

Price

8/3/74

Aug 3
Speech

Good evening.

Since the decision by the Supreme Court 12 days ago, ordering me to turn over to the District Court the 64 ~~recorded~~ taped conversations subpoenaed by the Special Prosecutor, I have been in the process of reviewing personally a large number of subpoenaed Presidential conversations, ~~in addition~~ and my counsel have also been conducting their own review.

During this process, a great deal of my time and effort ~~has~~ has been focused on it.

Questions have arisen about my intentions -- about whether there is a strategy, and about what I am going to do.

I have requested this television and radio time in order to bring you up to date on my current plans.

I am very conscious of the erosion that has taken place in the political base that I would need to sustain my position in the House of Representatives. It does appear now that impeachment ~~is~~ will be voted by the House, and that the issue will proceed to a trial in the Senate.

As a practical matter,
I accept the virtual certainty of that development, and ~~of~~

~~therefore~~ I am therefore proceeding on the assumption ~~that~~ that the
issue will ~~be~~ be finally resolved in the Senate.

In reviewing the 64 tapes covered by the Special Prosecutors
subpoena, I have found, with one exception, that they ~~add nothing~~
support what I said on April 29 when ~~a~~ I announced my decision to
make the original transcripts public: ~~x~~ that the evidence already
turned over to the House Judiciary Committee tells the full story
of Watergate, in so far as the President's personal knowledge or
involvement is concerned. With this one exception, they add nothing
~~as~~ significant or substantial. ~~xxxxxx~~

The one exception is a conversation that I held with H.R.

Because this may represent a significant addition to the Watergate story, I have instructed my attorneys to the House, I had ~~have~~ have ordered that this tape be furnished to make it available immediately to the House) -- in order to complete the Judiciary Committee tonight. All 64, of course, are also being
~~xxxxxx~~ turned over to Judge Sirica, in accordance with the order of

the Supreme Court. *As these become public, which they ~~will~~ undoubtedly*
will in the course of the various trials for which they were subpoenaed,
I am confident that the truth of what I have ~~said~~ *said* about them will be
evident.

The tape that I am furnishing the House committee is of a conversation with Mr. Haldeman concerning the C.I.A. and the F.B.I.

In my statement about Watergate on May 22, 1973, and in subsequent comments, I ~~said that I had had a conversation with Mr. Haldeman~~ discussed this conversation -- ~~six~~ on June 23, six days after the break-in -- in terms that I ~~now~~ find to be erroneous, or at least incomplete. In these statements, I said that I was concerned that because several former C.I.A. personnel were involved in the break-in, the investigation might uncover unrelated covert activities of the C.I.A.; and also that ~~because of Mr. Hunt's involvement, it might uncover some of the~~ ~~sensitive~~ because Mr. Hunt was not ~~only~~ only a former ~~of~~ C.I.A. operative but ~~also~~ had also been a member of the so-called "plumbers," ~~that~~ the investigation might reveal details of what I considered highly sensitive national security matters the plumbers had worked on. Therefore, I said, I gave instructions that the F.B.I. should be ~~also~~ alerted to coordinate ~~a~~ with the C.I.A., and to ensure that ^{not exposed} the investigation stayed out of sensitive national security areas. (ma N. S.)

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

That ~~May 22~~ statement of May 22, 1973 was based on my best
documentary materials and to
recollection at the time, in addition to sworn testimony by the
various people involved.

In reviewing the tape, it is now clear that Mr. Haldeman and
I did discuss the political aspects of the situation, and that we
were fully aware of the advantages this course of action would have
with respect to limiting possible public exposure of involvement
by persons connected with the re-election committee.

I deeply regret that because my previous statements were made
without benefit of having reviewed the tape, they were inaccurate.

I did begin a review of the 64 subpoenaed tapes, including this
one, in May of this year, but then postponed it pending decision by
the Supreme Court. I now recognize this postponement as having been

a grievous mistake, because as a result my counsel, my staff, and

~~the members of the~~ those who advocated my position within the Judiciary
Committee did so on the basis of facts that were incomplete.

To put that June 23 conversation in perspective, however, I do

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 trip - 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 wasn'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.

