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CIVIL RIGHTS - ABUSE OF DEMONSTRATORS

April 25th, 1973 TAPE

HALDEMAN: Gerry Warren sort of falls into the same thing. Ken Clawson is in there -- both in that area and in the Colson area during the campaign where he was, I'm sure he was heavily involved in the, in the Colson type activities as was Bill Rhatican, I think.

PRESIDENT: You're, you're now mixed, you're not including not only Wagergate, . . .

HALDEMAN: Including...

PRESIDENT: ...Segretti.

HALDEMAN: ...No, this isn't Segretti type stuff, this is, is...

PRESIDENT: All Watergate?

HALDEMAN: No, it's not Watergate either.

EHRLICHMAN: Bringing the Cubans up to rough-up the demonstrators.

PRESIDENT: Campaign activities. I got that.

HALDEMAN: Right, right.

PRESIDENT: Ervin Committee.

HALDEMAN: Ervin Committee at least, but it's coming out now so it's gonna be press before Ervin Committee.

EHRLICHMAN: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: And probably, will get in some way logged into the Grand Jury business because of the money.

PRESIDENT: Yeah for instance, uh, Dick Howard gets involved with the money.

EHRLICHMAN: Well, now if, if the premise is that someone is going to be a problem to the functioning of the Presidency...

PRESIDENT: Right. (Unintelligible) a hell of a lot.

EHRLICHMAN: Then, you got to, there isn't any good place to stop without going all the way because if we're off the scene and we both take up farming in Iowa...

PRESIDENT: Iowa

EHRLICHMAN: Then Bill Rhatican some day becomes just as big a problem to you as I might be, if I were here. Because they haven't got me to focus on.

HALDEMAN: If they can't tell you he's not (unintelligible) they can't tie Rhatican to the President.

EHRLICHMAN: Well, they'll attempt to tie him (unintelligible)

DRAFT 1
3 of 5

TRANSCRIPT OF A RECORDING OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND H. R. HALDEMAN ON MAY 5, 1971, IN THE OVAL OFFICE FROM 9:55 A.M. TO ?

NIXON, HALDEMAN MEETING, MAY 5, 1971, 9:55 A.M. TO ?

Music

HALDEMAN: . . . Mitchell in today?

PRESIDENT: Picked up them all right.

HALDEMAN: Yesterday.

PRESIDENT: How's he's do -- great? What was the situation today? Did they have any more actions?

HALDEMAN: Uh, there's gonna be a, they're going to . . .

PRESIDENT: March on the Capitol?

HALDEMAN: Uh, . . . be at the Congress at noon when the thing . . .

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Well, that's the plan, uh, whether they do it never can quite sure. But they, they've followed the plan pretty much up to now. It's (tape noise) the theory is they're gonna . . .

PRESIDENT: Demonstrate up there, at the Capitol?

HALDEMAN: From twelve noon until the People's Peace Treaty is signed, you see, they're demanding that the Congress sign this. This is this peace treaty that they've signed with North Vietnam. (Laughs)

PRESIDENT: Hmm. (Tape Noise)

HALDEMAN: They've got no (tape noise) special permit. Best estimate is 2,000 demonstrators. Trouble very likely.

PRESIDENT: Good.

HALDEMAN: They've planned two meetings tonight to plan demon . . .

PRESIDENT: That was last night.

HALDEMAN: . . . to plan demonstration activities. We don't, I haven't had a late reading on, on that. (Tape Noise) They just granted the federal employees' permit, after all. They're, before they'd left the stand they couldn't get a base for an injunction apparently, so they didn't get . . .

PRESIDENT: All right.

HALDEMAN: . . . one. So. . .

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) out here today?

HALDEMAN: . . . that's -- in and out here today. There'll also be the students of Shelton College . . .

PRESIDENT. Where the hell is that?

HALDEMAN: . . . on the, on the sidewalk in front of the White House. It's in New Jersey. They're then demonstrating in favor of the war. Heh. They're gonna, heh, they're gonna be on our side of the street and the other people are gonna be in the park.

PRESIDENT: That's fine. Probably a new college of some sort.

HALDEMAN: It's -- I'm afraid it has somethin' to do with Carl McIntyre.

PRESIDENT: Oh, be suspicious, yeah.

HALDEMAN: Yeah, McIntyre's having a victory thing next Saturday. Sunday. This coming Sunday. Victory by the Fourth of July. It's, it's a . . .

PRESIDENT: Can we get in there with those Government employees. Is there anyway to?

HALDEMAN: I guess you can't.

PRESIDENT: I'd sure get a lot of pictures and everything.

HALDEMAN: Sure, are.

PRESIDENT: You know, just get guys with, with news cam --, news things, so that they don't . . .

HALDEMAN: No, they have a plan to do anything (tape noise).

PRESIDENT: We sure have good intelligence, don't we?

HALDEMAN: Heh, heh.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) Don't know, don't know what's been happenin'.

HALDEMAN: They, can, uh, picked up . . .

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: . . . in a sweep yesterday, they arrested Abbie Hoffman. They got Dr. Spock, as you know, the day before. They got Al Hubbard, the, uh, veterans' guy that, that had . . . pos -- the black who had posed as a . . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: . . . Army, as an Air Force captain and then turns out not to have been a captain.

