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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
SENATE RESOLUTION 60

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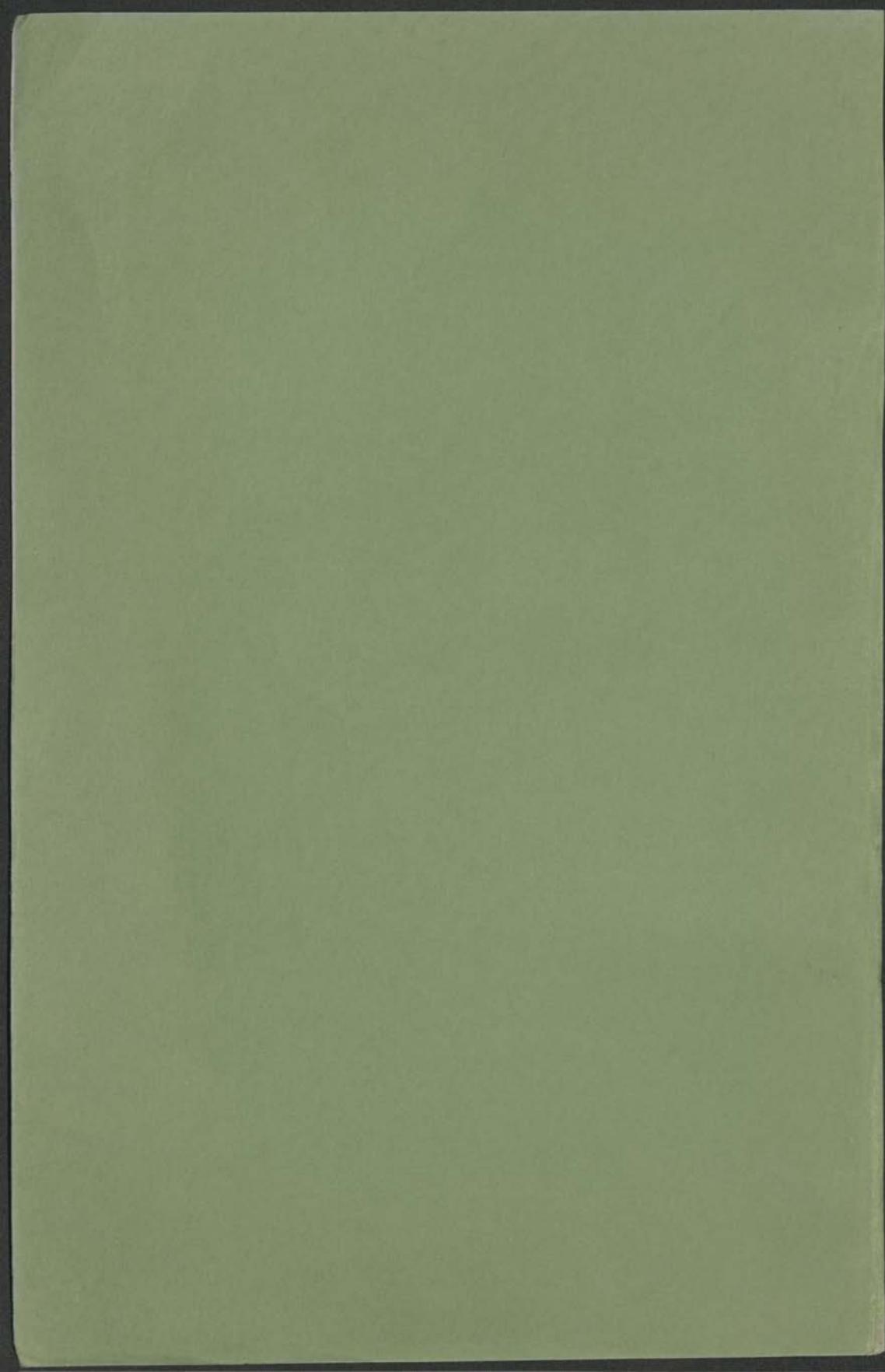


1974 HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES
Phase II: Campaign Practices
WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 1 AND 6, 1973
Book 12



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



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SENATE RESOLUTION 60

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(Established by S. Res. 60, 93d Congress, 1st Session)



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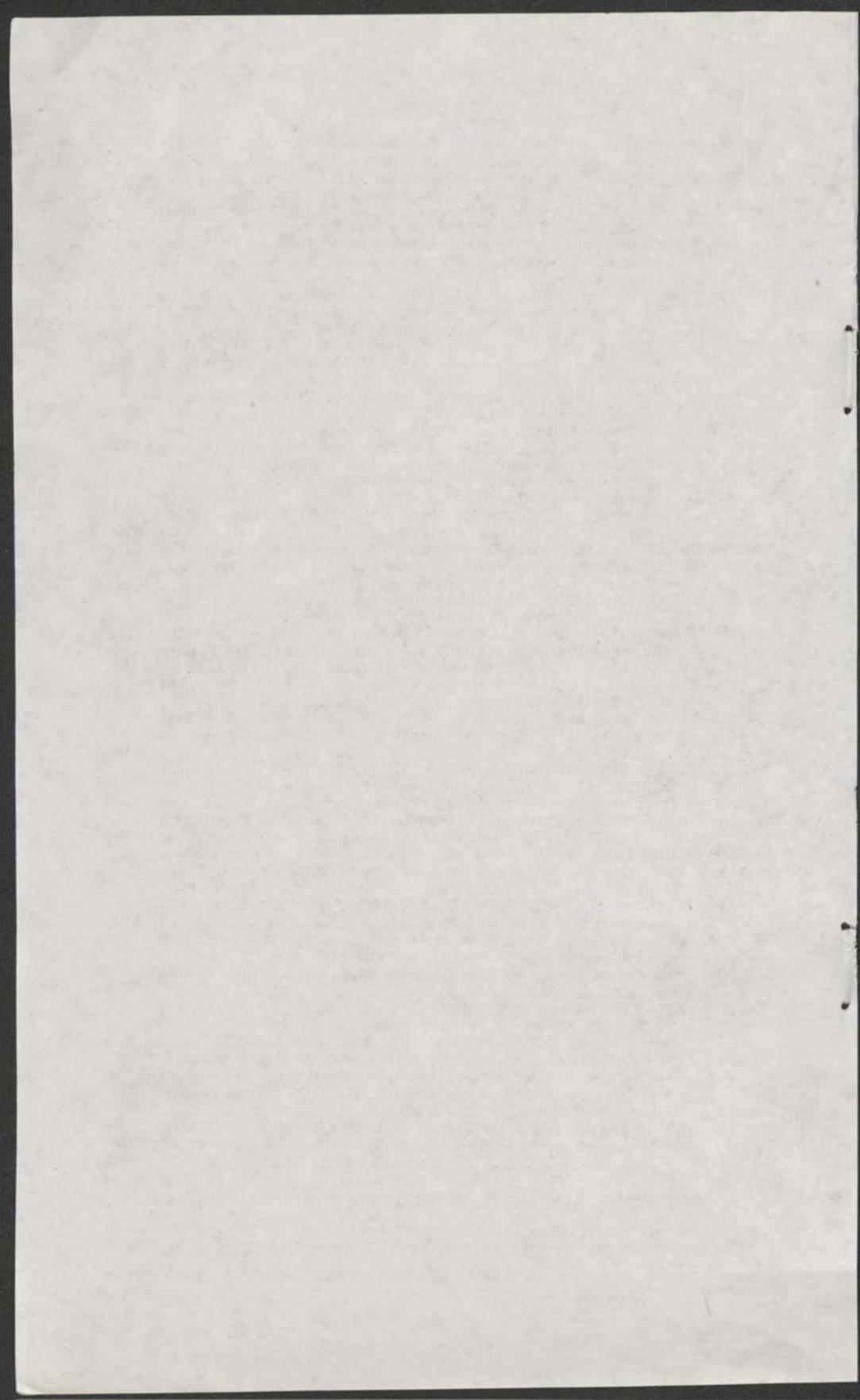
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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972
PHASE II: CAMPAIGN PRACTICES

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1973

U.S. SENATE,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in room 318, Russell Senate Office Building, Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., chairman.

Present: Senators Ervin, Talmadge, Montoya, Baker, and Weicker. Also present: Samuel Dash, chief counsel and staff director; Rufus L. Edmisten, deputy chief counsel; David M. Dorsen, assistant chief counsel; Barry Schochet, assistant majority counsel; Howard S. Liebengood and Robert Silverstein, assistant minority counsels; Jed Johnson, investigator; Pauline O. Dement, research assistant; Eiler Ravnholt, office of Senator Inouye; Ron McMahan, assistant to Senator Baker; A. Searle Field, assistant to Senator Weicker; Ray St. Armand, assistant publications clerk.

Senator BAKER [presiding]. The committee will come to order.

The chairman asked me to convene the hearings and commence in his absence because of necessary prior commitments. He will be here shortly.

Our first witness this morning is Mr. Clark MacGregor, a former member of the House of Representatives, and former campaign manager for President Nixon.

Mr. MacGregor, if you would stand and hold up your hand, I will administer the oath.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I do.

Senator BAKER. Thank you, Mr. MacGregor.

Mr. MacGregor is not accompanied by counsel.

He is appearing voluntarily before the committee. He is another in a series of witnesses who have appeared who have dealt directly with Presidential campaigning and we are happy for his appearance.

Mr. Dash, would you commence the interrogation?

Mr. DASH. Yes.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to begin by stating to Mr. MacGregor that we appreciate not only his coming voluntarily but the cooperation he has given the committee each time the committee has called upon him to ask him questions, whether in his office or coming

to the committee offices. He has promptly complied at all times and I do want to have on the record that statement that Mr. MacGregor has completely cooperated with the committee.

TESTIMONY OF CLARK MacGREGOR

Mr. MACGREGOR. Thank you, Mr. Dash, for your generous compliment.

Mr. DASH. Mr. MacGregor will you briefly state for the record your professional background prior to the time you entered the White House in an official position?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; I would be happy to, Mr. Dash. And with the permission of the vice chairman of this distinguished committee—

Mr. DASH. Excuse me; do you have a statement to make?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I have a very short opening statement, and if I may read that—

Mr. DASH. You may do that.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Then I would respond to your questions.

Mr. DASH. All right.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Vice Chairman and members of the Senate Select Committee, as one who served in the U.S. House of Representatives with a majority of the members of this distinguished committee, and as one who has enjoyed a productive relationship with all seven Senators on the committee, I welcome the opportunity to be of assistance to you.

During the 18 weeks in which I directed President Nixon's reelection campaign, I was proud of the way more than 1 million Americans, almost all of them volunteer workers, dedicated themselves to the job of properly producing a 49-State victory.

Mr. Dash, before my election to the U.S. House of Representatives in November of 1960, I was a practicing lawyer in the State of Minnesota. I practiced law in Minnesota for some 12 years before my election to the Congress. I served in the U.S. House of Representatives from January 3, 1961, until January 3, 1971.

Mr. DASH. When did you first meet President Nixon—come to work for him in a political campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. The first work that I did was as a block worker in the 1956 Eisenhower-Nixon reelection campaign. I do not believe that I worked in the Presidential campaign in 1952. It is my recollection that I, along with my wife, did some neighbor work for a congressional candidate in the district in which we lived in Minnesota. I first met Mr. Nixon when he was Senator Nixon, when he spoke in the city of Minneapolis, either the latter part of 1951 or the early part of 1952, under the auspices of former Minnesota Congressman Walter Judd.

Mr. DASH. Now, there came a time when you obtained a White House position. When was that?

Mr. MACGREGOR. After I was defeated in November of 1970 in a contest for the seat in the U.S. Senate for Minnesota I had planned to finish out my fifth term as a U.S. Representative in Congress and then return to private life, but 2 days following the 1960—correction, 1970

general election, I was advised the President wanted to talk to me about a position on the senior White House staff.

Mr. DASH. And did you obtain that position?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes. On January 3, 1971, when my term in Congress expired, I started work in the White House as counsel to the President for congressional relations.

Mr. DASH. Can you briefly tell the committee what your function was in that position?

Mr. MACGREGOR. To assist in the formulation and presentation in efforts to gain passage of key legislation of interest to the President.

Mr. DASH. Did that also include any type of liaison relationship between the White House and the Congress?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes.

Mr. DASH. Would it include liaison relationship concerning confirmation of various persons appearing before the Congress or the Senate for confirmation?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Major appointments; yes.

Mr. DASH. Did you play a role in the confirmation proceedings of Mr. Kleindienst for Attorney General?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; I did.

Mr. DASH. By the way, were you aware of the memorandum which this committee has produced when Mr. Haldeman was testifying—a memorandum of March 30, 1972, from Mr. Colson to Mr. Haldeman identifying certain problems concerning that ITT memo. It referred to you and, initially not concerning those problems, but raised the question that, apparently, Mr. Haldeman had suggested some other type of relationship during the confirmation and Mr. Colson was urging that, because of your long experience with the Congress, that your role should be continued in a particular way. Were you aware Mr. Colson had sent such a memo to Mr. Haldeman?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; I was not, Mr. Dash. My first knowledge of that memorandum came in the news reports following the hearings of this distinguished committee at which the memorandum was referred to.

Mr. DASH. Now, you did ultimately take over the position that Mr. John Mitchell had as director of President Nixon's reelection campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I did.

Mr. DASH. When was that?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Officially Saturday, July 1, 1972. For all practical purposes, because I had to close up my office in the White House, my first working day as director of the Committee To Re-Elect the President was on Monday, July 3, 1972.

Mr. DASH. Now, prior to that period of time when you took over this position, had you any connection with, or knowledge of, the beginning of the Committee To Re-Elect the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Only such knowledge as one who officed in the west wing of the White House and attended meetings would be apprised of because of the comments of others. I had no role to play before July 1, 1972, and specifically no role to play during the calendar year 1971 in the steps that were taken to set up the campaign organization.

Mr. DASH. Were you aware that a number of White House personnel moved over to the committee during the years of 1971-72?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I was; and, of course, I was interested in the President's reelection and I think I did follow the newspaper accounts of the development and progress of the Committee To Re-Elect the President. There was considerable newspaper coverage of it during 1971 and in early 1972. In addition, as I have indicated, being in and around the White House I naturally heard casual conversation about the committee.

Mr. DASH. Did you have a staff working relationship with Mr. Haldeman?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes. We officed next to one another. I occupied the office on the first floor of the west wing in the White House between Henry Kissinger and Bob Haldeman, and I had close working relationships personally with both of those men and with others in the White House.

Mr. DASH. During this time, did you know that Mr. Gordon Strachan was serving as sort of a liaison person between the Committee To Re-Elect the President and Mr. Haldeman and others at the White House concerning matters that were relevant to the White House?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I don't believe I was made aware of that until after July 1, 1972.

Mr. DASH. So while you were in the White House, actually Mr. Gordon Strachan didn't disseminate any information to you from the Committee To Re-Elect the President?

MACGREGOR. No.

Mr. DASH. Could you briefly give us the circumstances under which you were appointed to the position of director of President Nixon's campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Pursuant to the President's request, I met with him in the Oval Office in the west wing of the White House late in the afternoon of Friday, June 30, of last year. He advised me that, for compelling family reasons, Mr. Mitchell felt that he could not continue; the President asked me if I would take over.

Mr. DASH. Now, when you took over this position, you were obviously aware, from newspaper accounts certainly and from accounts or discussions either at the White House or the committee, of the break-in at the Watergate of June 17, 1972?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes. During the 2 weeks preceding the start of my responsibilities in the campaign, I was aware of the news coverage and, I think, followed it very closely daily in the newspapers, on radio, and on television.

Mr. DASH. Would it be true to say this was also a topic of interest—in fact of intense interest—in the White House while you were there?

Mr. MACGREGOR. During those 2 weeks, yes.

Mr. DASH. Were you aware at the time you took this position that certain employees of the Committee To Re-Elect the President had been identified as being involved in that break-in?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes. I don't know whether the initial coverage on Sunday, the next day after the apprehension of the burglars, identified Mr. McCord as an official of the reelection committee, but if it wasn't in that first extensive front-page story in the Washington Post, it occurred shortly thereafter, either in the Post, Star-News, or New York Times, or other newspapers that I customarily read.

Then I was familiar with the fact that there was some evidence of the involvement of somebody named Hunt, and later I think there was newspaper coverage about the possible involvements of somebody named Liddy. Yes; I was aware of those, primarily from reading the newspapers and listening to radio and television. I don't recall that I was present at any regular meetings in the White House where the names of Hunt and Liddy came up but it may have happened.

Mr. DASH. Did this cause you any concern in taking over a post of directing this Committee To Re-Elect the President that had now been identified with this break-in and, if it did, did you make any inquiries of anybody concerning whether or not this went beyond the particular persons identified?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Was I concerned?

Mr. DASH. Yes.

Mr. MACGREGOR. When the President asked me to take the campaign job on June 30, the answer is "Yes," Mr. Dash. It was obvious to me that this would be a negative in the President's reelection campaign; a negative which would be strongly outweighed by the positives resulting from the President's initiatives to control inflation, reduce employment, open a dialog with the People's Republic of China, negotiate a broad range of agreements with the Soviet Union, and bringing the Southeast Asian war to a close.

There was a second part of your question.

Mr. DASH. The second part was that the concern you specifically talked about was not just the question of what might happen in the campaign, but in your role now as being top man at the Committee To Re-Elect the President, with a committee that had been identified with the break-in—whether or not that concern caused you to seek any assurances or caused you to make any inquiries concerning whether anybody else at the committee may have been involved in this criminal activity.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes, Mr. Dash. During the first week following the apprehension of the burglars, I followed very closely the text of the denials of involvement of Ron Ziegler with respect to anyone then employed in the White House and the denials of John Mitchell and others about the involvement of anybody then employed at the Committee To Re-Elect the President. I was familiar during the 2-week period between the apprehension of the burglars and the assumption by me of my campaign duties of the repeated categorical denials of involvement of key White House people and of key campaign people.

Second, Mr. Dash, the concern I spoke of and you asked me about was somewhat alleviated by the statements made by Justice Department officials, by others in the FBI and elsewhere with an official role to play, that there would be a no-holds-barred investigation—a full-field investigation of the FBI; that it would be an exhaustive investigation. I knew that the grand jury had been empaneled shortly before the apprehension of the burglars, and by the time I took over, I knew that the grand jury was already hearing evidence or was about to hear evidence of wrongdoing. So I was satisfied that the normal machinery of criminal investigation and justice was operating, and I had confidence in that system.

Mr. DASH. Did you take any personal steps with regard to any employees at the committee to assure yourself that none of those employees that were remaining at the committee were involved?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; I indicated to the President on the late afternoon of June 30 that I was familiar with these categorical denials, that I was informed about the extensive investigation going forward, but I said the press will ask me whether I have made any individual inquiry of people who might possibly be involved at the committee. I will make that inquiry so that I may say to the press that I have not just relied on the denials of others. I will have asked people to their face whether those denials of involvement with respect to them were true and accurate. And I was assured they were.

Mr. DASH. You categorized that as seeking personal assurances rather than making an investigation.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, I think different people might categorize it in different ways. Some people might call it a limited investigation by Clark MacGregor. Others might say it was an inquiry. Still others might say it was a matter of seeking personal assurances. I think it is to some degree a matter of semantics. I think there is no doubt about what I did, what I indicated to the President I would do, and what the result was.

Mr. DASH. Did the President ask you to make an investigation?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I do not recall that he did, Mr. Dash. I think I told him that I was aware that the Democrats had filed—that in addition to the official investigations that were going forward, the Democratic National Committee and Larry O'Brien, within a matter of, I think, 72 hours after the apprehension of the burglars, had started a lawsuit and had begun discovery proceedings. I think I indicated to him that I would follow those. But I do not recall that he made a specific inquiry—a specific request, I mean. He may have done so, but it was a matter of general conversation rather than request and response.

Mr. DASH. During the early part of your role as director, did you make any press statements concerning the Watergate matter?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; many. During the 18 weeks that I was director of the campaign, I met with one or more members of the press on more than 100 occasions in 24 of our 50 States, plus the District of Columbia.

Mr. DASH. Were you requested to make any other than those that you made on your own?

Mr. MACGREGOR. The President indicated to me that he would only give me a limited amount of suggestions as to how I should direct the campaign. He said he thought I ought to give first attention to the development of a precinct-by-precinct organization throughout the country.

Second, he urged me to meet with the press, not only in Washington but throughout the key cities and the key States in the country, and to be readily accessible to the press. Since I was thoroughly familiar with the President's legislative role and his accomplishments in the field of foreign policy, I was to speak positively on those key issues.

Mr. DASH. Now, I want to show you a news release in the Washington Post, dated, I think, Wednesday, October 19, 1972, headed

"Clark MacGregor's Statement to the Washington Post," and ask if you can identify that.

Mr. MACGREGOR. The exhibit handed me appears in all respects to be an accurate reproduction of a page of the Washington Post, which correctly quotes a statement which I read before the press on the afternoon of Wednesday, October 18, 1972.

Mr. DASH. Could you give us, briefly, the background of your issuing that statement to the press?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes, Mr. Dash. I do not recall the precise article in the Washington Post on the morning of Wednesday, October 18. It is my recollection that it was an article which hit pretty hard at Mr. Bob Haldeman and suggested some serious criminal activity or possible criminal activity on his part. It may be that the committee has that newspaper of the 18th, but that is my recollection. At the regular meetings that took place every day at 8:15 in the White House, considerable outrage was expressed—I do not recall, whether by Mr. Haldeman himself or primarily by others—at the article in the Washington Post.

It was discussed that Ron Ziegler should make a statement, Republican National Committee Chairman Bob Dole should make a statement, and I should make a statement. During the course of the day, on October 18, I was advised that Ron Ziegler had, in fact, made a statement and Senator Bob Dole had made a statement. I indicated that I thought that probably was an adequate response.

But during the course of the afternoon, I was importuned to change my mind—the leading importuner being John Ehrlichman. I did change my mind and did read the statement which is reported in the Washington Post the following day.

Mr. DASH. That was Mr. Ehrlichman, actually, who was urging you to make the statement?

Mr. MACGREGOR. He was the chief urger.

Mr. DASH. How would you characterize the nature of this urging? How strong did he put it? Apparently, you were resisting giving this particular statement.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, I was resistant to the style of the statement drafted by someone else whom I do not know. I was particularly resistant to the idea that I hold a press conference and refuse to answer questions of the press, because I had never done that before and I have not done it since.

Mr. DASH. Did Mr. Ehrlichman explain why he wanted you to issue the statement and not answer questions of the press?

Mr. MACGREGOR. He put it as a matter of the highest personal importance that I do this. He said: "Clark, if you respond to the questions of the press as you always do, the story coming out of your press conference will be some aspect of the questions and the answer, and we want the impact to be the statement itself. The only way to guarantee that is to refuse to answer questions."

Mr. DASH. I take it the position was you wanted the rhetoric of the statement to be your news story rather than your own rhetoric?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I normally did not prepare statements. I usually just met the press and answered questions. He and others said they felt that it was very important that I issue this statement.

Mr. DASH. Without reading it, because this is a lengthy statement, you would say that this is a very strong statement against Senator McGovern raising questions concerning various aspects of violence against President Nixon's campaign and indicating some unfairness on the part of the Post in handling news items in regard to that.

Mr. MACGREGOR. That is my recollection of the contents. It is something that Pat Buchanan might call "political hardball."

Mr. DASH. Now, I would like to show you a statement issued by you for immediate release on October 19, 1972, which deals primarily, again, with Mr. McGovern's campaign. I ask you first to look at it and see if, in fact, that is a news release that you did issue.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I have not read it verbatim, Mr. Dash. I don't recall issuing it, but I wouldn't contest for one moment the fact that it was issued, because a great many statements were prepared and put before me. With this one, as with others, I said, "Is it factually supportable?" If it was factually supportable, I decided whether or not it was helpful or harmful to the campaign, and if it is part of the committee's records, I will not contest that it was, in fact, a release of the committee.

Mr. DASH. I am not asking you whether you have an actual recollection of the specific language or not.

Who would present such a statement? It says here, "Contact Devan Shumway." Would it have been Mr. Shumway who would have prepared and presented that to you?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I don't know who would have prepared it; but usually, during the period when I was directing the campaign, either Mr. Devan Shumway or Mr. Al Abrams would come up from the press office of the committee and say, in substance: "Take a look at this if you would, Mr. MacGregor. We have been requested to ask you to issue this." Or, "We have drafted this pursuant to suggestions and what do you think of it?"

Mr. DASH. When you say, "We have been requested," or "pursuant to suggestions," by whom?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I am having to guess here a little bit, but I think the guess is an accurate one, and probably justified. I think many of these statements emanated from a unit called the "attack group." I never attended any meetings of that attack group. I don't know who its members were. We had a representative from the committee who sat on that attack group, and they seemed to generate—or it was my understanding that they generated most of the statements that were put before me of this nature.

Mr. DASH. This would include White House staff personnel, too, would it not?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It is my understanding that the attack group did include White House staff personnel, but I don't know who they were.

Mr. DASH. Again not asking you to recall the specifics of this particular news release, but that does, in general, deal with allegations that Mr. McGovern had spies in Mr. Humphrey's campaign, does it not?

Mr. MACGREGOR. In one part of it, yes. One part of the news release appears to quote a Lancaster, Pa., newspaper, the Atlanta Constitution, and then it quotes "a respected newsman" and "a highly reliable source" without identifying the individuals referred to.

Mr. DASH. So that actually, this being a news release, it would be a news release indicating that Mr. McGovern was engaging in political espionage and that he was using that against Mr. Humphrey. We have now, since this release and before this committee, had testimony that, in fact, there was a spy in Mr. Humphrey's campaign; that the spy was actually employed through the Committee to Re-Elect the President, and that Mr. McMinoway testified before us as Sedan Chair No. 2, and there was the belief at the time when this was occurring that perhaps Mr. McGovern was doing this. That was part of the strategy that has been testified to by others before this committee, to have one of the candidates identify another one—particularly Mr. McGovern was the one who was mostly blamed.

Now, at the time you approved this particular news release, did you have any knowledge that either the Committee To Re-Elect the President or anybody at the White House were supporting any type of political espionage from the Republican side into the Democratic primaries?

Mr. MACGREGOR. None whatever, Mr. Dash.

I might indicate that when the newspaper stories broke about somebody whose name I was hearing for the first time, Donald Segretti—it seems to me it was in October of 1972—my wife and I were, as I recall, in Texas. I got on the long distance telephone to seek to find the facts from Mr. Chapin. I did reach Mr. Chapin. He told me Segretti was hired to do Dick Tuck-type pranks, but nothing illegal. That was the first information I had. So it isn't absolutely correct to say that I had no knowledge whatever at any time. I learned from the newspapers and then tried to get additional information.

Mr. DASH. And actually, the activities that did occur, either by Mr. Segretti or some of the others, occurred prior to the time that you took on your post as director of the campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. You are correct, Mr. Dash. Either in that initial telephone conversation with Mr. Chapin or in a followup inquiry that I made, I learned that these tactics had ceased before—and I guess well before—I had any campaign role.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Chairman, I would like the particular item which is the news item of the Washington Post of October 18 and this press release of October 19 to be identified for the record and introduced in evidence.

Senator ERVIN. They will be received as exhibits in evidence and appropriately numbered as such.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibit No. 246.*]

Mr. DASH. Now, during the time, or shortly after you took over as director, were you aware that Mr. Mitchell was going to continue to have some role on the committee?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; the President indicated to me in the late afternoon of June 30 that while Mr. Mitchell would not continue for the reasons that I have stated, he was willing to serve as a consultant and the President indicated to me that, by virtue of John Mitchell's long association with the Governor of New York, with a close personal relationship with the Governor of California, and with the knowledge over a long period of time of the Governor of New Jersey and perhaps

*See p. 5019.

others, that Mr. Mitchell would serve in a consultant role, and the President asked me to consider using him primarily in key States that I have mentioned—New York, California, New Jersey, and a few others. I said I would be happy to do that.

MR. DASH. Now, during this time that I am now speaking of, sometime around July 3 on through even September, Mr. Mardian, Mr. LaRue, and Mr. Magruder were all working at the committee, were they not?

MR. MACGREGOR. Yes.

MR. DASH. Let me say, before I ask you the question—the committee has had testimony through calendars, charts, and testimony of the individuals themselves, that these gentlemen—Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Magruder, Mr. Mardian, Mr. LaRue, and Mr. Dean, who would be coming over from the White House—met almost daily during the period of July, August, and September. Part of the discussions of their meetings had to do with the Watergate matter, had to do with Mr. Magruder's problem in the Watergate matter and the testimony that he would be giving before the grand jury, and that ultimately ended up with a story being developed which was an untrue story that Mr. Magruder would give to the grand jury, and that Mr. Dean actually coached him prior to giving the testimony.

Now, you were director, during that time, of the Committee To Reelect the President. Were you aware that these meetings were taking place?

MR. MACGREGOR. No; I was not. My first knowledge of the pattern of these meetings you have described came to me from friends of mine in the news media sometime in the summer and were confirmed to me by you yesterday in the staff office. I had no knowledge of this pattern of meetings from which, apparently, I was excluded.

MR. DASH. Were you given any information that Mr. Magruder may have been involved in the Watergate matter?

MR. MACGREGOR. For the first time at the Republican National Convention, Mr. Mardian said to me: "The categorical statements that you are making about no involvement beyond the Watergate seven may be incorrect. You had better watch out. Others have exposure." That was of some surprise to me because I had been meeting with Mr. Mardian regularly over the period of July and August when I had been making the same categorical statements, but he never spoke to me with any kind of a warning or implied warning until the Republican National Convention. That caused me to renew my inquiry of Mr. Magruder, because I felt either Mr. Magruder himself or others, even though they had denied their involvement to me, might tell me something different. But they told me the same thing that they were telling the grand jury under oath, that they had no knowledge in advance and no involvement in the Watergate break-in.

MR. DASH. Mr. MacGregor let me read you, a portion of Mr. Mardian's testimony to the committee on Thursday, July 19, 1973. He says: "I said," speaking of a meeting with you at the convention, "that you had better take time for this," dealing with the question of your flat statements. I ought to start out—

I was unsuccessful in trying to get to meet with Mr. MacGregor but he had made some very flat statements at the convention. I insisted on seeing him on that occasion. He saw me in his suite when I walked in and he appeared

as if he was ready to walk out and he said: "I am in an awful hurry. Bob, and I do not have much time." I said: "You had better take time for this. You are making statements concerning the possible involvement of people in the campaign that I believe to be untrue. There are people involved in the campaign that have tremendous exposure, Clark, and you had better watch what statements you make and you had better let me brief you about it." He got very upset. He said: "When I took the job I was assured that there was nobody involved in the Watergate still in the campaign. I am relying on that and I do not want to hear about it."

I think your statement up to that last statement is consistent with his statement. Did you say: "I do not want to hear any more about it"?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; I did not. And might I indicate, Mr. Dash, for the benefit of the chairman and other members of the committee—and to emphasize—that I met with Mr. Mardian privately at his request many times during July and August and at no time during that period and at no time until immediately before the handing down of the indictments by the Watergate grand jury did Mr. Mardian speak to me in the way he has testified to and as I have indicated my recollection showed.

Mr. DASH. Now, you took on an assistant, Mr. Reisner, I understand. Mr. Reisner has testified before the committee that he had knowledge while working for Mr. Magruder of a Gemstone file, and also that he kept a diary for Mr. Magruder which, in that diary, indicated meetings with former Attorney General Mitchell, Mr. Liddy, Mr. Magruder, and Mr. Dean. At the time Mr. Reisner started to work for you, did he inform you of a Gemstone file that Mr. Magruder had kept or any meetings we have later found were in the Attorney General's office on January 27 and February 4 where a plan was discussed concerning the Gemstone project?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; he did not, Dr. Dash. I was somewhat surprised that he was called as a witness here because I did not know that he had had a role at the committee which put him in a position to have any relevant information. He helped me out with some of the administrative problems that I had.

I was getting more than 60 telephone calls a day during the first 2 weeks of July and he became an assistant to me. I asked for somebody to help me out—somebody who was knowledgeable with the campaign structure that had existed before July 1—and I think it was Mr. Magruder who suggested Bob Reisner. I did not realize Mr. Reisner had held the position that he held before July 1 and I did not know he was possessed of this information which he has given to the committee.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Ehrlichman has also informed the committee that some time in August he had wanted to have a complete statement and disclosure made of everything that was known about Watergate; that he had really wanted you to make the statement, and that you had sort of scotched the idea. Did Mr. Ehrlichman ever come to you and ask you to make a disclosure as to the new director of the campaign, indicating no involvement of the persons at the White House or even any further involvement of persons at the committee?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; Mr. Ehrlichman never came to me requesting that I make some disclosure above and beyond what I was making on a daily basis with the press and radio and television. It is possible that, during the months of August, Mr. Ehrlichman said, you know, "What

we ought to do is have some new type of statement issued," because I do recall that early in August John Dean and Maurice Stans came to my office and John Dean opened the discussion by saying: "I have been asked to prepare a detailed statement"—he may even have said "disclosure statement—on Watergate and here is a first cut or a rough draft."

My recollection is he handed a copy to me and a copy to Mr. Stans. I read it at my desk; I handed it back to John Dean and said that this statement was nothing but a compilation of statements previously issued, and if I were to release this to the press in a press conference the press would say to me: "Mr. MacGregor, this is nothing but a compilation of statements previously issued. It is of no value," and I would have to agree with the press. Perhaps that is the incident Mr. Ehrlichman is talking about. I did not know Mr. Ehrlichman was involved in any way in that meeting at my office with Mr. Dean and Mr. Stans. I might conclude, Mr. Dash, for the committee's benefit, that Maurice Stans indicated that he was in substantial agreement with my assessment of the lack of value of that draft and Mr. Dean said he was not proud of it. He said it was a rough cut.

Then, Mr. Stans said: "Maybe I ought to issue a detailed statement," and I indicated to him if he felt that would be helpful to him and the campaign, I thought it would.

Mr. DASH. Actually, did you feel at that time that the people who were asking you to issue the statements were more in possession of the facts than you were?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It is hard to reconstruct your exact frame of mind at the time, because events that have come to light since then cannot be excluded from your consciousness.

For example, in July, August, September, and October of last year, when I had this campaign responsibility, I knew nothing of the Ellsberg psychiatrist's break-in. I knew nothing of the meeting between Patrick Gray, John Dean, and John Ehrlichman taking place in Ehrlichman's office involving certain papers which came from the files. I think one of the people has now been convicted. I knew nothing during the period in which I was director of the campaign about the meeting, apparently in Mr. Haldeman's office, involving Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman, Dick Helms, and General Walters. I knew nothing last year about the series of meetings Pat Gray had with John Dean—all of these things I am now reciting occurred when I was counsel to the President for congressional relations. I had no knowledge last year that Herb Kalmbach was using funds which purportedly were contributed to the President's reelection, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of the Watergate seven. This is just a small recital of the list of events of which I was kept ignorant or had no need to be involved in in any way—that apparently were known, at least many of them, to Mr. Ehrlichman; and I will just have to say I do not recall that he was saying, "We ought to disclose things, Clark, which you are now talking about."

Mr. DASH. He never suggested you disclose the things you just listed?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I never heard of them until they were made public in the hearings of this committee. I might indicate the following as well. It is my recollection that on August 11 last year, Judge Richey of

the District Court for the District of Columbia, issued an order—later, I think, somewhat modified—which warned people about making public statements that might jeopardize the rights of those under investigation by the grand jury; and I was conscious of that court order at the very time Mr. Ehrlichman was now saying he wanted me to make some additional disclosures.

Mr. DASH. Now, recognizing that you had a very important, vital responsibility in directing the President's campaign, does it now seem strange to you that Mr. Ehrlichman or Mr. Dean, especially, would be coming to you and asking you to make these general statements which you say were repeated statements that had already been made about noninvolvement, when, in fact, they had information that indicated some involvement and did not give that information to you? Does it seem strange to you that they were asking you to be the spokesman for a statement of the Committee To Re-Elect the President of complete noninvolvement of anybody, either of the committee or of the White House, in the so-called Watergate matter?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It does not make one happy to find, subsequently, that one has been used.

Mr. DASH. Because, in addition to being asked to make those statements, you were at the time supposedly being assisted by Mr. Magruder, Mr. Mardian, Mr. LaRue, and Mr. Mitchell, who have now testified to what role they have played in what has been called the cover-up, and it is your testimony you were kept completely ignorant of any of that involvement?

Mr. MACGREGOR. That is correct, Mr. Dash. I am also familiar with the testimony as reported in responsible newspapers of Mr. Magruder and Mr. Dean before this committee. I think it is fair to say Mr. Magruder testified I was deceived and Mr. Dean said the truth was withheld from me. Perhaps those paraphrases are not accurate but that is my recollection.

Mr. DASH. Did you know of any money that had been transferred from the White House—about \$350,000—that had been kept in the White House—that had originally been taken from the funds that had been raised in the campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; I did not.

Mr. DASH. And that it was being used as a defense fund for the defendants in the Watergate case?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; I did not.

Mr. DASH. Did you know that either Mr. Parkinson, Mr. O'Brien, or Mr. LaRue were being involved in the payment of any of the defendants in the so-called defense fund?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I did not know until this year. My knowledge of that came in the public news media this year.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Parkinson and Mr. Paul O'Brien held what positions with the committee while you were director?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It is my recollection, and this again is what I was told, that the firm of Parkinson and O'Brien—that may not be the firm—but the firm that includes those two lawyers, was retained within 72 hours after the Watergate break-in by Mr. John Mitchell, to represent perhaps the finance committee and, if it was a defendant, the Committee To Re-Elect the President; and certain individuals in the civil litigation brought by the Democratic National Committee,

Larry O'Brien and perhaps others. I was also advised that that law firm had had investigatory experience or had personnel attached to it or available to it with investigatory experience, and that they were conducting an investigation during the last 10 days of June.

Mr. DASH. Did they give you any information, since they were attorneys for the committee, as to what they were learning, concerning what had occurred and—for example, they did learn that large sums of cash had been given to Mr. Liddy. Did you know that?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; I did not. It is a question of what you mean by large sums. I inquired as to what Mr. Liddy's role was. I inquired when I came over to the committee, I think the first week in July—Mr. Liddy had been fired during the last week in June. I was told the reason was that he refused to cooperate with the FBI in the investigation the FBI was conducting before I came over to the committee.

And I asked why he would not; what facts and circumstances would cause him not to cooperate with the FBI? And I was told that he was the head of an operation which was funded in cash, which tried to investigate and possibly infiltrate groups of so-called crazies who were assembling in San Diego.

Mr. DASH. Who told you that, Mr. MacGregor?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Either Mr. Magruder or Mr. Porter, and it may have been others; but I did ask about Liddy and I was told that he and his operation was to try and determine the scope of the efforts to intimidate speakers for the President—the primary in New Hampshire was specifically mentioned to me and looked into. Or to verify what was being printed in underground newspapers about what the crazies were going to do with the Republicans at their convention in San Diego.

Mr. DASH. Of course, you now know Mr. Magruder has now testified to what, in fact, he was doing with Mr. Liddy and why he was paying cash to him?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; I followed closely the testimony before this committee.

Mr. DASH. So there was no doubt in your mind that he misled you at that time in giving you that information?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It may have been he told me partly—that it was a partial truth. I don't know whether what he told me was correct, but it may have been partially true.

Mr. DASH. Is it your view now, Mr. MacGregor—I think you said that you had been used; that many of those around you, including people in high office in the White House, misled you in your role as director of the campaign and did not give you the information that would have, perhaps, assisted you in aiding the President in his reelection much better than you were able to. Of course he was reelected, there is no question about that.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Dash, the analogies may not be very good but if I were to, as I have, accept my wife's invitation to do the shopping some morning and, after leaving the Safeway, I found that the checker had noticed I didn't pay any attention to the markup on the cash register and marked up an item I didn't have or put a wrong price on it—if I found after leaving a gas station that an attendant, instead of filling the tank and asking me to pay for a full tank, had only filled it half, I would have felt I had been used. Now

those analogies may not be very good, but during the course of one's lifetime one deals in trust with a great many people, even people who one doesn't know very well, because you assume that people are honest and straightforward and candid with you when you are dealing with them, and I so assumed.

This has been a very sad year for me because I find that that trust was misplaced.

Mr. DASH. Well, actually, Mr. MacGregor, isn't that a very important thing in our political life, the American political electoral system, the job you had of running a major campaign, that you must deal in trust; that you must be able to believe in people you worked with, and that deceit and fraud actually erode any political process that can be related to a free society.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; that is correct, Mr. Dash. And I think I should not leave the subject; I am not suggesting that we leave it, but I think I ought to make it crystal clear that I do not include the President of the United States in those whom I have categorized as having used me to some extent, and we have spoken here of fraud and deceit—dishonesty. I do not in any sense have in mind the President of the United States. Indeed, his conduct in relationship with me has been just the reverse. They have been trustworthy; they have been absolutely candid, straightforward, and fair; and I have never found anything that the President of the United States said was so that wasn't so.

Mr. DASH. None of my questions, Mr. MacGregor, were directed to that or attempted to infer that.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I appreciate that, Mr. Dash, but I just thought this was an opportunity to express my very strong feelings on this point.

Mr. DASH. Did you have a role in the campaign financing—in the collecting of funds for the campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No.

Mr. DASH. That was kept a separate function for Mr. Stans, I understand.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; the structure was similar to the structure, in my experience, that has been set up for incumbent Senators seeking reelection—incumbent Congressmen seeking reelection. You have a campaign manager and political committee that has to energize and produce the votes necessary for reelection, and you have a finance committee that raises the money. The two customarily have a liaison, obviously, in deciding how the money ought to be spent—how much money can be raised or should be raised and should be spent.

Mr. DASH. And you played a role in that?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes.

Mr. DASH. Through what committee? There was a budget committee?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Through a mechanism known as the budget committee.

Mr. DASH. At that time the determinations were made as to what was needed to be spent in the campaign and what was available for spending?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes. Those meetings were to be held weekly; they were held sporadically in July and August for a number of reasons.

