

**TRANSCRIPTS OF EIGHT RECORDED
PRESIDENTIAL CONVERSATIONS; HEARINGS
BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY, NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS,
SECOND SESSION, PURSUANT TO H. RES.
803, MAY-JUNE 1974, SERIAL NO. 34**

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HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 803

A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO INVESTIGATE
WHETHER SUFFICIENT GROUNDS EXIST FOR THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO EXERCISE ITS
CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO IMPEACH

RICHARD M. NIXON

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

MAY-JUNE 1974

Serial No. 34

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Foreword

BY HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR., CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

On April 30, 1974, President Nixon released to the public, White House edited transcripts of eight of his recorded conversations with his counsel, John Dean. This document contains the Committee on the Judiciary transcripts of these same conversations.

Briefly, the tape recordings of these conversations came into the possession of the Committee on the Judiciary as follows:

On February 25, 1974, acting under authority granted by the Committee on the Judiciary, the ranking minority member and I directed John Doar, special counsel to the committee, and Albert E. Jenner, Jr., special counsel to the minority, to send a letter to James St. Clair, special counsel to the President, requesting tape recordings, transcripts and other materials previously furnished to the Watergate Special Prosecution Force by the President.

On March 6, Mr. St. Clair announced in open court before Judge John Sirica that the President had agreed to supply to the committee those materials previously furnished to the special prosecutor, including copies of tape recording and transcripts of the following eight Presidential conversations:

1. A portion of the conversation between the President and Messrs. Haldeman and Dean on September 15, 1972.

2. A conversation between the President and Mr. Dean on February 28, 1973, from 9:12 to 10:23 a.m.

3. A conversation between the President and Mr. Dean on March 13, 1973, from 12:42 to 2 p.m.

4. A conversation between the President and Messrs. Haldeman and Dean on March 21, 1973, from 10:12 to 11:55 a.m.

5. A conversation between the President and Messrs. Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Dean on March 21, 1973, from 5:20 to 6:01 p.m.

6. A conversation between the President and Messrs. Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Mitchell, and Dean on March 22, 1973, from 1:57 to 4:43 p.m.

7. A conversation between the President and Mr. Dean on April 16, 1973, from 10 to 10:40 a.m.

8. A conversation between the President and Mr. Dean on April 16, 1973, from 4:07 to 4:35 p.m.

Between March 8 and March 15, the committee received tape recordings and transcripts of these eight conversations from the White House. Subsequently, on March 26, the committee received from the June 5, 1972, District of Columbia grand jury materials which included copies of tape recordings and transcripts of these eight conversations.

Under the committee's rules of confidentiality, only the chairman, the ranking minority member, and designated members of the inquiry staff were permitted to listen to these tape recordings before they were played to the full committee. Congressman Hutchinson and I listened to each tape recording and supervised on a day-to-day basis the staff's preparation of transcripts to accompany the recorded presentation to the committee.

The inquiry staff was directed to obtain the best possible tape recordings from which to prepare its transcripts. The staff took its own equipment to the Executive Office Building and made new copies of the tape recordings which were in the possession of the White House. The original recordings were in the possession of Judge Sirica. With his authorization, and under the supervision of the Court and representatives of the Special Prosecutor and the White House, copies of these original recordings were also made.

The committee believes that it has been able to obtain tape recordings which are of better quality than those furnished to the committee by either the White House or the grand jury. The originals of these recordings play at 15/16 of an inch per second, which is slower than the speed required by the high-quality playback equipment which was used by the inquiry staff. By producing copies which play at 3¾ inches per second, we were able to prepare transcripts from recordings of near-original quality.

On April 11, 1974, the committee subpoenaed from President Nixon recordings of 42 additional Presidential conversations. On April 29, in response to the subpoena, President Nixon announced that he would submit to the committee edited transcripts of conversations, but not the tape recordings themselves. On April 30, President Nixon delivered to the committee and made available to the public edited transcripts of selected Presidential conversations, including the eight conversations contained in this document.

The eight transcripts reprinted herein are part of the statement of information and supporting evidence presented by the impeachment inquiry staff to the committee during hearings held in executive session from May 9 to June 21, 1974. On June 25, the committee voted to release to the public the statement of information and supporting evidence.

The transcripts are reprinted here substantially as they were presented to the committee. In a few instances, ranking minority member Mr. Hutchinson, and I have determined, pursuant to authority granted us by the committee, to delete irrelevant material which was considered to be defamatory, degrading or embarrassing.

