

Excerpts From Hunt's Testimony Before

Following are excerpts from a transcript of the testimony in Washington yesterday of E. Howard Hunt Jr. before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities:

MORNING SESSION

SENATOR TALMADGE: Did you participate with Mr. Liddy in drawing up the Gemstone Plan?

HUNT: I did.

Q. Did you participate in the presentation of that plan to Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Dean and Mr. Magruder? A. No sir.

Q. Now they first turned that plan down, as I recall, because it was too expensive. Is that what was reported to you by Mr. Liddy? A. Yes, Senator.

Q. They did not state they turned it down because of the nature of the plan? Is that a correct statement? A. That is a correct statement.

Q. Now who authorized breaking and entering into the Watergate complex? A. Mr. Liddy told me that his superiors had ordered it.

Q. You didn't think Mr. Liddy organized it on his own? A. Under no circumstances.

Q. You wouldn't have participated in it had you thought it was a solo flight on the part of Liddy and no one else, would you? A. No sir.

Q. Now you have mentioned that you operated in a number of areas and projects with Mr. Colson. Would you relate exactly what they were. I believe one was the Fielding break-in—his office—is that a correct statement? A. May I consult with counsel?

Q. Certainly. A. Senator Talmadge, can I solicit your indulgence in the repetition of that question.

Q. You stated that you participated and were directed with Mr. Colson, counsel for the President in the White House in a number of clandestine operations. I wanted to find out exactly what those were and I hope to enumerate them—some of them to get your assent or whether or not that's an accurate statement. Was one of them the breaking and entering of Dr. Fielding's office?

Assignments Listed

A. At the time of the break-in of Dr. Fielding's office, Senator, I was not aware of the extent of Mr. Colson's participation as I have subsequently come to understand it. Certainly my compilation of Mr. Leonard Boudin's legal history, let me put it, and providing that to Mr. Colson for the use by a member of the local press was one of the activities in which I engaged. I interviewed Mr. Clifton Demotte of Providence, R. I., at Mr. Colson's behest. I also interviewed former retired Gen. Paul Harkins at Mr. Colson's request.

Q. The Diem cables? A. The Diem cables, yes sir.

Dita Beard? A. Yes, sir, I visited and elicited information from Mrs. Dita Beard at his request.

Q. Did he suggest to you that you go break in Bremer's apartment after George Wallace was shot down in Maryland? A. He suggested that I review the contents of Mr. Bremer's apartment.

Q. And you declined to do that? A. I argued against it. I subsequently received word from him or from his secretary—I can't recall which—that this was no longer required.

Q. And did he participate in your visit to California to see the security officer for the Hughes Tool Company? A. No sir.

Q. He did not. And did he participate in your visit to survey the newspaperman in Las Vegas with a view of breaking and entering there? A. No sir.

Q. He did not. Did he participate in organizing the efforts of spying and eavesdropping and electronic surveillance of the Democratic National Convention in Miami? A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. He did not to your knowledge. About photographing the papers of the Muskie headquarters? I have no knowledge that he was aware of that.

A. I have no knowledge that he was aware of that.

Origin of 'Plumbers'

Q. Why did they call you gentlemen the "plumbers?"

A. This was an appellation that was derived in a jocular way, I believe. I've understood—I've asked Mr. Liddy about that cognomen and he said that Mr. David Young had had the name "plumbers" put on the door—this was the general maintenance area of the White House—in an effort to divert undue attention from the activities of the occupants of that room.

Q. One thing I haven't been able to understand about this extra-legal operation that was set up at the White House. I always thought that Mr. Hoover was one of the most dedicated public servants in the history of our country and always thought the F.B.I. was one of the most efficient organizations in the history of our republic. Why was it necessary to set up extra legal operations of this type rather than rely on the F.B.I.?

A. I can answer that ques-

tion, I believe, Senator, in two ways. First I would not want to accept the premise that the operation that we had set up at the President's order was extralegal.

Passing beyond that, however, I had early-on in my White House incumbency raised the question—I think as early as the seventh of July with Mr. Charles Colson—as to why certain items of physical disguise could not be provided me by the Bureau, and at the same time by the Secret Service. And

I was given to understand that that was because neither organization was sufficiently in the confidence of the Administration to be entrusted with so sensitive a matter.

