

# Excerpts From Segretti's Testimony Before

Following are excerpts from a transcript of the testimony in Washington yesterday of Donald H. Segretti before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities:

## MORNING SESSION

MR. DASH: Mr. Segretti, you've already indicated how you first came to know Mr. Dwight Chapin and Mr. Gordon Strachan and you've indicated in your statement you knew them as college classmates at the University of Southern California.

A. That's correct, Mr. Dash.

Q. Now, at the time Mr. Strachan and Mr. Chapin were in touch with you while you were in the Army in 1971 and also doing the period of July '71 to June '72 do you know what Mr. Chapin—that's Dwight Chapin's position was?

A. Yes. He was employed at the White House and I believe his position at that time was Presidential appointments secretary.

Q. And did you know what Mr. Strachan, Mr. Gordon Strachan's position was?

A. All I knew at that time was that he was employed at the White House.

Q. Did you come to know that he was an assistant to Mr. Haldeman? A. I did, but that was much later, into 1972.

Q. Now, after the . . . the contacts you have included in your statement, you did in fact come to Washington on June 23, 1971, to meet with Mr. Strachan and Mr. Chapin.

A. Mr. Dash, I'm not quite certain of the exact date on that, but it is approximately at that period of time.

### Meeting Recalled

Q. Now, do you recall where you met Mr. Chapin?

A. I had dinner with Mr. Chapin and Mr. Strachan at Mr. Strachan's residence.

Q. And it was at that time that Mr. Chapin began to discuss with you the job opportunities that he had been talking to you on the telephone about. A. Yes it was.

Q. Now, is it not true that Mr. Chapin told you that what they were looking for was someone to do some undercover work for the reelection of President Nixon and to engage in political tricks?

A. I don't recall if the term "undercover" was used, but secrecy was stressed.

Q. Well, is it a question of semantics when we say undercover—Mr. Chapin didn't tell you at a later time that you were to use secrecy and you were not to reveal your identity and much of your work was undercover, was it not?

A. That's correct, Mr. Dash.

Q. And although you've used the term engaged in, what you had engaged in with them in college pranks, in fact, they were asking you to engage in what really would be called political tricks? A. That's correct.

Q. And you were interested in this job, were you not? A. I was.

Q. In your statement you've already given us for the record the information you received from Mr. Chapin to contact Mr. Kalmbach and the meeting you had with Mr. Kalmbach in which your salary was arranged. Could you tell us how much did you receive from Mr. Kalmbach totally for your work, during 1971 and 1972?

### Saray and Expenses

A. I can give you an approximate figure, Mr. Dash. I have it in my financial records somewhere. I think it's in the neighborhood of around \$45,000. That included salary and monies for expenses. Total.

Q. Now, on the same date that you arranged this with Mr. Kalmbach—and which I think the date is July 9, 1971—do you recall that date?

A. I place that date a little bit later, Mr. Dash. But it's in the summer of 1971.

Q. Did you on that day also have a meeting with Mr. Chapin? A. I did.

Q. And where did you meet with Mr. Chapin? A. I met Mr. Chapin near the San Clemente White House and we went to a small restaurant in the local area.

Q. Now, what information and instructions did Mr. Chapin give you at this meeting?

A. At that meeting, Mr. Chapin in addition to describing the general background of the political situation, gave me a list of states to concentrate on in making future political contacts.

Q. And were these states primarily the primary states? A. Primarily, yes sir.

Q. And it was at this meeting that he indicated to you that you were to act in secrecy so that there'd be no trace back to the White House? A. I don't recall specifically if that was discussed at that meeting. That was discussed several times.

Q. But I take it it was fairly early in your discussions with Mr. Chapin that he emphasized secrecy? A. Yes sir.

Q. And that there was to be no tracing back to the White House? A. That's correct.

Q. Now what, if anything, did Mr. Chapin tell you in this meeting about the im-

portance of the use of news media, and news media impact in your assignment?

A. It was related to me in relationship to pickets at, for example, at a Muskie rally if you were to have a Humphrey for President sign, or to—it should be placed in proximity to where the media could take a photograph of it.

Q. Well, was he emphasizing to you that you should use as best you could news media impact? A. Yes sir, at that period of time and in relationship to that type of activities, yes.

