. Refused to shake hands, so forth and so on. Tricia (unintelligible) very personal point, (unintelligible) good brain in that head. She said first she couldn't believe that the event that they do locally (unintelligible) understand. You know she does the Boys' Club, the Art Gallery (unintelligible). She says the important thing is to find this type of (unintelligible) to go into the damn town (unintelligible) do television, which of course, they do. (Unintelligible) she says why (intelligible) control the place. She says in other words, go in do the Republican group. Now, there isn't (unintelligible) to say you did the Republican group, as it is the Allentown Bullies Club? But, that's the paper story. The point is, I think Parker has to get a little more thinking in depth, or is it Codrus now who will do this?

H They are both working on it.

P What's your off-hand reaction on that, Bob. I do not want them, though, to go in and get the hell kicked (unintelligible).

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

P—Yep. (unintelligible).

H—Ya, but in think—I'm not sure—if you can't get the controlled non-

political event, then I think it is better to do a political event (unintelligible).

P—For example—now the worse thing (unintelligible) is to go to anything that has to do with the Arts.

H—Ya, see that—it was (unintelligible) Julie giving that time in the Museum—Jacksonville.

X P—The Arts you know—they're Jews, they're left wing—in other words, stay away.

X P—Make a point.

H—Sure.

X P—Middle America—put that word out—Middle America-type of people (unintelligible), auxiliary, (unintelligible). Why the hell doesn't Parker get that kind of think going? Most of his things are élite groups except, I mean, do the cancer thing—maybe nice for Tricia to go up—ride a bus for 2 hours—do some of that park in Oklahoma—but my view is, Bob, relate it to Middle America and not the elitist (unintelligible). Dou you agree?

X P I'm not complaining. I think they are doing a hell of a job. The kids are willing—

H They really are, but she can improve.

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

X P (Unintelligible).

#### Secret Service Reception

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

H Well, they change them—that's one (unintelligible) any reception now would be totally different (unintelligible).

P Get 100 then—so it's 200 and I shake their hands and thank them and you look (unintelligible) too—(unintelligible). They have a hell of a lot of fellas, let's face it, (unintelligible) friends (unintelligible), but I just think it's a nice—

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

P I wouldn't want the whole group—something like (unintelligible). Third point—I would like a good telephone call list for California, but not a huge book, and the kind is—This would be a good time where (unintelligible) and just give thanks to people for their support. For example, Colson had me call (unintelligible) the other day—(unintelligible) thing to do, but, here you could take the key guys that work—I wouldn't mind calling a very few contributors—maybe, but we're talking about magnitude of ten—very key ten.

H Ten—you mean ten people?

P Ya.

H Oh, I thought you meant \$10,000.

P No, ten. Ten. I was thinking of very key (unintelligible), people like—that worked their ass off collecting money, just to say that—people that—the people that are doing the work—very key political (unintelligible) just to pat them on the back. I mean that means a helluva lot—very key political VIPs, you know, by political VIPs—ah (unintelligible) just get the South get a better (unintelligible). Our problem is that there are only two men in this place that really give us names—that's Rose—the other is Colson, and we just aren't getting them. But I mean ah, and then editors—by editors and television people—like

a (unintelligible) cal, but a few key editors who are just busting their ass for us where there's something to do. But give me a good telephone list, and Rose should give me a few personal things—like I do a lot of things, but I called (unintelligible) here today some (unintelligible) and things of that sort. But I I never mind doing it you know when I've got an hour to put my feet up and make a few calls—don't you agree?

H Yep.

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

H Ya.

#### Care Is Urged

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

H That's right.

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

H Well, he's a sensation on that—that goes to the (unintelligible) meaning

of the thing, you know. What's his drawback, is really an asset.

P Ya. If you would do this. Pat, and tell Codus, (unintelligible), but I will go to Camp David (unintelligible) half hour. Key Biscayne—she might want to stay there if she can go in less than a half hour with an escort. Do you think you can? Frankly, Miami Beach (unintelligible) but we can arrange it either way? Leave it to her choice.