H (unintelligible). The point John makes - the Bureau is going on on this because they don't know what they are uncovering (unintelligible) continue to pursue it. They don't

H 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 raise. He said, Gray - he asked Gray why they thought they had run into a CIA 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 CIA.

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, I 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.

P Yes sir. Brief him (unintelligible). We don't (unintelligible).

H Oh no. Tell him what we want him to know. I don't think you ought to brief him.

P Me? Oh, hell no!

H (unintelligible) you would have been if Johnson called you in --

P Johnson was out of office.

H That's the point - he was

P Eisenhower, Eisenhower did not brief Kennedy.

H and wouldn't be proper anyway (unintelligible) because you're too (unintelligible)

P (unintelligible) same thing that Eisenhower did. Course Eisenhower (unintelligible)

Phone rings

P Ya. Ah, I'll call him tomorrow.

Hq (Unintelligible) sure, that you want to

P No. I just simply think that we provide for (unintelligible)

P from the appropriate authorities (unintelligible) of course not, and I don't think we ought to let Kissinger brief - I'd just have Helms (unintelligible) (unidentifiable)

P What did you say that poll, Gallup (unintelligible) wonder why he got it out so quickly. Usually lead time is two weeks.

H Well, actually, this is where lead time usually was and until the last few months (unintelligible). This time he's putting it out fast.

P (Unintelligible) want to get it out before the Convention.

H Well, because he's got a trial heat, and he wants to put this out before - set the stage for the trial heats.

P (Unintelligible) before the Convention. (Unintelligible) God damn (unintelligible) well what do you

H Sure.

P You know we sat here and talked about (unintelligible) year and a half ago. But we had no idea - we thought they do it on the TODAY Show (unintelligible) and all that (expletive deleted). And at that time (unintelligible) took events didn't we?

H (Unintelligible) always known was the case, but --

P China, May 8, and Russia. That's all.

H If you don't have the events you gotta make (unintelligible) everything (unintelligible) better off putting three months or three year's effort against one event than you are putting the same

H amount, tenth of that effort, non-event type thing.

P I'm really impressed with Shultz and all those guys --

H I told him.

P Fine.

H I talked to Shultz about calling Connally and I said that you had mentioned how impressed you were with the paper he had done (unintelligible).

P Eisenhower - (unintelligible) sure elections (inaudible) and then in November, before the election, he dropped a 57 (unintelligible) The reason for that was nothing he did, Congressional election (unintelligible)

H Ya.

P I'm saying to you, McGovern candidate (unintelligible) problem got to take on (unintelligible) In 1958 (unintelligible) March, (unintelligible) 52

H Eisenhower?

P Eisenhower.

H (Unintelligible)

P Yes sir (unintelligible) May 54-31, June 53-32, July 52-32, August (unintelligible) September (unintelligible) October (unintelligible) 26, November election 52- (unintelligible) January.

P For example, here's early July 1961, July 57. August 61. September - September 58, October 58, November 58. That's when we were running. We were running lower (unintelligible) A little lower (unintelligible) Kennedy, you really can't tell about that. At the eve, his lowest was 62 (unintelligible) elections. But in 63 at the end he was 57. Johnson then, of course, he was up in the 80s. We've never been very high.

H That's incredible. I don't think you ever will get up in the 80s.

P No. Well Johnson, of course -- 66 46, 56 September October 44, November 44, December 48, that's all. Except his negatives were higher 42, 44, 41 our negatives have never been that high. He run around 49 (Unintelligible).

H Ya.

P Then it goes on 46, 48, 45, 41, 39, 39, 38, 51, 46, 58, 48, 39. 40, 41 (unintelligible) then back up to 49, 46, 42. The point that I'm trying to make (unintelligible) cause you're under attack

H Sure.

P (Unintelligible)

H Before the public eye - the focus of attention is on the negatives of the Administration. It's an interesting point. Buchanan, in response to the response to his attack --

P Ya

H argues quite strongly that the point that the attacks should always turn to the positive side. He argues that that is wrong, and the attacks should stay on the negative side. Do not try to weave in also positive points. That there should be an attack program that is purely attack

P Except on foreign policy.

H That's what he is talking about primarily. You hammer your strong point.

