Nixon and John Dean, Telephone

April 17, 1973 9:19-9:25 a.m.

```
1
      Voice:
                       Conversation number thirty eight dash (·) eighty four. (0.2) Portion? of
                                                                                                       [0.0]
 2
 3
                       a telephoon conversation between the Presidint? h en Joh:n W. Dean
 4
 5
                       the Third. ·hh These portions uwere recorded on April seventeenth ·hhh
 6
 7
                      nineteen sevendy three hh between nine ninetee:n h en nine twunty fi:ve
 8
 9
                      \underline{a}.\underline{m}.\underline{u} (0.4) The following? is segment one.\underline{u}
10
11
                               (6.0) ((dead tape))
12
13
     Nixon:
                       'Lo:,ih
14
15
                               (1.2)
16
17
     Nixon:
                      Hello,
18
19
                               ((pt-tup pt-tup))
20
                       Mi[s' Dea]:n?
21
     Op:
22
23
     Nixon:
                          [ Y<u>ah</u>< ]
24
25
     Dean:
                       Yes↓sir.
26
27
     Nixon:
                      hH<u>i</u> John yih got yer uh piece=paper yet?
28
29
                               (0.3)
30
31
                      Ah: which one uz that no:w. Oh yes. I: work' with Len Garmenthh ah::
     Dean:
32
33
                       en Len I think hath a product thet (·) he in I kincur ↓in:.
34
                      Oh I \ see yah. Yah. \ I got 1:Linda: g^hot something to me las' night.=
35
     Nixon:
36
37
     Dean:
                       Yaw.=
38
39
                      =·hh[hhh
     Nixon:
40
41
     Dean:
                           [En uh he en I,
```

Leonard Garment had been one of Nixon's associates at the law firm Nixon Mudge. He then served in Nixon's White House as special consultant on domestic policy from 1969 to 1974. In the wake of the Watergate scandal, Garment filled the role of Counsel to the President. (From the bio-blurb for Garment's book, *In Search of Deep Throat*). Lukas (pp.441-442) mentions that by April 17, 1973, Garment "had taken over much of [John] Dean's legal work".

```
1
                     =B[ut that's uh::
     Nixon:
 2
                        [( )
 3
     Dean:
 4
                                                     [-(0.7) -]
                     Theh thet's: whatc<u>hu</u> would uh [((swallow))] ·t ↓uhhhehh ·hehh thet's th<u>e</u>t's
 5
     Nixon:
 6
 7
                     the one you would \undersethingthe hyou would app\rove.h=
 8
 9
                     =ė-[Ah:m
     Dean:
10
11
     Nixon:
                         [hhi-
12
13
                     his approach?=or dih you have any:hhihh=
     Nixon:
14
15
     Dean:
                     =We[:11?
16
17
                          [ennuh- any uh: variāshins?=
     Nixon:
18
19
                     =I woulduhh hė-↓uh::::hh
     Dean:
20
21
                      ·hhh W'l lemme see (does)//
     Nixon:
22
23
                             (5.0) (( dead tape ))
24
25
     Voice:
                     This c'nclu:de' segment one.h of co:nversation number thirdy eight (·) dash (·)
26
27
                     eighdy four.
28
29
                             (10.0)
30
31
     Voice:
                     The following is segment two: of conversation number thirdy eight (·)
32
33
                     dash eighdy four. (0.2) Portion? of a telephone conversation h buhtween
34
35
                     the <u>Presidint</u>? ·h en Joh:n W. Dean the third. ·hhh This por:tionų? was
36
37
                     recordid on April seventeenth ·hh nineteen sevendy three, ·hh buhtween
38
39
                     ni:ne nineteen ·hh en nine twunty fi:ve a.m.u
40
41
                             (5.8) ((dead tape))
42
43
                             ((tlk))
44
45
                     two thirdy er three ah'll geev yih=ri:n:g. ·hehh <eh:: en:d uh ah wunnuh
     Nixon:
46
47
                     read the thing 'nd uh↓:r ehmd uh 'n then I then there's 'n↓ one ↓other
48
49
                     possible approach 'n, g[itcher] juh-
50
51
                                             [Good]
     Dean:
52
53
     Nixon:
                     gitcher judgm'n on um.