Secondly, as to the entry operation, for example into the premises of Dr. Fielding, I was given to understand that during the years—the later years of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's incumbency that the entry units that had been so much a part of F.B.I. operations for let's say decades had been allowed to wither on the vine and die and that personnel trained—skilled personnel—were no longer available for that type operation.

A Double Agent

SENATOR GURNEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Hunt, let's go back to the Watergate break-in. There's been a good deal of speculation in many quarters as to whether or not this was a double-agent action in that the tapes were on the door and they seemed to be rather unnecessary and maybe even unwise. And you, yourself, testified that the second break-in didn't make a great deal of sense, and then after the tapes were discovered to have been removed you thought it was certainly foolhardy to go ahead.

Do you have theories on whether there was a double-agent here or not?

A. The series of events of that night taken in their totalities, Senator Gurney, have suggested to me for many months that we might have been, as it were, entrapped by information having been provided beforehand to local law enforcement authorities by a member of our unit.

Q. Who do you think that was? A. I would have to indicate that the most likely subject would be Mr. Alfred Baldwin.

Q. And why is that? A. First of all he had been only recently hired by Mr. McCord on the basis of a want ad placed in a magazine—"help wanted" ad. Nothing was known about . . .

Q. Do you mean to say that that actually was the method of his hiring for this very sensitive operation?

A. I believe Mr. McCord has testified, Senator, that he read in a magazine published by the ex-F.B.I. Bureau Association that a particular individual's services were available. He got in touch with that gentleman, read his resume and hired him, not for Watergate itself but rather for the personal protection of the Attorney General and/or Mrs. Martha Mitchell.

Q. Do you know whether he did any background checks on him or not? A. I do not know. I suspect he did not.

Ties in Connecticut

Q. Go on with you reasoning why he might be the double-agent. Or may be a double-agent? A. It further developed subsequently that

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1973

Senate Panel Investigating Watergate

Mr. Baldwin had rather intimate ties with the Democratic party in Connecticut.

Q. What were those ties?

A. Without notes I would have to suggest that he was the nephew of a judge; that he, at least at one point in time, represented himself as being a nephew of John Bailey who had been previous—or at one time was chairman of the Democratic party of Connecticut.

I understood that Mr. Baldwin—and this was subsequent to the actual events—that Mr. Baldwin had a girl friend who worked at Democratic national headquarters. There was the question—which has never been resolved, at least to my satisfaction—of the lingering presence in the general Watergate area of the D.C. Police Department's so-called Mod Squad something like two hours after their normal course of duty would have expired; their immediate response to the scene of the Watergate, and the failure of Mr. Baldwin to alert the—not only our command post in Room 14 in the hotel, but also the five men who were actually on the Democratic national headquarters premises on the sixth floor.

We knew that the Mod Squad were conducting a downward search beginning at the top floor and working down. This meant that a great many lights were going on; that there was visible activity that could and should have been seen from across the street where Mr. Baldwin was positioned.

Before the Arrests

Q. You mean activity long before—at least sometime before—your actual discovery.

A. Yes, sir. That here we have a darkened building, let us say, at around 2 o'clock in the morning. Abruptly lights began going on on the eighth floor. Men must be able to be seen running through the eighth floor. Those lights go out. There's a repetition on the seventh floor. And on the sixth floor the same procedure begins.

At this point a rather casual inquiry comes over the walkie-talkie from Mr. Baldwin to the effect: Are any of your men wearing hippie clothes? The answer which Mr. Liddy gave him was, no, they are all in business suits. And approximately at this time the arrests began taking place on the sixth floor, which was the premises of the Democratic national headquarters.

I would like to move now to the instructions which I gave Mr. Baldwin within a half an hour of the appearance on the sixth floor of the Mod Squad, at which time I was—I rushed into the—or at least moved with alacrity—into the listening post on the sixth floor—on the seventh floor of the Howard Johnson Motel and told him to pack up and get moving, to load the van, take it anywhere—but Mr. McCord's home.

Subsequently I was to learn that Mr. Baldwin had done quite the opposite. That he in fact had driven the loaded van, the van loaded with all of Mr. McCord's electronic equipment and paraphernalia, directly to the McCord home in Rockville, Md., left it there, abandoned it and taken off for Connecticut where he had at once made contact with one or more prominent lawyers known to be—known for their affiliation to the Democratic party.

