33. Book VIII, Vol. 1: Alleged efforts by White House officials to acquire information from the Internal Revenue Service and to direct certain IRS activities

Don Edwards

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1. On or about March 21, 1970 Special Counsel to the President Clark Mollenhoff sent a memorandum to H. R. Haldeman transmitting material on the taxes of Governor George Wallace's brother, Gerald Wallace. Mollenhoff has stated that he had been instructed by Haldeman to obtain a report from IRS on investigations relating to Governor George Wallace and Gerald Wallace; that he had been assured by Haldeman that the report was to be obtained at the request of the President; that he obtained the report from the IRS; and that Mollenhoff did not give a copy of the report to anyone other than Haldeman or discuss the substance of it with anyone else until after the appearance of the article. On April 13, 1970 an article was published referring to confidential field reports, an IRS investigation of charges of corruption in the Wallace Administration and the activities of Gerald Wallace. Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue Randolph Thrower has stated that an IRS investigation concluded that the material had not been leaked by the IRS or the Treasury Department. Thrower has stated that thereafter he and the IRS Chief Counsel met with Haldeman and Ehrlichman at the White House and discussed with them the seriousness of the leak and the fact that unauthorized disclosure of IRS information constituted a criminal act.

1.1 Memorandum from Clark Mollenhoff to H. R. Haldeman, March 21, 1970.
1.3 Clark Mollenhoff affidavit, HJC, June 4, 1974.
1.4 Randolph Thrower affidavit, HJC, May 24, 1974.
2. On September 21, 1970 White House aide Tom Charles Huston sent a memorandum to Haldeman transmitting a report on an investigation by the IRS Special Service Group of political activities of tax-exempt organizations. Huston discussed administrative action against the organizations and stated that valuable intelligence-type information could be turned up by IRS as a result of their field audits.

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2.1 Memorandum from Tom Charles Huston to H. R. Haldeman, September 21, 1970 with attachments, SSC Exhibit No. 42, 3 SSC 1338-45.
Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue Thrower has stated that during the summer of 1970 he was advised by Under Secretary of the Treasury Charles Walker that John Caulfield, head of security for the President's office, was interested in the position of Director of the IRS Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division (ATF) and had the President's blessing and the support of top people at the White House. Thrower concluded that Caulfield was not qualified for the position. Thrower has stated that in November 1970 he was told by Walker that the White House wanted Caulfield to be considered for the position of Chief of the Enforcement Branch of ATF and that the White House wanted to take the Enforcement Branch out of ATF and have it report directly to Thrower rather than through the chain of command. Thrower has stated that he told Walker that Thrower would resign if Caulfield were appointed and the organizational changes were required. Thrower has stated that shortly thereafter he was advised that the White House would drop the matter.

3.1 Randolph Thrower affidavit, House Judiciary Committee, May 24, 1974.
4. Thrower has stated that in January 1971, having decided to submit his resignation as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, he attempted unsuccessfully through Treasury Secretary Kennedy and Attorney General Mitchell to arrange a meeting with the President to express his concern that any suggestion of the introduction of political influence into the IRS would be very damaging to the President and his administration as well as to the revenue system and the general public interest. Thrower has stated that he was told by the President's Appointment Secretary Dwight Chapin that the President had received Thrower's views from the Attorney General and did not feel a conference was necessary. Thrower thereupon submitted his resignation.

5. From June 24, 1971 through June 1972, members of Colson's staff circulated to various White House staff members names for and deletions from a list of political opponents. Dean has testified that the list was continually being updated, and the file was several inches thick. Colson has stated that the list maintained by George Bell of his office was primarily intended for the use of the social office and the personnel office in considering White House invitations and appointments.

5.1 John Dean testimony, 4 SSC 1350, 1386-87, 1409-11.

5.2 Memorandum from George Bell to John Dean et al., June 24, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 49, 4 SSC 1693-96.

5.3 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., June 25, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 65, 4 SSC 1734-53.

5.4 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., July 16, 1971, (portion of) SSC Exhibit No. 48, 4 SSC 1691.

5.5 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., November 11, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 61, 4 SSC 1725-26.

5.6 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., May 16, 1972, Exhibit 62, 4 SSC 1728-29.

5.7 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., June 2, 1972, SSC Exhibit No. 61, 4 SSC 1727.

5.8 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., June 28, 1972, SSC Exhibit No. 55, 4 SSC 1705-06.

5.9 "Politicos Continued," undated, unsigned list, SSC Exhibit No. 60, 4 SSC 1713-24.

5.10 "Corporate Executives Committee for Peace; Trip to Washington--June 25, 1970," undated and unsigned list, SSC Exhibit No. 63, 4 SSC 1730-32.
5.11 List of Democratic contributors, SSC Exhibit No. 64, 4 SSC 1733.

5.12 Letter from Charles Colson to Fred Thompson and Samuel Dash, June 28, 1973 (received from SSC).
On July 20, 1971 John Dean wrote a memorandum to Ehrlichman's aide Egil Krogh attaching information compiled by John Caulfield regarding the Brookings Institution's tax returns and noting that Brookings received a number of large government contracts. Caulfield has testified that it was his impression that this was public information. On July 27, 1971 Dean sent a memorandum to Krogh to which was attached a carbon copy of Dean's July 20, 1971 memorandum on which the words "receives a number of large government contracts" were underscored and a marginal note by Haldeman stated that these should be turned off. Dean's July 27, 1971 memorandum stated that he assumed that Krogh was turning off the spigot.

6.1 Memorandum from John Dean to Egil Krogh, July 20, 1971, with attachment (received from White House).

6.2 Memorandum from John Dean to Egil Krogh, July 27, 1971, with attachment (received from White House).

7. Dean has testified that on August 16, 1971 he prepared a memorandum entitled, Dealing with our Political Enemies, which addressed the matter of how the Administration could use the available federal machinery to screw its political enemies. Among Dean's suggestions was that key members of the staff should determine who was giving the Administration a hard time, and that they develop a list of names -- not more than ten -- as targets for concentration. Dean has testified that to the best of his recollection the memorandum was sent forward to Haldeman and Ehrlichman for approval, disapproval or comment. Ehrlichman testified that he could not recall receiving any memorandum with respect to the enemies list from Dean or any other person in the White House.

7.1 John Dean testimony, 4 SSC 1349-50, 1411.

7.2 Memorandum (unsigned and unaddressed), August 16, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 48, 4 SSC 1689-90.

7.3 John Ehrlichman testimony, 7 SSC 2683-84.
On September 9, 1971 Colson sent Dean a memorandum stating that he had checked in blue those to whom he would give top priority. Dean testified that attached to Colson's memorandum was an opponents list memorandum from Bell dated June 24, 1971 and a document entitled "Opponent Priority Activity" containing the names and brief descriptions of 20 political opponents with check marks beside eleven of the names.

8.1 John Dean testimony, 4 SSC 1350.

8.2 Memorandum from Charles Colson to John Dean, September 9, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 49, 4 SSC 1692-96.
9. On or about September 14, 1971 Dean sent to Haldeman's aide, Lawrence Higby, a list of names Higby requested. Most of the names were the same as those checked by Colson on the list attached to the September 9, 1971 memorandum discussed in the preceding paragraph. Dean testified that upon a request from Haldeman that he wanted to nail this down as to the 20, or the minimum number with whom they could do something, Dean sent the list to Higby for Haldeman's final review. On several occasions thereafter Dean received names for the enemies project from Higby and Strachan, also an aide of Haldeman. Dean testified that he also received a list of McGovern campaign staff prepared at Ehrlichman's direction by CRP Director of Ballot Security Murray Chotiner. Dean has testified that the lists were principally used by Colson and Haldeman and that he did not know what they did with them. Haldeman has testified that enemies lists or opponents lists were used for withholding White House courtesies and invitations from those who had expressed opposition to Administration policies.

9.1 John Dean testimony, 4 SSC 1350, 1408-10, 1529.

9.2 Memorandum from John Dean to Lawrence Higby, September 14, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 50, 4 SSC 1697-98.

9.3 Memorandum from Gordon Strachan to John Dean, September 17, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 52, 4 SSC 1700.

9.4 Memorandum from Gordon Strachan to John Dean, October 26, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 53, 4 SSC 1701-02.

9.5 Memorandum from Gordon Strachan to John Dean, November 5, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 54, 4 SSC 1703-04.

9.6 Note from Lawrence Higby to John Dean, undated, SSC Exhibit No. 51, 4 SSC 1699.
9.7 List of McGovern campaign staff, undated, SSC Exhibit No. 56, 4 SSC 1707-11.

9.8 H. R. Haldeman testimony, 8 SSC 3154-56.
On September 22, 1971 John Caulfield wrote a memorandum regarding plans for scheduling Lawrence Goldberg to function in the Jewish area at the Committee for the Re-election of the President. Caulfield stated that Goldberg was actively engaged in Anti-Defamation League activities and that consideration should be given to a potential question of loyalty. On October 6, 1971 Caulfield sent a memorandum to Dean attaching lists of charitable contributions from Goldberg's tax returns and stating that it postured an extremely heavy involvement in Jewish organizational activity. Caulfield also stated that Attorney General Mitchell should be discreetly made aware in this regard. Caulfield has testified that he obtained information on Goldberg's financial status from IRS Assistant Commissioner (Inspection) Vernon Acree and that the purpose of obtaining the information was to determine whether Goldberg was financially solvent and therefore able to assume a campaign position at CRP.

10.1 Memorandum by John Caulfield, September 22, 1971 (received from SSC).

10.2 Memorandum from John Caulfield to John Dean, October 6, 1971 (received from SSC).

11. On or about September 30, 1971 Caulfield sent a memorandum to Dean reporting on IRS tax audit information about Rev. Billy Graham. Caulfield testified that he obtained the information from Assistant Commissioner Acree. On October 1, 1970 Higby sent a copy of Caulfield's memorandum to Haldeman with a transmittal slip bearing the hand-written notation, Can we do anything to help, below which is Haldeman's hand-written notation, No, it's already covered. Dean has testified that the President had asked that the IRS be turned off on friends of his.

11.1 Memorandum from John Caulfield to John Dean, September 30, 1971 with attached routing slip (received from SSC).


11.3 John Dean testimony, SSC Executive Session, June 16, 1973, 95-96.
12. On or about October 6, 1971 Caulfield sent a memorandum to Dean transmitting information about tax audits of John Wayne and nine other entertainers and former entertainers which Caulfield had instructed the IRS to furnish. Caulfield has testified that he obtained the information from Acree.

12.1 Memorandum from John Caulfield to John Dean, October 6, 1971 (received from SSC).

13. From October 6 through October 13, 1971 Newsday published installments of an article on C. G. Rebozo. Dean has testified that after the article was published he was instructed by Haldeman that one of the authors of the article should have some problems. Dean and Caulfield discussed procedures to institute an audit of Robert Greene, a Newsday reporter who had written the article. Caulfield has testified that he discussed the request with Acree who told Caulfield that an audit could be instigated by use of an anonymous letter. Caulfield has testified that Acree later informed him that the procedure was followed. The staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation has stated that Greene was not audited by the IRS but was subsequently audited by New York State tax authorities on the basis of information supplied under the Federal/State exchange program, but that the staff believes that the audit was unrelated to Greene's being classified as a White House enemy.

13.1 John Dean testimony, 3 SSC 1072.
13.2 John Dean testimony, 4 SSC 1480.
13.4 Newsday, October 6-13, 1971, 3R.
13.5 Memorandum from John Caulfield to John Dean, September 10, 1971 (received from SSC).
13.6 Report of the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, "Investigation into Certain Charges of the Use of the Internal Revenue Services for Political Purposes," December 20, 1973, 12.
14. Dean has testified that he received requests from Haldeman to have audits commenced on certain individuals. Haldeman has testified that he could recall no specific requests but that information that had come to the attention of the White House or information that appeared to indicate a reason for an audit may have been referred by the White House to the IRS. Caulfield has testified that some time after Dean's request for an audit of Greene, Dean met with Caulfield and Acree and directed that full audits be conducted of three or four other individuals. Caulfield has testified that he and Acree decided not to conduct the audits and that so far as he knew no audits were conducted of any individuals.

14.1 John Dean testimony, 4 SSC 1479-80.

14.2 H. R. Haldeman testimony, 8 SSC 3137.

1. On or about March 21, 1970 Special Counsel to the President Clark Mollenhoff sent a memorandum to H. R. Haldeman transmitting material on the taxes of Governor George Wallace's brother, Gerald Wallace. Mollenhoff has stated that he had been instructed by Haldeman to obtain a report from IRS on investigations relating to Governor George Wallace and Gerald Wallace; that he had been assured by Haldeman that the report was to be obtained at the request of the President; that he obtained the report from the IRS; and that Mollenhoff did not give a copy of the report to anyone other than Haldeman or discuss the substance of it with anyone else until after the appearance of the article. On April 13, 1970 an article was published referring to confidential field reports, an IRS investigation of charges of corruption in the Wallace Administration and the activities of Gerald Wallace. Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue Randolph Thrower has stated that an IRS investigation concluded that the material had not been leaked by the IRS or the Treasury Department. Thrower has stated that thereafter he and the IRS Chief Counsel met with Haldeman and Ehrlichman at the White House and discussed with them the seriousness of the leak and the fact that unauthorized disclosure of IRS information constituted a criminal act.

1.1 Memorandum from Clark Mollenhoff to H. R. Haldeman, March 21, 1970.
1.3 Clark Mollenhoff affidavit, HJC, June 4, 1974.
1.4 Randolph Thrower affidavit, HJC, May 24, 1974.
MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALEMEN

FROM: Clark Mollenhoff

SUBJECT: Gerald Wallace and IRS

Attached is a copy of the material on the Gerald Wallace tax matter. As you will see, it's a large case.

The summary makes it apparent the investigation is not conclusive at this state, although it would appear that there is a possibility of a rather large criminal case.

It would seem advisable to let this matter mature a bit, although there might be some advantage in having the Commissioner ask for one or more of the tax returns. This request, which could be complied with through Xerox copies, would not interfere with the investigation and might tend to make the investigators more diligent.
IRS Probes Wallace, Lurleen Reigns

By Jack Anderson

A special task force of Internal Revenue agents has moved into Alabama to investigate charges of corruption in the administrations of former Gov. George Wallace and his late wife, Lurleen.

The tax probe, which began on a small scale during the Johnson administration, has focused on the backdoor activities of Gerald Wallace, the former governor's brother, law partner and political confidant.

Gerald Wallace, a slight, bespectacled man of 50, has fallen into sudden wealth since his famous brother became governor in 1962. Although Gerald was only three years out of law school and seldom appeared in court, he has funneled enough money through his law office to move from a modest apartment to a lush, 315-acre cattle farm.

Alleged Kickbacks

The government is investigating charges that Gerald Wallace and Rankin Fite, the mighty Speaker of Alabama's House of Delegates, collected kickbacks on state and federal highway contracts. Part of the money is alleged to have been turned over to George Wallace to fuel his 1968 presidential campaign, in which he promised to restore "law and order" to the nation.

Fite allegedly turned the kickbacks over to Gerald Wallace. Both men vigorously denied any wrong doing.

The task force is also looking into a possible link between Gerald Wallace and Alabama's notorious liquor agent system, under which political cronies of the reigning governor collect fat fees on the sale of liquor to the state.

Confidential field reports, made available to this column, quote Alabama informants as saying that Gerald Wallace has boasted of receiving $400,000 in commissions on state liquor sales. In Alabama, all liquor is sold in state-owned stores.

The Internal Revenue Service's audit division, in its confidential findings, has alleged that Gerald Wallace omitted legal-free income from his tax returns in 1967 and 1968. After deducting large losses from his cattle farm, he reported a total taxable income of $109,944 in 1967 and $65,980 in 1968.

Probe Expanded

Last Jan. 20, the case was referred to Internal Revenue's crack intelligence division, which handles criminal investigations. A group of agents from various southern offices was immediately assembled in Alabama.

They have expanded the probe until it now includes alleged kickback schemes involving state highway paving contracts, textbook sales, engineering contracts and misuse of funds at the state docks in Mobile.