Q. Now, did he also talk to you about the candidate you should spend most of your time on, in terms of your political activities? A. Yes, sir, he did.

Q. Now, who was that candidate? A. That was Senator Muskie.

Q. And did he indicate why?

A. It's difficult to recall any exact conversations—at this time that was some time ago—but Senator Muskie at that time was certainly the forerunner, shall we say, of likely prospects to run for Democratic nomination.

Q. He was the frontrunner at that time, was he not?

A. Yes, sir, I believe he was.

Q. Now, also at this meeting—and I think you've indicated some of this in your statement—Mr. Chapin gave you some of the strategies that you were to use in your activities. Let me state what I believe you've indicated to the staff both in executive session and I think what you've indicated in your statement, and tell me if this is not true, what the strategy was. That you were to engage in activities to weaken the leading candidate, Senator Muskie, and to carry out political tricks to set one Democratic candidate against the other so that after the convention the staffs of these candidates would still be bitter and would not be able to rally behind any chosen candidate. Would that be a fair statement of the strategy?

### Fair Statement

A. That would be fair, except the statements you made about weakening Senator Muskie. I think you attributed a little more emphasis than at least was conveyed to me at that point in time.

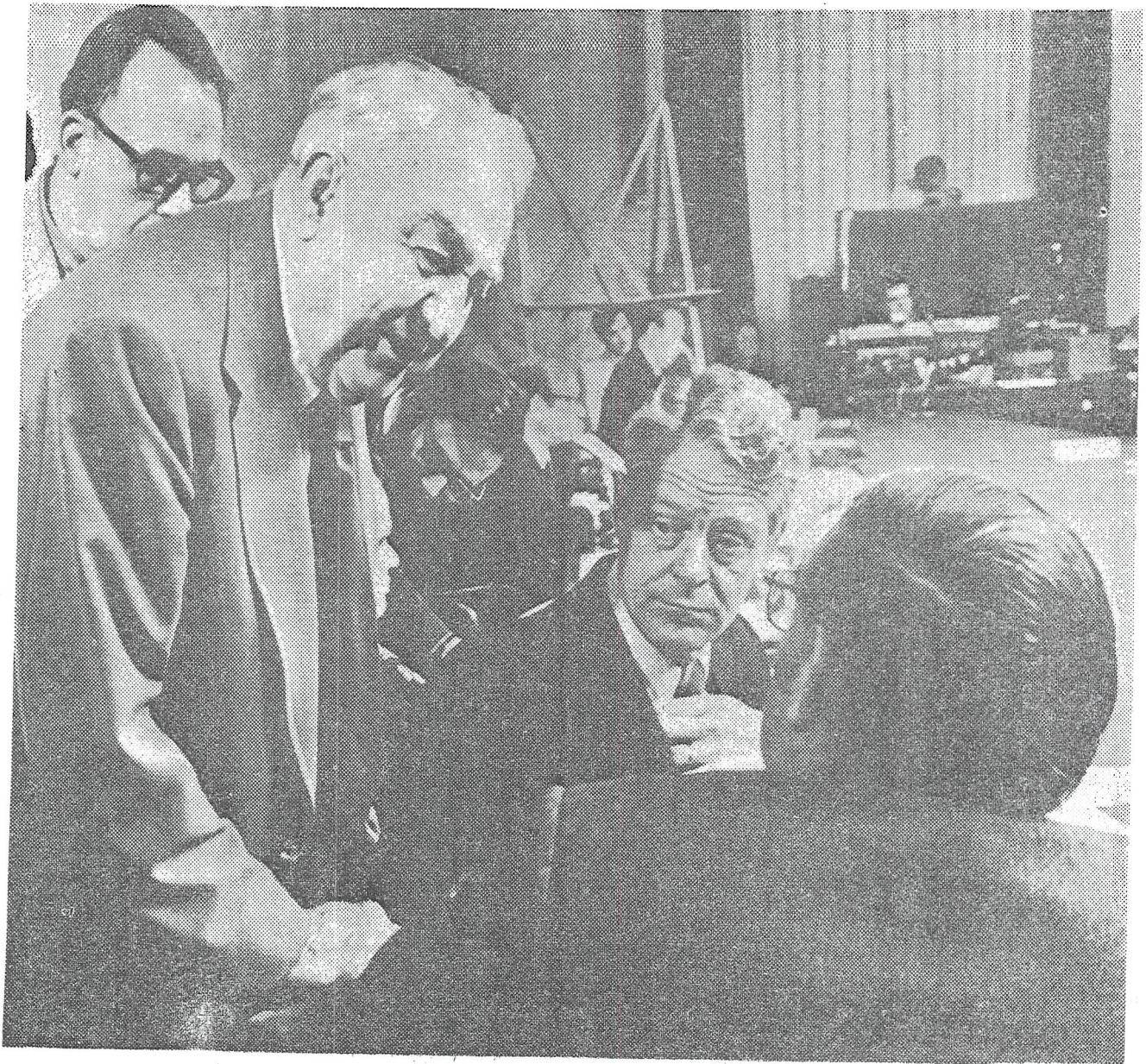
Q. But your emphasis was on Senator Muskie and your political tricks and your use of your agents during that period of time was directed towards him and to confuse the candidate in his campaign, was that not true? A. I think that could be stated, yes.

