

AFTERNOON SESSION

(1:45 p.m.)

1  
2 Whereupon,

3 RICHARD M. NIXON

4 resumed the stand and testified further as follows:

E X A M I N A T I O N

5  
6 BY MR. MICHEL:

7 Q For the record, my name is Paul Michel, and I  
8 will be questioning the witness concerning what has been  
9 designated in discussions among counsel as unreported  
10 campaign funds.

11 Sir, I would like to try to refresh your  
12 recollection of a number of conversations that may have been  
13 held some years ago, and to begin doing that I would like to  
14 show you a short portion of a transcript of the tape of a  
15 conversation on April 17, 1973, from 5:20 to 7:14 p.m.  
16 That short excerpt which covers page 52 and page 53 of the  
17 transcript of that tape has been marked as Exhibit C-1.

18 (The document referred to was  
19 marked Exhibit No. C-1 for  
20 identification.)

21 MR. MICHEL: Mr. Miller, I have left in front of you a  
22 extra set of those appropriately numbered so that you can  
23 follow along, if you care to.

24 BY MR. MICHEL:

25 Q Sir, I would like to direct your attention to the  
first paragraph of that --

1 THE WITNESS: I am just trying to get my glasses. I  
2 just never wear glasses except when I am reading.

3 Yes, go right ahead.

4 BY MR. MICHEL:

5 Q Sir, I would like to direct your attention to the  
6 first paragraph of that exhibit, and particularly to the  
7 phrase in the middle of the paragraph - quote - but there is  
8 a way we can get it to you and two or three hundred thousand  
9 dollars, - end quote.

10 The question is, do you recall having a conversa-  
11 tion with Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman concerning the  
12 possibility of your making available to them some funds  
13 for their anticipated legal fees?

14 A Yes.

15 Q And do you recall mentioning the amount, two or  
16 three hundred thousand dollars?

17 A Yes.

18 Q In making that reference, were you referring to  
19 funds already in hand, funds that had already been received?

20 A Well, in making that reference, I was referring  
21 to a conversation that I had had two days before, and also  
22 to possibly the knowledge that I had with regard to funds  
23 that we had received, that I knew we had.

24 Two days before August 15, 1973, was --

25 Q Could that be April 15?

1           A       I am sorry, you are right, April 15, 1973.  
2       People often ask what is the hardest day you ever had when  
3       you were President. I suppose that was, except the day I  
4       resigned. We had a very full week end. Sammy Davis had  
5       been there the evening before at the White House and we were  
6       up past midnight with him. We had a church service in the  
7       morning. Dr. Hill was the minister, and I stood in line for  
8       about an hour and a half shaking hands, which was our  
9       custom.

10               Mr. Kleindienst had called me shortly before  
11       that service -- I don't know whether it was that morning or  
12       the night before -- and said he wanted to see me on an  
13       urgent matter, and I said, well, come over after we finish  
14       the church service on Sunday, and he hit me with what was  
15       to me a bombshell of massive proportions. I had been  
16       concerned, as all of you are aware, about this Watergate  
17       thing at the time it happened, particularly from the time  
18       after March 21 when I learned from John Dean some of the  
19       things that had never been told me before with regard to the  
20       demands for money by several of the -- not several, but by  
21       one in particular, Mr. Hunt, for his attorney's fees, and  
22       that unless his demands were not satisfied that he would  
23       expose matters that he had with Mr. Ehrlichman on -- this  
24       was not about Watergate -- with Mr. Ehrlichman on matters  
25       which I assume involved a highly sensitive operation called

1 the Plumbers. From that time on I was concerned about this.  
2 I knew that we had to get to the bottom of it, that I would  
3 have to take, and I did take, personal charge --

4 Q Sir, are you --

5 A Just a second. I am giving you what happened as  
6 to how this money is -- and the answer will not be too long --  
7 and between March 21 and April 15, Mr. Dean was conducting  
8 an investigation, Mr. Ehrlichman was conducting one, I was  
9 asking questions as well, and so forth, but on April 15,  
10 in the afternoon, Mr. Kleindienst came in that Sunday after-  
11 noon and said to me very bluntly that new evidence had come  
12 to the attention of the Special Prosecutors, that based  
13 on that evidence that it was his advice and conviction  
14 and advice and conviction that was shared by Henry Petersen,  
15 who was the, not Deputy Attorney General but Assistant  
16 Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division, that  
17 Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman were criminally involved and  
18 that they should be fired.

19 It was, first, a surprise; second, needless to  
20 say, a very great shock, and I continued to talk with  
21 Kleindienst for some time. I talked to, I believe, Haldeman  
22 that same afternoon, probably Ehrlichman, and then Mr.  
23 Rebozo, who had come up to Washington. He flew up from  
24 Miami, and I needed a little time off and I went out with  
25 him to the Sequoia, which the logs will all show this, and I

1 intentionally, of course, refreshed my recollection on that  
2 particular day.

3           On the Sequoia I told Rebozo of this conversa-  
4 tion. He was the first person I discussed it with, except  
5 of course with Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Kleindienst, and  
6 I think Petersen. Whether Petersen got in before or after I  
7 was on board, I don't recall, but Petersen did come in. I  
8 remember he was wearing sneakers. He had been out on his  
9 boat. But, in any event, I said I just don't know what to  
10 do here. And Rebozo, who has been a close friend of mine  
11 for almost twenty-five years, trusted, honest and blunt, he  
12 said they should be fired. He said as a matter of fact  
13 they both should resign just as soon as any heat was raised.

14           I said -- I told him exactly what I told  
15 Kleindienst and Petersen, that I didn't believe that you  
16 could ask an individual to resign simply because charges had  
17 been made and implications had been made. So I said it  
18 isn't right to them personally. I remember, incidentally,  
19 Mr. Petersen's reaction when I told him that. He said, "well,  
20 he said, Mr. President, that speaks very well for you as a  
21 man but not very well for you as President." But, in any  
22 event, even though I still had confidence in both Ehrlichman  
23 and Haldeman, even though I believed that it would be wrong  
24 for these men, two of the three top men, the other being  
25 Kissinger, in my administration in the White House to take



1 a leave of absence or to be fired based simply on  
2 fragmentary testimony which Mr. Kleindienst had shown to  
3 me and Mr. Petersen had shown to me, nevertheless in my  
4 own mind, as a realist, I knew that we probably had to face  
5 up to it and that I might have to make that decision, and  
6 Mr. Rebozo and I talked quite frankly, as a matter of  
7 custom -- we are free with each other, and this may sound  
8 quite incredible to this group, but maybe it won't, but I  
9 asked him a question -- I said, how much have I got in the  
10 bank. He said I don't know why you ask, you have three  
11 hundred thousand dollars in CD's. He said "why"?

12 I said, well, if I have to ask Haldeman and  
13 Ehrlichman to resign, these men both came here without much  
14 of this world's goods, both have made a great sacrifice,  
15 both have large families, most of them in college or  
16 going to college, and just to cut them loose like this, after  
17 what I considered to be devoted service, not only in this  
18 campaign but in their case going back from the time they  
19 were in college, when I first ran for Vice President in 1952,  
20 that I thought I had an obligation and I would like to be  
21 able to tell them that I would help out with regard to  
22 their fees.