Toward the end of August they did become more regular. Through September and early October, I think, they were very regularly held on Wednesday. It was that meeting, for example, that group, which ratified my decision to cut some \$3 million from planned television advertising for the President because Mr. Stans had asked me to look for areas where I could cut expenses. And the President had also indicated to me that maybe we ought to put more money into the precinct organizations and storefronts and less money into political advertising.

Mr. DASH. I think the testimony before the committee has already highlighted the impact of the large amount of money that was available for the committee and especially cash, although you did not have a particular role or responsibility in the committee to either raise this money or in the campaign financing itself. Among the last questions I would like to ask you, Mr. MacGregor, is, since you have been in political life, you have been involved in campaigns and you now know some of the facts that have come before this committee and have become public; do you have any recommendation to make to the committee concerning the use of raising funds—how funds could be more properly raised and controlled so as to prevent abuses in especially a Presidential campaign?

Mr. MacGREGOR. Well, I appreciate your question, Mr. Dash, and I don't want to be presumptuous because I am no longer a Member of Congress; but I did interest myself during the 10 years that I served in the House of Representatives with the question of campaign reforms and congressional reforms, and if I were a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives today I would introduce a bill along the following lines: No funds may be contributed to any candidate for President, Vice President, U.S. Senator, or U.S. Representative in Congress except through the Federal Elections Office which shall be a transmittal agent for funds contributed for any candidate, either in a primary or in a general election, to the candidate earmarked by the donor, and the donor shall on a daily basis be listed in the Federal Register or in some other publication as to name, address, occupation; and amount of contribution and identity of candidate to whom the contribution is going.

There may become serious flaws in this proposal. I certainly would like to see the appropriate committee or committees in the U.S. Senate or House of Representatives consider such a proposal. Obviously, the present system isn't good enough, even with the campaign spending reforms that went into effect April 7, 1972. I can see some pitfalls in public financing. I don't know necessarily that this is the answer to the problems we obviously have. But the suggestion that I make I would be delighted to have considered by someone. I have not importuned my Congressman, Walter Fauntroy, but I am going to do so.

Mr. DASH. I have no further questions at this time.

Mr. LIEBENGOOD. Mr. Chairman, I have three questions. My initial question deals with campaign development of Watergate-related material. I understand that the McGovern campaign employed Walter Sheridan to, among other things, keep Frank Mankiewicz abreast of the ongoing Watergate developments as they appeared in the press and otherwise. During the period of time that you were constantly receiving Watergate queries, was there any one person you turned to to keep you apprised of developments?

MR. MACGREGOR. No one person, counsel. When people on the committee would be called to testify before the grand jury, they honored my request that if they wished to do so, they would tell me what they testified to. I was only interested, of course, in anything they might have testified to contrary to what they had told me earlier.

But to answer your question, I received information about the status of various investigations and of proceedings in the civil lawsuit from Mr. Magruder, from attorneys of record in the civil lawsuit representing the defendants, from Mr. LaRue from time to time, and I think that probably covers it. I did not, during the course of these investigations, speak in any sense about the investigations with any governmental official.

MR. LIEBENGOOD. I take it that there was no one in your issues and research department who had the function of compiling Watergate data?

MR. MACGREGOR. Not to my knowledge. Mr. LaRue indicated to me that he was an unpaid volunteer and he would kind of act as liaison with John Mitchell if that was all right with me. He said he also would pay some attention to the investigations and the civil litigation.

I think Mr. Mardian on one occasion indicated to me, when we were discussing that as a change in status for him, that he would keep his eye on developments and keep me posted. But there was no one office or source, to my knowledge, that was to follow Watergate developments. They were being pretty extensively followed in the daily press.

MR. LIEBENGOOD. Thank you. I am curious as to your professional political assessment of the impact of the Watergate break-in at the time you took over as campaign director. At that time, what was your assessment of its impact?

MR. MACGREGOR. I could not quantify it. I knew, as I have identified here, that it would be a negative in the campaign. I felt it would be strongly outweighed, as indeed it was, by the positives of the President's performance in office, by his intelligence and demonstrated capacity to deal with the critical issues of peace and prosperity, which are uppermost in most American's minds, when they vote for President. I appeared with Mr. Mankiewicz on a public program at one of the hotels in downtown Washington 2 days after the election and I indicated at that time that it was largely a guess on my part, but I felt that Watergate had cost the President upwards of 2 million votes—a million or 2 million votes; expressed in terms of percentage, pretty close to 2 percent. That is just a guess.

I reached that conclusion at that time because, as I say, I had traveled in 24 States—the big States several times. I felt I was in reasonably close touch with the people who were managing the storefronts and the volunteer headquarters; we had more than 5,000 of them.

And Watergate hurt. It hurt badly in the campaign. Fully half of every meeting with the press that I had was devoted to Watergate. I wanted to talk about the President's accomplishment with the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, and the drawdown of troops in Vietnam and the prospects for peace in Vietnam. I wanted to talk about reducing joblessness under the President's handling of phase I and phase II. I wanted to talk about how inflation was being curbed. Instead, I was being confronted at meeting after meeting with Watergate questions. That was debilitating to the morale of the campaign and it cost us votes.

Mr. LIEBENGOD. In retrospect, would it be your political opinion that a coverup was a prerequisite to the reelection of the President? In other words, do you feel now that the President's candidacy could have withstood an early disclosure by, perhaps, Mr. Magruder, Mr. Dean, or Mr. Mitchell?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Had there been, in the week following the apprehension of the burglars, a disclosure of the facts that have been brought out by this committee, it would, in my opinion, have been temporarily but severely damaging to the President's reelection campaign. Instead of a 17- to 25-point margin over Senator McGovern in mid-July, my guess is that that margin would have shrunk to perhaps five points. It is my opinion that by the time of the election, in light of other events that transpired, we would have been no worse off, votewise, than we were.

But the important thing is that the President's hopes and dreams that he outlined to me in his office late on the afternoon of June 30 that he hoped to accomplish in his second term, as the country looked forward to its 200th anniversary, would not have been so severely damaged as they have been now.

Mr. LIEBENGOD. Thank you, Mr. MacGregor. I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Weicker.

Senator WEICKER. Mr. MacGregor, let us get into the subject of the Pat Gray phone call of July 6. I wonder if you would give to this committee your version of that particular event.

Mr. MACGREGOR. To my best recollection, the call was made early in the morning of July 6 at Washington; was received by me at the Newporter Inn at Newport Beach, Calif., shortly before 11 p.m., California time, July 5. I have been asked, could I be mistaken in my recollection that the call came in just before my wife and I retired and could it have been shortly after we woke up the next morning? I suppose it is possible that my recollection is incorrect. But it is my recollection, Senator, that the call did come to me in the motel room or suite that my wife and I were occupying at the Newporter Inn just before we retired on the evening of July 5.

In any event, the call that Mr. Gray made to me was no different from the calls that I had been receiving at the rate of 50 or 60 or 70 a day during the preceding 5 days from people whom I knew, even those whom I knew slightly, who were kind enough to call and say, "Congratulations," and offer opinions and make recommendations about the campaign.

My recollection is that Mr. Gray did, very graciously, compliment me on my being appointed director and that he indicated to me that he was concerned about the impact on the campaign of the Watergate matter.

I told him I shared his concern. It is my recollection that he said it is a serious matter, and I said, "As a lawyer, Pat, I recognize that it is a serious matter. Breaking and entering is a felony and felonies are indeed serious matters."

He said, as I recall, that it will damage the President in the campaign.

I said, "Yes, it will."

Then he said, "It will damage him more seriously than you realize."

And it is my recollection that at that time, I indicated to him: "Yes; I know it will damage him. It damaged him in the first press conference I held earlier today in Washington," before my wife and I flew to southern California at the President's request. But I said to him: "Pat, I will be back in my home in Washington tomorrow evening, because my wife and I are coming back on the nonstaff afternoon flight from Los Angeles to Dulles; we will be at home tomorrow evening; I will be in my office on Friday morning."

It is my recollection, Senator, that he spoke exclusively pertaining to Watergate, as to the campaign, and the extent to which it would hurt the campaign. It is not my recollection that he talked in any sense about "wound." If he had used the word "wound" to me, it seems to me that that word would stick in my mind and I would ask him to explain it.

He did not, to my recollection, mention the CIA to me. He did not mention the FBI. He did not mention General Walters, Dick Helms, John Ehrlichman, John Dean, or Bob Haldeman. He did indicate great concern. There was agitation in his voice. He repeated himself. And that is the substance of my recollection. I frankly expected to hear more from him when we returned to Washington the next night. We did not do so.

Senator WEICKER. Did he ask you to convey his thoughts to the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; not according to my recollection. In any event, I did not do so. There was nothing about the content of his call to me; there was nothing unusual at all, except for the hour. It was similar to a great many other calls that I was receiving from people in Government, from Governors, Senators, Congressmen, national committeemen, committeewomen, and State chairmen. He may have had some complaints about White House aides. There would not have been anything unusual about that. In my position as counselor to the President for congressional relations, I got daily complaints about White House aides. And he may have made some complaints to me about White House aides of a general nature.

But he did not request me to call the President—did not request me to speak to the President. I did not call the President; I did not speak to the President about this. I guess my testimony is about that.

Senator WEICKER. That is what I would like to get into. Let us assume for the minute that your recollection is correct; that it was very late on the evening of the 5th when you received the call. Would you normally expect the Director of the FBI to call up the Republican campaign director in the wee hours of the morning—or the late evening?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No.

Senator WEICKER. Would that not raise a question in your mind as to why such a call came through then? Let us assume the time factor that you set forth.

Mr. MACGREGOR. It did. But I expected when I next heard from him, I would learn more about that.

Senator WEICKER. Did you have any other communication at all with Pat Gray during the course of the campaign in this sense of the word, aside from the normal occurrences of meeting?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No, Senator; I had no further conversations or contacts with Mr. Gray.

Senator WEICKER. Now, I wonder if you would comment on the report issued by the House Armed Services Committee on October 23 of this year. I am referring to page 21. In the committee report, it states that Mr. Ehrlichman's testimony indicates that the President called Mr. Gray at the "strong urging" of Mr. MacGregor because of Mr. Gray's concern over the FBI role in the Watergate investigation, and after the call the President had a "lingering doubt" that there was some CIA "exposure," despite assurances to the contrary. Yet, in his May 22, 1973, public Watergate statement, the President said, and I now quote the President's May 22 statement:

On July 6, 1972, I telephoned the Acting Director of the FBI, L. Patrick Gray, to congratulate him on the successful handling of a hi-jacking of a Pacific Southwest Airlines plane the previous day. During the conversation, Mr. Gray discussed with me the progress of the Watergate investigation.

The committee report then continues:

Mr. Ehrlichman's testimony in that regard is pertinent.

I am now quoting from that testimony:

Mr. NEDZI. But the call was prompted by MacGregor's request?

Mr. EHRLICHMAN. By MacGregor's conveying a request from Gray to the President.

Mr. NEDZI. Or a call?

Mr. EHRLICHMAN. Yes.

Mr. NEDZI. Are you acquainted with the President's statement which he made on May 22?

Mr. EHRLICHMAN. I have read it, yes.

Mr. NEDZI. Does his account square completely with your account of that conversation?

Mr. EHRLICHMAN. I do not believe it does.

Mr. NEDZI. I did not think it did. I was just wondering whether you recognized that fact.

Mr. EHRLICHMAN. I do. I think the drafter of that statement did not have the advantage I had of my verbatim notes of the conversations—I say verbatim—I take substantially verbatim notes of my conversations with the President.

Now, in light of what is Mr. Gray's recollection in his testimony before this committee of having called you and having given substantially the same facts which—albeit there might be words left out, but certainly the import of his message—in light of his testimony before this committee and in light of Mr. Ehrlichman's testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, are you absolutely certain that you in no wise were in contact either with the President or possibly the President's staff relative to this particular matter?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes. And may I say, Senator, that as a lawyer listening to your reading of the transcript of hearings before a congressional committee, I am impressed once again with the wisdom and the importance of the ban on hearsay evidence, because one is, or would be in a court of law, at the mercy of someone who said, "Jack told me that Bill said this," or "Jack told me that Harry did this." Once again, we understand the wisdom of our system of justice in which we ban hearsay testimony as credible evidence.

Might I say also, because I think it is important, Mr. Chairman and the members of this committee, I have been advised that the records of this committee show that there was no telephone call from Clark MacGregor to President Nixon on the morning of July 6, 1972.

I am further advised, and I believe you didn't go into this question with Mr. Butterfield, that those records of incoming calls to the President and outgoing calls from the President are rigidly accurate.

I think it would be of interest to this committee to know that 3 weeks ago today, the President of the United States said, "Clark, you did not mention the Pat Gray matter to me on July 6."

Senator WEICKER. Well, what was the nature of that conversation? Why would this come across in a conversation between you and the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I was, along with others, attending a Presidential conference on export trade expansion at the White House on October 11. That program was put together primarily by Secretary of Commerce Fred Dent, with the assistance of Secretary of the Treasury George Schultz, and other officials of the Government. The President concluded that all-afternoon conference, which was dedicated to ways in which the Government and business could promote trade and thus produce more jobs. The President concluded the conference and then he held a receiving line. He asked people to go through the receiving line.

I did; and while going through the receiving line, he told me that I have just testified to.

Senator WEICKER. You mean in going through a receiving line—the President of the United States turns to you while you are going through a receiving line and says, "Clark, I didn't talk to you on July 6." Is that the nature of the conversation?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Apparently, someone had brought to his attention—not I—but someone had brought to his attention the Ehrlichman assertions or the Gray assertions. I don't know what led to this, Senator. But the President assured me that my recollection was correct and squared with his.

Senator WEICKER. Well, how long was this conversation with the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. What conversation with the President?

Senator WEICKER. The conversation with the President in the receiving line. What was the date of that, again?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Between 1 or 2 minutes on October 11; 3 weeks ago today in the late afternoon—covered by the press. I don't think the press overheard the President talking to me, but if you are questioning my veracity, Senator—

Senator WEICKER. No, I am not questioning it at all. I am trying to get the facts, Mr. MacGregor.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I am giving you the facts, Senator.

Senator WEICKER. I appreciate that and want you to go ahead and continue to answer the question.

On October 11, some 2 or 3 months, I guess, after the testimony given before this committee by Mr. Gray, the President, on his initiative, merely made the statement to you that he did not call you on July 6.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I am not privy to what led the President to introduce that subject and I don't think it would be helpful for me to speculate as to why he did.

Senator WEICKER. I understand that. All I am trying to do is get the gist of this 1- or 2-minute conversation, which I think both of us will agree is not hearsay evidence, as you have complained about to this

committee already—we will get back to that—what the gist of that conversation was and who raised the subject?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Do you wish me to repeat what I said?

Senator WEICKER. I would.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I can't be any more explicit.

Senator WEICKER. To say, "I did not talk to you on July 6"—that is neither a conversation nor is it of 2 minutes' duration. Was there anything further in that conversation?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Oh, yes; the President asked about my health and about my wife and children. I did the same to him. I told him I thought it had been an excellent conference; that his Cabinet officers and sub-Cabinet officers and Ambassador Eberle had done an excellent job, and there was give and take.

Senator WEICKER. But that was the only mention made either by you or by him as to the conversation of July 6, just the simple statement by the President, "I did not talk to you on July 6."

Mr. MACGREGOR. I am sure I responded that I had been advised by the legal staff that the Presidential telephone records confirmed his recollection and mine. I think that was my response.

May I say, Senator, I have never called the President of the United States after 10:30 at night or before 6:30 in the morning. The nature of my work for the President is counselor to the President for congressional relations. The nature of my job from July 3 onward through the election was that there was no emergency that ever justified my calling the President at an unusual hour.

Senator WEICKER. Well, of course, that is not exactly so, Mr. MacGregor. Can you remember when you talked to the President on June 29, just prior to accepting the job of heading up the Committee To Re-Elect the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. He called me. My statement was I have never called the President after 10:30 at night.

Senator WEICKER. What time did you talk to him on June 29?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It was within a matter of a half hour after the conclusion of his television remarks that night. I think it was in the neighborhood of 11 p.m. He telephoned me.

Senator WEICKER. Well, that is another subject for later on.

Now, in Mr. Gray's testimony, just so we can very carefully define your definition of "hearsay," are you indicating to me, then, that the testimony before this committee by Pat Gray relative to his conversation with you is hearsay?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; quite obviously, Senator, I am referring to John Ehrlichman's testimony before the House committee, as I indicated.

Senator WEICKER. If the testimony is as I have indicated to you and as appears in the record of the House hearings, would you say, then, that Mr. Ehrlichman perjured himself?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It is not for me to pass judgment on any criminal conduct. You and I both know that there is a presumption of innocence until proof of guilt and there is a panoply of procedures that must take place before someone—maybe the judge—

Senator WEICKER. What you are saying, then, is that the testimony given by Mr. Ehrlichman at those House hearings does not square with your testimony.

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; it is my experience as a trial lawyer for about 8 years that judges customarily give to jurists an instruction that goes along the lines of the following: "Ladies and gentlemen of the jury, don't assume that every difference in testimony means that somebody is lying."

People have different recollections. People see and remember different things. The assumption that a discrepancy in testimony automatically means that somebody is lying is an assumption, thank goodness, which is not at all consistent with our administration of justice in America.

Senator WEICKER. I understand that, but all I am saying is that the testimony that I have read to you states very simply that Mr. Ehrlichman says that you conveyed a request from Gray to the President and you say you did not.

Is that correct?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It appears to be correct. Again, I can't comment on Mr. Ehrlichman's testimony. I don't think it would be helpful to this committee if I did. I am answering the questions that you put to me and I am telling this committee under oath—and I take this very seriously, Senator—I did not speak to President Nixon by telephone or in person about the Pat Gray telephone call to me.

Senator WEICKER. Did you meet with the President on the morning of July 6?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes.

Senator WEICKER. What time did you meet with the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. The first meeting—there was a change in schedule. In fact, there were considerable telephone calls late on the night of July 5 and so on into the morning of July 6 about the change of schedule. But the first meeting with the President took place sometime after 10 a.m. on July 6 in his office in San Clemente.

Senator WEICKER. And what was the nature of that meeting?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It was a discussion involving primarily the President, John Ehrlichman, Mr. William Timmons, and myself. It was an assessment of the status of the President's legislative program at the end of the fiscal year, which was a few days before, and of the prospects for passage of the remainder of the unacted-upon legislation before the adjournment of the 92d Congress. The meeting was a legislative meeting and the President and Mr. Ehrlichman were concerned with the status of domestic legislative items and the attendance of Mr. Timmons and Mr. MacGregor was occasioned by our roles as assistants to the President in the congressional relations field. We went down, item by item, the major pieces of legislation.

Senator WEICKER. Of course, are you aware from the testimony given to the committee that shortly after Pat Gray's conversation with you he received a call from the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; I think there is substantial agreement from Mr. Gray and from the President to the effect that the President telephoned Mr. Gray at about 8:25 or thereabouts, Pacific time, on July 6, and that he congratulated the FBI on the job that it had done the day before in frustrating the attempted skyjacking of a commercial aircraft.

There also seems to be agreement between the President's statement and Mr. Gray's testimony before this committee that Mr. Gray then

introduced the question of misuse, or possible misuse, of the FBI or CIA—his word, "wound."

Then this very interesting thing occurs, Senator Weicker. There is a pause, indicating that this matter was a matter of first impression to President Nixon—at least, I think a reasonable person would so conclude.

Senator WEICKER. And none of these matters were raised in Pat Gray's telephone conversation with you?

Mr. MACGREGOR. The skyjacking?

Senator WEICKER. No; the matters of interference with the FBI.

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; if they had been, of course, my response would have been the same as your response. In my shoes, Senator Weicker, you would have said: What does your governmental supervisor, the Attorney General, say about the complaint you are making? This has little or nothing to do with the campaign, but it does have to do with the discharge of your responsibilities as Director of the FBI.

What does your supervisor have to say, Pat Gray, about your complaint of interference with the performance of your duties?

Now, if Mr. Gray had said to me what is indicated he said to me, I would have responded: that has to do with your governmental responsibilities, not the campaign, and therefore, you reported it to the Attorney General; what does he say and what action does he take?

Senator WEICKER. Are you aware of the fact from testimony or statements made by Mr. Gray that he felt that the only way that he could get the word to the President was through you, since he didn't feel, were he to go ahead and discuss these matters with either Mr. Ehrlichman or Mr. Haldeman, that the word would get to the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Your characterization does not square with my recollection of Mr. Gray's testimony as printed in the Washington Post, the Washington Star-News, and the New York Times. I don't recall that Mr. Gray said to this committee that the only way he could get to the President was through me. I don't think that is correct, sir.

Senator WEICKER. I think it is correct to tell you, Mr. MacGregor, that he felt that this was the way he could get to the President insofar as his apprehensions were concerned.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Let me say, working for the President as I did, I never heard of the Director or the Acting Director of the FBI having difficulty in reaching the President if he had a present matter to bring to the President's attention relating to the conduct of his duties as Director of the FBI. It is very strange to me to have anyone in the position of head of the FBI contend that he could not reach the President except through someone who had no relationship whatsoever to the FBI.

Senator WEICKER. Do you feel the President is rather isolated from those around him?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I never had any trouble reaching the President. I am aware that some Cabinet officers have said they had trouble reaching him. That was primarily for conferences in his office. I have heard Senators complain. I haven't heard members of the President's executive family complain about not being able to reach him on the telephone.

Senator WEICKER. So there was complete communication between those around the President and the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. That doesn't follow from my testimony, Senator Weicker. What I have said is, I am not aware of complaints by Cabinet officers and other senior people in the President's executive family about inability to reach the President by telephone if they felt it was important to do so.

Senator WEICKER. And you had day-to-day contact yourself with the President with regard to running the campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; it wasn't necessary. I could have if it was necessary. But when you take over a campaign and you are leading by 10 percent in the polls and that steadily expands to a margin of some 30 percent, it really isn't necessary to have daily communication between the campaign director and the candidate.

Senator WEICKER. What kind of contact did you have with the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Cordial, friendly, periodic contact. Usually, he would telephone me. Occasionally, there would be meetings set up which he and I would discuss the status of the campaign and his own personal plans to campaign.

Senator WEICKER. If you wanted to talk to the President, did you have to go through Mr. Haldeman first?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No.

Senator WEICKER. I have no further questions at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Montoya.

Senator MONTOYA. Mr. MacGregor, during your stay at the Newporter Inn and subsequent to the time that you received this call from Mr. Gray, did you communicate any part of the conversation to Mr. Ehrlichman or to any other aide of the President that night or the next day?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; I talked only with my wife. She asked me who that was on the phone, and I told her that night. We discussed it briefly before we went to sleep.

Senator MONTOYA. Did you tell Mr. Ehrlichman the next day about the conversation?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No.

Senator MONTOYA. Did you mention it to anyone?

Mr. MACGREGOR. In addition to my wife? Not until Mr. Dorsen, pursuant to a request by Mr. Dash, came to my office and asked me whether Mr. Gray had telephoned me during my stay at the Newporter Inn in California.

Senator MONTOYA. Did you ask Mr. Gray why he had called you?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; he made that clear. My appointment as director of the campaign, he felt, was a good thing, and he was concerned that we should have had a successful campaign, and I told him I would do my best.

Senator MONTOYA. Did you not feel it strange for the Director of the FBI to call you from Washington to California just to congratulate you?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I thought it somewhat odd, and that is why, Senator Montoya, I indicated it was a turnaround trip, and I told him

the fact that we would be in our home in Washington the next evening and I would be in my office the next morning.

Senator MONTROYA. When were you appointed campaign director?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Effective July 1, 1972. The President made a request to me at about 5 p.m. on June 30.

Senator MONTROYA. And when was it announced?

Mr. MACGREGOR. July 1, 1972.

Senator MONTROYA. Would it not seem very strange that the FBI Director, if that was his mission, waited 6 days? You had been in Washington before that, had you not?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No, I did not think it strange. A number of people called me on July 5 to tell me that they had been away for the Fourth of July holiday and had not had the opportunity to call me, but wanted to call and give me best wishes.

Senator MONTROYA. Did he tell you that General Walters was there with him at the time of the conversation?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No. He did not mention General Walters' name.

Senator MONTROYA. Let us go to the investigation which you conducted after you assumed the helm at the CREP. Did you go into an investigation in depth to ascertain whether there was any involvement on the part of personnel there?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No. I did not seek to duplicate the efforts of the FBI, the district attorney for the District of Columbia, the grand jury sitting hearing me, the evidence in the Watergate matter, the Criminal Justice Division of the Justice Department, the attorneys representing the Democratic National Committee in civil litigation who were then conducting discovery procedures; nor in mid-July did I seek to compete with the General Accounting Office in their inquiries. I had neither the time, the training, the experience, nor the personnel to compete with these official agencies, all of whom were investigating this matter.

Senator MONTROYA. Did you receive any reports from anyone within the organization at the campaign headquarters with respect to possible involvement on the part of personnel working there?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; not working there when I arrived. I did receive information as to the possible involvement and probable indictment of E. Howard Hunt and Gordon Liddy whom I had never met and had never talked with.

Senator MONTROYA. They were already discharged at the time, were they not?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I do not think Mr. Hunt had any role at the committee. If he did, I am not aware of it.

Senator MONTROYA. No, but he was working at the White House about that time.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Liddy, I was told, had a role at the committee but had been discharged 3 or 4 days before I started working at the committee.

Senator MONTROYA. Did you, during the course of trying to find out what was happening, run across any information leading to the unusual disbursement of funds to Mr. Liddy by Mr. Sloan and by Mr. Stans?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I do not remember that I was told the exact amount of the Liddy operation which I previously testified I was told about. But I did learn that some time before June 17 there had been

funds given to Liddy for purposes of trying to determine the extent of the planned disruption of the President's campaign.

Senator MONTOYA. Did you, after making a few such cursory inquiries, proceed with the management of the campaign and then let everything else go to the FBI for checking?

Mr. MACGREGOR. My job was to run the campaign. It was similar to the same job I would have if I were running a senatorial campaign or a congressional campaign; it was just larger in scope, and I did the customary things that a campaign manager does. So the answer to your question is, yes; as I have testified heretofore, I had confidence in the effectiveness of the investigations which all of us who read the newspapers knew were underway at the time I took the political job.

Senator MONTOYA. When would you say you abandoned your investigatory interests in whether or not there was any involvement on the part of personnel in the Watergate affair?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I did not.

Senator MONTOYA. You did not abandon it?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I did not abandon it.

Senator MONTOYA. Did you conduct any investigation, then?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No. The inquiries that I made during the first part of July, which I repeated at the Republican National Convention at Miami Beach in August with respect to Mr. Magruder, produced the same answers that people were giving under oath to the grand jury. That led me to believe that they were probably accurate and trustworthy.

Senator MONTOYA. Well, the point I want to make, Mr. MacGregor, unless you have other information—there was really no serious investigation on your part. You were confining yourself merely to asking if anybody was involved?

Mr. MACGREGOR. And to insist that there be total cooperation on the part of everybody under my jurisdiction with the many investigations by duly constituted Government agencies that were underway; plus, cooperation with the lawyers for the Democratic National Committee in their discovery efforts in the civil litigation. Yes, I tried to make sure that everybody was cooperating.

Senator MONTOYA. Well, the discovery efforts on the part of the lawyers for the Democratic National Committee were with respect to the lawsuit which had been filed by Larry O'Brien and the Democratic National Committee against your organization; is that not correct?

Mr. MACGREGOR. There came to be other lawsuits later, but that is the primary lawsuit I am referring to.

Senator MONTOYA. So, in effect, there was no ongoing investigation by you personally? Or under your direction?

Mr. MACGREGOR. As I indicated in response to Mr. Dash, I had been advised by the President, and this was public knowledge, that Mr. Mitchell had hired a firm of attorneys with investigatory experience. I ascertained when I came over to the committee in early July that that law firm was, in fact, operating. I said they should continue to operate in that fashion.

Senator MONTOYA. Did they ever give you a report?

Mr. MACGREGOR. From time to time Mr. Parkinson did and, I think, on one or two occasions Mr. O'Brien.

Senator MONTROYA. Was that with respect to the civil suit or trying to actually find out whether there was any involvement on the part of personnel?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, it was primarily with respect to the civil suit, but it also covered other matters—including ongoing criminal investigations and investigations as to the involvement of anyone else.

Senator MONTROYA. Then, I will read from the President's news conference of August 29, 1972, and see how this fits in with what you have said, and I quote the President:

Before Mr. Mitchell left as campaign chairman he had employed a very good law firm with investigatory experience to look into the matter. Mr. MacGregor has continued that investigation and is continuing it now. I will say in that respect that anyone on the campaign committee, Mr. MacGregor has assured me, who does not cooperate with the investigation or anyone against whom charges are leveled, where there is a prima facie case that those charges might indicate involvement, will be discharged immediately. That, of course, will be true also of anybody in the Government. I think under these circumstances we are doing everything we can to take this incident and to investigate it and not to cover it up. What really hurts in matters of this sort is not the fact that they occur—because overzealous persons or people in campaigns do things that are wrong—what really hurts is if you try to cover it up. I would say that here we are with control of the agencies of the Government and presumably with control of the investigatory agencies of the Government—with the exception of the GAO, which is independent. We have cooperated completely; we have indicated that we want all the facts brought out and that as far as any people who are guilty are concerned, they should be prosecuted. This kind of activity, as I have often indicated, has no place whatever in our political process. We want the air cleared. We want it cleared as soon as possible.

Now, was there any talk about this time about coverup of the Watergate?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No. Senator, perhaps, before we go ahead, if you will permit me to read an earlier part of the answer of the President, a portion of which you just read—would that be all right?

Senator MONTROYA. Yes; certainly.

Mr. MACGREGOR. The President started the answer, a portion of which you read, to the question put to him by the press on August 29, 1972, by stating as follows, and I quote—the question had to do with the investigation of the Watergate case:

With regard to who is investigating it now, I think it would be well to know that the FBI is conducting a full field investigation. The Department of Justice, of course, is in charge of the prosecution and presenting the matter to the grand jury. The House Banking and Currency Committee—

The President may have inadvertently made a misstatement saying “the Senate Banking and Currency”—

the Government Accounting Office, an independent agency, is conducting an investigation of those aspects which involve the campaign spending law.

Senator, may I respond to your question of a few moments ago? The portions of the President's answer that you read and the portions of the President's answer that I read, I think, are entirely consistent with my recollection of the events as of the time of August 29, 1972, and are entirely consistent with my testimony here before this committee and my statements elsewhere.

Senator MONTROYA. Well, had you told the President that you were conducting an investigation and continuing to do so before this press conference?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I didn't tell him but he knew it, obviously, because it was in the news all of the time.

Senator MONTTOYA. Why would he say in his press conference that you had assured him?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, I told him I would continue it. I knew that attorneys had been hired.

Senator MONTTOYA. No, but why would the President go on national television and say that Mr. MacGregor had assured him, if you had not talked to the President about this?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, the totality of the statement, Senator Montoya, has to be considered. I don't recall giving the President any assurance. I do recall, as I have testified here, that when we spoke on June 30 and he asked me to take this job, I told him I expected to continue the law firm that had been hired by Mr. Mitchell: to do the job that the President has described in the answer to this question he gave at a press conference in California.

Senator MONTTOYA. Why would he mention the fact that before Mr. Mitchell left as campaign chairman he had employed a very good law firm with investigatory experience to look into the matter—that was one statement—and then the next statement was: "Mr. MacGregor has continued the investigation, and is continuing it now." In light of what you have stated, that you were merely inquiring as to any involvement and you were not conducting an investigation in-depth, would you say that the President used the word "investigation" against the wrong facts as they existed at the time?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I don't think it is particularly helpful for me, Senator, to speculate about the President's motivation—and that was your question of a moment ago—nor do I think it is particularly helpful to express my opinion as to how this committee should evaluate the evidence given before it.

Senator MONTTOYA. All right.

Now I want to go to something else—the subject of dirty tricks. We are interested in trying to ascertain whether any dirty tricks were practiced upon the Republican side of the campaign by the Democratic candidates. Can you elucidate on that?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No.

Senator MONTTOYA. Are you aware of any dirty tricks practiced by the Democrats on the Republicans?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Not during the period in which I was the director of the President's reelection committee.

Senator MONTTOYA. All right.

Mr. MACGREGOR. If there were any, Senator, they surely were not authorized by me, nor were they done by anybody over whom I could possibly exercise direction or control but, may I say, I asked the staff whether there is any evidence of so-called dirty tricks played during the period July 3 to November 7, 1972, and the response has been in the negative.

Senator MONTTOYA. That is against the—

Mr. DASH. I think the question, Mr. MacGregor, was not dirty tricks by the Republicans against Democrats but were you aware of any dirty tricks by the Democrats against Mr. Nixon's reelection campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. None that were verified. Certain incidents happened. Senator Montoya, as you know—I know in my Senate race in 1970, and it's happened before—it's like a situation in Minnesota where you and your wife appear at some scheduled event and you are expecting to see a big crowd and you are hoping the television and radio will be there and members of the principal media, and the person sponsoring the event says: "But you called 3 hours ago and said you could not make it and you were snowbound up in Bemiji," or some place else in the State. This is a standard trick, if you will—dirty trick, probably.

Senator MONTOKA. It hasn't happened in New Mexico. [Laughter.]

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, I didn't attribute that to any activity on the part of my opponent in the 1970 campaign or other campaigns, and I don't have any evidence that would link Senator McGovern or any of his people to any of the events that did, from time to time, cause damage to and harassed some of the campaign operations of President Nixon.

Senator MONTOKA. My time is up; thank you Mr. MacGregor.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Baker.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

Mr. MacGregor, I won't try to go over the same factual material that you have covered so far with counsel and Senator Weicker and Senator Montoya, but I will ask you a few questions about another matter of a broader scope. The resolution creating this committee provides that we shall make certain findings, if possible, and make certain recommendations for legislation. While this committee is a select committee and not a standing committee, and does not have reporting authority, we are, under the resolution, directed to make recommendations for legislation which presumably, at some future time, will be considered by the standing jurisdictional committees of the Senate. That is what I would like to talk about a little.

Yesterday, I asked the national campaign director for Senator Muskie's primary campaign whether he thought there was a danger that Presidential campaigning has gotten so glossy, so full of merchandising techniques, and so big that two things have happened: One, people are finding out "who" the candidate is, but they seldom find out "what" he is; and two, it is so big and unwieldy that it is essentially unmanageable. If you would care to comment on either one of those concerns I would be happy for that, and then if you have any recommendations on how we ought to reform either the campaign practices and statutes of the United States or the electoral system in the United States, I would be grateful for that.

Mr. MACGREGOR. As you know, Senator, it is a big order and it covers a very, very broad field. It is my observation that the electorate in a congressional, senatorial, or Presidential reelection campaign has a pretty clear idea of the capabilities and performance record of the incumbent seeking reelection. You asked in a part of your question that perhaps our Presidential campaigns have gotten so big that they might know "who" he is, but do they know "what" he is. I think there is some validity to that with respect to a candidate who has not been on the national scene. But I am just thinking out loud; I am thinking in our own party, Governor Rockefeller is certainly very well known. I think people know who he is and what he is, and I trust that is true

with respect to Governor Reagan. I think that it is in anybody's mind while that wasn't true with the revelations this committee has brought out with respect to the Nixon administration, I just would have to say to you, I think, that is an exception, rather than the rule. I think generally we know who our candidates for President are and what they are. I think that is true of Senator Hubert Humphrey; it may not be true, entirely, of Senator George McGovern.

Perhaps he didn't get as well known with respect to who he was and what he was as Hubert Humphrey, Lyndon B. Johnson, John F. Kennedy, or Senator Barry Goldwater, but generally speaking, I think the press that is here and the electronic media representatives who are here do quite a job; I think some of the McGovern people think they do too good a job in bringing every weakness of a candidate to the attention of the American people as well as commenting editorially on the strengths.

I have indicated to Mr. Dash one proposal, and indicated with some specificity, if I were a Member of the Congress I would have legislation for introduction. I know campaigns are too long and too expensive. I am hesitant to suggest by legislation that you gentlemen in Congress attempt to shorten them or to limit the expenditures except in, perhaps, the way you already have in the bill passed by the Senate, as possibly infringing on first amendment rights and making an unequal contest where the incumbent has an advantage over the challenger.

I have studied the question of a national primary—I believe some Senators have authored bills to provide a number of regional primaries. I think that regional primary idea makes some sense. I think if we were to standardize on 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 primary days, the number of times you go to the polls and the people have a chance to vote in a primary. I think that is probably a helpful step.

But I think that this process of improving the way in which we finance and the way in which we conduct campaigns at the Presidential, senatorial, and congressional level is a matter in which the Congress and the Executive must give continuing attention and must constantly stand in readiness to improve existing laws by reforms that are well thought out, and hopefully will prove to be effective.

Senator BAKER. What do you think about public-versus-private financing?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I have some reservations about public financing.

Senator BAKER. Do you have some reservations about private financing?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Many; that is why I recommended the proposal which, if you will, is a mix of ideas. It is a public agency—the Federal Elections Office would act as a conduit and reporting authority of every dollar contributed to a candidate for Federal office, and I would make it a criminal offense, if there were such a statute created—I would make it a criminal offense to make contributions to candidates.

Senator BAKER. What do you think about publicly financing the Presidential elections? They are really the big money elections; they are the ones in which enormous sums of money are involved. We have heard estimates of from 1 to 10 million people. Does that alter the situation any, or your view of public-versus-private financing—

the special nature of the Presidential campaign? I am speaking of a general election campaign, not necessarily the primary.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Senator Baker, I think contained in a Senate bill passed by the Senate, passed several months ago, was a limit to the expenditures in Presidential and congressional races. In any event, if I am correct, I think you can look on a Presidential race as a senatorial race conducted simultaneously in 50 separate States plus the District of Columbia, because of the electoral system in the Presidential race; and you and I worked together in the 1968 Nixon campaign. We know each State is a separate contest and if you limit the President to expenditure of money that you limit Senators to on a State-by-State basis based, as I understand it, on the population of that State and then perhaps made some additional small limitation for national television or national network radio advertising, I think something like that should be explored.

Senator BAKER. What do you think about the electoral college yourself?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I have been a great booster of the constitutional amendment which passed the House a few years ago. I was pleased to be a coauthor of a direct popular election constitutional amendment. I don't believe it passed the Senate, although the Senate in the past has adopted, and the House has not adopted, a constitutional amendment that would alter the way we elect Presidents.

Senator BAKER. What about the selection and the election of a Vice President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It has been my strong belief, and I don't believe that the trauma of the last couple of months has changed my belief, that the President and Vice President must be a team and must be presented to the electorate as a team.

Senator BAKER. Well, given that, can you see any way we could materially improve the selection process? Senator Griffin suggested, as I understand it, that you don't vote for the Vice President at all, but rather rely entirely on the 25th amendment after a President is elected to confirm or reject the President's choice for Vice President, presumably in January of the year following the election.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Senator Griffin is a very thoughtful and perceptive legislator; he was in the House and I am sure he has been in the Senate. I wouldn't want to go through any period of more than a week or two following the election for President when we had no Vice President. I would rather develop better procedures in each political party for the selection of the Vice Presidential candidate by the party system. Believe me, I think the 25th amendment is a step forward and, again, I played a role in the draftmanship when I was a Member of the House.

Senator BAKER. Mr. MacGregor, I won't prolong this much longer; much of what I am discussing with you now for the record, you and I have discussed when you were a Member of the House and I was a Member of the Senate, and we were both attracted to the popular election of the President which didn't always meet with the approval of all of my colleagues including, I believe, my distinguished chairman; but I lost and he won and that makes it still an issue. I think I have some idea about how you feel about these things. I could go on about the refinements in private financing or the dangers or safe-

guards of public financing—maybe we can do that in another conversation another day or maybe you would like to submit your views, if you have further views, on this subject to the committee for its record.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I would certainly like that opportunity, Mr. Vice Chairman.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, if there is no objection, I would like to ask that the witness be permitted to submit his further views about campaign reform.

Senator ERVIN. I am sure the committee would be delighted to receive them.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Might I, before we leave this, ask Mr. Dash if the staff would be kind enough to provide me with a verbatim transcript of the Senator's question so I know what it is that he has invited me to submit?*

Mr. DASH. We will provide you with a verbatim transcript of your full public testimony.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Thank you.

Senator BAKER. Two last and final questions: I am really concerned that the Presidential campaign apparatus may be so big and unmanageable and, by the very nature of it, it may create situations where people, young and old, are predisposed to act in a way that might not be expected of them otherwise. The hunger for peer approval, the "let's do it for the boss" concept, or "Well, everybody is doing it; that is politics." And when you staff up 1 million or 10 million people to run a Presidential campaign, would you agree with me that you know very few of them, as national director, and have very little control over most of them?

Mr. MACGREGOR. That is true.

Senator BAKER. Have you got any ideas on how we can tighten up on the responsibilities of a campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Most of the evils that have come to light in the work of this committee and other investigative bodies center on the question of financing. I know that, according to the press at least, you are in the so-called dirty tricks phase.

I don't know, legislatively, how you deal with somebody who prints a bogus letter or circulates a bogus letter. I think that is against the law now, and if it isn't, it should be; to reduce the temptation to do this, the penalties ought to be increased.

Senator BAKER. Or, to make the point that was made yesterday about the Stewart Mott letter against Senator Muskie, that was—Mr. Mott, a Democrat against a Democratic contender, put his name on it but that didn't reduce the nature of its scurrilous contents; I don't know how you legislate against that anyway. But if you would include your thoughts along these lines and others that may occur to you.

Mr. MACGREGOR. All right, sir.

Senator BAKER. Even though they may involve changes in statute law or even in the Constitution, and even though some of them may appear to be impossible to deal with legislatively; if you would let us have your full thoughts, you are one of a very few people in the United States who has been through a national campaign who has the experience and the perception to advise us in this respect, and I would be very grateful for it.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Thank you, Senator Baker.

*Not received at time of publication.

Senator BAKER. Thank you.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Talmadge.

Senator TALMADGE. Mr. MacGregor, you have testified that you had a feeling that you had been used and you excluded the President from that. Who do you think you had been used by?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Let's start with those who testified before this committee. They either deceived me, if my characterization of Jeb Magruder's testimony is correct, or withheld the truth from me, if my characterization of John Dean is correct.