```

```
1
     Dean:
                      A'right I'm available,
 2
 3
                      •very helpful I mean uh
 4
 5
               (0.3)
                               ((blk-klk-[tuk))
 6
 7
     Nixon:
                                         [I mean I sih- uh · hihhh \ the uh, end uhhh (0.3) I sut
 8
 9
                       uh I w'z out with uh (·) ·t·<u>hehh</u> (0.5) uh:<sub>hm</sub> (0.4) ·p \downarrow°I talk' t' Bill Rogers
10
11
                       too so wi'r tryin' duh
12
13
      Dean:
                       (sort it [out)
14
                               [git theh ·hehhh Ez you kno:w the approach: kin very er depends
15
      Nixon:
16
17
                       un how we hhandle it thet's the main thi[:ng,
18
19
                                                                 [(hhhhh[hh)
     (\emptyset): (0.3)
20
21
     Nixon:
                                                                          [·t·hehh En awl en awl
22
23
                       handle it 'n a way thet uh
24
25
                               ((\cdot pt-m \cdot pt pt-kuh-plk))=
26
27
                      =\downarrowuh: thet uhh \cdot hehhhh thet uh:h differentiates between:h the whole
28
29
                      situation yih know.
30
31
                               (·)
32
33
     Dean:
                      Hm hm,
34
35
                      Ez it's ezzuh ez it (·) ezzit < (0.2) eh ezzit mus' depending upon what
     Nixon:
36
37
                       ·hehhhhh what developments are hmhhh ·pt·hehh \ But uh:mhhh (·) I see thē
38
39
                       uh (1.2) ·pt ·huhh Butchee you you would gen'r'lly say: uh John thetchu
40
41
                       think though the Garment approach is the best ren.
42
43
                       I think that at thih- thit this point is:
44
45
            (0.3)
                      hhhh
```

⁴⁵

² William Rogers, Nixon's Secretary of State until he was replaced by Henry Kissinger on August 22nd, 1973. Lukas (p.441) remarks about April 14-17 (which he refers to as "these critical ides of April) "One man Nixon did seek out several times that week was Secretary of State Rogers, an old friend whose judgment Nixon obvously respected. On Monday evening [April 16] Nixon and Rogers dined together on the Presidential yacht while Nixon outlined the situation 'with the bark off'."

³ In standard orthography, "best ren" would be "best one".

```
1
                      is is [good.=(Y[e s
                                             thē)
 2
 3
                                     [See the]problem we've got ez (far eth gamruh) thing
     Nixon:
                           [·hehh
 4
 5
                      en so forth I had'n taw:ng talk with Petersin in hē'ss: ė-hehh · hehhh
 6
 7
                      very reluctin' tih have anythin: g said < at this point yih see ·hehh cuz
 8
 9
                      they haven't=
10
11
     Dean:
                      =Ca:se \downarrow(f[leed)
12
13
                                 [Uh?
     Nixon:
14
15
     Dean:
                      It hurts his ceurss.
16
17
                              (·)
18
19
                      Whath
     Nixon:
20
21
                      It hurt[s his cas[e.
     Dean:
22
23
                            [·h
                                     [eeYa:h. Well, it- esee it thih Magru↓der. Uh eh:: Magruder
     Nixon:
24
25
                      apart from their talks with yer people they uh=it's (·) Ma°gruder thet
26
27
                      [they°
28
29
     Dean:
                      [Understase]:nd.
30
31
                                [·hh they 'ev'n got anything there en uh ·hehh hI'm uhh He
     Nixon:
32
33
                      doesn't tell me (·) not t' say somethin: 'I said now look ohere I've godda
34
35
                      gid° out here, ·hehhhhhh What is you evvuh what w'l °†you \do.h Yih jis'
36
37
                      geh out° ↓'n hdo it? Yih thee I dih- I jis(0.3)t can't ·hehhhh take th'
38
39
                      responsib<u>i</u>lidih dih have< I don't think <u>Pet</u>er↓sin would.=b't↓ some guy
40
41
                      down the uh ('ttorney's offih') sid well the Pres'ent blew the case in order
42
43
                      duh mh get publicity.
44
45
                              (0.2)
46
47
     Nixon:
                      Yeh know
48
49
           ):
                      \cdothuhh
50
                      °↑Well I duh=I° don't know thet yee- I don't know thet it uh:↓:
51
     Dean:
52
53
                              (1.1)
```

```
1
                          Not blew the case but but imp \frac{1}{2} aired it che \downarrow kno: [h.h.