PRESIDENT: Sargeant is he a, is he one of 'em?

HALDEMAN: He -- they arrested him.

PRESIDENT: I'll be damned.

HALDEMAN: So they scooped up, they, they got all these people in these nets, you know. Th-th-they'd taken one in a fish net. They also discovered, much to their horror, they got two or three Washington Star reporters and a couple of Life reporters.

PRESIDENT: And the Washington Post reporter I noticed has wrote an article this morning.

HALDEMAN: Well . . .

PRESIDENT: They let 'em out. In case . . .

HALDEMAN: Oh yeah.

PRESIDENT: Let out. Check that.

HALDEMAN: Well, the Life reporter, Life reporters didn't go out. They were delighted to be in. I think there's a Life photographer in there, too. So they're getting a lot of pictures (tape noise) instance, well, we had a big -- did you read about the nude dance. That was one the big things in the stockade is that a lot, men and women took off all their clothes and did a, did a, uh, some sortta (tape noise) operation.

PRESIDENT: Well, the reporters certainly -- they've got to damned well understand that if they're in there and they're told to move and don't, they're gonna get picked up too.

HALDEMAN: That's the sce-. . .

PRESIDENT: I noticed the Post is, is screamin' about it. Nicolas Von Hoffman, the nut.

HALDEMAN: Oh, I know.

PRESIDENT: Jesus Christ. Why do they carry that son-of-a-bitch?

HALDEMAN: Well now, because he says the kind of things they like to say. He says it with total irresponsibility.

PRESIDENT: That's right. They had a reporter in here said he was a Vietnam Marine veteran, an associate editor of the society page of the damned thing.

HALDEMAN: Is that right.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) They had him all over the place.

HALDEMAN: But . . .

PRESIDENT: They let him out just as soon as they found out who they were, right?

HALDEMAN: Should have missed (tape noise).

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) The whole business about repression and so forth, don't you think it's, on that side -- inci-incidentally, has anybody thought, you know, I, I, I mean it may be that you guys went ahead (unintelligible), maybe it occurred to you that, to, to put some of these guys in sp-- why doesn't somebody introduce a resolution. If you can't get a resolution, perhaps circularize a letter supporting the President on the handling of the demonstrations. You know we -- or something like that. Or if you want to, praising the chief of police, or praising the Attorney General. See what I mean? Couldn't you (unintelligible) -- have any speeches been made yet supporting us or on this, uh?. . .

HALDEMAN: Yeah. (Tape Noise) The speeches don't do any damn. . .

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) do

HALDEMAN: No.

PRESIDENT: Maybe a resolution.

HALDEMAN: A resolution or a letter might.

PRESIDENT: Maybe, maybe it isn't worth the bother. I just thought that it might, . . .

HALDEMAN: . . . It might get them thinking about it.

PRESIDENT: That's my point.

HALDEMAN: Right.

PRESIDENT: I think really that -- . . .

HALDEMAN: Even Sam Ervin got up and went, went through a big pretension of praising the, the, the whole operation, Justice, the Administration, the police. Everybody heard .

PRESIDENT: That right?

HALDEMAN: Yeah, he's the great defender of constitutional liberties and all . . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: . . . that stuff.

PRESIDENT: Wh -- what'd he praise?

HALDEMAN: The handling of the demonstration overall, the whole, you, you know, there was a very -- (tape noise) it was a sweeping praise type.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Well, . . .

HALDEMAN: It all went . . .

PRESIDENT: One thing we, uh, one thing I was gonna say, th-th-th-th, Pat went down to the Senate wives and (tape noise) ate at a luncheon and she said they were all (tape noise) on our side, left and right. She said Mrs. Ervin, Mrs. Stennis came through the line and she said, "You know, the President has saved our country."

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: They really think this is good. I mean, we may have more goin' for us than we think here, Bob. Yah. We shouldn't be frightened about it. That's my point. Let me put it this way, let me put it this way: I know, I know what it is that you're gonna run into on this. You're gonna run into people that -- the overreaction thing and all that sort of thing. My point, you're gonna get accustomed to that. No way that you're gonna avoid it.

HALDEMAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: So therefore, play it hard. Play it responsibly, but play it hard and don't back off from it.

Now, they can -- you see, they're all, they'll all think back to the San Jose thing, you know, and forgetting that San Jose was fine except for the God damned silly speech, you know. Covering that getaway from it, we got out (unintelligible) home free. We had it all on our side.

HALDEMAN: Nobody's raised that analogy and I think -- there's been no . . .

PRESIDENT: Well.

HALDEMAN: . . . thought of backing off.

PRESIDENT: Don't back.

HALDEMAN: It's been all, the whole line has been . . .

PRESIDENT: . . . firm.

HALDEMAN: Stay firm.

PRESIDENT: Stay firm and get credit for it. That's my point. See, I don't want to make an accident out of it. I don't want to be doing on the basis, well, we're sorta sitting here embattled and doing the best we can. I think the idea here is to lead a noble -- you see maybe, you, it may be that we're setting an example, Bob, for, uh, for universities, for other cities, and so forth and so on. Right? (Tape Noise) Let 'em look here. These people try somethin', bust 'em. (Unintelligible Noise) general attitude of your people.