The federal agents are also asking questions about the following state political figures: Attorney General MacDonald Gallion, State Treasurer Agnes Baggett, former State Finance Director Seymour Trammell, State Docks Director Houston Feaster and his assistant, Jim Scott, and State Senators Roland Cooper and Alton Turner.

Wallace's Story

He swore he had never collected a kickback and, although his law practice was his main source of income, he had never represented any state highway contractors or liquor companies. He angrily rejected the suggestion that the Wallace law firm was used in any kickback scheme. He also denied that his brother was still practicing law with him and declared that George Wallace no longer had space in the firm's office.

However, Hume visited the Wallace law office, which is located in a rickety second-story walkup a few blocks from the state capitol. He found the dingy suite still contains an office with George Wallace's name on the door and a desk inside piled with papers.

My associate, Briton Hume, flew to Montgomery, Ala., to discuss the investigation with Gerald Wallace. He acknowledged that he was under tax investigation.

"They have got 47 agents on me right now," he said bitterly. "You all are trying to beat George Wallace. You're not interested in my tax returns."

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia ss:

CLARK R. MOLLENHOFF, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I was appointed Special Counsel to the President in July 1969. I remained in that position until June 1970, at which time I resigned from the White House staff.

2. Because my responsibilities at the White House included investigation of allegations of corruption or mismanagement in government, I had authority from the President to periodically obtain certain tax returns from the IRS.

3. Early in 1970 I was instructed by H. R. Haldeman to obtain a report from the IRS on its investigation of alleged illegal campaign contributions relating to the 1968 presidential campaign of Governor George Wallace and unreported income received by his brother, Gerald Wallace.

4. I initially questioned Mr. Haldeman's instruction, but upon his assurance that the report was to be obtained at the request of the President, I requested the report of IRS Commissioner Randolph Thrower.

5. On March 20, 1970 I received a report on the IRS investigation from Assistant IRS Commissioner Donald Bacon.

6. On March 21, 1970, I delivered the report to Mr. Haldeman, on his assurance that it was for the President. I did not give a copy of the report to anyone else nor did I discuss it with anyone. 

The appearance of a column by Jack Anderson
7. On April 13, 1970 a report appeared in Jack Anderson's column about the IRS investigation. Shortly thereafter, I was requested to meet with Messrs. Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Ziegler. At that meeting they accused me of having leaked the IRS report to the press. I denied having done so and told them that the only copy of the report had gone to Mr. Haldeman.

8. Thereafter Commissioner Thrower questioned me about the leak. I informed him that I had delivered the only copy of the report to Mr. Haldeman and had not leaked the information, that Mr. Haldeman had attempted to blame me for the leak, and that I believed that the leak had occurred at the highest White House level.

DATED: __________________________

Subscribed and sworn to before me this ______ day of May, 1974.


Notary Public
STATE OF GEORGIA
COUNTY OF FULTON

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned attesting officer, Randolph W. Thrower, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says as follows.

This statement is made upon the basis of my best recollection of the facts and the sequence in which they occurred, without my having had the benefit of reference to files and other materials in the possession of the Internal Revenue Service which would permit a more precise statement.

In the summer of 1970, Clark Mollenhoff, Special Assistant to the President, telephoned me to inquire about an extensive field examination which the IRS was conducting into the possible diversion of political contributions for the benefit of private individuals in the 1968 campaign of George Wallace of Alabama. A brief statement as to the current status of the investigation had been included in our most recent "Sensitive Case Report." For many years reports on the status of sensitive cases within the IRS had been given a very limited and controlled distribution within the Commissioner's staff and a copy had customarily been sent by special courier to the Secretary of the Treasury. I understand that customarily the Secretary of the Treasury would advise the President of any matters in the sensitive case report about which the President, by reason of his official duties and responsibilities, should be advised.

As I recall, Mr. Mollenhoff advised me that the report on the Wallace campaign was desired by or on behalf of the President and in connection with his official responsibilities. In earlier discussions over the disclosure of confidential information in the possession of the IRS, Mr. Mollenhoff and I had reached an understanding that this would constitute a legal justification for the disclosure.
Pursuant to Mr. Mollenhoff's request, I asked the office of the Assistant Commissioner-Compliance to prepare for the White House a summarization of the Wallace investigation in the form of a memorandum from me. A memorandum was prepared which I reviewed and, after a few modifications, sent to Mr. Mollenhoff at the White House.

A few days later a column by Jack Anderson described the IRS investigation of charges of diversion of contributions in the 1968 Wallace campaign. It appeared to me that the Jack Anderson report came directly out of my memorandum. I called in the Assistant Commissioner-Inspection, Vernon D. Acree, and asked him to investigate the possibility of an unlawful disclosure of confidential tax information. I asked him, in particular, to study carefully my memorandum in relation to other factual summaries in the IRS files, in order to determine whether we could identify any possible source for the Jack Anderson report other than my own memorandum such as other reports in the hands of the IRS or taxpayers' counsel.

I also asked him to investigate the possibility of a leak in the movement of my memorandum within the IRS or the Treasury Department. At the time I was leaving the city on official business and asked that he attempt to have a report available on my return.

On my return Mr. Acree advised that my memorandum was clearly the source of the Jack Anderson column. He advised further that he had traced the movement of my memorandum within the Service and the Treasury Department and found nothing to suggest that the leak had occurred in these offices. Thereupon I called Mr. Mollenhoff who, before I could state my complaint, announced that he knew what I was calling about and wanted to assure me that he had not breached the operating procedures which he and I had developed and that he was in no way responsible for the leak. I told him that while it was a very serious breach of the laws against disclosure, I had felt confident that he was not responsible. I stated, nevertheless, that I was greatly disturbed by it and wanted to know how it possibly could have occurred. Mr. Mollenhoff replied that the responsibility was at a higher
level. I asked, "How high?" His response was to the effect that it occurred at the highest level or at the very top. While I do not recall the precise language used, I received the impression that he was referring to Mr. Haldeman or possibly Messrs. Haldeman and Erlichman.

Thereafter I telephoned John Erlichman to discuss the disclosure and arranged for a meeting at the White House with him and Mr. Haldeman which was attended by the Chief Counsel of the IRS, K. Martin Worthy, and myself. In the conference Mr. Worthy and I discussed the seriousness of the leak and the fact that an unauthorized disclosure constituted a criminal act. I did not make any accusations as Mr. Mollenhoff had asked me to hold in confidence what he had told me as to the apparent source of the leak. Messrs. Haldeman and Erlichman did not indicate to Mr. Worthy and me the source of the leak but did take our complaint seriously and assured us that they would cooperate in undertaking to prevent such incidents in the future and would call the gravity of the situation to the attention of those in the White House who might from time to time have access to such information.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of May , 1974.

[Signature]

[Notary Public]
Notary Public, Georgia, State at Large
My Commission Expires June 11, 1974
On September 21, 1970 White House aide Tom Charles Huston sent a memorandum to Haldeman transmitting a report on an investigation by the IRS Special Service Group of political activities of tax-exempt organizations. Huston discussed administrative action against the organizations and stated that valuable intelligence-type information could be turned up by IRS as a result of their field audits.

2.1 Memorandum from Tom Charles Huston to H. R. Haldeman, September 21, 1970 with attachments, SSC Exhibit No. 42, 3 SSC 1338-45.
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
Phase I: Watergate Investigation
WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 25 AND 26, 1973
Book 3

Printed for the use of the
Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities

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V

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Note: Figures in parentheses indicate page that exhibit was officially made part of the record.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT: IRS & Ideological Organizations

I am attaching a copy of a report from the IRS on the activities of its "Special Service Group" which is supposed to monitor the activities of ideological organizations (e.g., Jerry Rubin Fund, Black Panthers, etc.) and take appropriate action when violations of IRS regulations turn up. You will note that the report is long on words and short on substance.

Nearly 18 months ago, the President indicated a desire for IRS to move against leftist organizations taking advantage of tax shelters. I have been pressing IRS since that time to no avail.

What we cannot do in a courtroom via criminal prosecutions to curtail the activities of some of these groups, IRS could do by administrative action. Moreover, valuable intelligence-type information could be turned up by IRS as a result of their field audits.

TOM CHARLES HUSTON

Attachment
August 12, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROGER V. BLATH
ASSISTANT TO THE COMMISSIONER, IRS

SUBJECT: IDEOLOGICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Could you give a progress report on the activities of the Compliance Division in reviewing the operations of Ideological Organizations?

I would be interested in knowing what progress has been made since July 1, 1969, when we first expressed our interest in this matter.

Thank you.

TOM CHARLES HUSTON
MEMORANDUM FOR: Honorable Tom Charles Huston
The White House

FROM: Commissioner of Internal Revenue

In response to your memorandum dated August 14, 1970, we have prepared the attached status report on the Special Service Group. I would stress that knowledge of the existence and operations of this Group should be carefully limited.

[Signature]

Randolph W. Thrower

Attachment
In August 1969 the Senate Committee on Government Operations held open hearings on several controversial organizations, including the Black Panther Party, Student National Coordinating Committee, Republic of New Africa, and Students for Democratic Society. Information developed during these hearings established that various organizations, categorized as extremists on the right or left, presented problems to the Internal Revenue Service in that the organizations and individuals involved in the organizations were not in compliance with Internal Revenue laws. Information developed in these hearings indicated that extremist organizations were receiving financial support from various sources. Some of the individuals involved in the forefront of these organizations filed tax returns reflecting very nominal income, or did not file at all, although they were obviously expending substantial amounts of funds.

Recognizing the responsibilities of the Internal Revenue Service to administer taxing statutes without regard to the social or political objectives of individuals or organizations, a decision was made to establish
a method of accumulating and disseminating information on
all activist groups to insure that the organizations and
the leaders of the organizations are complying with
Internal Revenue laws.

In the National Office of the Internal Revenue Service,
functioning under the Assistant Commissioner (Compliance),
a special compliance group was established to receive and
analyze all available information on organizations and
individuals promoting extremist views and philosophies.
The identification of organizations and individuals included
in the program is without regard to the philosophy of poli-
tical posture involved; rather, it is directed to the
notoriety of the individual or organization and the proba-
bility of publicity that might result from their activities
and the likelihood that this notoriety would lead to inquiries
regarding their tax status. Another important consideration
was the degree of probability that the individuals might
be deliberately avoiding their tax responsibilities.

The staff responsible for this activity was first
designated as the Activist Organizations Group, but it
recently was changed to "Special Service Group" to avoid any
erroneous impression of its objectives. The function of the
Special Service Group is to obtain, consolidate and disseminate any information on individuals or organizations (including major financial sponsors of the individuals or organizations) that would have tax implications under the Internal Revenue laws. Liaison has been established with all investigative and law enforcement agencies and with Senate and House Investigating Committees. The Group also subscribes to various underground publications as a source of information on matters involving taxable income of individuals, activities of organizations having or seeking tax exempt status, and identity of individuals or exempt organizations providing financial support to activist groups.

In the case of "financial support" our interest is to be able to determine that donor’s do not receive tax benefit from the financial assistance where such benefit is not clearly allowable by law.

As information is accumulated on the activities or financial support of particular organizations or taxable income of individuals it is referred to the appropriate field office of the Internal Revenue Service for enforcement action. Field offices may be asked to investigate the activities of organizations which have been held to be
exempt as charitable organizations; they may be asked to investigate the income tax liability of individuals who have openly expended substantial sums of money without obvious means of support or they may be asked to investigate alleged violations of the firearms statutes falling within the jurisdiction of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division.

It is important to note that although various types of information about organizations or individuals is obtained by the Service from cooperating agencies, only that information relating to tax status is recorded and disseminated to field offices. The sole objective of the Special Service Group is to provide a greater degree of assurance of maximum compliance with the Internal Revenue laws by those involved in extremist activities and those providing financial support to these activities.

To date the efforts of the Special Service Group has been confined to manual compilation and consolidation of information on approximately 1,025 organizations and 4,300 individuals. Data on 26 organizations and 43 individuals has been referred to the field for enforcement action.
While it is still too early to have completed many of the field investigations, criminal investigations are under way on 4 individuals and 1 organization. Delinquent tax returns have been obtained from 2 organizations with combined tax liability of $29,559. On the basis of information furnished by this "group" application for exempt status has been denied to 8 organizations. It is the view of officials of the Internal Revenue Service that this "intelligence" activity and field enforcement is necessary to avoid allegation that extremist organizations ignore taxing statutes with immunity.
3. Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue Thrower has stated that during the summer of 1970 he was advised by Under Secretary of the Treasury Charles Walker that John Caulfield, head of security for the President's office, was interested in the position of Director of the IRS Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division (ATF) and had the President's blessing and the support of top people at the White House. Thrower concluded that Caulfield was not qualified for the position. Thrower has stated that in November 1970 he was told by Walker that the White House wanted Caulfield to be considered for the position of Chief of the Enforcement Branch of ATF and that the White House wanted to take the Enforcement Branch out of ATF and have it report directly to Thrower rather than through the chain of command. Thrower has stated that he told Walker that Thrower would resign if Caulfield were appointed and the organizational changes were required. Thrower has stated that shortly thereafter he was advised that the White House would drop the matter.

3.1 Randolph Thrower affidavit, House Judiciary Committee, May 24, 1974.

Also tried to get Liddy the job. Thrower - great reputation (Jenner)
STATE OF GEORGIA.
COUNTY OF FULTON

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned attesting officer, Randolph W. Thrower, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says as follows.

This statement is made upon the basis of my best recollection of the facts and the sequence in which they occurred, without my having had the benefit of reference to files and other materials in the possession of the Internal Revenue Service which would permit a more precise statement.

In the summer of 1970 a vacancy occurred in the position of Director of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the IRS. The IRS Executive Selection Board was at that time interviewing and reviewing candidates for the position preparatory to making a recommendation on it to me as the Commissioner. I was then advised that John Caulfield, head of security for the President's office, was interested in the position and had the President's blessing and the support of top people at the White House. Substantially all of my contacts with the White House on this matter, at that time and subsequently, were through Dr. Charles Walker, Under Secretary of the Treasury.

I secured biographical information on Mr. Caulfield and had a personal interview with him. Also, through members of my staff, I made some limited inquiries about him. After careful consideration of the matter, I advised Dr. Walker that I did not consider Mr. Caulfield qualified for the office and had serious question as to whether he could secure approval for the position from the Civil Service Commission.

Over the next few weeks Dr. Walker and I had several conversations about this matter resulting from his presentation of my views to the White House and their request for further consideration.
At the same time I pointed out to Dr. Walker that we would expect to have a vacancy in the position of Chief of the Enforcement Branch of ATF. The occupant of that office was acting as Director of ATF and his appointment to that position had been sent by me to the Treasury Department for approval. The Enforcement Branch in my opinion was an extremely able, well experienced unit which was long experienced in the suppression of illegal manufacture of whiskey and illegal traffic in whiskey and tobaccos, as well as in its newer responsibilities of enforcement of the federal gun and explosive laws. On inquiry, Dr. Walker learned that the White House was not interested in this position for Mr. Caulfield.

Finally, at Dr. Walker's request, I prepared a detailed specification of the duties and responsibilities of the office. It covered regulatory functions in the three areas of alcohol, tobacco and firearms, as well as the extensive tax collection functions encompassing about $7 billion a year, the supervision of an important laboratory, and the administrative responsibility, as I recall, of more than 1,000 employees. Shortly thereafter Dr. Walker advised me that the White House had dropped the matter.

A short time later Dr. Walker called to advise me that Mr. Gordon Liddy, then in the office of the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement and Operations, was interested in the position as Director of ATF. I suggested to Dr. Walker that Mr. Liddy was in his department and that he should handle this one. I told Dr. Walker that Mr. Liddy's experiences with the Service with respect to the development of policy respecting gun laws had so affected the confidence in him on the part of the personnel of ATF that the appointment would be out of the question. He did not take issue with this. I suggested that he point out to Mr. Liddy that the extensive administrative responsibilities would be over-burdening and that the position would provide little opportunity for working directly in enforcement or developing policy. Dr. Walker suggested that I could more effectively tell this to Mr. Liddy.
and I agreed to confer with Mr. Liddy on it. The conference did take place as planned and Mr. Liddy was very gentlemanly in listening to and seemingly taking into account what I had to say regarding the position. I also pointed out to him the possible difficulties of qualifying before the Civil Service Commission. At some later time, his request for consideration was withdrawn.

