

Nixon and Kissinger, Telephone

April 17-18, 1973 11:45 pm-?-12:04 am

1 Voice: Conversation number thirty eight ·h dash uninedy two:u ·h ↑Portions [14.3]
2
3 of a ktelepho_n conversation_h between the Presidint? ·h en hHenry A.
4
5 Kissinger. °·h·h° These portion were recordid on April seventeenth?
6
7 ·hh through April eighteenth? ·hh nineteen sevendy three ·hhyihh at
8
9 en unknown time between eleven fordy five p.m. ·h en twelve oh four
10
11 a.m.

(1.6) ((dead tape))

15 Voice: The following, is segmentu oneu.

(6.1) ((dead tape))

(0.5)

21 Nixon: Whhell,hmhh [14.7]

23 (Ø): FF-FF=

25 Nixon: =whh

(0.8)

29 Nixon: ·p! kRather a hard da:y wudd'n it.hmhh

(0.3)

33 Kis: Well it was hahr:t fuh you °it°

(0.3)

36 Nixon: ·p!

(0.7)

40 Nixon: Yeah< hm hh h[h

41 [

42 Kis: ¹ [Well I, uh(h)I didn' kno:w you hed made the statemint you

42
¹ The statement Kissinger is referring to may be one that Nixon decided to make “before reporters and TV cameras, but to take no questions. [At] 4:42 p.m. Nixon said he had two announcements to make.” One announcement had to do with reserving executive privilege before the Ervin committee. “The second announcement was [that] there had been...unspecified ‘major developments’. On March 21, he stated, he had

- 1 Kis: di:d un[til the evening
 2 []
 3 Nixon: [·ptkl °hh°
 4 (0.9)
 5
 6 Kis: ² When I think iv the discipline with which you c'nductid the meeting in the
 7
 8 mor[ning
 9 []
 10 (Ø): [fwh
 11
 12 ((wf))
 13
 14 (0.4)
 15
 16 Nixon: °°whh°°
 17
 18 ((wff:fm))
 19
 20 Nixon: ³ ·hehhh hEn then going through the evening_kh_hhuh-huh-huh [-he[hhh
 21 [] []
 22 (([sk]))
 23 []
 24 Kis: [En then
 25
 26 °g_eoing through the [evening]°
 27 [] []
 28 Nixon: [·p·tkl] °Yih know,° mwuh
 29
 30 (1.2)
 31
 32 ((tk-tk))
 33
 34 Nixon: Problem ↑I have ↓is that uh↓ (0.6) ·pl hI can't look et it _nwith the ettached
 35 way I really shouldwell these:: pee_u people god dammit ther guildy, (·)
 36
 37
 38 p_throw 'em out ↓'n (0.4) ·pt·p go ↑o:n: but uh°hmh° ·tch (·) jes:t th'pers'nal

38

begun 'intensive new inquiries' and the previous Sunday he had reviewed 'the facts which had come to me in my investigation,' as well as the prosecutors' case, with Kleindienst and Petersen. Nixon then said that anyone in the executive branch who was indicted would be suspended from his post, and anyone convicted would be discharged." He then stated: "I have expressed to the appropriate authorities my view that no individual holding, in the past or present, a position of major importance in the administration, should be given immunity from prosecution." Nixon ended [by saying] 'I condemn any atmpmts to cover up, no matter who is involved.' With that he left the briefing room. Press Secretary Ziegler was engulfed in a storm of questions." (Emery, *Watergate*, pp.337-38).

² Possibly the meeting Kissinger is referring to was "an official visit by Italian Prime Minister Julio Andreotti", "in the middle of [which], Nixon decided to get out [in] front of Watergate. . . . The president decided to make a brief statement in the White House newsroom before reporters and TV cameras, but to take no questions." [see above n] (Emery, *Watergate*, p.337).

³ Kutler, in *Abuse of Power* (p.320) notes in an introduction to his transcription of this call: "The President has been to a late-night dinner affair. Returning to the White House, he makes several calls", including this one.

- 1 Nixon: thin:gs erh Gho:d da:mn.h ·p (·) I think a' these good menhnhnuhh ·ptk (0.3)
2
3 hmh[h h h h [·hmh
4 [[]
5 Kis: [theh try[: to
6
7 (0.2)
8
9 Nixon: Su:re.hehhehyhahh
10
11 (): hmh
12
13 Nixon: °°whu:h°°
14
15 (·)
16
17 Kis: who wunnih tih do the ri:ght thing °en:t uh:°=
18
19 (): =°°wh°°
20
21 Nixon: °Wehell iss° gunnuh, splash on=lot 'v 'm=
22
23 (): =hmhh
24
25 Nixon: ·p
26
27 (0.4)
28
29 Nixon: ·pEnd uh:·hhm=hh= hh=hh=hhhh Anywa:y ·k·plok
30
31 (·)
32
33 Kis: _____ Well I think [the way you have posetioned it [no:w
34 | [[]
35 (Ø): | (([khh-hm)) (([tk-k-kluk k-km))
36 |
37 (Ø): (1.2) (0.2)
38 |
39 (Ø): | ((mkh-[tk-mkh))
40 | []
41 Kis: _____ [is: theh ri:ght we:y tih do it
42
43 (·)
44
45 Nixon: hoowuhh
46
47 (0.7)
48
49 (Ø): ((pwih plk))=
50