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Convinced?

HALDEMAN: I think . . .

PRESIDENT: . . . we ought to go forward.

HALDEMAN: Yeah. We, we stay with that all the way. There's no --

PRESIDENT: In other words, let's be proud of what we're doing, not that we're -- I think Ziegler is 'cause I . . .

HALDEMAN: I think there're some folks out there to tear down the Vietcong flags today.

PRESIDENT: Good.

HALDEMAN: There'll be some confrontation on that in the, in the Hill thing. That's, we're, we're trying for that. Would be good. And, uh, (tape noise) of the Vietcong flags. There's been some play. Newsweek ran some big color stuff. I think they, I don't think realized that they were . . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: . . . doing them a disservice because I think the Newsweek coverage hurt the demonstra-- we have them--, cause they showed this guerilla theatre stuff with their faces all painted up and, and Vietcong flags and this kinda thing in color. Uh, very vivid color pictures.

PRESIDENT: Um-hmm.

HALDEMAN: So. . .

PRESIDENT: Hmm. You have 'em on that (unintelligible)?

HALDEMAN: Yeah, (unintelligible) Uh, . . .

PRESIDENT: (Tape noise) take a look. (Unintelligible, tape noise)

HALDEMAN: That was the first of last week's stuff. We don't have any this week, uh.

PRESIDENT: Don't you think they'll have quite a bit this week too?

HALDEMAN: Oh sure. They'll have to.

PRESIDENT: Even though it came out . . .

HALDEMAN: I would guess th-th-th, what Time, Newsweek covers this week would probably be Chief Wilson. (Tape Noise) Unless somethin' happens the latter part the week, some new story, but, uh, they have to go pretty much with what's in by Wednesday. (Unintelligible, tape noise) decision and I would think that might be the, might be the story. Maybe not.

PRESIDENT: (Tape noise, Unintelligible) an awfully good job.

[Pause. Tape Noise]

HALDEMAN: Heh-heh. Damn Colson thing.

PRESIDENT: He do something else?

HALDEMAN: Yeah. Uh, Muskie sent those oranges down to the veterans in the, the group on Saturday I mean.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: He didn't, he didn't go down himself, but he's sent oranges.

PRESIDENT: Colson ordered some oranges for him?

HALDEMAN: Colson sent oranges down yesterday.

(Laughter)

HALDEMAN: (Laughing) From Muskie.

PRESIDENT: Is it out?

HALDEMAN: I don't know whether it's out yet or not. They'll get it out.

(Laughter)

PRESIDENT: (Laughing) He just ordered 'em.

HALDEMAN: (Laughing) Yeah. He's got an awful lot of cases of oranges at the-- I don't know how

HALDEMAN: (Continued) the hell he does that stuff, but he-- it's good, you know, he's been around the District here so long, he has a lot of contacts and, he, he, as a local guy he can get stuff done here, but -- and he's got no -- and he's -- gonna get caught at some of these things.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) admit it.

HALDEMAN: Well he has, he has been caught.

PRESIDENT: It's all right?

HALDEMAN: But, he's, he's got a lot done that he hasn't been caught at and, uh, he, he gets those guys, you know, something like that going. (Tape Noise) of course this is uh -- we got some stuff that he doesn't know anything about too through, uh, . . .

PRESIDENT: Huston?

HALDEMAN: No, through Chapin's crew and, and Ron Walker and the advance men we got, we got, uh, -- see our plant's in the, . . .

PRESIDENT: What do you do?

HALDEMAN: . . . in the(unintell.) , . . .

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)?

HALDEMAN: . . . and some of our -- guess you've gotta -- what we've got is a, is a guy that nobody, none of us knows except Dwight --

PRESIDENT: Um-hum.

HALDEMAN: Who is a, uh, and, and, who is just completely removed. There's no contact at all. Who has a mobilized a crew of about -- I don't what it is. He's, he's starting to build it now. We're gonna use it for the campaign next year.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: Are they really any good?

HALDEMAN: In fact this guy's a real conspirator-type who, who can sorta. . .

PRESIDENT: Like Huston then?

HALDEMAN: Thug type guy, no, his, he's a stronger guy than Huston. Huston is a, is a -- stay in back room.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: This is the kinda guy can get out and tear things up.

PRESIDENT: What do they, what do they do with, uh, do they just, uh, . . .

HALDEMAN: They get in and -- they were the ones that did the, the Nixon signs, for instance, when Muskie was in New Hampshire.

PRESIDENT: Oh did they?

HALDEMAN: And, uh . . .

PRESIDENT: Everybody thought that was great.

HALDEMAN: They, you know -- things of that sort. They, there some of that, and then they're, they're the, they're gonna stir up some of this Vietcong flag business as Colson's gonna do it through hardhats and legionnaires. What Colson's gonna do on it, and what I suggested he do, and I think that they can get a, away with this, do it with the Teamsters. Just ask them to dig up those, their eight thugs.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: Just call, call, uh, what's his name.

PRESIDENT: Fitzsimmons.

HALDEMAN: Is trying to get -- play our game anyway. Is just, just tell Fitzsimmons. . .