In the meantime my recommendation for the appointment of a new Director of ATF was still pending in the Treasury Department without approval.

At a later time, probably in November, 1970, Dr. Walker advised me that the White House had reconsidered my earlier offer to consider Mr. Caulfield for the position of Chief of the Enforcement Branch of ATF and that he was now interested in the position. I was told, however, that they wanted to take the Enforcement Branch out of ATF and have it report directly to me rather than through the chain of command. The chain of command would have followed this order: Chief Enforcement Branch, Director of ATF Division, Assistant Commissioner Compliance (or his Deputy) and Commissioner (or his Deputy). Discussions of this possibility continued over the next several weeks. Among my objections to the proposal were the following:

1. The Enforcement Branch was fully integrated into the operations of ATF, which division itself was integrated into the operations of Compliance, and it would be very disruptive to operations of ATF and confusing to its administration for this to occur;

2. Mr. Caulfield, as an inexperienced branch chief, would need the executive direction available from the chain of command;

3. The activities of the Enforcement Branch were frequently coordinated with the police functions of the Intelligence Division of Compliance and the Internal Security Division of Inspection, which required coordinated leadership;

4. I, as Commissioner, could not give it the attention which it would require;

5. Mr. Caulfield's entry into the Service would be greatly prejudiced by the fact that many would view the move as a political
one which would be greatly resented within an organization which had prided itself for so long on being wholly apolitical.

In the course of the ensuing discussions I pointed out that in order to get greater coordination in our law enforcement activities I was planning to set up a special law enforcement committee, on which the head of the enforcement branch would serve, with which I would expect to meet frequently. I also gave assurance that the chief of the branch would have access to me directly in accordance with the practices I had generally followed in the Service.

Despite the continued exchange and explanation of views on this subject, the positions of the two sides seemed to be hardening. I may have had direct telephone calls from the White House with respect to it but I have no specific recollection of any. Throughout the continued discussions I had been unable to find any reasonable justification for the proposal and my opposition grew in the face of the continued insistence. I was in fact very much concerned about the potential for a personal police force which would not have the protection and insulation of the career staff. Finally, Dr. Walker advised that he had been asked by the White House to tell me that all of my views had been taken into account but that I was to be directed to proceed as they had been requested. I advised Dr. Walker that he could tell the people at the White House that if they did insist upon the measure I would consider that my usefulness as Commissioner had been terminated. A day or two later Dr. Walker called back to advise that the White House had stated that they would drop the matter.

Dr. Walker was helpful throughout in advising and consulting with me on these problems.

In January, 1971 I advised Secretary of the Treasury Kennedy that I would submit my resignation to the President. I told him that I first would like to discuss with the President my concern about White House attitudes toward the IRS, a problem which he recognized. He told me that as a presidential appointee I had that privilege and said he would arrange
the conference. He later advised that he had been unable to arrange the conference and said that Mr. Haldeman had told him that the President did not like such conferences. After other means to arrange the conference failed, I visited the Attorney General and told him of the concerns which I wished to express to the President, namely, that any suggestion of the introduction of political influence into the IRS would be very damaging to him and his administration, as well as to the revenue system and the general public interest. The Attorney General told me that he had not been aware of the problems of recent months which I described to him and stated that he would convey the message. Sometime later the President's Appointment Secretary, Dwight Chapin, told me that the President had received my views from the Attorney General and did not feel that a conference was necessary. Thereupon, I submitted my resignation which I had been withholding until I had the opportunity to confer with the President.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of May, 1974.

[Signature]

Notary Public

Notary Public, State of Iowa

My Commission Expires June 11, 1974
4. Thrower has stated that in January 1971, having decided to submit his resignation as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, he attempted unsuccessfully through Treasury Secretary Kennedy and Attorney General Mitchell to arrange a meeting with the President to express his concern that any suggestion of the introduction of political influence into the IRS would be very damaging to the President and his administration as well as to the revenue system and the general public interest. Thrower has stated that he was told by the President's Appointment Secretary Dwight Chapin that the President had received Thrower's views from the Attorney General and did not feel a conference was necessary. Thrower thereupon submitted his resignation.

STATE OF GEORGIA.
COUNTY OF FULTON

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I secured biographical information on Mr. Caulfield and had a personal interview with him. Also, through members of my staff, I made some limited inquiries about him. After careful consideration of the matter, I advised Dr. Walker that I did not consider Mr. Caulfield qualified for the office and had serious question as to whether he could secure approval for the position from the Civil Service Commission. Over the next few weeks Dr. Walker and I had several conversations about this matter resulting from his presentation of my views to the White House and their request for further consideration.
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Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 24th day of May, 1974.

Notary Public
Notary Public, Georgia, State at Large
My Commission Expires June 11, 1974

Randolph J. Thrower
From June 24, 1971 through June 1972, members of Colson's staff circulated to various White House staff members names for and deletions from a list of political opponents. Dean has testified that the list was continually being updated, and the file was several inches thick. Colson has stated that the list maintained by George Bell of his office was primarily intended for the use of the social office and the personnel office in considering White House invitations and appointments.

5.1 John Dean testimony, 4 SSC 1350, 1386-87, 1409-11.
5.2 Memorandum from George Bell to John Dean et al., June 24, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 49, 4 SSC 1693-96.
5.3 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., June 25, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 65, 4 SSC 1734-53.
5.4 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., July 16, 1971, (portion of) SSC Exhibit No. 48, 4 SSC 1691.
5.5 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., November 11, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 61, 4 SSC 1725-26.
5.6 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., May 16, 1972, Exhibit 62, 4 SSC 1728-29.
5.7 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., June 2, 1972, SSC Exhibit No. 61, 4 SSC 1727.
5.8 Memorandum from Joanne Gordon to John Dean et al., June 28, 1972, SSC Exhibit No. 55, 4 SSC 1705-06.
5.9 "Politicos Continued," undated, unsigned list, SSC Exhibit No. 60, 4 SSC 1713-24.
5.10 "Corporate Executives Committee for Peace; Trip to Washington--June 25, 1970," undated and unsigned list, SSC Exhibit No. 63, 4 SSC 1730-32.
5.11  List of Democratic contributors, SSC Exhibit No. 64, 4 SSC 1733.

5.12  Letter from Charles Colson to Fred Thompson and Samuel Dash, June 28, 1973 (received from SSC).
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
Phase I: Watergate Investigation
WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 27, 28, 29, AND JULY 10, 1973
Book 4

Printed for the use of the
Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities

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lem of dealing with political enemies and a strategy which would involve a number of members of the White House staff in various phases of that project to deal with political enemies.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 48.1]

Mr. DEAN. The next is a document dated September 9, 1971. It is from Charles Colson to John Dean, in which Mr. Colson has checked in blue those that he would give top priority on the enemies’ list, and an attached series of lists that were prepared by Mr. Colson’s office of what were deemed opponents or political enemies.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 49.2]

Mr. DEAN. The next is a memorandum dated September 14, 1971, which is a memorandum from myself to Larry Higby which attached the names that he had requested in connection with the political enemies’ project and a limiting of that list to some 20 names. These were names which were based on the suggestion of Mr. Colson.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 50.3]

Mr. DEAN. The next is a section of the news summary, of what date I don’t know. It is from Mr. Higby to me, indicating that DNC Treasurer Robert Strauss should be on the list.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 51.4]

Mr. DEAN. The next is a document dated September 17 from Gordon Strachan to me indicating that the attached list should be included in the political enemies’ project. And there is attached a list.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 52.5]

Mr. DEAN. The next is a memorandum from Gordon Strachan dated October 26, 1971, to me, indicating that Mr. Nofziger sent the attached information on Chet Huntley to Mr. Haldeman and that since I have the action on the political enemies project I should make a determination of what should happen and advise Mr. Nofziger of what should happen.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 53.6]

Mr. DEAN. The next is a memo from Gordon Strachan of November 5, 1971, subject J. Irwin Miller which indicates that he fits into the enemies project.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 54.7]

Mr. DEAN. The next is a memorandum from a member of Mr. Colson’s staff that is part of one of many memoranda that came in, this one is dated June 28, where there was a continual updating of the opponents list.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 55.8]

Mr. DEAN. And the last document is one relating to the McGovern campaign staff with asterisks beside certain key names that were to be included in the opponents project also.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 56.9]

Mr. DEAN. And that is the sum and substance of the request that I have available that Mr. Weicker asked me for yesterday.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Dean, can we have those? They will be marked, and we will make copies of them for members of the committee and circulate them to members of the committee.

Senator ERVIN. Let the reporter mark them with the appropriate numbers.

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1 See p. 1699.  2 See p. 1699.  3 See p. 1699.  4 See p. 1699.  5 See p. 1700.  6 See p. 1700.  7 See p. 1700.  8 See p. 1701.  9 See p. 1701.
and he put the papers on notice that there was a libel suit in this matter.

At that time, I also told him that I wanted to talk to him further about this, and we had further conversations while I was up there about the general situation. So the counsel was retained at that time.

Senator Gurney. What date was that?
Mr. Dean. That was on the 25th, as I recall.

Senator Gurney. And that was Mr. McCandless, and Mr.——
Mr. Dean. No, that was Mr. Hogan.

Senator Gurney. Mr. Hogan?
Mr. Dean. That is correct.

Senator Gurney. When did you employ Mr. McCandless and Mr. Shaffer?
Mr. Dean. Mr. Shaffer was employed on the 30th.

Senator Gurney. Of March?
Mr. Dean. Of March.

Senator Gurney. And Mr. McCandless?
Mr. Dean. I don't know precisely. It was after Mr. Hogan withdrew. It was sometime in April, mid or late April, to the best of my recollection.

Senator Gurney. Then my understanding of the testimony is that on April 2, your attorneys or Mr. Shaffer went to see the Federal prosecutors, is that correct?

Mr. Dean. That is correct.

Senator Gurney. What was the purpose of that?

Mr. Dean. To tell them that I was prepared and ready to come forward.

Senator Gurney. And when did you go and talk to them?

Mr. Dean. Well, I believe that Mr. Shaffer and Mr. Hogan had a number of meetings where they outlined the scope of my testimony. I had spent several hours with both of them outlining my involvement with myself and the involvement of others. I had deferred from getting into any Presidential areas.

Senator Envrin. The committee will stand in——
Senator Weicker. Mr. Chairman, I have a request up there.

Mr. Dash. Yes.

Mr. Dean, just before we recess, there has been a little confusion in the exhibits that you have submitted, and we want to make sure we have them properly identified. There is a list which is entitled “Opponent Priority Activity.” That is captioned so that we know who prepared that list. There happens also to be a document which is on White House stationery which is for eyes only, dated June 24, 1971, memorandum for John Dean, Gerry Warren, De Van Shumway, subject, opponents list, and the statement is “Attached is the list of opponents which we have compiled. I thought it would be useful to you from time to time,” and it is signed, George T. Bell.

Is this the list that goes with that memo?

Mr. Dean. Mr. Dash, I would like a look at those first if I could before I——

Mr. Dash. Do you have them?

Mr. Dean. I don't know which one you are referring to.

Mr. Dash. Would someone give this list and give this memorandum—do you have the memorandum of June 24, 1971, also? Memorandum for John Dean, Gerry Warren, Van Shumway.
Mr. DEAN. Is there a list that accompanies the June 25 one, also, that you have attached?
Mr. DASH. June 25?
Mr. DEAN. It would either have to be from the—
Mr. DASH. No, there is no list attached to the June 25 one.
Mr. DEAN. All right. It would either be the June 24 or June 25 that would be attached there.
Mr. DASH. No, the June 25 says, “Please add the attached list of Muskie contributors.” That list I have just given you is not a list of Muskie contributors.
Mr. DEAN. This would go with the list on June 24, to the best of my knowledge.
Mr. DASH. And that is your understanding in submitting that to the committee, that to the best of your knowledge, that list is covered by the memorandum of June 24, 1971?
Mr. DEAN. I know the source of this would be from Mr. Colson’s office, this list, yes.
Mr. DASH. Who is Mr. George T. Bell?
Mr. DEAN. He was a member of Mr. Colson’s staff at the time.
Mr. DASH. And it is your understanding that the list was prepared in Mr. Colson’s office?
Mr. DEAN. These lists were prepared by Mr. Bell and Miss Gordon, and kept continuously updated. This does not represent the totality of the list. This represents what I have in my possession.
Mr. DASH. For our record now, that list did come from Mr. Bell and is related to the June 24 memorandum?
Mr. DEAN. That is my understanding. This is my best recollection from the way I extracted the documents from my records.
Mr. DASH. The list does not have any identification on it. That is why I am asking you that question.
Mr. DEAN. Yes, sir.
Senator ERVIN. Senator Weicker.
Senator WEICHER. Thank you.
Senator ERVIN. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o’clock.
[Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., the same day.]

Afternoon Session, Wednesday, June 27, 1973

Senator ERVIN. The committee will come to order. Senator Gurney, you may resume your examination.
Senator GURNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. DEAN. Senator Gurney. I wonder before we proceed, counsel has a couple of exhibits that were in my folder this morning that we did not get to, to insert and there was a request made by the committee yesterday and at this time he would like to insert them into the record.
Senator GURNEY. Yes, pursuant to request.
Mr. MCCANDLESS. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman and Senator Gurney. I think it was Senator Weicker who requested yesterday the Sullivan memorandum. I have that. There is another memorandum here marked confidential we would like to turn over to the committee without description, unless the chairman or counsel would like Mr. Dean to read it, but at this time we would like to turn these over. I also understand that there may be some confusion about some part of a list that has been left out of the opposition list. All we can say is
Attached to that is a memorandum from Nofziger to Haldeman re Chet Huntley. I think that the notations on there, which are mine, are self-evident.

The next document I have is a list of the McGovern campaign staff. This list was prepared by Mr. Murray Chotiner and sent to me. Mr. Chotiner had some discussions with Mr. Ehrlichman about this, and he was to prepare a list and send it over to me pursuant to some instructions and directions he had from Mr. Ehrlichman.

Mr. DASH. Now, do you characterize that list as a so-called enemies list or a campaign contributors' list?

Mr. DEAN. This was to go into the general enemies project, which I might add at this point generally went into the file, where it remained.

The next document, dated November 5, 1971, is a memorandum from Gordon Strachan to me regarding J. Irwin Miller. It notes that "You will probably notice in this morning's news summary that J. Irwin Miller, who is still giving money to Democrat John Lindsay, though he states he will support R. N., is also a backer of Lugar. I trust that you will use this information as you see fit in the enemies project."

Attached is the news summary of that day.

The next document I have starts “Politicos continued.” This is a document that came out of Mr. Colson's office to me.

Mr. DASH. What is that? Have you identified that document?

Mr. DEAN. Yes, I have.

Mr. DASH. Is that also an enemies document?

Mr. DEAN. That is correct. That was a part—this is one of the updates. I am sure there was a cover memorandum or probably it is in my files somewhere in the White House that this was related to.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 60.]

The next document is dated November 11. It is a memorandum from a member of Mr. Colson's staff. The subject is “Opponents' List,” and it has, it is directed to Marge Acker, Pat Buchanan, John Dean, Dan Kingsley, Larry Higby, Gordon Strachan, Van Shumway, Gerry Warren, and Lucy Warren. Connected to that is a similar list with more additional names, these all coming from Mr. Colson's office. And there is a third document, dated June 2, of the same nature.

Mr. DASH. The same origin?

Mr. DEAN. That is correct. There is a duplicate document of the same nature.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 61.]

Another one dated May 16, the same origin. As I say, this list was continually being updated, and the file was several inches thick.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 62.]