23 Rebozo said almost emphatically, I would say,  
24 yet not in detail, he said, don't worry about it. He said,  
25 you shouldn't use your money for that purpose. He said, I

1 have some left from the 1972 campaign that I think we can  
2 make available for this purpose, and he said, between  
3 Abplanalp and myself we can get three hundred thousand  
4 dollars, I am sure. That was the extent of that conversation  
5 as far as this particular matter was concerned.

6 I should add, incidentally, that I didn't ask Mr.  
7 Rebozo what he had left or from whom he and Abplanalp would  
8 be able to solicit contributions. I did know at that time  
9 that he did have a hundred thousand dollars in cash which he  
10 had received from Howard Hughes. I had been informed of  
11 that shortly after the election, as I recall, the '72  
12 election, although it may have been contributed much earlier,  
13 and so consequently in this conversation, as I look at it  
14 now, on the 17th, I was reflecting on the fact that they  
15 could count on me, that I would have done it personally if  
16 Rebozo hadn't promised, or at least indicated he could  
17 do it, that they could count on me to help out with what I  
18 knew would be very significant legal fees.

19 You will note, of course, from the transcript  
20 that, to their credit, both of them refused.

21 Q So then the reference you made in that first  
22 paragraph to the figure two to three hundred thousand  
23 dollars was a reference to a combination of some funds;  
24 namely, the Hughes one hundred thousand dollars which you  
25 knew Mr. Rebozo already had, plus some funds that he had

1 led you to believe in your conversation that he could raise  
2 between himself and Robert Abplanalp.

3 A He mentioned Abplanalp and only Abplanalp, as I  
4 recall.

5 Q So then all of this money was not in hand?  
6 Some of the money represented by the figure two to three  
7 hundred thousand dollars was yet to be raised in the future?

8 A Yes, on the 15th, when we were discussing it on  
9 the boat. And I should add to that I was aware at that  
10 time that I had a hundred thousand dollars which Mr.  
11 Andreas had contributed. I cannot tell you now that when I  
12 used the figure two or three hundred thousand dollars that I  
13 was referring specifically to the Hughes money, the Andreas  
14 money or to all, but I knew that we had two hundred  
15 thousand dollars for sure. Of course, as I point out later,  
16 if available -- what do I say on that page? I say, for  
17 example, that **very substantial**, that Bebe could, we could,  
18 if this is available. The reason apparently that I must have  
19 said that was my thought that both the Andreas and the Hughes  
20 money left over from the campaign should be thrown into the  
21 '74 campaign. That was my plan. But with this crisis with  
22 which we were confronted, I was prepared to see if the donor  
23 would agree to allow them to be used for this purpose.

24 Q Then the phrase on page 53, the second page of  
25 this Exhibit No. 1, - quote - if this is available - end



1 quote - really meant that if the donors would agree to  
2 a change of purpose?

3 A Yes, the donors would have to agree to it. I  
4 couldn't take their money that they had given for campaign  
5 purposes and give it to somebody, to, you know, members of  
6 my staff without permission of the donors.

7 Q Was there any other problem with regard to  
8 whether the money would be available for use by Mr.  
9 Haldeman or Mr. Ehrlichman for legal fees, aside from the  
10 needing permission from the two donors, Andreas and  
11 Hughes?

12 A I didn't consider that there was any other problem.

13 Q None of the money had been spent?

14 A The Andreas money.

15 Q Or the Hughes money?

16 A Or the Hughes money, no, but let me say when we  
17 are talking about this, we have to keep the time frame. I  
18 knew that none of the Andreas money had been spent, had not  
19 been spent, because on March 21 in the afternoon I had asked  
20 Miss Woods to go down to the safe and see how much the  
21 Andreas contribution was. I hadn't even known up to that  
22 time. I hadn't given it a thought. It hadn't been spent.  
23 It had been given in the fall of '71. It was to be private,  
24 for the reason that he was a Humphrey supporter and didn't want  
25 it known, and it was to be used at my discretion and I felt

1 we would use it if there was a need for it in a last-minute  
2 blitz in the campaign. But Miss Woods, at my request, went  
3 down to the safe. She counted it and came back and,  
4 incidentally she was smarter than some other people, she  
5 must have thought the place was bugged because she handed  
6 me a sheet of paper, a little sheet, a note, saying one  
7 hundred thousand dollars, so I knew that. As far as the  
8 Hughes money was concerned, I assumed that it had not been  
9 spent at that time because Mr. Rebozo had never indicated  
10 to me that he had ever used any part of the Hughes money.

11 Is that responsive to your question?

12 Q Yes, it is, sir.

13 Now let us move to another part of this same  
14 exhibit, and I would like to direct your attention to the  
15 first page of the exhibit, which is page number 52 of the  
16 transcript, to the next to the last paragraph. Would you  
17 just read that to yourself, sir, and then I am going to ask  
18 you a number of questions about that.

19 A The next to the last paragraph?

20 Q Well, it is really the last paragraph where  
21 anything intelligible is said.

22 A Yes. Let me say first that I have very grave  
23 doubts as to the accuracy of the transcript in this instance.  
24 As you will note, this is an EOB tape. As you will note in  
25 the first paragraph "unintelligible" appears four different

1 times, and in this case I don't know -- I will be glad to  
2 respond to any questions that you have with regard to this  
3 except where it says "stuttering".

4 Q Sir, let me focus on the first sentence,  
5 please. There, according to the transcript, you say -  
6 quote - no strains, doesn't come out of me -- I didn't -- I  
7 never intended to use the money at all - end quote.

8 My question is what were you referring to when  
9 you said "the money"?

10 A Well, I was referring there to the money that had  
11 been contributed by financial contributors. I mean there  
12 seems to be a rather general feeling candidates who have  
13 surpluses convert money into their own use. I have never  
14 done that and that is what I was reflecting here.

15 Q So then that reference is again to the Andreas  
16 money and the Hughes money?

17 A That is correct.

18 Q Now in the next sentence you continue your  
19 thoughts saying - quote - as a matter of fact, I told Bebe  
20 basically be sure that people, like, who have contributed  
21 money over the contributing years are favored, and so  
22 forth, in general - end quote. Now in that portion when  
23 you use the reference to money, people who have contributed  
24 money over the contributing years, what money were you  
25 referring to then?

1           A       Well, I was referring there more generally to  
2 money that might be raised by Mr. Rebozo or anyone else,  
3 for that matter, but in his case it would be money that  
4 would have been contributed. As far as the favored and so  
5 forth, in general, I want to be quite categorical on  
6 that. That has no reference to Government contracts; it has  
7 no reference whatsoever to a favor in terms of something that  
8 would involve a pay-off, but what it refers to is that, and  
9 this is again to the great credit of my friend Rebozo, is  
10 that he, that all he ever asked for, except for one place  
11 where I will indicate a difference, to people who had  
12 contributed was for invitations, for example, to White House  
13 dinners, invitations to church services, possibly  
14 consideration in the event somebody was to be on delegations  
15 to go to funeral or something of that sort of thing, and I  
16 don't even remember that he ever asked for any of that.  
17 There is one exception, however, that I think you should be  
18 aware of. One of the major contributors that Mr. Rebozo,  
19 I think, was responsible for, although I am not sure that  
20 in this instance -- I think he urged the individual to  
21 contribute -- I am not sure that he got the contribution and  
22 transmitted it himself, was Mr. Raymond Guest. Raymond  
23 Guest was a personal friend of his and I think Mr. Guest was  
24 a very good friend of his, and he contributed, I think, two  
25 hundred fifty thousand dollars. He had been, as you may

1 recall, President Kennedy's Ambassador to Ireland, and it was  
2 his great, great desire to be made Ambassador to France,  
3 and the only time that I can ever recall Mr. Rebozo  
4 ever asked me for something of that sort or asked or  
5 suggested anything -- he simply suggested that Raymond Guest  
6 ought to be considered, that he was a good man, and in view  
7 of the fact he had been Ambassador, that he was a  
8 Democrat, that it would be a very good appointment. We did  
9 not make the appointment.