PRESIDENT: They, they've got guys who'll go in and knock their heads off.

HALDEMAN: Sure. Murderers. Guys that really, you know, that's what they really do. Like the Steelworkers have and -- except we can't deal with the Steelworkers at the moment.

PRESIDENT: No.

HALDEMAN: We can deal with the Teamsters. And they, you know, . . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: . . . it's the regular strikebusters-types and all that and they (tape noise) types and this and then they're gonna beat the shit out of some of these people. And, uh, and hope they really hurt 'em. You know, I mean go in with some real -- and smash some noses. (Tape Noise) some pretty good fights.

PRESIDENT: I take it you can (unintelligible) picture of the guy in the Post that the reporter (tape noise, unintelligible) back injured and all.

HALDEMAN: I didn't see that. I must admit Buchanan said in his summary -- it's obvious the Post is going for a Pulitzer prize on their coverage of the thing or something because they're just spilling it . . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: . . . by the ton with all these (tape noise) picture stories and everything else.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) just don't want to overplay it. They'll just get, the country'll just get a belly full of these people.

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise) yeah.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) How did it handle it last night?

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise) had, had some good footage of the big mob out on the Justice Department thing and, and . . .

PRESIDENT: Some close-up?

HALDEMAN: . . . (Tape Noise, Unintelligible) Fortunately, they're all just really bad lookin' people. There's no, there's no, uh, semblance of respectability.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) on this. There was some veterans either.

HALDEMAN: No. I didn't. There's not. Rennie Davis has, has been spokesman and, and he's as good for us and he's a convicted conspirator and, uh, (tape noise) discredited.

PRESIDENT: Hmm.

HALDEMAN: I think getting Abbie Hoffman and, and this John -- the other -- they got . . .

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: . . . another of the Chicago Seven guys. Uh, (tape noise) amounts to anybody, but they got him. But that sorta takes . . .

PRESIDENT: Aren't the Chicago Seven all Jews? Davis' a Jew, you know.

HALDEMAN: I don't think Davis is.

PRESIDENT: Hoffman, Hoffman's a Jew.

HALDEMAN: Abbie Hoffman is and that's so

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) John Luzens or Leubens or . . .

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: . . . the other one they got.

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise) is.

PRESIDENT: About half of these are Jews.

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise) they got one shot of a policeman clubbing a guy. (Tape Noise) it doesn't do us any good; but they're, you know, you can't avoid that. They're bound to get one somewhere along the line. Most of it was very much the other way.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) inevitable, Bob. How the hell do you expect the poor God damned policemen--

HALDEMAN: They've got to do it and I think people probably recognize that and there wasn't, th-- we don't have the thing like in Chicago, if you remember . . .

PRESIDENT: Hmm.

HALDEMAN: . . . that it w-; it was a totally different kind of thing. There the policemen were just, they were really ruthless. They had good reason to be.

PRESIDENT: Sure.

HALDEMAN: But these cops don't come . . .

PRESIDENT: And even then, and you'd better remember, (unintelligible) the public supported.

HALDEMAN: Then . . .

PRESIDENT: The public supported. We were, we thought the public was not on their side, the public was on their side.

HALDEMAN: With the cops all the way.

PRESIDENT: You bet your life. And at this time, the public's gonna be on the side of -- I think the speeches Congressmen and Senators give -- well for me, they won't come but for me, but they could come out for Wilson, couldn't they?

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: And, uh . . .

HALDEMAN: I (unintelligible) get 'em, you know, somehow. (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Yeah. Okay.

HALDEMAN: This is the thing on the, uh (tape noise) employees for peace thing. They, uh, (tape noise) over five hundred people on, and, uh, five hundred permits so they've got to do it under law.

PRESIDENT: For five hundred?

HALDEMAN: Yeah. Court (tape noise) can't get an injunction because we have toshow that it represents a clear threat to security of the White House.

PRESIDENT: Forget it. Forget it.

HALDEMAN: And this doesn't, so --

PRESIDENT: Just don't pay any attention to that. We can't (unintelligible, tape noise) I'll be over there. That's no problem. There's one place Chapin screwed (unintelligible) is getting (unintelligible) God damn it if there are any State Department people there. And I bet I -- I'd just like to know. (Unintelligible) if they're HEW, to hell with it, that's all.

HALDEMAN: What it's generally gonna be is all the activities at HEW (unintelligible) College people are gonna start this Thursday and go through Saturday. So they aren't gonna be out there today.

PRESIDENT: Oh boy. (Unintelligible) All those preacher types without their (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise) Immediate victory in Vietnam, (tape noise) a military victory in Vietnam.

(Pause, background noise)

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) on Saturdays.

HALDEMAN: Not really.

PRESIDENT: No, I mean it changed. I mean the attitudes change. Two weeks ago everybody was worried about the God damn veterans and so forth and this week they're on the side of the cops. See what I mean? People, people there.

HALDEMAN: Why . . .

PRESIDENT: (Tape noise) They weren't too much on the side of the veterans either.

HALDEMAN: That same thing as that poll of ours which shows the shift back to 48-40 approval of Vietnam, the President's handling of Vietnam.