The next document is a memorandum of September 14, 1971, from me to Mr. Higby, indicating a list of names that he had requested, as well as additional materials containing other names. I might as well read the memorandum:

---

1 Previously entered into the record as exhibit 55.
2 Previously entered into the record as exhibit 54.
3 See p. 1713.
4 See p. 1725.
5 See p. 1725.
6 Previously entered into the record as exhibit 50.
The list I have prepared is merely suggestive; it is based on conversations I had with others regarding persons who have both the desire and capability of harming us. The list is limited to less than 20 persons, as it would be most difficult to proceed with more at this time. I would hope we would continue to feed additional names into the process every few months, but we must keep this project within reasonable bounds. I will await the review of these names as I feel certain there will probably be additions and deletions from the list. Before I take any action, please keep the list at at least 20 or less.

Attached is a list that was prepared based on a document that Mr. Colson had gone through and picked out some 20 key names.

The next document is a page of a news summary.\footnote{Previously entered into the record as exhibit 51.} I don’t know the date of the news summary. It has a notation on the top, “Dean/L.”

Mr. Dash. When you say news summary—

Mr. Dean. This is the daily news summary that is prepared for the President and distributed to various members of the White House staff.

The “Dean/L” indicates that it was to Mr. Higby and he has encircled DNC Treasurer Robert Strauss, with a note, “Is he on our list? Or should he be?”

Mr. Dash. Did you respond to that?

Mr. Dean. No, sir; I did not. As I say, most of these merely went into a file in my office, where I just gathered them.

The next document I have is a document entitled “Corporate Executives Committee for Peace, Trip to Washington, June 25, 1970,” with a list of names. This was another document that was sent as a part of one of the continuing updates.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 63.]

Mr. Dash. What is the source of that document?

Mr. Dean. That would have been from Mr. Colson’s office. The next document is entitled “Democratic Contributors of $25,000 or More in the 1968 Campaigns”—from June 26, 1971, New York Times story—with certain names checked on the list. This is a document that came, again, from Mr. Colson’s staff.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 64.]

Next is a series of documents that relate to Muskie contributors. Part of it is cut off on the top here in the xerography process and this document was forwarded to me from Mr. Colson’s office also.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 65.]

The next document begins—it is a blank sheet of paper, which is a briefing paper that I was requested to prepare for Mr. Haldeman so that he could deal with the Secretary of the Treasury with regard to making the Internal Revenue Service politically responsive to the White House.

This document was prepared—the top document was prepared by myself; the attached document was prepared by Mr. Caulfield based on conversations he had had with individuals in the Treasury Department, as well as the last document was prepared by Mr. Caulfield as a result of conversations he had with people in the Treasury Department and in the Internal Revenue Service.

Mr. Dash. That was prepared by you with Mr. Caulfield’s assistance to be delivered to Mr. Haldeman?

Mr. Dean. That is correct.
Mr. Dash. Was it delivered to Mr. Haldeman?
Mr. Dean. Yes, it was.
The last document for identification is a memorandum dated August 16, 1971. It was a draft in my files in which I was asked to prepare a strategy for dealing with political enemies that involved the entire White House staff, and it was sent forward, to the best of my recollection, to Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman for approval, disapproval, or comment.
Now, without going to my files in the White House, I can't tell you the disposition of this document.
Mr. Dash. But can you tell us whether or not that document was in fact sent forward?
Mr. Dean. Either in this form or in some form where the names were typed on it.
Mr. Dash. Thank you, Mr. Dean.
Mr. Dean. I just noticed there were two other documents attached to that.

On July 16, 1971, there is another update on the opponents list, adding a name. This again is from Mr. Colson's office.

Senator Ervin. With Senator Inouye's indulgence, I am going to ask you one question about a paper that you identified in this connection called "Subject: Opponent Priority Activity," a three-page document, and see if you can give me the date of the origin of that.

Mr. Dean. Senator, I am not sure which document you are referring to.

Senator Ervin. It is one called, "Subject: Opponent Priority Activity," on the heading. It is three pages. You had it this morning.
Mr. Dash. I have that, Mr. Dean. I didn't forward that to you here. I can forward that to you now. The one I think you identified at the end of the morning session—one that had a memorandum of June 24 from Mr. Bell.
Mr. Dean. Yes. I was forwarding that—
Senator Ervin. I want to find out, on page 2, the name of Sterling Munro, Jr., Senator Jackson's AA. Do you have anything that indicates whether Mr. Munro was added on the list of opponents?
Mr. Dean. No, I don't. This is one of the—I can only assume that this was around June 24 when the document was prepared by a member of Mr. Colson's staff and forwarded to my office as a part of this general list.

Senator Ervin. That would be June 24, what year?
Mr. Dean. That is 1971.
Senator Ervin. Thank you.
Mr. Dash. Could I have the documents back, Mr. Dean?
Senator Ervin. I can't forbear observing when I consider the list of opponents why the Democratic vote was so light in the general election.
Senator Baker. Mr. Chairman.
Senator Ervin. Yes, sir.
Senator Baker. I really even in my wildest dreams would not think of trying to improve or embellish on your story but you told it better the first time when you leaned over to me and you said "I think I am
No. 47—(1549) Memorandum for John Dean from Jack Caulfield. Subject: Opposition Activity.

No. 48—(1550) Memorandum prepared by John Dean for members of the White House staff. Subject: Dealing with our Political Enemies.

No. 49—(1550) Memorandum for John Dean from Charles Colson re: Names given top priority on enemies list.

No. 50—(1550) Memorandum for Larry Higby from John Dean concerning names for enemies list.

No. 51—(1550) Section of a news summary from Higby to Dean, indicating that DNC treasurer Robert Strauss should be on the list.

No. 52—(1550) Additions to enemies list sent to John Dean from Gordon Strachan.

No. 53—(1550) Memorandum for John Dean from Gordon Strachan. Subject: Political Enemies. (Re: Chet Huntley.)

No. 54—(1550) Memorandum to John Dean from Gordon Strachan with attached news summary indicating that J. Irwin Miller might be considered for enemies list.

No. 55—(1550) Memorandum from a member of Charles Colson's staff re: People who attended a rally for a "dump Nixon" program.

No. 56—(1550) List of McGovern campaign staff with asterisks beside key names that were to be included in the opponents project.

Nos. 57 and 58—(1558) Marked for identification only and are not for publication.

No. 59—(1539) Bank statement on account of John Wesley [sic] Dean, III.

No. 60—(1509) Additional document updating the enemies list, entitled "Politicos Continued".

No. 61—(1509) Memorandum from member of Charles Colson's staff. Subject: Opponents Lists.

No. 62—(1509) Memorandum re: Updating of opponents list.

No. 63—(1510) Document entitled "Corporate Executives Committee for Peace, Trip to Washington—June 25, 1970." This document also is an update of the enemies list.

No. 64—(1510) List of Democratic contributors of $25,000 or more in 1970 campaigns (from New York Times story, June 20, 1971).

No. 65—(1510) Memorandum re: List of Muskie contributors to be added to opponents list.

No. 66—(1512) Letter from J. Fred Buzhardt, special counsel to the President, to Senator Inouye re: Questions and a memorandum previously furnished the committee on questioning Mr. Dean.

No. 67—(1512) Memo and questions pertaining to exhibit No. 66.

No. 68—(1523) Memorandum of Law, Admissibility of Hearsay Statements of a Co-conspirator. Submitted by Samuel Dash, chief counsel and staff director, Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities.

No. 69—(1557) Letter from Congressman Garry Brown to Senator Ervin re: Certain statements made by Mr. Dean.

No. 70—(1558) Letter from Senator Strom Thurmond to Senators Baker and Quayle and Mr. Fred Thompson re: Mr. Harry Dent declining to do research against Senator Ervin.

No. 70A—(1569) Detailed notes of Fred D. Thompson, minority counsel, of telephone conversation with J. Fred Buzhardt, special counsel to the President re: Conversation between the President and Mr. Dean.

No. 71—(1573) Letter to Mr. Garret D. Insee, Suburban Trust Co., from Shaffer, McKeever & Fitzpatrick with enclosures.

No. 72—(1505) Request for transportation dated October 11, 1972.

No. 73—(1505) Request for transportation dated October 10, 1972.


Note.—Figures in parentheses indicate page that exhibit was officially made part of the record.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EYES ONLY

June 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN DEAN
JERRY WARREN
VAN SHUMWAY

SUBJECT:

OPPONENTS LIST

Attached is the list of opponents which we have compiled. I thought it would be useful to you from time to time.

George Bell
Having studied the attached material and evaluated the recommendations for the discussed action, I believe you will find my list worthwhile for go status. It is in priority order.

1. PICKET, ARNOLD H.
   United Artists Corporation
   929 7th Avenue
   New York, N. Y.

   Top Muscle fundraiser. Success here could be both debilitating and very embarrassing to the Muscle machine. If effort looks promising, both Ruth and David Picker should be programmed and then a follow-through with United Artists.

2. BARKAN, ALEXANDER E.
   National Director of AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education
   Washington, D.C.

   Without a doubt the most powerful political force programmed against us in '68. ($10 million dollars, 4.6 million votes, 115 million pamphlets, 175,000 workers - all programmed by Barkan's C.O.P.E. - So says Teddy White in The Making of the President '68). We can expect the same effort this time.

3. GUTMAN, ED
   Managing Editor L. A. Times

   Guthman, former Kennedy aide, was a highly sophisticated hatchetman against us in '68. It is obvious he is the prime mover behind the current Key Biscayne effort. It is time to give him the message.

4. DANE, MAXWELL
   Doyle, Dane and Bernbach
   New York

   The top Democratic advertising firm - They destroyed Goldwater in '64. They should be hit hard starting with Dane.

5. CHARLES DYSON
   Dyson-Kissner Corporation
   New York

   Dyson and Larry O'Brien were close business associates after '68. Dyson has huge business holdings and is presently deeply involved in the Businessmen's Educational Fund which bankrolls a national radio network of 5 minute programs - Anti-Nixon in character.
6. STRAIN, HOWARD
   Dreyfus Corporation
   New York
   Heaviest contributor to Mc Carthy in '68. If Mc Carthy
goes, will do the same in '72. If not, Lindsay or Mc Govern
will receive the funds.

7. LOWENSTEIN, ALLARD
   Long Island, New York
   Guiding force behind the 18 year old "dump Nixon"
vote drive.

8. HALPERIN, MORTON
   Leading executive at Common Cause
   A scandal would be most helpful here.

9. WOODCOCK, LEONARD
   WAG
   Detroit, Michigan
   No comments necessary

10. S. STEILING JENNIO, JR.
    Senator Jackson's AA
    10 Lamberton Drive, Silver Spring, Md.
    We should give him a try. Positive results would stick
    a pin in Jackson's white hat.

11. FELD, BENJAMIN T.
    President
    Council for a Livable World
    Heavy far left funding. They will program an "all court
press" against us in '72.

12. DAVIDOFF, SIDNEY
    New York City
    Lindsay's top personal aide.
    A first class S.O.B., wheeler-dealer and suspected bagman.
    Positive results would really shake the Lindsay camp and
    Lindsay's plans to capture youth vote. Davidoff in charge.

13. CURTIS, JOHN
    Congressman, Detroit
    Coming on fast. Emerging as a leading black anti-Nixon
    spokesman. Has known weakness for white females.
14. LAMBERT, SAMUEL M.
President
National Education Association

Has taken us on vis a vis' federal aid to parochial
schools - a '72 issue.

15. MOTT, STEWART RAILINGS
Nott Associates
New York

Nothing but big money for radic-lib candidates

16. DELUMS, RONALD
Congressman, California

Had extensive MK-Tunney support in his election bid.
Success might help in California next year.

17. SCHORR, DANIEL
Columbia Broadcasting System
Washington

A real media enemy.

18. S. HARRISON DOOLE
2011 Walnut Street

President of Globe Security Systems - Fourth largest private
detective agency in U. S. Heavy Humphrey contributor. Could
program his agency against us.

19. PAUL NERMAN
California

Radic-Lib causes. Heavy Mc Carthy involvement '68. Used
effectively in nationwide T.V. commercials. '72 involvement
certain.

20. MC GRORY, MARY
2710 Macomb Street, Washington
Columnist

Daily hate Nixon articles.
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
Phase I: Watergate Investigation
WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 27, 28, 29, AND JULY 10, 1973
Book 4

Printed for the use of the
Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1973

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Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price $3.00
Stock Number 5870-01964
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No. 72—(1350) Request for transportation dated October 11, 1972.

No. 73—(1350) Request for transportation dated October 19, 1972.


MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EYES ONLY

June 25, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:
MARGE ACKER
PAT BUCHANAN
JOHN DEAN
DAN KINGSLEY
VAN SHUMWAY
JERRY WARREN
LUCY WINCHESTER

SUBJECT:
OPPONENTS LIST ADDITIONS

Please add the attached list of Muskie contributors to your opponents list which George Bell sent to you yesterday.

Joanne L. Gordon

John -
This is your list, but I
alphabetized it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leo Allen</td>
<td>H.S. Walker, Inc.</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35 Warenham Street</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts 02110</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John B. Barrett, Jr.</td>
<td>52 Emerson Road</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Roxbury, Massachusetts 02132</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph W. Bartlett</td>
<td>225 Franklin Street</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts 02110</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul L. Beana</td>
<td>89 Commercial Wharf</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts 02110</td>
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<tr>
<td>Myor P. Beck</td>
<td>729 Seventh Avenue</td>
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<td></td>
<td>New York, New York 10019</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert S. Benjamin</td>
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<td>729 Seventh Avenue</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>William Barton</td>
<td>342 Madison Avenue</td>
<td>$ 500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suite 702</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New York, New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berl I. Bernhard</td>
<td>5405 Blackiston Road</td>
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<td>Bethesda, Maryland</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward J. Bernstein</td>
<td>14 Fenimore Road</td>
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<td></td>
<td>New Rochelle, New York 10804</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stanley Blacker</td>
<td>The Stanley Blacker Corp.</td>
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<td>1290 Avenue of the Americas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>New York, New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawrence E. Blanchard</td>
<td>4101 Sulgrave Road</td>
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<td>Richmond, Virginia 23221</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Washington, D.C. 20036</td>
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<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. David Cheilling Jr.</td>
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<td>Preston Charles</td>
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<td>Suffolk, Virginia 23434</td>
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<td>New York, New York 10017</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyril Clemons</td>
<td>Mark Twain Journal</td>
<td>3.00</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kirkwood, Missouri 63122</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Arthur G. Cohen</td>
<td>60 East 56th Street</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New York, New York 10022</td>
<td></td>
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<td>21 Woodcliff Road</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brookline, Massachusetts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Rita R. Cohen</td>
<td>2737 Clayton Street</td>
<td>25.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19152</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. E. Colvin</td>
<td>Julie Combe</td>
<td>25.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>137 Lexington Avenue</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mansfield, Ohio 44907</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul C. Conradson</td>
<td>277 Park Avenue</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New York, New York 10017</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nora Conway</td>
<td>1015 Beacon Street</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brookline, Massachusetts</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas G. Corcoran</td>
<td>1511 K Street, N.W.</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Washington, D.C. 20005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>
Seymour H. Bohrer
345 Park Avenue
New York, New York

C. R. Barcoa
1539 Bayshore Drive
Cocoa Beach, Florida 32921

1,000.00

Tim Borshtein
Dept. of Management
School of Business Administration
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

150.00

Richard P. Brandt
5 Rittenhouse Road
Bronxville, New York

100.00

Leo Brady
100 East 42nd Street
New York, New York 10017

250.00

George H. Bunker
277 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

25.00

100.00
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<th>Name</th>
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<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<td>3421 N. Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William A. Dalano Trustee Avery Associates</td>
<td>400 West Temple Street Springfield, Missouri</td>
<td>3,300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Douglas Dillon</td>
<td>Islesboro, Maine 04848</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Crooker, Jr. Bank of the Southwest Building Houston, Texas 77002</td>
<td>250.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene L. Diamond</td>
<td>101 Alpine Lane Hoffman Estates, Illinois 60172</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Sarah Diamondstein</td>
<td>141 Lincoln Avenue Hastings-on-Hudson, New York 10706</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony J. Dossa</td>
<td>944 Alpine Sonora, California 95370</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony J. Dossi</td>
<td>P.O. Box 691 Sonora, California</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Dowling</td>
<td>4 East Place St. Louis, Missouri 63147</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Louis Dreyfus</td>
<td>26 Broadway New York, New York</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>65 Harwich Road</td>
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WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
Phase I: Watergate Investigation
WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 27, 28, 29, AND JULY 10, 1973
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| Nos. 57 and 58—(1358) | Marked for identification only and are not for publication. | |
| No. 59—(1359) | Bank statement on account of John Wesley [sic] Dean, III. | 1712 |
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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: Marge Acker
Pat Buchanan
John Dean
Dan Kingsley
Gordon Strachen
Van Shumway
Jerry Warren
Lucy Winchester
Larry Higby

SUBJECT: OPPONENTS LIST

Please remove Raymond Gues from your copy of the Opponents List. He appears on the page entitled, "Democrat Contributors of $25,000 or More in 1968 Campaigns".