H It wouldn't take as long.

P Leave it to her choice—she'd—it's—

H She'd—it's so miserable. If she's at Miami Beach she'll be a prisoner in that hotel.

P Yoah. Tell her—tell her that's fine. But it's up to her.

H Fair enough!

P I'll be anxious in (unintelligible) sign that stuff (unintelligible). I suppose most of our staff (unintelligible) but that Six Crises is a damned good book, and the (unintelligible) story reads like a novel—the Hiss case—Caracas was fascinating. The campaign of course for anybody in politics should be a must because it had a lot in there of how politicians are like (unintelligible) elections, and how you do things, (unintelligible) as of that time. I think part of the problem as an example, for example, I'm just thinking—research people something they really missed (unintelligible) Burns. Pat and I, she said (unintelligible) no, she had remembered. She remembered (unintelligible) and Jimmy Burns said well (unintelligible) hard for me to come, but I just want you to know (unintelligible) but because (unintelligible) want you to know you are still my friend (unintelligible). Wonderful item to put in.

H Is that in the book?

XP It's in the book. Hell yes. It's in the book.

XP (Unintelligible) Why don't you read it?

Z [Ronald L. Ziegler, the press secretary] We're delaying our briefing until noon for the higher education (unintelligible) and so forth. But I thought, if you agree, that I would not press purposes, but just sit on the side for this economic thing.

P Sure. How many of them are there?

Z Well there's the entire cabinet of economic advisers. I mean Council of

Economic Advisers, plus Shultz—fairly big group.

P Shultz

Z Well.

H (Unintelligible)

P See what I mean?

H Sure.

#### 'Should Be Must Reading'

P It's the kind of thing that I get in toasts and that sort of thing, but, but you see. I don't think our guys do that kind of—that should be must reading—that book is crammed full—crammed full—see. It would be helpful for those to get it. O.K. Oh, can we take another second? I mean, on that thing on the All Time Baseball greats—I would like to do that and, if you could, if you could get it.

Unidentified Voice. There's already a story at random—

P I saw it.

UV Indicating that you were going to P If you would get that—if you would get three of four. I don't want the—I'm only speaking of the All Times Greats.

UV Right.

P And then, and then get me a couple of other people (unintelligible) very badly (unintelligible) and I'll go down through the—quietly (unintelligible)

UV So do you want names from me or just a list of others you have picked?

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

UV Right.

P (Unintelligible)

UV Right, I got it.

P O.K.

UV Yes Sir. (Unintelligible)

H You did, huh,

Z Yeah. Incidentally, in the news summary (unintelligible) preferred television. Did you see that? (unintelligible) I talked to

H We may (unintelligible) we may not.

Z No, the point I'm making—

P I know Ron, but let me say—but I think—apparently, the TODAY Show this morning (unintelligible) two minutes of television—

Z—I though he got good play. Particularly in light of the fact that ah, helluva a lot of other (unintelligible) would take place in the nation.

P—Right.

H—We have an overriding—

P—What, weren't, how about the guys that were there? They were pleased with the—

Z—(unintelligible) and then (unintelligible).

XP—Huh?

XP—Cause I didn't think they would—

Z—But they always are—

P—Helluva a lot of news and—

H—Well that snaps all our own machinery into motion too.

Z—(unintelligible) damn. Feel it?

P—(unintelligible) that's good, warm—

Z—Right. They came to me and then said (unintelligible).

P—(unintelligible) should have some more

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

## SECOND TRANSCRIPT

Meeting: The President and Haldeman, Oval Office, June 23, 1972 (1:04-1:13 P.M.)

P—O.K., just postpone (scratching noises) (unintelligible) just say (unintelligible) very bad to have this fellow

Hunt, ah, he knows too damned much, if he was involved—you happen to know that? If it gets out that this is all involved, the Cuba thing it would be a fiasco. It would make the CIA look bad, it's going to make Hunt look bad, and it is likely to blow the whole Bay of Pigs thing which we think would be very unfortunate—both for CIA, and for

the country, at this time, and for American foreign policy. Just tell him to lay off. Don't you?