PRESIDENT: Yeah, uh-huh. (Tape noise)

HALDEMAN: You know, it shifted just the other way, just that week of the veterans' . . .

PRESIDENT: That the vets . . .

HALDEMAN: . . . demonstration.

PRESIDENT: That's, that's awful.

HALDEMAN: (Tape noise) That's really what happened. It sure shows that, the effect of, uh, of the television barrage and was just all it can be. That's the only way they knew anything . . .

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: . . . about the vets 'cause the papers didn't give 'em that much, that much of a play outside of, out . . .

PRESIDENT: Outside of Washington. That's right. That was a hell of a television show.

HALDEMAN: Yeah. (Tape noise) and that was before, that article was taken before they threw the medals over the fence which was the most effective appearing (tape noise) on T.V.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) Oh, yeah. The lunge around the -- the drop. That's right. (Tape Noise, Unintelligible) to show it the day before the medal (unintelligible, tape noise) The poll indicates that was . . .

HALDEMAN: Well, our poll indicated they were two-to-one against the, the demonstrations before this happens, before any s-s-, of this stuff. (Tape Noise) I think you're gonna have to, have to -- it's more than two. It's almost three.

PRESIDENT: Um-hum.

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise) I think more now. (Tape noise; unintelligible) . . .

PRESIDENT: Does know anybody gonna be around today. Did you look -- I hope they're keepin' the flags up. (Tape Noise) That ought to be a national -- cause I suggested to the Legion and VFW should have that was a national project. Defend the flags. Anybody that would tear it down -- you know, that's, that's part of their drill anyway. Wouldn't that be a good idea? (Tape Noise; Unintelligible) Just gonna be the end. These people got a flag upside down, you know, burning it and so forth. The hell with it. You let 'em start on that --

HALDEMAN: Um-hum.

PRESIDENT: . . . (Tape Noise, Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) cool Spring. It's, it's never . . .

HALDEMAN: It's supposed to warm up now today.

PRESIDENT: Is it?

HALDEMAN: And, uh -- (tape noise) it's up to seventy.

PRESIDENT: I wonder if the Congress, uh, today will really get a belly full of these people.

HALDEMAN: Well, I hope so.

PRESIDENT: If they could just move in into the halls of Congress somewhere, have they thought of that.

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise) Congressional Police are probably gonna try and -- the Capitol Police will turn 'em over to us (tape noise) know what their plan is, least did as of, first thing this morning.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) Did that thing about that, that story about the bomb under the bridge ever get out?

HALDEMAN: It turned out that it wasn't a live bomb, just a fake, (tape noise) went down and tested it and it was no (unintelligible).

PRESIDENT: Just a fake. (Unintelligible; tape noise)

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible, tape noise) see these people run. And they (tape noise) don't even know what they . . . Really impatient.

HALDEMAN: On that -- (tape noise) Yeah. Their technique was theoretically non-violent, but transient stuff they don't regard as violent. (Tape Noise) God Almighty.

PRESIDENT: That's the worst thing I ever heard of. (Tape noises) It's -- he said the Congress is mad again. (Unintelligible) -- well, they're not -- this is really their first run at the Congress en masse. They didn't have a their, th-, last week, they just went -- a few of 'em.

HALDEMAN: That's right. They didn't have any demonstration -- well, the veterans' thing, uh . . .

PRESIDENT: No, the majority of the pain though was at, was after the veterans' thing.

HALDEMAN: Yeah and that was small groups.

PRESIDENT: That was small groups.

HALDEMAN: Sort of marauding bands. I don't know, (tape noise) they may decided to crank it up.

PRESIDENT: (Tape noise) supposed to be the big day. Anyway, that's what I have on the calendar. May 5th.

HALDEMAN: Oh yeah. This was gonna be the big day.

PRESIDENT: (Tape noise) situation reporters have been scooped up alright. (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: (Tape noise) say that again.

PRESIDENT: Reporters would be in -- it's the logical thing. They're there to cover --

HALDEMAN: They just circle them, you know, which has been the tactic they've used. They get a group, order them to disperse. If they don't then they circle 'em and arrest everybody inside the circle. And they, the thing is they'd move 'em fast onto the vans, and uh, (tape noise) -- they, now they've changed that tactic now. They won't any more press because the press has got all these lit-- they'll show the badge of course. Unless he wants to be arrested and some of them probably wanted to be. Some of them probably purposely didn't show. . .

PRESIDENT: Sure.

HALDEMAN: . . . their badge.

PRESIDENT: They wanted to be -- so they can get all the (unintelligible) for the Pulitizer Prize. Steve Bull (unintelligible). That damned Eisenhower College trying to get me to make a fundraising --

HALDEMAN: Yeah, they got Julie putting the pitch to you now.

PRESIDENT: Not gonna do it. (Tape Noise) I've done a lot for the Eisenhower family . . .

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: . . . and I've got to do something for Bob Hope's Eisenhower Center in the Desert and that's fine -- but that Eisenhower College is one small college and I'll be God damned if I'm gonna do it, don't you agree?

HALDEMAN: Yeah. And they're just milking . . .

PRESIDENT: Oh yeah.

HALDEMAN: . . . poor Mrs. Eisenhower.

PRESIDENT: You know she's . . .