I would start on the basis of their testimony before this committee, with Mr. Magruder and Mr. Dean. I have the feeling there are others who were privy to what Mr. Magruder and Mr. Dean were doing, and I think the full process of inquiry by this committee, plus the actions of our criminal justice system in the judiciary in the prosecutorial sense, will give me the facts that enable me to give you a complete answer to your question, Senator.

I think, without knowing that the fact has been established that others participated in this, it would be unwise and unfair for me to name others.

Senator TALMADGE. You would limit it only to Magruder and Dean, as of now?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I would do that on the basis of their own testimony here, as reported in the press. I think—yes, I was used to some extent by each of these gentlemen, and perhaps by others.

Senator TALMADGE. Would you include Mr. Ehrlichman inasmuch as he participated in the Ellsberg break-in without informing you?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I think if our roles had been reversed, I would have told him, as the director of the campaign, about the previous activities that might arise or the information of which might arise or the suspicion of which might arise during the campaign in which I had participated.

Now, I say that with full appreciation of the fact that I don't know anything about the scope of the national security inquiry that the so-called Plumbers unit apparently was assigned to carry out, and so I am hesitant to speak on the basis of incomplete information.

Senator TALMADGE. Don't you think Mr. Mitchell should have informed you also of his involvement with Liddy and others?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I think those who had knowledge of the Watergate break-in and all parties who might have had, as I have used the phrase "foreknowledge of it," I think those people should have told me; yes.

Senator TALMADGE. Did you ever sit down at any time with former Attorney General John Mitchell man to man and ask him if he was ever involved in any way?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Senator, on July 1, 1972, I told him that I was knowledgeable about his public statement of denials of involvement and I was taking those at face value. I was accepting those; and he indicated to me that that was an appropriate attitude for me to take.

Senator TALMADGE. That would indicate that you have been used by Mr. Mitchell also, would it not?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I think he should have been more candid with me. I heard him testify before this committee that he took the steps that he took because he regarded the reelection of the President to be para-

mount, and he feared that disclosure might result in the President's defeat. I do not share that opinion.

Senator TALMADGE. After you became the campaign manager on July 1, 1972, how much influence did Mr. Haldeman have on the campaign decisionmaking?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No more than any other senior White House official or Cabinet officer who would make suggestions or recommendations to me about the conduct of the campaign.

Senator TALMADGE. Mr. Ehrlichman?

Mr. MACGREGOR. The same.

Senator TALMADGE. Mr. Stans?

Mr. MACGREGOR. The same.

Senator TALMADGE. Mr. Mitchell?

Mr. MACGREGOR. The same, but somewhat less, because there was a decreasing opportunity for Mr. Mitchell to be in contact with me. I think he and his family established residence in New York shortly before the opening of school last year and I did not see Mr. Mitchell much after Labor Day last year.

Senator TALMADGE. By the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. The President was the candidate. When I was a candidate, as I have been six times for a seat in the U.S. Congress, I felt that the campaign manager ought to do what the candidate wants unless there is strong agreement among the key campaign people that the candidate is wrong.

The issue never arose between the President and me as to whether I was doing something that he would not do. He indicated to me—if he ever did—that things were going well, as indeed, the polls and the final result showed things were going well in terms of the conduct of the campaign.

But had the President said to me or given me a direction, I would have followed it, Senator. I had that understanding with him, but with no one else, that I have to take directions. But I was always open to suggestions.

Senator TALMADGE. Mr. Stans testified to this committee that his activity was limited purely to raising money. Is that correct?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes, with this one additional proviso. As a member of the budget committee, he talked about reducing expenditures. So, yes. He did not participate in the political decisions that were made in the political campaign as to what issues to stress, how to accomplish a change of personnel in a given State so as to win that State's electoral votes. But to the extent that he was concerned about the expenditure of funds, he did have some influence. It was not a major influence.

Senator TALMADGE. One thing that is most surprising to me about his testimony, given his background and competence and experience, was how hundreds of thousands of dollars could be disbursed in cash and, according to his testimony, he did not have the vaguest idea where it was going or for what purpose.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I do not remember the exact date that Mr. Stans left his position in the Department of Commerce and assumed his responsibilities with the committee. My recollection is it was sometime in February of 1972. I may be wrong in that, but it is in that neighborhood.

It is also my recollection that Mr. Mitchell did not really move into his position until April of 1972. I think many of the evils that have come to light occurred as a result of the process or a set of procedures that predated the arrival on the scene of either Mr. Stans or Mr. Mitchell.

Senator TALMADGE. Now, you have testified that Mr. Gray called you and was concerned about the campaign. Your testimony is somewhat different from what Mr. Gray said. He said he was warning you about it and Gray quoted somewhat stronger language than that.

Mr. Magruder also testified that he told you that he was fearful that it went beyond Liddy and the others. Did you give their warnings and testimony any credence, their statement to you?

Mr. MACGREGOR. If I may, Senator Talmadge, I mean no disrespect. You mentioned Magruder. I think perhaps you mean Mr. Mardian.

Senator TALMADGE. I thought it was Magruder. Did he not warn you that the affair may well go beyond the original Watergate Seven?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Mardian did. Mr. Magruder never did. Magruder in fact gave me directly and indirectly, over and over again, the firm conviction that the responsibility ended with the original Watergate Seven.

The answer to your question, however, is, yes. I was concerned by those statements and I took action to, again, determine whether or not what people had been saying was true and they told me it was true.

Senator TALMADGE. Did you tell the President of your concern?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No, not as a result of the Gray telephone call or as a result of the Mardian comments to me at the Republican National Convention.

I might say, Senator, perhaps only these two instances have come to light in your inquiry, but the matter of Watergate was a daily concern from and after July 1. When my wife and I would travel throughout the country—to Atlanta, for example—the key people in Georgia running the President's reelection campaign would express their concern about Watergate. This was a daily matter. There was not anything particularly unusual, in my recollection, about the Gray expression of concern or the Mardian comments about the possible involvement of others.

For example, at the Republican National Convention, my deputy, Fred Malek, and I met with a number of delegations; State delegations, the key Republican officers in the political organization in the State and the key Nixon campaign people. And at many of those meetings, the concern was expressed that some beyond the Watergate Seven would be indicted. We expected the indictments to come the week after the convention.

Senator TALMADGE. Did you believe all those stories that appeared in the news media at that time?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Oh, no. They caused me concern.

Senator TALMADGE. Do you believe them now?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I will believe that somebody has committed conduct that is contrary to the law when that has been established in court or incontrovertibly developed by the Congress, by a committee of the stature of this committee, but not before. I believe in presumption of innocence. It has been strained, pretty badly strained, in the past few months. But as a lawyer, as you are, I still give it credence.

Senator TALMADGE. Thank you, Mr. MacGregor. I want to compliment you on the forthrightness and candor of your testimony.

Senator ERVIN. I might state that the contacts I have had with you on conference committees and others during our joint experience in Congress made me expect the forthrightness of the testimony which you have given us.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. You did not conduct an independent investigation of the Watergate affair, you say?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No, sir, other than make the inquiries on a face-to-face basis with the key people I inherited on that committee.

Senator ERVIN. And after you became director of the political Committee To Re-Elect the President, you issued certain statements denying any complicity of members of the committee in the Watergate affair, and that was based upon statements given to you by other persons on the committee on whom you relied?

Mr. MACGREGOR. That is correct, sir.

Senator ERVIN. As a matter of fact, with all the duties that devolved upon you as chairman of the national campaign committee, you would not have had time to have conducted an investigation.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Not and do the job that the President asked me to do that customarily would develop; whether it be an incumbent President, whether it be Senator, President or Congressman.

Senator ERVIN. One thing that has intrigued me is ever since this committee started this investigation, the evidence before this committee compels the conclusion that within a very brief time after the break-in on June 17, 1972, it was proclaimed in the news media in a way in which every person who sought to be informed would understand that prior to the break-in, \$114,000 of campaign funds contributed to the reelection campaign of the President was deposited temporarily in the bank account of Bernard L. Barker, one of the burglars caught in the Watergate. That 53 \$100 bills which came out of this \$114,000 deposit were found in the possession of the five burglars at the time they were apprehended in the Watergate. What I cannot understand, what mystifies me, is why someone did not suggest to the President that he should call in his two campaign managers, former Attorney General Mitchell and former Secretary Stans, and ask them how it happened that five burglars had been caught in the headquarters of the opposition political party with his campaign funds in their pockets.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Senator, all I can suggest to you is that the answer to your question lies, as far as the President is concerned, in one statement. I am quoting from the printed record of the President's statement of August 15, 1973: "In the summer of 1972, I had given orders for the Justice Department and the FBI to conduct a thorough and aggressive investigation of the Watergate break-in and I relied on their investigation to disclose the facts."

Now, I know your question perhaps goes broader than that, but it did occur to me, in response to the inquiry which you just put to me, which, according to the press, you have put to previous witnesses—it does seem to me appropriate to call attention to the fact that the President apparently immediately ordered a full field investigation, a no-

holds-barred investigation by the FBI, and said, let the chips fall where they may.

Senator ERVIN. Well, the President had entrusted the political management of his campaign to John Mitchell, and he entrusted the financial management of his campaign—that is, the collection of contributions—to Maurice Stans. And it is a mystery to me, and why I think the President owes some obligation—at least, if I had been in his place, I would have done it—and I cannot understand why someone did not suggest to the President that he call in those two men and ask them the direct question: How did it happen that five burglars were caught in the headquarters of the opposition political party with his campaign funds in their pockets?

If I were a candidate for an office and five burglars were caught in the headquarters of my opponent with my campaign funds in their pockets, I would raise pluperfect Cain to find out how that happened. I would certainly call in my campaign managers.

I think had the President taken that action, and I think it is deeply regrettable that he did not, I think if he had taken this action, this matter would have been fully disclosed within a few days and this country and the President and everybody concerned would have been saved the travail of going through a great agony.

Of course, hindsight is better than foresight.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I find myself—if I may, Senator—I find myself in substantial agreement with the views you have expressed. I hope you will not think it disrespectful of me to suggest to you that the best man to answer your question is the President of the United States. If time and circumstances have not permitted you the opportunity to put the question to him, I hope that that would happen and you would have that opportunity.

Senator ERVIN. Well, thank you.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Not necessarily in this forum, you understand. Perhaps when you and Senator Baker are talking with him, if you do again.

Senator ERVIN. Just one further thing. I am opposed to the direct election of the President. I believe when you convert—I believe it is 185,000 voting precincts in the 50 States—and when you convert all those, in effect, into 1 precinct, you have raised more problems than you have solved. I think we need a reform in the electoral process and I am an advocate of an amendment along that line. I think if we abolished the Presidential electors—keep the Presidential electoral votes, but instead of having to cast them by individuals, just let them be divided automatically by election officials among the candidates in proportion to their popular vote, I think it would get rid of many of the evils of the system and not get us in this fix where we would have just one big election precinct in 50 States. I do not believe—especially these bills, the House judicial amendments providing for direct election—provided that if nobody got 45 percent of the votes, we would have to have a rerun of the election. I do not think this country could stand two Presidential elections within 1 year.

Mr. MACGREGOR. The problem of dealing with a situation where a candidate, while winning a plurality, showed up with a minority of the Presidential electoral votes—I think that is a serious problem that is recognized by the proponents of direct popular election. It is

mindful of the phrase attributed, I guess, to Winston Churchill, that democracy is not a very efficient system but it is inordinately better than anything else devised by the mind of man.

I know that you and I, by virtue of our association, have been advocates of reform in the way we elect Presidents. We differ a little bit about what road to take in reaching the same goal.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Weicker, do you have more questions?

Senator WEICKER. Yes, I do, Mr. Chairman. I would like to add, if I might, on the point Mr. MacGregor raised—that is, asking the question of the President directly.

Would you approve, would you think it a good idea, since I have written to the chairman of this committee and since this was a matter which I raised with the committee earlier this week, that the full committee meet with the President at his convenience at the White House, not under oath, and have the proceedings made public—in other words, that there be a full transcript of the proceedings which would be made public? Do you think that would be a good forum to go ahead and ask the question?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I think a better forum—the forum I had in mind when I spoke just a moment ago with the chairman—was the occasion of the meeting which produced the so-called John Stennis compromise. I agree that that compromise did not live very long, but I would think it would be generally in the interest of this country if, on an informal basis, there could be, given all of the facts and circumstances, further opportunities for the distinguished chairman of this committee, along with the distinguished vice chairman of this committee, to meet on the problems that arise with the President of the United States.

Senator WEICKER. Of course, we are not talking about problems. We are talking about asking questions. Do you think it might be best, since we have always acted together as a committee, that the full committee might meet with him—as I say, not under oath—in a setting of his own choosing, to ask those questions? Quite frankly, questions which are on matters that are not on any tapes. I realize the preoccupation people have with tapes, but there are a good many other subjects that have come under the scrutiny of this committee. Do you not think it might be a satisfactory compromise in order to get the truth to the American people?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I don't believe, Senator Weicker, I have an opinion or comment to make on your suggestion.

Senator WEICKER. Well, the only way that I know I can ask the President is if I sit face to face with the President. I gather that is what you indicated, as to who would be the person to direct the question toward.

Do you know why we are asking these questions, Mr. MacGregor, relative to whether or not you conducted an investigation?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, I read the Washington Post this morning. You may have prompted, or they may have prompted you or somebody may have prompted them.

Senator WEICKER. No, I will tell you exactly what prompted me.

Mr. MACGREGOR. May I finish my answer to your question?

Senator WEICKER. Please do.

Mr. MACGREGOR. You asked me, do I know? The answer is, "No, I don't." But as with any person, and it is true with respect to the President of the United States, an answer he gave to a question at the press conference—to a question I suspect he didn't anticipate—and the carefully prepared written statement of the President are at some variance, which is true. I never tell the same story exactly the same way twice. An honest man never recites precisely the same set of events with the same terminology, unless he has memorized it, in my opinion.

So, yes, there is some variance—and the Washington Post pointed it out in an article this morning—between the President's statement at a recent press conference and his statements in response to questions at the press conference of August 29 last year at San Clemente and the written statement issued by the White House on August 15 of this year.

Senator WEICKER. Let me be very precise, because this is a line of questioning I initiated during the course of the summer hearings. In his statement of April 30, 1973, the President made the following statement:

As a result, on March 21, I personally assumed the responsibility of coordinating intensive new inquiries into the matter. I personally ordered those conducting the investigation to get all the facts and to report them directly to me, right here in this office.

On the basis of that statement, made by the President on April 30, I inquired of the following individuals as to whether or not they conducted an investigation, or had been requested, rather, by the President on that particular day to conduct the investigation and report the facts to him: Patrick Gray, head of the FBI, Richard Kleindienst, head of the Justice Department, and Henry Petersen, head of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department. All denied that they had received any order by the President of the United States on March 21 to conduct an investigation and report the matter to him in his office. This matter has been pursued since then, and all sorts of explanations have been made since then, including throwing your name into the pot, not by this committee but by the President. And still there is no satisfactory answer as to exactly what occurred on March 21, at least insofar as the individuals that were charged with the investigation, or in your particular instance, your situation which, as I say, was not created by this committee but rather by the President himself. Do you have any idea who, beyond yourself and these three individuals, might have conducted this investigation?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It appears. Mr. Weicker, at least from your most recent inquiry, that you are concentrating on the period sometime between March and April of 1973. I have no knowledge of any of the events in March or April of 1973. I have been enjoying a private life since November 8, 1972.

Senator WEICKER. All I am trying to say is that the difficulty which has occurred here is not a matter of fault as far as the committee or the press is concerned, but rather of fault as far as the President is concerned in trying to inform us as to his statement of April 30.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Let's make it clear. I don't think it is my province here to assess fault, and I believe I have heard you say in previous hearings that you are just trying to get the facts.

Senator WEICKER. I am trying to get the facts, and I would like to know who exactly received the order to conduct the investigation on March 21, and, so far, nobody has answered that question.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I can't help you, Senator, because I have been out of the Government since November.

Senator WEICKER. I understand that, but at least you have established the very valuable point that you were not appointed to go ahead and conduct the investigation. That is the testimony you have given here.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Not in March or April of 1973. I think it is somewhat of a semantic exercise to indicate that—what I indicated to the President I would do, or did do, was to conduct an investigation in the exercise of personal assurance.

Senator WEICKER. I would like to turn, if I might, to the Pat Gray phone conversation on July 5 or 6, depending on which version is correct.

Mr. MACGREGOR. If my version is correct, it is both, because it was July 6 in Washington and July 5 in California.

Senator WEICKER. All right. You indicated that you did not discuss that phone conversation with anybody, is that correct?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I told my wife about it and we discussed it. Then we went to sleep. It was not a momentous occasion.

Senator WEICKER. I think you would have a rather hard time selling that to—in light of what has happened—either to the country or Pat Gray.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I would respectfully disagree with you with respect to the country. I think that the supporting evidence, which I have alluded to here and which the committee has in its record, indicates that this is a difference of recollection between Mr. Gray and myself. It will probably be ultimately decided, if ever, in favor of my recollection. But I could be wrong, Senator. I could be wrong.

Senator WEICKER. Look, I am not trying to make a point. I agree with you except for the fact that it is obviously important enough for the President of the United States to turn to you in the middle of a receiving line and say, "We didn't talk on July 6."

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, this isn't the only inquiry in town, Senator. I don't know what may have transpired. I read Jack Anderson's column the other day. I don't know whether that is accurate or whether it isn't accurate. I haven't discussed the Jack Anderson column with anybody, but it ought not to be any great mystery to you, or to anybody else, that the inquiries by this committee are not the only inquiries going on. Inquiries by others may generate some thinking or activity that you and I don't know about.

Senator WEICKER. All right. To get back to your statement, you discussed, then, the phone call, possibly with your wife and no one else?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Not possibly, I did discuss it with my wife.

Senator WEICKER. In an interview reported August 14, 1973, in the Washington Post, it says that MacGregor said in the interview, that at the time Gray said he talked, MacGregor and his wife, Barbara, were swimming in the motel swimming pool. You recalled that Herb Klein, the White House director of communications and Mrs. Klein, were there also. Mrs. Klein said, through a spokesman this week, he

remembered talking with the MacGregors at poolside that morning, and Clark mentioned something about getting a call from Pat Gray the previous night.

The question specifically to you is this: As I understand, also at the time you received the call, Bill Timmons was in your suite, is that correct?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; Bill Timmons and my wife and I were just about to say good night. Bill was going to leave and go to his hotel room. My wife and I were going to retire.

Senator WEICKER. Is it possible, then, that either Bill Timmons or Herb Klein communicated your phone conversation with Pat Gray to the President?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It is not my recollection that I mentioned Pat Gray's phone call to Bill Timmons when I came back from the sitting room to the bedroom. Bill was standing with his hand on the doorknob, ready to leave, and we shook hands and he left. It is not my recollection that I ever talked to Bill Timmons about the Pat Gray phone call, or that I said, that was Pat Gray on the phone.

It is not my recollection that I mentioned—when I was swimming the next morning in the motel pool—that I mentioned it to Herb Klein and his wife. But as I was swimming, working out the next morning, Mr. and Mrs. Klein did walk from their motel and, of course, by the checkout area of the desk, and I did discuss with them and I did talk to them. I am not sure that I talked about Pat Gray calling the night before. But it is possible.

Senator WEICKER. In other words, what I am basically saying—I want to make one think clear here—that having served with you and known you, I am willing to accept the statement you make before this committee that you did not go ahead and communicate with the President. But was it possible that somebody else communicated with the President the subject matter of your phone call?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, thank you, Senator. I can only tell you that I am familiar with the system that operates, at least with the White House switchboard. I am not familiar with the San Clemente situation. I have only been there twice in my life, and each time was last summer or fall. But when a call is made from one Government official to another former Government official, who was a Government official a few days previously, through the White House switchboard, it is not a secret. Nobody tries to keep that secret from anybody. I haven't said this before because I can't really say I have a clear recollection of it, but I have a recollection that when I arrived at the Newporter Inn, the girl at the desk said, the White House at San Clemente has several calls for you, Mr. MacGregor. This would have been about 9:30 p.m., California time, on July 5.

The fact that one person is calling another one when you are staying at a public place is not a secret from anyone. There could have been a number of ways in which persons who were not on that telephone putting in a call to Clark MacGregor—not limiting it to Pat Gray and me—could have known of the fact that we talked.

Frankly, one of the reasons is because I thought he was concerned about something that I didn't fully understand. One of the reasons I told him about coming back so quickly was I anticipated that he and I would have a chance to talk where it wouldn't be as public as through

the White House switchboard, through a hotel switchboard to the hotel room. I must confess I was somewhat surprised that I didn't hear from him after that.

Senator WEICKER. In other words, what I am trying to resolve is the coincidence, if you will, of the Presidential phone call back to Pat Gray after the phone conversation with you. As I said, I accept your word before this committee. But, somehow, the committee has to, or I have to—the best way we can—resolve these rather extraordinary coincidences as between when you were notified and the phone calls of the President.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I am sure the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration won't like this, but it may be that Mr. Butterfield, if recalled as a witness, could add something to this discussion we are now having.

Senator WEICKER. Mr. Chairman, I don't know what the schedule of the committee is. I have several more questions of Mr. MacGregor. Is it the intention of the chairman to continue or would it be the wish of the chairman—

Senator ERVIN. It may well be that we can finish with the hearing this morning and not come back in the afternoon.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I would ask, Senator Weicker, if it won't cut the committee short, I would appreciate if we do go ahead to the conclusion.

Senator WEICKER. During the week—getting back to that time just prior to your accepting the position to be chairman of the campaign—during the week following the July 17, 1972, break-in, did you attend the 8:15 White House staff meeting?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; I attended the regular daily meetings of the senior White House staff at 8:15 and I had been doing so, Senator Weicker, since early 1971.

Senator WEICKER. And the composition of those meetings at that time?

Mr. MACGREGOR. The senior White House staff changed during the period that I was there but I think the only substantive change was in the Office of Management and Budget. George Shultz used to attend the meetings regularly and when he moved to Treasury, Cap Weinberger took his place. The regular participants were the senior White House officials, plus advisers to the President. That would include the following: Henry Kissinger, Bob Finch, Don Rumsfeld, Bob Halde- man, John Ehrlichman, Bill Timmons, Peter Flanigan, the Chair- man of the Council of Economic Advisers, who was first Paul Mc- Cracken and then later Herb Stein, Ron Ziegler, and myself. I may have left out someone but I think that is about it.

Senator WEICKER. All right.

During this time, June 17, the week following June 17, was Water- gate ever discussed at that meeting?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes, yes. I think it was, probably at each of the meetings from there on, because there were many daily developments and news stories, Senator Weicker. By daily I mean starting the Monday following the arrest of the burglars and then—

Senator WEICKER. What was the nature of the discussion, merely a rehash of what was in the papers or what?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Primarily, individuals saying in agreement with one another: "That was stupid; it was bizarre; it was idiotic; it was politically unproductive, of course; it sure comes as a surprise to me; I had no idea that anything like this was contemplated." Those were the statements that were made by people who made them.

Senator WEICKER. Now, June 22 about 10:15 a.m., the President would still be in the meeting with Mr. Haldeman. Was there any discussion at that time of your replacement of Mitchell as campaign director?

Mr. MACGREGOR. June 22? The first discussion I had with the President about my becoming the director of the campaign was—with only two of us present—in his office on June 30, 1972.

Senator WEICKER. In other words, to try to make the questioning brief; I have the following instances which seemed certainly to place Mr. Haldeman—he had no legislative responsibilities. At that time you were the legislative liaison certainly. Why would you meet with Mr. Haldeman?

Mr. MACGREGOR. To check with him about the best time to schedule a meeting with the President and, let us say, the chairman and ranking Republican of a key Senate committee; whether it be Senator Long and Senator Bennett, dealing with the finance or tax matters or their counterparts on other committees. I was in touch with Bob Haldeman every day about developments that affected the President's schedule so as to recommend to the President that he meet with certain Senators or Congressmen or a mixture of both, or that he call somebody on the telephone. I tried to coordinate my recommendations to the President regarding congressional relations, with the other demands upon his schedule, and Bob Haldeman knew about those other demands.

Senator WEICKER. So, in other words, neither at that meeting, nor the 26th meeting with Ehrlichman, nor with Colson on the 28th—and you again met with Mr. Haldeman on the 29th—when you met with Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Colson—at none of those meetings was it discussed as to your taking over from John Mitchell?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No.

Senator WEICKER. Was the matter discussed as to the viability of Mr. Mitchell as the director of the campaign regardless of who his successor might be?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, when the news broke about what I believe was referred to by the media as Mrs. John Mitchell's ultimatum to her husband to get out of politics or there will be a severance of the marriage, there was some discussion of that. I do not know how long. I do not remember just when the news was carried about the so-called Martha Mitchell ultimatum. It occurs to me, Senator Weicker, it was somewhere in the last 10 days of June.

Senator WEICKER. All right. We move to June 29, you are in town, the President is in town and obviously you are at his call 24 hours a day. Why would the President call you at 11:30 in the evening of the 29th to meet with him in the late afternoon of the 30th? Why could that not have waited until the morning of the 30th and say: "We are going to meet later in the afternoon"?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It is my recollection that the President and I talked for some 20 minutes on that night and, as you recall, he called

me when my wife and I were enroute home. The call, the hour that you cite, is a little later than my recollection but it is only a minor matter. But the President and I discussed a number of things in that telephone call, including some serious problems, legislative problems we had that were coming to resolution the next day.

You know, Senator Weicker, every year with the termination of the fiscal year on June 30 there is a problem of a continuing resolution and would it contain a Vietnam end-the-war provision or what else would it contain? We had that problem and we had a number of other legislative problems. The President and I talked about those at some length. But it was my experience in dealing with the President that primarily we talked about the things that were of concern to him and he brought up this legislative discussion. We had it—it was a fairly lengthy discussion—and at the conclusion of that discussion he said: "After all of the legislative problems are out of the way tomorrow, Clark, I hope you will have time to visit with me on another matter," or "a personal matter," I have forgotten how he put it. I did not think it was going to be what it turned out to be.

Senator WEICKER. On the 30th you met with the President. Could you give the committee the nature of that conversation and its length?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes. My recollection is that he and I talked privately for somewhere between 30 and 45 minutes and that he called in Mr. Haldeman to take some notes on some of the things that we talked about. The President and Mr. Haldeman and I continued perhaps for 10, 15, 20 minutes more. The President opened, as I have indicated in previous testimony here, telling me of John Mitchell's decision and the reasons for it and asked me to take over. He and I discussed the fact that I had never managed a campaign but he said: "You have been a candidate yourself six times, five times for the House of Representatives and one time for the Senate, and you have seen campaigns managed and mismanaged." I indicated to him, yes, I thought from a candidate's standpoint I knew something about how campaigns should be run. But I then—we discussed his standing. I think a Gallup or Harris poll or perhaps both had just been issued showing him at 54 percent and I expressed the view that he really didn't need a campaign; we talked about the problem of getting people who feel favorably about you registered and to the polls to vote. He asked me if I was willing to take the job if I concentrated on volunteer organization in the precincts to get out the vote. He then talked, as I have indicated earlier, about his hopes and dreams of accomplishments in the second term, a term which would include America's celebration of its 200th birthday. We talked at some length about China, about Russia, about Southeast Asia, about the economy; we talked about his domestic legislative initiatives that had not yet been defined by the Congress, how he hoped I would speak about them in the campaign if I would take the campaign job.

Further, Senator Weicker, we talked about the political situation in given States. I told him I had little or no knowledge of the situation in California. He talked a little bit about California and his own experiences there, some of them not successful, some successful. He talked about the situation in other States. We talked about the situation in Minnesota. With the exception of the 1952 and 1956 campaigns, when he had been a Vice Presidential candidate, he had not car-

ried Minnesota. He lost Minnesota in 1960 and again in 1968. We talked a little bit about the situation in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa and in the upper Midwest generally where he knew I had familiarity. We talked about other things. He talked about Fred Malek, he said: "You want to read Fred Malek's management analysis of the campaign structure?" He said: "I haven't read it but Mr. Haldeman has talked to me about it. You ought to get a copy from Mr. Haldeman." I did. He said: "I had the impression that the campaign is topheavy in Washington and thins out in the precincts, and that there is a projection that is perhaps too rich." The President and I talked about most headquarters having bare tables, old chairs, and no rugs on the floor and he said: "I am not giving the right impression by the luxurious surroundings that I understand exist at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue." I am sure we talked of other things, Senator, but if you want me to direct my attention to your individual items I will.

Senator WEICKER. There was nothing specific in mind. How long did this conversation last?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I didn't make any notes of it. My recollection is he and I talked privately for up to 45 minutes but perhaps that was a little longer than we talked. Then he called Mr. Haldeman in and Mr. Haldeman and I continued the discussion for perhaps 15 or 20 minutes. It could have been less than 5.

Senator WEICKER. From that day, throughout the campaign, did you have occasion to keep the President apprised as to the progress of the campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes, from time to time, and it didn't happen very frequently because, as I say, the margin between President Nixon and Senator McGovern was growing steadily. It appeared to be settling in and solidifying. Things were going well so that there was no particular need for us to communicate with one another.

I got a chance to visit with him before the Republican National Convention so as to learn his convention plans and to learn something about when he would arrive, what he would do, and when he would address the convention. We met periodically in September and October to discuss the status of the campaign, and his own personal plans for campaigning.

Senator WEICKER. So would you consider the President to have been removed from the campaign or aware of what was going on?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I think he was keenly aware of what was going on but he didn't, to my knowledge—I think I would have known it—participate in any of the decisions that were made except insofar as he and I discussed it. He did have ideas that he imparted to me on June 30, some suggestions. I followed those suggestions. They appeared to work well, so I didn't have an occasion where he was critical of what I was doing or made new suggestions to me.

Senator WEICKER. All right, moving forward very rapidly. Why would Mr. Ehrlichman have taped the conversation between you and himself? You have seen that tape, I believe, or a transcript of that tape. You have had a chance to look at it.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I heard about it, and the answer to your question is, "I do not know." I have never taped a phone conversation with anyone and it just is foreign to my nature, Senator Weicker. I can't really look into the head of another man and presume to guess his

motives, particularly when he is adopting a course of conduct different from what I would do.

Senator WEICKER. On August 14, 1972, you met with Mr. Mitchell, Haldeman, and the President. Do you recall the subject matter discussed at that meeting?

Mr. MACGREGOR. It appears to me that it had to do with the President's plans regarding the convention. It may well have been that there were other things discussed about some Presidential appearances following the convention. There was a suggestion that I had a hand in scrubbing; that the President, after the convention, fly to San Diego because there was feared to be some political trouble in San Diego because the convention had been taken away and moved to Miami Beach. The President was to go in sort of a torchlight parade from San Diego to San Clemente following his nomination at the Republican convention, and I felt that was a very poor idea for a host of reasons. We may have discussed that.

The President didn't do the torchlight parade. But that is the sort of thing that occasionally we did discuss at these meetings. My recollection is that meeting had to do with the status of the campaign, plans for the convention and particularly the President's role in the convention, and some postconvention activities that had been recommended.

Senator WEICKER. Earlier today in testimony before the committee, you indicated as to your October 18 statement—the followup to Ziegler's statement on the Segretti matter—October 16—that Mr. Ehrlichman had requested that you issue a statement.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Yes; he did very strongly. I didn't mean to suggest that I don't accept the responsibility for it; I do.

Senator WEICKER. I didn't mean you did—he and others. Who were the others?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I can't recall. The press officer came up during the day, whether it was Al Abrams or Devan Shumway or both, and said, "The White House isn't happy with your decision not to hold the press conference." I don't remember just who those people were.

Senator WEICKER. Did you attend any of the briefings as between White House personnel and the press officers in which the Segretti matter was discussed in detail or—

Mr. MACGREGOR. No.

Senator WEICKER [continuing]. How to frame a response, at any of those meetings?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No. I haven't much time to watch television and the televised hearings of this committee, but Mr. Moore is a personal friend of mine and I had the opportunity to watch Mr. Moore's testimony and I was interested in hearing that for the first time, hearing about those meetings that you just referred to with Mr. Moore.

Senator WEICKER. So those were again conducted without your knowledge?

Mr. MACGREGOR. That is correct.

Senator WEICKER. Clark, would you say that as you look over the events of the campaign of 1972 and what was going on either in the finance area or the press area or the dirty tricks area or what have you, would you characterize it—and I don't mean to be demeaning to you, as an individual, because quite frankly you have got the class

to be a campaign director, there is no question about that—but would you characterize your role in relation to what everybody else was doing around you, as that of a figurehead?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Oh, no. During the course of my life, I have been called a number of different things, but none of them would come under the category of figurehead.

Senator WEICKER. I would not either, except for all these events transpiring without your knowledge.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, that is something else again.

If you are going about your job of being a U.S. Senator, and some people on your staff, without your knowledge, are doing something of which you would disapprove, you are too busy with legislation and with the interests of the people of Connecticut to be constantly monitoring and cross-examining the people on your staff as to whether they are following your general directives and in the way you want your office operated, whether it be here in Washington or at one or more offices you may maintain in the State of Connecticut. Of course, eventually those things tend to come to light, and by that I mean if somebody on your staff is doing something that is wrong.

But let me give you an example of the figurehead business. The one thing that John Ehrlichman was very anxious to do was to take one or more, and I think he mentioned up to four, of his Domestic Council personnel and interpose those people over Fred Malek's field supervisors, "so as to report independently of the campaign and directly to the White House and John Ehrlichman—and, of course, to you, Clark—about the status of the campaign in key States such as Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, and California." I said, "What is the reason for it, John?" And he said: "Well, Malek's field people are giving you and Malek what they think you would like to hear, but the campaign really is in bad trouble in many of these States. The President is going to lose them if we don't get an independent reporting and evaluation system going."

Well, Fred Malek opposed this because he said he felt he had good people and he thought we could rely on them. The public polls conducted in those States by newspaper and television and radio stations showed we were doing very well indeed, but at the convention at John Ehrlichman's insistence, we discussed this at length. By we—John Ehrlichman, Fred Malek, and myself, Mrs. MacGregor, and Weisner were there, and John argued forcefully for the Ehrlichman plan, and Fred Malek said he strongly opposed it, and I said, "No."

Less than 10 days later I was being importuned to drop the campaign and come to San Clemente to give John Ehrlichman a rehearing on his plan, and I resisted that. I said we considered that there is no need to give him a rehearing on his plan. Mr. Haldeman asked, "As a courtesy, would you come up and give him a rehearing?" So I had to go from Washington to San Clemente on August 29, along with Fred Malek, and sit down with Fred Malek, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman, where Ehrlichman was given an opportunity to reargue the Ehrlichman plan to put people of the Domestic Council over people in key States, and I said, "No, John, you have not presented new arguments. This is not necessary and Fred Malek is opposed to it and I support Fred Malek," and Haldeman said, "You have had two hearings, John, so you had better drop it and Clark is against it."

So we dropped it. So my conduct would indicate to you I was not a figurehead.

Senator WEICKER. Well, my concern is based on the record which is in the press area where—I gather over your objections and certainly with your reservations—you were issuing statements given to you on a record which establishes the fact that John Mitchell, even though he departed on the 30th, was meeting with the personnel in the Committee To Re-Elect the President, and his logs, which I have here, are absolute repetitions of his schedules prior to his departure; they don't vary at all.

Mr. MACGREGOR. The subject matter of discussion, however, may have changed materially; correct?

Senator WEICKER. In what way?

Mr. MACGREGOR. Well, some events took place on June 17 that intruded themselves into the picture. Let me assure you that John Mitchell was not running the campaign from and after July 3.

Senator WEICKER. So, the matters which he was discussing with LaRue, Mardian, Colson, and others—I have just cited a July 6 meeting as a typical one. Colson, Mardian, LaRue; Magruder, Halde- man, LaRue; Mardian, LaRue; Dean, Magruder, LaRue; Mardian, LaRue—did not relate to the campaign?

Mr. MACGREGOR. No; that has never been brought to my attention.

Senator WEICKER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. Thank you very much. You are excused now, and thank you very much.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Senator Ervin, thank you and members of the committee very much.

Senator ERVIN. The committee will stand in recess until Tuesday at 10 o'clock.

[Whereupon, at 12:55 p.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Tuesday, November 6, 1973.]

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1973

U.S. SENATE,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a.m., in room 318, Russell Senate Office Building, Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (chairman), presiding.

Present: Senators Ervin, Talmadge, Inouye, Montoya, Baker, and Weicker.

Also present: Samuel Dash, chief counsel and staff director; Fred D. Thompson, minority counsel; Rufus L. Edmisten, deputy chief counsel; David M. Dorsen and Terry F. Lenzner, assistant chief counsels; James C. Moore and Barry Schochet, assistant majority counsels; Howard S. Liebengood and Robert Silverstein, assistant minority counsels; Jed Johnson, investigator; Pauline O. Dement, research assistant; Eiler Ravnholt, office of Senator Inouye; Bruce Jaques, Jr., office of Senator Montoya; Ron McMahan, assistant to Senator Baker; Michael Flanigan, assistant publications clerk.

Senator ERVIN. The committee will come to order.

Counsel will call the first witness.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Truman Campbell.

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Campbell, will you hold up your right hand? Do you swear that the evidence that you shall give to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do.

Mr. DASH. Will you take the chair on the right?

Mr. Chairman, although I want to emphasize for the record that all witnesses called by this committee are committee witnesses and there are no majority witnesses or minority witnesses, Mr. Campbell has been interviewed extensively by Mr. Thompson and his staff, and I, therefore, would like to waive my opening questioning and ask Mr. Thompson to initiate the questioning of Mr. Campbell.

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Campbell, what is your present residence?

TESTIMONY OF TRUMAN F. CAMPBELL

Mr. CAMPBELL. Resident of California.

Mr. THOMPSON. And your profession?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am an attorney at law.

Mr. THOMPSON. Are you a native of Fresno, Calif.?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am.

Mr. THOMPSON. How long have you been practicing law?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Since January of 1952.

Mr. THOMPSON. And your educational background?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was educated in the public school system in Fresno, Calif., University of California at Berkeley, and the Hasting's College of Law, which is the law department of the University of California.

Mr. THOMPSON. And what is your political background, please?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am a Republican. I have been a member of the Republican Central Committee of Fresno County for approximately 20 years and have served in almost every capacity and currently am chairman of that committee. I served on the State of California Republican Central Committee and in the finance committee for small donations statewide.

Mr. THOMPSON. You are county chairman? How long have you been county chairman?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am in my second term.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were you county chairman during the past year of the Presidential campaign?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were you present at a rally on October 30, 1972, by the Committee To Re-Elect the President and, if so, what type of rally was this?

Mr. CAMPBELL. This was a rally that was staged by the Re-Elect the President Committee within the State. It was sponsored by the ladies within the party, and had a name "People to People." It consisted of a bus which traveled the State starting north and going from north to south. On the bus were many women of national prestige of the Republican Party. The object was to conduct and stage rallies. The rallies were to be staged and conducted in the cities and towns of California from Sacramento to the south.

Mr. THOMPSON. What were your plans on October 30 with regard to this campaign caravan or bus?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, let me say this: I was not the reelect the President chairman for our county. I was the county chairman. Our chairman for the Re-Elect the President Committee was unable to attend or appear at the rally and I was asked to pinch-hit and be master of ceremonies for the affair. It was to be held in the parking lot of one of our shopping centers, Fig Garden Village Shopping Center in Fresno, and the format, as it was explained to me, was that the bus would arrive and the ladies who were on the bus—I know of three who were supposed to be on the bus, including Mrs. Banuelos, the Treasurer of the United States at the time—and there were entertainers from Hollywood who were to entertain and our local candidates were to speak and have an opportunity to present their campaign platforms and programs.

Mr. THOMPSON. So what occurred as the bus arrived, Mr. Campbell?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, before the bus arrived, people gathered, there were numerous signs and banners, particularly among the Spanish American people proclaiming their dislike for President Nixon, proclaiming their affinity for the candidate, George McGovern, demon-

strating their opposition to proposition 22, which was a farm labor initiative on the California ballot last November, indicating that they did not like Mrs. Banuelos, and generally the crowd was milling around. When the bus arrived, in a very organized manner these people proceeded to become unruly and loud to the point where we were prevented from conducting our rally. I might say that we had microphones, we had speakers, we had a dais, and we were unable to be heard or even continue with the rally at all, and many of the people who were on the bus—

Mr. THOMPSON. Why were you unable to be heard?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Because of the noise, the close proximity, the jostling, pushing and shoving, many of our people, who had come to hear the speakers, left both in fear of safety and because the rally was absolutely frustrated. Several of our ladies were, in fact, injured.

Mr. THOMPSON. You mentioned in your statement here various individuals—Mrs. Flora Wise, for example.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, Mrs. Wise at the present time happens to be president of one of the women's federation organizations in Fresno, and she was struck to the extent that she required medical attention.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mrs. Eldora Cooney.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, she, similarly, was injured in the jostling that occurred. I might add that there were many others who received similar treatment. A lady who was standing immediately to my left, as I was on the podium, was jabbed with the handle of one of the placards or signs that was being carried.

Mr. THOMPSON. You mentioned a Mrs. Betty Blackburn.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, I think that in my prior statement I indicated that she had her wig torn from her head and thrown under a car.

Mr. THOMPSON. You mentioned verbal and physical abuse. Would you be a little more specific; were epithets being shouted?

Mr. CAMPBELL. There were epithets being shouted, slogans, the exact terminology escapes me at the present time. There were instances of provocation and, in my opinion as distinguished from fact, it was apparent that provocation for more violent activity was in progress. None of the taunts or jeers or physical abuse was returned in kind, and a confrontation was avoided. The people who were on the bus, as a matter of fact, very few of them even got off and, as I indicated in my statement, I don't believe that Mrs. Banuelos was on the bus at that time for that reason. In any event, when it became apparent that the rally was frustrated and could not be conducted because of the noise and intimidation that was being carried on, the people who were on the bus boarded the bus and the bus left.