- 1 Nixon: ⁴ =Course Garmint< ↓as zhi know is u_havin' the idea thet I should ·*hehh* (·)
2
3 git up in announce thit I'd fired Haldem_un Ehrlichmin in Dea:n? °·*hehh*°
4
5 (Ø): ((*puh*))
6
7 Nixon: An' det *uhhh* ·*puh* innih mean< (0.2) without*uhh* ·*hu* °°*glp*°° ·p without
8
9 uwaiteeng untilh (0.8) htey: git ep un na:me thè-uh- the real culprit isè
10
11 ⁵ is Mit↓chell a' course.↓ He's in charge ih the whole God damn thing in
12
13 Nixon: Joh:n ↑Mitchell? ·*hmhh* ·*puh* should step up like a man en say look I
14
15 wiz in charge I take di_h responsibilidy< period ·*he*[*hh*
16 [Exactli_h,
17 Kis: [Exactli_h,
18
19 (·)
20
21 Kis: All de moreso ess doi[ng the ↑opposite wo[n't ↑help him ennih.
22 [p [mhhhhmhh
23 Nixon: [p [mhhhhmhh
24 (0.8)
25
26 Nixon: _____ Nope?*hmh* They're gonna get 'im*hmhh*
27 |
28 | (0.2)
29 (1.3)
30 Nixon : | °°·*kh*hau°° ·p|k ·k °°*h*ha[u°°
31 | [°Eh::[t uh,°
32 Kis: _____ [°Eh::[t uh,°
33 | [huhhhh
34 Nixon: | [huhhhh
35 |
36 | (0.2)
37 (1.6)
38 | ((squeak))
39 |
40 Nixon: | °°·*h*°° whhuhh[wih
41 | [Well ↑I think t_o fiyuh Ha↑:ldimin would ma:ke him: de villain,
42 Kis: _____ [Well ↑I think t_o fiyuh Ha↑:ldimin would ma:ke him: de villain,
42

⁴ 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".

⁵ John Mitchell, Nixon's Attorney General in 1968, resigned March 1, 1972 to become director of the Committee to Re-Elect the President, resigned for 'personal reasons', July 1, 1972 (various sources). Indicted May 10, 1973 on one count of conspiracy, three counts of endeavoring to obstruct justice, and six counts of making false statements to a grand jury. Pleaded not guilty May 21, 1973. Acquitted April 28, 1974. (from Leon Jaworski, *The Right and the Power*, p.354)

1 | ((squeak))
2 |
3 (1.6) (·)
4 |
5 Nixon: | *p^hooih^{oo}·h·h^{oo}*
6 |
7 Nixon: | *·p Well*
8 |
9 (·)
10 |
11 Kis: | E[n I dɔn't]
12 | []
13 Nixon: | [I[n thē^kIn] the end he wɪ- prob'ly w'd haftuh go Henrih,*hmh*<
14 |
15 (0.9)
16 |
17 Nixon: | *·p-k Ther^h gunnuh^{hmh} yuh know (0.7) ·kl rɪp hɪm up good.*hmhmh**
18 |
19 (0.5)
20 |
21 (1.5) ((tk-k-tk))
22 Nixon: | *·p[uh*
23 | []
24 Kis: | *[Well if thet's the ca:se then he should ket ou:t befo:ih*
25 |
26 (0.4)
27 |
28 Nixon: | *wuuhh!*
29 |
30 (0.8)
31 |
32 ((tk-k))
33 |
34 Nixon: | *↓We:ll, ·*khmhh*< (·) ·p ehehyeh ·t (B't eh) (·) But not 'ntil: (·) I have (0.7)*
35 |
36 *abs'lute evidence.=I'm not gunnuh fire a guy on the basis of a,*hh* ·*hehh**
37 |
38 *(0.3) charge ma:de by Dea:n who basically is tryin' duh save iz a:ss in get*
39 |
40 *uh?^{oo}·*khau* *ho*^{oo} (0.2) ·plk eemmunity yih see:.*
41 |
42 (0.4)
43 |
44 Nixon: | *·p That's why ih had that [-(·)-] phrase in there that no uhmmunity should=*
45 | []
46 | *(([[*thrp*]])*
47 |
48 Nixon: | *=be grannid to a top person*
49 |
50 (0.8)
51 Kis: | *Yeh=*
52 |

1 Nixon: =hHe az no right tih do the^hhmhh ·puh=
2
3 Kis: _____ =No that's absolu[tlj-Ah mean I: think that is ↓o[utrageous.
4
5 Nixon: | [hmh ·tkl | [·wulk
6
7 Nixon: | whh!·hh
8
9 (1.7) (0.4) ((squeak)) (0.2)
10
11 Kis: _____ °°↓Uh°° (·) No I=
12
13 Nixon: | =°hgyuhh°
14
15 (0.7) ((tk))
16
17 (·)
18
19 Kis: _____ I just hev no way: uhyuh I have no good feel foh where
20
21 (0.5)
22
23 (1.0) ((tk))
24
25 Nixon: | wuhh
26
27 Kis: _____ I (·) I: think you would not hev
28 |
29 Nixon: | [fw^hh=^h hmh hmh
30 (1.2)
31 (0.4)
32
33 Kis: _____ improof (0.2) de situa:tion if you hed suddenleh, (·) without any preparation
34
35 turned on all [yer associate.
36 |
37 Nixon: | [°wuhh°
38
39 (0.4)
40
41 [((tchk))
42 |
43 Nixon: | [Y^uph^mh^mh^mh^mh^mh
44
45 (0.6)
46
47 Kis: _____ °E:n(·)d uh°=
48
49 (Ø): | =((k^hm))
50
51 Nixon: | glrk klkkluh
52