      Nixon:
 2
 3
      Dean:
                                                                                      [Right. Ri[ght,
 4
                                                                                                  [\cdot hhhh
 5
      Nixon:
 6
 7
      Nixon:
                          °What g'd be yer reaction a' tha'° hmh[h
 8
 9
                                                                           [Uh:: let me get s' more
      Dean:
10
11
                          in[formation for you aw:n that po[tential.
12
13
                             [°·hehhh°
      Nixon:
14
15
                                                                  (([kank))
16
      Nixon:
                           ·hehh Wouldje do that,=
17
18
      Dean:
                          =Yes [ah wi:11.
19
20
                                  [·hhh<
      Nixon:
21
22
                          That's a thing that I think is very import'n here becuz uh hihh ·hehhh 'mean
      Nixon:
23
24
                          I could iv said something Mondee in I talk' tuh Petersin en 'ee sid I'd prefer
25
                   4
26
                          not chiknowh<
      26
      <sup>4</sup> In a telephone conversation on Sunday, April 15, 1973 [Casette 254 Call (8)Nixon Petersen: April 15 1973
       11:45-11:53 pm] pages 1-3, Nixon asks Petersen, re Dean:
                Nixon: Now: uh ah wunnuh ask yer: judgm'nt on that I kin:hh hI kin bring 'im in in the
                          mor:ning in tell um look (0.4) I wantcher: h-hh! resignation but uh: dihyou (·)
                          what- what whaddiyou want me d'do I don' wanna innerfere with yer (\cdot) process.
                 Peters: Mister Pris'd'nt I don't think, thet we ought to to: um
                Nixon: tip ar hand?
                 Peters: \cdoth <u>act yet</u>.
                                    (.)
                 Peters: ih-He is the first one who's \( \gamma \text{really c'm i:n.uh} \)
                                    (0.6)
                Nixon: ·t Oh <u>I</u> see.
                Nixon: I don't want any, h-hhh any: question thet's uh:, hhuhh [fact thet- (\cdot) thet I]'m:=
                Peters:
                                                                                       [(Y's I \underline{a} g r \underline{e} \underline{e} -:)]
                Nixon: [w\underline{a}y \ ah\underline{e}\underline{a}d \ a' \ the(p) \ yihknow \underline{I} \ wanta \ stay \underline{o}:ne:: \ step > ah\underline{e}\underline{a}d \ a' \ the \ c\underline{u}rve.=
                 Peters: [(
                Nixon: =Yihknow what ah mea[n?<[·lthrp·hhh<u>hh</u>
                Peters:
                                                     [ I un[dersta:nd,
                Nixon: ↓So: uh:↓ ·shha if you think uh:: on Dea:n, ·t·hhhh
                 Peters: I think we otuh hold the li:ne.
                                    (·)
                Nixon: A'right. En yo<u>u</u>'ll <u>let</u> me k<u>no</u>\downarrow:w.=th[et th<u>e</u>t- eh]:- ( · ) e z s]<u>oo</u>n ez eh s<u>o</u>on=
                Peters:
                                                                   [Y e s sir] I will indeed.]
                Nixon: =ez uh, hhe::eh eh: 'n ne:n,hh ah:'ll (0.2) call 'im in:naturee hi'll heftuh resi::gn.
                           ·h[hh·hhh
                Peters:
                            Yes sir
```

```
1
      Dean:
                         Mmhm=
 2
                         ='mber \cdot \underline{hehh} 'member we were t^{h}\underline{a}lkin' about hmhh[(\cdot)] \cdot hyuhh resignation=
 3
      Nixon:
 4
                                                                                       [ ]
 5
                                                                                     (([ptk]))
 6
 7
      Nixon:
                         =en all that sorta thin:g en uh hen:d he said no? R'member I told ↑ju e[n eh=
 8
 9
      Dean:
                                                                                                            [Yeh
10
11
      Nixon:
                         = hehhhhh hand I sid alright now look \tag{here I:'ve uhh I jus:t c-can't hnhh
12
13
                         (0.4) k-be in that uh ·hehhyah hI mean I, I can't be in a puhsition a' that.=
14
                  5
15
                         'ee says well a' decision is yers Mister Presid'n I say wehhll h let me tell
16
17
                         yih ·hhh what's the eff↑ect \on it. I said\ what's th' situ°ā\shin. [·hehhhhhhh]
18
                                                                                                       -(0.9)-1
19
                         (·) ↑So::,hhhI don' kno:w.hmhh whatcher (·) We don' have any ·h Well look.=
20
      20
      <sup>5</sup> In the Sunday, April 15<sup>th</sup> conversation, Petersen comes close to this sort of statement (see arrowed line in the
      following fragment). Immediately following their discussion of Dean's resignation Nixon asks whether
      Haldeman and Ehrlichman should resign "before" their testimony is heard by the grand jury (pp. 4-5):
               Nixon: deeyou think we should move on them buhfore Jer deeyou wanna think
                         ōv'r fer that over[night.
