

HOUSE COMMITTEE ISSUES THE VOLUMINOUS EVIDENCE FROM WATERGATE INQUIRY



The New York Times/George Tames

Peter W. Rodino Jr., chairman of the impeachment panel, talking with John W. Dean 3d before yesterday's session.

4,133-PAGE RECORD

Nixon Seen Concerned Soon After Break-In Over Revelations

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 11—The House Judiciary Committee made public today the voluminous evidence that it has received in its impeachment inquiry into President Nixon's role in the Watergate affair.

Much of the material released today had been made public previously, and there were no startling disclosures. But the 4,133-page record showed a pattern of concern by Mr. Nixon and his aides, reaching back to within two weeks after the break-in, about possible further revelations.

One of the most important pieces of new information was a taped conversation on June 30, 1972—barely two weeks after the Watergate burglary—in which Mr. Nixon expressed the hope that there would be no further disclosures but con-

ceded there was such a risk.

No Conclusions Given

The information released today by the House Committee consisted of eight thick volumes of factual statements and supporting documents. The committee gave no conclusions in the material, which was the first of seven installments in the planned release of virtually all of the evidence on which

Excerpts from more than 4,000 pages of evidence assembled by the impeachment staff of the House Judiciary Committee and bearing on the Watergate break-in and its aftermath, along with President Nixon's explanation of these events, appear on Pages 14-21.

Congress will ultimately decide whether Mr. Nixon is fit to continue in office.

At the White House, where Presidential spokesmen had persistently urged that all impeachment evidence be made public, the initial reaction to the massive disclosure of evidence today was to charge that leaders of the House committee and the Senate Watergate committee, whose final report will be issued Sunday, were trying jointly to "manipulate" public opinion against Mr. Nixon.

Tone Set Earlier

Much of the content of the Watergate volumes, drawn from various Congressional and grand jury investigations of the Watergate burglary on June 1, 1972, was already part of the public record.

But the arrangement of the impeachment inquiry material in a series of stark chronologies of related aspects of the affair, along with some new disclosures, formed a suggestion that the President's early expression of interest in containing the Watergate damage

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had, wittingly or not, set the tone of the cover-up effort that followed.

The principal new disclosure suggesting some knowledge on the President's part of the risks to the White House of a prompt and thorough Watergate investigation, was in the committee's transcript of a discussion that Mr. Nixon had with John N. Mitchell, the former Attorney General, and H.R. Haldeman, then White House chief of staff.

The discussion was held on June 30, 1972—only 13 days after the Watergate break-in.

In an apparent discussion of Mr. Mitchell's plan to resign the following day from his post as director of the President's 1972 re-election committee, Mr. Haldeman said:

"The longer you wait, the more risk each hour brings. You run the risk of more stuff, valid or invalid, surfacing on the Watergate caper."

According to the transcript, the President then said:

"If something does come out, but we won't — we hope nothing will. If may not. But there is always the risk."

Moments later, the President counseled Mr. Mitchell to "cut the loss fast."

The conversation took place nine months before the day on which Mr. Nixon has said that the first became aware of efforts to obstruct the Watergate investigation.

New Data Listed

Other new information in the vast chronology includes the following:

¶Late on March 21, 1973, in a dictated recollection of the events of the day on which Mr. Nixon has contended that he first learned of the Watergate cover-up, the President characterized Jeb Stuart Magruder, a 1972 re-election committee official who had begun to cooperate with Watergate prosecutors, as a "rather weak man who had all the appearance of character but who really lacks it when the, uh, chips are down."

¶By contrast, according to the Judiciary Committee's transcript of the same recorded March 21 recollection, Mr. Nixon said that Gordon C. Strachan, a White House aide who allegedly had destroyed Watergate-related files and committed perjury, "has been a real, uh, courageous fellow through all this."

¶Mr. Nixon told Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press

secretary, on June 4, 1973, in a recorded meeting that a tape of the President's conversation the previous March 17 with John W. Dean 3d, then White House counsel, included what the Judiciary Committee staff said was "a discussion of the substance of Watergate."

Mr. Nixon has refused to honor committee subpoenas for the tape of the March 17 conversation and nearly 150 others, a point that the committee's chairman, Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., Democrat of New Jersey, cited in a foreword to the volumes of evidence.

"To the extent that the President declined to comply with the committee's subpoenas and produce the required material," Mr. Rodino wrote, "the record of the committee now made public in these volumes is incomplete."

10,000 Copies Printed

There was no immediate visible impact on Congress—particularly the House, whose members are expected to vote on impeachment next month—from the release of the Watergate evidence.

The committee ordered the printing of 10,000 copies of the Watergate volumes and disseminated a set to each of the 435 House and 100 Senate members. The rest go on sale tomorrow, at about \$35 a set, at the Government Printing Office.

Apart from the fresh disclosures bearing directly on Mr. Nixon's possible role in the Watergate affair, the evidence contained suggestions that others at the White House may have obstructed the attempts by prosecutors to obtain all the facts.