Mr. THOMPSON. You mentioned several names here. Was there any indication of reticence on anyone's part in giving you their name in describing what happened to them as individuals that day?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, several. When I was contacted by your office with regard to this matter, I sought to refresh my memory as to those present, and the events that occurred, and many who were similarly treated refused to give me their names or give me any details and feared for retaliation so that they did not want to be disclosed.

Mr. THOMPSON. Was there one predominant group as far as the demonstrators were concerned?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, yes. The people who were there were the United Farm Workers people; they identified themselves with a red banner and a block logo, thunderbird or eagle or something of that kind.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were you able to identify any people you saw there that day as people whom you had seen before?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I identified—I will choose a better word—I think that I recognized some from prior demonstrations and prior rallies that I have attended or had attended at times in other areas in the State and Fresno.

Mr. THOMPSON. Could you give us an example of a prior demonstration where you had observed certain of these individuals?

Mr. CAMPBELL. We had our office—and when I say “we” I mean the Republican Central Committee—in a 10-story office building in Fresno, the Helm Building and this building is located on our mall which is a 4-to-6-block central mall down the middle of Fresno, and on one prior occasion the entrance to the whole building was blocked and a demonstration was held in front of the building, although we occupied only two small offices within a 10-story building.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were people prevented from coming in and going out?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes. When I say “prevented,” no; people could get in or get out, but it was made difficult and unpleasant. There was a rally, actually it was a dinner affair in Visalia that I attended and the same people were chanting and milling about the entrance at that occasion. Many people who would have attended turned away instead of seeking admittance through the milling group that was chanting and taunting at the entry to that affair.

Mr. THOMPSON. Was this also a United Farm Workers demonstration?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is true.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did you come across any information which would indicate the candidate support of that particular organization during the campaign?

Mr. CAMPBELL. After the Fig Garden Village Shopping Center rally that I described, whereat I was master of ceremonies, I received a communication from, I believe it was Jack Easton and Lynn Nofziger, who were helping the Committee To Re-Elect the President and they advised me that they had certain evidence that would support such a statement, to wit, that the United Farm Workers were being supported by the McGovern campaign. They furnished me with certified copies of General Accounting Office records and, to the best of my memory—I seem to have misplaced those particular affidavits—but to the best of my memory that was approximately \$52,000. The money went to an organization called El Pueblo Con McGovern and from that organization to the United Farm Workers as a unit and to several of the activist members of that organization.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were these based upon official GAO reports?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

As I recall these were the reports filed for July or August of 1972. Again, I am working from memory.

Mr. THOMPSON. From whom did the money flow, according to these reports, or your information?

MR. CAMPBELL. As I recall, the affidavits showed that the money was contributed or transferred to the organization called El Pueblo Con McGovern and from that organization to the United Farm Workers Union, and to named individuals who were members, as I indicated, of the activist groups supporting that union. One of whom, I believe, was a Richard Chavez, a relative of Cesar Chavez. Another one was Dolores Huerta, who has been active and identified as a United Farm Workers supporter.

MR. THOMPSON. You say that you saw the official GAO summaries or reports at that time, but you do not have them at the present time, is that correct?

MR. CAMPBELL. That is correct.

MR. THOMPSON. You mentioned a Ms. Dolores Huerta. As this was related to us last night, we at the staff level went over the Ms. Huerta interview. She has been interviewed by the majority and minority staff. I think copies are being disseminated of certain documents here, which indicate that as to date, according to a GAO filing, according to what Ms. Huerta's statement is and information she has given us, at that time, \$62,500 was received by El Pueblo Con McGovern by the McGovern campaign, and \$11,200 from the National Democratic Committee.

Now, Mr. Campbell, you are not saying, as I take it, that this particular demonstration or any particular demonstration that you are aware of, as far as your own knowledge is concerned, was financed directly by the McGovern campaign or the Democratic National Committee? Is that correct?

MR. CAMPBELL. No; I have no way of saying that and I do not intend that. As a matter of fact, I do not intend anything. The affidavits I saw simply showed that considerable financial support was given to the United Farm Workers by the McGovern Campaign.

MR. THOMPSON. Mr. Campbell, on another subject, you mentioned a minute ago the fact that you were not head of the Committee To Re-Elect there locally. Was there a distinction? We have heard some testimony about a distinction between the Committee to Re-Elect, for example, and the National Republican Committee on the national level. Was there a distinction there on the local level between the activities and organization of the Committee to Re-Elect the President on the one hand and the local Republican Party on the other hand?

MR. CAMPBELL. Oh, absolutely. The two organizations were separate. The leaders of the Re-Elect the President Committee were outside of the party.

MR. THOMPSON. By outside of the party, what do you mean? Were they local people primarily or people who came in from—

MR. CAMPBELL. The chairman was local, but the people who were moving the campaign along were outsiders and they were, in effect, superimposed upon our local party structure and were an ad hoc committee. We supported their efforts, of course, and furnished much of the leg work to make the campaign successful in Fresno County. As a matter of fact, we substituted our judgment for theirs toward the end of the campaign, when it appeared that the interests of the party and the interests of the Re-Elect the President Committee were at some difference.

Mr. THOMPSON. Well, could you go into that in a little bit more detail as to what the difference of opinion was over?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, one of the glaring differences was that the Re-Elect the President Committee had instructed that all persons who could be identified, Democrat or Republican, who would support the President should be turned out at the polls; in other words, we would identify a voter regardless of party affiliation who had indicated a preference for the President. We determined—when I say we, the official party in our county—determined that this was not to the advantage of the Republican Party. Let me give you a little bit of background.

We have two assembly districts—we have still two assembly districts after the reapportionment thing in California. But at that time, we had the 32d, which was approximately a 28-percent Republican district, and the 33d, which was somewhere around 30 percent. We had two incumbent Republican assemblymen in those two districts and we thought that it was to their distinct disadvantage for us to encourage people who were of the opposite party, who agreed to vote for the President, to come to the polls, because the history would be that although they supported the President for one reason or another, or were voting negatively with regard to George McGovern, nevertheless, they would vote the Democratic Party ticket otherwise. So this was one of the big differences that we had with the Re-Elect the President Committee, aside from the normal day-to-day differences that we had by reason of their being an ad hoc and separate organization.

Mr. THOMPSON. Would you say, then, that they manifested an interest on behalf of one candidate, and that was the President, and advocated his interests regardless of the consequences of a political nature to the local Republican candidates or any other Republican candidates in the area?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is true.

Mr. THOMPSON. And that was the basis of the one difficulty that you had there with the Committee To Re-Elect the President people?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is true. Statewide, my counterparts in other areas indicated similar displeasure. Some of the counties followed the directives of the Committee To Re-Elect the President to the letter and were sorry for it afterwards. I believe we lost 11 or 12 assembly seats statewide.

Mr. THOMPSON. Had you ever been involved in other Presidential campaigns or had any familiarity with the running of the local operation of the Presidential campaigns?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes. I have been active in Republican campaigns since 1952.

Mr. THOMPSON. Excuse me, go ahead.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is all right. I have been active in each of the Presidential campaigns since that time.

Mr. THOMPSON. How did this particular campaign compare with other Presidential campaigns with regard to the extent or nature of direction from on high, so to speak, either from the national campaign headquarters or from State headquarters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, we have always had the direction from either the State or the national committee, but it has always, in the past, been

a party affair and not the affair of an ad hoc committee that was superimposed or even superior to the party.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, Mr. Campbell.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Campbell, was this incident involving the violence, the demonstration that disrupted the rally, was this reported to the police?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, yes. As a matter of fact, the police were present at the time, whether by advance notice of a problem or as a matter of routine. There were several representatives of the sheriff's office in attendance.

Mr. DASH. Were any arrests made at the time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not believe that any arrests were made. The rally did not ever materialize. It was something that was attempted and frustrated.

Mr. DASH. It was obvious from your testimony that some crimes were committed here. Not only was there not a demonstration, as you have testified to, but various persons were assaulted. That is true, is it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is true, but the assaults were very sub rosa. It was a very close crowd and the assaults were mainly of the type that would provoke retaliation, so that perhaps something more serious could have developed.

Mr. DASH. In other words, you are saying sub rosa; in such a way that police or sheriff's personnel would not be able to see these assaults?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right. It was a very tight crowd. The people from the sheriff's office were on the perimeters and these incidents occurred in very close proximity.

Mr. DASH. Therefore, none of the persons who were participating in this demonstration were interrogated by any police officials or sheriff's personnel?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not that I know of.

Mr. DASH. You say you recognized some of these people as having participated in other demonstrations, but what is the basis upon which you identified these demonstrators as being members of the United Farm Workers?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Their banners, their slogans, or their identification.

Mr. DASH. You had no statement by any of them that they were members of the United Farm Workers, did you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, when you say statement, you mean after they had frustrated—

Mr. DASH. Do you know as a matter of fact—did you recognize any one of the demonstrators as being United Farm Workers?

Mr. CAMPBELL. As a matter of fact, no.

Mr. DASH. Now, this committee, Mr. Campbell, has received testimony from Mr. Haldeman and from Mr. Segretti, and from other memorandums, that it was a part of the strategy, when various rallies involving the reelection of President Nixon were to be held, demonstrators were to be brought to the scene and they would masquerade as various parties. Now, is it possible, therefore, based on your testimony, that party persons who were not members of the United Farm Workers, wearing United Farm Worker arm bands and carrying slogans and

posters, could have done this and not been members of the United Farm Workers?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, anything is possible, but this is quite an improbability. At times prior to the campaign for the reelection of the President, the same people, people that I recognized without identifying by name, demonstrated, marched, and participated in United Farm Workers affairs without regard to any political campaign that was going on.

The United Farm Worker thing has been going on in the valleys of California for 2 or 3 years.

Mr. DASH. I know, but you say—what were the other demonstrations? You say United Farm Worker affairs. What kinds of affairs?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Marches in the street, rallies in our courthouse park, demonstrations in the fields, and other incidents of this kind.

Mr. DASH. With regard to the campaign itself?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; unrelated to the campaign and prior to the campaign.

Mr. DASH. I think you were shown an exhibit with regard to contributions made by the McGovern campaign to the United Farm Workers. Is it not your testimony that you have no knowledge that any of this money that was contributed to the United Farm Workers by McGovern—and the money was either given to them for this purpose—for disruptive demonstrations or anything like that; is that true?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I can't say that any particular dollar was earmarked to disrupt any rally or to participate in the Presidential campaign.

Mr. DASH. Do you know why the money was given to the United Farm Workers?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I haven't the slightest idea. It was a general support thing. After the fact, there was a statement made by the Democrat leadership in the valley that the money was used for registration purposes.

Mr. DASH. Voter registration, is that right?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Voter registration purposes. It is hard to identify dollar for dollar that it was used in that way, either.

Mr. DASH. Again, though, you have no basis to disprove that, do you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have no more basis to disprove that than I have to disprove that dollar for dollar, the money was used to disrupt Republican rallies.

Mr. DASH. But you have no evidence to present to this committee that it was used to disrupt Republican rallies?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Nor that it wasn't.

Mr. DASH. I guess it is hard to prove the negative, isn't it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Mr. DASH. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BAKER [presiding]. In the absence of the chairman, I will proceed with the sequence—

Mr. DASH. May I ask one more question?

Senator BAKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DASH. I wasn't going to ask you, but we have been asking witnesses like yourself on this activity, what kind of legislation would you recommend to the committee to prevent this kind of activity from taking place in campaigns?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, it is difficult to legislate morality. I think we are not in an area where legislation would be particularly beneficial. We have many laws on the books presently which could solve the problem. I can think of no specific legislation that would be beneficial except closer supervision, which would involve enforcement of the legislation which we presently have.

Mr. DASH. As a matter of fact, what happened here, although you say *sub rosa*, were assaults and there are laws on the books, I am sure, in California that would take care of what happened here.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right, and you cannot legislate against violations of present laws. You can't effectively legislate against dirty tricks in campaigns. We all abhor that kind of activity and we hope that the lessons that are being learned here in this committee and its activities will make an awareness that perhaps will solve the problem.

Mr. DASH. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BAKER. Thank you, Mr. Dash.

In the absence of the chairman, I will continue in the sequence that would have been the case otherwise.

Mr. Campbell, I would call your attention to the first paragraph of Senate Resolution 60, which reads as follows:

To establish a Select Committee of the Senate to conduct an investigation and study of the extent, if any, to which illegal, improper, or unethical activities were engaged in by any persons, acting individually or in combination with others, in the presidential election of 1972, or any campaign, canvass, or other activities related to it.

I have listened to your testimony and I have carefully read the witness summary supplied by staff. It is my understanding of the testimony that on the occasion in question, during the campaign of 1962, a person to person bus, so-called, with a number of Republican ladies campaigning on behalf of the President, was approached by an unruly crowd and certain physical violence was done to those women.

Could you estimate for me the number of people involved in that disruptive effort?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In excess of 100.

Senator BAKER. Could you tell me who they were in terms of their affinity or relationship to the Republican or Democratic organizations in that campaign?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I can say that they were carrying—when I say “they,” not everyone, but they were variously carrying United Farm Workers banners and flags.

Senator BAKER. If I can interrupt you, Mr. Campbell, I understood that from your testimony, but the point I am reaching for is this: I gather from your testimony, elicited by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Dash, you have no knowledge whether they were employed by or encouraged by any political organization. The substance of your information is that they were there and they were in fact disrupting a legitimate campaign activity. Is that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a fact.

Senator BAKER. That is why I read the first paragraph of Senate Resolution 60 to you. I think it is important, as you point out, to understand that you cannot legislate that someone will not violate the law. But a purpose and function of this committee is to identify those aberrations in political conduct, those undesirable aspects of

political conduct that have no place in the scheme of politics in America, regardless of who did it, Republicans or Democrats. What I want to establish is that you are testifying that 100 or so people did in fact disrupt and physically abuse a number of women who were campaigning for Republican candidates.

Is that the burden of your testimony?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is correct.

Senator BAKER. As I understand your interview, Mrs. Wise had her hair pulled and was struck by a fist in her back for which she received medical attention; Mrs. Cooney was struck on the top of her head with a sign; Mrs. Carter was pushed and shoved; and Mrs. Blackburn had her wig pulled off and thrown under a car.

Is that right?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Senator BAKER. Did that have a deterrent effect on the political enthusiasm of these ladies?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It certainly did.

Senator BAKER. What happened? What did they do? Did they go ahead and make their speech and shake hands with this crowd, did they get back in the bus, did they disperse? What did happen?

Mr. CAMPBELL. As I indicated, I was the master of ceremonies for the event. With microphones, amplifiers, and speakers, we could not be heard above the chanting of the group and the carrying on.

Senator BAKER. Was it a chanting in unison?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Sometimes chanting and sometime—

Senator BAKER. What I am driving at, was it an organized disruption?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, it was an organized disruption, in my opinion.

Senator BAKER. Did it effectively prevent you and others from speaking on behalf of the President on that occasion?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Very effectively.

Senator BAKER. Did it constitute a disruption of the campaign?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely.

Senator BAKER. Did it, in fact, prevent you from exercising your right of free speech and the ladies there on political matters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Absolutely.

Senator BAKER. The missing ingredient is you do not know who organized them or who was responsible, if anyone, for their activity?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is correct.

Senator BAKER. But you do know it was an effective device?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Very effective.

Senator BAKER. Was it a frightening sort of thing?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Frightening for many of the people that were there. Many of them did not get off the bus, as a matter of fact, and many of our people left to avoid what could have been a very bad problem.

Senator BAKER. I am not asking you to testify to matters that you do not have knowledge of, but I am asking you as it bears on your state of mind, do you know of other situations in California or elsewhere of supporters having been shouted down or physically abused so it had a disruptive effect on the campaign efforts of either Republicans or Democrats?

Mr. CAMPBELL. As a matter of hearsay, yes.

Senator BAKER. Is it part of the common knowledge of the political community in California that sort of thing did occur in 1972?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator BAKER. What I am driving for here is, Mr. Campbell, whether or not that pattern of conduct and activity—that is the jeering, the chanting, the shouting down, the physical abuse of a busload of ladies—has that, in fact, had a discernible impact on the political conduct of your organization or your compatriots in California? Has it had a deterrent effect or do you know, has it had a deterrent effect on the willingness of people, of women to be involved in politics?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is yet to be seen. You see, this rally occurred about 5 or 6 days before the election and there were no more after that.

Senator BAKER. Do you think you can get these same ladies back again on that bus?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would doubt it very much.

Senator BAKER. Do you characterize that as an undesirable or unethical bit of campaigning in the United States?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Of course.

Senator BAKER. And regardless of who did it—Republicans, Democrats or mugwumps—regardless of who did it, it still had a disruptive, unwholesome effect on the process of elections in the United States, is that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It certainly did.

Senator BAKER. Is it your view or judgment as a politician this sort of thing has been in the ascendancy or has been more frequent in recent elections than previous elections?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, I think that is true.

Senator BAKER. Would you consider it an appropriate inquiry of this committee to decide, not only how we can legislate against such disruption, but how we can identify such disruptions and provide a deterrent force to their occurring in future elections by anyone, organized or disorganized?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think that is a very legitimate subject of inquiry.

Senator BAKER. Would you agree with me that one of the most fundamental transgressions against free speech is a crowd that jeers or chants or engages in physical violence to the extent that it prevents a candidate or his supporters from stating their point of view? Is that a basic abridgment of a constitutionally guaranteed right?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Of course.

Senator BAKER. Do you have any suggestions about how we can deter that in the future?

Mr. CAMPBELL. As a matter of fact, I do not. I think that we have laws within the several States that could be utilized to prevent such things. But there again you have free speech on both sides and it is difficult to legislate morality.

Senator BAKER. Just as it is perfectly legal and constitutionally protected to gather in a public place, even in huge numbers, and to demonstrate your demands or dissents in demonstration, just as it is appropriate and constitutional to do that, so is it not also appropriate and constitutional for anyone to express singly his demand or dissent from the stump in a campaign without fear that the police, an unruly mob,

your opposition, or anyone else will stop you from making your views known?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator BAKER. Would you agree with me that politics will be the loser if we cannot find a way to permit freedom of speech in that respect?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Campbell, I want to make sure that we are entirely fair in what we are trying to say, so I reiterate my interpretation of your testimony. You are aware of a serious disruption of a legitimate campaign effort in the Presidential campaign of 1972 in California in which there was shouting and jeering and physical abuse to ladies involved in the campaign. You are not aware who organized it but you are aware that it was effective and it did, in fact, stop that campaign effort and prevent the expression of points of view, and that you believe that there are indirect indications vis-a-vis the signs, the identification, the financing, that would point to other organizations but you claim to no firsthand knowledge in that respect and finally, that you conclude that that sort of conduct is destructive to political process and ought to be stopped either by legislation or by the deterrent effect of identification?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is a fair summary.

Senator BAKER. Thank you very much.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Inouye.

Senator INOUE. Thank you very much.

Mr. Campbell. I just have one question, sir. As one who has been involved rather deeply in political campaigning, I would like to get your opinion as to who benefited from the demonstration of October 30. Do you believe that President Nixon benefited or Senator McGovern benefited?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, it is difficult to say. Frankly, I think that the President was going to be reelected generally, and in my county specifically, regardless of what happened at the Fig Garden Village rally. We elected the President by a good majority of the county, so what happened at the rally was not going to be determinative of the result. Whether it helped or hurt the party as a backlash to this kind of thing, I think this is maybe what you are getting at, and certainly, there was that. Nevertheless, for whatever good the people-to-people rally was designed to accomplish campaignwise, it did not. It was completely frustrated and did not come off.

Now, the side effect, regardless of the reelect the President campaign, was that the local candidates were prevented from speaking. Now, in Fresno, we had, at the time, two Republican assemblymen but we also had a Democrat Congressman and a Democrat State senator who were running at the same time, and these people, particularly the congressional candidate who was present, were prevented from speaking and making their views known, and to what effect their campaign was damaged by this event no one can say. In truth and in fact, they were prevented from giving their message to the assembled crowd.

Senator INOUE. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Montoya.

Senator MONTAYA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Campbell, about all you have testified to, as I see it, is that a group of people, supposedly most of them farmworkers, appeared at this rally and that by inference the McGovern organization contributed to a Pueblo Con McGovern which was another organization and that some women were hurt or attacked in some way. Now, I want to make this thing clear. You are not trying to say that the Mexican people there were being subsidized by any political organization to disrupt the Republican Party of the campaign, are you?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No. I think that what I am saying is that, and you overlooked one link in the chain, money from the McGovern campaign national into El Pueblo Con McGovern and then to the United Farm Workers Union and to named individuals within that union, and I am saying that there was support to the organization. I cannot say that all of these people belonged to the organization, I cannot even say that they were farmworkers because many of the people who demonstrated and who have appeared in the demonstrations are not necessarily farmworkers. They are union organizers.

Senator MONTROYA. You speak of violence and is it not true that Cesar Chavez and his organization virtually have always advocated peaceful means to gain their goals or to reach their goals? Isn't that his philosophy?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think that everybody advocates that. He is probably no exception.

Senator MONTROYA. I am asking you about Cesar Chavez.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't know specifically what he advocates.

Senator MONTROYA. You live in that particular area. Don't you know what he particularly advocates?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, I know a lot of the things that he advocates.

Senator MONTROYA. Well, the whole country knows that.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I don't think I have ever seen him specifically advocate what you have mentioned.

Senator MONTROYA. Have you ever seen an organized workers strike, a picket line, engaging in violence under his auspices?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Have I seen it? No.

Senator MONTROYA. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Have I heard about it? Yes.

Senator MONTROYA. Yes.

Now, as a matter of fact, there were other demonstrations earlier and tied in with the campaign against Mrs. Banuelos by some Mexican militant and also against Henry Ramirez who is director of the permanent committee, cabinet level committee, for the Spanish speaking in the San Francisco area. Are you aware of those incidents?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not specifically; no. Any more than you are from reading the newspapers.

Senator MONTROYA. Are you aware of other incidents on the part of Mexican militants against this particular group?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, I am not.

Senator MONTROYA. Now, proposition 22 was a very important issue in that particular campaign; was it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It was.

Senator MONTROYA. And it was designed to curb the powers of the farmworkers in the farm areas of California; was it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I didn't view it that way.

Senator MONTROYA. Well, how do you view it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I viewed it as striking some balance in the farm labor movement and according farm laborers the same rights as other workers have in other industries.

Senator MONTROYA. And could this demonstration have been sponsored by the farmowners to try to create sympathy for proposition 22?

Mr. CAMPBELL. It could have been sponsored by even this committee but I have no idea any more than you do.

Senator MONTROYA. It could have had the sponsorship of a different political structure in that campaign other than the McGovern committee or even the Nixon committee or even CREP; could it not have?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Certainly it could have.

Senator MONTROYA. All right. Now, so I take it that you draw no inferences that the McGovern committee or the Democratic National Committee or the local Democratic committee had anything to do with this particular thing merely from the fact that \$52,000 were contributed to the Pueblo Con McGovern Committee there, or from the fact that these farmworkers, with bands around their arms identifying themselves as such, had participated in the demonstration.

Mr. CAMPBELL. When you say, "I have drawn no inferences," I don't think that is exactly correct. I think I draw the inference that circumstantial evidence would establish it but I can't say that any particular dollar was used for any particular purpose, only that there was general support.

Senator MONTROYA. How many people had identification linking them to the United Farm organization of Cesar Chavez?

Mr. CAMPBELL. At that particular demonstration?

Senator MONTROYA. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would say over half of those that were there were either carrying the red banner or had the armband.

Senator MONTROYA. You mentioned a few minutes ago that you had heard of violent demonstrations by Chavez. Could you name the instances?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well these are subsequent to the campaign but we had several confrontations in the fields this past harvest season.

Senator MONTROYA. Were they violent?

Mr. CAMPBELL. There were reports of violence, yes.

Senator MONTROYA. Do you know of any contributions that were made by the Committee To Re-Elect the President to Mexican organizations in California?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, I do not.

Senator MONTROYA. Have you heard of any?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, I have not. We made none in Fresno County so that is the only area that I have direct knowledge of.

Senator MONTROYA. Do you know of any contributions made by the Republican National Committee to any Mexican organizations in the State of California?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, I don't.

Senator MONTROYA. To any Mexican political organization?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, I don't.

Senator MONTROYA. Did you, through your Republican committee, make any contributions to Mexican organizations?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, let me put it this way: We have within our Republican Party in Fresno County a Spanish-speaking Republican group, and they have general support from the party, and my secretary in the central committee, for example, is a Spanish American and she is very active in Mexican-American activities, political and otherwise.

Senator MONTOYA. Well, did you make any contributions to any Mexican organizations from your committee?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I can't say that any direct contributions were made but it is possible that we did support financially these Republican subdivisions of the party that would be identified with the Mexican-American community.

Senator MONTOYA. And you don't know whether any recipients of these contributions took part in this particular demonstration about which you speak?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, let me say this about that: That to the extent that we have Mexican-Americans on our central committee and as members of our ladies organizations and other organizations they were present and assisted and participated in not only this Republican rally and affair but Republican politics generally. But there has been no contribution of dollars other than as you would attend an affair that was sponsored by any of these organizations.

Senator MONTOYA. My time is up.

Thank, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. Don't you think the fact that the first amendment gives Americans the right of freedom of speech, it contemplates that other Americans will permit them to exercise that right without engaging in disturbances to prevent them from so doing?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. Don't you think that when people resort to any tactics to deny any American the right to be heard that they are demonstrating their lack of understanding of the American system of government and particularly what the first amendment was designed to do?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is correct. I may disagree with what you say but I would defend to the death your right to say it.

Senator ERVIN. Yes. In other words, the first amendment contemplates, at least impliedly, what Voltaire said, "I disagree with everything you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right, Senator.

Senator ERVIN. And people engaged in a practice which is totally incompatible with the American system of government when they, by resorting to any kind of conduct which prevents another American from saying his piece, whatever that piece may be, as long as he is not inciting people to riot.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right.

Senator ERVIN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. I am not sure that I got one point explicitly, Mr. Campbell. You mentioned the event in Fresno where people who appeared to be nonworkers, engaged in this demonstration and you mentioned another instance at your Fresno headquarters, I believe, where United Farm Workers were picketing the Committee To Re-

Elect or Republican headquarters, were there any other instances of that, a demonstration or picket directly against the Committee To Re-Elect the President headquarters or the Republican headquarters?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not in Fresno County. I did mention one event that I attended in Visalia which is south of Fresno and in Tulare County, where the same type of activity was carried on, only not to the same extent, and not to the same effect. That particular event, however, was held within a building and although the shouting was being carried on outside of the building, nevertheless the speakers could be heard and the event was not frustrated and terminated.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were signs or armbands displayed on that occasion?

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is true.

Mr. THOMPSON. What kind of signs?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The red armbands with the logo of the eagle or thunderbird and the placards of the same variety.

Mr. THOMPSON. Any political candidate signs or identification?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Yes, the same type that I mentioned at the beginning that were present at the Fig Village rally.

Mr. THOMPSON. Pro-McGovern?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Pro-McGovern, anti-Nixon, antiproposition 22. At that time I don't recall any Banuelos materials at all.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, Mr. Campbell. I have nothing further. Senator ERVIN. Mr. Dash.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Campbell, did you or any of the sponsors of this rally—

Mr. CAMPBELL. I was not a sponsor. I was a pinchhitter master of ceremonies.

Mr. DASH. You were at least a participant or proposed participant because that really never took place? Did any person who had anything to do with the rally ever raise this very disruptive activity with officers or responsible people of the United Farm Workers? Did you make a complaint to the United Farm Workers of what was done here by people that you recognized as United Farm Worker demonstrators acting in a very violent way?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Did we make the complaint to the union?

Mr. DASH. Yes, the union.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, we did not.

Mr. DASH. Did you send a letter protesting what took place?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, we did not. I did not. Maybe the Re-Elect the President Committee did and I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. DASH. You do not know whether any protest was made at all?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, there were protests in the media, but there was no protest made either formally by me or by the Republican Central Committee in Fresno.

Mr. DASH. Do you feel that some should have been?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think it would have done no good.

Mr. DASH. Why?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I just have that opinion.

Mr. DASH. Did you feel that they would have justified this sort of attacks on persons coming to a rally?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think they would have denied them.

Mr. DASH. But you did not feel it was worth putting on record?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think it was made a matter of record as far as the community was concerned, for whatever good that did.

Mr. DASH. How was it made a matter of record as far as the community was concerned?

Mr. CAMPBELL. By the publicity that was given to the fact of the disruption of the rally in both the newspapers and the radio and television.

Mr. DASH. Apparently, not sufficient a matter for a complaint. There was no investigation by the police or no inquiry of a matter which really involved crimes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have no idea whether there was an investigation made by the police.

Mr. DASH. Do you have it from people coming to testify before this committee as to inquiry on that at all?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, I do not. I doubt that there were any accusations filed or prosecutions because the time element would have made such a matter history by this time.

Mr. DASH. You mean the inquiry now or at the time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I beg your pardon.

Mr. DASH. I do not understand. What would have made it history?

Mr. CAMPBELL. The fact of a trial resulting from an accusation that occurred a year ago would be history.

Mr. DASH. I am not asking the question concerning an inquiry now. I mean as of that time. It strikes me as somewhat strange where there is something that I think everybody at this table would find highly objectionable in terms of the activity you described, that this did not reach an official complaint with the authorities and there was no authority action or inquiry, even at the community level.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Is that a question?

Mr. DASH. It is a question. It is a question as well as a statement, I take it. But I take it your answer is that as far as you know, there was no inquiry made or official action taken.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is correct.

Mr. DASH. I have no further questions.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, I have a question.

Are you pretty familiar with politics?

Mr. CAMPBELL. On a local level, yes.

Senator BAKER. Well, so am I. I am a lawyer and a politician both, I guess, or at least I used to be a lawyer before I came to the Senate.

I remember, in my own campaign in 1972 and in 1966, hecklers, signs. I remember the convention of 1972 at Miami Beach, my car being rocked back and forth and the windshield wipers turn off. I remember faces painted white with all sorts of hurled epithets and threats. I remember signs for my opponent being lifted in my political gatherings and efforts to shout me down as I spoke. But I do not remember a single case of ever having complained to my opponent. I wonder if, as a practicing politician, you might verify my impression. That is, when there is something of that sort, it is not the rule that you complain to the opposition but, rather, it would be the exception if you complained to your opposition. Is that correct?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, yes. I can conceive of very few circumstances except for gaining some political mileage that any objection would be made publicly or accusation made officially.

Senator BAKER. I just want to make the record clear that in the ordinary, everyday, usual range of politics, there is not a great deal of communication between you and your opponent or the two organizations. It is not the norm to complain if something occurs that is disruptive of your campaign. It is the exception, rather.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is right. As a matter of fact, politically speaking, I do not think you would want to make it a matter of knowledge that it bothered you.

Senator BAKER. I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. Any further questions? If none, the counsel will call the next witness.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Michael Heller.

Senator ERVIN. Would you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HELLER. I do affirm.

Senator ERVIN. You affirm. You prefer affirm rather than swearing?

Suppose you stand up again. Do I understand you to say you affirm?

Mr. HELLER. That is right.

Senator ERVIN. Do you affirm that the evidence which you shall give to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. HELLER. I do.

Mr. DASH. Again, I will open up the questions and I think maybe Mr. Thompson—who, by the way, again through the work of this staff, developed a substantial part of this testimony—will follow.

Mr. Heller, what is your present occupation?

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL HELLER

Mr. HELLER. I am a student.

Mr. DASH. Where are you a student?

Mr. HELLER. I am a student at Mount Hood Community College in Gresham, Ore.

Mr. DASH. How old are you?

Mr. HELLER. Nineteen years old.

Mr. DASH. Where is your home address?

Mr. HELLER. 1025 Northwest Wallula Avenue, Gresham, Ore.

Mr. DASH. When did you first become involved in the 1972 Presidential campaign?

Mr. HELLER. I first became involved in the primary in the State of California in the month of May.

Mr. DASH. At that time, were you working for the reelection of President Nixon?

Mr. HELLER. No, I was not.

Mr. DASH. Would you explain what your role was, how you were participating in the campaign?

Mr. HELLER. I was asked by the National Jewish Youth for Humphrey, the chairman, to be the Oregon State chairman for Jewish Youth for Humphrey. Senator Humphrey did not come to Oregon; therefore, I did not work for him in Oregon. I was asked to come to

California and help coordinate some of the organizational matters in basically just dealing with volunteers. That was my function in the primary.

Mr. DASH. Did there come a time when you began to work for the reelection of President Nixon?

Mr. HELLER. Pardon?

Mr. DASH. Did there come a time when you came to work for the reelection of President Nixon?

Mr. HELLER. I began to work for Richard Nixon on August 13.

Mr. DASH. What were the circumstances of your undertaking that campaign role?

Mr. HELLER. During the Democratic Convention—was it Tuesday? I do not recall the date when I found out that Senator Humphrey had declined from the race. Later on that evening, I phoned up our national chairman, who was at the convention, and I told him that it would be impossible for me to not only not support George McGovern, but going by my conscience, I could do nothing else but support Richard Nixon actively.

Mr. DASH. Did you identify with any particular group in your campaign activities in support of the reelection of President Nixon?

Mr. HELLER. Well, the Thursday after that Tuesday, 18 of the Jewish Youth for Humphrey chairmen around the country, all the chairman, on Thursday presented to the press their statements, all of them supporting Richard Nixon.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Heller, I am going to show you a leaflet which has a bold heading, "Nixon Is Treyf," and later on has some other references to Mr. Nixon, which I will ask you to read.

By the way, before I show you this, for the purpose of the record and the committee, would you describe the Yiddish word "treyf" and what it means?

Mr. HELLER. The word "treyf," the best that I can describe it, first of all, means not kosher. I do not read Yiddish. People who do speak Yiddish tell me that the word "treyf" is, so to speak, a much more hard-core word to the people. You see, the people in the community with which I was dealing and which the word "treyf" was aimed at, are people that do not read English. All they understand is Yiddish. In Yiddish, things can be said that cannot be said in English. So the best way that I can explain the word "treyf" is to say that it means not kosher food, and I would say that it is a slimy tactic. That would describe the word.

Mr. DASH. But the Yiddish word itself means not kosher food. It could mean, for instance—shrimp or lobster is not kosher food; it could also be called treyf, right?

Mr. HELLER. Right.

Mr. DASH. Would you look at this pamphlet, please?

In other words, you say the people that lived in the area, I take it the pamphlet was addressed to Yiddish voters in the area.

Mr. HELLER. The "Nixon Is Treyf" piece?

Mr. DASH. Yes.

Mr. HELLER. The "Nixon Is Treyf" piece was not just addressed to voters in the area. This piece was to demonstrate against our support of Nixon in the war. This was to get people to demonstrate. So I would not say it is just voters.

Mr. DASH. Not just voters, but I take it the use of the language "Nixon Is Treyf" and some of the other language—

Mr. HELLER. "Nixon brings the ovens to the people, rather than the people to the ovens."

Mr. DASH. Yes, that would be directing itself toward the Jewish residents of the area, would it not?

Mr. HELLER. It certainly would. A lot of those people are from the old country, and personally, I do not think that there was any other piece of literature put out in this campaign that I know of that could have gotten any dirtier than that. The response I received from the people—I was literally appalled. I just do not know what to say about that statement.

Mr. DASH. Which statement?

Mr. HELLER. "Nixon brings the ovens to the people rather than the people to the ovens."

Mr. DASH. That is the bottom of the statement. Would you read the full statement?

Mr. HELLER. Both paragraphs?

Mr. DASH. Yes, sir.

Mr. HELLER [reading]:

Albert Spiegel, president of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, is also chairman of the California Committee to Re-elect the President. Spiegel, a multi-millionaire himself, turns his back to the mass slaughter in Indochina as well as rampant unemployment and poverty at home. Where is the social conscience of our people? Where is our memory? Does it also carry a price tag? Nixon's support of Jews and Israel is conditioned by his lust for reelection. Nixon does not represent our interest! Albert Spiegel does not represent us!

Demonstrate and remember.

Why of course the people don't want war. Why should some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece? Naturally, the common people don't want war; neither in Russia nor in England, nor in America, nor in Germany. That is understood. But after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine policy, and it is always a simple matter to drag people along, whether it is a democracy, or fascist dictatorship, or a parliament or communist dictatorship. Voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them that they are being attacked, and denounce the Pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country.

Mr. DASH. That last paragraph you just read is attributed to Hermann Goering at the Nuremberg trial in this pamphlet, is that true?

Mr. HELLER. That is true.

Mr. DASH. Would you finish the reading of that?

Mr. HELLER [continues reading]:

Senior Air Force Officials also indicated that if Mr. Nixon is reelected without a negotiated settlement having been reached, the air war against North Vietnam would intensify.—LA Times.

Thanks to Modern Technology, Nixon Brings The Ovens To The People Rather Than The People To The Ovens. Sponsored by the Jewish Campaign to End the Indochina Holocaust.

Mr. DASH. Do you know, is that an authentic organization, the Jewish Campaign to End the Indochina Holocaust? Do you know of it?

Mr. HELLER. To my knowledge, I have never heard of it before this flier.

Mr. DASH. Without in any way indicating the language of that last statement, Nixon brings the ovens to the people rather than the people

to the ovens, was such a group to end the Indochina holocaust, would a fair interpretation at least be that it meant—perhaps bad judgment—to have meant the bombings or the use of napalm to be referred to by that statement? In other words, the purport of the statement?

Mr. HELLER. I don't know what the purport of the statement is.

Mr. DASH. All right. Where did you first see this leaflet?

Mr. HELLER. I first saw it in my office. Somebody had brought it into my office and showed it to me.

Mr. DASH. What did you do about it then? Who brought it into your office?

Mr. HELLER. A volunteer worker.

Mr. DASH. A volunteer worker for whom?

Mr. HELLER. A volunteer worker who was working in my office.

Mr. DASH. For the—

Mr. HELLER. For the Democrats for Nixon.

Mr. DASH. All right. What did you do when you received the leaflet?

Mr. HELLER. When I received the leaflet, I didn't know what to think and I sent someone down, a volunteer—a volunteer had gone down to see if this was being handed out by the McGovern volunteers, and it was.

Mr. DASH. When you say "it was," what did you see?

Mr. HELLER. Pardon me?

Mr. DASH. When you say, "and it was," that is a conclusion. What did you see?

Mr. HELLER. In other words, the volunteer came back to me and said that this piece of literature was being handed out in several places on the street, up and down the street between our office and the McGovern office.

Mr. DASH. And you said by McGovern workers?

Mr. HELLER. By people who my volunteer thought to be McGovern volunteers.

Mr. DASH. What did you do when you received that information?

Mr. HELLER. I had telephoned the person who was in charge of the press department for the Committee to Re-Elect. I told him about the piece of literature and I read him word for word everything on the literature. He asked me if the McGovern people were handing it out. I told him that a volunteer had told me that they were.

He told me to double check on it myself, which I did. I walked down the street. I saw people who I believed to be McGovern volunteer workers; I also saw this inside their headquarters. I did not go inside their headquarters, I saw it through the window.

It has on the bottom, the Jewish Campaign to End the Indochina Holocaust and no McGovern identification. That was the end of my—

Mr. DASH. You say you saw it through the window?

Mr. HELLER. I saw stacks of it and I saw people inside the headquarters carrying it out and I could see what they were carrying out.

Mr. DASH. You saw this leaflet being carried out?

Mr. HELLER. "Nixon is Treyf" in great quantity, probably more quantity than—

Mr. DASH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the leaflet marked in evidence as an exhibit of the committee and introduced in evidence.

Senator ERVIN. Without objection, the exhibit will be received in evidence as such and appropriately marked.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 247.*]

Mr. DASH. I want to show you about three other exhibits, Mr. Heller.

Now, will you look at what appears to be a leaflet with the heading "Who Is Our Candidate For President—November 7, 1972, Elections?" It appears at the end to be sponsored by a group called "Jews For McGovern-Shriver." Do you see that?

Mr. HELLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DASH. Now, the address, 7910 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif. Do you know what exists at that address?

Mr. HELLER. At that address was a McGovern headquarters.

Mr. DASH. I understand you have supplied this leaflet to the committee. Is that true?

Mr. HELLER. This leaflet? Yes.

Mr. DASH. How did that come into your possession?

Mr. HELLER. This piece of literature was given to me by Harvey Tannenbaum.

Mr. DASH. Who?

Mr. HELLER. Harvey Tannenbaum.

Mr. DASH. And who is he?

Mr. HELLER. Harvey Tannenbaum was my associate in the campaign. We ran the office together.

Mr. DASH. Now, is it your understanding that this leaflet also was distributed in the area, the same area where the prior leaflet was distributed?

Mr. HELLER. This piece of literature, "Nixon is Treyf"—was handed all over the city. This piece was concentrated in the area of the Fairfax Avenue area, because on one side, it is Yiddish and on the other side it is English. The people in that area, a great majority of them, I think, only speak and read Yiddish.

Mr. DASH. Now, without reading the full leaflet—I think you have read this leaflet—could you characterize what the message of the leaflet is?

Mr. HELLER. Well, I would say from the leaflet that the Jews for McGovern campaign is trying to tie President Nixon's policies in with the holocaust, the murdering of the 6 million Jews.

Mr. DASH. In fact, there is a reference down toward the bottom portion of the leaflet which reads,

Nixon's antibusing program was designed only to gain the vote of the racists. He thus strengthened the racists in a program for discrimination, and anti-Semitism. Jews are aware of such activity in the genocide of the 6 million Jews who died in the crematory of Nazi Germany.

Is that the reference you make?

Mr. HELLER. Yes.

Mr. DASH. Also, there is the reference toward the end right after that,

Jewish traditions are based on peace, equal rights, and justice for all, and help for the poor. The Los Angeles Board of Rabbis enthusiastically support McGovern. The Rabbis want a change in Washington.

Now, did you have occasion to learn whether or not that statement was a truthful statement?

*See p. 5022.

Mr. HELLER. Yes; there is a statement, a letter from the Southern California Board of Rabbis which—

Mr. DASH. I think you have that with you.

Mr. HELLER. That is right.

Mr. DASH. Now, this letter, for the record, is addressed to Mr. Albert A. Spiegel.

Who is Mr. Spiegel?