P I just think you've got to hit that over and over again.. We gotta win --

H You don't argue against our hammering our strong point. His argument is when you are attacking - we should do some of our advertising - should be an attack on McGovern advertising - and that attack should not (unintelligible) Nixon strongpoints. It should only (unintelligible) McGovernment negative points.

P Ya.

H argument being that it is impossible in this election for you to get less than 40% of the vote, equally impossible for you to get more than 60. (unintelligible) that up over there. We should go over early if we could get this (unintelligible) on the networks. Wait until 3:00 - we got a problem because of - what is it (Unintelligible) because they are shooting with one camera (siren) (unintelligible) we're better off

P Clear over there on the other side? You get the word to them.

Z Yes sir. But I don't want to take your time to do it.

P I'll go across - I just wanted to (unintelligible)

Z Yes sir. Absolutely.

P And, based from the thing this morning, do you feel it worthwhile to (unintelligible) till Monday?

Z Yes, sir.

H Well, let's do it earlier in the day, because we are (unintelligible) jeopardizing

Z At 2:00.

P Are you set up? You want me to come right this minute?

Z Well, I don't - anytime you feel comfortable.

P (Unintelligible)

Z As soon as possible.

H His argument is to start with, you got 40% of the people who will vote for you no matter what happens,

P I agree

H and you got 40% of the people that will vote against you no matter what happens, so you got 20% of the vote left in the middle who may vote for you or may not - and that 20%

H is what you gotta work on. His argument is that you're so well know, your pluses are as clear as your minuses; that getting one of those 20, who is an undecided type, to vote for you on the basis of your positive points is much less likely than getting him to vote against McGovern by scaring him to death about McGovern; and that that's the area that we ought to be playing.

P Well.

H (Unintelligible)

P Well, I am not going to do it. I really want you to bring in Flanigan and all these others (unintelligible) and lay it to them (unintelligible)

H Yep.

P Don't you think he'll agree? Oh, you don't?

H No, I think they will. They'll agree for awhile (unintelligible) agree -- they'll say well why not do it anyway.

P No, No, Nope, No - Never! I can't take it for granted. Listen, he could think I'm setting him up (unintelligible) reasonable man. God damn it, (unintelligible) I have him be against Muskie. We don't give a (expletive deleted). Or, Nixon! Muskie - screw him otherwise - fine. I don't know if our people would be scared (unintelligible) about Muskie.

H (Unintelligible) they are.. They aren't, but I think you got
to build that up. His point is that so little is know, better
chance of (voices fade)

Good evening, my fellow Americans.

More than two years have passed since the Watergate break-in.

For some sixteen months -- for more than a year -- Watergate has dominated the headlines, ~~and~~ distracted ~~the~~ the nation and divided our people.

Now, together, we confront the prospect of an even more intensive concentration on Watergate lasting until the end of the year -- if the House votes impeachment, and if the case goes to a trial in the Senate.

Each of us must weigh carefully the toll this has taken already
its
on our nation, and the further toll ~~it will take~~ in the months ahead.

This is a consideration that I am sure must weigh heavily on the minds of those members of the House considering their votes. It is a consideration that ~~he~~ weighs heavily on my own mind, as I consider what ~~best~~ course best will serve the interests of the nation, now and in the future.

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2/

Realistically, given the outcome of the Judiciary Committee proceedings and the present temper of the House, we must assume that the outcome of the House debate would be impeachment on one or more of the three articles voted by the Committee. This would automatically lead to a trial ~~and~~ in the Senate -- a trial which would probably last until the end of the year, and ~~be~~ the outcome of which could not ~~be~~ be predicted.

Inevitably, such a trial would consume an inordinate share of my own time and attention, as well as that of the Senate and the Nation -- at a time when neither the Nation nor the world could afford such distraction.
Even if ~~that~~ ^{the} trial were to end in acquittal, the result would be a weakened and damaged Presidency for the remainder of my term in office. There would be a lingering ~~be~~ bitterness and division in the country. The government would go on, but with severely reduced effectiveness -- at a critical time for America and for the world.

Throughout my life -- indeed, throughout my political life -- I have always tried to do what I believed was in the best interests of the country.
Therefore, I shall resign the Presidency tomorrow, effective at _____ a.m. Vice President Ford will be inaugurated ~~at~~ as President at that hour, at a ceremony in _____.

In these circumstances, I believe the country would best be served by my resigning this afternoon.