                                          [We'd like tuh waiTh
                Peters:
                                  (·)
                Peters:
                         Wi'd like tuh wait.
               Nixon:
                         \circ \cdot h \lceil \cdot h^{\circ}
                Peters:
                            [Mister Pr[esid'n
               Nixon:
                                      [Becuz like tihday you were siggesting thet we sh'd call um all in
                         ↓in[:: have'm ha'm resi::gn yih see.=So I: I yish wantuh be sure yih didn't think=
               Peters:
                            [(Right)
               Nixon: =I sh'd <u>do</u> ↓that.
                                  (0.5)
               Nixon: Cuz <u>I</u> per'cly prepared ↓to.
                                  (·)
                Peters: We:ll if=You knowaheh::<
               Nixon: [hmhhhhhh]hh
            → Peters:
                         [( ) (0.3) [\downarrow ahh \ ahaa:- h That's really yer judgem'n hI think ultimately
                         thet's gonna haf to be done.uh
               Nixon: Ya_{gh}h but wh\underline{a}t (·) butcher point is thet ·hehh iz far ez the \underline{case} is c'ncern'
                         yer telling me no:w thet it's bes:t tuh wait,
                                  (0.2)
               Nixon: hIs tha[t the point?]
               Peters:
                                [Awn Dea]n? a:nd and yes: en on u-Ehrlichminu hHa:lde[min
                                                                                               [((tk))]
                Peters: tuh::uh:r uh (0.8) u\underline{h}::[:::I s'p\underline{o}ze until we h\underline{e}ar ther
               Nixon:
                                                [hmh h<u>m</u>h<u>hh</u>
                                  (0.6)
                (Nixon): \cdot p \cdot t =
                Peters: =ther testimony
```

```
1
      Nixon:
 2
 3
                             [>I'm g'nna get s'm in[<
      Dean:
 4
 5
      Nixon:
                                                      [Think about it we don't haf \tuh:: \p. we don'
 6
 7
                        haftuh do a thing dihda:y.\downarrow h \cdot he[hhh]
 8
 9
                                                           []Mmhm=
      Dean:
10
                       = Uh:: becuz Magruh- They they don't think it- they're gonna have (gahnna rep
11
      Nixon:
12
                        un I hef) (·) Theh won't hev Malgruder dihday they said othey [can't] get 'im, ol
13
14
                                                                                           [ ]
° [Right,]°
15
      Dean:
16
                        ·hehhhh \ hAnd uh prob'ly not til duh\ morrowihnh ·hehh That'll be their fir:'
17
      Nixon:
18
19
                       star witnėss
20
21
      Dean:
                        Mmhm,
22
23
      Nixon:
                        pt I mee ah- you know their pruheedure there apperently is tih have him go out
24
25
                        'n \cdotplk (0.3) m-make a statem'nt 'n uh \cdothuhhhh in open courth \circ \cdothh\cdothh\circ (0.3)
26
27
                       huh:hh confess in open court 'n make a statemint apperently I didn' know they:
28
29
                        c'd do that with the guild[y people]
30
                                                    [Oh that's ] becuz Sirica's insisting uh pon it
31
      Dean:
32
33
            ):
                        \downarrow m_{gh}
34
35
      Dean:
                        They're not ri[(
36
                                       [Yė-eh-yah we- Tha]t's what they said.=theh Sirica w'z ·hehhh
37
      Nixon:
38
39
                        h\downarrowuh w'z uh: <u>a</u>sking uhh th't Siruh skood- w'd <u>a</u>sking the qu<u>e</u>sh'ns \uparrow<u>a</u>n<u>y</u>way
40
                       so they said wi'l just make hav'm make a shtatemint
41
42
43
      Dean:
                        [Mmhm?
