

# Excerpts From Testimony Before the

WASHINGTON, July 13—  
Following are excerpts from  
the transcript of testimony  
today by Richard A. Moore  
on the 20th day of hearings  
on the Watergate case before  
the Senate Select Committee  
on Presidential Campaign Ac-  
tivities:

## MORNING SESSION

MR. THOMPSON: Tell us  
what you remember about  
the discussions for the need  
to raise money [at the meet-  
ings with John D. Ehrlichman,  
H. R. Haldeman, and John W.  
Dean 3d in California on Feb.  
10 and 11, 1973.]

MR. MOORE: The question  
came up, as I recall, when  
Mr. Dean was discussing the  
things over the committee  
involving the lawsuits and  
how they were going. Now,  
there were several lawsuits.

Somewhere in that discus-  
sion, he said, by the way,  
they — or the lawyers — and  
I cannot think of the precise  
words; I rarely try to say the  
precise words, because I hap-  
pen to believe most people  
cannot remember them except  
in exceptional circumstances  
— tell me there is going to be  
a need for some more money.  
And either Mr. Ehrlichman or  
Mr. Haldeman said, oh, did we  
have any ideas about it; is  
that not something that John  
Mitchell ought to handle?

Q. Who said that?

A. I do not remember.  
Either Mr. Ehrlichman or Mr.  
Haldeman. It may have been  
one of those cases where  
one joined in the comment  
with an affirmative. I think  
this was by Mr. Ehrlichman,  
it sounds like him, a facetious  
remark like, John Mitchell  
has rich friends up in New  
York, why does he not worry  
about this, or something to  
that effect?

That was the total effect  
and, Dick, you are going to  
be talking to him, this will  
be coming up, maybe you can  
talk to him or get into it.

### San Clemente and La Costa

By the way, to save con-  
fusion, Mr. Dean did testify  
that the second half of the  
Saturday meeting took place  
at La Costa. I am certain he  
is wrong about that. The  
first day's meeting took place  
entirely at San Clemente, so  
the La Costa meeting was  
purely a Sunday meeting, the  
San Clemente meeting was  
purely a Saturday meeting.  
And it was, and I must say  
if this matter was important,  
this money matter, which I,  
have been invited in just in  
time to switch from going to  
the railroad station, to the  
airport the night before, Mr.  
Dean testified, having no  
previous knowledge of these  
things, it strikes me that if  
this matter were important,  
it probably would have come  
up sooner and not kind of as  
a by-the-way thrown in an  
afternoon discussion of a fair-  
ly unrelated matter, those  
lawsuits. That is the way I  
remember it.

Q. In retrospect, do you  
still feel like it was a by-the-  
way throw-in, an unimpor-  
tant matter? A. No.

Q. Are you saying that is  
the way you took it at the  
time?

A. Yes, sir. What I took it  
as at the time primarily, sir,  
was one of those little things  
that I have seen before of  
passing the buck with a re-  
quest for money. First of all,  
in my experience, nobody en-  
joys raising money. You have  
to have a finance chairman.  
That is always true.

I know this thing of John  
Mitchell, who generally is  
independent, and particularly  
independent of these two  
gentlemen in many things,  
that he would not relish the  
thought that or respond aff-  
firmatively to the idea that  
they would like to have him  
raise money. It was not a  
matter of for what or for  
whom or why and no back-  
ground on that. It was, I am  
not going to get into an argu-  
ment as to whether John  
Mitchell should raise money,  
because I know he will not.

### 'Tell Them to Get Lost'

I said, I will tell him, and I  
told him as I described yes-  
terday, and I got a snort and  
a 'tell them to get lost,'  
which is exactly as I have re-  
lated it and that was as I  
thought.

At that point and for quite  
a period, for some days there-  
after—certainly at that point  
—I believed implicitly and to-  
tally in the President's state-  
ment of Aug. 29 that no one  
in the White House at that  
time had any knowledge or  
participation in the Water-  
gate. I believe that that was  
enlarged at one or more  
points to include any person  
in the Administration.