10 Q I appreciate your clarifying the meaning of  
11 that part of the sentence and before we leave that point,  
12 let me just ask these two questions.

13 I take it that to your knowledge there was no  
14 occasion on which Mr. Rebozo ever requested of you or anyone  
15 in the administration any favor on behalf of a contributor  
16 which would in any way be improper.

17 A There are none, to my knowledge, as far as his  
18 requesting me. As a matter of fact, let me say, Mr. Michel,  
19 he was scrupulous in that regard. He said that people used  
20 to come to him, because everybody knew he was my closest  
21 friend, and ask for this and that and the other thing and  
22 he would just say go through channels, and he would put them  
23 through channels.

24 Let me say that I should be sure that there is  
25 a clear understanding of what I have testified to, that since



1 seeing this transcript and trying to refresh my recollection--  
2 I have no notes--and I am sure Mr. Rebozo was quite  
3 disappointed that I even talked about such a thing as favors  
4 without clarifying it as I have today, but the point is that  
5 when you say do you know for sure that you were thinking  
6 of this or that, and the answer is I assumed that that is  
7 what I must have been thinking about, because that was, at  
8 that time, I knew about the Hughes money and I knew about  
9 that particular money and I knew that Mr. Rebozo said or  
10 assured me that he and Abplanalp could raise it, but the  
11 conversation we had on the Sequoia was one that was very  
12 general and whenever he made an assurance he usually would  
13 come through on it.

14 Q Very well. Now you have made very clear that  
15 the reference that you had or your meaning in the second  
16 part of that sentence in terms of the word "favor," but I  
17 am not sure I understand with at least equal clarity the  
18 earlier half of the sentence where you refer to people who  
19 have contributed money over the contributing years.

20 When you made the statement people who have  
21 contributed money over the contributing years, was that  
22 money that you had reference to the Hughes money and the Andreas  
23 money, or other money already in hand, or was it a reference  
24 to money to be obtained in the future, or a combination  
25 of the two?

1           A       No, actually this was, as you can tell from the  
2 sentence, it is basically very unstructured and it is a  
3 combination of disjointed matters that I was referring to.  
4 I wasn't referring to people that might contribute to a  
5 fund in the future that we would do favors for, or I  
6 wasn't referring to any other, or I was not referring to  
7 any one specifically, I should say, any one specifically.

8           Q       But do you recall whether you were referring to  
9 money that had already been received?

10          A       I have answered that questions.

11          Q       I think you answered it, but I don't understand  
12 whether the answer also applies to this portion of the  
13 conversation.

14          A       I think, Mr. Michel, and you as a very good  
15 lawyer know that you have to read a whole conversation and  
16 then put it in context, and you obviously have had an  
17 opportunity to do that. What I am saying is what I recall  
18 and what I recall is the conversation that I referred to and  
19 that it is the best of my recollection that I must have been  
20 thinking about the Hughes contribution, the Davis  
21 contribution -- I am sorry, the Andreas contribution.

22          Q       Did you know at this point in time of  
23 any other monies, that is other than Hughes money, that Mr.  
24 Rebozo had left over from the '72 re-election campaign?

25                   (Conference with counsel off the record.)

1 MR. MICHEL: Let the record note that we conferred  
2 with the witness' counsel and an agreement has been reached  
3 to defer the question that was last asked until a later time  
4 so that there will be more opportunity for everyone  
5 involved to be prepared, and I will proceed with the next  
6 question.

7 BY MR. MICHEL:

8 Q Sir, still in the same paragraph of Exhibit 1,  
9 the final sentence as you see reads as follows - quote -  
10 and he's used to it for the purpose of getting things  
11 out, paid for in check and all that sort of thing."

12 Now, sir, do you recall making any such state-  
13 ment in your conversation with Haldeman and Ehrlichman?

14 A No, I don't recall making such a statement.

15 Q Do you recall being aware at the time --

16 A I believe I know what it means, but I don't recall  
17 making it.

18 Q Can you explain what you think it means?

19 A Well, Mr. Rebozo had a fetish for getting what  
20 he thought were good columns and so forth reproduced and  
21 mailing to his friends around the country. That is what  
22 he means by getting things out, and the paid for by check,  
23 I think, actually is -- it must be -- if I said that, if that  
24 is an accurate part of the tape, that is one thing, but  
25 certainly it isn't what I meant or what I told them because

1 what I do say, or did say, or I mean what I know is and  
2 what they knew is that Mr. Rebozo was a check picker-upper.  
3 He paid checks. He paid checks for members of the staff; he  
4 paid them for the Secret Service when he thought that the  
5 allowance was not big enough, and he did a great number of  
6 things like that, but I didn't know whether Mr. Rebozo was  
7 paying by check when he did this, or, for that matter, by  
8 cash. I think what I said here actually was that he paid  
9 checks, and so forth, which they all knew because whenever  
10 we went to Key Biscayne he was, frankly, quite generous  
11 with members of the staff and particularly with the Secret  
12 Service.

13 Q And in the phrase, "and he's used it," can you  
14 recall what you were referring to in saying, "he's used  
15 it"? Is that referring to the money that he had or what  
16 is it referring to?

17 A I think what I was referring to there was the --  
18 As you will recall -- I think it is some place in the  
19 papers you furnished us -- there was a balance left after the  
20 '68 campaign in which he and Mr. Kalmbach worked out arrange-  
21 ments as to how much would be used here and how much would  
22 be used there to take care of these various expenses that  
23 I am here talking about, and I think that is what I am  
24 referring to there. I know what I was not referring to.  
25 I was not referring to the Hughes money.

1 Q Now the examples you gave of things Mr. Rebozo,  
2 according to your recollection, paid for on behalf of  
3 Secret Service men and others around you, were they paid  
4 for in the form of cash normally?

5 A As I said, I don't know whether he -- he was  
6 not one of those flamboyant people who did it in front of  
7 you. He usually would go over to the manager, take him  
8 aside, and take care of it and then the people would know  
9 the checks were paid. He has done that ever since I have  
10 known him. He is one of those unusual people that you have  
11 to run fast to pay a check when he is around.

12 Q And whether he paid such expenses in the form  
13 of a check or cash, do you know the source of the funds  
14 he used to pay for any such expenses?

15 A I know that the source was not, and the case  
16 was not the Hughes money to which you have referred. I know  
17 that the source, that one source I believe was the amount  
18 which was left over after '68, which was, incidentally,  
19 a somewhat modest amount. I rather thought it was greater  
20 than that, but it was seven thousand dollars, as I recall.

21 Actually I would have to say that I don't know  
22 what the source is, but I am speculating now, which  
23 apparently you are asking me to do.

24 Q Would it refresh your recollection if I suggested  
25 to you that all of the things that Mr. Rebozo expended, the



1 funds referred to in his correspondence with Kalmbach,  
2 which was left over '68 money, are accounted for and that  
3 none of those expenditures were including things like  
4 dinners or other incidental outlays of that sort. They  
5 were all to pay bills that had come in from printers or  
6 photographers?