Other Evidence Requested

Q. Do you have any other concrete evidence that he might have been a double agent?

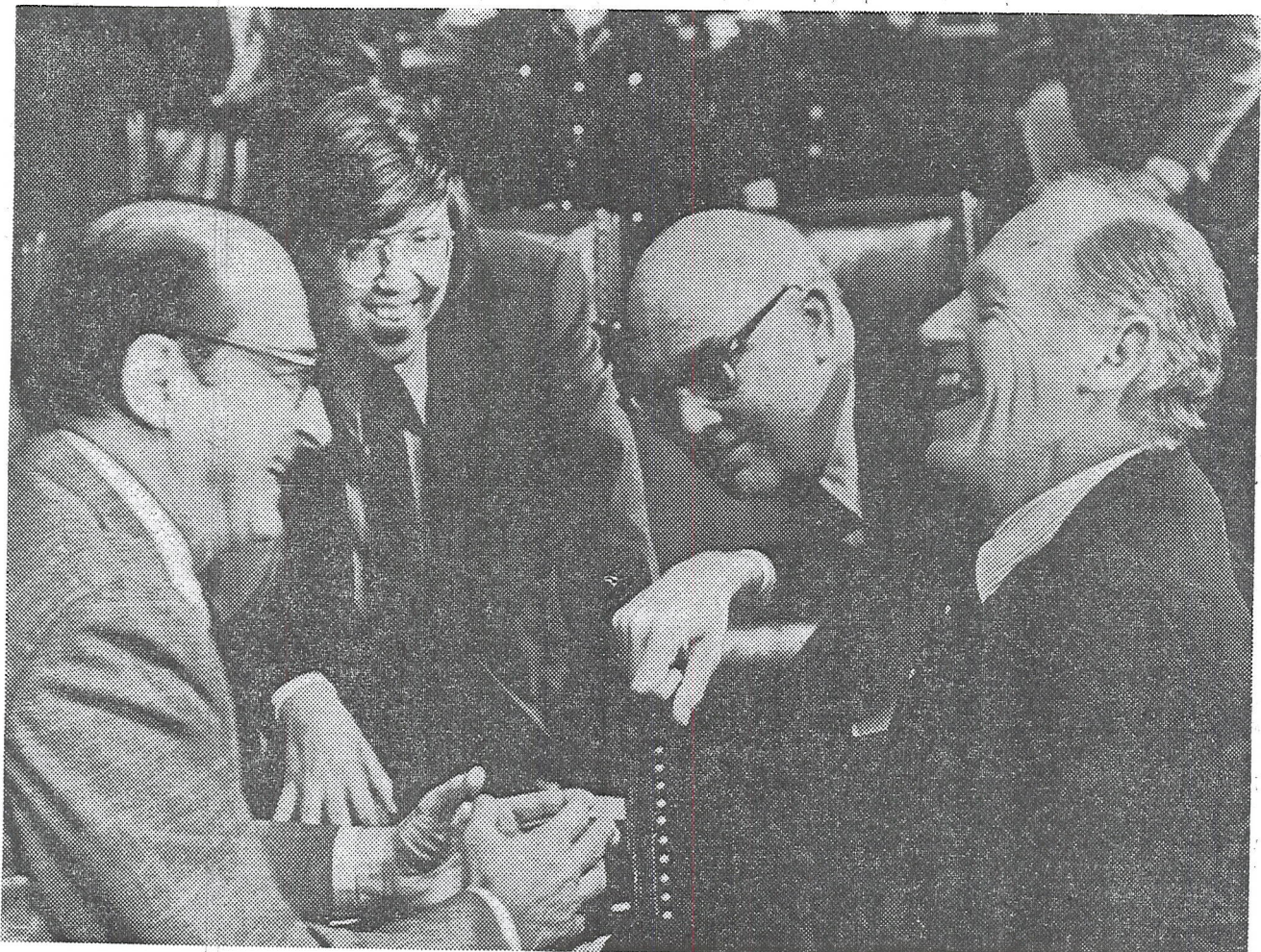
A. In conclusion I would offer this for whatever it might be worth. That at the time I first got in telephonic contact with Mr. McCord, which was in July and after Mr. McCord's release from jail, when I challenged Mr. McCord concerning Mr. Baldwin's conduct, Mr. McCord was very quick to defend his conduct. He indicated to me that Mr. Baldwin had behaved with perfect propriety. That, in fact, Mr. McCord had come to Washington following a trip to Connecticut in which he had retained counsel, and gone to the offices of the Committee

for the Re-election of the President, at which time he sought aid, comfort and assistance and was rebuffed. Therefore, according to Mr. McCord, Mr. Baldwin was entirely justified in exposing the affair and dealing with The Los Angeles Times as he did.