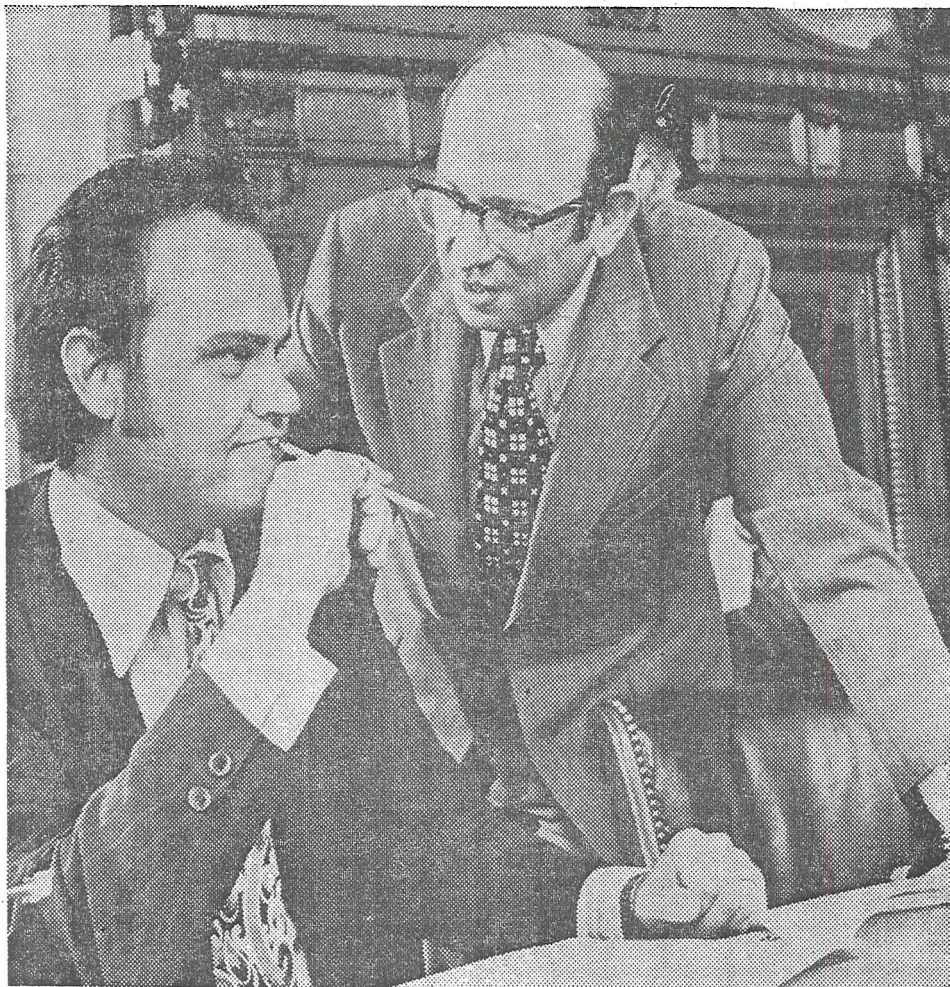
Nor did I have any knowl-  
edge of anyone in the com-  
mittee. To me, that, I believed  
implicitly that that was an  
unauthorized adventure by  
people who happened to have  
some \$100 bills in their  
availability and an adventur-  
ous spirit and enjoyed play-  
ing James Bond. That was  
what I thought it was at that  
very moment.

Q. Did you consider going  
to the President yourself at  
that time? [mid-March, 1973]

A. I was considering it se-  
riously, Mr. Thompson but  
what I had essentially was  
gossip. What I had was  
guarded, certainly nothing  
evidentiary. The procedures  
were going forward, the  
grand jury had been re-  
opened. Almost daily one of  
us was discussing the possi-  
bility of getting the story out.

TIMES, SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1973

Senate Committee Inquiry Into Watergate



The New York Times

Samuel Dash, standing, chief counsel to Watergate committee, talking with Fred D. Thompson, minority counsel to the Senate group, before yesterday's hearing started.

