




1-1-1974

03. Book I: Events prior to the Watergate break-in, December 2, 1971 - June 17, 1972

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Edwards, Don, "03. Book I: Events prior to the Watergate break-in, December 2, 1971 - June 17, 1972" (1974). *Watergate Hearings*. Book 3.
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1. On December 2, 1971 Gordon Strachan reported in writing to H. R. Haldeman, Assistant to President Nixon, on activities relating to the President's re-election campaign. In his Political Matters Memorandum of that date Strachan reported:

John Dean -- The Attorney General discussed with John Dean the need to develop a political intelligence capability. Sandwedge has been scrapped. Instead, Gordon Liddy, who has been working with Bud Krogh, will become general counsel to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, effective December 6, 1971. He will handle political intelligence as well as legal matters. Liddy will also work with Dean on the "political enemies" project.

Jack Caulfield will go over to the Committee when the Attorney General moves. Caulfield will handle the same projects he currently does. In addition he will assume responsibility for the personal protection of the Attorney General.

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- 1.1 Memorandum from Gordon Strachan to H. R. Haldeman, December 2, 1971 (received from White House).
 - 1.2 Gordon Strachan testimony, 6 SSC 2448-49.
 - 1.3 President Nixon statement, May 22, 1973, 9 Presidential Documents 695.
 - 1.4 John Dean testimony, 3 SSC 924-25.
 - 1.5 John Caulfield testimony, 1 SSC 251-52.

2. In response to a Political Matters Memorandum from Strachan dated December 6, 1971, Haldeman approved Gordon Liddy's transfer to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President (CRP) at an increase of \$4,000 per annum above his White House salary, as an exception to the rule that no White House employee would receive a salary at CRP higher than that which he was receiving at the White House.

2.1 Memorandum from Gordon Strachan to H. R. Haldeman, December 6, 1971 (received from the White House).

3. On January 27, 1972 Attorney General Mitchell, John Dean, Jeb Magruder, acting CRP campaign director, and G. Gordon Liddy, who had assumed his position as CRP counsel, met in Mitchell's office. At this meeting Liddy proposed a \$1 million political intelligence operation, which contemplated the use of electronic surveillance of political opponents, abduction of radical leaders, muggings, and the use of call girls. Mitchell rejected the proposal.

- 3.1 John Mitchell log, January 27, 1972
(received from Senate Select Committee
(SSC)).
- 3.2 Jeb Magruder testimony, 2 SSC 787-88.
- 3.3 John Mitchell testimony, 5 SSC 1843.
- 3.4 John Dean testimony, 3 SSC 929-30.

4. On February 4, 1972 Attorney General Mitchell, John Dean, Jeb Magruder and Gordon Liddy met in Mitchell's office. Liddy presented a modified version of his proposal with a budget of \$500,000. The proposal included plans for electronic surveillance of political opponents. Magruder and Dean have testified that the targets included the office of Lawrence O'Brien, the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC); the DNC headquarters; and the Democratic Convention headquarters at the Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami, Florida. Magruder has also testified that the office of Henry Greenspun, editor of the Las Vegas Sun, was mentioned as another target. Mitchell has denied that there was discussion of specific targets. The meeting ended when Dean stated that these subjects should not be discussed in the office of the Attorney General of the United States. Following the meeting, Dean reported on the meeting to Haldeman.

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- 4.1 John Mitchell log, February 4, 1972 (received from SSC).
 - 4.2 Jeb Magruder testimony, 2 SSC 789-90.
 - 4.3 John Dean testimony, 3 SSC 930.
 - 4.4 John Mitchell testimony, 4 SSC 1611-12.
 - 4.5 John Dean testimony, Watergate Grand Jury, November 19, 1973, 23-29 (received from Watergate Grand Jury).

5. In February 1972 H. R. Haldeman directed that \$350,000 cash in campaign funds be placed under his unquestioned personal control. The money was picked up by Gordon Strachan, Haldeman's assistant, in early April 1972. Strachan in turn delivered it to Alexander Butterfield, a deputy assistant to the President. Butterfield delivered the money to a personal friend for safekeeping. This fund was maintained substantially intact until after the November election.

- 5.1 Memorandum from Gordon Strachan to H. R. Haldeman February 1, 1972 (received from White House).
- 5.2 Memorandum from Gordon Strachan to H. R. Haldeman, February 16, 1972 (received from White House).
- 5.3 H. R. Haldeman testimony, 7 SSC 2878-80.
- 5.4 Maurice Stans testimony, 2 SSC 698.
- 5.5 Hugh Sloan testimony, 2 SSC 536-37.
- 5.6 Gordon Strachan testimony, 6 SSC 2494-95, 2461-64.
- 5.7 Herbert Kalmbach testimony, 5 SSC 2095-96.