Joanne L. Gordon
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
Phase I: Watergate Investigation
WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 27, 28, 29, AND JULY 10, 1973
Book 4

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 11, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MARGE ACKER
PAT BUCHANAN
JOHN DEAN
LARRY HIGBY
DAN KINGSLEY
GORDON STRACHEN
VAN SHUMWAY
JERRY WARREN
LUCY-WINCHESTER

SUBJECT: OPPONENTS LISTS

Please add the attached to your copy of the Opponents List.

Joanne Gordon
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
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Page 1510


Page 1811


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[10013]
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 16, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MARGE ACKER
TRUDY BROWN
PAT BUCHANAN
JOHN DEAN
LARRY HIGBY
DAN KINGSLEY
GORDON STRACHEN
JERRY WARREN
LUCY WINCHESTER

FROM:

JOANNE GORDON

The attached list of sponsors of the "Salute to Victor Reuther" should be added to your copy of the "Opponents List".
The Greater Washington Chapter
Americans For Democratic Action

Invites You
To Attend

'A Salute To Victor Reuther'

Retiring Director, International Affairs Department, UAW
Former Chairman, Greater Washington Chapter, ADA

Saturday, February 26, 1972
Park Room, Sheraton-Park Hotel
Washington, D.C.

Welcome:

David H. Marlin

Toastmaster:

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

Allard K. Lowenstein
Clarence Mitchell
Leonard Woodcock

Reception 6:30 P.M.
Dinner 7:30 P.M.
Contribution $15.00 per person

There will be no fund solicitation at the dinner.

A complete listing of sponsors will appear in the dinner journal.
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
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MARGE ACKER
TRUDY BROWN
PAT BUCHANAN
JOHN DEAN
LARRY HIGBY
DAN KINGSLY
GORDON STRACHEN
JERRY WARREN
LUCY WINCHESTER

FROM:

JOANNE GORDON

The following people who are involved with the National Committee for the Impeachment of the President should be added to your Opponents List:

Ernest Gruening (Former Senator, Alaska)
Randolph Phillips, Attorney prose, consultant to attorneys (1944-72)
Richard L. Bobrick, Attorney
Dr. Elizabeth A. Most,
Alfred Hassler, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, N.Y.
Ron Young, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Washington, D.C.
Richard A. Falk, Milbank Professor of International Law, Princeton, N.J.
Vern Countryman, Professor of Law, Harvard University
Fagan Dickson, Austin, Texas
William Stringfellow, Block Island, R.I.
Nancy Wood, Princeton, N.J.
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
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WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
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JOHN DEAN  
LARRY HIGBY  
DAN KINGSLEY  
GORDON STRACHEN  
JERRY WARREN  
LUCY WINCHESTER  

FROM:  
JOANNE GORDON  

SUBJECT:  
OPPONENTS LIST  

The following people participated in the June 23, 24, 1972 rally establishing the National Labor for Peace Organization which includes a "dump Nixon" program. Please add them to your Opponents List.

Ron Borges  
IBT, Local 688  

Joseph Belsky  
President  
Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of N. America  
2800 N. Sheridan Rd.  
Chicago, Illinois 60657  

Harry Bridges  
President  
Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union  
150 Golden Gate Ave  
San Francisco, California 94102  

Cesar Chavez  
President, Farm-Workers  
PO Box 130  
Delano, California 93215  

Gerald R. Coleman  
General Secretary, International Union of Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers  
245 5th Avenue  
New York, New York 10016
Opponents List:       June 28, 1972

Murray Finley
Unopposed candidate for President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square
New York City 10003

Albert J. Fitzgerald
President
United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (Independent union)
11 East 51st Street
New York City 10022

Fred Fulford
President, United Furniture Workers of America
700 Broadway, 4th Floor
New York City 10003

Cleveland Robinson
Secretary, Treasurer
Distributive Workers of America, National Council of
13 Astor Place
New York City 10003

Leon Sverdlave
President and Secy. Treas
International Jewelry Workers Union
8 W. 40th St. Suite 907
New York City 10018

Kenneth J. Brown
President, Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union
1900 L Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Leonard Woodcock
President, United Auto Workers
8000 East Jefferson St.
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Jerry Wurf
President, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
1155 15th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
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OF THE
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| No. 70A—(1569) | Detailed notes of Fred D. Thompson, minority counsel, of telephone conversation with J. Fred Buzhardt, special counsel to the President re: Conversation between the President and Mr. Dean. | 1793 |
| No. 71—(1573) | Letter to Mr. Garrett D. Inscoe, Suburban Trust Co., from Shaffer, McKeever & Fitzpatrick with enclosures. | 1800 |
| No. 72—(1593) | Request for transportation dated October 11, 1972. | 1808 |
| No. 73—(1593) | Request for transportation dated October 19, 1972. | 1809 |
| No. 74—(1613) | Memorandum for the Attorney General from Jeb S. Magruder, dated December 3, 1971. | 1810 |
| No. 75—(1656) | Memorandum for the Attorney General from Jeb S. Magruder, dated January 14, 1972. Subject: Telephone Plan for the Florida Primary, with attachment. | 1811 |

Note.—Figures in parentheses indicate page that exhibit was officially made part of the record.
EXHIBIT No. 60

POLITICOS CONTINUED:

**12 BLACK CONGRESSMEN**

Shirley Chisholm
William Clay
George Collins
John Conyers
Ronald Dellums
Charles Diggs
Augustus Hawkins
Ralph Metcalf
Robert N.C. Nix
Parren Mitchell
Charles Rangel
Louis Stokes

**MISCELLANEOUS POLITICOS**

John V. Lindsay, Mayor, New York City
Eugene McCarthy, Former U.S. Senator
George Wallace, Governor, Alabama
SENNATORES

> Birch Bayh
> J. W. Fulbright
> Fred R. Harris
> Harold Hughes
> Edward M. Kennedy
> George McGovern
> Walter Mondale
> Edmund Muskie
> Gaylord Nelson
> William Proxmire

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE

Bella Abzug
William R. Anderson
John Brademas
Father Robert F. Drinan
Robert Kastenmeier
Wright Patman
1715

ORGANIZATIONS

Black Panthers, Hughie Newton

Brookings Institution, Lesley Gelb, C. B.
Committee for an Effective Congress, Russell D. Hemenway, Exec. Director

Common Cause John Gardner, Morton Halperin, Charles Goodell, Walter Hickel
COPE, Alexander E. Barkan

Council for a Livable World, Bernard T. Feld, President; Prof. Physics, MIT

Farmers Union, NFO

Institute of Policy Study, Richard Barnet, Marcus Raskin
National Economic Council, Inc.

National Education Association, Sam M. Lambert, President
National Student Association, Charles Palmer, President

National Welfare Rights Organization, George Wiley
Potomac Associates, William Watts
SANE, Sanford Gottlieb

Southern Christian Leadership, Ralph Abernathy

Third National Convocation on The Challenge of Building Peace, Robert V. Roosa, Chmn

Businessmen's Educational Fund
MEDIA CONTINUED:

- The New York Times
- Washington Post
- St. Louis Post Dispatch

Jules Duscha, Washingtonian

Robert Maning, Editor Atlantic

John Osborne, New Republic

Richard Rovere, New Yorker

Robert Sherrill, Nation

Paul Samuelson, Newsweek

Julian Goodman, Chief Executive Officer, NBC

John Macy, Jr., Pres., Public Broadcasting Corporation; former Civil Service Comm.

Marvin Kalb, CBS

Daniel Schorr, CBS

Lem Tucker, NBC

Sander Vanocur, NBC
MEDIA CONTINUED:

Joseph Kraft, syndicated columnist, Publishers Hall

James Laird, Philadelphia Inquirer

Max Lerner, syndicated columnist, New York Post; author, lecturer, professor-Brandeis

Stanley Levey, Scripps Howard

Flora Lewis, syndicated columnist on economics

Stuart Loory, Los Angeles Times

Mary McGrory, syndicated columnist on New Left

Frank Mankiewicz, syndicated columnist, Los Angeles Times

James Millstone, St. Louis Post Dispatch

Martin Nolan, Boston Globe

Ed Guthman, L.A. Times

Thomas O'Neill, Baltimore Sun

John Pierson, Wall Street Journal

William Prochnau, Seattle Times

James Reston, New York Times

Carl Rowan, syndicated columnist, Publishers Hall

Warren Unna, Washington Post, NET

Harriet Van Horne, columnist, New York Post

Milton Viorst, reporter, author, writer

James Wechsler, New York Post

Tom Wicker, New York Times

Gary Wills, syndicated columnist, author of "Nixon-Agonistes"
Media

Jack Anderson, columnist, "Washington Merry-go-Round"
Jim Bishop, author, columnist, King Features Syndicate
Tom Braden, columnist, Los Angeles Times Syndicate
D.J.R. Bruckner, Los Angeles Times Syndicate
Marquis Childs, chief Washington correspondent, St. Louis Post Dispatch
James Deakin, White House correspondent, St. Louis Post Dispatch
James Doyle, Washington Star
Richard Dabman, St. Louis Post Dispatch
William Eaton, Chicago Daily News
Rowland Evans, Jr., syndicated columnist, Publishers' Hall
Saul Friedmann, Knight Newspapers, syndicated columnist
Clayton Fritchey, syndicated columnist; Washington correspondent, Harpers
George Frazier, Boston Globe
Pete Hamill, New York Post
Michael Harrington, author and journalist; Member, Executive Comm. Socialist Party
Sydney Harris, columnist; drama critic and writer of "Strictly Personal," syndicated;
Rowland Evans, Jr., syndicated columnist, Publishers' Hall
Robert Healy, Boston Globe
William Hines, Jr., journalist; science and education, Chicago Times
Stanley Karnow, foreign correspondent, Washington Post
Ted Knap, syndicated columnist, New York Daily News
Erwin Knoll, Progressive
Morion Kondracke, Chicago Sun Times
LABOR


Harold J. Gibbons, International Vice Pres., Teamsters

A.F. Grospiron, Pres., Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union, Denver

Matthew Guinan, Pres., Transport Workers Union of America, New York City


Herman D. Kenin, Vice Pres., AFL-CIO, D.C.

Lane Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO (but we must deal with him)

Frederick O'Neal, Pres., Actors and Artists of America, New York City

William Pollock, Pres., Textile Workers Union of America, New York City

Jacob Potofsky, General Pres., Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York

Leonard Woodcock, President, United Auto Workers, Detroit

Jerry Wurf, Internat. President, American Federal, State, County and Municipal Employees, Washington, D.C.

add

add:

Nathaniel Goldring, AFL-CIO

Nathaniel AFL-CIO

L. W. Abel, Sicilian
CELEBRITIES

Carol Channing, actress
Bill Cosby, actor
Jane Fonda, actress
Steve McQueen, actor
Joe Namath, New York Giants; businessman; actor
Paul Newman, actor
Gregory Peck, actor
Tony Randall, actor
Barbra Streisand, actress

Dick Gregory
Dick Gregory
BUSINESS ADDITIONS

Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace and New National Priorities Cont:

Morton Sweig, President, National Cleaning Contractors

Alan V. Tishman, Exec. VP, Tishman Realty & Construction Co., Inc.

Ira D. Wallach, President, Gottesman & Co., Inc.

George Weissman, President, Philip Morris Corp.

Ralph Weller, President, Otis Elevator Company
BUSINESS ADDITIONS

Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace and New National Priorities:

Charles B. Beneson, President, Beneson Realty Co.

Nelson Bengston, President, Bengston & Co.

Holmes Brown, Vice President, Public Relations, Continental Can Co.

Benjamin Buttenweiser, Limited Partner, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

Lawrence G. Chait, Chairman, Lawrence G. Chait & Co., Inc.

Ernest R. Chanes, President, Consolidated Water Conditioning Co.

Maxwell Dane, Chairman, Exec. Committee, Doyle, Dane & Bernbach, Inc.

Charles H. Dyson, Chairman, The Dyson-Kissner Corp.

Norman Eisner, President, Lincoln Graphic Arts

Charles B. Finch, Vice President, Alleghany Power System Inc.

Frank Heineman, President, Men's Wear International

George Hillman, President, Ellery Products Manufacturing Co.

Bertram Lichtenstein, President, Delton Ltd.

William Manealoff, President, Concord Steel Corp.

Gerald McKee, President, McKee, Berger, Mansueto

Paul Milstein, President, Circle Industries Corp.

Stewart R. Mott, Stewart R. Mott, Associates

Lawrence S. Phillips, President, Phillips-Van Heusen Corp.

David Rose, Chairman, Rose Associates

Julian Roth, Senior Partner, Emery Roth & Sons

William Ruder, President, Ruder & Finn, Inc.

Sylvan Scharer, President, Scharer Associates, Inc.

Alfred P. Slaner, President, Kayser-Roth Corp.

Roger Sonnabend, Chairman, Sonesta International Hotels
BUSINESS

Clifford Alexander, Jr., Member, Equal Opportunity Comm; LBJ's Spec. Assistant
Hugh Calkins, Cleveland lawyer, member, Harvard Corporation
Ramsey Clark, partner, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison; former
Attorney General
Lloyd Cutler, lawyer, Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, Washington, D.C.
Henry L. Kimelman, chief fund raiser for McGovern; Pres., Overview Group
Raymond Lapin, former Pres., FNMA; corporation executive
Hans F. Loeser, Chairman, Boston Lawyers' Vietnam Committee
Robert McNamara, President, World Bank; former Secretary of Defense
Hans Morgenthau, former U.S. Attorney in New York City
Victor Palmieri, lawyer, business consultant, real estate exec., Los Angeles
Arnold Picker, Muskie's chief fund raiser; Chmn. Exec Comm., United Artists
Robert S. Pirie, Harold Hughes' chief fund raiser; Boston lawyer
Joseph Rosenfield, Harold Hughes' money man; retired Des Moines lawyer
Henry Rowen, Pres., Rand Corp; former Asst. Director of Budget (LBJ)
R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., former US Ambassador to France; lawyer, Strasser,
Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kempelman, Washington, D.C.
Theodore Sorensen, lawyer, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, New York
Ray Stark, Broadway producer
Howard Stein, President and Director, Dreyfus Corporation
Milton Semer, Chairman, Muskie Election Committee; lawyer, Semer and Jacobsen
George H. Talbol, Pres., Charlotte Liberty Mutual Insurance Co; headed anti VN ad
Arthur Taylor, Vice President, International Paper Company
Jack Valenti, President, Motion Picture Association
Paul Warnke, Muskie financial supporter, former Asst. Secy. of Defense
Thomas J. Watson, Jr., Muskie financial supporter; Chmn, IBM
ACADEMICS

Michael Ellis De Bakey, Chmn., Dept. Surgery, Baylor University; Surgeon-in-chief, Ben Taub General Hospital, Texas

Derek Curtis Bok, Dean, Harvard Law School

Kingman Brewster, Jr., President Yale University

McGeorge Bundy, President, Ford Foundation

Avram Noam Chomsky, Professor of Modern Languages, MIT

Daniel Ellsberg, Professor, MIT

George Drennen Fischer, Member, Executive Committee, National Education Assn.