As I mentioned to you, Mr. Ehrlichman phoned me on March 16th, I think it was, to say that the President wanted a full statement of these things, and I thought this thing was coming to a head but I did not feel I had anything except hearsay and gossip and rumor but I sure was beginning to worry. [John Dean] never told me, as I recall, of an actual criminal situation or act. He talked about embarrassment and problems.

Q. Let me ask you about the meetings that you and Mr. Dean had with the President, and I will start with March 14th. Would you tell us the purpose of the meeting, what was discussed and what was resolved, if anything?

#### Purpose of Meeting

A. The purpose of the meeting was to go over with the President the possible questions that might be asked in the next day's, the next morning's press conference on the general subject of executive privilege and these hearings, the Gray hearings were still also going on, and in that sense, the Watergate. Now, Dean and I—the way that worked was Mr. Buchanan, who usually coordinates the President's briefing book, had sent us a list of at least 20 questions that could be asked, more were handed, and for two or three days before that we divided them up, we suggested answers or gave background answers so that the President could consider them, and they were then edited by Mr. Buchanan and put in the briefing book.

The President now wished to discuss those answers with us.

Q. Had the President made a statement of executive privilege by that time? A. Yes, he had made that on March 12th and this meeting took place on March 14th and it was a very hot issue at that moment obviously.

Q. What about March 15th?

A. March 15th was a very pleasant and relaxed meeting at the end of the day in the Oval Office where the President kind of wanted to chat about the press conference. He wanted to know how we thought it went, and Mr. Dean correctly testified that the President said, "You know, the very first thing that I said, I made an announcement that I thought was quite historic, first representative to the Peoples Republic of China, and I was nominating a most important man as our first representative, David E. K. Bruce. I made the announcement and what do you think the first

question was? Dean's testimony at the hearings and it shows where their minds are."

And then we talked a little bit about the press conference and then he got into this discussion where he had been thinking more and more where we had been using the wrong, the more narrow phrase. That what was involved here was the separation of powers and the President's responsibilities to preserve that separation.

#### Days in Congress

And then he got talking about how he wanted us to be outgoing and he recalled the days when he was a Congressman, when he could

you get a report, an F.B.I. report, not raw files but an F.B.I. report, in the Hiss matter, and he said, "But we are going to tell this committee, give them anything that they want in terms of information. Now we may do it," he said, "that is where you fellows come in," he said, "it should be depositions or private meetings and this kind of things." We got back into that, and that was that meeting.

Q. What about the meeting on the 19th?

A. The meeting of the 19th was again a comment, he said that — I think that, whether we came in together or whether Dean was already there I am not sure. It may be — but in any event he turned to me and said, "John is going to have to sort of take the lead in these matters of executive privilege and the hearings and I asked you to join the meeting because I know you have been working with him."

And he said, "I want you to go about how to get our story out," and that kind of thing.

In this period of March where I had five personal meetings with the President, in every single one of those meetings I think, he emphasized, "Why don't we get the story out ourselves."

At the meetings in San Clemente and La Costa Mr. Ehrlichman had made that point, and I believe he indicated that he was echoing the President's desire.

On March 16, Mr. Ehrlichman again relayed that desire to me. So that this white paper, depositions, forthcoming was the word the President kept using, be forthcoming, was also—and, of course, that is one of the reasons I was convinced that the President had no permanent idea of what we knew is going on or he would not be pressing to get it out.

[At a March 20, 1973 meet-

ing with President Nixon] we had been asked for ideas where we could take the initiative, and in that meeting at one point, Mr. Dean said to the President, you know, one way for us to take the initiative. He said, I have worked on the Hill. He said, I do not know, I know of few political campaigns where someone, with or without the knowledge of the candidate, has not gotten involved in something that was improper, at least, if not illegal. He said, I think it might be a good idea if someone responsible would invite or suggest that the committee that was about to investigate campaign practices voluntarily offered to submit each of his most recent senatorial campaigns to a full field investigation by the F.B.I.