6. Prior to March 30, 1972 Charles Colson, Special Counsel to the President, met with Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt, a White House consultant who had served with Liddy in the "Plumbers" unit. During the meeting Colson telephoned Jeb Magruder. Colson has stated that he urged Magruder "to resolve whatever it was Hunt and Liddy wanted to do and to be sure he had an opportunity to listen to their plans."

- 6.1 President Nixon statement, May 22, 1973, 9 Presidential Documents 695.
- 6.2 Charles Colson, memorandum for the file, June 20, 1972 (received from SSC).
- 6.3 E. Howard Hunt testimony, 9 SSC 3683-84.
- 6.4 Fred LaRue testimony, 6 SSC 2284.
- 6.5 Jeb Magruder testimony, 2 SSC 793-94.

7. On March 30, 1972 former Attorney General John Mitchell, who had been officially designated CRP Campaign Director; Jeb Magruder, Mitchell's chief of staff; and Fred LaRue, a special assistant to Mitchell, met at Key Biscayne, Florida to discuss campaign matters. Liddy's intelligence-gathering plan, now budgeted for \$250,000, was again discussed. Magruder has testified that Mitchell approved the plan, and that the plan specifically approved entry into the DNC headquarters and, if funds were available, entry into the headquarters of presidential contenders and Democratic convention headquarters at the Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami. LaRue has testified that Mitchell stated that they did not have to do anything on the plan at that time. Mitchell has testified that he rejected the plan. After the March 30, 1972 meeting, Magruder asked his assistant, Robert Reisner, to tell Liddy that his proposal had been approved. Reisner telephoned Liddy and conveyed Magruder's message.

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- 7.1 Jeb Magruder testimony, 2 SSC 794-95.
 - 7.2 Fred LaRue testimony, 6 SSC 2280-82, 2344.
 - 7.3 John Mitchell testimony, 4 SSC 1613-16.
 - 7.4 Robert Mardian testimony, 6 SSC 2429-30.
 - 7.5 Robert Reisner testimony, 2 SSC 492-93.
 - 7.6 Fred LaRue testimony, Watergate Grand Jury, April 18, 1973, 7-12 (received from Watergate Grand Jury).
 - 7.7 Jeb Magruder testimony, Watergate Grand Jury, May 2, 1973, 22-25 (received from Watergate Grand Jury).
 - 7.8 Robert Reisner testimony, Watergate Grand Jury, August 15, 1973, 38-44 (received from Watergate Grand Jury).

8. On March 31, 1972 Gordon Strachan reported in writing to H.R. Haldeman in a Political Matters Memorandum that Magruder had reported that CRP "now has a sophisticated political intelligence gathering system including a budget of [\\$]300[000]." Strachan attached tabs to the Memorandum, including a tab referring to political intelligence reports on Senator Humphrey's Pennsylvania campaign organization by a source identified as "Sedan Chair II." On or before April 4, 1972 Strachan prepared a talking paper for Haldeman's use during a meeting with Mitchell scheduled for April 4, 1972 at 3:00 p.m. The talking paper included a paragraph relating to the intelligence system, raising questions as to whether it was adequate and whether it was "on track." (As indicated below in Paragraph 9, both the Political Matters Memorandum and the talking paper were destroyed following the break-in at the Watergate offices of the DNC.)

8.1 Gordon Strachan testimony, 6 SSC 2441-42,
2452-54.

8.2 H. R. Haldeman testimony, 8 SSC 3036-37.

9. On April 4, 1972, from approximately 3:00 p.m. until approximately 4:00 p.m., Mitchell and Haldeman met in Haldeman's White House office. Haldeman has testified that he does not believe political intelligence was discussed at the meeting. From 4:13 p.m. until 4:50 p.m., Haldeman and Mitchell met with the President. Haldeman testified that his notes of this meeting indicate a discussion of the "ITT-Kleindienst" hearings and the assignment of regional campaign responsibility and do not indicate a discussion of intelligence. Haldeman later returned to Gordon Strachan the talking paper specified in the preceding paragraph. It was Haldeman's practice to indicate on the talking paper agenda matters that had not been discussed. In this instance there was no such indication with respect to the agenda items covering political intelligence. Strachan has testified that on June 20, 1972, shortly after the break-in at the DNC headquarters in the Watergate office building, he showed Haldeman the Political Matters Memorandum referring to the sophisticated intelligence gathering system and other sensitive materials from Haldeman's files, and that he was instructed by Haldeman to clean out the files. Strachan immediately destroyed the Political Matters Memorandum, the talking paper he had prepared for the April 4, 1972 meeting between Mitchell and Haldeman, and other sensitive documents. Haldeman has testified that he has no recollection of giving Strachan instructions to destroy any materials.