HALDEMAN and PRESIDENT talk at once.

PRESIDENT: . . . seventy-fifth birthday.

HALDEMAN: . . . using all her prestige to try and --

PRESIDENT: And she calls Julie. (Tape Noise, Unintelligible)

(Background noises)

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) I don't talk to her. (Unintelligible)

(Tape and background noises)

PRESIDENT: Okay. Probably just as well because this enormous pressure will go on then, Bob, now on these meetings today (unintelligible, background noises).

HALDEMAN: Yeah, uh,--

PRESIDENT: Incidentally -- and they will pass right on today and accept it. (Unintelligible, background noise) Okay?

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Okay.

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible)

PRESIDENT: Next week. After all, there is, if there is any sort of crappin' around you shouldn't have problems with it. We talked (unintelligible). This afternoon (unintelligible) what else is, uh, -- with regard to the (unintelligible).

HALDEMAN: Saw him for a few minutes.

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) Left for New York. (Unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Mitchell. He wanted to catch up. That, that was just your weekly get-together that we had scheduled for yesterday.

PRESIDENT: Well let's leave it up to him. He might have some (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Okay.

PRESIDENT: I know, uh, --

(Pause, writing sounds)

HALDEMAN: Uh (tape noise) Pete Peterson. And then this group that's goin' into this Business Council thing.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise, Unintelligible) head of the Business Council, Bob? Connally? Who else?

HALDEMAN: Connally, Shultz, Stans, the Vice President and Pete Peterson.

PRESIDENT: (Tape noise) what -- I can't see that there's much I can say to them. They all have their own speeches to make. (Tape noise) I think it gives them -- the Business Council's importance too much . . .

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: . . . for me to spend that much time to talk to (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: It was just a, you know . . .

PRESIDENT: Well, wh-what's the line, er, has been what the line is? Connally's?

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise) to get Connally in and, and still not necessar--we don't have to do the Lockheed thing.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) I figure the Lockheed thing doesn't have to be done us. I don't have to anyway, (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: No, I know.

PRESIDENT: I want Connally to do it in Treasury.

HALDEMAN: Well, I could get Connally in to get it done.

(Pause)

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise, Unintelligible) That oughta do it, anyway, stay out of it, that's one more day's st. . .

PRESIDENT: I . . .

HALDEMAN: . . . I don't think a leak gonna do that much good. He said he'd announce Tuesday or Wednesday.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. I think you could have done the thing -- I, I think you're right. I think the leaks thing is worth -- they have most anything (unintelligible) the papers have had it anyway. It's a bunch a --

HALDEMAN: It's . . .

PRESIDENT and HALDEMAN talk at once.

HALDEMAN: . . . day after day. One more day isn't gonna make that much difference probably.

PRESIDENT: (Tape Noise) Peterson want to talk about to talk about the Japan trade thing? Does this -- does he say he doesn't know about the day that, uh . . .

HALDEMAN: (Tape Noise) He's at a critical stage. Needs to consult prior to taking any further action.

PRESIDENT: Yeah. (Tape Noise)because we don't have anybody in the cabinet that's sorta guiding him. So he gets down to me all the time. See it's (tape noise) he's like Kissinger who sets his own (tape noise) understanding of the whole thing. So, so (tape noise) kinda the area he's in. Well, we used to have Flanigan -- Flanigan's the one to stick with.

HALDEMAN: Okay.

PRESIDENT: Flanigan's better.

HALDEMAN: We'll try and do these this morning and keep the afternoon clear then.

PRESIDENT: (Tape noise, unintelligible) Peterson on two important things -- I, I don't think he's a hell of a lot of value, so, uh, -- if Connally wants to come over, any time. (tape noise) I think would probably just as soon not come today. He's busy with his (tape noise).

HALDEMAN: Yeah. There's, there's no pressure on . . .

PRESIDENT: I'll meet with Mitchell. I think if possible I'd let him, I'd let him ride today. You could do it tomorrow. Why don't you have him come -- could have one at 10:30 and one at 11.

(Background noise during next segment)

PRESIDENT: Okay. Huh?

PRESIDENT or HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) Connally. Connally if he wants to come see me.

HALDEMAN: Can you get him in.

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: . . . (Unintelligible)

(End of background noise)

PRESIDENT: Boy it's really a clear day.

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

PRESIDENT: On the agriculture thing -- do I speak outside?

HALDEMAN: No.

PRESIDENT: To the dinner or . . .

HALDEMAN: No, you, you . . .

PRESIDENT: What do I do then?

HALDEMAN: You--you go over to the Agriculture Department on a Friday morning.

PRESIDENT: Oh (unintelligible)

HALDEMAN: Seminar that you just open. And then they have greetings from Henry Kissinger or somebody, you know, and that. Uh, . . .

PRESIDENT: But what do I have to --

PRESIDENT and HALDEMAN: Both talk at once

PRESIDENT: . . . Expect a speech then? Do I have to give something?

HALDEMAN: Remarks. Just, just . . .

PRESIDENT: What in the hell is out there? I don't have to go out there today, do I?

HALDEMAN: That's something -- I don't know what that is, no (unintelligible).

(Background noise during next segment.)