Historical File

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One of the great strengths of our constitutional system is that it provides for an orderly succession, even in periods of extraordinary stress.

When I chose Mr. Ford as my nominee to fill the Vice-Presidential vacancy last _____, I did so because in the quarter century that I have known him and worked with him, ~~and~~ I have found him to be a man of exceptional character, integrity and ability -- one who understands America, who understands its needs, and who is fully ~~and~~ capable of ~~governing~~ leading the country and of bringing distinction to this office.

As President, ~~he~~ he will have my full support, and I ask that you give him yours.

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~~You have a right to know why I have made this decision.~~

I continue to believe firmly and completely that the mistakes that were made do not constitute sufficient grounds for the impeachment

I have faith in the ultimate judgment
of a President. Indeed, ~~I do believe tonight that if I were to pursue~~
of history on this administration, and on my conduct
~~the Constitutional process through to its conclusion, I would be~~
of this office.
~~sustained by the Senate.~~

has also become
However, it is clear that the margin by which I could expect
to win in the Senate would ~~be~~ probably be sufficiently narrow ~~to~~
~~leave this office~~ that it would leave this office unacceptably
weakened for the critical two years that would remain in my term.
As a result, my ability to govern effectively would be undercut,
and the country ~~would~~ would suffer because of that.

However, I do want to discuss with you,
~~Let me mention it~~ very frankly and very directly, ~~is~~ a matter

~~which has recently come to my attention~~ which I know would have

affected the deliberations in both the House and the Senate, ~~which~~

~~would have influenced~~ and which was also a factor in my own

~~decision~~ decision.

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Last week, in my review of the tapes to be turned over to the Special Prosecutor, I discovered one that indicated my own knowledge of the Watergate cover-up was greater than I have previously indicated, and that it came sooner -- in fact, that I did learn shortly after the break-in that it was a potential source of severe ~~embarrassment~~

, at that time, embarrassment to the Administration and to my campaign committee, and that I did approve actions which I hoped would have the effect of covering up the connection.

Rather than withhold ~~it~~ that tape, I have turned it over to Judge Sirica. I have also made it available tonight to the House Judiciary Committee, *so that its records will be complete.*

In the light of this, I owe to you, the American people, an explanation of why until now I have continued to maintain that I had no knowledge of the cover-up until I was told about it by John Dean on March 21, 1973.

With hindsight, it is very easy to say that I should have simply opened up everything at once to the prosecutors, and let the chips fall where they might. Certainly the events that have followed have demonstrated that this would have been the wiser as well as the proper course.

Historical File

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At the time, however -- whether rightly or wrongly -- I was deeply concerned, ~~about the possibility of~~ in human terms, about the possible impact on valued friends and associates, as well as on ~~others~~ others involved who had done wrong in a cause they believed to be right. Because some of the same people were involved, I was concerned that an unlimited investigation might compromise the genuinely sensitive national security matters that the so-called "plumbers" had been dealing with. In the midst of a political campaign, I knew that the break-in had the potential for massive exploitation as a political issue -- if a sufficient connection could be established, ~~that it conceivably could~~ ^{even} be decisive in terms of the outcome, and therefore in terms of all that ~~I was trying to build on~~ was at stake both here and abroad, including the foundation I was trying to build for a structure of peace that could last into the next century.

I thought the break-in itself was stupid, as well as ~~was~~ wrong. But once it had taken place, I knew that I had inherited the consequences -- and that with the Presidency at issue, those potential consequences reached out also to the nation and the world.

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In retrospect, it would have been better to have explained this fully and frankly when ~~Watergate~~ Watergate and the cover-up again became a national issue early last ~~years~~ year -- at a time I still did not fully when the cover-up had reached dimensions that ~~even then I did not~~ comprehend. Instead, I felt trapped by events, and chose a different way of attempting to defend what I believed to be the interests of ~~to preserve what I saw as~~ the Presidency, and my capacity to function in what I believed to be the interests of the Nation.

I say this not in ~~my~~ defense, but in ~~explains~~ explanation.