1 | (0.5)
2 (3.4)
3 | ((tk))
4 |
5 (): °hmhmmhmmh[hmh°
6 | []
7 Nixon: [·tchrp
8 |
9 (0.4)
10 |
11 Nixon: Well we have (0.3) [two er]
12 | []
13 Kis: [I : : th]ink=
14 |
15 Nixon: =two er three har:d months ahead 'n (0.5) 's ↓gunnuh be↓ real rough.
16 |
17 Kis: Well the mājuh thing now: Mister Presidin::d if I may say so is tuh
18 |
19 [protec'
20 | []
21 Nixon: [·puh
22 |
23 (·)
24 |
25 Nixon: °°yah°°
26 |
27 Kis: the Presidēncy ent yer othoriteh
28 |
29 (·)
30 |
31 (0.9) ((ktik))
32 |
33 (0.4)
34 |
35 Kis: They got [they've [got ()
36 | []
37 Nixon: °[kloh° [That'll be har:d be↓cuz uh
38 |
39 (·)
40 |
41 Kis: Well det['s
42 | []
43 Nixon: [they'llh[h
44 | []
45 Kis: [the absolute[l y e]ssen[tial
46 | [] []
47 Nixon: [they'll] [they'll
48 |
49 (·)
50 |
51 Nixon: Some a' the:se people will even piss on the Presiden' ↓if they think it'll↓

1 Nixon: help'm
 2
 3 (1.4)
 4
 5 Nixon: p
 6
 7 Kis: Well,=
 8
 9 (Kis): =*hhhh*[*h*
 10 [
 11 Nixon: [This's pretty har:d Ih'm the only o:ne frankly ih the whole God- evvu-
 12
 13 of the whole bunch who r::eally (0.6) ·p *hmh* did'n know a God da:mn thi:ng<
 14
 15 (0.5)
 16
 17 Nixon: yuh know about it 'nti:l (0.8) ·p ↓m_{gh}-m↓ til Mar:ch when I (0.5) fin'lly s-
 18
 19 w-klau tk (·) _{gm}Dea:n came i:n 'n said well? (0.7) ·p here's w'r it i:s,
 20
 21 (Ø): | (*hmhri:ght?*)
 22 (1.2)
 23 (0.5)
 24
 25 Nixon: | ·kplpWhich 'ee shoulda done months a↓go:.
 26
 27 (0.2)
 28
 29 (Ø): (0.9) ((swall[ow?])
 30 | [
 31 (Nixon) | [°·hhh°
 32
 33 Kis: | Well they wer,e in ovuh their het, en they: try to:
 34
 35 Nixon: | ·*tlakuh*
 36 (0.8)
 37 ((dk))
 38
 39 Kis: | 'Stead of stepping ba:ck end esssessing where they wu:r,
 40
 41 ((tk-clank))
 42 (0.8)
 43 | (0.4)
 44
 45 Kis: | got en dee:per en deepeh.
 46
 47 Nixon: °*hm*That's right.*hmh*°
 48
 49 (0.4)
 50
 51 Kis: But I think the absolu(·)te uh mean=
 52

1 (Nixon): =ff=
2 Kis: _____ =to protect
3 |
4 | (0.9)
5 (1.4)

6 (Nixon) | °°p (·) kh°°
7 |
8 Kis: _____ the pla[ce
9 | [

10 Nixon: [Well=
11

12 Kis: =(i[s keep])
13 []
14 Nixon: [uhh i f] we ca:nhh'f we will but ef we don't what the he:lluhhmhh
15
16 ·pl[k ((swallowing))
17 [

18 Kis: [We ↓ca:n Mistuh Presidge[nt.↓ ()
19 [

20 Nixon: [·tch!Maybe we'll uh:[hmhh
21 [

22 Kis: [I:'m [a b s u h-]
23 []
24 Nixon: [Mayb'eve]n
25

26 consider thih- possibilidy ev,h ·huhh frankly jes:t ↓uhhmh (·) ·p·huhh
27
28 throwing myself un the sword ↓'n:=
29

30 Kis: =No. N[o ↓no.](No we)
31 [] []
32 Nixon: _____ [puutin]k letting] eh [letting letting] Agnew take it what the hell.
33 | []
34 Kis: | [No we cannot]
35 (0.6)

36 (Ø): | °·yehyehyah°
37 |

38 Kis: _____⁶ Det is ou:t of de qeshtion with all due resp^hec' Mistuh Presidge[n' that
39
40 kennot be considert.
41
42 (1.5)
43

44 Nixon: Whell
45
46 ((squeak))
47

48 Kis: Dih (·) personalidey what it would do to the Presidgeny en tih the eehu
49
50 historic'l unt injustice ↓of it↓ Why should you do it

50

⁶ Unless otherwise marked, words such as 'due', 'new', etc., are pronounced 'doo', 'noo', etc.

1
2 (1.2)
3 Kis: _____ End [what good would it do
4 | [_____
5 Nixon: | [khmhmhhh
6 |
7 (1.1)
8 |
9 (1.8) ((squeak))
10 |
11 Nixon: | °puh°
12 |
13 (0.2)
14 |
15 Kis: _____ Whom would it hel:p
16 | [_____
17 (0.3)
18 (2.8)
19 Nixon: | °kmh° ·tch °hmhwhhoohhh°=
20 |
21 Kis: _____ =It wouldn't help the country?=It wouldn't help any indeividual inyo:lve'
22 |
23 (1.4)
24 |
25 Nixon: [Mghm:hmhm
26 | [_____
27 Kis: [Un with all: respect I don't thing a President has a ri' dih sacreefice himself
28 |
29 _____ for in individual.
30 | [_____
31 | ((tcheekuh))
32 |
33 | (1.4)
34 (4.6)
35 Nixon: | ((swallow)) ((gnk)) ((swallow))
36 |
37 (0.4)
38 |
39 Kis: _____ And it would of course be pers'nally unjus'
40 | [_____
41 (0.4)
42 |
43 Nixon: ·pthhuh mWghe:ll eghh maybehhhhrm
44 |
45 Kis: I think we heftuh (tey[k ____])
46 | [_____
47 Nixon: [Well I've 'ad 'n (0.3) kind'f a few tough meetings
48 |
49 zhi know::eh·hehh hI've 'ad dinners ↓uuh::h·hehh the night after Cambodia?=
50 |