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Spiegel was involved with the Committee To Re-Elect.

Mr. DASH. Was he a Democrat for Nixon or was he one of the Committee To Re-Elect the President?

Mr. HELLER. He was a member of the Committee To Re-Elect the President.

Mr. DASH. Who was Harry Essrig, who was writing the letter?

Mr. HELLER. He is the executive vice president of the Board of Rabbis.

Mr. DASH. I take it the letter was probably an original inquiry, perhaps, of Mr. Spiegel, asking whether or not the board of Rabbis had gone on record. Would you read the letter from Mr. Essrig, the executive vice president of the Board of Rabbis of Southern California?

Mr. HELLER [reading]:

In response to our phone conversation of just a few minutes ago, may I state categorically that the board of Rabbis of southern California has at no time taken any action concerning any of the candidates in the Presidential or other campaigns. The board of Rabbis has never participated in political matters in the past and certainly we have in no way identified ourselves with any candidate this year.

I am surely chagrined that false statements are being made in this regard and I hope that you will put at ease any concern that might be expressed regarding the false rumors that are spread about the Board of Rabbis.

Mr. DASH. And that letter is dated October 13, 1972?

Mr. HELLER. That is right.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the leaflet which is entitled, "Who is our Candidate for President" and also, the letter from the executive vice president of the Board of Rabbis of Southern California identified for the record and introduced in evidence.

Senator ERVIN. They have been identified by the witness, I think.

Mr. DASH. Yes; they have been identified.

Senator ERVIN. Since they have been identified by the witness, without objection, they will be received in evidence as exhibits and appropriately marked as such.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibits Nos. 248 and 249.*]

Mr. DASH. Do you also have in front of you certain newspaper columns from Mr. Anderson?

Mr. HELLER. Yes; I have them in front of me.

Mr. DASH. Are you familiar with these columns that Mr. Anderson wrote for the Washington Post, one on Monday, October 25, 1971, one September 24, 1971, and one on November 10, 1971?

Mr. HELLER. I only have the two.

Mr. DASH. Which do you have?

*See pp. 5023-5025.

Mr. HELLER. I have "GOP Advised Editor Edited Pro-Nazi Paper" and "White House Lauds Anti-Jewish Head."

Mr. DASH. I will show you the third. What is the heading on that column?

Mr. HELLER. "Nixon Appears a Little Soft on Nazis."

Mr. DASH. Did you provide copies of these columns to the committee?

Mr. HELLER. Yes, I did.

Mr. DASH. How did they come into your possession?

Mr. HELLER. I think I had these pieces from the campaign.

Mr. DASH. Were these columns distributed in any way by the same headquarters that you have identified?

Mr. HELLER. Yes.

Mr. DASH. This is the McGovern headquarters?

Mr. HELLER. This is the McGovern headquarters on Beverly and Fairfax.

Mr. DASH. Was this to your knowledge information that you received?

Mr. HELLER. I saw them handing it out.

Mr. DASH. You saw who handing it out?

Mr. HELLER. I saw a person by the name of Zeb Arososky and I saw people who I believed to be volunteer workers from the headquarters, or at least people who were in and out of the headquarters handing out literature on the streets and at rallies in support of George McGovern.

Mr. DASH. And basically, again, without going into the content of the column, they indicate columns which would put President Nixon in an anti-Jewish posture, is that true?

Mr. HELLER. That is true, yes.

Mr. DASH. If you want to read any part of it, you may.

Mr. HELLER. I don't think it is worth reading.

Mr. DASH. All right. They will go into the record.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, I would like the three columns—the October 25, 1971, September 24, 1971, and the one I have just given you, my copy—what date is that?

Mr. HELLER. November 10.

Mr. DASH. I would like those columns of Mr. Jack Anderson to be identified and introduced in evidence.

Senator ERVIN. Without objection, the documents will be received in evidence and appropriately numbered as such as exhibits.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibits Nos. 250, 251, and 252*.]

Mr. DASH. At this time, Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me back up just a moment, Mr. Heller. As I understand, this was your first foray into politics, is that right, the 1972 campaign?

Mr. HELLER. It was my first involvement in a political campaign.

Mr. THOMPSON. And you are a Democrat, is that correct?

Mr. HELLER. I am a registered Democrat.

*See pp. 5026-5029.

Mr. THOMPSON. And of course with the organization of National Jewish Youth for Humphrey as a statewide coordinator, is that correct?

Mr. HELLER. I was the statewide coordinator, yes.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were you a volunteer and organized their activities?

Mr. HELLER. That was primarily my function to organize the volunteers and just to get out the literature, this was in the primary.

Mr. THOMPSON. And after the primary I believe you were asked to work in the southern California Democrats for Nixon campaign?

Mr. HELLER. That is correct.

Mr. THOMPSON. And you were cochairman of the Los Angeles Democrats for Nixon?

Mr. HELLER. Yes.

Mr. THOMPSON. Where were your headquarters?

Mr. HELLER. Our main headquarters was on Fairfax Avenue.

Mr. THOMPSON. Is that in the Jewish community?

Mr. HELLER. That is in the heart of the Jewish community.

Mr. THOMPSON. And what were your duties?

Mr. HELLER. We had a couple of offices and I was responsible for the operation of the offices and primarily all we did in the campaign was to say President Nixon's record spoke for itself. When I got into the campaign, literature was already made up because it came from magazines like Newsweek and so forth, so really my function was only to organize getting out the literature, getting people to speaking engagements, and having rallies. That is all.

Mr. THOMPSON. Was the McGovern headquarters in close proximity to yours in the Jewish community there?

Mr. HELLER. The McGovern headquarters was about a block and a half away, two blocks maybe.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were you familiar with the leaders there, the campaign workers there at McGovern headquarters, by sight?

Mr. HELLER. By sight I was, yes.

Mr. THOMPSON. And you have identified three documents which you say were distributed out of the headquarters there and I believe they speak for themselves. Mr. Chairman, at this time I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Baker.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. Mr. Heller, I won't take very long. I am not quite sure I understood the burden of your testimony with respect to the "Nixon is Treyf" characterization. I understood Mr. Dash to say that the "Treyf" means not kosher, I believe you said that, too, and counsel, Mr. Dash, asked if that meant food as in shrimp and lobster. Is that the fair intendment of the "Nixon is Treyf" allegation in the political context in your opinion?

Mr. HELLER. No, it is not. This piece of literature is not just referring to food. The word when used in context is referring to food. I think possibly to give an analogy, a crude one, I could say that to an orthodox Jew "Treyf" is the same thing as he would abhor eating ham and that is what it meant to these people.

Senator BAKER. Does it mean abhorrence, unclean in that political context?

Mr. HELLER. That is right.

Mr. DASH. Actually forbidden.

Senator BAKER. But it does not refer to food in the political context?

Mr. HELLER. No.

Senator BAKER. It is a statement, it is an odious impact, it is characterized to inflame the emotions, is that correct?

Mr. HELLER. That is correct, and it did accomplish that.

Senator BAKER. And the statement that "Nixon brings the ovens to the people instead of the people to the ovens," I understood Mr. Dash to say that it might have reference to the use of napalm in Southeast Asia; is there anything in the document that refers to napalm in Southeast Asia?

Mr. HELLER. Not that I recall reading.

Senator BAKER. Now, reading the document in its four corners and in its political context and its reference to Hermann Goering and the statements and the sad history of the Jewish people in Nazi Germany, would the statement in that document "Nixon brings the ovens to the people," in your opinion, be characteristic of our policy in Southeast Asia or did it have other significance in that document?

Mr. HELLER. I don't think it was similar in any way to our policy in Southeast Asia. I think—

Senator BAKER. The only thing I am reaching for, Mr. Heller, is I am not sure Mr. Dash meant to defend those two statements.

Mr. DASH. No; I did not by any means, it was a scurrilous leaflet.

Senator BAKER. I am happy to hear that but I really don't think the record should be permitted to stand with a rationalization of a statement attributed to Hermann Goering as an analogy to the use of napalm.

Mr. DASH. This leaflet does not refer to Goering, it was another leaflet. This was a group against the holocaust in Southeast Asia.

Senator BAKER. Was that characterized as a justification for the use of that language?

Mr. DASH. Oh, no. I don't think anybody can justify these matters.

Senator BAKER. Can we agree it was an unfair campaign practice?

Mr. DASH. It was very scurrilous.

Senator BAKER. Would you agree with that, Mr. Heller?

Mr. HELLER. I agree with it 100 percent.

Senator BAKER. I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Montoya.

Senator MONTOYA. When did you produce these documents to the committee?

Mr. HELLER. I produced them just a few days ago.

Senator MONTOYA. Where did you get them?

Mr. HELLER. I had some of the documents myself and what I didn't have, I got from my associate Harvey Tannenbaum in Los Angeles, Calif.

Senator MONTOYA. Do you have a file on these documents in California?

Mr. HELLER. No, we didn't keep files but we did have some of the literature.

Senator MONTOYA. Which did you have yourself and which did you get from Mr. Tannenbaum?

Mr. HELLER. I did not have the "Nixon is Treyf" piece until I received that, and also the Nazi pieces. I have the Nazi pieces.

Senator MONTROYA. Did you get together with Nixon before you appeared before this committee?

Mr. HELLER. No. I spoke with Harvey Tannenbaum and I also spoke with our national coordinator, "Jewish Youth for Humphrey."

Senator MONTROYA. That is when you developed the presentation of these documents after speaking to them?

Mr. HELLER. No, I did not develop a presentation for this at all with them. I spoke very little with them. All I did, the reason I spoke with the national coordinator is because I thought it might be possible, that if there were any other documents, I may have mailed them to him and he might have had them. That was our only conversation.

Senator MONTROYA. You mentioned a few minutes ago that the "Treyf" handbill was in the McGovern headquarters on Fairfax Avenue. Did you go in there yourself?

Mr. HELLER. Throughout the campaign I never stepped inside the McGovern headquarters on Beverly and Fairfax. What I did do when this piece came out—they had big windows, the windows were not covered completely by posters, as a matter of fact, very little, and I could see stacks—it originally was a green sheet, and I could read "Nixon is Treyf," it was in big stacks and people were taking them out, and as the people came out I could also read the flier.

Senator MONTROYA. And the handbill was visible from the window?

Mr. HELLER. It was visible from where I was standing outside the building.

Senator MONTROYA. And you saw in turn other people connected with the headquarters distribute the same on the streets along Fairfax Avenue?

Mr. HELLER. That is right.

Senator MONTROYA. Did you positively identify these people as being volunteers out of McGovern headquarters?

Mr. HELLER. The only thing I can say as to positively identifying them is, from the beginning of the campaign until the end of the campaign I did not—I was not remaining in an office myself. I was out on the streets and in the communities as much as possible, and the faces, many of the faces, of the people who were handing this piece of literature out I had seen many times handing out literature that was stamped on the bottom "McGovern-Shriver."

Senator MONTROYA. Would you consider this a dirty trick?

Mr. HELLER. I considered this piece of literature to be as low, as dirty as you can get.

Senator MONTROYA. Did you notify the Democratic National Committee or the Committee To Re-Elect the President or the Republican National Committee about the dissemination of this type of literature?

Mr. HELLER. Well, as I said, I spoke to somebody who was in charge of the press department for the Committee To Re-Elect, and I had told him of the piece and told him my feelings toward it.

Senator MONTROYA. The reason I ask you this question is because I asked Mr. MacGregor the other day if he was aware of any dirty tricks practiced by the McGovern organization or the Democratic Campaign Committee or National Committee upon the election effort

of President Nixon and he stated that he was not aware of any dirty tricks.

Mr. HELLER. Well, all I can say is that I contacted somebody from the committee in Los Angeles, and otherwise I did not talk to anybody.

Senator MONTAYA. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Weicker.

Senator WEICKER. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. This literature was an effort on the part of somebody to poison the minds of Jewish voters in that area against President Nixon, was it not?

Mr. HELLER. Yes.

Senator ERVIN. Do you know whether there was any counterliterature circulated?

Mr. HELLER. Not from my office, and I never saw any from any other office or organization.

Senator ERVIN. Well, it is a very unfortunate thing that many Americans—not many, but some—resort to rather disreputable methods of influencing votes in Presidential elections; is that not true?

Mr. HELLER. It certainly is.

Senator ERVIN. Yes. And it certainly is alien to what our system of government contemplates in regard to these matters, certainly the first amendment contemplates there will be a free and fair discussion of issues. Do you not so construe it?

Mr. HELLER. Yes, I do.

Senator ERVIN. Yes, sir. Thank you.

Any further questions?

Mr. THOMPSON. I might have just one or two more, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Heller, you are probably the youngest witness who has been before the committee, and you said this was your first time in politics, and I am sure you have observed the hearings as the Watergate events unfold. I understand you are active with the Jewish Council and quite active in student involvement. Do you have any discussions with your contemporaries with regard to what is going on in Washington these days?

Mr. HELLER. Yes, I have discussed it a little bit, or they have discussed it with me.

Mr. THOMPSON. What seems to be the consensus of thought; what is your opinion with regard to the state of politics?

Mr. HELLER. Well, I would certainly say that from the people who were involved in Watergate, that it was something that most of the people that I have talked to were, of course, very upset; not only upset but some people that I have talked with, and just recently when I was in New York and I have talked to thousands since the campaign, I have talked to thousands of Jewish youths, and many of those Jewish youths, I would simply say to them—and this is really the only answer I can give them, is that it is a problem and it is too bad that some people are in politics that are like the people who masterminded these dirty tricks and people who were responsible for break-ins and so forth, but the only solution, I believe, to clean up politics is to very simply, rather than hide faces and rather than to run in the other direction, I think that more people, more people than ever should get involved in politics, and certainly I would find that to be a solution that would clean it up.

Mr. THOMPSON. Do you find among many of your friends that they are thinking about hiding their faces or running in the other direction?

Mr. HELLER. Yes. As a matter of fact, there was a person that I spoke to just a couple of days ago, who no matter how much I talked to him, and by the way, he was a McGovern supporter, I talked to him for hours and hours and hours, and at that point in time, he believes very strongly that our Government is headed in the direction of catastrophe, and his answer to that is that when I asked him, "Why don't you remain involved, express your feelings?" all he can tell me is that McGovern had the most honest people that could have been and that really that is the only answer, that is the answer that I received from many people is—

Mr. THOMPSON. Regardless of party affiliation or whatever, is it the feeling among many of the young people that you talked to, that the Government is headed toward disaster, the way you describe it?

Mr. HELLER. I think there is a lot of feeling of that by the people that I have spoken with, by the people in my college, who are college students; even those people, a lot of them were in political science courses, I really do not think that I will see them involved in politics for a time to come.

Mr. THOMPSON. What about you?

Mr. HELLER. Well, I think that I have learned a lot from the Watergate hearings and from the bad things that were done by other people, and I personally will hope to be involved in politics as much as I possibly could. If I did not have school to accomplish first, I would go 100 percent right now and try to get involved in politics.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. Any further questions?

Mr. DASH. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. Thank you very much.

Mr. HELLER. Thank you.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Paul Brindze, B-r-i-n-d-z-e, is that correct?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. Do you swear that the evidence you shall give to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BRINDZE. I do.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Brindze, for the record, it is true that you were just spoken to by members of my staff last evening, and actually, again this morning, and were given notice that you would be a witness as recently as this morning, is that true?

TESTIMONY OF PAUL BRINDZE

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, that is true.

Mr. DASH. Could you tell the committee what your present position is?

Mr. BRINDZE. I am currently a student at the Law School of UCLA, Los Angeles, Calif., and I am currently working on a quarter away program from the law school in Senator Tunney's office here in Washington.

Mr. DASH. What association, Mr. Brindze, did you have with the McGovern campaign in California?

Mr. BRINDZE. During the primary campaign I was responsible for canvassing operations in the west side area of Los Angeles. I was also selected at a local caucus as a delegate to the national convention. I attended the national convention as a McGovern delegate. After the convention I continued my work in West Los Angeles and eventually I was assigned responsibility for three west side areas offices, particularly the offices that dealt with the predominantly Jewish communities of Beverly Fairfax, and Pico Fairfax.

Mr. DASH. Was one of those offices 7910 Beverly Boulevard?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, that is right.

Mr. DASH. Will you take a look at that green leaflet* which has already been identified for the record and has the opening statement "Nixon is Treyf". Have you seen that leaflet before?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, I have.

Mr. DASH. Could you explain the circumstances under which you saw the leaflet and what responsibility you had at McGovern headquarters for either the reproduction of that leaflet or its distribution?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes.

My headquarters at Beverly Fairfax did most of the printing for the west side Los Angeles campaign, and we had two mimeograph machines there at the time, and an electrostencil machine which could recreate stencils from hard copies, from printed copies.

A gentleman came into the office by the name of Conrad Mellilli. M-e-l-l-i-l-l-i. There may be some mistake in the "l's" there. I am not sure of that.

He came into the office and said that he was a member of a radical Jewish group against the war. He said that they were planning a demonstration in front of the Jewish Federation Council meeting which was upcoming, and that they had produced 3,000 of these pieces of literature, and they had run out of them and their group did not have any money to reproduce them and he wanted me to produce another 3,000 copies for him.

Mr. DASH. Did he identify himself as representing the so-called sponsor group at the bottom of the leaflet, "The Jewish Campaign to End the Indochina Holocaust"?

Mr. BRINDZE. OK. I believe he did. I do not remember that he used that group name. I do remember he represented himself as representing a radical Jewish antiwar group.

Mr. DASH. Did you know him before he came in to see you?

Mr. BRINDZE. No, I did not know him before he came in. You know, I have seen him around the office, it is possible that he was there. I do not really remember specifically having seen him.

Mr. DASH. When he asked you to reproduce additional copies of this leaflet did you read the leaflet?

Mr. BRINDZE. I glanced at the beginning of the leaflet, basically the headlines of it, and I didn't read the body, the typewritten body of the leaflet.

Mr. DASH. Do you understand the Yiddish word "treyf"?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, I do.

*Exhibit No. 247, see p. 5022.

Mr. DASH. What did it mean to you "Nixon is Treyf" when you saw it?

Mr. BRINDZE. OK, I would like to preface this with a little bit of statement of my expertise in Yiddish. I do not currently speak Yiddish, however, I was raised in the Fairfax area, went to high school at Fairfax High School. My grandmother spoke fluent Yiddish. Yiddish was spoken quite a bit in my home as a child and also I did go to a Yiddish school after my regular school, up until about the age of 8. To me "treyf" means first, not kosher; second, it could be interpreted as unclean. Used in this context "Nixon is treyf" it means basically Nixon is no good.

Mr. DASH. Also it could mean forbidden, too. "Treyf" is forbidden.

Mr. BRINDZE. It could be forbidden. I would say basically if—in the context here it means Nixon is no good. In the proverbial or our Fairfax community Nixon is a nogoodnik.

Mr. DASH. But you will accept Senator Baker's expression it was meant to be an epithet, it was meant to identify him either as abhorrent or no good?

Mr. BRINDZE. I would say it was meant as identifying him as no good. The thing I would disagree with this former testimony that said this would arouse violent emotions in the Jewish community. Saying that somebody is treyf to a Jew is saying that the person is no good but it is a common—it is not an unheard of comment. It is not as we might say, I don't think that it would constitute, in most of our community, what is know as fighting words. It would not be the kind of thing that would stir somebody up so much that he would—

Mr. DASH. Did you read the rest of the leaflet, especially the bottom?

Mr. BRINDZE. I do not remember having looked at the phrases on the bottom.

Mr. DASH. Now, what did you do when you were asked by this person who you met for the first time to reproduce this leaflet?

Mr. BRINDZE. I agreed that I would allow our person who ran the mimeograph machine to run off additional—I don't remember if it was 1,500 or 3,000, it was not more than 3,000—copies of this leaflet. And I told him, however, that—I told Conrad—that as far as I was concerned I had been given orders not to participate, that the campaign was in no way to participate in demonstrations, this was shortly after the Century City demonstration in Los Angeles, and that this decision I was making was not any authorized campaign decision and that I was doing this on my own because I agreed with his aims, basically the aims of identifying Mr. Nixon with the war and identifying Mr. Spiegel.

Mr. DASH. Are you saying that you were telling him that you were not authorized by Senator McGovern or those working for Senator McGovern in those campaigns to run this off, but you were taking this as your personal responsibility?

Mr. BRINDZE. I am afraid that is exactly what I was saying.

Mr. DASH. Did you think such a leaflet would assist Senator McGovern in his campaign?

Mr. BRINDZE. Again, without having read the entire body of the leaflet I felt at the time that it would. I felt more particularly—my reasons for being involved in the McGovern campaign have a great deal to do with the war, and I felt that it was important to bring out

Mr. Nixon's relationship to the war, and particularly to put pressure on the Jewish Federation Council to make it clear that Mr. Spiegel was not speaking for them when he endorsed President Nixon. I personally felt that those were worthwhile aims.

Mr. DASH. What about the language at the end "Thanks to modern technology Nixon brings the ovens to the people rather than the people to the ovens" and that is in the context of a quote from Hermann Goering. Isn't that really a reference or an attempt to inflame Jewish residents, reminding them of the Nazi holocaust?

Mr. BRINDZE. I would reiterate that I do not remember reading that part of the body of the statement when I got it, and I wouldn't defend its rhetoric. I think it is a bit strong.

However, my opinion, and there was a great deal of talk in the Jewish community during the campaign, there was, you know, in reference to what was going on in Indochina and there were several people in the Jewish community who felt that there was a similarity, that the—that our actions in Indochina did bear a similarity, and particularly there is a Jewish tradition, shall we say, of life, and the value of life, it is very important in our community, and I would say it goes toward that end, toward inflaming that end.

Again I would agree that the language is unfortunate.

Mr. DASH. Well, before authorizing the reproduction of this on your own, wouldn't you have been wise to have read the entire leaflet?

Mr. BRINDZE. Suitably I would have.

Mr. DASH. This time not having read the entire leaflet and seeing what it is, would you have authorized it—that leaflet?

Mr. BRINDZE. I doubt I would have. At the time that it happened my major concern was that the McGovern campaign would be identified, might be identified through this leaflet as participating in a rally, which is what we were most concerned about, and that is the reason that I told him that as far as the McGovern campaign was concerned I was not supposed to be doing this. You know I felt that was the problem but again I hadn't read the body so I didn't see the problems in rhetoric.

Mr. DASH. After you completed having that reproduced, how many did you say you thought were reproduced?

Mr. BRINDZE. There was a maximum of 3,000 that might have been as low as 1,500, I am not sure.

Mr. DASH. What did you do with the package?

Mr. BRINDZE. We gave them to Mr. Mellilli and he took them out of the office. We may have helped him load them in the car, I don't know.

Mr. DASH. How long did it take to run this off?

Mr. BRINDZE. Approximately a half hour. I would say.

Mr. DASH. Did you store any of those around the office?

Mr. BRINDZE. No. I also specifically told him that these were not to be left at any of my other offices in the area. Distribution, if he was going to do distribution, it was by his group and not by McGovern people and I didn't want to see these in any office.

Mr. DASH. Did you direct any of your workers in the office to distribute any of these leaflets?

Mr. BRINDZE. No; as I say I may have told some people to help him carry them out to the car, I don't remember that.

Mr. DASH. To your knowledge.

Mr. BRINDZE. Specifically I did not tell them to distribute any of them.

Mr. DASH. To your knowledge did any of the McGovern workers in your office distribute them?

Mr. BRINDZE. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. DASH. Is it possible some of them did?

Mr. BRINDZE. It is certainly but not to my knowledge and not to my knowledge and direction.

Mr. DASH. Did you bring these leaflets to any higher authority in the McGovern campaign?

Mr. BRINDZE. Only after the news broke on it. There was a news report that came out very shortly after this happened to the effect that another example of the McGovern campaign participating in demonstrations had been printed at our office and I did then. There were inquiries from the southern California campaign as to whether or not this had been printed at our office and I then informed the people above me.

Mr. DASH. Who did you inform?

Mr. BRINDZE. I informed first Mr. Joseph Charney who was the west side area coordinator for the campaign, and then he and I both had a meeting with Mr. Elmer Cooper who was southern California coordinator.

Mr. DASH. What was decided should be done as a result of this incident?

Mr. BRINDZE. All right. There were two decisions. First of all, Mr. Cooper said that I had placed him in a very bad position, because they did not approve of this leaflet, and his first inclination was that I should be removed from the campaign staff. However, the campaign in the Fairfax area had been going very well and this had been the first incident of misjudgment on my part, so he didn't want to do that. He said, however, that as far as he was concerned we should say that the person who ran the mimeograph machine was a 16-year-old young man, was responsible for doing it on his own, that that would be the public statement. I talked to the 16-year-old man involved and he said he would be willing—

Mr. DASH. He would take the rap?

Mr. BRINDZE. He would take the rap on this.

Mr. DASH. Was he fired?

Mr. BRINDZE. He was asked not to come around for a few days and didn't come around the office for about a week. He was not on the staff. He was a volunteer and he didn't come around for about a week, and I believe the public pressure was to the effect, the public statement rather was to the effect that he would be identified as the person involved who had been dismissed. I would also say on the west side level, a policy was instituted after that Mr. Charney's office would approve all documents being printed out of our office and from that time on either Mr. Charney's signature or Mr. Steve Miller who was in Mr. Charney's office had to initial all of the pamphlets that were produced at our office.

Mr. DASH. Now, will you look at the leaflet that is headed "Who is Our Candidate For President." I think it may be on the table in front of you.

Do you have it?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes; I do.

Mr. DASH. That has already been identified in the record as exhibit 248, and appears to have been sponsored by a group "Jews for McGovern-Shriver" with the address you have just identified as the McGovern headquarters on Beverly Boulevard.

Was this leaflet also printed at McGovern headquarters?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes; this was. I believe it was fairly early in the campaign, I am not—

Mr. DASH. Fairly what?

Mr. BRINDZE. I believe it was fairly early in the campaign, I am not sure of the timing on this. There were several pieces that were produced by this group. They came, and there was an older Jewish gentleman in the community who organized the "Jews for McGovern" and they volunteered to pay for the cost of the materials if we would print their leaflets, which were Yiddish on one side and English on the other side.

Mr. DASH. In other words, the organization that is listed as the alleged sponsor of the "Jews for McGovern-Shriver" was in fact an organization?

Mr. BRINDZE. As far as I know, they were an organization, although I have only had contact with the one old gentleman.

Mr. DASH. Were you authorized by your superiors to reproduce this leaflet?

Mr. BRINDZE. I cannot say that for certain without knowing specifically the date; it is very difficult for me at this time with this notice.

Mr. DASH. Were you the person in charge of that headquarters?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes; I was the person in charge of that headquarters.

The reason that I am questioning whether or not, if I knew the date, I would say, yes; I approved it on my own, or no; Mr. Charney had seen it. I think that it is likely that it was earlier and that I approved this on my own. Again, this was at a stage where I was not approving everything that was—

Mr. DASH. Without going into the leaflet, it again attempts to make a reference to the genocide of 6 million Jews, relating it to Mr. Nixon's antibusing program, and also makes a reference to the fact that the Los Angeles Board of Rabbis enthusiastically support McGovern. I think we have had introduced into the record a letter from the board of Rabbis that denied that, which would make this an untruthful statement. Were you aware at any time that this was an untruthful leaflet?

Mr. BRINDZE. I do remember the leaflet now. That was after this letter came back. That was brought up by the press, I believe someone at the office said that we should not produce something that was untruthful, because they had the letter at that time.

As I remember discussing it again, with this Jewish gentleman who had written the piece—Senator McGovern had appeared shortly before that before the board of Rabbis at a meeting in downtown Los Angeles, I believe, or the Biltmore. At that meeting, Rabbi Nussbaum, who is a member of the executive committee and a very important Rabbi in Los Angeles, praised Senator McGovern and fullheartedly endorsed him. It was apparently the impression of the gentleman who produced this document that, having read the press

story, there was an actual endorsement given, when in fact, as we found out, there was not an endorsement given.

Mr. DASH. I think you will agree, then, that this is a fairly loose practice of printing. Would you agree that this is a loose practice of permitting the facilities of your headquarters to print such leaflets without checking the accuracy of the statements?

Mr. BRINDZE. I would certainly agree with that.

Mr. DASH. Also, there have been introduced for the record three columns, written by Jack Anderson—which at least connect President Nixon with anti-Jewish positions. Were those columns republished by your headquarters?

Mr. BRINDZE. On this, there was. There were several pieces which we received from higher headquarters—I believe it was national. It might have come from an office in Chicago that was handling some Jewish affairs. There were a few boxes that came in. We then reproduced several additional copies, because there was a great demand for this particular article.

Mr. DASH. Do you recognize these as being among those?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, I do.

Mr. DASH. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. As I understand it, you were in charge of three west side offices?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. Was this a full-time job?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, it was.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were you paid a salary?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did you spend most of your time in one of the three headquarters?

Mr. BRINDZE. In one of the three as opposed to the other?

Mr. THOMPSON. In any of the three?

Mr. BRINDZE. I would suppose that I spent a good deal of my time, probably at least 10 hours a day, and as the campaign closed, probably closer to 18 hours a day, in at least one of the headquarters.

Mr. THOMPSON. This Conrad Mellilli—I believe you testified at one point in your testimony that he was a volunteer.

Mr. BRINDZE. No, I think I said I thought I might have seen him in one of the offices. It is possible that I had seen him and thought he was a volunteer. I was not sure. I do remember not knowing specifically who he was at the time and taking him at face value.

Mr. THOMPSON. You did say that at one time, he was told not to show up for awhile?

Mr. BRINDZE. No, that was the volunteer that ran the mimeograph machine.

Mr. THOMPSON. What was his name?

Mr. BRINDZE. I do not remember his name.

Mr. THOMPSON. Maybe we are confused on a point. I have here the witness summary that states that regarding the alleged scurrilous leaflet printed up in the McGovern headquarters and describing Nixon as a Nazi, "Brindze admitted unofficially authorizing the printing of material on McGovern equipment. Apparently, a non-McGovern individual named Conrad Mellilli came from McGovern head-

quarters. At that time, Brindze explained to the latter that he could not officially authorize the printing of this material, but he would assist unofficially and allow the materials to be printed on the then idle McGovern mimeograph machines," and so on. Are you saying, then, that Mellilli is not the name of the individual who actually came in and asked that they be allowed to—

Mr. BRINDZE. He is the individual who came in and asked that we print this. What I am saying is that he was not a volunteer in the McGovern campaign; he was not the individual that subsequent reports had listed as being removed from the office. That was the young man who was running the mimeograph machine, whose name I do not remember.

Mr. THOMPSON. Oh, I see. The young man who took the rap, so to speak.

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes.

Mr. THOMPSON. You say you believe you might have recalled seeing him around the headquarters sometime before, but you did not know his name?

Mr. BRINDZE. I said I might have. I do not remember specifically having done this. The reason I say I might have is there is some question in my mind as to why I took this person at face value, looking back on it. That may have been the reason. But I do not specifically remember having seen him before.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did you question him as to what that organization, the "Jewish Campaign to End the Indochina Holocaust," was or where the headquarters were?

Mr. BRINDZE. No, he represented himself as a member of the radical Jewish community. He appeared physically to fit that description. He was, you know, he had fairly long hair, he had a beard, he was dressed in army fatigues, an old army fatigue jacket with several antiwar and anti-Nixon buttons and some radical Jewish buttons, all over his jacket.

Mr. THOMPSON. As I understand it, Mr. Brindze, you allowed a man whom you essentially did not know, to come in and print material which you essentially did not read, and I believe you said you might perhaps have assisted him in loading this material after it was printed. Is that in essence correct?

Mr. BRINDZE. I would say that is a fairly accurate characterization.

Mr. THOMPSON. You stated that you were doing this unofficially instead of officially. Is not the result of what you were trying to do, in effect, to cover yourself in case you got caught, so you would have what has been referred to recently as deniability?

Mr. BRINDZE. What I was doing, again, was specifically—I felt—I will repeat—I felt that the demonstration that he described to me and that was mentioned at the beginning of the leaflet was a good idea personally, and I felt that he should be supported in his work on that idea. However, I knew that I did not have authority to do that and I did not want to implicate the McGovern campaign.

Mr. THOMPSON. You did not think you were implicating the McGovern campaign or you spoke for the McGovern campaign when you were in charge of that office. You were in the office at that time. You were a salaried, paid worker, with full-time job. In your mind did you feel that by making the statement that this was unofficial

instead of official, you could disassociate yourself from the McGovern campaign?

Mr. BRINDZE. I would say I was only expressing what my feelings were at the time.

Mr. THOMPSON. And you also permitted the use of the McGovern headquarters, did you not? The use of the McGovern equipment, and I assume, the use of McGovern paper and materials in this project?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. Unofficially?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, sir, and I might say, if I am guilty of anything in this matter, it would be very bad judgment and perhaps misappropriation of materials in the McGovern campaign, which I might mention in this particular case, amounted to approximately \$15 in value and less than a half hour of a volunteer's time.

I pointed out the value of that only to underscore the smallness of this incident in my duties regarding the McGovern campaign and the McGovern campaign generally in that area. I was responsible for the expenditure of probably close to \$25,000 during the McGovern campaign, and this was \$15 out of that \$25,000.

Mr. THOMPSON. In other words, a little bit of misappropriation is less culpable than a lot of misappropriation?

Mr. BRINDZE. No, sir, I am only trying to put it in context as to what I understood to be the situation.

Mr. THOMPSON. I am sorry. I misunderstood what you were doing.

Now, you are talking about matters of judgment. You are talking about matters of rhetoric. If you feel that you want to subscribe to reference to a Presidential candidate in the same document as someone who is responsible for the genocide of 6 million Jews or someone who brings the ovens to the people, that is for everybody to determine, I suppose. But what strikes me about this and what I would like to ask you about, is what justification you have for imposing upon a young man there who did nothing more than operate the mimeograph machine to, in effect, take the rap for what was done? What went through your mind as you did that? How do you feel about that?

Mr. BRINDZE. I would say at the time, first of all, I felt very guilty about it. Second of all, I told the people when I was asked about it that I would not do it without talking to him. I went back and talked to him and explained the situation to him and said, "This is what is going to happen."

Mr. THOMPSON. What did you tell him was going to happen, that he was going to take the rap?

Mr. BRINDZE. No, I told him that this is what they had proposed downtown. If I were to admit that I had approved this document, it would mean that they would have to fire me—this is what they told me—and that if he agreed that he could take it, it would mean that he would be out of the office for at least a week and that he would end up with the blame on this.

Mr. THOMPSON. How old was this young man?

Mr. BRINDZE. He was approximately 16.

Mr. THOMPSON. Approximately 16 years old?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. He agreed to do this?

Mr. BRINDZE. He agreed to do this.

Mr. THOMPSON. But presenting this proposal to him or telling him what the boys downtown had decided—what was the effect of that? Was it not that he would not need to be contacted and, in effect, he was not going to turn around and relate the information to someone else, was he? Was not the gist of what you were trying to do to get him to tell anyone who might inquire that it was he who actually was responsible? Is that what you were trying to get him to do?

Mr. BRINDZE. The first time I talked to him, it was not that at all. The first time I talked to him was before I had even agreed that this would be the story. I told them downtown that I didn't want to do this without talking to him, because I felt bad about it, quite frankly. I still do. I am perhaps not as vindicated, but I would not feel it was something that I had a right to do to him for my benefit, without talking to him about it.

Mr. THOMPSON. In other words, this was not your proposal?

Mr. BRINDZE. No, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. This was a proposal of Mr. Elmer Cooper and the press boys downtown?

Mr. BRINDZE. I don't remember that it was Mr. Cooper himself. It was in the discussions downtown and he was involved in those discussions.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Elmer Cooper was the coordinator for southern California?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. Who else was consulted about making this decision?

Mr. BRINDZE. The only people I specifically talked to downtown were Mr. Elmer Cooper, Mr. Joseph Charney, who was not downtown but in the west side office.

Mr. THOMPSON. What was his position?

Mr. BRINDZE. It was Mr. Joseph Charney and he was the west side coordinator. He was my immediate superior. I consulted with him about it.

Again, I believe that the press people were talking downtown. I don't remember specifically, myself, talking about decisions on this. I don't really know or remember specifically where the idea came from.

Mr. THOMPSON. One of the persons participating was the coordinator of the southern California McGovern effort—one of the persons participating in this decision?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, sir.

I should make it clear he did not participate in the decision to produce this leaflet.

Mr. THOMPSON. I am talking about the decision—

Mr. BRINDZE. The decision to blame the young man.

Mr. THOMPSON. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. And after this decision was reached and after you spoke to the young man and after he agreed to take the blame for what you had done, was there a story to put out to that effect?

Mr. BRINDZE. I believe that—again I am not speaking firsthand. I believe the story that was put out by the press people was something to the effect that the person responsible for it had been fired or dismissed or was no longer with the campaign.

Mr. THOMPSON. You were that person, were you not?

Mr. BRINDZE. I was, in fact, that person. I don't know the specifics of how they related to the—

Mr. THOMPSON. You were not in fact fired, is that correct?

Mr. BRINDZE. I was not.

Mr. THOMPSON. You remained in your position at the current salary you had at the time and the responsibilities that you had?

Mr. BRINDZE. Yes, I did.

Mr. THOMPSON. And you mentioned other leaflets, I believe, that were printed there at headquarters; the one Mr. Dash referred to, "Jews for McGovern-Shriver," referring to the Los Angeles Board of Rabbis which they later refuted. How many other types of documents, leaflets of this nature did you put out at those headquarters?

Mr. BRINDZE. When you say of this nature, what do you mean?

Mr. THOMPSON. I am talking about the nature of comparing Nixon or his sponsors with genocide of 6 million Jews, I am talking about any documents or statements purporting to claim the support of people who vehemently denied it later on—anything of that nature.

Mr. BRINDZE. I would say in the categories that you have just referred to, I do not know of other documents that were produced at our headquarters. I would say, however, that we printed at various times several hundred, possibly as many as 500 different documents during the 2-month or so period. Again, very early in the campaign, the process of proofreading these was very sloppy and I could not state to my certain knowledge that nothing else was produced. I do not know of anything else being produced of that nature.

Mr. THOMPSON. Why was it so important that McGovern headquarters disassociate itself with this particular document?

Mr. BRINDZE. As I mentioned before, this was slightly after the Century City demonstration where there had been accusations by the Nixon campaign that the McGovern campaign had somehow instituted this demonstration.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did you hear testimony about the phone bank at headquarters being used?

Mr. BRINDZE. No, I haven't.

Mr. THOMPSON. All right.

Mr. BRINDZE. But this was the concern. I might mention again that none of the press reports or any of the stir that came out of this particular document was the body, and the references that you are making that were made in the body, were mentioned at all. It was, again, strictly aimed at another supposed example that the McGovern campaign was involved in organizing demonstrations.

Mr. THOMPSON. Are you aware of any other statements released by the McGovern campaign people in the area that you had responsibility for, in which the responsible people knew that the material released or statements released were false, other than the one you have related?

Mr. BRINDZE. No.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, sir. I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. Anything further?

Mr. DASH. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

[Whereupon, at 12:45 p.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., the same day.]

AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1973

Senator ERVIN. The committee will come to order.

Congressman Carter, please stand and raise your right hand. Do you swear the evidence you shall give to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Representative CARTER. I do.

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Sir, to identify the witness for the record, this is the Honorable Tim Lee Carter from Kentucky.

TESTIMONY OF HON. TIM LEE CARTER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY

Representative CARTER. That is correct.

Mr. THOMPSON. I appreciate your being here, Congressman Carter.

Representative CARTER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. I understand that you have a prepared statement.

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir, that is right.

Mr. THOMPSON. Would you please read the statement at this time?

Representative CARTER. All right, sir.

Mr. Chairman, on Sunday night, August 20, 1972, at the start of the Republican National Convention, my wife and I were invited to the Fontainebleu Hotel to a large, well-publicized dinner. Many of the hotels had been picketed for several days by large groups of demonstrators.

As we approached the Fontainebleu Hotel, we saw such a large, raucous crowd in front that we parked at the Eden Roc, just north of the Fontainebleu. As we approached the Fontainebleu, walking, we saw hundreds of shouting demonstrators. We had to get through them to go to the hotel, as others did.

As we made this effort, we were screamed and yelled at; we were shoved, pushed, and our coats were pulled. A button was pulled off my coat. These fanatical people yelled, "Murderers! Assassins!" and obscenities at us.

Since I wore my delegate's insignia, my wife and I seemed to be a target for the demonstrators. The group was maniacal. It was difficult to inch our way through this crowd. They little knew that I even opposed our country's going into the war in Vietnam. One fellow blocked my way and yelled, "Murderer!" in my face. It was all I could take. I would have slugged him if it had been my last act on earth.

I gave him a Sunday punch, flush on the jaw, and the last time I saw him, he was still falling. The crowd closed in on me, flailing with fists and hands, and screaming to the height of their inhuman ambition.

I made my way through the crowd to a cordon of police, but found I had lost my wife, Katie, in the melee. I waded back twice into the mass of whirling dervishes, but I could not find her. Later, I found she had crawled on her hands and knees into the lobby of the hotel and it took some time to quiet and calm her, so I did not see the cordon of police push the mob back.

On the last day of the convention, Wednesday, August 23, 1972, I was in the place of lodging of the Kentucky delegation, being inter-

viewed by Mr. Schultz, who was employed by a Lexington, Ky., radio station, when I heard a loud ruckus on the outside. By the time I got out there, a mob was leaving. Dr. Harold Barton, from Kentucky, husband of our national committeewoman from Kentucky, was holding his jaw with one hand and a tooth or so in the other. The American flag and the Kentucky flag had been torn down.

There were no signs of police. We were advised later by some emissary of the police to go early to convention hall because of the unruly mobs roaming the streets.

Just as we were getting ready to go, a fanatic mob came down the street in numbers too large to cope with. They set trashcarts on fire and rolled them into the street; they rolled barrels in the street, they smashed window lights.

A bus stopped at the street entrance to our hotel. This was the one which we meant to board, but four or five of the revolutionaries—and that is what I term them—snatched a panel off the back of the bus, pulled out the oil line and broke it. It was the work of professionals. This, of course, disabled the bus. A second bus came up behind. It was quickly put out of commission.