Q. He suggested this to the President in your presence?

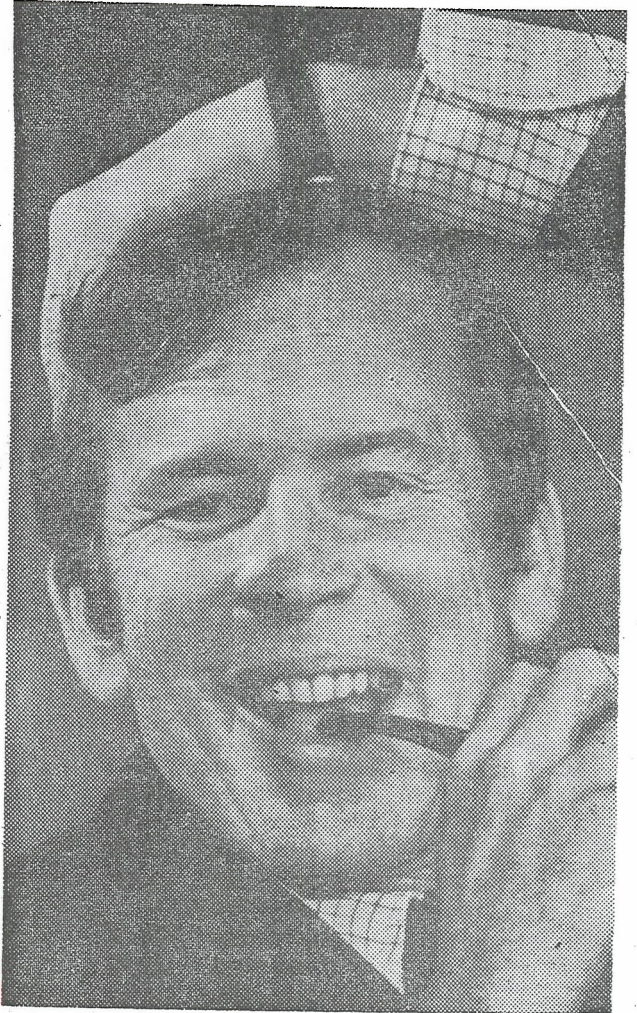
A. He did. Yes.

Q. What was the President's reaction? A. First, he gave him what I regarded as a puzzled look. And he said, what would that do? Why that? And I think he used the words "I don't understand."