One such matter revolved around attempts last summer by the first Watergate special prosecutor, Archibald Cox, to verify the testimony of L. Patrick Gray 3d that on July 5 or July 6, 1972, when Mr. Gray was Acting Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he had sent word to Mr. Nixon of his concern that White House aides were interfering in the Watergate case.

Mr. Gray had said that he asked Clark MacGregor, who succeeded Mr. Mitchell as campaign director, to advise the President of his concern and that, a short while later, Mr. Nixon had telephoned Mr. Gray and been warned of the possible obstruction.

In a July 25, 1973, letter reproduced in one Judiciary Committee volume, J. Fred Buzhardt Jr., a senior White House lawyer, assured Mr.

Cox "We have searched the logs" of the President's engagements for July 5 and 6, 1972, and "they do not show any conversation or meetings" with Mr. MacGregor.

But the log of Mr. Nixon's engagement for July 6, 1972, at his home in San Clemente, Calif. — which the Judiciary Committee obtained this year and reproduced in the evidence — showed clearly that Mr. MacGregor and his wife were in the President's company between 10:11 A.M. and 12:12 P.M. that day.

The log showed that the President had telephoned Mr. Gray earlier, at 8:28 A.M.

Judiciary Committee material also contained a statement by an unnamed employe of the Central Intelligence Agency who had worked in the Executive Office Building adjacent to the White House.

The C.I.A. man told committee investigators that White House telephone directories were recalled shortly after the Watergate burglary, and that when they were reissued the name of E. Howard Hunt Jr., a Watergate conspirator whose involvement was at first undetected, was omitted.

Rebuttal Material

The evidence presented in seven of the Watergate volumes—a total of 3,891 pages—was the material assembled by the staff of the Judiciary Committee, directed by John M. Doar, the special counsel on impeachment.

The eighth volume—running to 242 pages—contained rebuttal material presented to the 38-member Judiciary Committee by James D. St. Clair, the President's chief defense counsel.

As some committee members charged when the White House case was being made before the panel, much of the presentation by Mr. St. Clair appeared to draw conclusions rather than state unshaded facts, as was the case with Mr. Doar's presentation.

A typical "Statement of information" offered by Mr. Doar went as follows:

"On March 21, 1973, the President met with John Dean from 10:12 to 11:55 A.M. H. R. Haldeman joined the meeting at approximately 11:15 A.M."

It then listed three subjects discussed at the meeting, including "whether money should be paid to E. Howard Hunt."

Among the "statements of information" introduced by Mr. St. Clair was one that read as follows:

"At the March 21, 1973,

meeting the President after considering several options seized on the possibility of calling a new grand jury, thereby delaying Hunt's sentencing and making the immediate payment [of silence money] unnecessary as a means of buying time. Not once after this option was explored was there any suggestion that Hunt's demand be met."

Mr. St. Clair's material focused primarily on the charge

that the President had approved or tolerated the payment of \$75,000 to Mr. Hunt on March 21 of last year.

The White House presentation thus sought to bolster the President's contention that he had not committed any wrongdoing in the Watergate case and that he would properly be subject to impeachment only if there were a clear and serious violation of criminal law.

Mr. Doar's presentation rang-

ed, by contrast, across a wide assortment of Watergate-related matters and included evidence bearing on the allegedly improper actions of numerous White House or re-election campaign subordinates of the President.

The inquiry staff material thus paved the way for the possible adoption of articles of impeachment alleging that Mr. Nixon's conduct, taken as a whole and including responsibility for any misdeeds of aides, had been in violation of his constitutional duty to "take care that the laws be . . . Although the evidence pre-in substance the magnitude of the issue involved—Mr. Nixon's continuance in office—it contained some light matter, too.

There was a notation, on the log of the President's engagement for April 16, 1973, that was entered in evidence for another purpose, that a group of guests had presented Mr. Nixon, between 12:31 and 12:39 P.M., with "the one-millionth copy of the 'Alcoholics Anonymous' book."

And the evidence included grand jury testimony by Frederick C. LaRue, a former aide at the re-election committee, that Martha Mitchell, the now-estranged wife of the former Attorney General, was angry when Mr. Mitchell's vacation was interrupted by a campaign meeting at Key Biscayne, Fla., on March 29, 1972.

Mr. LaRue said, "We had gotten Mrs. Mitchell calmed down, and she agreed that we could spend the next day at the other end of the [vacation] house and, you know, work on these, whatever — work on whatever problems and decisions we had to make."

It was on the following day, presumably at the "other end" of the house, that the campaign officials allegedly agreed on the political intelligence plan that led to the Watergate burglary.

Greek Orthodox Church Dethrones Nine Bishops

ATHENS, July 11 (Reuters)—The Hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church today dethroned nine bishops for threatening church unity a spokesman for the Holy Synod said today.

The Hierarchy, supreme body of the church made up of the country's archbishops, was empowered earlier this month by a constitutional act to dethrone bishops if they threatened the order and unity of the church.