Excuse me, I may have misspoken. (Consults with Sidney S. Sachs, his attorney.)

Senator, if I made the statement that McCord went to the headquarters of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, I misspoke. I meant that Mr. Baldwin had gone to the headquarters of the Committee for the Re-election of the President and was there rebuffed.

Q. I see my time is up, but let me ask you just one final question on this line of questioning. Were you ever promised executive clemency by anyone? And did that influence your plea of guilty? A. No, sir.



E. Howard Hunt Jr. and his legal advisers sharing a laugh during a recess requested by his lawyers yesterday. From the left are Sidney S. Sachs, Thomas Hylden, a clerk, and Robert M. Scott.

The New York Times/Mike Lien

Figures in Senate Inquiry

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25—Following are the names of individuals who figured in today's hearings by the Senate 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.

WITNESS AND COUNSEL

E. Howard Hunt Jr., former White House aide who pleaded guilty in the Watergate break-in.
Sidney S. Sachs, counsel for Mr. Hunt.

PERSONS NAMED IN TESTIMONY

John Bailey, former Democratic National Chairman.
Alfred Baldwin, ex-F.B.I. agent who monitored Watergate wiretaps.
Bernard L. Barker, pleaded guilty in Watergate break-in.
Dita Beard, former public relations aide with I.T.T.
William O. Bittman, former attorney for Mr. Hunt.
Leonard Boudin, Dr. Daniel J. Ellsberg's lawyer.
Arthur H. Bremer, assassin who attacked Governor Wallace.
Charles W. Colson, former special counsel to the President.
John W. Dean 3d, former counsel to the President.
Clifton Demotte, former motel public relations director in Hyannis Port, Mass.
Robert Dole, former Republican National Chairman.
Dr. Daniel J. Ellsberg, key figure in Pentagon papers case.
Dr. Lewis Fielding, Dr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist.
J. Edgar Hoover, former director of the F.B.I.
Egil Krogh Jr., former assistant to Mr. Ehrlichman.
G. Gordon Liddy, former White House aide convicted in Watergate break-in.
Clark MacGregor, former head of Committee for the Re-election of the President.
Mr. Rivers, pseudonym of Anthony T. Ulasewicz, former aid to John J. Caulfield.
Jeb Stuart Magruder, former deputy director of Committee for the Re-election of the President.
John N. Mitchell, former Attorney General and former director of re-election committee.
Gov. George C. Wallace, of Alabama.
David R. Young Jr., co-director of the White House intelligence unit.

once we had these listings, would be to have investigated each contributor to determine if the contributor is bona fide.

Q. What is the national security involved in determining where the money did come from . . . Cuba?

A. I think for two reasons, Senator. First of all, any such intervention would have been a violation of United States law and secondly it would have represented an area of acute concern to national security authorities.

Q. What did you intend to do with that information if you did find it? A. I beg your pardon?

Q. What did you intend to do with that information if you were successful in finding that?

A. The information would have been turned over to Mr. Liddy who, I assume, if you would like my further speculation on the subject, would have passed it through channels which eventually would have brought the resources of I.R.S. and the F.B.I. into play.

Detail of Gemstone

Q. My final question, sir, since we have received testimony on the so-called Gemstone, which as I thought included the hiring of call girls and you indicated it was not so.

A. I have indicated I believe Senator, if I might interrupt, that I was not aware that it formed a part of the original Gemstone concept. This was brought to my attention much later, at a time when Mr. Liddy and I were looking for a line of sight listening post for Mr. McCord in front of the Fontainebleu Hotel. We had reported back that we had found a houseboat moored directly in front of the Fontainebleu Hotel. Subsequent to that, Mr. Liddy told me that one of his superiors had suggested that the houseboat could be used as a rendezvous point and perhaps a place in which compromising photographs or tape recordings could be made.