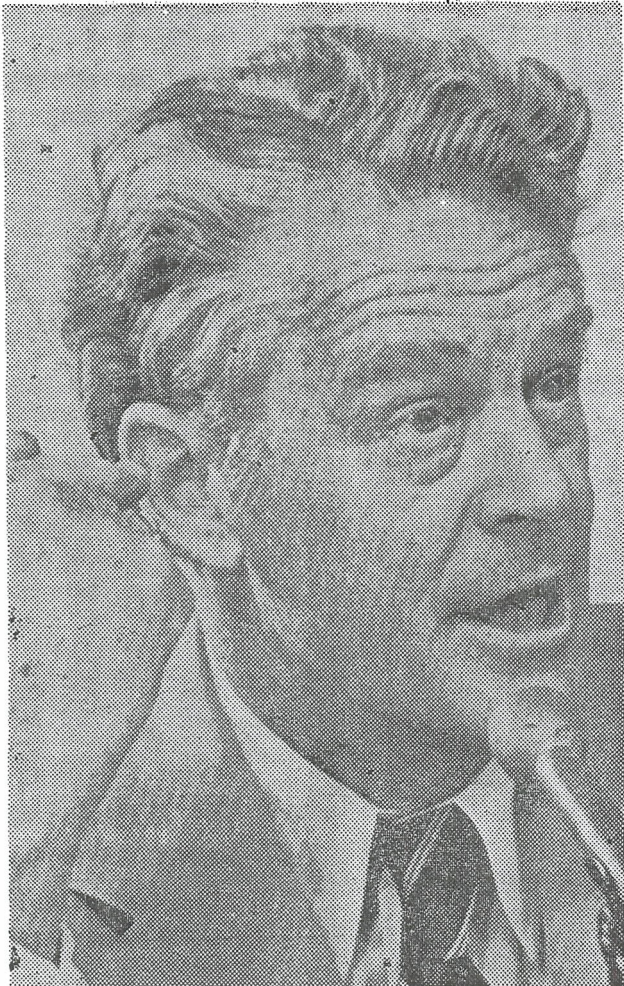
The New York Times/George Tames

**Mrs. Sam J. Ervin Jr., wife of the Senator, at hearing**



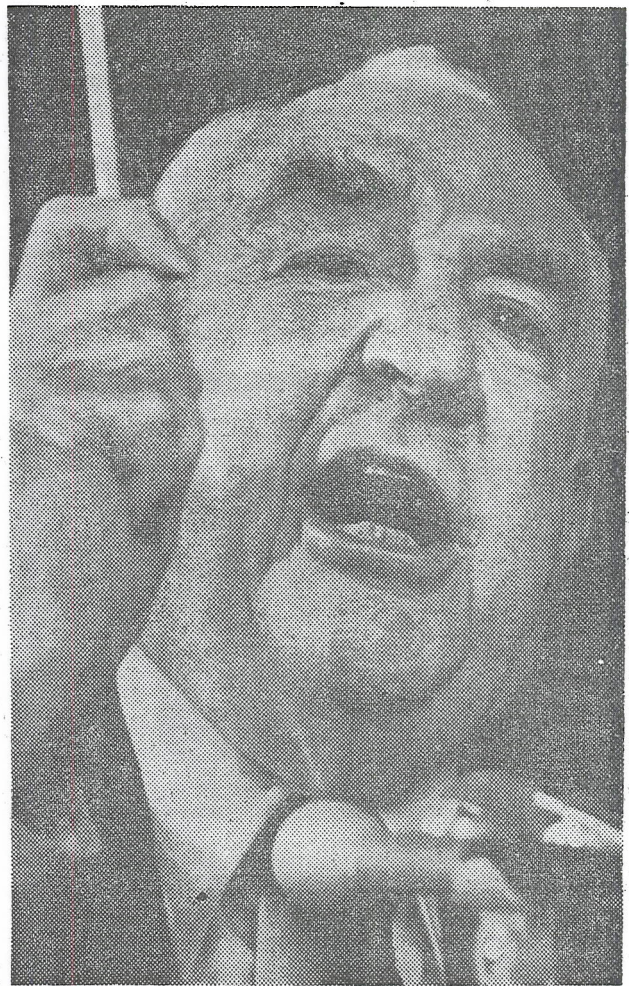
Associated Press

**Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. during yesterday's session**



The New York Times/Mike Lien

**Senator Edward J. Gurney of Florida posing a question to Richard A. Moore, White House special counsel.**



Associated Press

**Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., the chairman of the Watergate committee, as he questioned Richard A. Moore.**

Dean then said, well, sir, people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones. Then he repeated that he had been here on the Hill and he knew politics and knew campaigning.

And the President sat there shaking his head. Then the President said, well, let us think about that.

I took that as a complete dismissal of the suggestion, and of course, nothing was done about it, it was never heard of again.

Q. Was there any discussion about comparing the use of the F.B.I. by this Administration and other Administrations?

A. Yes, sir.

Mr. Dean said that he had, it had come to his attention, that at least one preceding Administration, perhaps two, that this previous President or Presidents had used or attempted to use the F.B.I. for personal or political purposes in ways that the President, in ways that were quite inappropriate and whereas the President, President Nixon, had made it a policy personally to avoid that kind of thing, particularly through his friendship with Mr. Hoover, that this would make a good contrast, because Dean had been, in effect, accused of using the F.B.I. by getting reports or sitting in on interviews, and that that information would be quite harsh. And the President simply reacted by saying, well, if you develop anything, let me know. And nothing came of that.

#### Convinced on President

Q. During this period of time, did you really wonder in your own mind as to whether or not the President did know these things?

A. I suppose I did. I am trying to recall my state of mind. I had not thought of his—I will put it this way. I knew in my heart, if you will, I was totally convinced that the President knew, believed that no one in the White House had been involved, and believed right up till he learned differently. I guess March 21.

