

Excerpts From Testimony Before the Senate

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2—
Following are excerpts from
a transcript of testimony to-
day by Richard Helms, Am-
bassador to Iran and former
director of Central Intelli-
gence, on the 34th day of
hearings on the Watergate
case before the Senate Select
Committee on Presidential
Campaign Activities:

MORNING SESSION

Richard Helms

MR. DORSEN: Did you
have a conversation with
General Cushman concerning
Howard Hunt in the summer
of 1971?

MR. HELMS: Yes. I recall
that General Cushman in-
formed me that he had
authorized giving to Howard
Hunt a tape recorder and a
camera, and I asked for what
purpose and he said he
wanted to conduct a one-
time interview and that he
had been properly authenti-
cated by the White House
and that he was working at
their behest.

Q. Now you have indi-
cated that in your conversa-
tion with General Cushman
that you indicated to Gen-
eral Cushman that John
Ehrlichman should be called.
Why was it that John Ehr-
lichman was to be called?

A. Because it was my dis-
tinct impression that he was
the one who had arranged
with General Cushman to
have Hunt get these pieces
of equipment.

Q. Mr. Helms, I would like
to move then to June 23,
1972, and ask you if you re-
call attending the meeting
with Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr.
Haldeman, and General Wal-
ters. A. I do recall attending
that meeting.

Q. Where was that meet-
ing held? A. That meeting
was held in Mr. Ehrlichman's
office on the second floor.

Meeting Described

Q. Could you please de-
scribe to us in substance
what happened at that meet-
ing.

A. General Walters and I
arrived first and waited for
a few minutes. Then Mr. Hal-
deman and Mr. Ehrlichman
came into the room as best
I can recall what was said,
and Mr. Haldeman did most
of the talking, so—and what-
ever Mr. Ehrlichman contrib-
uted in the course of this was
either to nod his head or

smile or to agree with what
Mr. Haldeman said. I just
simply want to introduce it
this way because it is a little
easier for me to describe.

Mr. Haldeman said that
there was a lot of flak about
the Watergate burglary, that
the opposition was capitaliz-
ing on it, that it was going
to—it was apparently caus-
ing some sort of trouble, and
he wanted to know whether
the agency had anything to
do with it. He then said that
the five men who had been
found in the Democratic Na-

tional Committee headquar-
ters had been arrested and
that that seemed to be ade-
quate under the circum-
stances, that the F.B.I. was
investigating what this was
all about, and that they, uni-
fied, were concerned about
some F.B.I. investigations in
Mexico.

He also at that time made
some, what to me was an in-
coherent reference to an in-
vestigation in Mexico, or an
F.B.I. investigation, running
into the Bay of Pigs. I do not
know what the reference was
alleged to be, but in any
event, I assured him that I
had no interest in the Bay of
Pigs that many years later,
that everything in connection
with that had been dealt with
and liquidated as far as I was
aware and I did not care
what they ran into in con-
nection with that.

Alleged Mexican Operation

At some juncture in this
conversation Mr. Haldeman
then said something to the
effect that it has been de-
cided that General Walters
will go and talk to Acting
Director Gray of the F.B.I.
and indicate to him that
these operations—these in-
vestigations of the F.B.I.
might run into C.I.A. opera-
tions in Mexico and that it
was desirable that this not
happen and that the investi-
gation, therefore, should be
either tapered off or reduced
or something, but there was
no language saying stopped,
as far as I recall.

At this point, the refer-
ences to Mexico were quite
unclear to me. I had to re-
cognize that if the White
House, the President, Mr.
Haldeman, somebody in high
authority, had information
about something in Mexico
which I did not have infor-
mation about, which is quite
possible—the White House
constantly has information
which others do not have—
that it would be a prudent
thing for me to find out if
there was any possibility
that some C.I.A. operation
was being—was going to be
affected and, therefore, I
wanted the necessary time to
do this.