To those who have stood ~~for~~ steadfastly with me through these Vice President Ford, including months, ~~including~~ the members of my Cabinet, ~~and~~ including particularly those members of the House Judiciary Committee who argued and voted against impeachment, ~~and~~ including the many others who organized or ~~and~~ spoke out in my behalf, I would say a particular word. Whether you would have done so if you had known the full story, I cannot know -- perhaps you cannot know. I deeply regret any embarrassment you may feel now, on learning that what you believed to be entirely true was only partially true. In my own conscience, I know that each judgment

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I made, including those judgments to withhold part of the truth,
was made because I believed at the time that it was ~~by the best~~
~~mem~~ in the national interest -- that in a situation in which there
were no good answers , it was the least bad answer, not simply
from my own standpoint but from the standpoint of the nation whose
stability I was trying to preserve.

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for another five months the agony and uncertainty of the Watergate
obsession.

In the course of the recent House Judiciary Committee hearings,
my associates and I were
~~I was~~ accused of much wrong-doing. ~~Without debating the merits of~~
~~these accusations, I~~ I accept full responsibility for whatever
mistakes were made. ~~The only defense, the only justification~~ I do
would only emphasize that
~~emphasize, however, that~~ in my own case, and I believe also on
the part of those members of my Administration who were involved,
we were attempting to serve the best interests of the country. There
was no personal gain involved. The mistakes were mistakes of judg-
ment.

~~Much has been said about abuse of power.~~

8/2/74

was
what is called

We have heard much about the abuse of power -- *and in particular* about the measures

I took in 1969, 1970, 1971, to deal with what I considered serious threats to the nation's security and well-being. From the relative calm of today's conditions, it is easy to look back, and to condemn the remedy without regard for the ill that it was meant to cure.

It is easy to forget the ~~for~~ burning cities, the ravaged ~~colleges~~ campuses, the college deans barricaded in their offices, ~~the~~ the orgy of riots and mass, violent demonstrations ~~can~~ that were designed to and did strike terror across the nation. ~~It is easy to forget that~~
These were not democracy in action. These were brutal and dangerous assaults against the democratic system.

It is easy to forget that the hemorrhaging leaks of ~~secrets~~ the most sensitive defense and diplomatic secrets came at a time when those leaks seriously jeopardized our efforts to negotiate and end to the war in Vietnam, ~~and made it impossible for us~~ to negotiate a limitation on nuclear arms, and to negotiate a new relationship with the People's Republic of China. These leaks were hailed in the name of peace; those responsible were treated as heroes in the cause of peace. But in fact

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they threatened to destroy our efforts to achieve peace.

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When I assumed this office, I had one overriding aim. That was to build a structure of peace in the world that would last beyond this administration, and into the next century -- so that instead of three wars in a generation, ^{(the} young Americans ^{(of today} could look forward to the ~~possibility~~ prospect of now wars in their lifetimes.

As I leave this office, the one thing of which I am most proud is the progress we have made toward that goal. Not only by ending the war in Vietnam, but even more importantly by helping build a new ^{pattern} ~~substructure~~ of ~~new~~ relationships among the world's powers, ~~based~~ one that will contribute to stability rather than instability and therefore to ~~pe~~ peace rather than war.

One reason I am leaving is ~~that I want~~ to ensure that the bitterness and uncertainty of an impeachment trial will not jeopardize that structure. I would have preferred to continue building it, but I would rather leave than endanger it.

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This is not a farewell. Although resigning the Presidency, I shall do all that I can to help my successor, and to advance the causes of peace abroad and progress at home that I did my best to serve while I held that office. I shall do all that I can to help bind up whatever wounds may remain from the ⁸divisions and difficulties the nation has gone through in these past two years.

In turning over this office to Vice President Ford, I do so with a profound sense of the weight of responsibility that will fall tomorrow morning on his shoulders -- and therefore of the understanding, the cooperation, the patience, he will need from all of us.

This is not a time for grudges; not a time for recrimination; but rather a time for dedication -- to America's future, to its institutions, to its traditions -- and to those shared values that are at the heart of its continuity.

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~~There is a time to fight, and a time to leave.~~

Whoever occupies this office must be President of all the people -- and whoever occupies this office must have the help and cooperation of all the people. We should, and must, have vigorous debates over the genuine policy differences that will always exist among a wide variety of persons with a wide variety of perspectives. But it also is important that we conduct those debates with civility, and with respect for our differences. We must do better in the future than we have done in the recent past -- when of the last three presidents, one, President Kennedy, was assassinated, and the next two -- one Democrat, one Republican -- in effect were driven from office.