7 A I was not aware of that.

8 Q And that does not refresh your recollection  
9 then as to whether he could have used that left-over '68  
10 money for the kind of expenses you have testified to?

11 A If your investigation has indicated that it  
12 was used for that purpose, then it could not have been  
13 used for this purpose, but what other source he might have  
14 I am not prepared to say. I am only saying that he did pay  
15 checks and he did get things out, and it is very possible  
16 he could have, that the source could have been his own  
17 money.

18 Q But you don't know?

19 A I am not prepared to say. I don't know. I  
20 don't know.

21 Q Now you testified earlier that -- I believe you  
22 testified earlier that some time, you think after the 1972  
23 election campaign, Mr. Rebozo or someone advised you of the  
24 existence of the one hundred thousand dollars that the  
25 Hughes people had contributed and that Mr. Rebozo still had

1 it. Do you recall the circumstance in which you were  
2 first informed about that Hughes money being with Mr.  
3 Rebozo at the close of the campaign?

4 A No, I don't.

5 Q Was it Mr. Rebozo who told you?

6 A Yes, Mr. Rebozo told me.

7 Q So the date is unclear, but there is no question  
8 that --

9 A Yes, he told me, and I think it was in Key  
10 Biscayne on one of the trips I took there after the campaign  
11 in '68, but I can't say for sure.

12 Q Did he indicate to you the purpose for which  
13 the money had been given?

14 A The money in --

15 Q The Hughes one hundred thousand dollars that he  
16 told you he still had after the campaign ended. Did he  
17 indicate to you in that conversation what the money had  
18 been given for?

19 A He told me he considered the money to be given  
20 for the purpose of re-election of the President, even  
21 though it had been given as early as 1970 -- at least some  
22 of it before the '70 campaign and some afterwards.

23 Q I take it that prior to that conversation,  
24 whenever it was following the election, you had no idea  
25 that Mr. Rebozo had received any funds at all from Hughes?

1           A       Well, when you say I had no idea, I have to  
2 testify to the best of my recollection. The best of my  
3 recollection again is it was shortly after the campaign  
4 that he told me about it.

5           Q       The evidence that we have gathered, sir,  
6 indicates that the Hughes one hundred thousand dollars was  
7 delivered to Mr. Rebozo on two different occasions in the  
8 summer of 1970, in each case fifty thousand dollars in  
9 cash, in each case delivered by Richard Danner. Mr. Rebozo  
10 has testified that promptly after each of the two  
11 deliveries in the summer of 1970 he informed your secretary,  
12 Rose Mary Woods, that he had received this money from  
13 Hughes.

14                       Can you recall any discussion between you and  
15 Miss Woods in which she made any reference to Rebozo having  
16 some money or having some money from Hughes, or anything of  
17 that sort?

18           A       No, I cannot do that. That may sound surprising,  
19 but it was, frankly, our general practice that financial  
20 contributions were not discussed with me until after the  
21 campaign, and, to be more responsive to your question,  
22 let me say that I can't recall her ever having told me about  
23 it.

24                       You understand I am not trying to duck this,  
25 but we are talking about events that have occurred four,

1 five years ago, and I am trying to recall over that period  
2 of time when I learned something. I simply can't tell  
3 you. My best recollection is what I am giving you, and that  
4 is I, for the first time, was informed of it then. I do  
5 not recall that Miss Woods informed me of her conversations  
6 with Mr. Rebozo.

7 Q Let me try to assist you in helping recall  
8 events from those former years by showing you a document  
9 that has been marked as C-2.

10 (The document referred to was  
11 marked Exhibit No. C-2.)  
12 for identification.)

13 BY MR. MICHEL:

14 Q This document is from a folder entitled, "Haldeman  
15 Notes, July-September, 1970," and bears the date August 20,  
16 and the time signature of 0900, followed by the initials,  
17 "AF-1," which, I suppose, refers to Air Force One, and a  
18 discussion that you had with Mr. Haldeman aboard the plane  
19 at that time and date.

20 At the bottom of that page appears the hand-  
21 written notation, apparently in Mr. Haldeman's handwriting,  
22 as follows - quote - Kalmbach, shoot for additional five  
23 hundred thousand, Hughes, Getty, et cetera. Use Rebozo,"  
24 with the words, "Kalmbach" and "additional" abbreviated, as  
25 well as the word "thousand" abbreviated.

Can you recall having any discussion at about

1 that time with Mr. Haldeman concerning any plan to have  
2 Mr. Rebozo assist in raising funds from Mr. Hughes and  
3 for Mr. Kalmbach to be sent to seek a contribution?

4 A Well, as you will note, this is, of course,  
5 a portion of a much longer list of people, and I do recall  
6 in the 1970 period, when we were trying to raise the money  
7 for the re-election of some senators or the election of  
8 senators and congressmen and governors, as well, that we  
9 were trying to tap every source that we could.

10 As I recall, he raised the possibility of Getty  
11 and the possibility of Hughes, or I might have, but I  
12 suggested that we didn't have a big committee to raise  
13 money at this time. Mr. Kalmbach was doing most of it, as  
14 I recall, in that period and I suggested that any contacts  
15 with Getty or Hughes should be handled by Rebozo, with  
16 Hughes, because I knew he was a long-time friend of  
17 Danner's, and with Getty, because he was the only one in our  
18 shop that knew Getty. And, also, I think I should point out  
19 as far as Mr. Getty is concerned, I don't recall whether he  
20 made a contribution in 1970. He may have in 1972, but I  
21 don't know. I didn't recall seeing one.

22 Q Well, the sequel is that Mr. Kalmbach has  
23 stated that he did have a meeting with Mr. Haldeman in which  
24 he was requested to visit Mr. Getty --

25 A He, Kalmbach?



1 Q That Kalmbach was to visit Mr. Getty and that Mr.  
2 Rebozo was to assist in setting up the arrangements and  
3 that subsequently Mr. Kalmbach did have Mr. Rebozo set up  
4 the arrangements and did meet with Getty and indeed a  
5 contribution was forthcoming. But Kalmbach also has  
6 stated that --

7 A At what time was the contribution? What year?

8 Q It was in the fall of 1970, in several install-  
9 ments, and dates starting September 26, I believe, and running  
10 through mid-October for a total of --

11 A Getty did that?

12 Q Yes, he did, but Kalmbach has also stated that he  
13 was not --

14 A Not having my records, you see, I am glad to be  
15 refreshed on that.

16 Q Your recollection is very accurate. Kalmbach  
17 stated that although he was asked by Haldeman to go see  
18 Getty, as this note suggests that he was to, but that he was  
19 not asked to go and see Hughes. At this point, which is the  
20 week following August 20, according to the best information  
21 we have gathered, both of the Hughes deliveries had occurred  
22 and therefore that Mr. Rebozo had already received the one  
23 hundred thousand.

24 My question is whether that refreshes your  
25 recollection as to whether you had been advised of Rebozo's

1 request of money from Hughes?

2 A Well, I would say on the contrary. It would  
3 refresh my recollection to the effect that I didn't know  
4 that he had already received money from Hughes. I wouldn't  
5 have indicated to Haldeman to have him go get some money  
6 from Hughes if Hughes had already contributed.