- 1 ↓un I had ↓uh:: (0.5) I had one un: (·) mè=aftih the May eight thing we had a
 2
 3 dinner?⁷ ·hu·hu (0.2) they were tough but boy I'm tellin' yuh duhnight I
 4
 5 wih °·hu·hu° that w'z a har:d w'n fer me dih get °throu:gh°h
 6 (0.3)
 7
- 8 Nixon: ·ptk ·pI don't think [(thet only-)]
 9 []
- 10 Kis: [But you ca]rried it oaf [mignif]i[centlih]
 11 [] []
- 12 Nixon: [↓I don't] [I don't] think the
 13
 14 audience sensed it but=
 15
 16 Kis: =n:no one ↓sensed it↓
 17
 18 (·)
 19
- 20 Kis: _____ No one<
 21 |
 22 | (0.3)
 23 (1.0)
- 24 Nixon: | kuk-wlp w[l
 25 | [
- 26 Kis: _____ [°I eeuh° ih=I in fact I didn' know you hed made a sta:temint so:
 27
- 28 Nixon: whu[huhhoo
 29 [
- 30 Kis: ⁷ [↓uh one of my ↑dinner pa:rtners set isn'd id as↑tonishing how the
 31
 32 Pres'dind is behaving? consid'ring wuhd eez ↑done tihday<
 33
- 34 (): ·hyuhh
 35
 36 (·)
 37
- 38 Kis: I said yes he's hed a tough meeting in the mohrning but 'ee does thet all
 39
 40 the ↑time.
 41
 42 (0.6)
 43
- 44 Kis: She said no: the sta:temint
 45
 46 (0.2)
 47
- 48 Nixon: *hHuh*.
 49
 50 (1.1)

50

⁷ Hearing “one of my dinner partners”, it was clear that the reference was to a woman.

- 1 Kis: _____⁸ (Which_mwih disgest)
2 |
3 (2.3) (0.6) ((tk)) (1.4)
4
5 Kis: _____ s:S[o : u h] et was en astonishing perform[en'
6 | [] []
7 Nixon: | ↓[M_{gh}hm]hmhh [·whhhhhhhhhp
8 (1.8)
9 (0.6)
10
11 Kis: _____ But I think Mistih Presid'n [thet kən [b e : : u h]
12 | [] []
13 Nixon: | °°[whh°° []
14 (0.6) []
15 | (([bnk knk gluk] dk gnch))
16
17 Nixon: _____ ·kloh Well b't there'th things you can en yerhh (0.4) ·t talking dih people
18
19 _____ you mayhh (·) ·t
20 |
21 (Ø): (0.9) °hmhmh[mhm°
22 | []
23 Nixon: _____ [·t may 'aftuh mention:: hhr:really very strongly these pers'nal
24
25 things?=if it'll help.=I don'know<
26
27 (·)
28
29 Nixon: _____ ·t May not help_{gm} [·t
30 | []
31 Kis: _____ [Uh no it, it [will help [Mistuh Pre[sidin:d ent
32 | [] []
33 Nixon: | [·t [·pwuh [hmhmhhh:
34
35 (1.1) (0.9)
36
37 Nixon: | °·t°
38
39 Kis: _____ If thih stuff any stuff gets ou::t< (0.2) then theh_r has to [be ruthless surgery:=
40 | []
41 Nixon: | [·mp
42
43 Kis: _____ =or as the stuff gets ou:t
44
45 Nixon: _____ °↑Yup°hmh Yê-Aw: it wil- there wi:ll. hHell ·hnhh [·pkuh
46 | []
47 (([clank])
48
49 Nixon: _____ h_{gm}mIt'll_{gh}hm it'll it'll ehy (0.6) ·p Ax'll ↑fa:hllhh ·klokuh
50
51 (0.4)

51

⁸ Maybe 'Which we discussed'???

- 1 Kis: _____ °An:[:d uh::°
 2 | []
 3 Nixon: | [·tssk
 4
 5 Nixon: (0.6) *khhmhh*[h
 6 | []
 7 Kis: _____⁹ [It's impermissible dih touch the Presi[dench'at kennot be permitted
 8 | []
 9 Nixon: | [whhh
 10
 11 (2.8)
 12
 13 Kis: °°eh-An:d°° [(·)] °w'tevih det° Whade[vuh °pri::ce.°
 14 | [] []
 15 Nixon: | [tss]wsswssuh | [hmhhh
 16
 17 (0.3)
 18
 19 Kis: En ah'm sure thet ev'n Bo: [b uh: thet Bob wouldn' wa:nt that.
 20 | []
 21 Nixon: | [whhh<
 22 (0.5)
 23
 24 Nixon: °·tk° hhOh:: hNo Bob is w_{gh}illing diss ·huh·hehhuh Bob en John ↑both er rilling
 25
 26 dih throw themselves 'nna sword although they're when they do they're gunnuh
 27
 28 f:f[ight like he:ll.
 29 | []
 30 | (([bnk))
 31 |
 32 (Nixon) (0.8) °·hhihmhh°
 33 |
 34 | (0.4)
 35 |
 36 Kis: _____ But uh uh-one [of them awdoo sta:y,
 37 | []
 38 Nixon: | [hmhhhhh
 39
 40 (1.3)
 41
 42 Nixon: *kh*hI would hope so
 43
 44 (0.8)
 45
 46 Nixon: ·puh *klm* °Yeah< Right°=But if gee-I'm afraid it can't be Haldemin in *h*I'm

46

⁹ In *Abuse of Power: The New Nixon Tapes*, Stanley Kutler has “edited the conversations with an eye toward eliminating what I believe insignificant, trivial, or repetitious.” (p.vii). He has an edited version of this conversation (pp.320-324). As I was transcribing Kissinger’s utterance, I wondered how Kutler heard it, figuring he probably had Kissinger saying, not “It’s impermissible to touch the Presidency”, but, due to a combination of Kissinger’s pronunciation and the overlapping breath by Nixon, had only heard “...the President”. Sure enough, that’s what he’s got. (See p.322, line 12, “KISSINGER: It’s impermissible to touch the President.”).