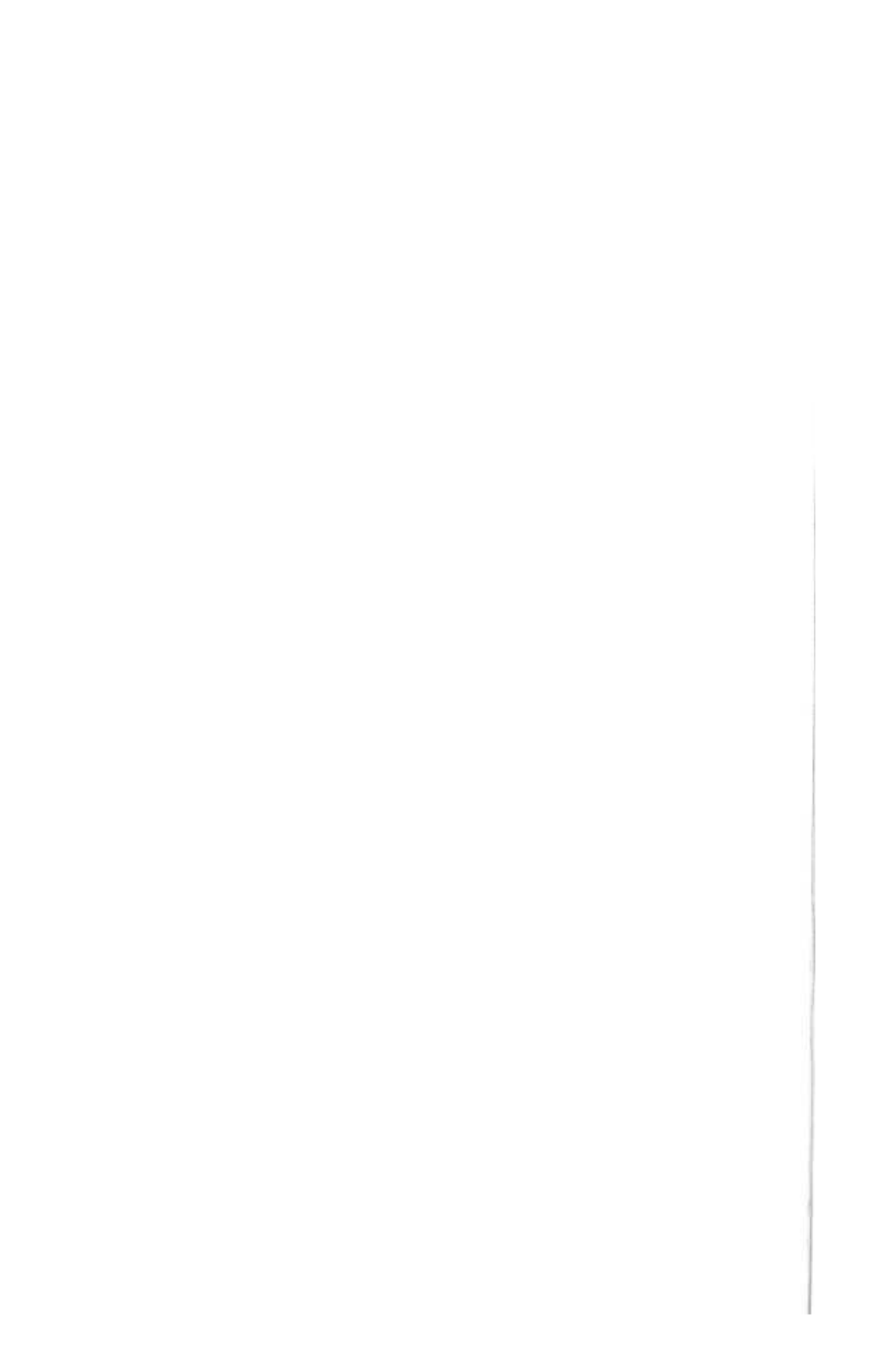
Since President Nixon has chosen to present the White House edited version of these eight conversations to the public, the committee has concluded that it will publish the following transcripts in one document as a partial record of its proceedings.



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TRANSCRIPT PREPARED BY THE IMPEACHMENT IN-
QUIRY STAFF FOR THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMIT-
TEE OF A RECORDING OF A MEETING AMONG THE
PRESIDENT, H. R. HALDEMAN, AND JOHN DEAN ON
SEPTEMBER 15, 1972

PRESIDENT. [Unintelligible]
HALDEMAN. John, he is one of the quiet guys that gets a lot done. That was a good move, too, bringing Dean in. But it's—

PRESIDENT. Yeah.
HALDEMAN. It— He'll never, he'll never gain any ground for us. He's just not that kind of guy. But, he's the kind that enables other people to gain ground while he's making sure that you don't fall through the holes.

PRESIDENT. Oh, You mean—
HALDEMAN. Between times, he's doing, he's moving ruthlessly on the investigation of McGovern people, Kennedy stuff, and all that too. I just don't know how much progress he's making, 'cause I—

PRESIDENT. The problem is that's kind of hard to find.
HALDEMAN. Chuck, Chuck has gone through, you know, has worked on the list, and Dean's working the, the thing through IRS and, uh, in some cases, I think, some other [unintelligible] things. He's—He turned out to be tougher than I thought he would, which is what

PRESIDENT. Yeah.
HALDEMAN. is—
PRESIDENT. You put anybody else that you want to run in in the morning, you can. [Unintelligible] I'm going to stick around here for awhile. I don't think I can do this finance group in the morning. I think it's too quick after the Watergate. Let's do it next Monday or Tuesday. That ought to be about it.

HALDEMAN. Let me check and see.
PRESIDENT. You know who he's, uh [unintelligible]
HALDEMAN. There isn't, I don't think, anything pending, but I'll check.

PRESIDENT. You know, we ought to get something together. Shriver's put out his financial statement now, too. While you're at it, I'd deliberately raise mine other than in [unintelligible]

HALDEMAN. Oh yeah, we're pushing that hard. The Vice President was delighted with that.

PRESIDENT. Did he get the point?
HALDEMAN. Yeah absolutely.