I say this in explanation of
the fact that there seems—
that since I had consistently
pointed out that no C.I.A. op-
erations had been violated by
an investigation up to then,
that we had had nothing to
do with the Watergate burg-
lary, the fact of the matter
was that if an investigation
continued to go on it might
run into something we were

doing in Mexico. This pos-
sibly always had to exist. No-
body knows everything about
everything.

Walters and Gray

So at this point I think it
was repeated a second time
that General Walters was to
go and see Acting Director
Gray with this charge. It was
then indicated that Acting
Director Gray would prob-
ably be expecting the call,
that he was looking for some
kind of guidance in this mat-
ter, and that this should take
place as soon as possible. I
believe Mr. Ehrlichman at
that point made his sole con-
tribution to the conversation,
which was that he should get
down and see Gray just as
fast as he could.

We left this meeting, Gen-
eral Walters and I, and went
downstairs to the automobile
and I spoke to General Wal-
ters along the following
lines. I said when you go to
see Acting Director Gray, I
think you should confine
yourself to reminding him
that the agency and the
F.B.I. have a delimitation
agreement, an understanding
for many years that if the
agency runs into any F.B.I.
agents or operations, the
F.B.I. shall be immediately
notified and if the F.B.I. runs
into any agents or opera-
tions, it shall be immediately
notified.

I was not sure whether
Acting Director Gray was
familiar with this because he
had not been acting director
of the F.B.I. for very long. I
wanted General Walters to
understand about this be-
cause he had been with the
agency, I think, only about
six weeks at that time, had
been having briefings, and I
was not sure whether this
had ever come to his atten-
tion.

In other words, I was ask-
ing him to make a legitimate
request of the acting director
of the F.B.I. that if they ran
into any C.I.A. operations in
Mexico or any place else they
were to notify us imme-
diately and I thought General
Walters should restrict his
conversation with Acting Di-
rector Gray to that point.
Precisely whether he did or
not, well, you will have an
opportunity to ask him.

Meeting Took Place

Q. To your knowledge, did
General Walters have a meet-
ing with Patrick Gray?

A. Yes, he had one very
shortly after this meeting in
the White House because he
reported to me later in the
day about his meeting with
Gray, that he had been to
see him, that the general
purport of what they had
discussed, and then the first
time I learned that Acting
Director Gray had told Gen-
eral Walters at this meeting
about some money having
been sent to Mexico. I was
unaware of any money hav-
ing been sent there at the
time, and even that explana-
tion did not say what the
money was for.

AUGUST 3, 1973

Committee Investigating Watergate

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Figures in Senate Inquiry

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2—Following are the names of individuals who figured today in hearings by the Senate select committee on the Watergate case:

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Sam J. Ervin Jr., North Carolina Democrat, chairman.
Herman E. Talmadge, Democrat of Georgia.
Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii.
Joseph M. Montoya, Democrat of New Mexico.
Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee.
Edward J. Gurney, Republican of Florida.
Lowell P. Weicker Jr., Republican of Connecticut.

COMMITTEE COUNSEL

Samuel Dash, chief counsel and staff director.
Fred D. Thompson, chief minority counsel.
Rufus L. Edmisten, deputy counsel.
Terry F. Lenzner, assistant chief counsel.
James Hamilton, assistant chief counsel.
David M. Dorsen, assistant chief counsel.
H. William Shure, assistant minority counsel.

WITNESSES

Richard Helms, Ambassador to Iran, who was C.I.A. director.
Gen. Robert E. Cushman Jr., Marine Corps commandant and ex-C.I.A. aide.

PERSONS NAMED IN TESTIMONY

William E. Colby, Director of Central Intelligence.
Charles W. Colson, former counsel to the President.
John W. Dean 3d, former counsel to the President.
John D. Ehrlichman, former White House domestic adviser.
L. Patrick Gray 3d, former director of the F.B.I.
H. R. Haldeman, former White House chief of staff.
E. Howard Hunt Jr., ex-White House aide, pleaded guilty in the Watergate break-in.
G. Gordon Liddy, former White House aide convicted in Watergate break-in.
Lieut. Gen. Vernon A. Walters, deputy director of the Central Intelligence agency.