1 Nixon: afraid the only one that *kl* ↑possibly could be saved would be Ehrlichm'n en
2
3 that's tough too,
4 |
5 (5.2) ((various small, soft noises by Nixon))
6 (5.7)
7 Nixon: | ·p·wuhhh[h]
8 | [
9 Kis: | [Bud I: think you (·) positioned it correctly that a:s evidence
10
11 comes [out
12 | [
13 Nixon: | [·p
14 |
15 (0.7) (·)
16 |
17 Nixon: | °°hmhmh°°
18 |
19 Kis: | But foh you do fiyuh them a:ll now would be-look li:ke pa:nic
20 |
21 (0.5)
22 |
23 Nixon: (3.4) | ·puh °°whew°°
24 |
25 (2.2)
26 |
27 Nixon: | whh Whell uh that's the Garmin li:ne wuddiyih think iv his line:·hmh·pt·h_ih
28 |
29 (·)
30 |
31 Kis: | Well Gahrm[in'
32 | [
33 Nixon: | [mhhh tuhh
34 (1.3)
35 ((tk))
36 |
37 Kis: | wants yih duh fiyuh Haldihmun Dea::n
38 |
39 (0.3)
40 |
41 Nixon: | ·puh ↑End ↓Ehrlichmin?hnhhh ·t·k·hehhyuhyuh
42 |
43 (·)
44 |
45 Kis: | I don' know wheth 'ee wantshu duh fiyuh °Ehrlichmin too°
46 |
47 (0.5)
48 |
49 Nixon: | ·pt eeYuphmhh ·puh!
50 |
51 (Ø): | °°mh h_ih°°
52 |
53 (2.5) (1.1)

1 Nixon: | ·p̣lk °°hmh°°=
2 |
3 Kis: | =Well?
4 |
5 Nixon: | hmhh wlk hmhhhhh hh hh °°huh°° ·pt °°hyoo:°°
6 (3.2)
7 | (1.0)
8 |
9 Kis: | I=nuh it's a possib-iv'ee I don't know what the evid'nce is bu(·)t [uh
10 | [°°[hmhh°°
11 Nixon: |
12 |
13 Nixon: | ·tk mgh-m The evid'nce is ·hmhh ·p hat this time chargiz ma:de thet iv not
14 |
15 | been corr↑ob↓oredid yet.nh °°hmhh°° ·mk But they'rehmhh[hmh
16 | [°°[hmhh°°
17 Kis: | [Well ↑if theh_r's
18 |
19 | a good cha::nce
20 |
21 Nixon: | ·puh!
22 (0.7)
23 (): | °°·h°°
24 |
25 Kis: | thet theh'll ha:ftuh go ez a result of=
26 |
27 Nixon: | =°°hh°°
28 |
29 Kis: | what ↑happ↓ene[d.
30 | [°°[hmhh°°
31 Nixon: | [·plk^{hm}
32 (0.8)
33 | (0.4)
34 |
35 Kis: | Then I: don't think you: should fire thim they awdoo resi:gn on dih
36 |
37 | gr_ou[n d_t]
38 | [°°[hmhh°°
39 Nixon: | °°[whh]°°
40 |
41 | (1.3)
42 |
43 Kis: | d_ghet theh_r ↑useful↓niss iss impai:rt
44 |
45 | (0.8)
46 (1.1)
47 | ((dok))
48 |
49 Kis: | Thet [they 'aftih be abov_e (sithe^{ein}) like Ceasih's wi:fe
50 | [°°[hmhh°°
51 Nixon: | [whhmhh?
52 |
53 | (2.6) ((silence))

1 Nixon: _____ Mmhm?hh
2 |
3 | °°(gk)°°
4 |
5 | (2.1) ((bp))
6 |
7 | °°((wikukeeko))°°
8 |
9 Nixon: _____ ((swallow)) ·p!=We'll think about it?hmhh [Do ur besth
10 |
11 | [([metallic noise])
12 |
13 | (0.6)
14 |
15 Kis: Well I think it does you credit to ha[ve
16 |
17 Nixon: [fhh
18 |
19 | (·)
20 |
21 Nixon: mhhh
22 |
23 | (·)
24 |
25 Kis: _____ s:- staht uh stood ez you ha::ve,
26 |
27 | ((dok-dik dok dikkih))
28 |
29 | (·)
30 |
31 Kis: _____ En in any ihven' (·) today you:: (·) were ri' [tə: n- go no f~~ur~~thuh.
32 |
33 Nixon: [·mplk
34 |
35 Nixon: mhh// ((tape cuts))
36 |
37 | (5.8) ((dead tape))
38 |
39 Voice: This c~~o~~ncludes segmint uoneu of conversation number (0.2) thirdy eight=ih
40 |
41 | dash (·) ninedy twou
42 |
43 | (9.5) ((dead tape))
44 |
45 Voice: The following is segmint two: (0.2) of conversation number thirdy eight
46 |
47 | dash=uh ninedy twou ·hh ↑Portion of a telephone convers~~ai~~shin ·h between
48 |
49 | the President? ·hh en hHenry A. Kissinger. ·hhhh this portion? uwas
50 |
51 | recordid on April seventeenth? ·hh through April eighteenth ·hh nineteen
52 |
53 | sev'ndy three ·hhh at en unknown time between eleven forty five p.m.