Q. Did you consider this to be part of national security? A. No sir, I have not characterized it as such.

SENATOR WEICKER: I'd just like to touch upon for a minute, Mr. Hunt, your comments on the double agent theory relative to Mr. Baldwin. You indicated that one of the bases for your theory would be Mr. Baldwin having an uncle who is a Democratic judge. Is that correct?

A. That was my understanding, yes, sir.

Q. Right. Is the judge Raymond Baldwin? A. I don't know his name.

To Clear the Record

Q. Well, let me put it this way so that the record is very clear, the only relative that Mr. Baldwin has who is or has been a judge is the former Chief Justice of the Supreme, State Supreme Court in Connecticut, who would be Raymond Baldwin, who was also the Republican Senator from Connecticut, who was also the Republican Governor of Connecticut and who is generally looked upon as Mr. Republican in the state of Connecticut.

You indicated also, relative to Mr. Baldwin, that he had indicated, he and Mr. Baldwin had indicated a relationship with John Bailey. Now of course, did you know how he employed that reference to John Bailey? Saying that he was his nephew?

A. I know that he qualified that. I was given to understand by Mr. McCord that at the time a floor plan of the Democratic national headquarters was being compiled Mr. Baldwin presented himself to the receptionist of the Democratic National Committee and said that he was a nephew of John Baldwin and was given the red carpet treatment.

Q. John Bailey, A. Yes, John Bailey.

Q. So that if in fact, you were going to case the Democratic National Committee headquarters, it would certainly be far more appropriate to identify yourself with John Bailey than either Robert Dole or Clark MacGregor, wouldn't it? A. Yes, Senator.

Q. So really that doesn't form a valid basis for any sort of double agent here, does it? It was used, in other words, specifically, to gain entry into the Democratic

SENATOR INOUE: Assuming that Mr. Baldwin was in fact a double agent, and further assuming that Mr. Baldwin did in fact advise the local police officials in advance of the break-in, did you consider that his actions were wrong or illegal in notifying the police of the burglary?

A Legal Hypothesis

A. I believe you're posing a legal hypothesis, Senator, which I'd like to consult counsel on, if I might.

My assumption, of course, Senator Inouye, was that the project itself was legal. Now, Mr. Baldwin's actions in disclosing the project or setting up an entrapment really is another matter. That's a subjective matter. Certainly it was a matter of the greatest disloyalty to his employer and

to those of us who compromised the entry group. The courts have yet to decide the legality or nonlegality of the operation itself.

Q. It is your contention that the break-in was a legal break-in, because of national security? A. I believed, Senator then, and I believe now that it was a lawful activity.

Q. And this was part of the so-called Liddy plan? A. The Gemstone plan, yes sir.

Q. Which included renting a yacht and housing the yacht with call girls, is this legal also? A. We're getting a little far afield, I believe, Senator.

Q. Wasn't that part of the plan, sir? A. It was not a part of the initial Gemstone plan, no Senator.

Q. We were told that this was part of the plan presented to Mr. Mitchell. A. I was not present at any such presentation.

Hanoi Also Cited

Q. Now, you've indicated that the second break-in was necessary to locate evidence in the treasurer's ledger that would indicate that monies from Mr. Castro were being conveyed to the Democratic party. Is that correct, sir? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And furthermore, you suggested that there was a possibility that money from Hanoi was coming in. A. That was my speculation, and I believe—

Q. Because Mr. McGovern had said that he would crawl to Hanoi if necessary? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't Mr. McGovern make that statement long after the break-in? A. I don't know, Senator.

Q. After he became a candidate? A. No, sir, I think that, to the best of my

recollection, he made it well before the break-in.

Q. It might be well if you refreshed your memory, sir. But, what sort of instructions did you give your photographer? A. To photograph anything, in effect, with a figure on it.

Q. Did you expect the photographer to find somewhere in a ledger: Received from Fidel Castro, X number of dollars?

A. By no means, Senator, I did not. I expected that a chronological list of contributions with their respective contributors would be listed. The operational procedure,

National Committee headquarters to case the place, is that correct? A. Yes sir.

Q. And then just one last thing, you indicate in the case of The Los Angeles Times and Mr. Baldwin talking about that in the Times, is it a fact that Mr. Baldwin had already told his story to the Federal Bureau of Investigation via The Los

Angeles Times. A. That is my understanding.