But also floating around in this at the time was the name of a Mexican lawyer that we had been asked to check out by the F.B.I. to find out if this man was in any way connected with the C.I.A. His name was Ogarrio, I believe, and we had been running traces, going through the record to find out and check with our people in Mexico to see if they knew him, and so forth, and it was some day subsequent that we got the information back that he was indeed a lawyer in Mexico but we had never had any connection with him and I so notified the F.B.I.

Q. Now, on Monday, June 26th, did General Walters receive a telephone call from John Dean?

A. General Walters told me that he had been called by a man he did not know in the White House named John Dean, and that Dean asked to see him, and when Walters said, "Well, what do you want to see me about," and so forth, I believe Dean referred to the matters on which we had talked with Haldeman and Ehrlichman on the previous Friday. In any event, Dean said to General Walters, "if you want to verify my bona fides and who I am and my authority to talk with you please call John Ehrlichman."

Verified With Ehrlichman

So by the time Walters talked to me he said he had talked to Dean, had verified by telephone conversation with Ehrlichman that it was all right to talk to Dean and that he was going down to see him.

Q. When General Walters came back from seeing Mr. Dean, did he talk to you about the meeting?

A. He reported the meeting to me and told me that Dean had raised with him this question of the Watergate burglary, that there was a lot, there were a lot of problems in connection with it, problems unidentified. Was there any way in which the agency could help, and so on.

It was quite clear that some kind of feelers were being put out to see, (a), if there was any agency involvement or, (b), whether the agency was prepared to assist in some way which was not at all identified.

It was at this meeting with General Walters when he was reporting this to me that I told him that I wanted him to be absolutely certain that he permitted nothing to happen using the agency's name,

facilities or anything else in connection with this business. I said I did not care whether he wanted to be a scapegoat, I did not care whether he was prepared to quit on the issue, I did not care anything about that I simply wanted him to do absolutely nothing because I told him point blank even though he was a military officer and even though he was a Presidential appointee, that if he did something wrong it would besmirch the name of the agency no matter whether he took the blame or not and that was simply not going to happen and I wanted him to be abundantly clear on this in any conversation he had with Mr. Dean or anybody else and as he reported to me on the subsequent two conversations with Mr. Dean I not only reaffirmed this but I said, "You hang in there, you are doing fine, but don't you yield an inch."

2 Meetings Recalled

Q. Could you briefly summarize, of course, Ambassador, what General Walters told you with respect to the meeting of the 27th and the meeting of the 28th?

A. It is my recollection that it was at the meeting of the 27th, which was Tuesday, I believe, that the issue first came up of whether or not the C.I.A. out of its covert funds was prepared to provide bail money for the defendants in the Watergate burglary. Not only did this issue come up, but I also believe that the additional point was made would it be possible for the C.I.A. to pay the salaries of these individuals while they served their jail sentences.

General Walters, and I have told you about the conversation I had with General Walters the day before about how he was to guide himself in this matter, pointed out to Mr. Dean that the agency could not possibly do anything like that.

Mr. Thompson: I would like to refer to your testimony before the Committee on Armed Services, Thursday, May 17, 1973.

Mr. Helms, were Mr. Walters and yourself being questioned at the same time on this occasion? Were you in the same room together? A. On that occasion General Walters was sitting on my right and General Cushman was sitting on my left and we were in the room together the whole time.

Q. All right, Let me read, if I might.

"Ambassador Helms: Were you"—first of all, "Mr. Woolsey. Let us go back to the meeting itself for a moment. When Mr. Haldeman said that it had been decided that the general should call on Mr. Gray, did he say or intimate in any way who had decided upon that course of action?"

'I Would Rather Not'

"Ambassador Helms: Well, you can make an intimation of that but I would rather not draw out the intimation, if the chairman will relieve me of that. Here was Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman, the two most senior officials in the White House next to the President himself, giving this instruction. And I really feel like now, as I did then, that it would have been presumptuous to have pressed them any harder as

to how they had come up with this, or where they had gotten the idea, or who was behind it.