Q. And therefore it's not too strong a statement to say that it was an effort to weaken Senator Muskie's primary campaign? It wasn't to strengthen it, was it? A. No it was not.

Q. You have before you some memoranda and other exhibits. Would you look at a memorandum for the record dated Sept. 28, 1971, 4 P.M. Is this a memorandum you received from Mr. Chapin at your post office box?

A. This was a memorandum I received—I do not believe I received it at my post office box at my home address.

Q. At your home address. And the memorandum, for the record, states: "From now on we want to have at least one Muskie sign in among demonstrators who are demonstrating against the President. It should be in caps 'MUSKIE FOR PRESIDENT' in big letters and should be



Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., telling Senators Lowell P. Weicker Jr., right, and Edward J. Gurney of the bomb threat

The New York Times

Q. You already in your statement indicated that you were asked, or you did put under surveillance Senator Muskie when he was out in Los Angeles. Do you recall that Mr. Chapin asked you to do this? A. Specifically?

Q. Or told you that Senator Muskie was going to be out in Los Angeles and that you should arrange pickets in that area? And that came from Mr. Chapin? A. Yes.

Q. Now when you did have him placed under surveillance—I'm not asking you now for the name of the individual—A. I appreciate that.

Q. What was this, just a friend, or what was his occupation.

A. This was an individual that—his name I got on the list from a friend that I knew in the Army that I had worked with to some extent in the military service who was assigned to the C.I.D. in

held in a location that is clearly visible.

“At Muskie events or events by other Democratic hopefuls there should be a sign or two which goads them. For example, at a Muskie rally there should be a large and in caps ‘WHY NOT A BLACK VICE PRESIDENT’ or perhaps, ‘WE PREFER HUMPHREY’ or something else that would goad him along. At Humphrey rallies there should be Muskie or Humphrey signs and so on. These signs should be well-placed in relationship to the press area so that pictures are easy to get.”

Now, did you follow that recommendation?

#### General Strategy

A. To some extent I did.

Q. It was the general, one of the general strategies you used, was it not? A. Yes, that is correct.



United Press International

Policemen with trained dogs leaving the Caucus Room of the Old Senate Office Building after failing to find a bomb an anonymous caller said had been planted there.

the military, which is called—really stands for Criminal Investigation Division. And this individual was a retired C.I.D. individual and at that time he was working for a detective agency.

Q. A private detective? A. I would classify him as that at that time, yes.

Q. Now as your statement has indicated, you went out to Whittier College, I think in November of 1971. A. Yes.

Q. Did Mr. Chapin inform you the Senator Muskie was going to be appearing at Whittier College?

A. I believe that's how the scenario went. It is possible that I called Mr. Chapin to inform him of that fact, finding out from a local paper, or a news release that I would read in the papers. But my best recollection is that I received a phone call regarding this.

Q. Your activity at that time, as indicated in your statement, was that you distributed a list of some hard questions—questions to be asked of Muskie. A. That's correct.