9.1 Log of meetings and conversations between the President and H.R. Haldeman, April 4, 1972 (received from White House).

- 9.2 John Mitchell log, April 4, 1972 (received from SSC).
- 9.3 H. R. Haldeman calendar, April 4, 1972 (received from Watergate Grand Jury).
- 9.4 H. R. Haldeman testimony, 8 SSC 3180-81.
- 9.5 Gordon Strachan testimony, 6 SSC 2454, 2458-59.
- 9.6 H. R. Haldeman testimony, 7 SSC 2881.
- 9.7 John Dean testimony, 3 SSC 933-34.

10. On or about April 7, 1972 Gordon Liddy showed a budget of \$250,000 to Hugh Sloan, Treasurer of the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President (FCRP). Liddy told Sloan that he would be coming back to Sloan in a day or two to pick up the first cash payment, which was to be \$83,000. Sloan telephoned Magruder, who authorized Sloan to disburse to Liddy the \$83,000 requested. Magruder told Sloan that Magruder was to approve all subsequent disbursements of money to Liddy.

10.1 Hugh Sloan testimony, 2 SSC 538-39.

10.2 Jeb Magruder testimony, 2 SSC 795-96.

11. On or about April 7, 1972 Sloan met with Maurice Stans, Chairman of FCRP. Sloan told Stans that Magruder had approved a cash disbursement of \$83,000 to Liddy. Stans met with Mitchell to confirm Magruder's authority to authorize the requested disbursement. Mitchell told Stans that Magruder had the authority to authorize expenditures to Liddy. Stans then met with Sloan and confirmed Magruder's authority to approve the disbursement of funds to Liddy. Stans has testified that when asked by Sloan the purpose for which the money was to be expended, he replied, "I don't know what's going on in this campaign and I don't think you ought to try to know."

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- 11.1 Hugh Sloan testimony, 2 SSC 538-39.
 - 11.2 Jeb Magruder testimony, 2 SSC 795-96.
 - 11.3 Maurice Stans testimony, 2 SSC 697, 727.
 - 11.4 John Mitchell testimony, 4 SSC 1616-18.

12. On or about April 12, 1972 Gordon Liddy gave James McCord security consultant for CRP, \$65,000 for purchasing electronic equipment and for related purposes.

12.1 James McCord testimony, 1 SSC 169-70.

12.2 Accounting of expenditure of \$76,000, submitted for the record by James McCord, 1 SSC 448.

13. In April 1972 Assistant to the President H. R. Haldeman met with Gordon Strachan and instructed Strachan to contact Gordon Liddy and advise him to transfer whatever "capability" he had from the presidential campaign of Senator Edmund Muskie to the campaign of Senator George McGovern. Strachan met with Liddy in Strachan's White House office and told Liddy of Haldeman's desire to have Liddy's "capability" transferred from the Muskie campaign to the McGovern campaign. Haldeman has testified that he does not recall giving Strachan that instruction.

13.1 Gordon Strachan testimony, 6 SSC 2454-56.

13.2 H. R. Haldeman testimony, 8 SSC 3038.

14. In April 1972 Gordon Liddy told Howard Hunt that the DNC headquarters would be a target of electronic surveillance.

14.1 E. Howard Hunt testimony, 9 SSC 3708, 3764, 3792.

15. Shortly before May 25, 1972 a group, including Bernard Barker, Eugenio Martinez, Virgilio Gonzalez and Frank Sturgis, came to Washington, D. C. from Miami, Florida in response to a request from Howard Hunt to Barker for a team of men to conduct a mission. On or about May 25 and May 26, 1972 two unsuccessful attempts were made to enter surreptitiously the premises of the DNC, and one unsuccessful attempt was made to enter surreptitiously Senator McGovern's headquarters.

- 15.1 Bernard Barker testimony, SSC Executive Session, May 11, 1973, 196-97.
- 15.2 Bernard Barker testimony, 1 SSC 371, 377.
- 15.3 Virgilio Gonzalez testimony, SSC Executive Session, December 10, 1973, 9-11.
- 15.4 E. Howard Hunt testimony, SSC Executive Session, December 17, 1973, 13-15.
- 15.5 Alfred Baldwin testimony, 1 SSC 399-400.