Q. Do you recall telephoning Mr. Barker the day before the President's speech on the mining of Haiphong Harbor?

A. I recall certainly telephoning him in that connection. I don't know if it would be the day before or the actual day, Senator. I don't have telephonic records available to me. In connection with that event, however, yes.

Q. Would you dispute—let me rephrase it—in conversations that I've had with Mr. Barker he's indicated that he received such a telephone call from you the day before the President's speech. Would you dispute that?

A. I would simply answer that I would have no basis for acceding to it or disputing it. I think the point that we're interested in here, if I may be so presumptuous is whether in fact I did communicate with Mr. Barker relative to that speech, and I did.

Q. And did you know the contents of the President's speech prior to the speech?

A. Did I know . . .

Q. The contents of the President's speech prior to his speech? A. No, sir.

Q. What did you request of Mr. Barker?

A. To the best of my recollection I requested that he attempt to have as many telegrams as possible sent to the White House immediately following the President's speech manifesting approval of the President's move.

Q. So are you saying that you asked this after the President's speech, then? Is it your recollection that you made this telephone call after the President spoke? A. No, sir, not at all.

Q. Well then, what would be the basis for your asking for the support of the President? If in fact you said you didn't know in advance of what that statement was going to be?

'I'm Missing a Point'

A. I believe I'm missing a point somewhere, Senator. May I consult with counsel? Q. Surely.

SENATOR ERVIN: Without objection we'll have a five-minute recess.

A. Mr. Chairman, Senator Weicker, I believe I owe you an apology. I appreciate the recess that you have granted me. There is a very easy and a very ready answer to our question. I, however, for some reason, I've been informed that I seem to be running down a little. I want to be very cautious about that. However, I perceived within your question perhaps some deeper meaning or deeper implication than I was able to infer. Let me respond to your question in these terms.

Having been asked to engender support for the Pres-

ident's forthcoming Haiphong speech—bombing—the Haiphong speech, and being in very general terms aware of it although not having read it, I was prepared to seek support from all sources available to me, including, and in particular, Mr. Barker, even though I did not know the verbatim text of the speech, nor did Mr. Barker. Is that responsive to your question, Senator?

Q. Are you saying that you knew about the content of the speech in a general way but not a specific way? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And this was transmitted, then, to Mr. Barker prior to the speech, are you also saying that?

A. I have no recollection of so-doing. I may have done it as a matter of courtesy to Mr. Barker. On the other hand I expected his cooperation regardless of the actual content of the speech.

Instructions From Liddy

Q. Well who gave you the instructions to rally support for the President? A. Mr. G. Gordon Liddy.

Q. And who gave you the information as to the general nature of the speech? A. Mr. Liddy.

Q. And is it fair to assume that such occurrences as this on the part of Mr. Barker, this type of information, which I might add, the United States Senate was not privy to, is it not clear to go ahead and assume that this again would add to the official image which you had in the eyes of Mr. Barker?

A. I would certainly so assume.

SENATOR ERVIN: Mr. Hunt can you tell us exactly how much money was paid your lawyer, Mr. Bittman, as counsel fees? A. \$156,000.

Q. And in addition to that how much money did you or Mrs. Hunt receive for your support or your bail? A. I don't know how much money Mrs. Hunt received.

Q. Well, you received \$50,000 in February, didn't you? A. Yes sir.

Q. And you received \$75,000 on the 21st of March? A. Yes sir.

Q. And Mrs. Hunt, according to records we have here received a total of \$141,500 on Sept. 19 and Oct. 2, of which \$1,000 was used for your bail and \$30,000 was used as income replacement for you.

A. I beg your pardon, Mr. Chairman, are you asking me a question?

Q. Is that correct? Are these figures set out in the accounting which Mrs. Hunt made on Sept. 19, 1972 for

\$53,500 allegedly given her by Mr. Rivers and for—on Oct. 2, 1972, for \$88,000, received and \$91,000 disbursed, correct?

A. Senator I have no way of knowing whether the figures are correct or not.

Q. Well they show that \$1,000 out of the monies covered by the Sept. 19, 1972 accounting was used for bail for you. Do you know whether the thousand dollars was used to secure bail for you? A. It was and it is still in the possession of the government.