Mr. Willie Greer, the district chairman from my district in Kentucky, asked if I saw them slashing the tires. I am sure they were slashed, for the tires went down, but I saw no knives.

Across the street a nice new Cadillac was also put out of commission. The mob passed on down the street, yelling, screaming, and breaking out glass windows. We had no police protection nor means of transportation to the convention center. However, we were determined, as American citizens, that even if we had to walk, fight, or both, we were going to exercise our constitutional rights to vote at the convention center. But many of the women and some of the older men decided to stay at the hotel.

The State chairman, John Kerr, and I, with the mayor of Morehead, William H. Lavne, and Bill Rueff, of Morgantown, Ky., led our group of about 20 a distance of 12 to 15 blocks in a rather circuitous route to the convention center. Luckily, we met only a few hecklers and went through a relatively small amount of tear gas. After the convention, we came back to the hotel the same way we went—on foot. There was more tear gas, more heckling, but no attacks.

The women were terribly frightened, and were overjoyed naturally, when we reached our hotel.

Mr. Chairman, I went through combat in World War II in the Pacific, and the people we faced there were no more fanatical or fierce than these revolutionaries we faced in Miami. We never dreamed incidents such as this would occur in America, but they did.

I have with me today a film of an interview made by NBC in convention center which corroborates my statement, and I will submit it for your perusal if you desire, but I would like to have it back for my personal records.

If you have questions, Mr. Chairman, I should be happy to attempt to answer them.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, Congressman Carter. I might relate a little of your background. I believe you are, in addition to being the distinguished Congressman from the Fifth District from Kentucky, a doctor, is that correct?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. THOMPSON. And you are a medical doctor?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. I believe you were in the practice of medicine from 1940 to 1964; is that right?

Representative CARTER. That is right.

Mr. THOMPSON. Congressman, I believe your statement is detailed and speaks for itself. As I understand the summary, there are basically three instances that you relate. I might, first of all, ask you what your function was during this particular convention?

Representative CARTER. I was a delegate to this convention and also a member of the platform committee at the convention.

Mr. THOMPSON. And August 20 was on a Sunday; had you been there any time previous to this Sunday, August 20?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir, I had been there for approximately a week to help form a platform.

Mr. THOMPSON. As you attempted to attend the dinner at the Fontainebleu with your wife, is it your opinion that you were recognized as a delegate?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir, I feel like I was. However, other people along with us before us and behind us were treated in the same manner.

Mr. THOMPSON. How many were in your party?

Representative CARTER. Only the two of us together, but there were many people who had to get through this mob of, say, 500 to 700 people in front of the Fontainebleu.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were the police in evidence?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir. They had formed a line holding their clubs as they do around the entrance to the hotel, but they stood stock still at this time.

Mr. THOMPSON. And I believe, according to your statement, that you were undergoing harassment and obscenities and provocation.

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir, that is quite true.

Mr. THOMPSON. After being called a "murderer" to your face, you hit the person who made that statement?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir, I reached the flashpoint automatically, and I couldn't help it.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did they converge on you at that point?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir, they did.

Mr. THOMPSON. And I believe you stated you lost Mrs. Carter there temporarily?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did you later determine what she had done or had to do in order to extricate herself?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir. I found out when I got to the lobby of the Fontainebleu.

Mr. THOMPSON. What condition was she in and what had she done?

Representative CARTER. Well, she had crawled, apparently, up sort of an elevation there.

Mr. THOMPSON. On her hands and knees?

Representative CARTER. On her hands and knees; yes, sir. And into the lobby of the hotel.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were you able to finally attend the dinner? Were all your parties able to arrive there?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir; we were able to attend the dinner. It took a little time to calm and quiet them down.

Mr. THOMPSON. On the August 23 incident which was on a Wednesday at the Atlantic Hotel, I believe you related you were there primarily for a press interview on that particular occasion, or at least you were attempting to conduct a press interview.

Representative CARTER. I was there and the press wanted to interview me and we were engaged in that process when I heard all the noise outside.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did you have any police protection there at that time?

Representative CARTER. No, sir; we did not.

Mr. THOMPSON. What kind of arrangements were you in? Were you on the outside of the building?

Representative CARTER. I was on the inside in a room there talking with Mr. Schultz. In fact he was taking down what I was saying.

Mr. THOMPSON. What seemed to spark the people who came in there? Was it a sudden surge or did they drift in or what?

Representative CARTER. No, sir; they were one of the mobs that were roaming around through Miami. They just surged right in there, from what I heard later. I saw them receding—going out. But when I had gone out there, as I told you, I saw Dr. Barton there and they had torn the flags down.

Mr. THOMPSON. That is where the Kentucky delegation was staying?

Representative CARTER. That is right.

Mr. THOMPSON. You knew many, if not all, of the members there quite well?

Representative CARTER. That is correct.

Mr. THOMPSON. Who is Dr. Barton?

Representative CARTER. Dr. Barton is a surgeon from Kentucky and his wife is the national committeewoman from Kentucky.

Mr. THOMPSON. What happened to him in that case?

Representative CARTER. Someone struck him in the mouth or had knocked out two teeth.

Mr. THOMPSON. On the Tuesday, August 22, 1972, incident, Congressman, you mentioned the disabling, I believe, of two buses that had arrived there to take you to the convention.

Representative CARTER. That is right.

Mr. THOMPSON. Was that your ordinary mode of transportation?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir. There were buses that would take us directly to the convention center.

Mr. THOMPSON. You said they were rather expertly dismantled, or something of that nature. What leads you to that particular conclusion?

Representative CARTER. Well, I have been familiar with automobiles a great part of my life, and I would not have known how to take a panel off the back end of a bus that quickly and break the oil line. It takes pretty much of an experienced man, I think, to do it.

Mr. THOMPSON. About how quickly was it done?

Representative CARTER. I would say it didn't take over 5 minutes, if that long.

Mr. THOMPSON. When the second bus arrived, that was disabled also?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. How far was it from the hotel where you were staying to the convention site?

Representative CARTER. It was right at the entrance to the hotel. At this hotel there is a U-shaped drive which you can come up and circle back into the street. As it reached the end of the U, that is where the first bus was disabled and then slightly behind it the other one came up and was disabled.

Mr. THOMPSON. Would you relate to us a little bit of the atmosphere there? Were these people—who would appear—out of nowhere, or did you see people continually from time to time roaming around?

Representative CARTER. No, sir, this was in a rather large group—a mob is what it was; that is what they were. Three or four circling wouldn't have caused too much difficulty, or even a half dozen or a dozen, but you get 200 or 300 people and it is rather difficult to face such a mob.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were large groups present on the streets there throughout the convention period from time to time?

Representative CARTER. I saw several of these groups; yes, sir, I saw them at the Fontainebleu and I believe they picketed the Eden Roc, too, and the Park, and we met—well, of course, on the day we mentioned there had been a large group that came in, tore down the flags, hit Dr. Barton, and then left; and they returned as we got ready to board our buses, or just before that and disabled those buses.

Mr. THOMPSON. Of course, you related the damage to automobiles and smashing the windows and so forth?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. I would like to ask you two basic questions, Congressman, based upon your testimony and your statement. First, whether or not, in your opinion, people, either delegates or nondelegates, who would otherwise have attended the convention, stayed away because of these activities.

Representative CARTER. I am sure that if they had seen what I did, knowing what was going to happen, many of them would have stayed away. Just as many of them didn't go to the convention center that night because of fear, after seeing what had happened.

Mr. THOMPSON. Second, you have attended other political conventions?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. About how many other conventions have you attended?

Representative CARTER. Two others.

Mr. THOMPSON. How would you compare the disruptive activities down in Miami on this occasion with the previous experience of political conventions?

Representative CARTER. When I was there in 1968, I saw no difficulty whatsoever and recalled none. I was in Chicago in 1952; I saw no trouble there at that time.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, sir.

I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. You were not in Chicago in 1968 at the Democratic National Convention, were you?

Representative CARTER. I heard it was a little rough.

Senator ERVIN. I was there.

You are a medical doctor as well as a psychiatrist?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir—I am a medical doctor.

Senator ERVIN. I always thought a practicing psychiatrist—I would have asked you as a psychiatrist if you can explain why people that engage in such conduct as these people on the occasion you have described, why they do it; what they think they are accomplishing by it.

Representative CARTER. Well, in this case, it seemed to me that they wanted to keep us away from the convention. They tore down our flags, they wanted to terrorize people, and they were very dangerous people.

Senator ERVIN. I have always been unable to comprehend why any human being wants to engage in conduct of that kind.

Representative CARTER. Mr. Chairman, I fully agree in view of what happened there. I think this is a small percentage of our people and I thank God for it. I do not think 4, actually, or 5 or 10 percent, but they are so active that any time an opportunity presents itself, they show up.

Senator ERVIN. And the same people want to deprive other people of their rights. Certainly, you and Mrs. Carter and the other people going to this dinner had a legal right to use the streets of Miami, especially without anybody interfering; did you not?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. I think I trust the first amendment; I think it is a great part of our Constitution. It recognizes that people have a right to assemble and petition the Government for the redress of grievances, but it expressly says this right "is the right peaceably to assemble."

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. And a demonstration of this kind where violence is employed is not only a detriment to our Constitution, it is a detriment to our system of Government, and it has been illegal for hundreds and hundreds of years, ever since man emerged from the mists of savagery.

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir, I agree, sir.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Baker.

Senator BAKER. Thank you very much.

Congressman Carter, I am happy to have you here.

Representative CARTER. Thank you, sir.

Senator BAKER. I have had the privilege of knowing you ever since you first come to the Congress of the United States.

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Senator BAKER. You represent the district which adjoins my home area of Tennessee and I am happy to say we share a common unfortified boundary.

I was in Miami Beach, too, and I can empathize with the description you give. I recall, as I commented to one previous witness earlier today, that on this same occasion—I believe it was the same occasion—we were going to convention hall for the balloting of the convention nomination, that not only were your buses disabled, but I believe the buses of a great number of delegations were disabled up and down Miami Beach. Is that correct?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Senator BAKER. I believe a great number of buses—I hesitate to say the number—but a great number of buses were disabled and a great number of delegations could not reach the convention hall because of this vandalism. Our own bus, the Tennessee delegation, not only was

the engine disabled and the tires slashed, but repair vehicles called to haul off those buses to make room for others were blocked before they could reach the hotel to take the delegation.

In my own case, we resorted to a private car to try to reach the convention hall and found that it had been painted. It had been painted with slurring remarks along the side and the windshield wipers had been pulled off. We finally rode to the convention that night in a Tennessee Highway Patrol car provided by the Governor, who was chairman of our delegation. We had a car in front and a car behind with armed policemen. I do not know how we would have gotten there except for that, except to walk. I think you have already pointed out that walking through that crowd, which probably was measured by tens of thousands—at least by thousands—was at best a risky business.

Do you recall, Congressman, the great rows of empty derelict buses that the Miami Beach police put up as a barricade against these surging throngs?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Senator BAKER. Do you remember seeing the demonstrators who came into the streets to block cars with their faces painted white?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Senator BAKER. And they rocked cars back and forth and tore off windshield wipers and opened the doors to pull people out?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Senator BAKER. Would you say that was reasonably calculated to cause fear and trepidation in the hearts of people who were going to that convention to nominate the President?

Representative CARTER. I would say heartily, yes.

Senator BAKER. You went and so did I, but it was not a very pleasant thing, was it?

Representative CARTER. I was determined to go.

Senator BAKER. Well, it may have been pleasant for you. You floored one of them.

Representative CARTER. No, sir, that did not make it pleasant. I did not want to. But we were determined to go. It was our constitutional right and we must be willing to fight for our rights, if necessary.

Senator BAKER. We do, indeed. And you recall that on that occasion, when the President appeared before the convention—or the next day, I believe—to make his acceptance speech, to avoid that crowd, presumably, he was brought in and out of that convention hall by helicopter?

Representative CARTER. That is my understanding; yes, sir.

Senator BAKER. Tell me, Dr. Carter, I do not want to prolong this. As the chairman pointed out, at least this much occurred in 1968 against the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. It was an extremely unfortunate situation in both instances—in 1972 and 1968. There was great violence; there were almost uncontrollable forces at work.

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Senator BAKER. There was severe and genuine danger to human life and the danger of injury, to say nothing of the intimidating force that demonstrations of this sort produce. I pray to God that that has not become part and parcel of our political process. I hope that is not what great national parties have to go through in order to have a

convention and nominate their candidates for President and Vice President.

I am a little at a loss about what we can do in terms of legislation. I suppose we can make national conventions a Federal event and make them subject to Federal jurisdiction with the law enforcement authorities. I suppose we could do that. But there are presently in being and in place laws and statutes of the municipalities and the States; and there was, in fact, a Federal presence there with the Secret Service and, I believe, with National Guard or Regular Army troops that were held in reserve in case things got really out of hand.

Do you have any way to suggest how we avoid the repetition of what happened to the Democrats in 1968 and to Republicans in 1972?

Representative CARTER. I do not think you can legislate how people can desire to do those things if they want to; but certainly we can give better protection to the participants at such a convention.

Senator BAKER. To restate and underscore our resolve to function and perform as a political entity, notwithstanding the best efforts of those who would disrupt it?

Representative CARTER. That is right.

Senator BAKER. And deprive us of our first amendment rights?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir.

Senator BAKER. I agree with you. I don't think there is any way you can legislate this. It would be my hope—I hope not my vain hope—that the identification of these transgressions, the illumination of these events, calling the public's attention to this savagery against Democrats in 1968 in Chicago and Republicans in 1972 in Miami Beach, that public attention on these, I believe, unacceptable acts, this spoiling of the stream of American politics—I believe that the identification of that and the illumination of it in the public's eyes will call attention to the undesirability of it and may serve as a deterrent force in the future. Would you join me in hoping that is the case?

Representative CARTER. I certainly think so. I think that, actually, this very effort on the part of certain people has an adverse effect on the political party which they happen to represent or might represent. I believe that it does it every time.

Senator BAKER. I think both of the great national political parties ought to join, through their appropriate spokesmen, in a statement deploring that sort of conduct as a transgression against the fundamental rights of American citizens in the political arena. I think that both our national parties ought to state clearly for all to hear that those who perpetrate such things are disserving any legitimate political cause or any purpose to be served by a political party and that they abhor it. That has been said, I believe, by every responsible political officer in the United States in one way or another. But I think we have to find a way to underscore and emphasize that so that certain conduct is off limits; that it is simply not in the best interests of any candidate or any party to see a repetition of that sort of thing in the future. And I commend that to our two great national parties, because they are both great.

Now, Dr. Carter, I won't go further into this situation except to say that it is a paradox of sorts that you of all people in the Congress of the United States would be charged with being a murderer over

the war in Vietnam. I recall at a very, very early date in that conflict, I believe long before President Nixon was elected, you expressed your disapproval of American involvement in Vietnam and you called continuously and constantly for the withdrawal of the American presence in Southeast Asia and you were in the very vanguard of those doing it.

Were these your friends there? Were these antiwar protesters that you were aware of that genuinely sought the cause of peace?

Representative CARTER. I don't feel like they were genuine war protesters at all. I think they were there to disrupt, to cause trouble, and to prevent people from going to the convention. Certainly, they were not knowledgeable or they would have known the feelings of some of us.

Senator BAKER. You didn't stop to explain that to that fellow you floored, though, did you?

Representative CARTER. No, sir, I had no time for that.

Senator BAKER. I admire you for doing that.

Thank you, Doctor.

Representative CARTER. Thank you.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Talmadge.

Senator TALMADGE. Congressman Carter, did this mob that you referred to seem to be organized or spontaneous?

Representative CARTER. I would think there was some organization there, Senator, though not in a military manner. But I think that, evidently, it had been agreed upon for them to meet; there were so many of them there.

Senator TALMADGE. Did you have any idea who organized them?

Representative CARTER. No, sir, I do not.

Senator TALMADGE. Do you know whether or not they were paid?

Representative CARTER. I do not.

Senator TALMADGE. Were there any police officers in the area?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir; at the Fontainebleu Hotel there was a cordon of them around the entrance to the hotel. I would say 100 of them or so.

Senator TALMADGE. Did they seem to be trying to control the situation?

Representative CARTER. They were standing there holding their night sticks like this [indicating] to keep this crowd from coming in the Fontainebleu Hotel. I understand that after I got in the hotel, they pushed these people back. They were a little late for me.

Senator TALMADGE. Was it that the mob was too large, beyond the control of the police officers, or that the police officers didn't exercise enough diligence in trying to control them?

Representative CARTER. They didn't do anything at that time. I understand that later they pushed them back, but evidently there were not too many for them to control.

Senator TALMADGE. Did you hear any orders from police officers for them to disperse?

Representative CARTER. Not one.

Senator TALMADGE. Did you see any effort on the part of police officers to use tear gas to control them?

Representative CARTER. Not at this time. We did go through tear gas areas, but not when we went in the Fontainebleu.

Senator TALMADGE. Of course, this is most abnormal for American politics. As you know, we have had some disruptions at nearly all the campaigns, but I know of nothing on a par with the Democratic Convention of 4 years ago and the Republican Convention of last year. What would you suggest? Law enforcement is, of course, primarily the responsibility of the local officers. If the local officers can't control it, the Government sends in enough National Guardsmen for them to do so.

Was any effort made by any of the officials there to induce a more diligent effort on the part of the police department to control the situation?

Representative CARTER. I believe that the police department did its best. They were standing there, as I told you, in military formation, you might say, holding these batons. Evidently, they didn't think there was enough difficulty going on out in front to intercede. But after we got into the hotel, they did come through.

Senator TALMADGE. Did this disruption continue throughout the Republican Convention, or was it only the 1 day?

Representative CARTER. Oh, no, sir; this was on the first day, and later—on the 23d, I believe it was.

Senator TALMADGE. The same thing occurred day after day throughout the Republican Convention; is that true?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir; there were groups—mobs—going up and down the streets almost every day.

Senator TALMADGE. Did anybody contact Governor Askew to request the National Guard to control the situation?

Representative CARTER. I think there were troops held out in abeyance there to come in.

Senator TALMADGE. Were any troops ever there on the scene?

Representative CARTER. I never saw any; no, sir.

Senator TALMADGE. Thank you, Congressman, I have no further questions.

Representative CARTER. Thank you, sir.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Weicker.

Senator WEICKER. I have no questions, sir.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Montoya.

Senator MONTOYA. No questions.

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Congressman, I might ask you on that one point, it has been widely stated, I believe, that the Miami Police Department did a magnificent job down there and the county police did a good job under the circumstances.

Do you ascribe to that?

Representative CARTER. Well, they certainly had the Fontainebleu and the Eden Roc pretty well protected. However, down at the smaller hotel where we were, we had no protection. I don't say that to belittle their efforts. By and large, I guess they did.

Mr. THOMPSON. They had quite a large area to cover and they had quite a few people to cover?

Representative CARTER. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. THOMPSON. And they did not have to call in the National Guard?

Representative CARTER. Not to my knowledge; no, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

I have no further questions.

Senator ERVIN. Thank you very much, Congressman.

Representative CARTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. EDMISTEN. Mr. Chairman, the next witness is Mr. Jeremiah P. Sullivan.

Senator ERVIN. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give to the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I do.

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. State your full name for the record, please.

**TESTIMONY OF JEREMIAH P. SULLIVAN, POLICE
SUPERINTENDENT, CITY OF BOSTON**

Mr. SULLIVAN. Jeremiah P. Sullivan.

Mr. THOMPSON. What is your occupation?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am a police superintendent, Boston Police Department.

Mr. THOMPSON. How long have you been a police officer?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thirty years, with the exception of 3 years in the armed services.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were you on duty on October 31, 1972?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir, I was.

Mr. THOMPSON. Will you tell us whether a Republican fundraising dinner took place that evening in Boston?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir; it was held at the Commonwealth Armory on Commonwealth Avenue, Boston.

Mr. THOMPSON. At the armory in Boston?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. Who was the speaker at that particular event?

Mr. SULLIVAN. There were many speakers, Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Who would you say the main attraction was?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Nixon. Would you tell us whether a demonstration occurred that particular evening?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir, there was.

Mr. THOMPSON. Would you approximate for us about how many demonstrators gathered outside the armory there?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Approximately 7,500.

Mr. THOMPSON. Would you describe for the committee the march of the demonstrators along Commonwealth Avenue and what destruction and damage, if any, there was?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir; approximately 500 people, mostly youngsters, gathered in Copley Square in Boston at about 5:10 or 5:30 p.m. and started marching along Dartmouth Street and out Commonwealth Avenue. We had some reports of destruction of property on the way up. As they passed by Boston University more young people were added to the crowd and through a previous arrangement we had requested those who were in charge of the group and who had requested a street permit to go as far as the Boston University Bridge, to pass over to the other side of the street, and stay on the opposite side of the armory. There was some destruction of property, damage to motor vehicles by those who marched on the way out.

Mr. THOMPSON. What sort of property destruction, Mr. Sullivan?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Windshield wipers and some windshields were damaged, gouging of cars, denting of the hoods and the tops of automobiles by fists apparently being pounded on automobiles. Some windows were broken in some of the buildings on the way out.

Mr. THOMPSON. Was there any painting on buildings?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, graffiti—some obscenities were painted or sprayed on some of the buildings all the way from Copley Square Public Library—churches and other buildings on the way out.

Mr. THOMPSON. After the demonstrators arrived at the armory, what, if anything, did they do to the guests who were entering the dinner at the armory?

Mr. SULLIVAN. There were obscenities by many of those who were restrained on the opposite side of the street. It was Halloween; it was a chilly night. Many were dressed in Halloween costumes and there was an attempt to get near the guests as they entered the armory. There was a long line of guests waiting because there was a very tight security check while people were entering. The celebrities, those who were speaking through a previous request, were permitted by us; we made arrangements for them to go down Gaffney Street, and some of the protesters did make an attempt to get near the guests. There was a lot of sign-carrying; much of it was anti-Vietnam war type signs, "Sign up now" peace signs, and there were many obscenities: "One two, three, four," and then obscenity, "We are against the war"; this type of thing. There was a chanting by most of the people who were in attendance across the street from the armory.

Mr. THOMPSON. I have photographs here I will ask you to identify in a moment that show the demonstrators. I see one sign here "Nixon sucks blood"; anti-Nixon signs also among demonstrators there.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir; there was a wide variety of anti-Nixon signs.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did some demonstrators spit on the people who were entering the armory then?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not while they were entering; no, sir. When some of the guests were leaving later in the evening, there was spitting.

Mr. THOMPSON. You mentioned a rather tight security check. Did the police department handle that or did the people who organized the dinner handle that?

Mr. SULLIVAN. It was a combination really, an extraordinarily great coordination between the Secret Service, the Boston Police, the State Police, the MEC—which is similar to the Park Police here in Washington. The committee did have private security people in the armory, and so we did go on the assumption that the President himself may arrive, we had a Presidential detail set up.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were these ordinary security precautions under the circumstances for such an event, or did you expect possible trouble there sometime in advance?

Mr. SULLIVAN. They were ordinary in that we expected the possibility of the President arriving or Mrs. Nixon. In anticipation of a march from Copley Square we expected that there may be difficulties so we expected that we should have more than the usual number of officers on the route.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Sullivan, while the dinner was taking place in that armory, did the demonstrators ever attempt to move forward or storm the armory at any point?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir. I had explained through a prearranged agreement with those who led the march—we had asked them to stay on the other side of the median strip. In the center of Commonwealth Avenue there is a trolley car line both inbound and outbound and there is a 5-foot chain-link fence. They remained there pretty much until about 9 in the evening; there was a chanting of the obscenities and then there came a point where we had our TPF, tactical patrol force, lined up immediately in front of the armory. We had the Massachusetts State Police troopers inside the fence between the armory doors and the fence; we had many additional officers on duty. We had our canine officers ready; we had six mounted officers there for crowd control, and there was a surging of the crowd against the fence. The fence was knocked down; they started to cross and at that point there was a newsman's car which we feel was mistaken for a police car. Somebody had written the word—sprayed the word—"Pig" on it; that was firebombed and it attracted a lot of attention back toward the direction of the car. Our officers started to repel the crowd back away from the armory. There was much chanting: "Let's get in. Let's go through the doors. We're going in."

Fortunately, the explosion incident seemed to separate the crowd. Our officers took advantage of it, and used as a wedge some of our TPF and regular officers to move the youngsters up Commonwealth Avenue and down Commonwealth Avenue. It just about broke the back of whatever was going to happen in the takeover of the armory, although many of them, about 1,500 to 2,000, remained in the immediate vicinity of the armory. The others went back in town toward Copley Square and the rest headed outbound.

Mr. THOMPSON. Had you not taken precautions, would there have been a possibility of the armory being taken over by these people?

Mr. SULLIVAN. There is no question about it.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did you learn or did you know of any other firebombings of automobiles other than the one of the reporter that you mentioned?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir. Shortly after what I have just described there was a taxicab that was also firebombed. We called for the department of public works street-cleaning equipment; there was a lot of glass in the streets, and we had to clean the streets for the guests at the dinner so they would be able to drive away with their motor vehicles.

Mr. THOMPSON. Were there any injuries to police officers as a result of their demonstration?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir; we had nine police officers who were injured.

Mr. THOMPSON. Would you describe the type of injuries?

Mr. SULLIVAN. We had some minor injuries. We had one photographer knocked down—was hit in the face and had a broken nose. He said it was a spike, but wasn't sure of the type of missile; his 35-millimeter camera was smashed. We had mounted officers who were injured; their ankles and their calves were struck with missiles. We had reports of sharp implements being stuck into the buttocks of some of the horses, and the dogs were being taunted. Such events was taking place.

Mr. THOMPSON. Would you describe what happened to the guests as they were leaving?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Some of the guests started to leave early. Apparently they had heard rumors inside that there had been a demonstration outside. The officers inside and outside were reassuring them that they were safe. By this time the crowd had subsided quite a bit. There was still some chanting; there were still some of the obscenities. Because of the redeployment of the officers—I had to redeploy them in both directions up and down Commonwealth Avenue—some of those costumed, especially the costumed, Halloween youngsters started to move in close to the guests and were heaping obscenities and epithets on them and there was some spitting at some of the guests as they were passing through. Some of the guests personally requested me and other officers for an escort to their car, and this was taken care of.

Mr. THOMPSON. Did you receive any reports at the scene of the demonstration from either guests or officers as to the damage or destruction of automobiles or other personal property of the guests who were at the dinner?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir. Some of it was official; that was brought to our attention and reports were taken. I have copies of these reports here. Many of the guests merely indicated that they had reported to their insurance companies; many of them came back and indicated that their aerials were ripped off, windshield wipers were ripped off, dented cars, windshields were damaged, and this kind of damage.

Mr. THOMPSON. Reports of slashing of tires?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir, slashing of tires. We had businessmen report plate glass windows were smashed in by demonstrators or those who had been intending to cross the street or leaving the immediate area.

Mr. THOMPSON. I will show you three photographs now which I have shown to counsel, if you would please identify those three photographs, and you can hold them up to the committee as you refer to them.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir. This, Mr. Thompson, is a photograph of a Boston police photographer lying on the ground and he is being protected by three or four of our TPF tactical patrol officers. His camera is lying in the street; there is a sign at his head—protecting his head—which says "Sign it now."

The second photograph would indicate to me—our officers repelled the crowd when they started to surge across toward the armory doors—the fear expressed in the faces of some of the people who are trying to break away. At approximately that time there was the firebombing of the car.

The third photograph indicates the newsman's car that had the word "pig" written on the side of it, and apparently they had mistaken the newsman's aerial for a police aerial. That might have been the reason for it but that is the newsman's car on fire a most directly across the street from the front of the armory.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Chairman, I would move these photographs be made a part of the record.

Senator ERVIN. Let the record show that the photographs will be received in evidence as exhibits and appropriately numbered as such.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibits Nos. 253, 254, and 255.*]

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no further questions. Thank you, Mr. Sullivan.

*See pp. 5031-5033.

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Lenzner.

Mr. LENZNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Sullivan, did the department receive any intelligence prior to this demonstration that indicated there was going to be a plan to disrupt the appearances at the dinner or create disturbances and violence?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir. There were some intelligence reports in connection with it. One woman who indicated that she had—a lady of an ad hoc committee called "A Penny a Plate." She did come forward and we cooperated with her in organizing the program as well as we possibly could. We supplied two motor vehicles to escort the parade up Commonwealth Avenue which made our jobs just a little bit easier, although we feel that a lot of agitators participated in it, and that hadn't been planned on.

The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, we were told by our intelligence office, would be in attendance. The Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition would also be participating; and the Students for a Democratic Society would also be evidenced at this. There would be some attempt for guerrilla action and we should anticipate this, which was exactly the language that came through in our intelligence reports.

Mr. LENZNER. From your occupation and from your observation as a police officer, was there evidence that the disruptions and violence that took place were planned—that is, coordinated and planned violence and disruptions?

Mr. SULLIVAN. The parade itself, or the group that marched certainly was organized—all except approximately 1,800 who were already at the armory when they arrived.

Mr. LENZNER. When the acts of violence took place, did it appear to be prearranged that people had gotten together and organized themselves to conduct this?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Much of it seemed spontaneous, sir; yes, sir.

Mr. LENZNER. Can you tell me this: Was there any investigation afterward—criminal investigation—to determine whether there was a conspiracy or agreement to create violence and cause damage?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes; our intelligence office looked into this prior to and after the Republican dinner and we found no information and no evidence of a conspiracy in connection with it. There were 10 arrests made for disorderly persons—drunkenness, assault and battery with a dangerous weapon, assault of a police officer—but beyond that, we found no evidence of any coordinated conspiracy on the part of those; no, sir.

Mr. LENZNER. I think you testified that had it not been for the one violent act, the act of firebombing, that your personnel would have had trouble maintaining appropriate order there. Is that a problem of not having adequate personnel? In other words, would you have needed substantially additional numbers to control the situation?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No, sir. I am confident that we did have sufficient personnel on hand at that time and if we hadn't I am afraid we would have had serious injury and possibly death that night.

Mr. LENZNER. Well, as a law enforcement official, maybe you can help us because there has been a concern over the years of public figures being unable to appear in public and to make speeches and appear at rallies and other public events without fearing that a demonstration is either going to make it impossible or cause injury to individuals at public events.

Do you have any suggestions or ideas on either law enforcement or what the Congress can do to insure that these activities don't continue in the way they have?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir. I recall when John Kennedy appeared at Boston College, he was a very difficult individual to protect; the Secret Service men and our own office in the Boston Police Department and the Newton Police—we had Senator McGovern in Boston on two occasions. That went on almost without incident, although it required a tremendous number of police officers to protect him and his guests at that time.

The first rally took place in Post Office Square; we took every precaution on the windows and wherever there might be a vantage point, and it does require so many extra forces and draining of normal policing units that we have throughout the city. In this particular case I am positive that we supplied to the Republican dinner committee up there every ounce of police protection we did in connection with any other Presidential candidate or President that ever came into our cities. It is no easy problem. They must be with the people and deal with them. Even the crowd of 8,000 who were present that night in the streets, I am sure that many of them were young curiosity seekers; they wanted to see their President or the President's wife, or Vice President Agnew; they were probably seeing the President for the first time. And then, of course, the agitators take advantage of these situations.

We don't like to have our police officers there with their helmets and shields on. We would prefer to have them in the same type of uniform that these officers are in, in this caucus room now. So, I have no easy solution, but I have a recommendation to make, and that would be—on this particular occasion when we were planning this event, I personally suggested that the President, or whoever it was—Mrs. Nixon or Vice President Agnew—be brought in by helicopter. It would have made our motorcade coverage so much easier. It would have provided greater safety for them. They talked about bringing them into the Bedford Airport, which eventually they did do. Had they brought them into the Logan Airport we would have had problems in escorting them across the city—setting up traffic, including, probably, the newsmen's buses who came along, especially. They are the high ride buses. We don't have the underpasses to accommodate them and there is some danger of having the roofs sheared off and losing a number of newsmen.

I am saying these are some of the things that have to go into the planning, and the recommendation that I have is—since it was Halloween night, most of the officers who were on that particular detail might have otherwise been detailed throughout the city watching the little goblins running around tricking or treating from door to door. So it is a tremendously costly thing for the local government, and I would recommend Federal legislation to have the Federal Government defray the costs in events such as these.

Mr. LENZNER. I think—and I may be wrong about this—that some of the funds from the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency have been made available to local jurisdictions for riot control or crowd control. Has your department obtained any of these funds?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not for personnel costs or overtime costs. Yes, sir, for riot control and training. We have appreciated that.

Mr. LENZNER. But your suggestion would be, for specific events, to be able to increase your personnel to an adequate level; to have the Government defray the expenses for that ad hoc situation—the specific demonstration that you need extra help on?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir. For the protection of the political figures that are coming, because so many rumors had spread on who was going to be the speaker or who was going to arrive, and these youngsters wanted to see some of the prominent political figures. They just simply could not get that close. We would not permit them for the safety of the political figures who were going to appear that night.

Mr. LENZNER. If you had sufficient intelligence prior to the event, is it feasible to obtain some kind of injunction against the leaders of the group that you had evidence had an intention to disrupt or provoke violence? Is that feasible?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, I do not know. I have listened to so many of these hearings that I am getting the feeling that I know so many of the board here. I sort of like Senator Ervin's first amendment description of the right to peaceably assemble. I think we could run into real problems trying to determine who would not have the right. We would have almost have to find out exactly what they were going to do before they did it and I do not think they are going to tell you this. They are going to come before you and they are going to say: "This will be a peaceful assembly." They may be very conscientious and honest about it when they tell you. We accept their word for it. Street permits for parades are allowed. Then it gets out of hand, and we wonder why. I think that would be very difficult to determine.

Mr. LENZNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That is all I have.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Baker.

Senator BAKER. I have no questions.

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Sullivan, a situation like that is very difficult for the police to handle, is it not?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes; it is.

Senator ERVIN. In the first place, as you have pointed out, you not only have in the group, maybe, people who have been disrupting the occasion, but you also have a group of other people—law-abiding people—who come out of a sense of curiosity.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. And the disrupters are very frequently mixed up with the law-abiding people who are there for nothing except for good purposes.

Mr. SULLIVAN. They feel they would like to see their leaders.

Senator ERVIN. And as you point out very well, the difficulty of dealing with a situation like this is, a lot of times you do not know that there is going to be violence; that the demonstration is peaceful until some candidate or important individual appears on the scene?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. Then it suddenly erupts and suddenly starts?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. In addition to that, the police have to necessarily delay taking action until the demonstration does become disorderly; because otherwise, they would be accused of suppressing the right of people to assemble.

Mr. SULLIVAN. They must exercise restraint.

Senator ERVIN. And the people are anxious to avoid precluding anybody, including the disrupters; therefore, they cannot use their most effective weapons, which are firearms.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes.

Senator ERVIN. So they have to exercise, as much as possible, restraint; reenforcing their employees, possibly.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. So you characterize this group in Boston on that occasion as being a violent and unruly mob—turned into a violent and unruly mob?

Mr. SULLIVAN. It was a combination of both, Senator. I think, as I say, there were youngsters there who simply wanted to see their leader. They wanted to see the people who were attending this dinner. I am sure in all of these demonstrations—we have had sometimes 100,000 people walk down Commonwealth Avenue to Boston Common. We have been able to monitor them; we have met with them, and there was little or no incident. But the thing that the law enforcement officer always fears is the individual, the agitator, who will start throwing rocks, and the shoving and the pushing, and then we are in trouble; because oftentimes the police officer will grab the wrong person. I think the very fact that there was not a single charge of police brutality against the Boston police, the State police, or any other law enforcement officer in connection with this is some indication of the restraint shown by the officers.

Senator ERVIN. Were there not indications that a lot of the violence was agitated and brought about by protest against the Vietnam war?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. And that has been a great calamity to our country, has it not; the ease with which people, especially young people, could be stirred into conduct of the kind you describe on account of the Vietnam war?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. Well, I want to commend you on the action the police took on this occasion. I do not know a harder job you can have than for a police officer to try to deal with such a situation as this.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Weicker.

Senator WEICKER. Just a few comments, if I might.

First of all, let me say this. As your neighbor to the west, I have spent many wonderful times in Massachusetts, and more particularly the city of Boston. You have a very fine police force.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you, sir.

Senator WEICKER. As you well know, New Englanders are the ones who expressed themselves long before the Vietnam war, in fact, even more so—

Mr. SULLIVAN. They do that sometimes.

Senator WEICKER. How many arrests were made on that particular evening?

Mr. SULLIVAN. There were 10 arrests made in the immediate vicinity of the armory, Senator. Then as the crowd headed back downtown, there were approximately 10 more arrests in isolated areas—on Beacon Street, Newbury Street, Commonwealth Avenue, and other areas—for vandalism and the breaking of windows.

Senator WEICKER. Would you not say that one of the difficulties that we have, or rather that the police have in mob situations such as this is that democracy is a very inefficient system under which to go ahead and control a mob?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir, it certainly is.

Senator WEICKER. And that is so because we still put a great premium on the rights of each individual.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WEICKER. And certainly, on the other hand, there is not one person in this room who does not frown on and condemn violence in the pursuit of any goal in this country. No matter how great the goal, it has no place and should have no place in our society.

Mr. SULLIVAN. That is right.

Senator WEICKER. So this is the matter that has to be resolved. I sometimes worry during the course of these hearings, and with the experience of the late sixties and early seventies in mind, whether or not the American people will still lay a greater premium on having a democracy or whether they will lay a greater premium on having peace and quiet. Because peace and quiet, you know as an enforcement officer, can be obtained, but at what I think is too stiff a price, if you will, for individual liberties. Does not this cross your mind sometimes, this very precarious balance between your duties and the protection of the citizenry?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WEICKER. Certainly, I think that both of us would agree that in no set of circumstances is violence an excuse in any manner, shape, or form for lawbreaking of any kind.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WEICKER. So the problem is not going to go away as we continue our examination. It would seem to me we are always going to be confronted with trying to insure the rights of every American and at the same time to insure that lawbreaking will be dealt with under the law.

Do you know, of these arrests, how many convictions were obtained?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I do not have the disposition. It was approximately 1 week after these cases were brought. I was hurriedly notified yesterday to come, Senator. I did not get the notification. Usually, in cases of this nature, they probably would have been filed in the court.

Senator WEICKER. But you would say, would you not, that insofar as threatening an individual or throwing a firebomb, imposing or threatening physical violence, that the laws are on the books, are they not?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, they are.

Senator WEICKER. There is not a question in that area of achieving anything further. In Boston or Miami or wherever in the United States, these matters of physical harm and property damage, et cetera, are well covered by the law.

Mr. SULLIVAN. We have sufficient legislation in that area; yes, sir.

Senator WEICKER. I would suppose, then, it is up to the leadership of our communities or our States in this country to go ahead and make a clear case for the fact that we can all disagree, but we do so within the bounds of the law and that lawbreaking in any form is not to be tolerated. That probably would be the greatest help to you as a police officer, would it not?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir; it certainly would.

Senator WEICKER. Thank you very much.

Senator ERVIN. Senator Montoya.

Senator MONTOYA. Mr. Chairman, I just have one or two questions.

Chief Sullivan, you are the first police chief who has appeared before this committee, and you represent the law enforcement agency of one of the big cities of the country. How many police did you have available close to the armory in case anything would happen?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Either directly or indirectly, we had approximately 400 men in connection with this detail, Senator.

Senator MONTOYA. And if this crowd decided to come through and accelerate the initial thrust with perhaps assault and violence, would you have been able to control that crowd with 400 men?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir, we feel that we would.

Senator MONTOYA. How would you have controlled them?

Mr. SULLIVAN. We had sufficient manpower in our well-trained, exceptionally well trained Boston Police Force tactical unit for crowd control and the State troopers with their own tactical patrol. There was a large number of officers inside the armory, both Boston Police plainclothes officers and State police plainclothes officers and troopers in uniform, so that the crowd inside was well protected as well as those outside.

We did anticipate difficulty up at the armory. That was the reason we had our canine units there. They are very, very helpful. We don't like to use them unless we absolutely have to, but in a case like this, we had them on hand, and when the dogs started barking and snarling, the crowds started moving back, and the mounted officers are very, very effective in connection with crowd control.

As I wanted to describe before, many of those who were on the other side of the street probably, we felt, were just simply curiosity seekers. So we probably would have been able to contain those members of the crowd that actually did have in mind storming the armory.

Senator MONTOYA. I think you did a fine job. Have you given any thought to any deterrent measures in this kind of situation, when a President comes in to visit a city?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I almost think, Senator, we would have to follow precisely the same planning and implementation of our alert mobilization plan in connection with such an event.

There is one thing that I do wish, that political figures would give us more advance knowledge, at least to the local police and to the Secret Service, if possible. I realize the safety of political figures is very important, but we have to have as much advance information for preparation as we possibly can to coordinate it. I think one of the things that could have happened some years ago was to sit down and meet with some of the marchers and ask them to cooperate. But this is a new look in connection with mob control, and where we are able to do it—actually lead them to wherever they are going—this is most helpful. We need the advance information and intelligence in order to be able to do these things.

Senator MONTOYA. I am thinking of the uncontrolled crowds or demonstrators in Miami. They weren't controlled by the police there, as the testimony shows us here this afternoon.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Right, sir.

Senator MONTOYA. I am thinking in terms of the possibility of violence in San Diego, and this is why the Republican convention site

was changed. Now, what do you consider as a proper measure of precaution and deterrence in the future to protect Presidential candidate and also to insure the proper conduct of national conventions? Do you have anything by way of suggestions along these lines?

Mr. SULLIVAN. As to conventions, we have never had a Presidential national convention in Boston. In my estimation, that would be a very difficult one to handle. But so far as we in law enforcement are concerned, sir, we need the entire coordination of every single possible law enforcement agency, Federal, State, and local. The FBI was very helpful to us in connection with this, the Secret Service, the State Police, the Park Police, our own police officers, any police agency whatsoever in the immediate area. Oftentimes in a city like Boston, we find as many as 20 or 30 different police departments. We need all the help and coordination we can get.