Q. Would you turn to tab 3 of the exhibits that are before you and would you identify that exhibit as the handout that was given at the appearance of Senator Muskie? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Some of the questions that you were asking, you put to him were: "Do you refuse to even consider a black or Chicano as a running mate? Your propaganda that they do not yet have political equality only fosters any bias that exists and avoids the question. Do you speak in terms of equality for minorities yet send your children to a white private school?" That was the tenor of the question, was it not?

A. That's correct?

Q. Now after that operation at Whittier, did you re-

ceive any communication from Mr. Chapin? A. I did.

Q. What was the form of that communication? A. I received a Xerox copy of what I now believe to be a page from the White House press summary.

#### Muskie on Whittier

Q. Yes, will you look on tab 4, I think, you have that before you. There appears on page 10 what appears to come from the White House press summary that goes to the President a reference to Mr. Muskie's appearance in Whittier.

And I just want to read a couple of lines from there: "Reynolds said that Ed had come prepared for conservative questions but the Chicanos gave them no chance and Big Ed proved he could keep his cool. Muskie reportedly was pleased by the reception he received from those willing to listen."

Now, does there appear on that news summary some handwriting addressed to you?

A. That's correct.

Q. And is that handwriting Mr. Chapin's?

A. I believe it to be Mr. Chapin's.

Q. Will you read what the handwriting says with reference to the items I just referred to?

## Figures in Senate Inquiry

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3—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.  
Robert Silverstein, assistant minority counsel.

#### WITNESS AND COUNSEL

Donald H. Segretti, who has been accused of conducting sabotage campaigns against the Democrats.  
Victor Sherman, attorney for Segretti.

#### PERSONS NAMED IN TESTIMONY

Dwight L. Chapin, former Presidential appointments secretary.  
Shirley Chisholm, Democratic Representative from Brooklyn.  
H. R. Haldeman, former White House chief of staff.  
Hubert H. Humphrey, Democratic Senator from Minnesota.  
E. Howard Hunt Jr., pleaded guilty in Watergate break-in.  
Henry M. Jackson, Democratic Senator from Washington.  
Herbert W. Kalmbach, President Nixon's former attorney.  
Eugene J. McCarthy, former Democratic Senator from Minnesota.  
George McGovern, Democratic Senator from South Dakota.  
Edmund S. Muskie, Democratic Senator from Maine.  
Gordon C. Strachan, former aide to Mr. Haldeman.  
Sam Yorty, former Democratic Mayor of Los Angeles.

A. It states: "Don, note we really missed the boat on this. Obviously the press now wants to prove E. M. can keep his temper. Let's prove he can't."

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

MR. DASH: Now, you have stated in your statement that you had various school busing posters printed up involving Mr. Muskie.

SEGRETTI: That is correct.

Q. I think I have a copy of this and you can see it. It says, "Help Muskie Support Busing More Children Now." Is this the poster you are referring to? A. That is correct, Mr. Dash.

Q. And the reference in the bottom, "Mothers Backing Muskie Committee," was that a committee that you made up? A. Yes, sir. There is no committee by that name, to my knowledge. This, you could say was my committee.

Q. Your committee? A. One of them.

Q. You were one of the mothers backing Muskie?

SENATOR ERVIN: That was a committee which existed only in your contemplation? A. That is correct, Senator.

MR. DASH: Did you send copies or a copy of the poster to Mr. Chapin? A. To the best of my recollection, I did.

Q. And this was in keeping with your sending him regularly various copies of things that you were distributing? A. Yes, sir.

Q. I think you have also testified that you were aware, in fact participated in, sending out false letters on Mr. Muskie's campaign stationery. A. That is correct.

Q. There is one particular letter you referred to in your statement which was especially scurrilous and accused Senator Jackson and Senator Humphrey of, serious accusations of sexual and drinking misconduct.

#### \$20 to Print

Q. How much did it cost you to print that letter and distribute it? A. I believe \$20 was sent to Mr. Benz to do that.

Q. Did you send a copy of that letter to Mr. Chapin? A. I believe I did, yes sir.

Q. Do you recall Mr. Chapin telling you that for your \$20 you received \$10,000 to \$20,000 worth of free publicity but to be careful next

time? A. Yes, or words to that effect.