44
                        [·hehhyhehhyhehh I wonder about that (·) procedure.=It's a little (0.3) a little
45
      Nixon:
46
47
                        tough isn' it in it's h[h \cdot hhh]
48
                                              [Uh: ver[y ( ] [ ) [ ] [ it's ] (0.2)[very risky ts- ez far ez uh:h \cdot \underline{hehhh}
49
      Dean:
50
51
      Nixon:
52
53
                        ez (·) p-ez <u>je</u>opardizin:gh ah mean I would th-I would th<u>i</u>nk thet M<u>i</u>tchell et
```

```
1
      Nixon:
                          all hev a
 2
 3
                                    (5.0)
 4
 5
                          khuhh
      Dean:
 6
                          purty pretty tough constuh->uh mean have a good Constitution'l quesh'n
 7
      Nixon:
 8
 9
                           there w[ouldn' thee<]
10
                                    [\underline{I} \text{ w o } \underline{u} \text{ l d }] think \dot{e}-I think they would'n (·) indeed if uh:=
11
      Dean:
12
13
                          =hYeah[h]
      Nixon:
14
                                     [if th'r named in open [court like tha:t,
15
      Dean:
16
17
      (Nixon):
18
                           °°·t·k°° · <u>hhihh</u> G<u>i</u>ve m<u>e</u> suh uh-t <u>G</u>imme a li'l f<u>e</u>eleeng on tha:t.=D<u>o</u>n't let
19
      Nixon:
20
21
                           them know I'm checkin' \( \text{on that} \) but \( \cdot he[hh \) give me \( \] ye:r er duh \( \do \) a li'l=
22
23
                                                                                [I underst'n]
      Dean:
24
25
                          =hmhh=
      Nixon:
26
27
                                        )](ah'm) digging on that [for y[uh (
      Dean:
28
                                                                      [ [\cdot hh [on th \underline{a} t \downarrow \underline{a} \text{n:d uh } hh \cdot \text{t} \cdot \underline{hehhh}
29
      Nixon:
                              [rundow]n
30
31
                           ah'll <u>caw</u> yih abaht two thirdy er three.h[h
32
33
                                                                             [Awright sir
      Dean:
34
35
      Nixon:
                          <u>O</u>ka:[y.h
36
                                 [Goo[d
37
      Dean:
38
39
      Nixon:
                                       [hO\downarrow ka[y]
40
41
      Dean:
                                                [Thank yo[u
42
43
                                                             [Hope you gotta good night' sleeph [hhuh ·he]hh
      Nixon:
44
                                                                                                          [ I d<u>i</u>d ]
45
      Dean:
46
                          \underline{E}z we-ll esshu c^h\underline{an} [these da:ys=
47
      Nixon:
48
49
      (Dean):
50
51
       Dean:
                           =<u>he</u>[h huh h<u>u</u>h °huh°]
52
53
                               [·<u>heh</u> huh ·heyuh] Well let me ↓sa:y keep yer- (0.2) keep mI tol:d the
      Nixon:
```

```
1
      Nixon:
                          other boys I sid Godu · hehh yihknow it's tough fer Lever'body John 'n you
 2
 3
                          all iv you er,h good friends in I said den yo' fought the good fight ·hehhh
 4
 5
                          an:du you'll live tuh fight a\u00e4nother one.=
 6
                          =^{\circ \circ} Yuh^{\circ \circ} hheh h[eh]
 7
      Dean:
 8
                                              ['At's 'ee import'n thi:ng?
 9
      Nixon:
10
11
                          <u>I</u>n↓deed.
      Dean:
12
13
      Nixon:
                          ·ptch Ri:ght?
14
15
      Dean:
                          No pro'lem there (sh[ur)
16
17
      Nixon:
                                                    [Right!=
18
19
      Dean:
                          =N[\underline{o} \text{ sir.}]
20
                              [°Okay[:°
21
      Nixon:
22
23
                                   °(([thuk dunk ka-da dk))°
24
25
                                    ((grn))
26
27
                                    ((receiver down))
28
29
                                    ((woo\underline{eee}t))
30
31
                                    (5.8) ((dead tape))
32
33
                          This c'ntclu:des (·) segmin' two:. of conversation number thirdy eight (·)
       Voice:
34
35
                          dash(\cdot) \underline{eighdy}(\cdot) four.
36
37
                                    (1.6)
38
                          Th<u>is</u> c'ncludes (·) the ab<u>u</u>se, of gover'mint phower segments, (0.2) fer
39
       Voice:
40
                          \underline{c}o:nv\underline{e}rs\underline{a}tion number \circ h^{\circ} \underline{th}irdy eight (\cdot) dash (\cdot) \underline{e}ighd\underline{y}, four.
41
```

41 ⁶ An 'Abominable "Nee?" '