7 Are you telling me that Hughes had already  
8 contributed?

9 Q He had already contributed.

10 A Then what does this mean to you?

11 Q Well, I don't know what it means and that is  
12 why I am asking, but the sequence is that the second Hughes  
13 installment apparently was delivered some time during the  
14 day of August 20, and at nine in the morning on August 20  
15 was when you apparently had the conversation with Mr.  
16 Haldeman directing him to have Kalmbach visit Hughes and  
17 Getty.

18 A Just a moment. It says -- I don't mean you are  
19 putting words in my mouth, but you are not reading the  
20 transcript accurately. It says Hughes and Getty and all --  
21 use Rebozo.

22 Q Yes. Well, in any event, I take it you are rather  
23 sure that you had not been informed by Haldeman or anyone  
24 else about Rebozo having received Hughes money in this  
25 period?

1           A       I said to the best of my recollection I had not  
2 been informed of it, and I think what you have just said with  
3 regard to the fact that the contributions had already been  
4 made, I don't know why I would say to him use Rebozo, if I  
5 already knew from Rebozo that he had already solicited  
6 contributions.

7                   I am not trying to be argumentative, but you are  
8 trying to get the facts, and that is the way I would  
9 interpret it. As a matter of fact, I am surprised -- did  
10 Getty really give in '70?

11           Q       Yes, he did.

12           A       He's a real tightwad.

13           Q       To try to assist further in refreshing your  
14 recollection, I would like to show you just quickly two  
15 newspaper articles which appeared in the WASHINGTON POST.  
16 The first which is marked C-3 is a column --

17           A       Are these columns by Mr. Anderson? Mr. Michel,  
18 are you using that as the basis of evidence?

19           Q       No, sir. No, sir.

20           A       Mr. Anderson and his predecessor, Mr. Pearson,  
21 have slandered and libeled me for twenty-five years, and  
22 I have never dignified anything they have said. If you  
23 have questions about this, you ask me questions, but I am  
24 not going to respond to an Anderson column. I don't mean to  
25 seem irate, but perhaps you would feel the same --

(The document referred to was  
marked Exhibit No. C-3.)  
for identification.)

BY MR. MICHEL:

1  
2  
3  
4 Q I wasn't suggesting the information was reliable.  
5 I simply wanted to show you the columns because they indicate  
6 that attempts had been made by the authors to contact Mr.  
7 Rebozo, unsuccessful attempts, and --

8 A Mr. Rebozo had exactly the same opinion of Mr.  
9 Anderson that I have.

10 Q And my question is whether Mr. Rebozo ever  
11 indicated to you that he had been called by anyone from this  
12 column?

13 A I recall no conversation with him. I only recall  
14 general conversations with him over the years where he said  
15 that he had the same opinion of Anderson that I had, that he  
16 would never talk to him about anything.

17 Q Now let me --

18 A Incidentally, may I urge you, Mr. Michel, and  
19 your colleagues, and I am sure you will, to check the reliabi-  
20 lity on those, of Mr. Anderson's columns, in terms of not  
21 only the accusatory side but also the fact that they may not  
22 be the other way at all.

23 MR. RUTH: Let me just speak to that point.

24 THE WITNESS: I am really surprised to have you throw  
25 an Anderson column at me.

1 MR. RUTH: Let me explain. This may come up again.  
2 It is not, obviously, for the truth of anything in a column  
3 but it is for the fact that a column appeared and to try to  
4 stir your recollection, if possible, as to whether there was  
5 any discussion among you and your administration, because  
6 of the appearance of such a column, regardless of whether  
7 the column itself is true or false. We don't use the column  
8 as evidence of anything because, believe me, we have had  
9 the same experience, possibly.

10 THE WITNESS: Well, let me say, and I believe you will get  
11 into this tomorrow, but there was one instance in our staff  
12 that we had gotten involved with a Jack Anderson column.  
13 Otherwise. I consider him to be so totally unreliable that  
14 we wouldn't bother to get involved with a Jack Anderson  
15 column. Most of it is untrue.

16 Now of course if it was in THE NEW YORK TIMES  
17 or of course THE WASHINGTON POST, we would have ran right  
18 away and done something about it. The POST, incidentally  
19 to its credit, put Mr. Anderson on the page with the funny  
20 papers.

21 BY MR. MICHEL:

22 Q You had recalled for us earlier the  
23 conversation you had with Mr. Rebozo on April 15 on your trip  
24 on the Sequoia, and I would like to pick up on the period  
25 immediately following that. We have information that in the



1 last week of April Mr. Kalmbach called Mr. Rebozo and set  
2 an appointment to meet him at the first opportunity when they  
3 would both be in Washington, and that on April 30, at the  
4 White House, Mr. Kalmbach did meet with Mr. Rebozo and  
5 according to our information at the outset of the meeting  
6 Mr. Kalmbach said that he wanted to talk to Mr. Rebozo  
7 because you had suggested that he do so and that the  
8 subject he wanted to confer with Mr. Kalmbach about was the  
9 Hughes money.

10 Now the question is, do you recall asking Mr.  
11 Rebozo to confer with Herbert Kalmbach about anything  
12 relating to the Hughes money?

13 A I think, Mr. Michel, you better restate your  
14 question, because, if I have listened to you correctly and  
15 the reporter can read it, you have said Mr. Kalmbach said  
16 that I had asked Mr. Kalmbach to talk to Mr. Rebozo.  
17 Now, what is it? Which is it? Now you are saying Mr.  
18 Rebozo, did I ask Mr. Rebozo to talk to Mr. Kalmbach, which  
19 is quite different.

20 Q I am sorry if I misspoke.

21 A It is easy. I mean, I do it all of the time, but  
22 I just want to be sure I understand what your question is.

23 Q Did you ask Mr. Rebozo to confer with Herbert  
24 Kalmbach concerning the Hughes money?

25 A Then you withdraw your first assumption that I

1 asked Mr. Kalmbach to see Mr. Rebozo?

2 Q Yes, sir.

3 A In other words, your question only is or is  
4 corrected to whether I asked Mr. Rebozo to talk to Mr.  
5 Kalmbach?

6 Q Correct.

7 A Yes, that is correct, I did.

8 Q What was the purpose in asking him to do so?

9 A The purpose was that Mr. Rebozo had told me,  
10 as we have earlier testified, that he had the one hundred  
11 thousand dollars left from the campaign, the Hughes  
12 contribution, and he wanted to know what to do with it.

13 My belief was that that one hundred thousand, as  
14 well as anything else that we had personally under our  
15 control, should be used for the '74 campaign. I therefore  
16 suggested that Rebozo talk to Kalmbach and get Kalmbach to  
17 see whether he would take the one hundred thousand or advise  
18 Rebozo how he could put the one hundred thousand dollars into  
19 the '74 campaign.

20 Now the question raises why not give it to the  
21 National Committee.--we have gone through this a little  
22 earlier -- or why not in some other area, because what I  
23 was planning to do in '74 was exactly what we had done in  
24 '70, was to set up a separate fund for the election of  
25 candidates, and so forth, in which I could have, along with

1 my associates, some control over their disbursal so that the  
2 money wouldn't be wasted as both the Democratic and  
3 Republican National Committees usually waste their money  
4 on a lot of losers, although I must say we didn't pick many  
5 winners this last time.

6 Q Mr. Kalmbach has stated that at the meeting,  
7 actually the first of two meetings they had on consecutive  
8 days which apparently were April 30 and May 1, 1973, that  
9 Mr. Rebozo told Mr. Kalmbach that, he, Rebozo, had given  
10 some of the Hughes money to F. Donald Nixon, to  
11 Rose Mary Woods, to Edward C. Nixon, and others. Did Mr.  
12 Rebozo ever make any such report to you?