Q. Turning to the California campaign, did you have copies of the headquarters stationery, campaign stationery, from Mr. McGovern, Mr. Yorty, Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Humphrey, printed up?

A. Yes. Through a printer given to me by Mr. Warren, now Mr. Hunt.

Q. Did you also have anti-Humphrey bumper stickers printed up? I will just hold this up. "Humphrey; He started the war; don't give him another chance; Democrats for Peace Candidate." Is that one of the bumper stickers that you had printed up? A. Yes.

Q. By the way, that Democrats for Peace Candidate, what organization was that? A. That was me again, Mr. Dash.

Q. Did Mr. Chapin after the Wisconsin primary, tell you to stop focusing upon Senator Muskie and to begin driving a wedge between the leading candidates? A. He mentioned two candidates, Senator Humphrey and Senator Muskie.

Q. And was this an effort to do that? A. Yes. These bumper stickers were mailed to Humphrey delegates.

Q. Did you also have a pamphlet printed up and distributed in California with regard to Mr. Humphrey? The sponsor on this particular one says, "Democrats Against Bossism." T. Wilson, chairman—is that again you? A. That again, is a committee of one, me.

#### Humphrey was stirred up

Q. Did you know that Senator Humphrey was quite stirred up and actually believed that Senator McGovern or Senator Muskie had printed this pamphlet? A. I did not know that.

Q. Using the stationery of the various candidates that you had printed up, did you send out a false letter on McCarthy campaign stationery over the signature of Barbara Barron? A. Yes I did.

Q. Who is Barbara Barron? A. I believe she was a campaign worker in McCarthy headquarters.

Q. This actually was a forgery of her signature, was it not? A. Somebody signed her name, yes.

Q. Does it not ask that McCarthy delegates switch their support to Senator Humphrey? A. That is correct.

Q. Was there not a similar letter on McCarthy stationery, also purportedly signed by Barbara Barron, sent to Shirley Chisholm supporters? A. Yes, essentially it is the same letter. Some McCarthy delegates and some Chisholm delegates did receive these.

Q. And all of this was your handiwork? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the purpose of all this? A. Just to confuse the candidates.

Q. I take it you were quite successful in this? A. It is hard for me to categorize success or not.

Q. Did you have knowledge of false press releases sent out on Humphrey press release stationery? A. Yes, I did three of these.

Q. You drafted them yourself? A. Yes.

Q. Did one of them state that Shirley Chisholm was at one time confined to a mental institution in Virginia? A. Yes.

Q. And you made that all up? A. Yes.

Q. And in effect, you made a false charge. A. The charge is not correct.

Q. These all came out of your imagination? A. That is correct.

#### False Press Releases

Q. Were these sent to the newspapers, false press releases on Hubert Humphrey stationery? A. Yes sir.

Q. And were they printed? A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Did you send copies of these false press releases to Mr. Chapin? A. Yes.

Q. And what was his reaction to that? A. There was a comment that he laughed for a period of time regarding the press releases.

Q. He thought it was funny that you sent a press release saying that Shirley Chisholm was at one time confined to a mental institution in Virginia? A. Yes.

Mr. Thompson: Mr. Segretti, you have related, I believe, just about all of your activities, some amusing and some not amusing at all. A. I agree with you, Mr. Thompson.

Q. Generally speaking, how were these ideas thought up? A. A number of them were just thought up over a beer or two.

Q. Who would know about it beforehand? Anyone at the White House, for example? A. I believe, possibly Mr. Chapin.

Q. I believe you said you reported on some regular basis what you were doing to Mr. Chapin. Would that be all of your activities, or could you give us a certain percentage of your activities that were reported to him?

A. I would say as a general matter I would send what was done to Mr. Chapin.

Q. Were there activities in the dirty tricks area that went on during the campaign that you have gotten credit for which you did not in fact do?

A. Well, the Canuck letter is one that stands out in my

mind. I am sure there are others.

Q. Are you saying that you did not write the Canuck letter? A. I did not write the Canuck letter, I have no idea who wrote the Canuck letter.

Q. What about the allegation that you prefaced your grand jury performance by having been shown F.B.I. 302's. A. That is false.

Q. I will ask you whether or not you have at any time since the Watergate break-in been shown by anyone other than the F.B.I. any, any F.B.I. ed-302's?