Income Replacement

Q. And the Oct. 2 report says that \$30,000 was used as income replacement for Mr. Hunt and Mrs. Hunt. Do you know whether that item is correct? A. I don't know, no sir.

Q. Well did you receive \$30,000 about that time? A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. When Mr. Colson asked you to go to Denver to consult Dita Beard, what did he say he wanted you to tell Dita Beard or ask Dita Beard?

A. This was a very complicated mission, Mr. Chairman. I might say that I know that the special prosecutor has in his possession an eight-page memorandum which I drew up immediately following my return from Washington. According to the best evidence rule, I would hope that that would soon be in the possession of the committee, if it is not, because it does contain my reconstruction of the events immediately following their occurrence.

However, my two basic instructions when I set out to elicit information from Mrs. Beard were to determine (a) why she had left Washington, and (b)—in effect hidden herself out—hidden herself away, and (b) whether or not the famous or infamous memorandum concerning I.T.T. was according to the best of her knowledge fraudulent. Now there were many other items that I was charged with. Some of these were reduced to the form of an aide memoire which I took out to Denver with me and interrogated her from.

Q. Did you disguise yourself in any way when you visited Mrs. Beard? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What name did you give her? A. I believe it was one consistent with the documentation I was carrying at that time.

Q. Did you tell Mrs. Beard who you were representing when you saw her?

A. I—the question came up during the course of one of our numerous dialogues that night. I simply confirmed what she had been given to understand by her daughter, that I represented high levels of the Administration who were interested in her welfare.

Q. You did actually represent the special counsel to the President, Charles W. Colson? You performed the mission at his instance, didn't you?

A. At his initial request, sir, but I was referred by him to Mr. Wallace Johnson, who was the gentleman who actually dispatched me on the mission and prepared the aide memoire from which I talked subsequently to Mrs. Beard.

Q. And who was Mr. Johnson?

A. Mr. Johnson was at that time, I believe, in the office of Congressional relations at the White House. I believe that he is today an assistant attorney U. S.—an Assistant U. S. Attorney General.

Q. Now I understood you testified yesterday that you recently learned that Mr. Krogh—Egil Krogh—had received money to cover the expense of the break-in of the Fielding office from Mr. Colson. A. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Q. Now when did you learn this and how did you learn it? A. I learned it in connection with one of my interviews with the Office of the Special Prosecutor or in connection with testimony I was giving before the Watergate Grand Jury.

Source of Funds

Q. Do you know where Mr. Colson received the money he gave to Mr. Krogh? A. Not specifically.

Senator **BAKER**: Did Mr. Bittman tell you how he used that \$156,000, how he dispersed it? A. How he dispersed it? I'm sorry, I perhaps misunderstood.

Q. Mr. Bittman, your attorney, did he disclose to you whether he kept the \$156,000, or whether he was a cutout, as I understand an additional phrase for it to be, to pass it on other people?

A. My understanding then and now, Senator, is that all the funds went to his law firm and were there retained.

AFTERNOON SESSION

SENATOR **TALMADGE**: I am impressed with your background. You have served in the United States Navy honorably. You are a graduate of one of the better colleges in the United States of America. You served your country honorably in the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. You had an outstanding career in the C.I.A. in which you were commended twice. Why on

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earth after a record of that type, would you get involved in clandestine activities and commit a series of felonies?

A. I would have to answer, Senator Talmadge, in two parts: First, I became engaged because I believed that the activities that were proposed to me had the sanction of the highest authorities in our country.

Secondly, my 26-year record of service to this country predisposed me to accept orders and instructions without question and without debate.

Q. Let me see if I understand your reply. First, you the means and, second, if higher authority ordered that you thought it was your duty to obey; does that answer it?

MR. **SACHS**: Senaor Talmadge, may I intervene and suggest that the first part of your question, in my humble opinion, was not an exact paraphrase of what he said.

Q. I certainly don't want to put words in his mouth but I understood the answer to be similar thereto. I want the witness to answer in his own words.

A. As a general rule, Senator Talmadge, I do not believe that the end justifies the means.

Q. You had been trained to instantly obey orders of higher authority and that was the reason you did what you did. A. Yes, sir.