13 A Well, on that particular point, that came to  
14 my attention and the public attention, as you may recall,  
15 Mr. Michel, very dramatically. In this case not in Mr.  
16 Anderson's column but in THE NEW YORK TIMES in 1974, very  
17 early in 1974, -- Nixon kin receives secret Hughes money,  
18 or words to that effect.

19 I did pay attention to that story, and I asked  
20 Mr. Rebozo about it. He told me categorically, first, that  
21 he had never told Mr. Kalmbach that he had given money to  
22 Don Nixon, Ed Nixon or Rose Mary Woods, and that that was a  
23 false statement.

24 Second, I went further, however, and I asked my  
25 brother Don, I asked my brother Ed, and I asked Rose Mary

1 Woods, the first two by phone and the other by, as I  
2 recall, the other person, Miss Woods, personally, whether or  
3 not Mr. Rebozo had ever given them any money, and I am not  
4 referring just to Hughes money, and their answer was, no.

5 Now, incidentally, when I say any money, if Mr.  
6 Rebozo gave Miss Woods a gift or something of that sort, or  
7 my brothers -- I doubt if he would have done that -- he might  
8 have, he might have picked their checks up, too -- that is  
9 something different, but we are talking about the Hughes  
10 money and the Kalmbach allegation. Rebozo says it is  
11 totally false; Miss Woods denied it to me personally, and  
12 my brother Don and my brother Ed have denied it to me  
13 personally, and that is all I can tell you about it.

14 Q Now let me ask you to look quickly at two or  
15 three more brief portions of transcripts of taped conversa-  
16 tion. The first is designated Exhibit No. C-6, and it  
17 reflects the transcript, page 112 of the transcript of a  
18 tape of a conversation April 25, 1973, from 11:06 a.m. to  
19 1:55 p.m., a conversation including, in addition to yourself,  
20 Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman.

21 A Yes.

22 (The document referred to was  
23 marked Exhibit No. C-6 for  
24 identification.)

25 BY MR. MICHEL:

Q I would like to direct your attention to the

1 portion in the middle where you are quoted as saying -  
2 quote - as I said there is a few, not much, as much, I  
3 think, as two hundred there available in the '74  
4 campaign already."

5 A I think now this puts in perspective what I told  
6 you earlier about the conversation on the 17th. You may  
7 recall, when you read the whole conversation I pointed out  
8 the evidence available. You also recall that, from my  
9 conversation that I had with Mr. Rebozo, that we didn't  
10 discuss specifically what he had in mind, but I know  
11 specifically what I must have had in mind at this time because  
12 it, as the transcript reads, it says there is "a few, not  
13 much"-- and here is an unintelligible again, "as much as, I  
14 think, two hundred thousand dollars that is available in  
15 the '74 campaign already."

16 That refers to two hundred thousand dollars I  
17 was sure of, not money that would have to be raised in  
18 addition by Abplanalp and Rebozo, but we had a hundred  
19 thousand, I knew, in the Andreas money at that time, because  
20 I learned we had a hundred thousand on March 21 and we had  
21 a hundred thousand in the Hughes money.

22 Q Let me ask you to also look at what is marked  
23 Exhibit 7, which is an excerpt from the transcript of a tape  
24 March 21, 1973, from 10:12 to 11:55 a.m., at page 331,  
25 reflecting a dialogue between yourself and John Dean, and I



1 would ask you to look at the final paragraph near the bottom  
2 of the page which quotes you as saying - quote - what I  
3 mean is you could -- you could get a million dollars. And  
4 you could get it in cash. I know where it could be gotten -  
5 end quote.

6 Do you recall making that statement or a statement  
7 of that sort?

8 A I certainly do. I have often been reminded of  
9 it since.

10 (The document referred to  
11 was marked Exhibit No. C-7.)  
12 BY MR. MICHEL: for identification.)

13 Q And when you made that statement, what were  
14 you referring to, funds that had already been received?

15 A No, I was referring to funds we could get, and  
16 it says so. And what I meant, Mr. Michel, is I had a number  
17 of friends who are very wealthy, who if they believed it  
18 was a right kind of a cause would have contributed a million  
19 dollars, and I think I could have gotten it within a  
20 matter of a week. We decided not to do it, as you  
21 recall.

22 Q Now let me also ask you to look briefly at Ex-  
23 hibit C-5 which is page 31 of a transcript of a tape of  
24 a conversation of April 25, 1973, from 4:40 to 5:30 p.m.  
25 This is a conversation involving yourself and Mr. Haldeman,

1 and I would ask you to look at the final two paragraphs  
2 near the bottom of page 31 where you are quoted as saying,  
3 - quote - remember I told you later I could get a hundred  
4 thousand," and Mr. Haldeman then says - quote - that rings  
5 a bell because you talked about Rose having some money or  
6 something. I remember that."

7 Do you recall that conversation?

8 A Yes, I already testified to that as you know.

9 (The document referred to was  
10 marked Exhibit No. C-5.)

11 BY MR. MICHEL: for identification.)

12 Q That is the reference to the Andreas money?

13 A Yes, and as a matter of fact, just so we under-  
14 stand clearly what happened there, after the conversation  
15 which concluded with Mr. Dean, we had made at least a  
16 tentative decision that we could not go forward with this  
17 and raise the money for Hunt's attorneys' fees or whatever  
18 it was. I felt, however, I had at least an obligation to  
19 see what kind of an option we had, and it was then that I asked  
20 Miss Woods to check and she came back and reported to me that  
21 we had one hundred thousand dollars from Andreas.

22 Q Can you recall from whom you first learned,  
23 according to your earlier testimony in the fall of '71, I  
24 take it, of the delivery of the Andreas money?

25 A The delivery?

1 Q Yes. Who told you about the delivery?

2 A The delivery of the money I first learned from  
3 Miss Woods.

4 Q And was that at about the time that the delivery  
5 occurred?

6 A Oh, immediately thereafter. When I say  
7 immediately, perhaps two or three hours or within two or  
8 three hours, maybe the same day or the next day.

9 Q And did you instruct her to have the money put  
10 away in a safe place?

11 A I had instructed her to do that earlier.

12 Q How was it that you knew that the money was  
13 about to be delivered?

14 A Well, Mr. Hobart Lewis had talked to me. I can't  
15 tell you where the conversation occurred, but he was a  
16 very close friend of Mr. Andreas and he said that Mr.  
17 Andreas would like to make a contribution, but it had to be  
18 a contribution that he did not want to make to anybody on  
19 the Finance Committee because he was a Humphrey supporter  
20 and was supporting him too, but he felt very friendly to  
21 me and, frankly, I think he wanted a foot in both camps  
22 and he could afford it, and he said that he would like to  
23 make a contribution, but he wanted it to be made personally  
24 and privately, and Mr. Lewis asked me how it should be done.  
25 I said have Mr. Andreas bring it in and give it to Rose.

1 A few days thereafter -- it might have been even the  
2 next day -- I don't know -- Andreas walked in and handed  
3 Miss Woods, and said this is for the President. She put  
4 the money -- I am now reflecting what she told me -- she put  
5 the money in the safe and did not open the folder or what-  
6 ever the money was in until March 21 when she went down  
7 and counted it.