"Mr. Woolsey: You said Mr. Haldeman mentioned the Bay of Pigs. Did he mention the Watergate case itself in the course of the conversation?"

"Ambassador Helms: No.

"Mr. Woolsey: He did not?"

"Ambassador Helms: No.

"Senator Symington: General Walters, you confirm that, do you?"

"General Walters: Yes, sir. He did not mention the Watergate.

"He did in the introduction when he said this case had stirred up a lot of things and the opposition is attempting to exploit it. That was the reference I testified to previously. I believe as he came in he said, the Watergate has stirred up a lot of things. And the opposition is attempting to exploit it"—this is General Walters talking—"and it has been decided that you will go. That was the inevitable lead into the whole reference."

"Senator Jackson: He decided that you will go?"

"General Walters: To Mr. Gray, tell him that if he pursues the Mexican part of the financing of this business it will uncover C.I.A. assets or schemes for moving money.

Affidavit Quoted

"Mr. Woolsey: I should perhaps read into the record here a few sentences from General Walters's affidavit: 'As I recall it, Mr. Haldeman said that the Watergate incident was causing trouble and was being exploited by the

opposition. It had been decided at the White House that I would go to Acting F.B.I. Director Gray and tell him that now that the five suspects were arrested, further inquiries into the Mexican aspect of the matters might jeopardize the C.I.A.'s activities in this area.

"Was there any discussion in the meeting at all of Watergate?"

"Ambassador Helms: Not to the best of my recollection. And I frankly was hard put at the time to understand what Mexico was involved

with. This was only a week after the break-in. I did not know why Mexico was being mentioned, and it never occurred to me that it had anything to do with the Watergate burglary.

"Senator Symington: General Walters, do you agree with that?"

"General Walters: To me the whole question was connected by virtue of the beginning of the thing when he said the Watergate could be opened as a preliminary, as a lead-in, as to why he wanted me to go. It was obviously a lead-in to this, but he did not go into any discussion of the Watergate other than what I said in the beginning."

Then you go to other matters, Mr. Helms.

Let me see if I summarized this correctly. The question was put directly to you first, as to whether or not there was any Watergate discussion and you said there was not.

Lapse of Memory

A. That was the way I recalled it, Mr. Thompson, at the time. Since then I have seen General Walter's memorandum for the record. I have talked with him about this and we went over again what had occurred and I frankly at that point had forgotten this lead-in to the conversation. After all, I had been away for some time.

Q. Well, I am certainly not accusing you or any other witness of anything but I do want to clear it up. Let me make sure I have my chronology right. I am reading from page 21-A of the transcript. The question was posed to you, you said no. He said did you know? you said no.

"General Walters, do you confirm that," and General Walters said, "Yes, sir, he did not mention the Watergate." Then Mr. Woolsey said this is something we should get cleared up and he refers to General Walters's affidavit at that time which he had previously submitted in which he mentioned these things.

A. Mr. Thompson, what I am referring to and what I saw subsequently was a memorandum for the record which I believe is in the custody of the committee which was written several days after this 23 June conversation.

Q. Mr. Helms, are you basing your testimony now on your own memory or on Mr. Walters's memory? I mean, you recounted your faith in his memory which I am sure is probably well placed, but I would think that this would be a rather significant matter.

Memory or Faith

If Haldeman and Ehrlichman as has been widely reported from the basis of this memorandum which I just referred to, I suppose, came in and said, five people have been arrested and that ought to be enough, and if that is the lead into as how the C.I.A. or F.B.I. should conduct its investigation and the basis of C.I.A. contact with F.B.I., I would think that this was something that you would remember.

So, I am really trying to determine whether your testimony is based upon your own independent recollection or just after having read this memorandum and your faith in General Walter's recollection.

A. Well, it is a combination of the two, Mr. Thompson, because when he jogged my memory and we went back over the meeting together then I did recall these other remarks having been made.