- 1 Voice: *u ·hh en twelve oh four a.m.u*
2
3 (4.7) ((dead tape))
4
5 (0.3)
6
7 Nixon: *·pt We:ll don't chu get discourage' you=*
8
9 Kis: *=Mistuh Presidin[t I'm not dis[courage']*
10 [[]
11 Nixon: *[·tch [·f you do y]er jo:b m_{gh}m youhh ts- two er*
12
13 *three of us hev gottahh ·hehhh stick aroun' try duh ho:ld the God damn ↑fort*
14
15 *'nhm[hh*
16 []
17 Kis: *[You hu- you he[v sayed this country Misteh_r Presidin[t the hist'ry=*
18 [[]
19 Nixon: *[·p·huh< °°hmhhhh°° [·pwah*
20
21 Kis: *=books: will show thet=*
22
23 Nixon: *=·pk hmhh[hh*
24 []
25 Kis: *[when: they don't ee-ē[ē- whedn: n-n- no one wi[ll know what=*
26 [[]
27 Nixon: *[whh °°[huh°°*
28
29 Kis: *=Wa:tergate means.*
30 |
31 | (0.3)
32 |
33 Nixon: (1.2) *·pwuh hoohoo*
34 |
35 | (·)
36 |
37 Kis: *°An::[: : d [u h°*
38 [[]
39 Nixon: ¹⁰ *[puh [gm Maybe although °kmhh° (0.5) ·plukplp ar enemies< (·) ·tkkl*
40
41 *(·) yghih knghow (0.3) wghill (0.2) say wellhmh this ↓pro:ves thethh ·plkhhalm*
42
43 *°hmhhmhhmh° we werehh (0.3) ·t·plkh obstructed justice:: we:hh (0.4) ·p (·)*
44
45 *hOh wellhh hh (0.3) ·plk! °hihh°*
46
47 Kis: *Oh end in six months no one will know it any[moh_r*
48 []
49 Nixon: ¹¹ *°°[·tkm° ·tk khm Mm?=*
50

50

¹⁰ At “although” it sounds as if Nixon’s voice is just beginning to quaver.

¹¹ The “Mm?” is doing ‘dubious’

1 Nixon: =hmhh[hhhmhh
2 []
3 Kis: [It's a human tra:gedy foh_r Haldem[in: an' Dean and [a few [of=
4 [[[]
5 (([tuk pleek)) [[]
6 [[]
7 Nixon: [hmh [·ptk
8 []
9 Kis: _____ =those [felluhs=
10 []
11 Nixon: | [·plah
12 | []
13 (): | =°hmh[mh°
14 (1.1) | []
15 Nixon: | °°[·heheh°° ·pt[lk
16 | []
17 (([clonk))=
18 | []
19 Kis: _____ =Haldemin: is a guud- (·) big ma::n Mistuh President en hē[°ll
20 []
21 Nixon: | [·pleeno aahhehehhu
22 | []
23 Nixon: ·kl Dean is ↓thē huhh the rea:l_{gm}mh ·tk ↓the rih- all thet's really:::h↓ gunnuh bē
24 []
25 thēhnh ·huhhuh loose canon: becuz hē's uh:: ikhn tryin' dih save iz ass
26 | []
27 ((wsh))
28 (0.8) | []
29 (0.3)
30 | []
31 Nixon: _____ Tryin' dih get immunity that's why I had in: that little phra:se thet (·) gno
32 []
33 immunity sh' be grannid to any top person ·huhuhh
34 []
35 Kis: Ye[s
36 []
37 Nixon: [°n En thet's gunnuh burn his a::ss becuz (1.4) hn nen hē'll th:s: thra:sh out
38 []
39 about, everything you c'n imagine_n
40 []
41 (·)
42 Kis: °Yes?°
43 (1.3)
44 []
45 Nixon: ·p Althou:gh. mZiggler made in intrishting point he hez Go:d damn little
46 []
47 keredibidity- khredibildy efter all he w'z making the repo:rt,hwahh
48 []
49 Kis: Dat's ri[(g)ht
50 []
51 Nixon: [He w'z a' one thet said there w'z no involvemint 'n ·p[that's w't=
52 []
53 Kis: [(Yih)

1 Nixon: =we re^lied on_{,h}
 2
 3 (0.3)
 4
 5 Kis: °Dat's r_igh^t°=
 6
 7 Nixon: =·mlp h_l ↓mea-:n took him took him til: ·huhh (0.2) February er Mar:ch iv
 8
 9 this yea:r before hē_h (·) fīn'ly came in in said well here it is
 10
 11 (0.2)
 12
 13 Kis: °_dThat's r_igh^t°=
 14
 15 Nixon: =·pup
 16
 17 Kis: An:[(d)
 18 [
 19 Nixon: [It's a little damn late id'n it.hmh[h
 20 [
 21 Kis: [I' just fire 'im
 22 |
 23 Nixon: | °hm_hhmh°
 24 (0.9) |
 25 (·) |
 26 |
 27 Kis: | Ez soon iz it comes ou:t
 28 |
 29 Nixon: | fmff fmf whooyuh
 30 |
 31 (0.5) |
 32 (2.9) |
 33 Nixon: | °°hm_hhh°°
 34 |
 35 (0.3) |
 36 (): | ·t=
 37 |
 38 Kis: | =End let 'im scream from the outsi::[de.
 39 [
 40 (Ø): | (([wff))
 41 (·) |
 42 (4.6) |
 43 Nixon: | hmhpuhhhhup<
 44 |
 45 (3.1) ((silence))
 46 |
 47 Nixon: | hI:: guess so.hmh Well we wī:ll ·p·p whun the tīme comes=
 48 |
 49 (): | =°°hm_hhhhhh°°
 50 |
 51 Nixon: (2.7) | °°pt (·) tch (0.2) p°° ·tk
 52 |
 53 (0.2) |