It must be headed up by one individual, as it was in Florida, preparing Florida. But there must be the feeder lines from all of those who are participating, from either side of the aisle, to let us all know what is going on so we can all be in step in connection with it.

As for motorcades through a city, such as the one I described in connection with Senator McGovern, these are very, very difficult to police, because it came after we left the airport. We came along Kneeland Street and now we are on the main street of Boston, Washington Street, and they decided to get into an open car. Well, this is the choice of the political figures themselves and there is always the danger of individuals being up on the buildings. It happened on another occasion.

As for the immediate area where the rally is going to take place, we did, we took extraordinary precautions in the immediate area of the armory itself where this dinner took place. We went in and we made a personal survey of every single room in that building. We checked every single door. We wanted to know what was behind every door. As political figures were coming in, there was going to be no danger of somebody stepping out. We made sure that we posted officers at every single entrance or exit.

We ringed the building, the railroad tracks and even the State highway just beyond, to make sure there was no one who didn't belong there.

Boston University has an administration building that is adjacent to the armory. We placed officers up on the roofs and at various windows, strategic areas where somebody might find himself.

We placed officers on Gaffney Street where there were windows that looked into the VIP room where some of the celebrities might be before they went into the main hall. All of these things were done, but they had to be done with the coordination of the police officials and the planning agencies, whoever was connected with it, including private security agencies, who were most helpful in connection with this.

Senator MONTROYA. And you feel that if you had adequate notice, you could have handled a Presidential visit more adequately?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir, I think we could have done a much better job.

Senator MONTROYA. That is all.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. Any further questions?

[No response.]

Senator ERVIN. Thank you very much, Mr. Sullivan.

Mr. SULLIVAN. It is an honor.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, I believe this witness completes our witness roster for today. Since it is only 3:20 in the afternoon and we have a little time before adjournment for the day, I think it might be appropriate to bring up a matter that the committee has discussed and I brought up previously in executive sessions, including the executive session this morning.

The committee has continued for some time now to take proof on a wide range of allegations and charges. I understand our transcript now exceeds 8 million words. The likelihood that we are going to be able to finish these hearings and do justice to the mandate required by Senate Resolution 60 by February 28, at the rate we are going, is small at the moment.

Now, in the course of this committee's function, the staff—that is, the majority and the minority staff—I believe, we'll agree, has worked together and worked pretty well. We have produced committee witnesses and avoided the temptation to produce Republican or Democratic witnesses. They have been committee witnesses. I think that almost without exception, the interrogation of the witnesses has been remarkably free of partisan flavor.

But we have reached a point now where there is a great body of proof that has been developed by the staff that will require a great deal of time to put in the record by oral testimony. I am advised by the staff that they have sworn interviews of some 40 witnesses dealing with a wide range of subject matter, but much similar to the testimony we heard today, that is, testimony of acts of violence, of disruption, of hurled epithets, broken windows, of splattered paint, slashed tires, and a number of other things.

What the affidavits do not do, in most instances, is lay this to the feet of a particular person or particular group. But they are acts of disruption of the most sensitive of all the democratic processes, the elective system. I think this record would be incomplete without that information.

The first paragraph of the resolution which created this committee provides, as I read earlier in today's hearings, for the establishment of a select committee of the Senate to conduct an investigation and study of the extent, if any, to which illegal, improper, or unethical activities were engaged in by any persons, acting individually or in combination with others, in the Presidential election of 1972 or any campaign, canvass, or other activities related thereto. I tried to make it very clear in my examination of at least one and I think other witnesses today, and I have previously tried to make it very clear when I did not know of a connection.

I restated to one witness today the burden of his testimony was free of the allegation that it was caused, orchestrated, or planned by the Democratic National Committee or the committee to elect Senator McGovern President or anything else. But the irreducible minimum fact was that serious disruptions took place and this committee's jurisdiction certainly extends to that, notwithstanding that in many instances, we cannot prove who planned or undertook those things.

So, rather than offer to the committee 40 witnesses, which would get us well past the time when the snow flies in this city and probably beyond the time when Senate Resolution 60, decrees that we file our final

report—rather than sit through a great number of witnesses whose testimony in many instances would be repetitious, in some instances without identification—I propose, as you know, Mr. Chairman, that sworn affidavits be submitted for the record and received with the full understanding that affidavits of a witness not subject to cross-examination and taken by the staff present a problem of sorts. Committee members, I believe in every instance, certainly in most, have not interviewed these witnesses personally. We have depended on staff to do that under oath, with the full understanding that if any affiant's statement, if any affidavit is called into question or if there is any further elaboration of points covered by the affidavit, it may be wished by any member of the committee that that witness might be recalled for further elaboration or for cross-examination.

So, from the 40 applications, I have winnowed it to 30 affidavits which I intend to offer for the record today. I will not read those papers. That would put a considerable burden on the committee's time and on this record.

I will offer them, together with a brief description of the subject matter we deal with. Mr. Chairman, the affidavits I ask be printed as a part of the record as we will have them duplicated for—they have already been delivered to members of the committee. They will be available for anyone who wants them as a public document.

Senator ERVIN. I might state that I have read all of the affidavits and I have consulted with all of the members and they have agreed with me that it is in the interest of time to receive these affidavits. These affidavits certainly show that there was a lot of—there were violent demonstrations during the Presidential election of 1972. It shows that there were a lot of very reprehensible things done at various political headquarters. However, there are one or two of the affidavits that I would say, like the one of Dr. Lundgren, a physician, former physician of the President, which recounts some burglaries which it seems to me do not connect with the Presidential election of 1972 except perhaps by surmise.

There is one affidavit about two or three parties in Manchester, N.H., who set off a bomb in police headquarters, who said they belonged to the Peoples Liberation Army. I don't believe that is quite connected.

But I will say this. So many of these affidavits show that a lot of demonstrations occurred, or in which they took part in, were largely due to dissatisfaction with the Vietnam war. But I want to commend people who drew the affidavits because the affidavits state the facts and where they do not state facts, where they state conclusions of the witness, the people who drew the affidavits took pains to state that fact. I have never seen a set of affidavits more fairly drawn in that respect than these affidavits.

I think in the interest of time I might state further that I am glad to note that there is nothing in any of the affidavits to show that any of the candidates for President or the Presidential nomination countenanced any of these events. But these affidavits, with the exception of the one or two I mentioned, are certainly competent, the evidence in them is competent under our resolution. I think it is greatly to the interest of the committee and its work to put them into evidence rather than bring these witnesses here, because what they recount, as a rule, is very roughly what we are inquiring into and will save a great deal

of time. At the same time, by putting them in the record, they will be available to anybody who wants to study the record.

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

Now, at the very beginning before I make my brief description—it is not so brief, it will take about 15 minutes—before I make my description of the affidavits just for housekeeping purposes, I would ask that the 30 affidavits that have been delivered to the members of the committee and which will be delivered to the reporter, be identified, and received in evidence as exhibits to this record.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. THOMPSON. I might clarify what the Senator said. The packet which Senator Ervin had before him, I believe, contained 40 affidavits. I believe Senator Baker has selected 30 of those. If they had all been examined I would assume we will make all 40 of them part of the record.

Senator ERVIN. You say they deal with only 30 subjects but there must be 40, maybe 45, so let them all come in.

Senator BAKER. Whatever it is, I want them put in the record, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. Without objection and by the consent of the entire committee, that is so ordered, and they will be appropriately numbered for the purposes of the record as before.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibits Nos. 256-1 through 256-40.*]

Senator BAKER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say—if I may—in the course of our investigation, matters have been brought to our attention which reflect on the supporters of both major candidates. Certain other matters have been brought to our attention which indicate that both parties were subjected to improper activities by persons acting individually or in combination with others, although in some instances the perpetrators of these activities are not known.

Some of these actions have taken the form of violence against campaign headquarters. Some have taken the form of violent demonstrations which in some instances prevented others from exercising their constitutional rights to assemble and express their political beliefs.

It is not our purpose to imply a connection between these activities and any candidate or campaign worker if the facts do not merit such a conclusion.

It seems to me that at this point in our proceedings there are two primary considerations. First, to make sure that the investigation is a full one, and that the record is complete with regard to this type activity; and, second, that we move as expeditiously as possible. I see no useful purpose in spending several days in calling numerous witnesses who will provide repetitious testimony in this area.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, five witnesses have been called today and, with the committee's permission, which has now been granted, I will summarize portions of other evidence which would have taken many days to present through live testimony. The information which I will relate is supported by sworn affidavits which I will submit to be placed in the record. The information covers several categories and areas of inquiry.

*For description and location of exhibits, see contents pages.

I will begin with information relating to the FBI, an organization which has provided this country with the finest law enforcement agency in the world for these many years. We have heard testimony in open hearings as well as statements in the press with regard to the proper function of the FBI, both in the past and at present. Mr. Chairman, during our investigation, information has come to this committee which raises serious questions with regard to the FBI in its utilization now or in the past. This information has to do with the use of the FBI in ways possibly other than contemplated by statute.

But, Mr. Chairman, there are obvious jurisdictional problems we would have in pursuing these matters, and possibly claims of national security, to say nothing of the impact that it might have on that fine law enforcement agency which is the FBI, just as it has been and still, I trust, is, of a high level of esprit de corps and, therefore, I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that matters in that category instead of being made part of this record, be referred to the appropriate jurisdictional committee of the Senate for their determination according to their jurisdiction according to the Standing Rules of the Senate.

Mr. Chairman, we have heard testimony concerning the use of spies or operatives who were placed in the opposing party's camps during the 1972 campaign. Of concern to this committee is not only the nature of this activity but the extent of it, including the extent to which it is acceptable in a political campaign. It seems that, had it not been for the last-minute veto of Senator McGovern, Democratic nominee for the Presidency, such an operative might have been placed aboard Vice President Agnew's campaign plane by high McGovern campaign officials but Senator McGovern, to his credit, did veto that and it did not occur so far as we know.

It was suggested in the affidavit of Mr. Richard Cohn,* that a Mr. Van Dyk suggested the project and that a salary was established and that Mr. Stewart Mott was approached and agreed to finance the endeavor. But I reiterate, Senator McGovern vetoed the plan and it was not carried into effect. The very fact that it became part of political consideration in a Presidential campaign bears on two important issues. One, the question of how often this occurs and to what extent and, two, how things of this sort may occur without reaching the attention of the candidate or the principal manager of the campaign. In this case it did. In other cases I suspect it may not.

In Oklahoma, the affidavit of Jim Rodriguez** relates the events concerning a November 3 demonstration in Tulsa during which the President was shouted down so that he was unable to continue his speech. The affidavit also relates that the McGovern coordinator, who was a leader of the demonstration, told Rodriguez that he, the McGovern coordinator, had the right to prevent the President from speaking. Two additional affidavits relate the events surrounding the November 3 demonstration and describe the McGovern supporters' activities in ripping down signs and causing various disruptions. They also relate that this demonstration was highly organized and planned well in advance with the demonstrators supplied with professionally made signs.

From Maine, the affidavit of Alexander C. Ray*** describes the

*See exhibit No. 256-37, p. 5182.

**See exhibit No. 256-32, p. 5170.

***See exhibit No. 256-14, p. 5084.

April 28, 1972, demonstration at the Vice President's appearance in Augusta. The demonstration featured shouted obscenities, the throwing of plastic bags filled with tomato juice, and the physical attack on the Vice President's automobile which was described in the press as "one of—the Vice President's—closest calls as far as physical violence is concerned."

In New York, five or more demonstrations occurred during the Presidential campaign. These demonstrations were marked by the throwing of red paint on Nixon volunteers and the dumping of bags of cockroaches in the Nixon headquarters.

In West Virginia, during an October 24 demonstration in Morgantown, the demonstrators attempted to shout down the speech of Tricia Nixon Cox.

In Ohio, several demonstrations occurred in Columbus near the Ohio State campus. During one of the demonstrations, a rock was hurled at and struck the back window of Vice President Agnew's car and guests at the fund-raising dinner at which the Vice President spoke were spit upon and subjected to shouted obscenities.

According to the affidavit of Miss Toni B. Greenwood,* on October 12, 1972, when she was office manager for the Washington office of Democrats for Nixon, 75 to 100 people in the office took over the office and proceeded to tear down Nixon campaign posters. Nixon campaign material was destroyed, typewriters and other office equipment were damaged, and office supplies were taken. The demonstrators also made a number of long distance telephone calls while they were there. She states she found travel vouchers which indicated that buses or reimbursement for gasoline had been provided to transport some of the demonstrators from as far away as Philadelphia and Baltimore. Approximately 6 hours later, most of the demonstrators departed the office leaving pro-McGovern literature in the headquarters. Metropolitan Police arrested 20 demonstrators who remained.

In Wyoming, the November 2 speech of Vice President Agnew at Cheyenne was continually interrupted by the demonstrators shouting obscenities and the drowning out of the Vice President's speech by the use of whistles.

From Atlanta, Ga., three affidavits describe a large organized demonstration that occurred at the President's appearance at the Regency Hyatt House. At this demonstration, the President's plans were disrupted and he canceled his plans to make a brief address.

The 1972 Presidential campaign spawned two massive demonstrations in the city of San Francisco. The first occurred on May 12, 1972, outside the St. Francis Hotel where Governors Reagan and Rockefeller were addressing the "Victory 72" meeting of the California Republican Central Committee. This demonstration featured anti-war and anti-Nixon rhetoric, property damage including the burning of a police motorcycle, violent police confrontation, and widespread property damage to local stores, as outlined in the statement of witness Byron James,** dated October 9, 1973, and a copy of the May 12, 1972, edition of the San Francisco Examiner, both of which are offered as a part of the presentation today for the record.

*See exhibit No. 256-38, p. 5185.

**See exhibit No. 256-6, p. 5061.

The second massive San Francisco demonstration took place on the occasion of the President's campaign visit to the Sheraton-Palace Hotel on September 27, 1972. Previous testimony before this committee described the Sheraton-Palace as "being in a state of siege". I would, at this time, introduce into evidence a series of photographs of the September 12 demonstration, as certified by Mr. Paul Toland, who furnished the committee the photographs. I might inquire of counsel if they have been included in the packet submitted.

Mr. THOMPSON. They are not in the packet but we have them all here and we will make them available in the presentation.

Senator ERVIN. Let the record show those photographs will be admitted in evidence.*

Senator BAKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The photographs speak for themselves and show the Sheraton-Palace ringed with a cordon of helmeted police in full riot attire, both on foot and on horseback, with riot sticks drawn and, in some instances, shotguns visible. The photographs show a crowd of tremendous proportions and members of the crowd stopping traffic and hurling rocks through the plate glass front of the United California Bank.

This September 27, 1972, demonstration was promoted by various leaflets which are included in the packet, Mr. Chairman, and attached to the affidavit of Mr. Dewey Clower.** These leaflets were reportedly disseminated at the McGovern Berkeley headquarters and urged a protest march on the Sheraton-Palace.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mankiewicz, Senator McGovern's campaign manager, and Mr. Bernhard, Senator Muskie's campaign manager, in the 1972 Presidential campaign, testified that certain unfair and improper tactics were employed against their campaigns. Some of the perpetrators of these activities were never identified. Falling in that same general category of improper activities carried out in the 1972 Presidential campaign were the violent demonstrations and incidents of destruction which were directed against the President's various campaign headquarters throughout the country. While those responsible for these actions also cannot be identified in most instances, we are submitting to the committee sworn affidavits with attached photographs and newspaper articles which accurately describe and portray these acts. We have selected representative events related in these affidavits to discuss here today.

Two CRP headquarters in Phoenix, Ariz., and Austin, Tex., were completely destroyed by arsonists. In addition, there was an attempted arson perpetrated against the CRP headquarters in Albuquerque, N. Mex. Also in Albuquerque, N. Mex., vulgar anti-Nixon slogans were sprayed across the CRP campaign headquarters with the use of black spray paint. In addition, the persistent disruptions caused the lease to be canceled on the CRP headquarters building, forcing the CRP to move its headquarters in the midst of the campaign.

In New Hampshire, an affidavit of Lieutenant Glennon*** describes the bombing of the Manchester Police Department. One of the would-be bombers was injured in the explosion and an accomplice was found to be in the possession of a press release which bragged that the group

*See exhibit No. 256-8, p. 5070.

**See exhibit No. 256-4, p. 5055.

***See exhibit No. 256-24, p. 5135.

had bombed the Nixon headquarters that same evening. Only the prompt police apprehension of the bombers and the confiscation or destruction of three additional sophisticated bombs from their possession prevented them from carrying out their plan with regard to the Nixon headquarters. In addition, the two perpetrators of the bombing were depicted in the newspaper photographs as being in the forefront of the anti-Nixon demonstrations which occurred at the Manchester CRP headquarters only a few days before the bombing. I have introduced photographs and news stories which depict the bombs used and damage done to the Manchester Police Departments as exhibits to that affidavit.

In Ohio, the Dayton headquarters suffered two break-ins which damaged equipment and records. During the second break-in, McGovern slogans were painted on the walls and windows of the headquarters.

The CRP headquarters in Baltimore City, Md., twice experienced its plate glass windows being smashed by rocks. On the latter occasion, a funeral sign was hurled into the headquarters through the broken window. Also, "Death to Nixon" was painted onto the marble front of the headquarters building.

In Minnesota, an affidavit describes a break-in of the CRP headquarters during which motor oil was poured over boxes containing about 6,000 pieces of mailing literature.

Gun and rifle shots smashed through the windows at the CRP headquarters in Springfield, Mass., and Kutztown, Pa.

In Fall River and Springfield, Mass., the respective CRP headquarters were plagued by individuals who broke the windows in the headquarters and pasted the storefront with McGovern stickers. On election night, several young female volunteers were subjected to rock throwing by demonstrators, requiring the police to be called in to disperse the crowd.

It should be noted also that on or about September 21, 1972, the office of President Nixon's personal physician, Dr. John C. Lungren of Long Beach, Calif., was broken into. We have an affidavit from Dr. Lungren which states that during this break-in, a locked closet was broken into and the President's files removed from a safe. The President's records were discovered on the office floor, outside the closet, by Dr. Lungren on the morning of September 21, 1972. At that time, Dr. Lungren observed that the President's file had been removed from the manila folder in which it was kept and that the records were no longer in the chronological order in which they were maintained, leading Dr. Lungren to suspect that the President's records had been tampered with. This crime remains unsolved at the present time.

I would like to introduce Dr. Lungren's affidavit into the record along with three photographs furnished by Dr. Lungren.* These photographs depict the scene discovered by Dr. Lungren on September 21, 1972; the damage to the closet door, and the President's records alongside the folders in which they were normally kept.

The overview, with regard to violence perpetrated against the CRP, is provided by the affidavit of Robert C. Odle, Jr.** He states the following:

*See exhibit No. 256-7, p. 5065.

**See exhibit No. 256-39, p. 5188.

I, Robert C. Odle, Jr., do hereby swear and depose that:

I am employed as Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Housing Management at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. I reside at 309 North Saint Asaph Street, Alexandria, Virginia.

During the 1972 Presidential Campaign, I held the position of Director of Administration for the Committee for the Reelection of the President. During the Campaign, the CRP was greatly concerned for the security of its National Headquarters at 1701 and 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. This concern was due to acts of violence and destruction which were both threatened and perpetrated against the headquarters of the CRP headquarters throughout the Country. In my position as Director of Administration, I often received information regarding these threats and acts of violence and destruction, and caused various memoranda to be prepared by me and received by me from other staff members. These memoranda detailed the measures which were contemplated and executed by the CRP throughout the Country to protect ourselves against violence, and against demonstrations which might become violent.

During the 1972 Campaign, the national CRP headquarters on Pennsylvania Avenue was the object of numerous bomb threats. In fact, on at least one occasion, we were forced to evacuate, for several hours, the entire headquarters building due to a bomb threat. In addition, we received reports, almost on a daily basis, from CRP headquarters across the Country that had received bomb threats directed against their buildings. Moreover, at least one CRP office was completely destroyed by arsonists and a bomb also exploded in the Alameda County Republican Headquarters in Oakland, California, causing considerable damage. These bomb threats and actual bombings caused us intense concern, and necessitated the distribution of a memorandum to all our State Chairmen recommending procedures to be employed in the event of bomb threats or other destructive or dangerous incidents or threats thereof. I have attached to this affidavit a copy of that memorandum dated September 25, 1972.

Another cause of great concern during the 1972 Campaign was the numerous demonstrations which occurred throughout the Country including the District of Columbia. During the 1972 Campaign, many demonstrations occurred at or near the National CRP headquarters on Pennsylvania Avenue. On one occasion, for example, a group of demonstrators chained themselves to the door of the building at 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue for approximately 24 hours. During this demonstration, blood was thrown by the demonstrators, both on the buildings and on Nixon Campaign workers. The headquarters was forcibly shut down for an entire day. Finally, the CRP headquarters received many threats against the life of the President, the Vice President, the Campaign Director, and the wife of the Campaign Director.

Thus, the extreme concern which the CRP had for the security of its staff and National headquarters was caused by a series of death threats, bomb threats, threats of demonstrations, demonstrations, threats of violence, and actual violence, both in Washington and at CRP offices across the Nation—a kind of harassment which I believe is unparalleled in American political history.

Ending the affidavit.

This, Mr. Chairman, brings me to the demonstrations and violence directed toward the Republican Party in the Miami Beach convention. We have secured from the Florida Department of Military Affairs a copy of their afteraction report on the Republican National Convention.

I would at this time introduce into the record the cover letter from the Florida Department of Military Affairs and part G of the afteraction report, which as the committee will note, contains extracts from a "revised manual for the Republican Convention." While the source of this manual is not identified, suffice it to say that it is a nondelegate publication which I shall show in a moment was distributed among dissident elements at their Flamingo Park staging area. While this is not an affidavit, Mr. Chairman, it is a submission from the Miami Beach Police Department and I would ask unanimous consent that it might be received and made part of the record.

Senator ERVIN. Without objection, so ordered.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 257.*]

Senator BAKER. This manual, with cover displaying the President in cartoon with fangs, amounts to a handbook of civil disobedience. This handbook states at page G-133 that, "Flamingo Park should be a living, breathing community of revolutionary people . . . dedicated to confront the real enemy Richard Nixon." Page G-145 refers to the trial of Richard Nixon on the streets of Miami Beach by the people. In general, I believe the radical tone of this publication speaks for itself.

I would now like to introduce into the record, a letter, dated October 24, 1973, from Rocky Pomerance, Chief of Police in Miami, Beach, Fla. This letter certifies that an attached "chronological log of events" was compiled from official Miami Beach Police Department records and an accurate reflection of events described. I would, Mr. Chairman, offer that letter and the chronological log of events, as supplied by the Miami Beach Police Department, as an exhibit for the record.

Senator ERVIN. It will be received in evidence as an exhibit and appropriately numbered as such.

[The document referred to was marked exhibit No. 258.**]

Senator BAKER. Thank you, sir.

I would draw the committee's attention to the destructive scope of vandalism, delegate harassment, and violent disruption perpetrated between August 20-23, 1972, in and around the Republican's convention hall in Miami Beach. For example, this report details:

1. The pelting of delegates with eggs and rocks, stopping traffic; slashing tires; attempts to set buses on fire; stuffing potatoes in exhaust pipes; smashing vehicles; trashing streets; breaking office windows; throwing ignited papier-maché bombs into the convention compound; vomiting on vehicle hoods, nudity, and chants of "kill the pigs."
2. The report recites incidents where :
 - (a) Policemen were stoned trying to rescue panicky delegates.
 - (b) Tear gas grenades were thrown by demonstrators.
 - (c) Shots were fired at police officers who were trying to maintain order.
 - (d) Demonstrators marched on Convention Hall attired with helmets, gas masks, and night sticks.
 - (e) The heretofore referenced Revised Manual was distributed in Flamingo Park.
3. The report indicates the arrest of over 1,200 demonstrators on August 22 and 23 alone.

Mr. Chairman, I might supplement Congressman Tim Lee Carter's testimony by introducing into the record the sworn statement of Lyle R. Graser, detailing extreme violence directed toward the Republican National Committee press vehicle he was riding in. I would also like to read a portion of a letter from a South Carolina delegate, Neal D. Thigpen, concerning the difficulties that he and his wife had in getting into convention hall. But rather than read it, Mr. Chairman, I will point out, and I am at the end of my presentation, that there was not time to receive a signed affidavit from Mr. Thigpen. He gave the statement to Mr. Howard Liebengood, assistant minority counsel, who talked to him yesterday by telephone. Mr. Liebengood has offered his affidavit to the effect that Mr. Thigpen would so testify. Rather than offer that as an affidavit at this point, I would ask permission that

*See p. 5196.

**See p. 5219.

the statement might be included in the record, and we can supply a sworn version of it as a filed exhibit.

Senator ERVIN. That will be entirely satisfactory.

[The documents referred to were marked exhibits Nos. 259 and 260.*]

The protestors then very methodically began to put our bus out of commission. They first sprayed all of the windows with black paint so that it was difficult for anyone, including the driver, to see through them. We were able, however, to see the demonstrators using knives and icepicks to slash the bus tires. In the meantime, our assailants were breaking the windows with bricks, stones, etc.

While all this was happening, things inside the bus were chaotic. Women and children were crying. Men shouted back at the attackers and argued what courses of action were available to us. After much urging, the driver then attempted to move the bus forward again. But with the tires flat, it moved another half a block and came to its final resting place at an intersection. The demonstrators then opened the bus' rear hood and pulled out the gas lines. Gasoline spilled onto the street and ran under the bus. When the protestors began throwing firecrackers under the vehicle, we decided it was time to get off the bus and take our chances outside.

We tried to stay together but that became impossible. As we were pushed and shoved, struck by eggs, stones, and fists, and spit on, we found ourselves separated into twos and threes. They tore clothing and screamed obscenities. The slogans many of them chanted called either for ending the war in Vietnam or dumping President Nixon. In the confusion, my wife and I were temporarily separated. I finally was able to rescue her from a doorway where she was trapped by the mob. Her dress had been torn and she was hysterical.

Mr. Chairman, that completes my sketchy delineation of the matter set forth in the collection of affidavits. I think these are important and significant in terms of the evaluation of the state in which politics is held by at least some elements in our society. I think it is important to the background consideration of the committee to reiterate the caveat I stated initially. I am not, by implication or otherwise, trying to attribute this conduct to anyone unless the affidavit so states.

I am not, by implication or otherwise, trying to involve or implicate a candidate or a party. I am simply offering these as a part of the record to establish the political climate which I think must be changed if this country is going to survive.

Senator MONTONA. Mr. Chairman, I have something to introduce into the record at this point, and I offer it for introduction into the record. It is an in-house memorandum from E. D. Failor to Jeb S. Magruder. It is confidential/eyes only, under the letterhead of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, dated September 23, 1972. And I would like to read it because it is not very long.

Senator ERVIN. Well, before you do, I would like to make some observations. I want to state that I think the introduction of these affidavits and the analysis made by Senator Baker constitute a real service to the committee because it enables us to include in the record in a relatively short period of time matters which are germane to our investigation and enables us to save days of work which would be required if we had to subpoena these witnesses to come before the committee to testify in person.

Senator BAKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MONTONA. This is along the same line, Mr. Chairman, and I will start reading from the memorandum:

*See pp. 5258-5261.

On Friday, September 15, 1972, you assigned me responsibility for the above project. Attached is Ken Rietz's report re the above subject matter for the past week.

In addition to the items in the attached, I have personally endeavored to create an encounter between Shriver and a busing opponent on the busing issue for today in Las Vegas. Antibusing people will be used in this encounter and no Republicans will be surfaced.

Excellent television, radio and print coverage of some of these events has resulted during the past week. Definite pluses for our campaign have resulted from the media coverage. It should be pointed out that other Republican types, undoubtedly, will be copying this week's activities on their own in their localities. We have no control over the activities we do not program.

We have learned the McGovern organization and/or the Secret Service has reacted to our activities. The San Gennero Festival in Greenwich Village, New York, Saturday night was originally planned as a walking tour of a few blocks by McGovern. However, as a result of the events in Flushing, New York, on Thursday, September 21st, the street walk was canceled and McGovern spoke in an area that was barricaded off.

I have, and will, maintain continuing supervision over this project. Ken Smith is the key guy from YVP and I will contact other resources.

If you have any questions or suggestions on the above project, please advise. From September 15-22, preparation for our activities in providing sign carriers and leafleteers was made in Milwaukee; Chicago; Bergen County, New Jersey; Columbus, Ohio; Detroit, Lansing, and Flushing, New York. Chicago and Lansing were dropped because of the closed nature of the candidate's schedule. Busing quotes were distributed in Detroit outside a closed labor meeting. That was the only activity there due to the lack of public appearances. We began work on literature, hand-lettered, on Wednesday after conferring with Ken Khachigian. The following is a city-by-city report:

September 19—Milwaukee: A dozen young people carrying signs questioning the candidate's stands and criticizing his remarks about young people—which end is up?—were at the noon downtown rally. While no press coverage was generated, we do know we upset the candidate. With cameras zooming in he asked one of our girls wearing a YVP button "You don't really support Nixon, do you?" Her reply was classic: "Yes sir. I've had my head examined and I'm for Nixon now more than ever!" Photos of that event are attached.

September 20—Columbus: The reception for the candidate at the factory—Nixon buttons, hats and the debaters—came about much the same way as in Bergen County, i.e., our people were alerted to check into the schedule and they assisted the senior committee distributing the Nixon material. However, as we know from the evening news and morning page 1 newspaper coverage, it did the job.

September 20-21—Detroit: As noted previously, mimeographed handouts attacking the candidate's busing stand were distributed to labor members entering closed meetings.

September 21—New York—Flushing subway situation. Again, we had to scramble for time, but 20 young people turned out with Nixon signs and buttons—some with "Nixon" in Hebrew. The film coverage of this was excellent on the CBS morning news—no matter where the cameras turned, the signs were there along with audible chants of "Nixon Now!" and "Four more years!" throughout the report. Reporter Bruce Morton concluded that it was not a very good stop. We are told an AP wire story reported the presence of young Nixon supporters.

We have activities planned in Seattle on Monday, Los Angeles on Tuesday, San Diego on Wednesday, and Toledo on Friday of next week. Specific events will, of course, depend on the candidate's schedule.

That is the end of the memorandum, Mr. Chairman, and I submit it for entry into the record.

[The document referred to was marked committee exhibit No. 261.*]

*See p. 5265.

Senator ERVIN. Is there anything further by any member of the committee? If not, we will stand in recess until 10 o'clock in the morning.

[Whereupon, at 4 p.m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, November 7, 1973.]

[Subsequent to the hearings of October 10 and 11, 1973, the Select Committee received an affidavit from Anthony H. Barash commenting on the testimony of Messrs. Michael McMinoway and Frank Mankiewicz. The affidavit was received too late for publication in Book 11, where the testimony appears, and is hereby made part of the record in this book on page 5267.]

EXHIBITS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

EXHIBIT No. 246

[From the Washington Post, Wednesday, Oct. 18, 1972]

FROM THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, CLARK MACGREGOR'S STATEMENT ON THE WASHINGTON POST

(Following is the complete text of the statement read to reporters Monday by Mr. MacGregor)

According to the Gallup, Harris, Sindlinger, and Yankelovich polls, the political leftist movement known as McGovernism is about to be repudiated overwhelmingly by the American people. As it should be. But, frustrated, twenty-six points behind in the polls, with three weeks to go, George McGovern—and his confederates—are now engaging in the "politics of desperation"; we are witnessing some of the dirtiest tactics and hearing some of the most offensive language ever to appear in an American presidential campaign.

Lashing out wildly, George McGovern has compared the President of the United States to Adolf Hitler, the Republican Party to the Ku Klux Klan, and the United States Government to the Third Reich of Nazi Germany. His personal assaults on the President have been characterized by such terms as "most corrupt," "murderous," and "barbaric," and his running-mate has served as an echo chamber.

The Washington Post's credibility has today sunk lower than that of George McGovern.

Using innuendo, third-person hearsay, unsubstantiated charges, anonymous sources, and huge scare headlines—the Post has maliciously sought to give the appearance of a direct connection between the White House and the Watergate—a charge which the Post knows—and half a dozen investigations have found—to be false.

The hallmark of the Post's campaign is hypocrisy—and its celebrated "double standard" is today visible for all to see.

Unproven charges by McGovern aides, or Senator Muskie, about alleged campaign disruptions that occurred more than six months ago are invariably given treatment normally accorded declarations of war—while proven facts of opposition-incited disruptions of the President's campaign are buried deep inside the paper. When McGovern headquarters in California was used as a boiler room to rally hard-core anti-war militants to confront the President—that was apparently of no significance to a newspaper which has dispatched a platoon of reporters to investigate charges that somebody sent two hundred pizzas to a Muskie rally last spring.

Why hasn't the Washington Post investigated—The Molotov cocktail discovered on October 8th at the door of the Newhall, California, Nixon Headquarters?

The extensive fire damage suffered September 17th to the Nixon headquarters in Hollywood, California?

The arson of September 25th which caused more than \$100,000 in damage to the Nixon headquarters in Phoenix, Arizona?

The extensive window breaking and other trashing this fall at Nixon storefronts in New York City; Arlington, Massachusetts, and Los Angeles County?

While the Post itself openly and actively collaborated in the publication of stolen top secret documents of the Government of the United States sixteen months ago—today, it is faking shock and outrage at some obvious volunteers who were allegedly spying on Larry O'Brien.

Like George McGovern, who personally encouraged Daniel Ellsberg to commit the deed for which he faces a possible 115 years in a Federal Penitentiary—The Washington Post is a hypocrite. While each crime is reprehensible, which is the more serious? Stealing top secret documents of the Government of the United States; or allegedly stealing Larry O'Brien's political papers?

(5019)

The purpose of the Post campaign is clear: To divert public and national attention away from the real issues of this campaign—peace, jobs, foreign policy, welfare, taxes, defense and national priorities—and onto the phony issues manufactured on L Street and in McGovern headquarters.

It is said that this is a dirty campaign, but all the dirt is being thrown by only one side. The mud slinging, the name calling, the unsubstantiated charges, the innuendoes, the guilt by association, the character assassination, the second-hand hearsay are all tactics exclusively employed by the McGovernites and their apologists. President Nixon will remain on the high road, discussing issues of real concern to the American people in a fair, forthright, and hard-hitting manner. The American people will apply a single standard in judging the performance of Richard Nixon and George McGovern, even though that essential fairness is not exhibited by The Washington Post and a few others.

[News Release — Oct. 19, 1972]

STATEMENT BY CLARK MACGREGOR, CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR, COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

In yesterday's editions, the Washington Post has indicated a willingness to investigate the conduct of the McGovern campaign, a campaign which is so chock full of irregularities that it cries out for inspection by the press.

I have on previous occasions noted both the violent attacks which have been made on our headquarters and the scurrilous rhetoric which has been leveled at the President by the McGovern-Shriver ticket and its henchmen.

The following tactics and techniques reportedly being employed across the country by the McGovern forces call for a balanced and impartial inquiry by the press:

1. An article in the Lancaster, Pa., New Era on October 3, 1972, reported that the McGovern campaign in Pennsylvania is using official mailing lists stolen from the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture to solicit support for the McGovern-Shriver ticket. According to the New Era, this is a direct violation of Federal law and a specific violation of an order issued last February by Pennsylvania's Governor. I will note, as does the New Era, that the State's secretary of agriculture is a McGovern advocate who resigned from a McGovern campaign committee in August to avoid possible prosecution under the Hatch Act.

2. A report in the Atlanta constitution of August 5, 1972, indicates that a team of from 15 to 100 spies has been assembled by Senator McGovern to "try to dig up damaging background information on key members of the Nixon administration." According to the Constitution, the head of this spy ring publicly admits that as many as 100 Nixon supporters and three members of the White House staff have been targeted for political espionage by this McGovernite crastz CIA.

3. A highly reliable source in the press has told the Committee for the Re-Election of the President that McGovern's Press Secretary, Richard Dougherty, brags about the spies Senator McGovern has planted not only within the Nixon campaign but who also infiltrated Senator Humphrey's campaign and, in return for offers of employment after Senator Humphrey had been effectively sabotaged, fed the McGovern primary campaign a steady stream of information from inside Humphrey headquarters.

This is the precise exchange illuminating this charge:

A respected newsman covering the McGovern campaign has told officials at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President of a conversation involving Richard Dougherty, press secretary to Senator McGovern.

In that conversation, Dougherty said that McGovern's board of strategy knew everything in advance regarding Senator Hubert Humphrey's primary campaign because the McGovern team had infiltrated Humphrey's campaign staff.

"Some of those boys in Humphrey's camp have been doing well for us," Dougherty said. "In the campaign we'll make it up to them—they'll have jobs."

"This is not all of it," the newsman quoted Dougherty as saying. "We get a lot of information out of that headquarters setup at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue."

When Dougherty was asked the nature of the information obtained from the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, he replied, "Oh, position papers—all kinds of information."

4. Although Senator McGovern has publicly branded public opinion polls "lousy"—one assumes because they show him being rejected by almost every segment of American society—the McGovern campaign has consistently released its own "polls" which are so radically at odds with those of respected independent pollsters that they can only be cheap propaganda tricks concocted by the McGovern psywar apparatus in a deliberate attempt to confuse the public.

The most recent example was a McGovern "poll" released Sunday showing President Nixon only three points ahead of McGovern in California. One day later, the independent and highly respected Field poll showed President Nixon with a 14-point lead in California.

In New York, the McGovern apparatus has leaked a constant diet of polls to the news media—polls which show President Nixon supposedly only a few points ahead. In fact, independent polls put the President up to 22 points ahead.

Such tactics are reprehensible first because they are a blatant attempt to use the press to con the American public, and second because they lead workers and contributors to invest time and money on the basis of false information. At times, intense scrutiny from, among others, a committee of the U.S. Congress, such tactics show a total and irresponsible disregard for the democratic process.

Every one of these reports demands the same attention the press has lavished on the McGovern charges. Now that the Washington Post—which has previously exhibited extraordinary zeal in its publication of unsubstantiated charges by unnamed people—has demonstrated a reluctant willingness to explore the despicable tactics employed by the President's opposition, I hope others will follow suit.

Will the Post detail its entire staff of 30 investigative reporters to inquire into these questions?

I know of no justifiable double standard which requires American media to repeat every unsubstantiated charge leveled against the Nixon administration while simultaneously requiring the media to ignore the psychological warfare and espionage being practiced by the McGovernites.

EXHIBIT NO. 247

NIXON IS TREYF

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST
ALBERT SPIEGEL'S SUPPORT OF

NIXON AND THE WAR

MONDAY, OCTOBER 9, 6:00PM.
AT THE ANNUAL ELECTIONS OF THE
JEWISH FEDERATION COUNCIL
AT THE BEVERLY HILTON HOTEL

DEMONSTRATE AND REMEMBER

Albert Spiegel, President of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, is also Chairman of the California Committee to Re-elect the President. Spiegel, a multi-millionaire himself, turns his back to the mass slaughter in Indochina, as well as rampant unemployment and poverty at home. Where is the social conscience of our people? Where is our memory? Does it also carry a price tag? Nixon's support of Jews and Israel is conditioned by his lust for re-election. Nixon does not represent our interest! Albert Spiegel does not represent us!

DEMONSTRATE AND REMEMBER

"Why of course the people don't want war. Why should some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece? Naturally the common people don't want war; neither in Russia, nor in England, nor in America, nor in Germany. That is understood. But after all it is the leaders of the country who determine policy, and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy, or a fascist dictatorship, or a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. Voice or no voice the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country."

--Hermann Goering, at the Nuremberg Trials

"Senior Air Force Officials also indicated that if Mr. Nixon is re-elected without a negotiated settlement having been reached, the air war against North Vietnam would intensify."

--Los Angeles Times, September 19, 1972

THANKS TO MODERN TECHNOLOGY,
NIXON BRINGS THE OVENS TO THE PEOPLE RATHER THAN THE PEOPLE TO THE OVENS!

Sponsored by: The Jewish Campaign to End the Indochina Holocaust 652-3457
Post Office Box 2015, Beverly Hills, California 90213

EXHIBIT No. 248

WHO IS OUR CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT **** NOVEMBER 7th, 1972 ELECTIONS

No sensible person will challenge ISRAEL's right to existence and self determination. ISRAEL is here to stay. During his last 3½ years in office, Nixon demonstrated a dubious and delinquent attitude towards ISRAEL. Only during this election year did Nixon approve meager assistance, under pressure, as an inducement for the Jewish vote. His alleged friendship towards ISRAEL is not trustworthy. Senator McGovern was and is a consistent and trustworthy friend of ISRAEL. Rabbi Max Ruskawa lists McGovern as the best friend for ISRAEL.

Nixon's political outlook is a dangerous travesty for the American people. It must not be permitted for another 4 years. He deceived the American people with his promise in 1968 to get out of this immoral undeclared war, and with his further promise to improve the general welfare. He continues this genocidal way and he promised to continue it in 1973 with further escalated barbarous high density bombing, killing hundreds of thousands of innocent people, and creating more American POWs, all under the dubious pretense of being "committed" to save the corrupt bloody dictator Thieu. 79% of the American people demand a complete withdrawal from the war and bring the POWs home.

STOP THE SENSELESS KILLING demands McGovern. He is committed to do so on the day after inauguration, and get out of the war within 90 days and bring all the POWs home!

Nixon's economic policies increased unemployment and placed unbearable hardships on many minority groups. More than 30 International Unions with a membership of 30 million people endorsed the McGovern-Shriver program. McGovern will trim the excessive military budget and provide the resulting funds for domestic reconstruction and general welfare. GOOD.

Nixon's wage and price controls are deceitful. Wages are rigidly controlled while the prices for food and housing have risen to staggering proportions, placing a hardship on the average citizen. At the same time corporate profits have risen to all time high levels. Nixon vetoed bills on three occasions that provided for health, education and general welfare including relief for the aged. He wants greater appropriations for purposes of killing and destruction of environment, and he limits appropriations to meager token sums for the general welfare. Nixon serves only the millionaires for greater profits.

Nixon was forced to approve the congressional recommendation for a 20% increase in social security benefits. He resisted all efforts for an increase above 5%.