Q. Well, he jogged your memory here in the testi-

mony before the committee also. On page 21-A here, after a member of the committee evidently raised the matter of the affidavit of memorandum, General Walters said this. He did in the introduction when he said referring to the meanings of the Watergate—in the introduction when he said this case has stirred up a lot of things and the opposition is attempting to exploit it.

I believe your testimony here today was attempting to capitalize on it.

"That was the reference I testified to briefly, I believe"—and I assume he is referring to his affidavit or memorandum—"I believe as we came in he said the Watergate has stirred up a lot of things. The opposition is attempting to exploit it. It has been decided that you will go, that was inevitable lead-in."

"Mr. Woolsey: I should perhaps read into the record a few sentences of General Walter's affidavit" and then at that time they read into the record a few sentences of General Walters's affidavit which you just referred to which is the memorandum I referred to.

"Mr. Woolsey: I should perhaps read into the record a few sentences of General Walter's affidavit" and then at that time they read into the record a few sentences of General Walters's affidavit which you just referred to which is the memorandum I referred to.

"As I recall it, Mr. Haldeman said that the Watergate incident was causing a lot of trouble being exploited by the opposition, decided by the White House, I should go on Acting F.B.I. Director Gray, and five suspects were arrested. Further inquiries into the matter might jeopardize some C.I.A. activity."

And another question is put by a member of the committee.

"Was there any discussion

in the meeting at all of Watergate?"

"Ambassador Helms: Not to the best of my recollection."

A. Well, I didn't recall at that time but when I went over this with General Walters and we tried to piece this meeting together, then I did recall that these matters had been alluded to.

Q. In comparing your testimony today with what his memorandum says, a couple of things do strike me. His memorandum dated June 28 says that—"June 23, at 1300 on request I called Director Helms on John Ehrlichman and Robert Haldeman in Ehrlichman's office at the White House.

"Haldeman said that the 'bugging' affair at the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate apartments had made a lot of noise and the Democrats were trying to maximize it."

Then down here he said, "Since five suspects had been arrested that this should be sufficient."

A Few Other Things

Let me ask you a few other things about this memorandum while we are at it, Mr. Helms. He states in here also that Haldeman said the whole affair was getting embarrassing and it was the President's wish that Walters call on Gray and suggest to him that since five suspects had been arrested this should be sufficient. It was not advantageous to have the inquiry pushed, especially in Mexico.

Do you recall the President's name being mentioned?

A. No, I still don't agree with General Walters about that. I don't recall it having been put that way.

Q. Director Helms said, again reading from the Walters memorandum, he talked to Gray on the previous day, they made plain to him that the agency was not behind the matter and was not connected with it. None of the suspects was working for it nor had worked for the agency in the last two years. He had told Gray that none of the investigators was touching any covert projects of the agency, current or on-going.

Did you tell Mr. Gray that it was touching none of the covert projects of the agency or did you have any basis for saying that at that time?

A. I was unaware of any covert projects of the agency that had been touched on up to that time.

SENATOR MONTOYA: Mr. Ambassador, did you know James McCord personally? A. Yes, Senator Montoya.

Q. What kind of a man was he? A. He had a good reputation.

Q. And what was his reputation for veracity? A. I have never had any cause to question Mr. McCord's reputation for veracity.

Q. Would you say that his reputation as a human being, as a man, as an employe was very good? A. Yes, it was. He left a good record behind him.

Q. And what can you say about Mr. Hunt? A. Yes, I did know him.

Q. What was his reputation?

'A Good Reputation'

A. Well, Mr. Hunt was— had a, well, he had a good reputation, there was some question at various times during his employment about how well he carried out cer-

tain assignments but there was nothing malign about this. It was just a question of his effectiveness. Mr. Hunt was a bit of a romantic, he used to write books in his spare time, and I think there was a tendency sometimes for him to get a little bit carried away with some of the things he was involved in but he had never done anything illegal or nefarious that anybody was aware of and when he left the agency he left a decent record behind.