PRESIDENT: Hold the door. Now if God damn it, I can, I don't want to (unintelligible, background noise), Bob. We went through this before.

HALDEMAN: No, this is, this (unintelligible). This is the, the, uh, --

(End of background noise)

PRESIDENT: What is it, just a "during each Administration, men are chosen top civil servants (unintelligible) (Tape noise) not going to comment upon it.

HALDEMAN: This is the one where you don't. . .

PRESIDENT: I don't want to say a word. Now. . .

HALDEMAN: You've never done the ceremonies.

PRESIDENT: I'll do the ceremony. Just leave . . .

HALDEMAN: We're only doing just (unintelligible) . . .

PRESIDENT: (Unintelligible) introduce you to the Chairman and (unintelligible). Then the boys will want, "you might wish to comment." "No, no, no, no, no, no, no, I'm not gonna c-," -- see I don't want to a speech about these men. I don't want to do it. They can send it over for your signature to the heads of (tape noise, unintelligible) by the appropriate Department heads. That's --

HALDEMAN: Well, nothing good.

PRESIDENT: Sure. Now, then. Oh, with regard to this thing here in August, uh,

HALDEMAN: (Unintelligible) presentation

PRESIDENT: Of the, of the just presenting the awards. And get the God damned people out, you know. I mean, I don't want the, you know, the reporters chewin' their gum and waiting for me to say something profound.

HALDEMAN: Well there's nothing to say that's . . .

PRESIDENT: You know really it isn't going to me lose anyway, Bob. Just present the awards. Very nice picture story. That's all. And then, and tell 'em there's not going to be any comments. If, if the reporters -- let's let Ollie take a picture. Can we do that this time? I mean, you have so many coming in of, of the press pool.

HALDEMAN: You don't have to say anything. There's no, you know, uh --

PRESIDENT: Okay. We'll go over it tomorrow. Good, this is (unintelligible). Maybe (unintelligible).

(Door closes. End of conversation. Eight counter units of background noise until end of tape.)

Civil Rights

5/5/71 Tape

p10-11- Chapin contact who (p11) is kind of guy who can get out & tear things up (HRH)

p11-12 Haldeman (HRH)- Colson to arrange for Teamster thugs

Pres- "They - they've got guys which go in an knock their heads off

HRH- beat shit out of people

4/25 tape

JE- bungling up arrangements to round-up demonstrators

Pres - Hanover involved with the money

Chotiner problem

Civil Rights - Q+A

On transcript of conversation on 5/5/71 with Mr. H—, refer to pages 10-11 -
appears to refer to someone Chapin knows who can get out or tear things up -
what does this refer to

Any recall of Mr. Chapin having access to people who could rough up or tear things up

refer to p 11-12
appears to refer to use of Teamsters to rough people up -
what does this refer to

aware of anyone at WH -
ie Colson - suggested this to Teamsters
NY construction
NY longshoremen

On transcript of 4/25/73 conversations with Mr. ~~Haldeman~~ Ehrl + Mr. H—
refer to statement by Mr. E - about bringing up Cubans to rough up demonstrators —

Did this refer to assault on demonstrators at Hanner funeral in May, 1972

If not, to what

did Mr. Colson arrange by this assault

reference to Dick Howard providing the money—
what does this mean—
in connection with S/3 assault?

What were activities of Mr. Phalteau expressing concern about

WATERGATE SPECIAL PROSECUTION FORCE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Henry S. Ruth, Jr. DATE: May 22, 1975

FROM : Nick Akerman NA

SUBJECT: Questions For Former President Nixon

Set forth below are the questions for former President Nixon relating to (1) the assault on demonstrators on May 3, 1972, (2) Richard Moore's Senate and grand jury testimony on the February 13-15, 1972, La Costa meeting; (3) the use of the Post Office Department to obtain information on Presidential candidate George McGovern's campaign contributions, and (4) the 1971 May Day demonstrations.

Assault on Demonstrators

On or about May 3, 1972, did you have any conversations with Charles Colson about an antiwar demonstration, a counterdemonstration or an assault on demonstrators all of which took place on the Capitol steps on the evening of May 3, 1972, when J. Edgar Hoover's body was lying in state in the Rotunda?

In a June 28, 1972, article in the New York Times, it was first reported that the Miamians involved in the Watergate break-in had confronted antiwar demonstrators "outside the Capitol while the body of J. Edgar Hoover lay in state." On or about the time that article was published, did you discuss this incident with Charles Colson or anyone else?

In an April 25, 1973, conversation with Haldeman and Ehrlichman in the Oval Office, there is a discussion about "bringing the Cubans up to rough-up the demonstrators." Who first informed you about this incident?

cc: Files
Chron
Akerman Chron
Ruth (2)
Davis

Was it Colson? Specifically, you state that "Dick Howard gets involved with the money." Who told you that? What did you understand to be Colson's and Rhatican's role in this incident?

Richard Moore

Subsequent to April 19, 1973, did you have any further discussion with Richard Moore about the February 13-15, 1973, meeting at La Costa or about his testimony on this meeting before the Senate Committee or the Watergate grand jury?

Specifically, did your conversations with Mr. Moore on April 20, 1973, and May 8, 1973, relate to these topics?