1 Nixon: ___ Well yuh know, nobody really will know: w: thet ehhh °°huhh°° what
2
3 they put a presidint through unnuh thing like this. hhuhh °°huhh°°
4
5 Kis: ___ Well it's: inhuman Misteh_r Presid[ent en it's:: uh,
6 | [_____
7 Nixon: | [mkhhh
8 | (0.4)
9 |
10 Nixon: (0.9) pwih
11 |
12 | (·)
13 |
14 Kis: ___ Cuuz< (·) theese bastehds know damn well thetchu couldn't have known
15
16 ___ abah_t it (·) thet if. one considuhs all the thinks you hadda go through.
17 |
18 () : | hihh
19 (0.4)
20 | (0.2)
21 |
22 Kis: ___ You couldn' haa- be a police judge too.
23
24 (1.1)
25
26 Kis: ___ Yer running the governmint yer doing all the negotiatin[g
27 | [_____
28 Nixon: | [whh-h[h-hhh
29 | [_____
30 (0.8) | (([wff])
31 | (0.3)
32 |
33 Kis: ___ Yer carrying a bikker loa:d then any president ha::s.
34
35 Nixon: whhwhh tk meyhe[yhhah tk p
36 | [_____
37 Kis: [Top of it they wantche dō[:
38 | [_____
39 Nixon: [Good God ↓we were↓ going
40
41 yer Russia in China en ending the wa::r ↓u_{gh}n::nigotiateenk uh yè=I wasn'
42
43 even thinkeeng a↓bout the God da:mn ca:mpaign yih know?=
44
45 Kis: =O[f c o u r s e ,]
46 | [_____
47 Nixon: [I hed nothina ↑d]o with thih thā:m campaign [ez you know.]
48 | [_____
49 Kis: [°Of ↓course°]
50
51 Kis: Of course.
52
53 (0.2)

- 1 Nixon: Thet's the prah- That's the tregy I wish to Chrise maybe that I ha:d but if
2
3 I'd ·hehehh ah'd been [SPENDING TIME UN THE CAMPAIGN maybe=
4 [
- 5 Kis: [(If)
- 6
7 Nixon: ='ee wouldn' pulled off the-[(e the a don iv 'ee)] [·puh
8 [] []
- 9 Kis: [Mister Pres'n if you c]an't[r]ely on yer own
10
11 people duh tell you dih fac's:
12
13 (1.7)
14
- 15 Kis: Den it's: e-in- den it's rathuh difficul:t en(·)d if [you hedn't done, if y-=
16 [
- 17 Nixon: °[whh°
18
- 19 Kis: =ixa:c'lih if you hed done tha[t?=we might still be in we- in thih wooer.
20 [
- 21 (Nixon): °°[whh°°
22
23 ((tape cuts))
24
25 (5.5) ((dead tape))
26
- 27 Voice: This kinclu:des u segmint two↓u.(·) of conversation number thirdy eight
28
29 dash (·) ninedy two.h
30
31 (10.5) ((dead tape))
32
- 33 Voice: The following is segmin' thuree: (·) of conversation number thirdy eight
34
35 dash (·) ninedy two. ·h Portion? of a telephone conversation ·h between
36
37 the Presidint? ·hh en hHenry A. Kissinger. (·) ·huhheh This portion?u was
38
39 recorded on April seventeenth ·huhh through April eighteenth ·huhh
40
41 ninety sevendy three, ·h at en unknown time between eleven forty five
42
43 p.m.u ·h en twelve oh four a.m.
44
45 (5.8) ((dead tape))
46
47 (0.5)
48 [— (1.0) —]
- 49 Nixon: ↑A:n:d in the meantime uh [hmh hmhhhh] putcher arm aroun' Haldemin in
50
51 Ehrlichminh
52
53 (0.2)

1 Nixon: [·tp
 2 [
 3 Kis: [You kin count ↓ on it Misteh [Presi]deh
 4 []
 5 Nixon: [mΔn]d ↓uh.
 6
 7 (0.5)
 8
 9 Kis: I've bēēn standing by: Haldem'n I didn' know Ehrlich[man was in=
 10 [
 11 Nixon: [·ptk
 12
 13 Kis: =trouble °too°?
 14
 15 (0.8)
 16
 17 [— (1.0) —]
 18 Nixon: ēYup.[hmhhmhhmh]
 19 |
 20 | (0.4)
 21 |
 22 Nixon: °·puh ·t·k·t°
 23 (3.5)
 24 | (0.8)
 25 |
 26 Nixon: °°ksh°°=
 27
 28 Kis: =Well you ken cou:nt un [the fa[ct thet I'll stand by th'm
 29 [[
 30 Nixon: [whh [
 31 [
 32 [((— rustling noises —))
 33 |
 34 Nixon: (2.2) [mh
 35 [
 36 (Ø): [mhhm<
 37 |
 38 (0.8)
 39 |
 40 Nixon: ·p whhhihi[hhuh
 41 [
 42 Kis: [But the mājuh pers'n dih stand by now is you,
 43
 44 (0.2)
 45
 46 Nixon: huhehhihuuh (·) ↓huh °°hm°° (0.2) ·tk
 47
 48 (1.4)
 49
 50 Nixon: huuhuuhWe: sh'll see.hm
 51
 52 (0.9)
 53