8 As a matter of fact, I, as I have already  
9 stated, the recollection that I have here is fresh due to  
10 having seen this in the material you have furnished, and  
11 also knowing what happened to the money.

12 Q Did you ever discuss this money, the Andreas  
13 money, with Mr. Andreas himself?

14 A I cannot recall a discussion with him, no.

15 Q But you do recall a discussion between yourself  
16 and Mr. Lewis shortly before the money was delivered?

17 A I do. I do.

18 Q Do you recall any discussion with anyone else  
19 such as Governor Dewey concerning the prospect of a  
20 contribution along the lines made by Andreas?

21 A I must say that I can't recall any such discussion.  
22 As you remember, Mr. Dewey died in March of that year.  
23 That was -- this is eight months or so before the money was  
24 brought in. I don't believe I saw Mr. Dewey, although he  
25 was expected to come to the White House that day for a

1 dinner, the day he died. I don't think I saw him in the  
2 first three months of that year, and the only conversations  
3 I can recall with Dewey was that he was a great friend of  
4 Andreas and was constantly needling Andreas and telling him  
5 that he ought to be helping the Republicans and not just  
6 his friend Humphrey, but beyond that I recall nothing  
7 specific about this particular item.

8 Q Now in your conversation with Mr. Lewis shortly  
9 before the Andreas money was delivered, did Mr. Lewis  
10 express, presumably on behalf of Mr. Andreas, any condition  
11 or limitation on when or how the money that Mr. Andreas  
12 wished to contribute could be used?

13 A I don't recall that he did, no. It was to be  
14 used at my discretion and the only condition was that he  
15 wanted it to be used privately and anonymously.

16 Q But that could be done because the new campaign  
17 reporting laws had not gone into effect, so if it had been  
18 used in '72, the fact that Andreas was the donor would not  
19 have to have been publicly reported.

20 A At the time the money was given apparently it  
21 would not have to have been reported, as you recall.

22 Q Was there some particular reason why the money  
23 was not used in the re-election campaign of 1972?

24 A Yes, a very good one; we didn't need it. I  
25 have found in my campaigns that you never want to get over-



1 confident. In 1960 when we were the victims of the last-  
2 minute blitz when we were outspent two to one in the last  
3 week -- I am not saying this critically, but it was of  
4 great credit to Bobby Kennedy, who was managing his  
5 brother's campaign, that he put the money in when we had  
6 run out and in 1968 we were almost the victim of a blitz  
7 when we were outspent on television three to one in the  
8 last week, and I told not only our finance people but  
9 anybody that I also had in mind myself that I wanted to be  
10 sure we had funds on hand if we needed it to counter the last-  
11 minute blitz.

12 Of course, the campaign never got that close and  
13 it was not needed, and it was not spent. As a matter of  
14 fact, I really didn't think about it.

15 Q The next time that the existence of the money  
16 came back to your attention then was in March when you asked  
17 Miss Woods to count it and verify how much was there?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Now, thereafter our information has established  
20 that the money was returned, probably June 19, to Mr.  
21 Andreas by way of Hobart Lewis. Was that at your di-  
22 rection?

23 A Yes, I directed Miss Woods to return the Andreas  
24 money, and I think I recall the conversation because it is  
25 rather interesting feminine reaction, and she said, well,

1 I know Andreas, but I know Hobe Lewis better, could I do  
2 it with him, and incidentally she called Lewis -- she said  
3 she called Lewis on the phone and he came in; she handed  
4 him the money and then later, perhaps -- I don't know  
5 whether it was that day, but shortly thereafter she got a  
6 call from Andreas saying rather cryptically, well,  
7 everything is done, or whatever that meant. I cannot of  
8 course, testify as to whether or not Mr. Lewis physically  
9 gave the money to Mr. Andreas, but I can testify what Miss  
10 Woods told me, and that is that she delivered the money to  
11 Mr. Lewis and that she then received a telephone call from  
12 Mr. Andreas, which she apparently implied meant that he had  
13 received it from the other man.

14 Q You testified earlier that you had at least  
15 tentatively the thought in mind to use the Andreas money  
16 in the 1974 congressional races, but of course you instead  
17 returned it. Why the change in the plan?

18 A The reasons I think would be obvious to all the  
19 splendid members of this staff, and I say this with great  
20 respect.

21 The heat was so great with regard to campaign  
22 contributions and all of the rest - Mr. Andreas had been  
23 under some cause. Apparently some of his dealings with Hubert  
24 Humphrey were beginning to leak out and, incidentally, he  
25 was found, I think, not guilty in Minneapolis on that one,

1 and I felt that it was best to return the money to him  
2 so that we had no campaign funds left which we could  
3 use another time that might prove an embarrassment to  
4 him or an embarrassment to us.

5 Q Now the same month that the Andreas money was  
6 returned to its donor or sent en route, the Hughes money  
7 was returned, and you had indicated again that at one point  
8 in time you had thought you might use the Hughes money in  
9 the '74 campaign. Was it your thinking to exchange that  
10 plan and instead return it for the same sorts of reasons  
11 as in the case of the Andreas money?

12 A The attempt to return the Hughes money, I think  
13 it started considerably earlier, and, as Mr. Rebozo, I  
14 think maybe has testified, although not before you but  
15 before the Senate Watergate Committee, as he told me on  
16 many occasions the difficulty was that his long-time  
17 friend Mr. Danner that delivered the money didn't want to  
18 take it back. The Hughes organization, as you know, was  
19 going through an enormous battle and apparently Danner  
20 didn't want any part of it. But finally Mr. Rebozo arranged  
21 for its return through a Hughes company lawyer. I think  
22 his name, as a matter of fact, was Davis, Rich Davis, and  
23 Mr. Gimmel, who was then Mr. Rebozo's lawyer, returned the  
24 money to him.

25 I am now, incidentally, recounting what Mr. Rebozo

1 told me, which you already know.

2 Q Sir, as we advised your counsel, there is one  
3 other aspect of the Hughes matter that we wish to ask  
4 a number of questions about, a small number, and that is  
5 when the Internal Revenue Service expressed an interest in  
6 determining whether Mr. Rebozo's receipt of the Hughes  
7 money would affect him or his taxes, and Miss Denny has a  
8 number of questions on that particular Internal Revenue  
9 Service interest aspect of the Hughes matter.

10 BY MISS DENNY:

11 Q I want to direct your attention to the spring  
12 of 1973. The first event that we will talk about is in  
13 late February and we will go into April, just to set the  
14 context.

15 In February, around February 23, there was a  
16 request by IRS to the White House for authorization of an  
17 interview with Mr. Rebozo concerning his receipt of the  
18 one hundred thousand dollars. Then in April, April 6 to  
19 be precise --

20 A It was limited to that, ma'am.

21 Q The request was limited -- the request on  
22 February 23 was limited --

23 A Are you very sure of that, or was it a general  
24 question to simply interview him on a full field investiga-  
25 tion? I would like to know the answer to that question.

1 Q The request I am referring to came through  
2 Secretary Schultz on February 23.

3 A For what?

4 Q For authorization to interview Mr. Rebozo.

5 A About what?

6 Q About his receipt of the one hundred thousand  
7 dollars.

8 A That was all?

9 Q That was it. It was simply as a third party  
10 interview, as a witness, because at that time there was  
11 an intensive investigation going on by the Hughes  
12 operation in general and --

13 A So this was an investigation, and I am not  
14 trying to be argumentative -- I just want to be sure I  
15 understand what it was, and I think you answered it when you  
16 said as a witness. They wanted to interview him as a  
17 witness, rather than as a target at that point?