There must be a measure of tolerance, a margin for imperfection, an acceptance of the fact that mistakes will occur -- and a recognition that the work of government must go on. We must learn to live better with our political differences, and to recognize that the ~~institutions~~ institutions of government are human institutions --

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-- with all the faults and ~~fr~~ frailties ~~known~~ that are part of the human condition. Only if we do so can we restore the stability, the continuity, that are essential if America is to begin its third century ~~strong~~ with the strength and resilience that the decades ahead will require.

In saying this, I am not offering excuses for wrongs that have taken place. I am not attempting to minimize those wrongs. But I am urging, for the future, that our judgments be leavened with a sense of proportion, and that future Presidents be judged while in ~~ex~~ office more nearly ~~be~~ by the standards that history *has a way of bringing* ~~brings to Presidents when they remain in office~~ after they have left office.

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Also, I believe that the ~~inexhaustible~~ wounds of Watergate must be healed, and they must be healed soon. As long

as the power of the Presidency remains at stake, as long as the question of who will be President remains unsettled, that process will not begin. By this act, I trust that it will begin.

I thank you for the opportunity to serve as your President during these past five and a half years. They have been a momentous time in the history of our nation and the world. They have been a time of achievement of which I believe we can all be proud. -- achievements that represent the shared efforts of the Administration, of the Congress and of the people.

To those who have fought beside me in these past difficult months, those who have ^{given} offered their support, their encouragement and their aid, / I offer ~~not only my thanks but~~ my thanks, and also this thought: ~~but also this thought:~~ You may be tempted to feel that because the effort ended this way, it was not worth making. That would be a mistake. It is never wrong ~~to~~ to do what we believe is right.

18 /

There is a time to fight, and a time to leave.

At each step of the way, I have tried to serve what I believed
to be the best interests of the country. When I believed that those
interests would best be served ~~by~~ by fighting to retain office, I
fought to retain it. Now I believe they would best ~~be~~ be served by
my leaving ~~it~~ ^{office} --- and so I shall leave.

Thank you, and good evening



"Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat."

AUGUST 5, 1974

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have today instructed my attorneys to make available to the House Judiciary Committee, and I am making public, the transcripts of three conversations with H.R. Haldeman on June 23, 1972. I have also turned over the tapes of these conversations to Judge Sirica, as part of the process of my compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

On April 29, in announcing my decision to make public the original set of White House transcripts, I stated that "as far as what the President personally knew and did with regard to Watergate and the cover-up is concerned, these materials -- together with those already made available -- will tell it all."

Shortly after that, in May, I made a preliminary review of some of the 64 taped conversations subpoenaed by the Special Prosecutor.

Among the conversations I listened to at that time were two of those of June 23. Although I recognized that these presented potential problems, I did not inform my staff or my Counsel of it, or those arguing my case, nor did I amend my submission to the Judiciary Committee in order to include and reflect it. At the time, I did not realize the extent of the implications which these conversations might now appear to have. As a result, those arguing my case, as well as those passing judgment on the case, did so with information that was incomplete and in some respects erroneous. This was a serious act of omission for which I take full responsibility and which I deeply regret.

Since the Supreme Court's decision twelve days ago, I have ordered my Counsel to analyze the 64 tapes, and I have listened to a number of them myself. This process has made it clear that portions of the tapes of these June 23 conversations are at variance with certain of my previous statements. Therefore, I have ordered the transcripts made available immediately to the Judiciary Committee so that they can be reflected in the Committee's report, and included in the record to be considered by the House and Senate.

In a formal written statement on May 22 of last year, I said that shortly after the Watergate break-in I became concerned about the possibility that the FBI investigation might lead to the exposure either of unrelated covert activities of the CIA, or of sensitive national security matters that the so-called "plumbers" unit at the White House had been working on, because of the CIA and plumbers connections of some of those involved. I said that I therefore gave instructions that the FBI should be alerted to coordinate with the CIA, and to ensure that the investigation not expose these sensitive national security matters.

That statement was based on my recollection at the time -- some eleven months later -- plus documentary materials and relevant public testimony of those involved.