- 1 Nixon: ·*plp*
2
3 (1.0)
4
5 Nixon: °*hmhh*° ·p↑*But* et least ol:’ *Sinatra* gave ’m a *lift* in I *thought* the *dinner*:
6
7 w’z rether *ni:ce* yih [know?]
8 []
9 Kis: [Th’who]le: (·) *evening* was beauti[f
10 []
11 Nixon: [P.m: was *ni:ce* in
12
13 we yuh know wiz °*wuuz*° n-*light*’n: *yet* n*dē*- (0.5) ·*kl* fun: fer everybody
14 |
15 Nixon: (0.6) °*hmhhmhmh*° ·p
16 |
17 Kis: | The *whole* eve↓*ning* was beautifuh
18 |
19 (0.4)
20 |
21 Nixon: | ·*puh* ·*kl·kl* (·) °°(*whē:ll*)°°
22 |
23 (·)
24 |
25 ((squeak *tk, tik tk*)
26 |
27 (7.0) (0.8)
28 |
29 Nixon: | *whhu* ·*h*
30 |
31 °°((*dp*))°°
32 |
33 (0.7)
34 |
35 Nixon: | °*hmhm*[*hmhmh*°]
36 [[————— (1.2) —————]]
37 [((small, [soft noises, possibly swallowing]))]
38 |
39 Nixon: | ·lp↑*Well* sleep on it ↓*gh*’n wi’ll all trydih *git* s’*m* *ideas*,
40
41 (1.1)
42
43 Nixon: ·*puh* (0.2) °°*kl*°° I ↑*dōn*’t think< (0.2) *Garmint*’s *judge*↓*mint* is *very* *good* I:
44
45 *dōhhuh* yuh know w’I *mea:n*:: °°*tk-u-tk*°° p-He *panics* ↓*so* *easily* yih know
46
47 *eez* p-He (·) *panicked* un *Cambōdee* en *everything* *e:lse* *ear’ier* ’*nh* [·*h*
48 []
49 Kis: [Tat’s
50
51 ↓*right*. *Dat*’s *bēē*[n *my* *ex*]perien](ce)
52 [[]]
53 Nixon: [hI j i s t] I j u s]t feel thet °°*hh* ·*hI* *uh* ·*hihh*°°

1 (0.2)
2
3 Kis: M'ster Pre[sid'n
4 []
5 Nixon: [You may haftuh:hh
6
7 Kis: So far you haven' got the evident.
8
9 (0.8)
10
11 Nixon: Mm-mm.hhh ·tpl[k
12 []
13 Kis: [è-If you get u some: [(·) evidence that makes it look that=
14 []
15 Nixon: [·plkkk
16
17 Kis: =[thiz fellows can't be hel:d
18 []
19 [((duk clink))
20
21 Nixon: If it's har:d evidence ↓thou:gh God dammit [I'm not g'nna-]
22 []
23 Kis: [You get h a h r]d
24
25 evid[nce th]et]
26 []]
27 Nixon: [·heh] har]d it's gotta be corrobora↓did.=I↓ ain't gonna led um do
28
29 it onna basiss uffhh ·hehh=
30
31 Kis: _____ =Then you ough'do fīyuh the people
32 |
33 Nixon: (0.5) uhheh[hh
34 | []
35 Kis: _____ ['gainst hyoom (·) you hev evidence in the othihs ough'd[o (·)]
36 []=
37 Nixon: °°[whh]°°
38
39 Kis: _____ =consider resignin[g
40 | []
41 Nixon: | [kuhhhehehhh
42 (3.0)
43 (2.3)
44
45 Nixon: _____ Yep°°mh°°
46 |
47 (2.7)
48 (4.2)
49 (Ø): | °°wh=hh=hh=h=h°°
50 |
51 Nixon: _____ Well u be great da:y on the other side ↓fer thè↓ ·heyuh hall of ar
52
53 enemies won' it.hnh Ti:mes the Po:st duh rest shīt 'n eh: ·pk=

1 Kis: _____ =°That's° right Mister Pr[esid']n=
 2 | []
 3 Nixon: | [↑But]
 4 |
 5 (): (0.6) =°°hOkay°°
 6 |
 7 | (·)
 8 |
 9 Nixon: _____ [uthey °wu-° [the:u]
 10 | [] []
 11 Kis: _____ [°()° [pull i]t- (·) to gether the wa:gins en (0.5) pull it thruh=
 12 |
 13 Nixon: | =hmhhmhh
 14 (0.6)
 15 | (·)
 16 |
 17 Kis: _____ As you've done ,so of↓ten.
 18 |
 19 | (·)
 20 | [-(0.6)-]
 21 Nixon: _____ hmhheh huh huh [·hehhhhh]
 22 |
 23 (0.7) ((dnk dnk))=
 24 |
 25 Nixon: _____ Wellhmhh
 26 |
 27 (1.6)
 28 (1.9)
 29 ((dk))
 30 |
 31 Nixon: _____ Y'know wuh thet's is what's really disturbing is it the ·hehhh comparing
 32 |
 33 ¹² this God damn thing with ↑Teapot nDo↓::me fer Chri'sakes which w'z
 34 |
 35 thievery on a hh-hoi m:masseev basis ·hehh (0.2) hisn' what this is all
 36 |
 37 abou' mhh
 38 |
 39 Kis: _____ Tha:t's ↓ri:ght Mistuh ↑President in i[n a year thet will pe [clear].
 40 | [] []
 41 | (([dk dp)) (([dp])
 42 |
 43 | (·)

43

¹² The Teapot Dome scandal involved high government officials in the Warren Harding administration (1921-1923, noted for its record of general corruption). Albert B. Fall, secretary of the interior, persuaded President Harding to transfer the administration of the U.S. naval petroleum reserves from the secretary of the navy to Fall's department. In secret negotiations without competitive bidding, Fall issued leases which granted certain companies exclusive rights to oil and gas at the Teapot Dome reserve, Wyoming and the Elk Hills and Buena Vista Hills reserves, California. Congressional investigation (1924) revealed that Fall had received more than \$200,000 in Liberty bonds from companies benefiting by the leases. The Supreme Court ruled the contracts fraudulent and in a criminal action Fall was convicted of bribery. (From *The New International Webster's Dictionary of the English Language*, pp.440 and 698.)