Q. What would you say about his reputation for veracity? A. Well, I have said, sir, that he was a romantic, I think that I just do not have any way of being able to answer that. I would have assumed that in matters of importance he would tell the truth.

SENATOR ERVIN: You did know that Mr. Ehrlichman was a very important aide in the White House and also you know that C.I.A. put an end to the — when C.I.A. put an end to giving help to Mr. Hunt, that Mr. Ehrlichman was notified that Mr. Hunt had become a pain in the neck.

So, didn't it strike you when you learned of these things, didn't it strike you as strange that the White House would engage in undercover work on its own initiative rather than resort to the use of the F.B.I.?

A. Well, you know, Senator Ervin, at that time there was no intimation that this was even undercover work. What I understood Mr. Hunt had told General Cushman was that he wanted to conduct an interview and there was no intimation that this was undercover work.

Q. Well, now, here is a wig. That was—you didn't think that the wig was to improve the appearance of the—the pulchritude of Mr. Hunt, did you?

A. I assume that in retrospect because I didn't remember about the wig at the time, Mr. Chairman, as I have testified, but I have assumed in retrospect that Mr. Hunt wanted to conduct this interview disguising himself as someone else but that we didn't know that at the time.

'Definitional Problem'

Q. Well, when a man undertakes to disguise himself as someone else, he is engaged in undercover work, isn't he?

A. Well, we run into a definitional problem, sir.

Q. Well, you didn't think that he applied for this voice alteration device in order to sing a different part in the choir, did you?

A. Mr. Chairman, my problem here is that at the time that this was going on, I do not recall having been told that he had been given a wig and a voice alteration device. I found that out in May of this year.

Q. Now, there has been some examination indicating that perhaps you and General Walters had some discrepancy, there was some discrepancy of a slight nature in the testimony you gave before, I believe, Senator Symington's committee.

A. That is right, and this misunderstanding was all hanging out there in the committee. I mean, this is just the problem of human recollections, and I realized through these hearings I was told by some gentleman this morning that people seem to have a good forgettery when they

get into this chair. I do not pretend to be any better or any worse than anyone else and my memory is fallible from time to time, but I am doing my very best at all of these hearings to tell you what I remembered at the time. And as far as the small disagreement between General Walters and I were concerned when we talked it over and analyzed the conversation and reconstructed it, I had to admit I had forgotten.

Scripture Quoted

Q. This is not, this question is not asked in any, intimating any criticism at all because I just illustrated myself with this morning that my memory is quite fallible, and although there are some other good men's memories, I will strike myself out of the good men, but the memories of other people are fallible, and the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John tell us that when Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, ordered the crucifixion of Christ that he wrote out a title and had it placed, put on the cross, and people who have an opportunity to read something, where it is just reduced to writing, it is more apt to be accurate than just what we hear, and it is rather significant that these writers of these four gospels disagreed exactly what this title that was put on the cross said.

The 37th verse of the 27th chapter of Matthew says that the writing which was put on the cross read as follows: "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews."

The 26th verse of the 15th chapter of St. Mark has a different version. It says: "The King of the Jews."

The 38th verse of the 2d chapter, St. Luke has still a different version of what was on this title and it says, the title was, "This is the King of the Jews."

And then the 19th verse of the 19th chapter, St. John has a fourth version of the same words or the same title, rather, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews."

And so I say that if those four good men could have different versions of the same words it is quite understandable why you and I and other human beings have sort of fallible memories about things sometimes.

There is another thing I have noticed about the human mind and that is this, that sometimes when something occurs at first we have the recollection that certain things were said, and our memory does not tell us that certain other things were said, but when we hear the testimony of other people or sometimes look at a document that our memories become refreshed and things that were hidden somewhere in an unconscious part of our mind become fresh to our memories again, and so I just want to say these things because I do not attribute too much importance to the fact that human beings do not recall all conversations and all, even all written words exactly alike.

And I would just like to say this, Mr. Helms, from the observation of the work you did as director of the C.I.A. and from the contacts I had with you, I think you did a magnificent job in that capacity.

A. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.