

# Excerpts From Partial Transcripts of Conversations

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 4—Following are excerpts from four partial transcripts of conversations between former President Richard M. Nixon and his aides that were entered into evidence today by the Watergate special prosecutor at the cover-up trial.

April 25, 1973, from 11:06 A.M. to 1:55 P.M.

PRESIDENT: Could have discussed there the problem of these, of, of, uh, defendants, and, you know what I mean?

H. R. HALDEMAN: Yeah (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: But the pay-off, uh, uh, and whether I said anything which would of led him to believe that he should pay them off . . .

HALDEMAN: Let's . . .

PRESIDENT: . . . Don't think so.

HALDEMAN: . . . Let's not worry about it. It's either, it's either there or it isn't . . .

PRESIDENT: That's right.

HALDEMAN: But, let's see what's there . . .

PRESIDENT: And if it is?

HALDEMAN: Let's listen to it . . .

PRESIDENT: If it is? Then we have to play in terms of I was having to find out what its implication was.

JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN: I think then it becomes very important how you couch your decision on being . . .

PRESIDENT: That's right.

PRESIDENT: Did we say, "Let's go out and get the money?"

HALDEMAN: Yeah, I don't remember the specifics, I just remember the . . .

PRESIDENT: Was there

any—do you remember my saying, "Look, we've got to get the money, can't you find somebody to get the money?"

HALDEMAN: You didn't—I don't remember your saying, "We've got to get it." I remember you saying, "Can't some—we ought to be able to raise that kind of money, or . . ."

PRESIDENT: "A million dollars."

HALDEMAN: ". . . There ought to be that kind of money available."

PRESIDENT: Yeah, a million dollars.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) something like that, yeah.

PRESIDENT: That's right. EHRLICHMAN: But you didn't say to do it, or that you would, or anything like that.

PRESIDENT: Well, you've got to find out, got to find out.

## Telephone Conversation April 25, 1973, from 6:57 P.M. to 7:14 P.M.

PRESIDENT: Hello.

HALDEMAN: Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT: Oh, Bob, you got home?

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Oh, fine. Ya rushing off?

HALDEMAN: No, no, not at all.

PRESIDENT: No, I'll just take a second. Ah, were you able to hear any of the rest of that?

HALDEMAN: No, I, I didn't, I'm gonna, I'm trying to get a different machine that I can . . .

PRESIDENT: Right.

HALDEMAN: . . . Hear better on. Go back to it.

\* \* \*

PRESIDENT: And uh, the, uh—now with regard to the

piece of paper I gave you on Ehrlichman, they have sent that you know out to the . . .

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: . . . Prosecutor. They had to do that for this reason that, uh, that Dean basically, was—that was basically a little blackmail by him, on them, you see.

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Uh, which they said if we didn't put it out—I mean if they didn't—they'd say why did you withhold it from the Ellsberg case, you see.

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: So, uh—but that is likely—it could come out I mean, Byrne may, Byrne may ask for, divulge the source. It will be Dean, and Dean will have to testify if he does, then that, uh, piece of thing, that Watergate buggers involved in the Ellsberg thing—it will not blow the Ellsberg case, in, you know, in, in his opinion, due to the fact that it wasn't used. On the other hand, the fact of it will come out. But I think that that was gonna come out anyway, don't you feel so?

HALDEMAN: Probably, probably. Yeah, and I think we gotta assume any of that stuff is.

PRESIDENT: But the point is . . .

HALDEMAN: I'm not sure that's bad if it does. Well, it adds confusion to the whole thing.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, the, uh, Watergate buggers, uh, try to knock over Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

\* \* \*

PRESIDENT: . . . They, they, uh—you see, what, what else could I tell Klein-

dienst, forget it? Get my point?

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: I just couldn't do that.

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: And, uh, you know, I could say look, this is national security, and you cannot turn it over to 'em, because Dean, another (unintelligible).

. . . Uh, the other point that it, uh, I went—I leveled with Petersen on the, uh, on all the conversation that we had, and I said now I want you to know this, and I said we'll not be blackmailed on it, we didn't do anything about it but, uh, that's when I started my investigation. And that's, that's our line there, I think. The more I . . .

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: . . . The more I think of that, you know, I'm—I know that I'm in no illusions on it, and incidentally, I think that should just be between you and me.

\* \* \*

PRESIDENT: My own belief at this point is that, ah, for yours and John's information, that we just gotta stand God-damn firm today, tomorrow, Friday, the weekend, you know what I mean?

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: And, at the Ellsberg thing blows, I'd, I just as soon, you know, just as . . .

HALDEMAN: Get it all out now.

PRESIDENT: I wouldn't just as soon, but I think it's gonna come anyway. Whatever John Dean knows is gonna come out, Bob.

HALDEMAN: That's right. That's right.

PRESIDENT: But, ah, incidentally, you know, I always

## Between Nixon and Aides

<sup>TAPING</sup>  
wondered about the taking equipment, but I'm damn glad we have it, aren't you?

HALDEMAN: Yes sir, I think it's, it's just one thing I went through today it was very helpful.

PRESIDENT: Yes. It's helpful because while it has some things in there that, as, . . .

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: We prefer we wouldn't have said, but on the other hand, we also have some things in there that we know we've, that I've said that weren't, that were pretty good, I mean.

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: "This is wrong," and, ah, "blackmail" and "how much is this gonna cost" and so forth and so on. Then, on the other hand, I said well, "Let's, ah, we could get that, but how would you handle it?" But that, of course, those are all leading questions. I don't know how you analyze it, but I don't know . . .

\* \* \*  
PRESIDENT: . . . I was just thinking a little bit more about the impeachment thing, that I don't see the Senate or any Senators starting an impeachment of the President based on the word of John Dean.

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: But, ah, even there, I mean, here is . . .

HALDEMAN: Still, his word, unless he's got a tape recording. Still, his word unless he has a tape recording.

PRESIDENT: Mhmm.

April 17, 1973, 5:20 P.M.

PRESIDENT: Let me ask you this, uh, (pause), legal fees will be substantial (unintelligible). But there's a way we can get it to you, and, uh—two or three hundred thousand dollars (unintelligible)

ligible) huh? No, No, now, let me tell you now. I know the problems with families and all the rest. Just let me handle it. Now, how could we do it?

EHRlichman: Let's let's wait and see if it is necessary, this—that whole thing, I, I, it may not be nec—

PRESIDENT: Let me say, it would be investigations, legal, that will lead—you will find that you, you have to do it in cash.

EHRlichman: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: That you got a civic, you got, you got a Government duty. (Unintelligible) important thing.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible-stuttering). No strain. Doesn't come outa me. I didn't, I never intended to use the money at all. As a matter of fact, I told B-B-Bebe, uh, basically, be sure that people like, uh—who, who have contributed money over the contributing years are, uh, favored and so forth in general. And he's used it for the purpose of getting things out, paid for in check and all that sort of thing.

April 25, 1973, 11:06 P.M.

PRESIDENT: Let me ask you this, to be quite candid. Is there any way you can use cash?

EHRlichman: I don't think so.

HALDEMAN: I don't think so.

PRESIDENT: As I said, there're a few, not much (unintelligible) as much I think as 200 there's available in '74 campaign already.

HALDEMAN: That compounds the problem. That really does.

PRESIDENT: That's what I think. O.K. I'd just like you to know that.