MORE

(CUT)

The June 23 tapes clearly show, however, that at the time I gave those instructions I also discussed the political aspects of the situation, and that I was aware of the advantages this course of action would have with respect to limiting possible public exposure of involvement by persons connected with the re-election committee.

My review of the additional tapes has, so far, shown no other major inconsistencies with what I have previously submitted. While I have no way at this stage of being certain that there will not be others, I have no reason to believe that there will be. In any case, the tapes in their entirety are now in the process of being furnished to Judge Sirica. He has begun what may be a rather lengthy process of reviewing the tapes, passing on specific claims of executive privilege on portions of them, and forwarding to the Special Prosecutor those tapes or those portions that are relevant to the Watergate investigation.

It is highly unlikely that this review will be completed in time for the House debate. It appears at this stage, however, that a House vote of impeachment is, as a practical matter, virtually a foregone conclusion, and that the issue will therefore go to trial in the Senate. In order to ensure that no other significant relevant materials are withheld, I shall voluntarily furnish to the Senate everything from these tapes that Judge Sirica rules should go to the Special Prosecutor.

I recognize that this additional material I am now furnishing may further damage my case, especially because attention will be drawn separately to it rather than to the evidence in its entirety. In considering its implications, therefore, I urge that two points be borne in mind.

The first of these points is to remember what actually happened as a result of the instructions I gave on June 23. Acting Director Gray of the FBI did coordinate with Director Helms and Deputy Director Walters of the CIA. The CIA did undertake an extensive check to see whether any of its covert activities would be compromised by a full FBI investigation of Watergate. Deputy Director Walters then reported back to Mr. Gray that they would not be compromised. On July 6, when I called Mr. Gray, and when he expressed concern about improper attempts to limit his investigation, as the record shows, I told him to press ahead vigorously with his investigation -- which he did.

The second point I would urge is that the evidence be looked at in its entirety, and the events be looked at in perspective. Whatever mistakes I made in the handling of Watergate, the basic truth remains that when all the facts were brought to my attention I insisted on a full investigation and prosecution of those guilty. I am firmly convinced that the record, in its entirety, does not justify the extreme step of impeachment and removal of a President. I trust that as the Constitutional process goes forward, this perspective will prevail.

#

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

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 FBI 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 FBI 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 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.

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.

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 Yeah.

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

H The FBI 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 FBI guys working the case concluded that there were one or two possibilities - one, that this was 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 - non-political, or it was a - Cuban and the CIA. And after their interrogation of Colson yesterday, they concluded it was not the White House, but are now convinced it is a CIA thing, so the CIA 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

P bunch of crap, but 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 Mrs. Kissinger. He

P made a little joke.

H I see. Very good. O.K.

P Well, good.

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 Um?

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

H 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.

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. 1 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. 1 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, I really mean it - cut them off. They can't do this - they've got to give us

P that Debt Ceiling. Mills has said that he didn't (unintelligible) on 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 already 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.

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 convertability 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?

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 --

P 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 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 - no 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 the word 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.

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 anytime 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 there is 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 FBI 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 it's 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?

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 outs (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?

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 --

P 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 every 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 hall (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.

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 Alright

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

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

P 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 to a great extent, is responsible to what happened to Humphrey both 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.

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 heartattack 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.

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

P 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 candidate -- 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)

P (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 -- See?

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, Bod, 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 booing.

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 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 (unintelligible) control the place. She says in other words, go in and do the Republican group. Now, sure 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 Codus 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 I 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
to the Museum in Jacksonville.

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

P Make a point.

H Sure.

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 thing going? Most of the things
are elite groups except, I mean, do the cancer thing - maybe
nice for Tricia to go up - ride a bus for 2 hours - and some of
that park in Oklahoma - but my view is, Bob, relate it to Middle
America and not the elitist (unintelligible). Do you agree?

H Yep. Sure do.

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.

H Yep.

P (Unintelligible).

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 that 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 good thing to do, cause they are friends - and they have such overriding respect for you and your family - that a

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 key 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) call, 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 think this would be a very good use of my time while I'm in California.

P 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.

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.

P (Unintelligible) Why don't you reread it?

Enter

Z 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 for 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.

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 the three or 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 thought 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)

P Huh?

P 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.

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).