But until I heard of the Howard Hunt matter, I did not connect it in my mind with—the point about the Hunt matter was that Mr. Hunt was demanding money or the White House would be embarrassed. That was something of a difference of degree, a quantum and quality difference, in the kind of guarded things which Dean had been suggesting. And that resolved the doubts.

And let me say right here in front of anybody who is watching, I certainly wish that the minute I began to get suspicious, I had gone to the President. One does not go to him lightly, one does

not go to him and say, I think something may be wrong. Maybe there are times when one should. I came to that conclusion, and all I know is that before the phone rang on the night of March 20, Mr. Dean's happy and committed call that the President had called him and was going to see him in the morning, I think maybe I would have gone in the next day.

Q. Did you talk to him after he said he called the President?

A. Yes, and I saw him, I cannot place that conversation, whether it was his office or mine or it could have been that I ran into him, this was a short conversation, in the hall but I said, "Well, John," you know, "did you see him?" and he said "I sure did for two hours, I had two hours with him." And I said, "Well, did you tell him everything?" and he said, I think his phrase was, I cannot remember, "I let it all out," and I said, "Did you tell him about the Hunt matter," because that was the one I thought was the serious thing and he said, "I told him everything."

#### President Surprised

I asked him was the President surprised, and he replied he was or he sure was; or perhaps he volunteered. But in any event, that there was a final touch to that conversation which, where he either concurred or volunteered that the President had been surprised by the things he told him.

Q. Tell us about the conversation you had with the President on April 19.

A. Well, when I came in to see him, he had issued his April 17 statement that serious new charges had come to his attention, and so on. So when I came in I paid him a compliment about the statement in terms of what the reactions I had heard and I said: "I note that March 21 date. John Dean must have been the source of those charges," and he said something to the effect: "Oh, did you know about that?" And I said "Yes." I said: "After we met with you the day before John and I talked about it," and I said: "I urged him to go in and tell you." I said: "Now the thing that got me committed was that blackmail business with Hunt, did he tell you about that." He said "Yes, yes he mentioned that," and he said "imagine" — and again no quotation marks please, I have to give you my recollection—and he said, I think, "imagine or just think of that," he said, "I told him it was not only wrong but stupid. That you can't do that. First of all the demands never stop," and he said: "Dean said this could go on," and the word "to a million dollars." The President said: "That isn't the point. Money is not the point. You could raise money, money is not the point, it's wrong, we could not, shouldn't consider it and it's stupid because the truth comes out anyway."

Q. Put to go on as succinctly as we can, let's explore for other meeting briefly that you had with the President after that.

A. I had a brief meeting with him the next day, April 20. I said, "Yes, sir. You are going down for that Easter weekend and it is a good time to contemplate," and I think I made a reference about, "Maybe this is the sort of a resurrection of the whole thing we are talking about."

#### Nixon Had the Facts

At least I gave him a little, just that comment. Then I said, "The reason I wanted to see you, sir, is I have been thinking about this whole thing. You now have facts," and I said, "You know and I know and I am convinced the country will accept that you did not know about the cover-up."

I said, "but you do now," and I said, "if you don't take action and get the facts

quickly then it will be—you will be accused of a cover-up, and that, sir, will come into this Oval Office and affect you. Now, you are involved," and I said, "and my other message I wanted to see you, I just hope that as you assess the acts you will get the benefit of outside counsel because everybody in this building has his own relationships, his own bias and perhaps his own involvement and when you are assessing the legal and factual issues please get someone, wiser head from outside," and that was it.

He thanked me, and went out and got in the chopper.

I don't know what came of it. All I know is that the suggestion that he—it was a short time after that, that the April 30 speech resulted,

and all I know is that outside, that outside counsel did talk to him. All I know is he went to Key Biscayne. I don't know, I know no more than that.