MR. SHERMAN: This does go into a matter we do not feel has any relevancy to these hearings at all, and has been disclosed to the special prosecutor in this case.

SENATOR MONTOYA: Mr. Segretti, prior to your indoctrination into these practices what did you conceive to be the pre-electoral process under our constitutional system in the United States?

A. I conceived the electoral process of the United States to be one where hopefully the best candidate for the office would obtain that office.

Q. Well, did you conceive as part of that thinking that he should obtain the office honestly and by open, free and un deceptive discussion on the campaign trail with the American people? A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. And what led you to change? A. That is a difficult answer for me to give. I have thought of that myself many times, Senator. I have never come up with an adequate answer to myself for that.

#### White House Umbrella

Q. You mentioned that one of the reasons you agreed to accept the position was the fact that you were now being given the opportunity of working for the White House? A. That is correct.

Q. Did you during all this time think that you were working under the umbrella of the White House, so to speak? A. I believe in a sense that would be a correct answer.

Q. I notice from the record of communication with Mr. Chapin, who was an employe of the White House, that you were in quite frequent contact with him from the time that you began your employment until after you ceased as a result of the investigation that began in 1972.

A. That is correct.

Q. Now, it stands to reason that during all this time, in addition to the initial contact that you had with Mr. Chapin and Mr. Strachan, that you were receiving quite a bit of instruction from these people as to how to conduct yourself and what to do in the different state primaries. Is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. How extensive was the instruction that you received from these two individuals which I have mentioned and other individuals—and please name them if you can.

A. My contact at the White House excluding Mr. Dean, was Mr. Chapin. My instructions from him, if you can call them instructions, were to a very great extent very passive, rather than do this or do that or any specifics.

#### Reports Were Made

Q. You were reporting to him what you intended to do, say, a day or two from now and you were reporting also to him what you had done previous to the time that you were calling him. A. Pretty much, Senator.

Q. Were you sending him copies of the different flyers and pamphlets that you were putting out? A. Yes, I was.

Q. And you were getting communications from him in return to whether they were in proper taste or very proper

within the orbit of the mission that you were performing?

A. At times, yes, sir, many times, there was no response that I can really recall.

Q. Would you say that you were actually subverting the free electoral process?

A. Looking back at it, certainly during the time that I was doing it, I had no thought along that line. I think if I had the wisdom at that time to look at it in that light and with some degree of perspective and objectivity, I think I would have been long gone from these activities. Looking back on it, none of these activities, I believe are ones that should be included in the American political system.

SENATOR WEICKER: Mr. Segretti, you say, "in December of 1971, I traveled to the state of Florida for the purpose of seeking additional contacts. During my visit, I met a Mr. Robert Benz in Tampa, and a Mr. Douglas Kelly in Miami."

How did you come across these two individuals? Were these persons that had been referred to you? How did you find them?

A. I came across Mr. Benz somewhat by chance. Mr. Benz mentioned the name of Mr. Kelly. Upon arriving in Miami, I happened to call an individual that was on the White House advance list that had been supplied me and that individual gave me the name of Mr. Kelly. So I had Mr. Kelly's name from two sources and I subsequently called him.

Q. You got Mr. Kelly's name from Mr. Chapin's original list? A. No, no sir. I got a name from the White House list supplied to me by Mr. Chapin of an individual in Miami. I called that individual. He mentioned the name of Mr. Kelly.

Q. When you called Mr. Chapin, were these calls to the Committee to Re-elect the President, or were they calls directly to the White House? A. They were calls to the White House switchboard.

Q. Your operation, I gather, received its direction from the White House? A. That is correct.

#### Offer From Dean

Senator Inouye: In mid-November of 1972, Mr. Dean is supposed to have offered you a job in Montego Bay for about \$35,000. What was the purpose of this? Was this to get you out of town?

A. It could have been. It was not communicated to me as such, but that could very well have been the reason.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Alex Shipley? A. Yes, I do.

Q. Mr. Shipley has indicated that you said the following:

"Nixon knows that something is being done. It is a typical deal. Don't tell me anything and I won't talk." What did you mean by this, sir?

A. I am not really sure, senator.

Q. Weren't you trying to recruit Mr. Shipley?

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