First Presentation

SENATOR **GURNEY**: And then after you had your first meeting with Mr. Colson in January, Liddy made his first presentation to Mitchell, Magruder, and Dean, and all of the testimony that we have had before this committee is—and I am paraphrasing—I don't recall exact words—that Mitchell and company were appalled and shocked at this plan, which involved chase planes, kidnapping people, sexual aberrations, and a whole lot of things. Isn't that a fact?

A. I don't know it's a fact, Senator. No. I don't know that the people were shocked and horrified.

Q. They did reject the plan, didn't they, at the Jan. 27 meeting?

A. They did, sir, but if I may be permitted to amplify very briefly, it was my understanding from Mr. Liddy that it was the price tag that shocked and horrified them.

Q. Your understanding was it was only the price tag? A. That was my understanding.

SENATOR **INOUE**: May I now ask you a few questions on your meeting with Mrs. Dita Beard?

A. I arrived out in Denver well after dark, probably 9 or 10 o'clock at night, made telephonic contact with her physician, took some time to get in from the airport. I probably got to her bedside no earlier than 11 o'clock that night. I introduced myself under the pseudonym that had been agreed upon and under which she had agreed to see me, having had prior reference to her daughter's guaranteeing of my bona fides. She was initially very suspicious. I also believe that she was under sedation and was not grasping thoroughly the situation.

I had a number of questions to put to her. She was reluctant to answer them at first. There came a time shortly after, perhaps within the first 20 or 30 minutes, when her physician who was then in attendance upon her suggested that I step into the corridor, which I did. He indicated that he wanted to administer oxygen or some sort of other aid, chemical aid, to her. I chose that time to absent myself to go to a pay telephone and report back to Mr. Charles Colson at his home telephone number, which I did.

I just want to establish that this is a pattern that occurred throughout the night for perhaps, until perhaps 3, or 3:30 or so in the morning. I would interview her for a time, ask her questions. The physician was there, would intervene after a space of time, I would absent myself, call back to Mr. Colson's home to make a report and seek further instructions, which I would they act upon in my succeeding session with her.

The I.T.T. Memo

Q. Did you suggest to Mrs. Beard that she should announce to the press that the memo they had was a forgery? A. I recall no such suggestion, sir.

Q. Did she tell you that it was a forgery? A. To the best of my recollection, she left it up in the air. She indicated to me—and again, my memorandum would be the best evidence on this. The impression I now have of Mrs. Beard's recollections, and I want to stress that she seemed to be under heavy sedation while we were conferring, was that she was quite sure that she had not written it.

Q. You also suggested that Mr. Segretti should distribute false invitations to a Muskie picnic? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you make any similar suggestion to Mr. Segretti?

A. We drew Mr. Segretti's attention to a Newsweek article which was, in effect, a reprint of a former article, I believe, which had appeared in the Woman's Wear Daily, which consisted of an interview with Mrs. Edmund Muskie, and it was my suggestion that he, Mr. Segretti, make sure that the Newsweek reprint received substantial distribution in the Miami area.

May I explain the Liddy-Segretti relationship?

Q. Please do, sir.

A. There came a time, I believe, in late January of 1972 when Mr. Liddy informed me that there seemed to be a problem of penetration by a suspected Democrat infiltration in the headquarters of several Republican state headquarters. In each instance the would-be penetrator answered the same physical description: he was short, he wore rimless glasses, he introduced himself to Republicans as coming or emanating from the highest levels of Washington and he proposed to them to show them how they could win elections in their areas.

Mr. Liddy was alerted and in turn alerted me. He said because [Segretti] had been detected or at least his activities had seemed suspicious to a number of legitimate Republican groups around the country he, Liddy, and I were asked specifically to rendezvous with Segreti in Miami and evaluate him (A) as a person and (B) in terms of what his professional credentials conceivably could be to the campaign.

We did that during the meeting at the Frolics Motel in Miami Beach. Each of us formed a similar impression of Mr. Segretti: That the activities that he acknowledged being involved in were sophomoric in nature and could be a little more than an irritant on the side of the Democrats and a possible embarrassment to the Republicans. In short, we returned to Washington with a joint recommendation that whoever was employing Mr. Segretti, as I now know his name to be, cease and desist.

Mr. Liddy, however, informed me subsequently that he had been overridden, and that we were being asked to monitor his activities, and to help him if possible and see that he stayed out of trouble. We had no monetary, financial responsibility for him nor did we have any operational direction of Mr. Segretti.