J. Kenneth Galbraith, Professor of Economics, Harvard

Patricia Harris, educator, lawyer, former US Ambassador; Chmn Welfare Committee Urban League

Walter Heller, Regents Professor of Economics, University of Minnesota

Edwin Land, Professor of Physics, MIT

Herbert Ley, Jr., former FDA Commissioner; Professor of Epidemiology, Harvard

Matthew Stanley Meselson, Professor of Biology, Harvard

Lloyd N. Morrisett, Professor and Associate Dir., Education Program, U. of Calif.

Joseph Rhodes, Jr., Fellow, Harvard; Member, Scranton Comm. on Campus Unrest

Bayard Rustin, civil rights activist; Dir., A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York

David Selden, President, American Federation of Teachers

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Professor of Humanities, City University of New York

Jeremy Stone, Director, Federation of American Scientists

Jerome Wiesner, President, MIT

Samuel M. Lambert, President, National Education Assn.

Samuel M. Lambert, National Education Assn.
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
Phase I: Watergate Investigation
WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 27, 28, 29, AND JULY 10, 1973
Book 4

Printed for the use of the
Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities

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WASHINGTON : 1973

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Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price $2.00
Stock Number 031-001644

[10041]
| No. 47—(1549) Memorandum for John Dean from Jack Caulfield. Subject: Opposition Activity. | Page 1633 |
| No. 48—(1350) Memorandum prepared by John Dean for members of the White House staff. Subject: Dealing with our Political Enemies. | 1689 |
| No. 49—(1350) Memorandum for John Dean from Charles Colson re: Names given top priority on enemies list. | 1692 |
| No. 50—(1350) Memorandum for Larry Higby from John Dean concerning names for enemies list. | 1697 |
| No. 51—(1550) Section of a news summary from Higby to Dean, indicating that DNC treasurer Robert Strauss should be on the list. | 1699 |
| No. 52—(1350) Additions to enemies list sent to John Dean from Gordon Strachan. | 1700 |
| No. 53—(1350) Memorandum for John Dean from Gordon Strachan. Subject: Political Enemies. (Re: Chet Huntley.) | 1701 |
| No. 54—(1350) Memorandum to John Dean from Gordon Strachan with attached news summary indicating that J. Irwin Miller might be considered for enemies list. | 1703 |
| No. 55—(1350) Memorandum from a member of Charles Colson's staff re: People who attended a rally for a "dump Nixon" program. | 1705 |
| No. 56—(1350) List of McGovern campaign staff with asterisks beside key names that were to be included in the opponents project. | 1707 |
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| No. 59—(1393) Bank statement on account of John Wesley [sic] Dean, III. | 1713 |
| No. 60—(1409) Additional document updating the enemies list, entitled "Democrats Continued." | |
| No. 61—(1409) Memorandum from member of Charles Colson's staff. Subject: Opponents Lists. | |
| No. 62—(1409) Memorandum re: Updating of opponents list. | 1725 |
| No. 63—(1410) Document entitled "Corporate Executives Committee for Peace, Trip to Washington—June 25, 1970." This document also is an update of the enemies list. | 1728 |
| No. 64—(1410) List of Democratic contributors of $25,000 or more in 1968 campaigns (from New York Times Story, June 20, 1971). | 1730 |
| No. 65—(1410) Memorandum re: List of Muskie contributors to be added to opponents list. | 1733 |
| No. 66—(1412) Letter from J. Fred Buzhardt, special counsel to the President, to Senator Inouye re: Questions and a memorandum previously furnished the committee in questioning Mr. Dean. | 1734 |
| No. 67—(1412) Memo and questions pertaining to exhibit No. 66. | 1754 |
| No. 68—(1523) Memorandum of Law, Admissibility of Hearsay Statements of a Co-conspirator. Submitted by Samuel Dash, chief counsel and staff director, Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. | 1755 |
| No. 69—(1557) Letter from Congressman Garry Brown to Senator Ervin re: Certain statements made by Mr. Dean. | 1783 |
| No. 70—(1563) Letter from Senator Strom Thurmond to Senators Baker and Gurney and Mr. Fred Thompson re: Mr. Harry Dent declining to do research against Senator Ervin. | 1791 |
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EXHIBIT No. 63
CORPORATE EXECUTIVES COMMITTEE FOR PEACE
TRIP TO WASHINGTON -- JUNE 25, 1970

Donald B. Armstrong
Senior Vice President
Associate Director
J. Walter Thompson

Norma Bodine
Creative Director
Hicks & Greist

Alan D. Bogorad
President
Alan D. Bogorad Co.

Joseph Brouillard
Vice President
J. Walter Thompson

Allan I. Brown
V. P. - Marketing
Plaza Group, Inc.

Sanford Buchsbaum
Vice President
Revlon

Richard Clarke
President
Richard Clarke Assoc.

Beatrice Coleman
President
Maidenform, Inc.

James L. Conklin
President
Conklin-Stein

Betty Cott
Senior Vice President
Ruder & Finn, Inc.

Kay Daly
Vice President
Revlon

Robert David
President
David, Oksner & Mitchneck, Inc.

Adrian W. DeWind
Attorney
Paul, Weiss, Goldberg,
Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

Benjamin DeYoung
Marketing Supervisor
Bristol-Myers Company

Robert Dolobawsky
President
Warren, Muller &
Dolobawsky, Inc.

George W. Feld
Director Adv. Services
Revlon

Jerry Fields
President
Jerry Fields Assoc.

Richard Finnis
President
Richard Finnis Enterprises

Betty Freedman
Creative Director
Grey Advertising

Joseph J. Freedman
V. P. - General Manager
Charles of the Ritz

Barbara Gittler
Senior Vice President
Jerry Fields Assoc.

John Gluckman
Cons. Engineer
John Gluckman Co.

Aaron Gottlieb
Vice President-Treasurer
National Transportation Co.

Lester Greenberg
Attorney
Lester Greenberg

Edwin Greenblatt
Vice President
Sullivan, Stauffer,
Colwell & Bayles, Inc.

Jeremy Gory
Deputy Chm. of the Board
Ted Bates & Co., Inc.

Alan Hahn
President
Seaward Edison Corp.

E. Patrick Healy
V. P. - Dir. Personnel
Young & Rubican, Inc.

Henry C. Heppen
Senior Vice President
Maidenform, Inc.

Arthur M. Hettich
Editor
Family Circle Magazine

John C. Horvitz
Marketing Director
Estee Lauder-Armis Div.

Judson H. Irish
Advertising Consultant

David J. Jacobson
President
Metro-Goldwyn Mayer
Merchandising Corporation

Marvin Kahan
Vice President
Hudson-Shatz Printing Co.

Lawrence Kane
Executive Vice President
Kane, Light, Gladney, Inc.

Mrs. Lawrence Kane
Kane, Light, Gladney, Inc.

Note: This is a true copy of the original document. Original document was not legible enough for photographing but will be retained in committee files.
CORPORATE EXECUTIVES COMMITTEE FOR PEACE

TRIP TO WASHINGTON -- JUNE 25, 1970

2

Abraham Kanney
Senior V.P.-Finance
Maidenform, Inc.

Arnold Miller
Director New Products
Faberbe, Inc.

Harry Phillips, III
President
H&R Phillips, Inc.

Stanley Katz
President
Leber, Katz, Paccone

Harold Miller
Senior V.P.-Media &
Network Programming
Sullivan, Stauffer,
Colwell & Beyles, Inc.

Robert Fliska
Executive Vice President
The First Team, Inc.

John Kaufman
President
Van Lith Corp.

John Miraglia
President
Lebenthal & Paccone, Inc.

George Paris
Vice President-Advertising
Revlon

R. David Kimble
Vice President
Grey Advertising

Judson H. Morris
Vice President -
Group Director
Bristol-Myers Company

David Bapp hairst
President
Damon Creations

William Levison, Jr.
President
Wilton Associates

Lawrence J. Muller
Executive Vice President
Warren, Muller,
Dolobovsky, Inc.

Richard M. Pestler
Partner
Capri Jewelry Co.

James Lebenthal
Executive V. P.
Lebenthal & Co., Inc.

W. Richard Mullan
V. P.-Acct. Director
Ted Bates & Co., Inc.

Arnold E. Rogers
Chairman of the Board
Rogers Engraving Co., Inc.

James LeShufy
Vice President
Consolidated Fine
Arts, Limited

Mrs. W. Richard Mullan

Leo M. Rogers
Chairman, Exec. Com.
Rogers Engraving Co., Inc.

William Levison, Jr.
President
Wilton Associates

David C. Levy
Dean
Parsons School of
Design

Lawrence J. Muller
Executive Vice President
Warren, Muller,
Dolobovsky, Inc.

Fay Rosen
Sales Promotion Manager
Maidenform, Inc.

Ann Lewis
Copywriter
Grey Advertising

Sylvia S. Neumann
Vice President
Young & Rubicam, Inc.

Ellis Rosenstahl
Senior V.P.-Manufacturing
Maidenform, Inc.

George McKay, Jr.
President
George McKay & Assoc.

Onofrio Paccone
Executive Vice President
Leber, Katz, Paccone

Mike Foss
Vice President-Treasurer
C. M. Group, Inc.

Joseph McMahon
President
Joseph McMahon
Enterprises, Ltd.

Arthur Pearson
Director Nat. Planning
Bristol-Myers Company

Martin Rubenstein
Vice President
Werner Ngt. Consultants

(Copy illegible)
CORPORATE EXECUTIVES COMMITTEE FOR PEACE

TRIP TO WASHINGTON — JUNE 25, 1970

3

Martin Schrader
Publisher
Town & Country Magazine

Lawrence Wechsler
Senior Vice President
Revlon

Sanford Schwarz
President
Sanford Schwarz & Co.

Barrett Welch
President
Carter Products, Inc.

John J. Sheedy
Vice President —
Group Director
Bristol-Myers Company

Annette Wilen
Asst. to the President
Herb Wilen Studio, Inc.

Leonard S. Silverfine
Account Supervisor
Grey Advertising

Herbert Wilen
President
Herb Wilen Studio, Inc.

Martin Stevens
Vice President
Revlon

Richard W. Weiner
Richard W. Weiner, Inc.

Henry D. Taft
Executive Vice President
Bristol-Myers Company

Paul Woolard
Executive Vice President
Revlon

William Tomson
Vice President
Sullivan, Stauffer,
Colwell & Bayles, Inc.

Hal Davis
President
Grey & Davis

Derrik Van Nimwegen
Director of Special
Projects
Bristol-Myers Company

Sydney Derman
President
Skyliner Salon Corp.

Peggy Prag Varsady
Vice President
Papert, Koenig, Lois

Fred Papert
President
Papert, Koenig, Lois

Bert Wagner
Vice President
Sullivan, Stauffer,
Colwell & Bayles, Inc.

Gordon Webber
Vice President
Benton & Bowles, Inc.

A TRUE COPY
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

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WASHINGTON : 1973

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Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price $3.00
Stock Number 5270-01964
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<td></td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 69</td>
<td>Letter from Congressman Garry Brown to Senator Ervin re: Certain statements made by Mr. Dean.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 70</td>
<td>Letter from Senator Strom Thurmond to Senators Baker and Gurney and Mr. Fred Thompson re: Mr. Harry Dent declining to do research against Senator Ervin.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 70A</td>
<td>Detailed notes of Fred D. Thompson, minority counsel, of telephone conversation with J. Fred Buzhardt, special counsel to the President re: Conversation between the President and Mr. Dean.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 71</td>
<td>Letter to Mr. Garnett D. Insoe, Suburban Trust Co., from Shaffer, McKeever &amp; Fitzpatrick with enclosures.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1801</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. 72</td>
<td>Request for transportation dated October 11, 1972.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 73</td>
<td>Request for transportation dated October 19, 1972.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 74</td>
<td>Memorandum for the Attorney General from Jeb S. Magruder, dated December 3, 1971.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1810</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. 75</td>
<td>Memorandum for the Attorney General from Jeb S. Magruder, dated January 14, 1972. Subject: Telephone Plan for the Florida Primary, with attachment.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1811</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—Figures in parentheses indicate page that exhibit was officially made part of the record.
EXHIBIT NO. 64

Democrat Contributors of $25,000 or More in 1968 Campaigns
(From June 20, 1971 New York Times Story)

[Items listed with names, contributions, and affiliations]
June 28, 1973

Gentlemen:

The way in which Mr. Dean introduced a series of exhibits into yesterday's Committee hearing has unfortunately created considerable confusion in the press and I suspect has misled the members of the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. A terribly significant distinction in the various so-called "opponents lists" has been obscured.

I hope that you will take the occasion in questioning Mr. Dean today to insist that he make clear what the facts are with respect to these lists.

There was a broad general list maintained by Mr. George Bell (now deceased) of critics and supporters of the President. This list was primarily intended for the use of the social office and the personnel office in considering White House invitations and appointments. There is nothing particularly novel or sinister about the idea of maintaining such records. Frankly, I think it is quite appropriate for the President's staff not to want at a White House dinner, for example, someone who had signed an advertisement calling for the impeachment of the President or someone who had made a large contribution to help defeat the President in a political campaign.

Be that as it may, Mr. Dean has lumped together this rather simple cataloging of names with a project apparently conceived by him to "use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies" (memo of August 16, 1971, Committee Exhibit No. 48). Mr. Dean has included in a mass of documents a list of 20 people identified as "opponents priority activity" (I believe it is Exhibit No. 49, although it is not entirely clear from the transcript. Based on the exchange between Mr. Dash and Mr. Dean, apparently the Committee was confused as to this document. See TR 2701).
Mr. Dean suggests and most press accounts attribute the "opponents priority activity" list to me or my office. I do not know who prepared that document. I do know that I did not nor did anyone on my staff. I have checked with Mr. Bell's secretary and have determined it was not prepared by him.

By confusing the list of 20 names with Mr. Bell's overall list, Mr. Dean has very unfairly implicated Mr. Bell in something I suspect Mr. Bell was totally unaware of -- and, of course, Mr. Bell cannot defend himself, a fact Mr. Dean well knows.

Once again, by cleverly rearranging the facts to suit his own purpose Mr. Dean has deceived the Committee and the public; he has tried to shift the responsibility for his own conduct onto others. This has been a very consistent pattern over the past three days. However, the Committee has an opportunity today, at least with respect to this one issue, to help the public understand the truth. I, therefore, request that you ask Mr. Dean to make a more complete identification of these documents so as to make clear the distinction between Mr. Dean's project to "screw political enemies" and Mr. Bell's assignment of merely keeping track of friends and opponents. At the very least, I request that this letter be read into the record of the Committee proceedings at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Colson

Messrs. Fred Thompson, Esq.
and Samuel Dash, Esq.
Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

/cc: Honorable Sam J. Ervin
Honorable Howard H. Baker
Honorable Herman E. Talmadge
Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
Honorable Joseph N. Montoya
Honorable Edward J. Curme
Honorable Lowell P. Weicker
John W. Dean, III
On July 20, 1971 John Dean wrote a memorandum to Ehrlichman's aide Egil Krogh attaching information compiled by John Caulfield regarding the Brookings Institution's tax returns and noting that Brookings received a number of large government contracts. Caulfield has testified that it was his impression that this was public information. On July 27, 1971 Dean sent a memorandum to Krogh to which was attached a carbon copy of Dean's July 20, 1971 memorandum on which the words "receives a number of large government contracts" were underscored and a marginal note by Haldeman stated that these should be turned off. Dean's July 27, 1971 memorandum stated that he assumed that Krogh was turning off the spigot.

6.1 Memorandum from John Dean to Egil Krogh, July 20, 1971, with attachment (received from White House).

6.2 Memorandum from John Dean to Egil Krogh, July 27, 1971, with attachment (received from White House).

MEMORANDUM FOR: BUD KROGH
FROM: JOHN DEAN

July 20, 1971

In your work on the Pentagon Papers and related issues you will become aware of the fact that there is a publication out of the Brookings Institute indicating that they are planning for the fall of this year a study of Vietnam based on documents of a current nature. Chuck Colson has made some efforts to determine what Brookings is up to but I don't think he has produced any solid evidence of the nature of this publication. I requested that Caulfield obtain the tax returns of the Brookings Institute to determine if there is anything that we might do by way of turning off money or dealing with principals of the Brookings Institute to determine what they are doing and deal with anything that might be adverse to the Administration.