Post Office

In a discussion about McGovern's campaign contributions, in the September 15, 1972, tape Haldeman and Nixon engage in the following interchange:

* * *

PRESIDENT: . . . He may have some big angels. I don't think he is getting a hell of a lot of small money. I don't think so. I don't believe this crap. I mean if he -- Have you had your Post Office check yet?

HALDEMAN: That John was going to do. I don't know.

PRESIDENT: That's an interesting thing to check.

HALDEMAN: Yeah.

* * *

When did you first learn about this project to monitor McGovern's mail?

When did this project start?

How often was it done?

Did the purpose and scope of this project extend beyond checking the volume of mail to McGovern?

The 1971 May Day Demonstrations

In a May 5, 1971, conversation with Haldeman, Haldeman and Nixon talk about good squads being recruited by Colson and Chapin to beat up demonstrators. It will first be necessary to transcribe this tape before I can formulate questions. The questioning, however, will focus on Nixon's knowledge of such goon squads.

WATERGATE SPECIAL PROSECUTION FORCE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

After meeting with NA, PK, RD, JH and me, all parties agreed that "office interview" format on both issues was appropriate request. Not grand jury because of other priorities and the legal problems present - HR

TO : Henry S. Ruth, Jr. May 15, 1975

FROM : Nick Akerman

SUBJECT: Nixon Grand Jury Testimony

If former President Richard M. Nixon is subpoenaed before the grand jury he should be questioned about his knowledge of the assault on antiwar demonstrators on May 3, 1972, and his knowledge of the facts leading up to Richard Moore's grand jury and Senate testimony on the La Costa meeting.

Assault on Demonstrators

With respect to the assault, there is overwhelming evidence in an April 25th, 1973, White House tape to indicate that Nixon was knowledgeable about this incident either through direct conversations with Charles Colson or others. This tape of a Nixon, Ehrlichman, Haldeman conversation in the Oval Office contains two separate references to facts surrounding this assault including Ehrlichman's statement to the President about "bringing the Cubans up to rough-up the demonstrators." In this connection the involvement of Colson, Rhatican, and Howard, Colson's administrative assistant, is briefly discussed in terms of what past incidents might come to plague the President in the future.

There is also evidence that the President may have instigated this assault. Magruder has testified that Colson told him that the President wanted the pro-Administration presence at the antiwar demonstration. Although it was a relatively common practice for White House aides to request action in the name of the President when in fact the President made no such requests, Colson was one of the few aides who actually had constant access to the President during this period of time. Indeed, Colson had a number of meetings with the President between May 1, and May 3, 1972. Rhatican has also testified that Colson would have likely had contact with the President on this project.

cc: Files
Chron
Ruth (2)
Horowitz
Davis
Akerman
Akerman Chron

NW#:36514 DocId:31442600

FOIA(b)6
FOIA(b)7 - (C)

There are two reasons why the former President should be questioned about this matter. First, he might be able to provide valuable evidence against Colson or [redacted] Nixon could provide extremely relevant testimony on the assault and on Colson's motive either through his conversations with Colson or others or by directing us to relevant conversations which might have been tape recorded.

The fact that Nixon might not be cooperative and forthcoming on this investigation should not be a deterrent to questioning him. [redacted]

[redacted]

The second reason for questioning Nixon about this assault is simply the fact that he does have knowledge of a highly significant crime insofar as it involves an act of violence perpetrated by the same people, i.e. Liddy, Hunt, and the Cuban-Americans who burglarized Dr. Fielding's office and the Democratic National Committee Headquarters. Indeed, when we have overwhelming evidence

that the former President of the United States has significant knowledge of this incident, it would be totally negligent for us not to take his testimony before the grand jury.

Richard Moore

As we have discussed previously, there is evidence that Richard Moore committed perjury before the grand jury and the Watergate Senate Committee when he was questioned about the discussion of funds for the Watergate burglars at the La Costa meeting with Dean, Ehrlichman, and Haldeman. Evidence of this perjury which is presently insufficient to convict Moore consists of John Dean's testimony and a tape of an Oval Office meeting between Moore and Nixon on April 19, 1973. The strongest evidence contained in this tape is that portion of the conversation in which Moore agrees to Nixon's request to be "damn hazy" about his recollection of the La Costa meeting.

Nixon's testimony could establish a perjury case against Moore. Nixon's testimony could clear up some of the ambiguities in the April 19th tape, most significantly, what Nixon believed was Moore's understanding when he was asked to be "damn hazy." There is reason to believe from Nixon's subsequent taped conversations with Ehrlichman and Haldeman (all of which would be inadmissible in a perjury case against Moore) that Nixon clearly expected Moore to lie to the prosecutors. Nixon also would be able to testify to the substance of any other relevant conversations with Moore about La Costa subsequent to April 19th up to the time Moore testified in the Watergate grand jury. There is evidence that at least two such conversations or meetings occurred -- one on April 20, 1973, and another on May 8, 1973.

The likelihood of Nixon testifying against an old friend should not be a factor in deciding whether to question Nixon about this matter in the grand jury. There is overwhelming evidence that Nixon could provide highly relevant evidence, and on that basis alone we would be negligent in not pursuing his testimony.

NW#:36514 DocId:31442600