16. On or about May 27, 1972 under the supervision of Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt, McCord, Barker, Martinez, Gonzalez, and Sturgis broke into the DNC headquarters. McCord placed two monitoring devices on the telephones of DNC officials, one on the telephone of Chairman Lawrence O'Brien, and the second on the telephone of the executive director of Democratic state chairmen, R. Spencer Oliver, Jr. Barker selected documents relating to the DNC contributors, and these documents were then photographed.

16.1 James McCord testimony, 1 SSC 128, 156-57.

16.2 E. Howard Hunt testimony, 9 SSC 3710-11.

16.3 Bernard Barker testimony, SSC Executive Session, May 11, 1973, 165-66.

17. On May 28, 1972 Alfred Baldwin, an employeé of CRP, began intercepting conversations derived from the monitoring devices placed in the telephones at the DNC. Baldwin was unable to pick up the signal from the device placed in Lawrence O'Brien's telephone. Between May 28 and June 16, 1972 Baldwin monitored approximately 200 conversations and each day gave the logs and summaries to McCord. McCord delivered these logs and summaries to Liddy, except on one occasion when Baldwin delivered the logs to the CRP headquarters.

17.1 Alfred Baldwin testimony, 1 SSC 400-01, 410-11.

17.2 Alfred Baldwin testimony, United States v. Liddy, January 17, 1973, 951.

17.3 James McCord testimony, 1 SSC 157, 232-33.

18. During the first or second week in June 1972, Magruder received transcripts of conversations intercepted from the DNC headquarters. The transcripts were typed on stationery captioned "Gemstone." In addition to the transcripts, Magruder was supplied with prints of the documents photographed during the initial entry into the DNC headquarters. During this period, Magruder handed his administrative assistant, Robert Reisner, documents on the top of which was printed the word "Gemstone." Magruder instructed Reisner to place the Gemstone documents in a file marked "Mr. Mitchell's file," which was to be used for a meeting between Magruder and Mitchell. Shortly after the June 17, 1972 break-in at the DNC headquarters, Magruder told Reisner to remove the Gemstone files containing transcripts of conversations and other politically sensitive documents from the CRP files. Thereafter Reisner destroyed certain of the documents.

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- 18.1 Jeb Magruder testimony, 2 SSC 796-97, 800.
 - 18.2 Robert Reisner testimony, 2 SSC 491, 494, 506-07, 526.
 - 18.3 "Gemstone" stationery, SSC Exhibit No. 16, 2 SSC 877.
 - 18.4 Sally Harmony testimony, 2 SSC 461, 467.

19. Before June 17, 1972 Liddy, Hunt, Barker and McCord engaged in certain preliminary intelligence activities preparatory to the Democratic National Convention to be held in Miami, Florida.

- 19.1 E. Howard Hunt testimony, 9 SSC 3688, 3785-86, 3795.
- 19.2 James McCord testimony, 1 SSC 184-85.
- 19.3 Alfred Baldwin testimony, 1 SSC 401-02.

20. On June 17, 1972 at approximately 2:00 a.m., McCord, Barker, Sturgis, Gonzalez and Martinez were arrested for burglary in the Watergate offices of the DNC. On September 15, 1972 Howard Hunt, Gordon Liddy, and the five men who had been arrested at the DNC headquarters were named in an eight-count indictment charging, among other offenses, conspiracy illegally to obtain and use information from the offices and headquarters of the DNC. Hunt, Barker, Sturgis, Gonzalez and Martinez entered pleas of guilty. Liddy and McCord stood trial and were convicted on all charges. On August 16, 1973 Jeb Magruder pled guilty to an information charging, among other offenses, conspiracy unlawfully to obtain and use information from headquarters of the DNC.

- 20.1 E. Howard Hunt testimony, 9 SSC 3688.
- 20.2 James McCord testimony, 1 SSC 128.
- 20.3 United States v. Liddy, indictment, September 15, 1972, 1, 8.
- 20.4 Paul Leeper testimony, 1 SSC 105-06.
- 20.5 Carl Shoffler testimony, 1 SSC 118.
- 20.6 United States v. Liddy, docket, 1-2, 21, 25.
- 20.7 United States v. Magruder, information, August 16, 1973, 1-3.
- 20.8 United States v. Magruder, order, August 20, 1973.