Attached are copies of these tax returns and you will note that Brookings receives a number of large government contracts. You will also note that on the Board of Trustees there are several people who might be of assistance to us in dealings with the Brookings Institute, e.g., Peter Peterson and H. Chapman Rose.

When we discuss this issue I will also give you some additional background information on the Brookings problem.
Indicated below is an examination of the power, influence and activities of the Ford Foundation and Brookings Institution along with recommendations as to how the Administration can deal with them in 1972.

FORD FOUNDATION

The colossus of foundations - and apex of the academic foundation complex is the Ford Foundation. It's annual report for 1969, released March 8, 1970, showed assets at market value of 2.5 billion dollars, and a principal fund balance of 3.9 billion.

Established in 1936, it became a national organization in 1950. Since its inception, it is reported to have disbursed more than 3.6 billion dollars, including grants to 5,880 institutions in the U.S. and 82 foreign countries. Expenditures in 1969 were listed at 237.5 million dollars.

The foundation has provided money for the Brookings Institution, the Kennedy Memorial at Harvard, the Princeton Institute, and many other centers of academic-political actionism.

President of the foundation is McGeorge Bundy. Indicated below are the trustees of the organization who, in the words of Bundy "hold responsibility for our affairs and who set the policies and programs of the Ford Foundation:"

Retyped from indistinct original
Chairman - Julius Stratton
(former President of M.I.T.)

Stephen D. Becktel
(senior Director of the Becktel Corp.)

Eugene R. Black

John Cowles
(former Chairman Minneapolis Standard Tribune Corp.)

Benson Ford
(Vice-President of Ford Motor Co.)

Henry Ford II
(Chairman of the Board, Ford Motor Co.)

Kermet Gordon
(President of Brookings Inst.)

Alexander Heard
(Chancellor, Vanderbilt University)

Edwin H. Ford
(Chairman and President - Polaroid Corp.)

Roy E. Larsen
(Chairman, executive committee of Time Inc.)

John H. Loudon
(Chairman of the board Rogue Dutch Petroleum Co.)

Robert S. McNamara
(World Bank)

J. Irwin Miller
(Chairman of the Board, Cummins Eugene Co.)

Bethuld M. Webster
(partner, Webster, Sheffield, Heischmann, Hitshcock and Brookfield of New York)

Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr.
(Chief Judge, U.S. District Court, Boston)
Ford has financed such activities as a school decentralization project in New York City that stirred up racial strife and led to three strikes by a teacher's union; a Negro voter registration drive in 1967 that was credited with helping to elect Carl Stokes as the first black Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio; and efforts to organize Mexican-Americans in California and Texas.

The foundation has invested in many community action programs across the country, and helped fund such Negro organizations as the N.A.A.C.P., C.O.R.E., and the S.C.L.C.

In July 1968 the foundation provided "travel and study" awards to eight former aides of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy. The total amounted to $131,069.50 and was subsequently the subject of much hill criticism.

Additionally, the foundation gave $12,717 in 1969 to Joseph A. Colefa for a travel study in connection with a book called "The Student Revolution A Global Confrontation."

In the 1969 Ford Foundation annual report, Bundy stated "The nations social ills were still a major focus of our activity in 1969 . . . we hope to do much more in the Seventies."

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

In November 1970 Brookings reported to IRS total assets of $48,960,000. Headquartered in Washington, the organization has emerged as the leading Democratic "think tank" in the Nation. Indeed, the large influx of former Democratic office-holders to the Institution in 1969 (See ATTACH "A") pro one official to describe it as "a government-in-exile."

Retyped from indistinct original
Brookings was a small organization until the 1960's. During the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, it turned into a bigtime operation. While functioning as a kind of holding station for Democrats and of power, it attempts to influence public opinion and government policy. Access to huge sources of tax free money, such as the Ford Foundation makes the task immeasurably easier.

In recent years, the Institution has obtained more than 14 million dollars in Ford subsidies, including $175,000 to produce a book called "Agenda for the Nation" immediately after the 1968 Presidential election.

The Wall Street Journal called it a collection of policy papers by 18 writers who "comprise an honor roll of academicians of the New Frontier and Great Society."

Shortly after the Nixon Administration took office in 1969, the Institution announced a "new program of foreign policy studies." It is alleged that the Ford Foundation agreed to fund 75 per cent of the project, estimated to cost 7 million dollars over a three-year period.

These studies were to cover such controversial issues as: the strategic balance between the U. S. and the Soviet Union; arms control and disarmament; the U.S. role in Asia after Vietnam, relations with Communist China; the U.S. role in defense of Western Europe; foreign aid, trade, investment and development policy, new social and technological forces in the world, the size of the U.S. defense budget, kinds of weapons, and military assistance to foreign countries; a permanent peace-keeping force for the United Nations; social change and domestic problems in the U.S.
It is clear from this cursory analysis that the financial wealth and influence of the Ford Foundation and Brookings Institution when used to engage in either direct or indirect political activity represents formidable opposition to the best interests of this Administration.

It would appear that an expeditious political response to this challenge would be the simple expedient of applying pressures to have the Internal Revenue Service strictly enforce existing statutes and promulgated regulations designed to threaten the tax exempt status enjoyed by this organizations.

In examining this potential with Administration loyalists at IRS, a disappointing picture emerges. For example, as a result of congressional pressure in 1969 an audit of the Ford Foundation was undertaken. It is still ongoing with no tangible results or progress seen to date. Purposeful delay appears to be the chosen bureaucratic tact.

Commissioner Walters, according to these same IRS powers, has not yet exercised the firm leadership expected at the time of his appointment. Additionally, there appears to be a reluctance on his part to make discreet politically oriented decisions and to effect major appointments based upon Administration loyalty considerations.

In this regard, career democrat William Loeb has been named as Walters' deputy, a key policy position. Also, William Connett, another democrat, continues to function as Walters' Special Assistant for tax-exempt organizations. By written direction of Walters all tax exempt matters of substance must flow through Connett. Roger Barth is currently being eased out of IRS by Walters.
It is not believed, therefore, that this personal alignment would allow a successful pro forma request for IRS action against Brookings or Ford. Indeed, under the above circumstances, such approach would appear to be politically inadvisable. Certainly charges of political interference would be raised in the media and elsewhere by representatives of the Ford and Brookings organizations and their many supporters.

In view of the above circumstances, the following recommendations are made with a view towards an effective and credible attack against Brookings and Ford designed to minimize the political impact these organizations will attempt to bring to bear during the coming election year:

A) The President direct Secretary Connally to give a major address forcefully dealing with the concern of both the executive and legislative branches (PATMAN) over political abuses and other apparent illegal activities of foundations and other tax-exempt organizations.

(If the Secretary were not inclined to specifically attack Brookings and Ford in that speech, the Vice President could effectively follow with a hard hitting specific effort in that regard. Pat Buchanan has such a speech prepared.)

The Secretary's speech could include the announcement of the creation of a new position in Treasury, such as Deputy Undersecretary for Taxation to oversee, on behalf of the Administration both tax administration (IRS) and policy. Such appointee would be the medium through which the Administration could force, following the Connally warning, stepped up IRS action and compliance in the tax exempt organization area during 1972. Understandably this appointee would have to be outstanding in qualification and loyalty.
B) Clark MacGregor to be directed by the President to work with Congress and Treasury to obtain more restrictive legislation on the political abuses of tax exempt organizations. We should shoot for public hearings on Brookings activities.

C) Senator Dole to be directed by the President to have the RNC develop this entire area as a key issue for the '72 campaign. The purpose would be twofold:

1) Focus to be brought upon the abuses FORD Foundation financed voter registration drives.

2) Take this issue away from George Wallace where it now lies.

D) The President to direct George Schultz to see to it that the $500,000 in federal grants (HEW, OEO, etc.) presently received by Brookings be cut.

While a loud public protest could be anticipated, it would be welcome for the implication would be clear...... partisan political involvement of Brookings, Ford and other anti-Administration foundations in 1972 would be fraught with peril.

NOTE: It should be recalled that Kermit Gordon, President of Brookings and a trustee of the Ford Foundation has been appointed to the Phase II Pay Board.
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<table>
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<th>Title</th>
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<td>William R. Biggs (e)</td>
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<td>1 day *)</td>
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<td>J. Woodward Bedrond (e)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trustee</td>
<td>7 days *)</td>
<td>K. Chapman Rose (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustee and member of Executive Committee</td>
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<td>Robert Brookings Smith (e)</td>
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<td>Trustee and member of Executive Committee</td>
<td>9 days</td>
<td>J. Harvie Wilkinson, Jr (e)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Donald B. Woodward (e)</td>
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**COMPARISON OF OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, AND TRUSTEES**

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<td>Leonard Carmichael (e)</td>
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<td>Huntington Gilchrist (e)</td>
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<td>John Lee Pratt (e)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Kermit Gordon</td>
<td>.12 mos. - 1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vice President for Administration</td>
<td>Robert W. Hartley</td>
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<td>Vice President</td>
<td>Edward K. Hamilton</td>
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<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>Martha J. Long</td>
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<td>Secretary and Asst. Treasurer</td>
<td>Edna M. Birkel</td>
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<td>Controller</td>
<td>Felix B. Gorrell</td>
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<td>Business Manager</td>
<td>M. Thomas Rosser</td>
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* Approximated for Trustees.

\[\text{a/ Figures representing compensation of officers include the cost to the Brookings Institution of the following fringe benefits: Contribution to the retirement system (which include the employees' voluntary reductions in base pay for purposes of the retirement contract), social security taxes paid by the employer under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act, group life insurance, major medical, disability insurance and group hospitalization.}\

* Trustees may be reimbursed for actual expenses of attending meetings, but they do not receive expense "allowances".
July 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BUD KROGH
FROM: JOHN DEAN
SUBJECT: Brookings Institution 002726

A few days ago I forwarded to you copies of the Brookings Institution's tax returns. Please note the attached memorandum on what should be done about the large number of government contracts now held by the Brookings Institution. If you want me to "turn the spigot off" please let me know; otherwise, I will assume that you are proceeding on this matter.

Thank you, Bud.

This same time plumber being organized...appointed 24 July 71...worked for NSC
MEMORANDUM FOR: BUD KROGH
FROM: JOHN DEAN

In your work on the Pentagon Papers and related issues you will become aware of the fact that there is a publication out of the Brookings Institute indicating that they are planning for the fall of this year a study of Vietnam based on documents of a current nature. Chuck Colson has made some efforts to determine what Brookings is up to but I don't think he has produced any solid evidence of the nature of this publication. I requested that Caulfield obtain the tax returns of the Brookings Institute to determine if there is anything that we might do by way of turning off money or dealing with principals of the Brookings Institute to determine what they are doing and deal with anything that might be adverse to the Administration.

Attached are copies of these tax returns and you will note that Brookings receives a number of large government contracts. You will also note that on the Board of Trustees there are several people who might be of assistance to us in dealings with the Brookings Institute, e.g., Peter Peterson and H. Chapman Rose.

When we discuss this issue I will also give you some additional background information on the Brookings problem.
The United States Senate

Report of Proceedings

Hearing held before

Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities

RESOLUTION GOING GENERAL INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Saturday, March 23, 1974

Washington, D.C.

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410 FIRST STREET, S. E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

(202) 544-6000

Source SSC
4/9/74

[Redacted]
Mr. Caulfield. That doesn't ring a bell with me.

Mr. Lenzner. So the answer is no?

Mr. Caulfield. No, the answer is no.

(Pause)

Mr. Lackritz. Mr. Caulfield, could you turn to tab 6 of Exhibit A from last week, and the first document there is a memorandum from Bud Krogh from John Dean, dated July 20th, 1971.

In the middle paragraph of that memo, Dean's memo states, "attached are copies of these tax returns and you will note that Brookings received a number of large government contracts."

Do you recall getting copies of these tax return forms from Mr. Dean's of the Brookings Institute?

Mr. Sears. Could we go off the record just a second?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. Sears. We can go back on the record.

Could we have the question again, please?

Mr. Caulfield. To simplify this matter here I think I will short-circuit --

Mr. Sears. Could we have the question again, please?

Mr. Lackritz. The question initially was did you recall obtaining copies of the Brookings Institute's tax returns?

Mr. Caulfield. Well, I want to respond in this way to that apparently there was an interest in the tax-exempt foundations at the White House and there were a number of people doing some work in this area. Now John Dean turned over to me a s[10880]
papers, much of which had appeared in public print, and amongst those papers was tax information. My impression now is that would have been obtainable from the public records.

Mr. Sears. Your thought at the time was that that would have been obtainable through public records.

Mr. Caulfield. Yes. And this information was part of a large batch of papers having to do with the whole subject of foundations. Now I think, if I am not mistaken, the memorandum here from Mr. Dean to Mr. Krogh is a little bit of literary license, if you will, when he indicates, "I requested that Caulfield obtain the tax returns of the Brookings Institute to determine if there is anything we might do by way of offsetting turning off money."

I think all that amounts to is me bringing to Mr. Dean's attention the public record information regarding Brookings that was contained in the batch of papers.

Mr. Lackritz. Are you stating today that you did not obtain tax information from the Brookings Institute?

Mr. Caulfield. I have no recollection of obtaining tax information regarding Brookings Institute. I do state here that there was information contained in a series of papers regarding Brookings Institute and their tax status. My impression was that this was public information and I think attachment 8 under this tab is what I am referring to.

Mr. Sears. Do you mean attachment number 8 which says schedule A, line A?
7. Dean has testified that on August 16, 1971 he prepared a memorandum entitled, Dealing with our Political Enemies, which addressed the matter of how the Administration could use the available federal machinery to screw its political enemies. Among Dean's suggestions was that key members of the staff should determine who was giving the Administration a hard time, and that they develop a list of names -- not more than ten -- as targets for concentration. Dean has testified that to the best of his recollection the memorandum was sent forward to Haldeman and Ehrlichman for approval, disapproval or comment. Ehrlichman testified that he could not recall receiving any memorandum with respect to the enemies list from Dean or any other person in the White House.

7.1 John Dean testimony, 4 SSC 1349-50, 1411.

7.2 Memorandum (unsigned and unaddressed), August 16, 1971, SSC Exhibit No. 48, 4 SSC 1689-90.

7.3 John Ehrlichman testimony, 7 SSC 2683-84.
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
Phase I: Watergate Investigation
WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 27, 28, 29, AND JULY 10, 1973
Book 4

Printed for the use of the
Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities

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WASHINGTON : 1973

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tion, but I did take at that time, in representing the Department of Justice, a far different position that the Attorney General should have the ability to nullify any request of any committee to grant immunity to any witness, which is far different from the one Congress accepted ultimately.

Mr. DASH. Now, Mr. Dean, did you bring with you this morning the exhibits that you indicated you had and the committee requested you to bring?

Mr. DEAN. Yes, I did, Mr. Dash.

Mr. DASH. Could you just submit them and perhaps identify them as you submit them to the committee?

Mr. DEAN. These are from a file that is entitled "Opponents List and Political Enemies Project." The first document in the file, and these are not in any chronological order, is a briefing paper that was prepared for Mr. Haldeman for a meeting with the head of Internal Revenue Service. The goal of the briefing paper which was based on material that was provided to me by Mr. Caulfield who, in turn, got information from friends of his within the Internal Revenue Service, was to make the IRS politically responsive to the White House, and I think that the document is self-explanatory. It is not marked other than the heading which says "To Accomplish Make IRS Politically Responsive."

I will mark these as I—

Mr. DASH. Well, you can mark them following your last exhibit number.

Mr. DEAN. For the sake of the record, right now I will call it exhibit A.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 44.]