18 Q That is correct, at this point the IRS was  
19 interested in Mr. Rebozo's receipt of this one hundred  
20 thousand dollars in connection with their investigation of  
21 the Hughes operation. On February 23 --

22 A You are correct. Go right ahead. I didn't  
23 mean to delay your investigation at that point.

24 Q Secretary Schultz has testified that he discussed  
25 with Mr. Ehrlichman the desire of the IRS agents to interview



1 Mr. Rebozo, and my question is, did you discuss this  
2 desire of the IRS with Mr. Ehrlichman?

3 A I have no recollection of having discussed it  
4 with him.

5 Q Would it possibly refresh your recollection if  
6 I told you that General Haig has told us that he learned  
7 that you were aware in February of the IRS concern and  
8 that Mr. Ehrlichman was handling the matter for you?

9 A General Haig's recollection might be correct.  
10 As I said, I don't have any independent recollection of his  
11 having asked me about an IRS investigation. If I had been  
12 asked, I would have approved it.

13 Q This is the IRS interview rather than the  
14 investigation.

15 A That is right.

16 Q Did you discuss this fact with Mr. Haldeman,  
17 the fact that IRS wanted an interview with Mr. Rebozo?

18 A I have no recollection of discussing it with  
19 Mr. Haldeman. I might have, but I have no recollection.

20 I should point out that my recollection in that  
21 period, if it is dim on things of this sort, and I don't  
22 want to continue to make this point, but I make it once  
23 again, that that was a period of time, as you recall, when  
24 we were having massive problems after getting the peace  
25 agreement to get our POW's back and having even considered

1 the possibility of resuming bombing in the Laotian area  
2 and that sort of thing. What I am getting at is this, that  
3 when your mind is so consumed with what you consider to be  
4 a terribly important thing, your recollection of incidents  
5 of this sort is not clear, and so I have no recollection  
6 of it and, frankly, I would not question Mr. Haig's  
7 recollection either if he recollects it differently.

8 Q One more attempt to refresh your recollection.  
9 On March 5, Mr. Ehrlichman met with Mr. Rebozo in the  
10 White House. This was one of the very few times that he did  
11 in fact have a face to face meeting. My question is did  
12 you suggest that meeting in order to respond to the proposed  
13 IRS interview?

14 A I have no recollection of such a meeting.

15 Q Did you know that Ehrlichman ever met with  
16 Mr. Rebozo about the IRS interview?

17 A Oh, I have known it since I have been informed  
18 of this and it is possible I could have even known it then.  
19 I don't independently recall it though at this time.  
20 Hard as that may seem to believe, this is the best recollection  
21 I have.

22 Q You said you were just recently informed.

23 A Oh, yes, I have been reading these documents  
24 that you so graciously furnished me. If you hadn't  
25 furnished the documents, I would have been having a worse time.

1 Q So in this time frame you never requested  
2 Mr. Ehrlichman to meet with Mr. Rebozo and discuss the  
3 matter, discuss what the problems were?

4 A Don't put words in my mouth. You wouldn't want  
5 to do that, would you?

6 I have said in this time frame I don't recall  
7 ever having done so. If I had been asked, I would have  
8 approved it, I mean an interview, because I believe in a  
9 single standard as far as the IRS is concerned.

10 Q So you never requested Mr. Ehrlichman to meet  
11 with Mr. Rebozo during this time period?

12 A I have answered that question already.

13 Q Did Mr. Ehrlichman ever tell you, in this time  
14 period or shortly thereafter, that he had called Mr. Rebozo  
15 and told him that the IRS agent would be in touch with him?

16 A I have no recollection of that. It could have  
17 been, but I don't recall it.

18 Q For your information, the authorization was  
19 given by Mr. Ehrlichman on April 6, and he conveyed that  
20 to Secretary Schultz and he conveyed it to the IRS. The  
21 agent contacted Mr. Rebozo on April 26 and the interview  
22 actually occurred on May 10.

23 A May 10?

24 Q Right. I would like to know if you discussed  
25 the possibility of an interview or the fact that the agents

1 were coming to see Mr. Rebozo with Mr. Rebozo?

2 A I don't recall any discussion in that period.

3 You say May 10 is when they came to see him?

4 Q That is right. Did you discuss the interview  
5 with Mr. Rebozo before it actually occurred on May 10?

6 A Well, I have no recollection of discussing the  
7 interview before it occurred. I will tell you what I do  
8 recall and that is that Mr. Haig came to see me. It might  
9 have been at the time of the interview or thereafter --  
10 I don't recall which -- and he told me that he had had a  
11 call from Mr. Simon, who was, as you recall, is now Secretary  
12 of the Treasury, was Under Secretary of the Treasury, to  
13 the effect that the IRS had an investigation on Mr.  
14 Rebozo. That is my first independent recollection of when  
15 I first heard about it. That would have had to be, of  
16 course, after April 30 because Mr. Haig wasn't on board.

17 Q It was also after May 10, when this interview  
18 occurred. So are you saying you don't recall any discussion  
19 of the proposed interview before it actually happened?

20 A I have no recollection. There could have been a  
21 discussion, but I don't recall it. My first recollection  
22 of it is when Mr. Haig came in and told me about Mr. Simon  
23 and then of course I became greatly concerned about it and  
24 asked Mr. Rebozo about it.

25 MISS DENNY: I think that concludes my questions.

1 MR. MICHEL: But for the other matter that has been  
2 deferred, that completes our questions on this so-called  
3 unreported campaign fund period.

4 We need, of course, to confer with Grand Jury  
5 members who are here as to whether they have any  
6 questions.

7 (Counsel and Jurors withdraw from  
8 conference room.)

9 MR. MICHEL: Let the record reflect that I have  
10 conferred with the members of the Grand Jury here present  
11 and they do not wish to propound any questions or have us  
12 propound any further questions in this area.

13 MR. MORTENSON: Why don't we break a half hour.

14 (Recess.)

15 BY MR. MICHEL:

16 Q Sir, you testified on April 15, 1973, in a  
17 conversation aboard the Sequoia Mr. Rebozo indicated to you  
18 that he had some funds left over from the 1972 campaign or  
19 following the 1972 campaign. At a later point in response  
20 to questions, I believe you stated that on the 17th, in  
21 your conversations with Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman,  
22 the money you referred to there included the Hughes money,  
23 which you had known about since some time after the 1972  
24 election and you indicated that that was part of the money  
25 that Mr. Rebozo had had in his possession following the



1 1972 election. The question is, did you know of any  
2 other money that Mr. Rebozo had in his possession following  
3 the 1972 election?

4 A Well, I have testified about the conversation  
5 on April 15 and we had no discussion of what money he had  
6 left over. He only said that he had some money left over  
7 from the '72 campaign and that between him and Abplanalp  
8 they could get two or three hundred thousand dollars. That  
9 is my recollection of the conversation.

10 As far as what I knew, I presumed that he had  
11 the Hughes money. I was aware of the fact of that contribution  
12 in May, that had been made, that he had it, but beyond  
13 that I don't recall any other money that Rebozo had.

14 MR. MICHEL: Thank you. No further questions.

15 (Whereupon, at 4:35 o'clock p.m. the  
16 deposition was recessed until 9:00 a.m.,  
17 June 25, 1975.)