Q. Did you see the President after April 20?

A. Yes, sir. I saw him on May 8.

And he said at that point — let me just recall — he said, well, now, I am only wondering now, or I wonder now, about — and he had said this once before, but he said it with greater conviction, he said, I have racked my brain, I have searched my mind. Were there any clues I should have seen that should have tipped me off? He said, maybe there were. He said, I know how it is when you have a lot on your mind, and I did, but he said,

I still wonder. And he said, what do you think?

I said, Mr. President, I did not have that much on my mind and I did not see any clues. If that is all that is worrying you, you can get back to business as far as your role is concerned, and I think that was that.

#### Request by Garment

SENATOR INOUE: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Moore, I am certain that you are aware that your appearance here as a witness, and more specifically as a witness to follow Mr. Mitchell's testimony, was requested by the counsel to the President, Mr. Leonard Garment?

A. I have no direct knowledge of that. I have heard it, I have read it. Mr. Garment never told me that.

Q. Have you discussed this testimony with Mr. Garment?

A. No, sir. My only discussions—let me say, I was asked by a reporter—

Q. Were you briefed on this discussion?

A. No, sir. But I would like to make a footnote on that. I met, and I think Mr. Miller was with me, to determine what the executive privilege and attorney-client privilege situation was, and we discussed that aspect. And since the question has been raised, I was asked by a reporter, has my testimony been reviewed in the White House? The answer is no one ever

# Figures in Senate Inquiry

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 13—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 I. Edmisten, deputy counsel.  
Terry F. Lenzner, assistant chief counsel.

## WITNESSES

Richard A. Moore, special counsel to the President.

## PERSONS NAMED IN TESTIMONY

Charles W. Colson, former counsel to the President.  
John W. Dean 3d, former counsel to the President.  
John D. Ehrlichman, former White House adviser.  
H. R. Haldeman, former White House chief of staff.  
E. Howard Hunt Jr., ex-White House consultant; pleaded guilty to spying in Watergate case.  
G. Gordon Liddy, former White House aide, convicted in the Watergate break-in; in jail.  
Frederick C. LaRue, former aide to Mr. Mitchell.  
James W. McCord Jr., convicted participant in Watergate break-in.  
Jeb Stuart Magruder, former deputy director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President.  
Robert C. Mardian, official of Re-election Committee.  
John N. Mitchell, former Attorney General and former chief of the Committee for the Re-election of the President.  
Hugh W. Sloan Jr., former treasurer of Finance Committee to Re-elect the President.  
Maurice H. Stans, former Commerce Secretary; former chief of Nixon Finance Committee.  
Gordon Strachan, former assistant to Mr. Haldeman.

sought, no one ever knew what I was going to say, and I was not advised by it.

## AFTERNOON SESSION

**SENATOR ERVIN:** Mr. Moore, you have testified that you believe that the President knew nothing about the critical facts relating to Watergate at any time between the 17th day of June 1972 and the 21st day of March 1973?  
A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is purely a conjecture on your part, is it not?

A. Well, he told me he did not, sir, and I have no evidence to the contrary. So it is a conclusion.

Q. Well, it is a conclusion, it is a surmise. A. That is right.

Q. Yes. Now, I would ask you this question. Do you not agree with me that of all of the inhabitants of this earth, the one best qualified to testify as to the knowledge the President had concerning the Watergate affair or anything else at any time between the 17th day of June 1972 and the 21st day of March 1973, is President Nixon?

A. I could agree with that.

Q. Yes. Now, you found out on the morning of June 17, 1972, or shortly thereafter, by reading the press and watching television, that five men had been caught red handed in an act of burglary in the Democratic National headquarters? A. Yes, I found out the morning of June 18.

Q. Now, I will ask you if you did not state on page 20 of your records that "in one of my talks with the President, the President kept asking himself whether there had been any sign or clue which should have led him to discover the true facts earlier"—that is, earlier than March 21, 1973. A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you, during the approximately two months after the burglary at the Watergate was discovered if the news media—that is, the newspapers, and TV and radio—did not contain statements—did not contain statements, many statements concerning the Watergate matter? A. That the newspapers when, sir?

Q. During the two months starting with the morning of June 17, 1972, during those following two months? A. Yes, they did.