Mr. DEAN. The next exhibit, which I will call B, is a memorandum from Charles Colson to me, dated June 12, 1972, regarding tax discrepancies in the income tax return of Mr. Harold J. Gibbons, vice president of the Teamsters Union, in which Colson indicates that he is an all-out enemy, a McGovernite and an anti-Nixon person, and he believes that there should be an audit started at once, and if there is an informer’s fee, he would like to know because he believes there is a good cause in which that informer’s fee can be donated to. [Laughter.]

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 45.]

Mr. DEAN. The next document is a memorandum from Charles Colson, dated November 11, 1972, regarding the fact that he has received information from an informal, some information regarding Mr. Jack Anderson referring to the fact that Mr. Anderson was found in a room with certain wiretap equipment in connection with the Dodd investigation.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 46.]

Mr. DEAN. The next memorandum is a document from Mr. Caulfield to me, dated August 12, 1971, in which Mr. Caulfield briefly indicates that he has talked with Mr. Nofziger to come up with a candidate to assist in the enemy’s project.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 47.]

Mr. DEAN. The next is a copy of a memorandum of August 16, 1971, that was prepared for Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman, and others at the White House by myself, which addresses itself to the general prob-
problem of dealing with political enemies and a strategy which would involve a number of members of the White House staff in various phases of that project to deal with political enemies.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 48.]

Mr. Dean. The next is a document dated September 9, 1971. It is from Charles Colson to John Dean, in which Mr. Colson has checked in blue those that he would give top priority on the enemies' list, and an attached series of lists that were prepared by Mr. Colson's office of what were deemed opponents or political enemies.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 49.]

Mr. Dean. The next is a memorandum dated September 14, 1971, which is a memorandum from myself to Larry Higby which attached the names that he had requested in connection with the political enemies' project and a limiting of that list to some 20 names. These were names which were based on the suggestion of Mr. Colson.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 50.]

Mr. Dean. The next is a section of the news summary, of what date I don't know. It is from Mr. Higby to me, indicating that DNC Treasurer Robert Strauss should be on the list.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 51.]

Mr. Dean. The next is a document dated September 17 from Gordon Strachan to me indicating that the attached list should be included in the political enemies' project. And there is attached a list.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 52.]

Mr. Dean. The next is a memorandum from Gordon Strachan dated October 26, 1971, to me, indicating that Mr. Nofziger sent the attached information on Chet Huntley to Mr. Haldeman and that since I have the action on the political enemies project I should make a determination of what should happen and advise Mr. Nofziger of what should happen.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 53.]

Mr. Dean. The next is a memo from Gordon Strachan of November 5, 1971, subject J. Irwin Miller which indicates that he fits into the enemies project.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 54.]

Mr. Dean. The next is a memorandum from a member of Mr. Colson's staff that is part of one of many memorandums that came in, this one is dated June 28, where there was a continual updating of the opponents list.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 55.]

Mr. Dean. And the last document is one relating to the McGovern campaign staff with asterisks beside certain key names that were to be included in the opponents project also.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 56.]

Mr. Dean. And that is the sum and substance of the request that I have available that Mr. Weicker asked me for yesterday.

Mr. Dash. Mr. Dean, can we have those? They will be marked, and we will make copies of them for members of the committee and circulate them to members of the committee.

Senator Erxix. Let the reporter mark them with the appropriate numbers.

\[1\] See p. 1609.
\[2\] See p. 1609.
\[3\] See p. 1609.
\[4\] See p. 1609.
\[5\] See p. 1609.
\[6\] See p. 1609.
\[7\] See p. 1701.
\[8\] See p. 1701.
\[9\] See p. 1701.
\[10\] See p. 1701.
\[11\] See p. 1701.
Mr. DASH. Was it delivered to Mr. Haldeman?

Mr. DEAN. Yes, it was.

The last document for identification is a memorandum dated August 16, 1971.\footnote{Previously entered into the record as exhibit 48.} It was a draft in my files in which I was asked to prepare a strategy for dealing with political enemies that involved the entire White House staff, and it was sent forward, to the best of my recollection, to Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman for approval, disapproval, or comment.

Now, without going to my files in the White House, I can’t tell you the disposition of this document.

Mr. DASH. But can you tell us whether or not that document was in fact sent forward?

Mr. DEAN. Either in this form or in some form where the names were typed on it.

Mr. DASH. Thank you, Mr. Dean.

Mr. DEAN. I just noticed there were two other documents attached to that.

On July 16, 1971, there is another update on the opponents list, adding a name. This again is from Mr. Colson’s office.

Senator ERVIN. With Senator Inouye’s indulgence, I am going to ask you one question about a paper that you identified in this connection called “Subject: Opponent Priority Activity,” a three-page document, and see if you can give me the date of the origin of that.

Mr. DEAN. Senator, I am not sure which document you are referring to.

Senator ERVIN. It is one called, “Subject: Opponent Priority Activity,” on the heading. It is three pages. You had it this morning.

Mr. DASH. I have that, Mr. Dean. I didn’t forward that to you here. I can forward that to you now. The one I think you identified at the end of the morning session—one that had a memorandum of June 24 from Mr. Bell.

Mr. DEAN. Yes, I was forwarding that—

Senator ERVIN. I want to find out, on page 2, the name of Sterling Munro, Jr., Senator Jackson’s AA. Do you have anything that indicates whether Mr. Munro was added on the list of opponents?

Mr. DEAN. No, I don’t. This is one of the—I can only assume that this was around June 24 when the document was prepared by a member of Mr. Colson’s staff and forwarded to my office as a part of this general list.

Senator ERVIN. That would be June 24, what year?

Mr. DEAN. That is 1971.

Senator ERVIN. Thank you.

Mr. DASH. Could I have the documents back, Mr. Dean?

Senator ERVIN. I can’t forbear observing when I consider the list of opponents why the Democratic vote was so light in the general election.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. Yes, sir.

Senator BAKER. I really even in my wildest dreams would not think of trying to improve or embellish on your story but you told it better the first time when you leaned over to me and you said “I think I am
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
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Stock Number 5270-01964
| No. 47—(1549) Memorandum for John Dean from Jack Caulfield. Subject: Opposition Activity | Page: 1638 |
| No. 48—(1550) Memorandum prepared by John Dean for members of the White House staff. Subject: Dealing with our Political Enemies | 1639 |
| No. 49—(1550) Memo re: names given top priority on enemies list | 1692 |
| No. 50—(1550) Memorandum for Larry Higby from John Dean concerning names for enemies list | 1697 |
| No. 51—(1550) Section of a news summary from Higby to Dean, indicating that DNC treasurer Robert Strauss should be on the list | 1699 |
| No. 52—(1550) Additions to enemies list sent to John Dean from Gordon Strachan | 1700 |
| No. 53—(1550) Memorandum for John Dean from Gordon Strachan. Subject: Political Enemies. (Re: Chet Huntley.) | 1701 |
| No. 54—(1550) Memorandum to John Dean from Gordon Strachan with attached news summary indicating that J. Irwin Miller might be considered for enemies list | 1703 |
| No. 55—(1550) Memorandum from a member of Charles Colson’s staff re: People who attended a rally for a “dump Nixon” program | 1705 |
| No. 56—(1550) List of McGovern campaign staff with asterisks beside key names that were to be included in the opponents project | 1707 |
| No. 57 and 58—(1558) Marked for identification only and are not for publication. | 1712 |
| No. 59—(1553) Bank statement on account of John Welsey [sic] Dean, III. | 1713 |
| No. 60—(1559) Additional document updating the enemies list, entitled “Politics Continued” | 1725 |
| No. 61—(1409) Memorandum from member of Charles Colson’s staff. Subject: Enemies Lists. | 1728 |
| No. 62—(1409) Memorandum re: Updating of opponents list | 1728 |
| No. 63—(1410) Document entitled “Corporate Executives Committee for Peace, Trip to Washington—June 25, 1970.” This document also is an update of the enemies list. | 1730 |
| No. 64—(1410) List of Democratic contributors of $25,000 or more in 1958 campaigns (from New York Times Story, June 20, 1971). | 1733 |
| No. 65—(1410) Memorandum re: List of Muskie contributors to be added to opponents list | 1734 |
| No. 66—(1412) Letter from J. Fred Buzhardt, special counsel to the President, to Senator Inouye re: Questions and a memorandum previously furnished the committee in questioning Mr. Dean | 1735 |
| No. 67—(1412) Memo and questions pertaining to exhibit No. 66 | 1754 |
| No. 68—(1525) Memorandum of Law, Admissibility of Hearst Statements of a Co-conspirator. Submitted by Samuel Dash, chief counsel and staff director, Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. | 1753 |
| No. 69—(1557) Letter from Congressman Gerry Brown to Senator Ervin re: Certain statements made by Mr. Dean | 1791 |
| No. 70—(1553) Letter from Senator Strom Thurmond to Senators Baker and Gurney and Mr. Fred Thompson re: Mr. Harry Dent declining to do research against Senator Ervin. | 1793 |
| No. 70A—(1569) Detailed notes of Fred D. Thompson, minority counsel, of telephonic conversation with J. Fred Buzhardt, special counsel to the President re: Conversation between the President and Mr. Dean. | 1794 |
| No. 71—(1573) Letter to Mr. Garnett D. Inscoe, Suburban Trust Co., from Shafer, McKeever & Fitzpatrick with enclosures | 1801 |
| No. 72—(1553) Request for transportation dated October 11, 1972 | 1808 |
| No. 73—(1553) Request for transportation dated October 19, 1972 | 1809 |
| No. 74—(1653) Memorandum for the Attorney General from Jeb S. Magruder, dated December 8, 1971. | 1810 |
| No. 75—(1656) Memorandum for the Attorney General from Jeb S. Magruder, dated January 14, 1972, Subject: Telephone Plan for the Florida Primary, with attachment. | 1811 |

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate page that exhibit was officially made part of the record.
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT:  Dealing with our Political Enemies

This memorandum addresses the matter of how we can maximize the fact of our incumbency in dealing with persons known to be active in their opposition to our Administration. Stated a bit more bluntly -- how we can use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies.

After reviewing this matter with a number of persons possessed of expertise in the field, I have concluded that we do not need an elaborate mechanism or game plan, rather we need a good project coordinator and full support for the project. In brief, the system would work as follows:

-- Key members of the staff (e.g., Colson, Dent Flanagan, Buchanan) should be requested to inform us as to who they feel we should be giving a hard time.

-- The project coordinator should then determine what sorts of dealings these individuals have with the federal government and how we can best screw them (e.g., grant availability, federal contracts, litigation, prosecution, etc.).

-- The project coordinator then should have access to and the full support of the top officials of the agency or department in proceeding to deal with the individual.
I have learned that there have been many efforts in the past to take such actions, but they have ultimately failed -- in most cases -- because of lack of support at the top. Of all those I have discussed this matter with, Lyn Nofaliger appears the most knowledgeable and most interested. If Lyn had support he would enjoy undertaking this activity as the project coordinator.

You are aware of some of Lyn's successes in the field, but he feels that he can only employ limited efforts because there is a lack of support.

As a next step, I would recommend that we develop a small list of names -- not more than ten -- as our targets for concentration. Request that Lyn "do a job" on them and if he finds he is getting cut off by a department or agency, that he inform us and we evaluate what is necessary to proceed. I feel it is important that we keep our targets limited for several reasons: (1) a low visibility of the project is imperative; (2) it will be easier to accomplish something real if we don't over-expand our efforts; and (3) we can learn more about how to operate such an activity if we start small and build.

Approve

Disapprove

Comment
7.3 John Ehrlichman testimony
Senator Montoya. And so the FBI—would you say that they conducted very complete and concise checks on these possible appointees?

Mr. Ehrlichman. They were not very good, Senator, in my opinion.

Senator Montoya. In what respect?

Mr. Ehrlichman. Very superficial. They would go around and they would talk to a lot of people and get a lot of hearsay about them and there would be very little followup. I was consistently critical of the quality of that work.

Senator Montoya. Well, did you provide some input into these checks yourself or through your employees?

Mr. Ehrlichman. Very seldom. Occasionally when there was an appointee that I had known, an FBI man would come around as they would to you or to any citizen, but that was only two or three times, probably.

Senator Montoya. But the White House did not have a setup for checkups?

Mr. Ehrlichman. Oh, yes, there was a special office and it was in the office of the counsel where these things were routinely done and they had also a personnel office, and the two worked together generally, in Mr. Haldeman's area of responsibility, to perfect these files of Presidential appointees.

Senator Montoya. What kind of checkups would the FBI conduct? What was their sphere in doing their investigation?

Mr. Ehrlichman. Well, you know, you fill out one of these long forms and you have to put down where you lived for the last 30 years and where you have worked for the last 30 years, and as I gather it, and I am no expert on this, but I gather they go around and talk to people in these different places and they ask about the candidate.

Senator Montoya. Now, you were Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs?

Mr. Ehrlichman. Yes, sir.

Senator Montoya. And have been for quite some time—and were for quite some time until your resignation.

Mr. Ehrlichman. 1970.

Senator Montoya. Yes. Now, in this capacity, you had to evaluate the possible appointments made by the President and provide input by way of recommendation after reading reports, would you not?

Mr. Ehrlichman. Only occasionally, where they were referred to me for my special consideration.

Senator Montoya. What departments did you deal with as Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs?

Mr. Ehrlichman. Any department that had a domestic aspect to it.

Senator Montoya. All right. Then, those who worked under you necessarily informed you as to what they undertook with respect to communication or relations with the different departments under your jurisdiction? Would that be a correct statement?

Mr. Ehrlichman. Not on any regular basis, Senator.

Senator Montoya. But on important policy matters, would they?

Mr. Ehrlichman. Well, I relied on them to conduct their responsibilities, bringing to me only problems that they felt they could not handle themselves.

Senator Montoya. Well, would you be able to throw some light before this committee as to the genesis of the enemies list about which testimony has been adduced?
Mr. Ehrlichman. No, sir.
Senator Montoya. Did you receive any memorandum with respect to the enemies list from John Dean or any other person in the White House?
Mr. Ehrlichman. No, sir, not that I can recall.
Senator Montoya. Did you recall the enemies list with Mr. Haldeman?
Mr. Ehrlichman. No. I did after the testimony here about it because I do not recall ever hearing of it before.
 Senator Montoya. Did you discuss the enemies list with Mr. Colson?
Mr. Ehrlichman. No.
Senator Montoya. Now, in your capacity as Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs dealing with the different departments, were you aware of the effort that was being made to place Mr. Colson and Mr. Liddy in the Internal Revenue Service?
Mr. Ehrlichman. No, sir.
Senator Montoya. Did you hear about it with Mr. Haldeman?
Mr. Ehrlichman. I am not sure that I have.
Senator Montoya. Well, Dean's memorandum reflects something to this effect.
Mr. Ehrlichman. I missed that, I am sorry.
Senator Montoya. All right.
Now, you do know that the White House made quite a few requests for the income tax returns of individuals, do you not?
Mr. Ehrlichman. I would doubt that seriously, Senator.
Senator Montoya. You would doubt that there were no requests?
Mr. Ehrlichman. I would doubt that the White House had made requests for the income tax returns of individual citizens.
Senator Montoya. All right.
Now, I will introduce for the record the statistical data furnished by the Internal Revenue Service in a book entitled "Statistics, Requests for Inspection of Income Tax Returns or Data From Returns by Federal Agencies for the 6-Month Period, January 1, 1972, to June 30, 1972." And then another volume with the same title for the period July 1, 1972, to December 31, 1972.
Senator Ervin. The reporter will mark them as exhibits.
[The documents referred to were marked exhibits Nos. 95 and 96.]
Mr. Ehrlichman. Well, your question was whether or not the White House had requested anybody's tax returns and I said I would doubt that. Now, I don't know what a tax check is in those statistics. Perhaps there is a definition in there, but a tax check, as I understand it, is to find out if an individual has tax problems before he is appointed to Federal office, because obviously you don't want to appoint an assistant secretary who is going to be indicted for tax fraud the next day. So it is a routine procedure for this personnel office that I mentioned or for the counsel's office to find out from the IRS if these indi-

*See pp. 2909 and 2911.