H—Yep. That's the basis to do it on. Just leave it at that.

P—I don't know if he'll get any ideas for doing it because our concern political (unintelligible). Helms is not one to (unintelligible)—I would just say, lookit, because of the Hunt involvement, whole cover basically this

H—Yep. Good move.

P—Well, they've got some pretty good ideas on this Meany thing. Shultz did a good paper. I read it all (voices fade).

## THIRD TRANSCRIPT

Meeting: The President and Haldeman, EOB Office, June 23, 1972. (2:20-2:45 P.M.)

H—No problem

P—(Unintelligible)

H—Well, it was kind of interest. Walters made the point and I didn't mention Hunt. I just said that the thing was leading into directions that were going to create potential problems because they were exploring leads that led back into areas that would be harmful to the CIA and harmful to the government (unintelligible) didn't have anything to do (unintelligible).

(Telephone)

P—Chuck? I wonder if you would give John Connally a call he's on his strip—I don't want him to read it in the paper before Monday about this quota thing and say—Look we're going to do this, but that I checked I asked you about the situation (unintelligible) had an understanding it was only temporary and ah (unintelligible) O.K.? I just don't want him to read it in the papers. Good. Fine.

H—(Unintelligible) I think Helms did to (unintelligible) said, I've had no—

P God (unintelligible)

H Gray called and said, yesterday, and said that he thought—

P Who did? Gray?

H Gray called Helms and said I think we've run right into the middle of a CIA covert operation.

P Gray said that?

H Yeah. And (unintelligible) said nothing we've done at this point and ah (unintelligible) says well it sure looks to me like it is (unintelligible) and ah, that was the end of that conversation (unintelligible) the problem is it tracks back to the Bay of Pigs and it tracks back to some other the leads run out to people who had no involvement in this, except by contacts and connection, but it gets to areas that are liable to be raised? The whole problem (unintelligible) Hunt. So at that point he kind of got the picture. He said, he said we'll be very happy to be helpful (unintelligible) handle anything you want. I would like to know the reason for being helpful, and I made it clear to him he hasn't going to get explicit (unintelligible) generality, and he said fine. And Walters (unintelligible). Walters is going to make a call to Gray. That's the way we put it and that's the way it was left.

P How does that work though, how, they've got to (unintelligible) somebody from the Miami bank.

#### Bureau's Inquiry

H (Unintelligible). The point John makes—the bureau is going on this because they don't know what they are

uncovering (unintelligible) continue to pursue it. They don't need to because they already have their case as far as the charges against these men (unintelligible) and ah, as they pursue it (unintelligible) exactly, but we didn't in any way say we (unintelligible). One thing Helms did arise. He said, Gray—he asked Gray why they thought they had run into a C.I.A. thing and Gray said because of the characters involved and the amount of money involved, a lot of dough. (unintelligible) and ah, (unintelligible).

P (unintelligible)

H Well, I think they will.

P If it runs (unintelligible) what the hell who knows (unintelligible) contributed C.I.A.

H Ya, it's money CIA gets money (unintelligible) I mean their money moves in a lot of different ways, too.

P Ya. How are (unintelligible)—a lot of good

H (unintelligible)

P Well you remember what the SOB did on my book? When I brought out the fact, you know

H Ya.

P That he knew all about Dulles? (expletive deleted) Dulles knew. Dulles told me. I know, I mean (unintelligible) had the telephone call. Remember had a call put in—Dulles just blandly said and knew why.

H Ya

P Now, what the hell! Who told him to do it? The President? (unintelligible)

H Dulles was no more Kennedy's man than (unintelligible) was your man (unintelligible)

P (Unintelligible) covert operation—do anything else (unintelligible)

H The Democratic nominee, we're going to have to brief him.

The remainder of the transcripts was not available for this edition. The full text will appear in later editions.