Nixon's anti-bussing program was designed only to gain the vote of the racists. He thus strengthened the racists in a program for discrimination and anti-Semitism. Jews are aware of such activity in the genocide of 6 million Jews who died in the crematoria of Nazi Germany.

Nixon as President promised that he will nominate additional judges for the Supreme Court who support his philosophy. This only means ultra conservative judges who will further abrogate civil rights that affect every minority. We must not allow this to happen.

Jewish traditions are based on peace, equal rights and justice for all, and help for the poor. The Los Angeles Board of Rabbis enthusiastically support McGovern. The Rabbis want a change in Washington.

Nixon is being sponsored by all the wealthy and big business.

A vote for McGovern is a vote for peace and a better America in which we Jews have hope for a better life for all!

VOTE FOR McGOVERN*SHRIVER

VOTE FOR McGOVERN*SHRIVER

VOTE FOR McGOVERN*SHRIVER

Jews for McGovern-Shriver

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Labor Donated

פאר וועמען זאל מען שטימען דעם 7-טן נאוועמבער 1972?

ישראל איז געקומען צום לעבן! באקאנט מען זיך מיט ניקסאָנ'ס רעקארד וועגן ישראל פאר די לעצטע 3 1/2 יאָר, דערווייט מען זיך אז מען קאָן אים ניט גלויבן. ער איז א פאלשער פריינט. מען דערווייט זיך אויך, אז טעג. מעקאָווערן איז אן ערלעכער פריינט פון ישראל. ראבאי דר. מאקס נוסבאום האָט געלויבט מעקאָווערן'ס טריינסשאפט צו ישראל.

ניקסאָנ'ס פאָליטיק איז די קללה פאר אמעריקע, וואָס דארף ניט נאָך 4 יאָר ניקסאָן!!! ער האָט אָפגענארט דאָס פאָלק מיט זיין צוזאָג צו ענדיגן די ניט-דערקלערטע מלחמה אין וויעטנאם און פארטערן דאָס לעבן פון די מענטשן אין לאנד. די בארברישע מלחמה אין אינדאָ-כינע גייט אָן נאָך שטארקער. מערער נאפאלם-נאָמעט פארברענען לעבעדיגערהייט קינדער, פרויען און עלטערע מענטשן, ווייל ניקסאָן איז "קאָמיטעט" צו ראטעווען דעם קאָרופטירטן בלוטיגן דיקטאטאָר טיב פון דרום וויעטנאם. דאָס אמעריקאנער פאָלק וויל א סוף צום בלוטיגן קאָשמאר און ראטעווען לעבנ'ס. לויט'ן גאלאָפּ פאָל זיינען 79 פראָצענט אמעריקאנער געגן דער וואנזיניגער מלחמה.

פרעזידענט מעקאָווערן וועט אָפּשטעלן די מלחמה און די בלוט-פארגיסונג, וואָס וועט אויך באפרייען די מלחמה-געפאנגענע. ניקסאָנ'ס שלום - פלענער מיינט פארציען דאָס מאָרדן מענטשן - וויעטנאמער און אמעריקאנער סאָלדאטן.

ניקסאָנ'ס עקאָנאָמישע פאליסעס האָבן פארגרעסערט די צאָל ארבעטלעזע אין לאנד און שווערער געטרעפן די מינאָריטעטן. איבער 30 אינטערנעטאָנאל יוניאָנס, די אמאלגעמייטעד, די קלאָק און דרעטמאכער מיט ארום 9 מיליאָן מיטגלידער האָבן אינדאָרטיס מעקאָווערן. זיין פראָגראם איז א דזשאב פאר יעדן ארבעטס-פעאיגן מענטשן. מעקאָווערן וויל שניידן 30 ביליאָן דאָלאַר פון קריגס-בורזשעס און נוצן די ביליאָנען פאר לעבן און ניט פאר טויט ניקסאָנ'ס פארפירן ווייזשעס און פרייזן איז א שווינדל. ווייזשעס זיינען

פארפראָן און פרייזן שטייגן יעדן טאָג ספעציעל אויף לעבנס-מיטלען און די "קאָרפּאַ-ריישאָנס" מאכן ריזיגע פראָפיטן. פרעזידענט ניקסאָן דינט די מיליאָנערן און איז אנטי-לייבאָר. ער האָט 3 מאל וועטאָאירט בילס פאר וועלפער, געזונט און כילדורג, וואָס רירט אָן קינדער, קראַנקע און עלטערע מענטשן, צווישן זיי פיל אידן. פאר וואפן וויל ניקסאָן מערער געלט - פאר לעבן הייסט ער שניידן. ניקסאָן איז געווען געצוואונגען אונטערצושרייבן 20 פראָצענט העכערונג פון "סאָשעל סעקיריטי". ער האָט געוואָלט געבן בלויז 5 פראָצענט.

ניקסאָנ'ס אנטי-באָטינג צו געווינען ראסיסטישע שטימען, האָט געשטארקט דעם קאנסער פון ראסיזם און ריסקרימינאציע אין לאנד, וואָס איז דער וואָרצל פון אנטיסעמיטיזם. אידן ווייסן דאָס פון דעם חורבן פון די 6 מיליאָן אויסגעקוילעטע אידן פון די נאצי-דייטשן. ניקסאָן אלט פרעזידענט וועט נאשטימען נאָך קאָנסערוואטיווע ריכטער צום סופרים קאָרט און נאך מער אָפּנעמען די אויסגעקעמפטע ציווילע רעכט, וואָס רירט אָן אידן, שוואַרצע, כרוינע און נאָך מינאָריטעטן. אלעמענט אינטערעסן זיינען פאר גלייכע ציווילע רעכט און געבן ראסיזם און דיסקרימינאציע. ניקסאָן האָט ניט נאשטימט א אידישן ריכטער.

אידישע טראדיציעס זיינען פאר שלום, גלייכע רעכט פאר אלעמען און העלפן די אָרעמען. די לאס אנדזשעלעס "באָארד אָן ראכאייס" האָבן מיט ענסוזיאזם אויפגענומען מעקאָווערן.

די ראכאייס ווילן אן ענדערונג אין וואשינגטאָן!

א שטימע פאר מעקאָווערן-סחייווער, איז א שטימע פאר שלום און פאר א כעטערער אמעריקע פאר אלע מענטשן אין וואָס אלע אידישע פאָלקס-מענטשן זיינען בלוטיג פאראונטערטירט. ניקסאָן ווערט געשטיצט פון אלע אולטראס און "כיג ביזנעס". שטימט פאר מעקאָווערן!!!

אידן פאר מעקאָווערן - שרייווער

EXHIBIT NO. 249

The Board
of Rabbis
of
Southern
California

October 13, 1972

Mr. Albert A. Spiegel
641 North Sepulveda Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90049

Dear Al:

In response to our 'phone conversation of just a few minutes ago, may I state categorically that the Board of Rabbis of Southern California has at no time taken any action concerning any of the candidates in the presidential or other campaigns. The Board of Rabbis has never participated in political matters in the past, and certainly we have in no way identified ourselves with any candidate this year.

I am truly chagrined that false statements are being made in this regard, and I hope that you will put at ease any concern that might be expressed regarding the false rumors that are spread about the Board of Rabbis.

Sincerely,

Harry
Harry Essrig

HE:gd



590 North Vermont Ave.
Los Angeles, Cal. 90004
phone (213) 863-8484

MEYER MERMINSKY
President

MEYER HELLER
GILBERT SHCHAM
JOSEPH SMITH
Vice Presidents

SOLOMON F. KLEINMAN
Treasurer

NORMAN PAURER
Secretary

JACOB KOHN*
EDGAR P. MAGNIN
Honorary Presidents

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

HENRI E. FRONT
ERWIN HERMAN
NOVRIE KAPLAN
JACOB LEVINE
MAX NUSSBAUM
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AARON J. TOPFIELD
EDWARD M. TENENBAUM
ABRAHAM N. WINKUR

PAST PRESIDENTS

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JACOB PRESSMAN
ALFRED WOLF
MORRIS KAPLAN
AARON M. WISE
ALBERT M. LEWIS
BEN ZION BERGMAN
JULIAN F. REINGOLD
WILLIAM SPIGELMAN
MARVIN BORNSTEIN
SAMSON H. LEVY
JACOB LEVINE
ABRAHAM N. WINKUR
MAX NUSSBAUM
PHILIP SCHRÖTT

*Deceased

HARRY ESSRIG
Executive Vice President

HARRY HYMAN
Chief of Division

AN AFFILIATE OF THE JEWISH FEDERATION - COUNCIL OF GREATER L.A.

EXHIBIT No. 250

[From the Washington Post, Monday, Oct. 25, 1971]

WHITE HOUSE LAUDS ANTI-JEWISH EDITOR

(By Jack Anderson)

Both President Nixon and Vice President Agnew have paid high tribute to a notorious anti-Jewish editor in Pittsburgh.

Their effusive accolades were published by the proud editor, Geno Szebedinsky, in the same newspaper where he touted such scandalously antisemitic tracts as the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and the "Myth of Six Million."

On the front page of the Hungarian language newspaper "Magyarsag," Szebedinsky published a letter from President Nixon declaring: "Your distinguished career as editor and publisher is well known to me. I am proud to join your friends and admirers in their tribute to the enviable reputation you have earned, and to the high standards you have perpetuated . . ."

Nixon praised Szebedinsky for "four decades of . . . unflinching dedication to the cause of freedom and human dignity and justice" and added that the editor was "deeply appreciated by countless readers within the Hungarian community and throughout the country."

This ringing praise was echoed by Agnew who said Szebedinsky's "hard work and dedication are fine examples for others to follow." Agnew's letter was also printed on page one.

On page seven, Szebedinsky urged upon his readers an assortment of anti-Jewish literature, including Henry Ford's venomous "The International Jew," which the old car maker later repudiated, and three books by the late Lajos Marschalko, a notorious Nazi who lauded the Nazi butchers of Auschwitz.

INCRIMINATING WORDS

In earlier editions, Szebedinsky printed other anti-Jewish diatribes. A front-page article on Oct. 31, 1969, for example, charges that Jews "put to death thousands of the best Hungarians or simply murdered them."

And in the same edition, Szebedinsky's paper claimed: "The Talmudic way of thinking reigns with the sign of revenge, celebrating orgies of lies, fraud and self-deception."

Last March 26, Szebedinsky advised his readers that antisemitism is really a result of "Jewry, which is living and gasping unquenchably for revenge." Anyone believing the Nazis killed six million Jews, he also printed, is brainwashed.

After Szebedinsky published the Nixon and Agnew letters last May, the World Federation of Hungarian Jews charged that Szebedinsky once wore the uniform of the SS in World War II.

The accusation was contained in stinging letters to President Nixon and to Sen. Jacob Javits, (R-N.Y.), himself a Jew. The Nixon-Agnew letters, complained the Federation, were "deeply offending to the victims of Nazi barbarism."

The Federation told us the President did not reply. We checked the extensive but incomplete Archives files of SS officers and found no record of Szebedinsky or a second name he used in Hungary, Janos Hortobagy.

WHITE HOUSE DENIES ANTI-SEMITISM CHARGE

"President Nixon has never condoned, and does not condone, anti-Semitism in any form," the White House said of a Jack Anderson column appearing today that cites Mr. Nixon's praise for Pittsburgh editor Geno Szebedinsky.

"The President frequently sends messages of congratulations to persons being honored by testimonial dinners," the White House statement said. In this case, the statement said, the message was requested by an unnamed "reputable source" for a dinner honoring Szebedinsky and organized by the Hungarian clergy of greater Pittsburgh.

"Nothing in our information about Mr. Szebedinsky or his Hungarian-language newspaper indicated other than that he was a reputable publisher of a paper devoted to the principles of freedom."

EXHIBIT No. 251

[From the Washington Post, Friday, Sept. 24, 1971]

GOP ADVISER EDITED PRO-NAZI PAPER

(By Jack Anderson)

A former Nazi editor, who was a leading Hitler propagandist in occupied Slovakia during the 1940s, is an adviser to the Republican National Committee.

He is Dr. Joseph Pauco, who trumpeted the Nazi line throughout Slovakia and hailed the Nazi persecution of the Jews. As late as 1957, he defended his past Nazi activities as "the cause of great and sacred truth."

Pauco was invited by President Nixon to attend a White House prayer service on Sept. 12. While no other White House worshipper may have been more in need of prayer, it is ironical that Pauco should wind up at a Nixon devotional. For his mentor and mahatma, Joseph Tiso, the puppet dictator of Slovakia, was hanged as a war criminal.

Hitler ended his bloody conquest of Czechoslovakia by dividing the country and installing Tiso as the ruler of Slovakia. Pauco was named editor-in-chief of Tiso's official organ, Slovak, which became the strident voice of the Nazi regime.

One of Pauco's close associates was Dr. J. Kirschbaum, who has been accused by the Jewish Community Council in Prague of sending Slovakian Jews to the gas chambers of Auschwitz and other murder camps.

Kirschbaum denies the charge. But we have dug out, at least, an old newspaper picture of Kirschbaum in his Slovak SS uniform, his hand raised in the Hitler salute.

Pauco and Kirschbaum escaped Tiso's fate by fleeing to the West. Pauco reached the United States in 1950; Kirschbaum settled in Toronto.

Eventually, Pauco took over the weekly newspaper, Slovak v. Amerike, in Middletown, Pa., and named his old friend Kirschbaum as an adviser.

The natty, charming Pauco was brought into the Republican National Committee as chief Slovak-American adviser by the former chairman, Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton. Pauco is now comptroller of the committee's ethnic council.

Pauco also is serving as a Nixon appointee on the Small Business Administration's advisory council.

Not long ago, Pauco and Kirschbaum helped to establish the Slovak World Congress, and they held a meeting in Toronto in June. They were showered with greetings from Sens. John Tower (R-Tex.), Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), Roman Hruska (R-Neb.) and others.

Sens. Robert Taft (R-Ohio) and Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) showed up in Toronto to address the meeting.

From the White House on down, these prominent Americans can be excused for being unaware of the Nazi backgrounds of Pauco and Kirschbaum. But the official who is supposed to keep track of former Nazis, Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian, the Justice Department's internal security specialist, also attended the Toronto affair.

Mardian might have picked up a clue to Pauco's Nazi past by reading his biography in Who's Who. For Pauco lists among his accomplishments the editorship of the old Slovak daily. If this was missed by Mardian, it was picked up by an amateur Nazi hunter and Democratic Party official, Bill Quinn, who identified the daily as a Nazi mouthpiece.

He tipped us off, and we have now traced Pauco's past in old Library of Congress records, books and newspapers.

"There is only one alliance, and that alliance is with Germany," wrote Pauco in a signed editorial on Sept. 17, 1944. Again on Oct. 11, 1944, he printed: "The great German Reich, led by Fuehrer Adolf Hitler, proved to the Slovaks its benevolence."

In a typical diatribe against the Jews, his newspaper declared on Sept. 3, 1944: "We all know about their moral decay and their murderous hatred of the Christian people."

Is it possible that Pauco, now 57, has changed his views after 25 years? As late as August, he praised the war criminal Tiso as a "martyr."

Footnote: My associate Les Whitten reached Pauco in Middletown. He denied that his wartime newspaper was a Nazi organ. "I ran a Slovak paper," he said. Asked about the paper's attacks on the Jews, he said at first. "I can't remember," then declared, "We were friends of the Jews." He added heartily: "Anybody who says we were Nazis is full of baloney." The Republican National Committee, he said, would verify his good name. Kirschbaum has an unlisted telephone in Toronto and couldn't be reached.

EXHIBIT No. 252

[From the Washington Post, Wednesday, Nov. 10, 1971]

NIXON APPEARS A LITTLE SOFT ON NAZIS

(By Jack Anderson)

President Nixon, who made his name in politics by attacking the Democrats for being "soft on Communists," is showing signs himself of a little softness on Nazis.

We recently reported that he invited an ex-Nazi to the White House for a prayer session and that he sent a letter of tribute to a notorious anti-Jewish editor.

The White House issued a pained public statement protesting that "President Nixon has never condoned and does not condone anti-Semitism in any form." We certainly agree. Mr. Nixon is no more anti-Semitic nor pro-Nazi than Harry Truman and Dean Acheson were pro-Communist.

But men with histories of Nazi sympathies have managed to endear themselves to the Nixon administration. Here's the record, which is worse than we originally reported:

We identified Dr. Joseph Paucó, a prominent GOP adviser and White House guest, as a pro-Nazi propagandist in Slovakia during World War II. We cited recent public statements to show that he still worships the memory of the Nazi puppet in Slovakia, Joseph Tiso. The Anti-Defamation League confirmed our charges with additional evidence from their files. The Republican National Committee quickly accepted Paucó's resignation. Yet at this writing, five weeks after our revelations, he is still an official, unsalaried adviser to Small Business Administrator Tom Kleppe. Paucó makes recommendations on small business loans and other SBA matters in his home state of Pennsylvania.

We reported that both President Nixon and Vice President Agnew sent warm tributes to Geno Szebedinsky, editor of the Hungarian-language newspaper *Magyarsag*, which foams with anti-Semitism. Although the President wrote Szebedinsky that his distinguished career . . . is well known to me," we are convinced Nixon had absolutely no knowledge of the editor's anti-Semitic reputation. Both Nixon and Agnew signed the tributes purely as political routine. Yet someone familiar with Szebedinsky and his views was close enough to the White House to arrange for him to be honored. And the White House, despite its public assurance that the President doesn't condone anti-Semitism, has yet to repudiate his letter to Szebedinsky.

President Nixon not only prayed with Paucó at the White House but also invited another World War II extremist, Ivan Docheff, to the White House. Docheff acknowledged to us that he was the leader of the National Legion in his native Bulgaria. This was a youth organization characterized as "fascist" by the moderate Bulgarian National Committee here. Docheff admitted it was a right-wing group but said he was "100 per cent anti-Communist, not a Nazi." Docheff's picture at the White House with Nixon and Agnew, printed in the Bulgarian-language paper *Borba*, raised cries of outrage from moderate Bulgarian-Americans.

Laszlo Pasztor, the industrious head of the GOP ethnic groups, was never asked about his wartime activities in Hungary by the four GOP officials who interviewed him for his job. As it happens, Pasztor belonged to a Hitler-youth-style group under the notorious Arrowcross party until he was 21. Although he never joined the adult party, he served it as a junior diplomat in Berlin under the vicious anti-Semitic Szalasi regime. Pasztor insists he never took part in anti-Semitic activities and says in his GOP Party post, he has tried to weed out the right-wing extremists from the Republican ethnic groups. He spoke feelingly of these problems for two hours with my associate Les Whitten. At one point, Pasztor asked wearily: "What kind of guys did I inherit?"

HEADLINES, FOOTNOTES

Peace Corps Woes—The Peace Corps hopeful effort to enlist Mexican-American volunteers has largely failed. Of 13 Mexican-Americans trained for service in Peru, eight have quit. They had been sent to Peru to help build potato production, but a bumper crop made their work superfluous. Peace Corps efforts to keep them in other programs failed, and the eight disillusioned Chicanos have now left the Peace Corps. Elsewhere in Peru, volunteers were able to thwart reported efforts by Director Joe Blatchford to install an old fraternity brother, Doug

Burck, as country director. A compromise by Blatchford has forestalled resignation threats of about 100 of the 200 volunteers in Peru. Less than a half-dozen have actually quit because of the squabble.

Giant Killer—Back in April 1970 we wrote of the David-and-Goliath struggle between Federal Trade Commission lawyer Daniel Kane and the gigantic Koppers Co. Kane had accused Koppers of killing competition in resorcinol, a chemical used in tires, explosives and dyes. While Kane fought the case, his FTC boss then Rufus (Duke) Wilson, had been meeting privately with Koppers' attorney and discussing the case. Wilson has now retired from the FTC, and Kane recently won a tough consent settlement from Koppers. In it, the firm promises to void its "exclusive" resorcinol supply contracts, and contracts running more than a year, give up any plans to buy out resorcinol competitors without an FTC okay and block price discriminating.

MIAMI BEACH, Aug. 18 (JTA)—Laszlo C. Pasztor of Washington, D.C., who had been identified twice in the past year by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson as having been a member of a Nazi youth movement in Hungary during World War II, is in line for membership on the executive board of the Republican National Committee. An official announcement made available to the press here today said that the committee had voted this week to amend the committee's bylaws to "grant ex officio membership on its executive board to the chairman of the National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council.

The chairman of the council, the committee's announcement said, is Pasztor. The council was formed in 1971 as an auxiliary to the Republican National Committee, it reported, and is an all volunteer organization representing ethnic Republican groups in 21 States and among 31 nationality groups. The announcement stressed the action as a "move responsive to the growing number of ethnic Americans who are turning to the Republican Party."

The Rules Committee's action, if approved by the convention as a whole here next week "will give official recognition to all ethnic Republican auxiliary organizations," the committee's announcement said. The National Republican Heritage groups council will then maintain a position in the party similar to the National Federation of Republican Women and Young Republican National Federation.

In a column on Nov. 10 widely distributed throughout the United States and overseas, Anderson reported that Pasztor was "never asked about his wartime activities in Hungary by four GOP officials who interviewed him for the job" (as Nationalities Director), "Pasztor belonged to a Hitler youth style group under the notorious arrow cross party until he was twenty one. Although he never joined the adult party, he served as a junior diplomat in Berlin under the vicious anti-Semitic Szalasy regime."

"Pasztor insists he never took part in anti-Semitic activities and in his GOP party post he has tried to weed out the right wing extremists from his GOP ethnic groups," Anderson wrote, "He spoke feelingly of those problems for two hours with my associate Les Whitten."

Last March 13, Anderson's column reported: "We have uncovered several ex Nazis who were invited to the White House or were photographed with President Nixon and Vice President Agnew and other GOP dignitaries. The President, of course, did not know about their Nazi background. They should have been screened by Laszlo Pasztor, the GOP Nationalities Director who himself belonged to the Nazi Youth Movement in Hungary during World War Two."

"Instead of reprimanding Pasztor [copy illegible] Nazis through the gate," Anderson continued, "the President recently sent him a dear Laszlo letter praising him. The happy Hungarian quickly duplicated it and mailed out copies to ethnic leaders."

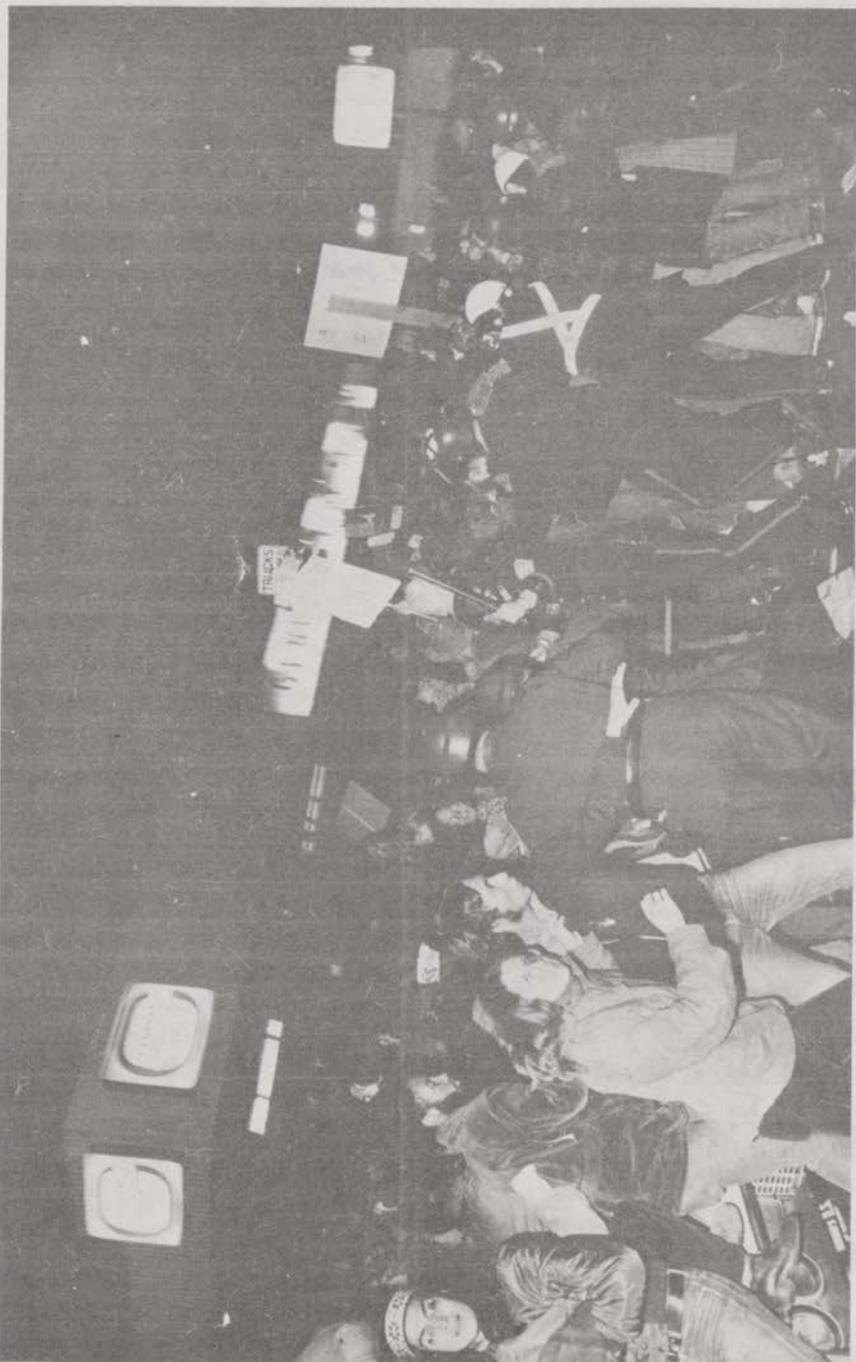
5031

EXHIBIT No. 253



5032

EXHIBIT No. 254



5033

EXHIBIT No. 255



EXHIBIT NO. 256-1

1 STATE OF ARIZONA)
 2 County of Maricopa) ss. A F F I D A V I T

3
 4 COMES NOW JAMES F. WYMORE, who being first duly sworn
 5 upon his oath, deposes and says:

6 That he is, and at all times mentioned herein was, the
 7 Executive Director of the State Committee of the Republican
 8 Party in the State of Arizona and, as such, he knows the follow-
 9 ing facts:

10 That during the campaign of 1972, the State Committee
 11 of the Republican Party in Arizona and the Committee to Reelect
 12 the President established a joint campaign headquarters at
 13 353 West Indian School Road in the City of Phoenix, State of
 14 Arizona.

15 That early in the morning on Friday, September 29, 1972,
 16 this combined headquarters was totally destroyed by fire with
 17 damage to the building estimated at at least \$100,000.00, and
 18 an estimated damage to the contents owned by the Committee to
 19 Reelect and by the State Committee to be a total of no less than
 20 \$20,000.00.

21 That on Thursday, September 28, 1972, the State Committee
 22 had received a warning from the Republican National Committee
 23 Headquarters alerting the State Committee to take necessary
 24 security precautions at its headquarters to avert possible dis-
 25 ruptions and/or protests. That the State Committee did not
 26 have time in which to comply with that warning prior to the
 27 destruction of its headquarters.

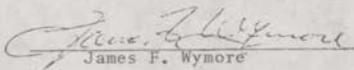
28 An extensive and exhaustive investigation of the fire
 29 was conducted by the Arson Squad of the Phoenix Police Depart-
 30 ment, the Phoenix Fire Marshal, and the Federal Bureau of
 31 Investigation. No arrests have been made.
 32

1 That as a result of the fire, a mailing being prepared
2 by the State Committee was destroyed and office equipment,
3 records and files were also destroyed.

4 Property, files and records belonging to individual
5 candidates which were located in the building were also destroyed.

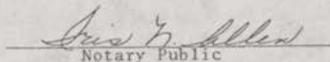
6 The State Committee incurred costs of moving and estab-
7 lishing a new location, which costs are estimated to be \$5,000.00.
8 As a result of the destruction and the opening of a new head-
9 quarters, the State Committee and the Committee to Reelect were
10 out of operation for approximately ten days.

11 That the newspaper clippings and photographs from the
12 Arizona Republic and the Phoenix Gazette are essentially true
13 and accurate, and the photographs do depict the scene of the
14 fire as of Friday, September 29, 1972.

15
16 
17 James F. Wymore

18 SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me this 22nd day of

19 October, 1973.

20
21 
22 Notary Public

23 My Commission Expires:

24 2/23/77

25
26 21-296 2159
27
28
29
30
31
32





8-29-72 10330 O.S. REPORT CT 1102

DATE	TIME	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RECEIVED BY	<input type="checkbox"/> TEL	LOCATION
8-29-72	0926	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER	<input type="checkbox"/> BOX	393 W. TOWN ST.
TYPE OF ALARM	<input type="checkbox"/> BUILDING	<input type="checkbox"/> FULL ASSIGNMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> MULTIPLE	<input type="checkbox"/> FIRST AID
	<input type="checkbox"/> NON BUILDING	<input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE	<input type="checkbox"/> SPECIAL DUTY	<input type="checkbox"/> MOTOR VEHICLE
				<input type="checkbox"/> FALSE
				<input type="checkbox"/> NEEDLESS
RESPONDING COMPANIES	5-9-8-4-2	1-9-4	11-9	0416/0-11
1. MOTOR VEHICLE FIRES	YEAR	MAKE	MODEL	
LICENSE	OWNER	ADDRESS		
FIRST AID AGE	<input type="checkbox"/> MALE	VICTIM'S NAME	ADDRESS	
	<input type="checkbox"/> FEMALE			
3. NON BUILDING	OWNER	TYPE OF OCCUPANCY		
4. BUILDING FIRES	MIRJOCK DEN. CO.	None		
APPROXIMATE UNMETERED GALLONS	OCCUPANT	TYPE OF STRUCTURE		
200	Republican Party	masonry		
DESCRIE EMERGENCY	FIRST FLOOR HEAVILY DAMAGED			
	UPON ARRIVAL OF E-9 TOTAL FIVE PERSONS IN FLOOR & CONTENTS. SEVERE HEAT SMOKE DANGER TO 2ND FLOOR. ALL UNMETERED FIRES. EAST & WEST SIDES, LROAD W/...			
APPARENT CAUSE	UNDER INVESTIGATION PROBABLY FROM BOB ON SCARS.			
EQUIPMENT USED	E-9 750' 3" hose 60' of hose 6 tanks 15 SCOVILLE 1 AIR 1 LIGHT PLANT 4 HEATS. 2 SCOTT'S 3 BOTTLES 1 SHIRT 1-9 84' INCHES 2 SCOTT'S 2 BOTTLES 2 PINE RIFES			
INCIDENTS	CAPT. J. BELL 1st DISTRICT			
SPE. A CIVILIAN	P. E. D. Koepf 1st DISTRICT			
BATTALION CHIEF	P. E. P. Kludwig 1st DISTRICT			
DISTRICT	23. N. A. Jones			

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON REVERSE SIDE

Page 2 - ARDCA REPORT - - 500 - - - - - ROBB - -

Republic Committeeman Jim Winemore, 279-5596, stated they had received a security warning from Steven B. King - Washington, D.C., 202-3336120 - or home phone 703-360-5642 - stating trouble at Republican offices in San Francisco, two in New York, and one in Texas.

I coordinated the Fire Department Investigation with the Phoenix Police Department, the F.B.I., and other public officials. Word was received that the timing of this fire was perfect due to two weeks ago nothing of value was in this building - and one week in the future they would be empty again.

CASE PENDING:

ROBERT E. BIVIN - Chief Investigator

CITY OF PHOENIX ARIZONA
DIVISION OF FIRE PREVENTION

PRELIMINARY REPORT

DATE	TIME	
ADDRESS	AM-PM	
OWNER	PHONE	
OCCUPANT	PHONE	
TYPE OCCUPANCY	NO. FLOORS	
BUILDING VALUE	LOSS	
CONTENTS VALUE	LOSS	
INSURANCE INFORMATION		
DAMAGE		
CAUSE		
REMARKS		

WRITTEN UP

INVESTIGATOR

91-180
REV 6-67CITY OF PHOENIX ARIZONA
DIVISION OF FIRE PREVENTION

PRELIMINARY REPORT

DATE	TIME	
ADDRESS	AM-PM	
OWNER	PHONE	
OCCUPANT	PHONE	
TYPE OCCUPANCY	NO. FLOORS	
BUILDING VALUE	LOSS	
CONTENTS VALUE	LOSS	
INSURANCE INFORMATION		
DAMAGE		
CAUSE		
REMARKS		

INVESTIGATOR

91-180
REV 6-67

INCIDENT REPORT				DIVISION OF FIRE PREVENTION INVESTIGATIVE REPORT				CENSUS TRACT NO. 11			
NO. 72-57491		HOUR OF DAY FIRE CALL RECEIVED 0226		HOW RECEIVED Telephone		TYPE OF REPORT 1001		D. R. # 72-57491			
TYPE OF OCCUPANCY		CONST. & DESCRIPTION OF BLDG. 2 STORY MASONRY BLDG.				LOCATION OF FIRE 333 West Indian School Road					
ESTIMATED VALUE OF BLDG. \$ 100,000.		ESTIMATED LOSS \$ 100,000.				DATE AND TIME FIRE OCCURRED 9/23/72 between 0200 and 0230 hours					
ESTIMATED VALUE OF CONTENTS \$ 100,000.		ESTIMATED LOSS \$ 40,000.				VICTIM INFORMATION					
CAUSE OF FIRE		WHERE ORIGINATED				LAST FIRST MIDDLE (FIRM NAME IF BUS.)		RES. OR BUS. ADDRESS PHONE #			
INSURANCE COMPANY		PHONE #				EM/LOYER		ADDRESS PHONE #			
OWNER OF PROPERTY/BUS. ADDRESS PHONE #		LAST FIRST MIDDLE (SEE INVESTIGATIVE LEAD)		D U R N		LAST FIRST MIDDLE ORIGIN SEX DOB		ADDRESS PHONE #			
ORIGIN SEX DOB HT. WT. HAIR EYES COMPLEXION		ADDRESS PHONE #		V I C.		WAR VICTIM YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		HOSPITALIZED YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>			
EMPLOYER ADDRESS PHONE #		ADDRESS PHONE #		BURNS NATURE AND EXTENT		HOSPITAL YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		ATTENDING PHYSICIAN			
IF VEHICLE INVOLVED		YEAR MAKE BODY TYPE COLOR LIC. # STATE		OWNER OF VEHICLE SUSPECT		ARSON YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		VEHICLE YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>			
WITNESS OR INVESTIGATIVE LEAD NAME		PERSONS WHO MAY HAVE COMMITTED OR HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF FIRE				ADDRESS PHONE #					
<p>September 20, 1972, between the hours of 0200 and 0230, someone set fire to a two story office building located at 333 West Indian School Road - and also set fire to a flammable accentment set fire - extensive fire damage to exterior and interior structure of ground floor with extensive loss and a fire damage on the second floor. Estimated fire loss = \$100,000. September 20, 1972, at 0200 hours, this investigator responded to the above described fire alarm and found on the second floor of a two story office building well involved with fire. At approximately thirty minutes engine companies had the fire contained to a hall and stairs. An investigation was initiated into the origin and cause of the fire. Primary examination and inspection of the fire scene it was apparent the fire originated in the main hallway corridor which was north to south from the north end of the building and also involved a small sized hall leading east off from the north hallway. Heaviest fire damage was at the south end of the hallway and also with the stairs.</p>											
- continued on page 2 -						DATE & TIME OF REPORT 9/20/72		INVESTIGATOR WRITING REPORT Albert W. Ford			

FIRE DEPARTMENT
DIVISION OF FIRE PREVENTION
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

INCIDENT REPORT		CENSUS TRACT	
NO. 9-1003-72		NO. 1103	
DATE OF THIS SUPPLEMENT 8/20/72	LOCATION OF FIRE 331 West Indian School Road	VICTIM'S NAME (FIRM OR BUS. NAME) JENDECK, David W.	TYPE OF REPORT ARSON
<p>The fire spread through four office doors and completely burned up contents which consisted of office desks, equipment and supplies. A low burn pattern at floor level was evident throughout the entire length of both hallway corridors with indication of a rapidly accelerating fire with intense heat build-up. Doors were checked to all offices in hallway and indicated doors were closed and locked. Doors showed a low burn pattern with deep charring on the bottom edge. Metal door handles at the south end of the hallway were completely melted and burned away. Indications where fire entered into offices reflected it did so by burning through doors, since all door hinges were found in a closed position. Throughout the hallway baseboard was completely consumed. A close examination of the fire load in the hall consisted of including a rapidly accelerating fire was conducted with the following results: all doors to offices were of solid core, partition walls and ceiling constructed of metal building with electrotack covering. Corridors were not carpeted but tiled. The only wood construction found was in two small hall closets which housed an electrical control panel and telephone relay switching equipment. From my findings, in my opinion there was an insufficient fuel load inside the hall corridor to cause the extent of fire damage which resulted. Further examination of the fire load was made with no evidence which could attribute this fire to a natural or accidental cause. With evidence indicating a low burning and rapidly accelerating fire, and elimination of any possible natural or accidental causes, it is the opinion of this investigator this fire was of man-made origin set by person's intention by pouring and sticking an unknown flammable accelerant throughout the hallway and setting fire to same by an unknown method.</p>			
CAUSE DETERMINED:			
PAGE # 2	INVESTIGATOR WRITING REPORT Albert W. Lund	DAY 72-072721	

CITY OF PHOENIX, ARIZONA
FIRE DEPARTMENT
DIVISION OF FIRE PREVENTION
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

INCIDENT REPORT		CENSUR TRACT	
NO. 9-1065-72		NO.	
DATE OF THIS SUPPLEMENT 9/29/72	LOCATION OF FIRE 333 West Indian School Road	VICTIM'S NAME (FIRER OR BUS. NAME) DAVID H. MURDOCK	TYPE OF REPORT ARSON
<p>9/29/72, at 9 AM, the undersigned investigator was just coming on duty and responded to the above address to continue on with the investigation of a fire set at above location by person/s unknown. On my arrival, Chief Investigator Bivin was contacted on the scene and I assisted him on his investigation thus far. Upon entering the first story interior it was noted that the entire first floor of a two-story commercial building occupied by various offices - and also headquartering the committee offices for re-election of the President, Richard M. Nixon, had received extensive fire, heat and smoke damage to the first and second floors of this commercial building. From my observations, it appeared that person/s unknown entered the building on the ground floor, probably through the rear south entrance, and a flammable accelerant was poured along the main hallway which ran north and south of the building. No evidence of a flammable accelerant was found in the north lobby entrance. A small hallway running east off the main hallway, and located toward the south end of the building, also was saturated with a flammable accelerant. Through my investigation and inspection of the main point area receiving heaviest damage was in the rear south entrance of the building; also a small office on the east hallway showed evidence of an accelerant being poured on the east entrance side of the door. Fire from this point vented and intense heat had warped the metal framing and glass doors leading to the exterior. Metal doors still had the lock intact and evidence of forcible markings were found near the key lock. The second story area was checked and inspected for any signs of fires being set - with negative results. However, this second story received heavy smoke damage to the entire 2nd floor.</p> <p>- continued on page 2 -</p>			
PAGE #	INVESTIGATOR WRITING REPORT	OR #	
1	M. A. Benitez	72-072521	

5045

FIRE DEPARTMENT
DIVISION OF FIRE PREVENTION
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

INCIDENT REPORT 9-1055-72		CENSUS TRACT NO.	
NO.	LOCATION OF FIRE 333 West Indian School Road		VICTIM'S NAME (TEAM OR BUS, NAME) David E. Birdock
DATE OF THIS SUPPLEMENT 9/29/72			TYPE OF REPORT ARSON
(continued)			
<p>The entire first floor, second floor and roof top areas were thoroughly checked out for any possible means of entry made by person/s unknown responsible for this fire - but with negative results - except for the most severe P.O. which was the rear south door. Due to the hallway north to south being the most severely damaged, Engines 9 and 4 were called upon for assistance - - and all the burned debris was removed by the firefighters so that the undersigned investigator could detect the flame path and travel. Everything pointed to a flammable liquid saturation. Due to the amount of flammable liquids used as an accelerant, it is the opinion of this investigator that five gallons or more of fuel was used.</p>			
THERE ARE NO LEADS NOR SUSPECTS AT THIS REPORT WRITING.			
FURTHER REPORTS TO FOLLOW.			
CASE ENDING:			
PAGE # 2	INVESTIGATOR WRITING REPORT M. A. Benitez		DR # 72-072621

91-33 10
REV. 1-71

[From the Arizona Republic, Sept. 30, 1972]

NIXON OFFICES HERE WRECKED BY FLAMES

(By Jack West)

The headquarters of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President suffered extensive damage in a blaze yesterday that firemen said was deliberately set.

The fire, which firemen said was started with gasoline splashed along hallways in the two-story building, also damaged the headquarters of Republican state and county candidates and offices housing two state agencies.

Damage in the building at 333 W. Indian School was estimated at \$100,000.

Sen. Paul Fannin, R-Ariz., who had taken the Senate floor Thursday to denounce harassment of Republican campaigners in other locales by militants supporting Democratic presidential nominee George McGovern, expressed shock over the fire.

"We apparently do not know who is responsible for the destruction of the re-elect office in Phoenix," Fannin said, "but this is another act that would seem to fit in with the pattern of disruption, obstruction and violence being employed to divert attention from the serious issues the President seeks to discuss."

James Wymore, executive director of the Republican State Central Committee, said his office received a memorandum from national party headquarters Thursday warning of possible sabotage to campaign headquarters throughout the nation.

A copy of the memo, which suggested precautions be taken, was sent to the Phoenix Police Department, but police had no time to set up special precautions, Wymore said.

Van A. Shumway, press director in Washington of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, said the fire was the most serious incident to date involving President Nixon's re-election campaign.

He said there have been rock-throwing incidents in New Hampshire, California and Texas, but no other incidents of arson.

The chief fire investigator for the Phoenix fire department, Bob Bivin, said, "It looks like a splash job. Someone splashed gasoline down the hallway that runs north and south through the ground floor of the building and also in the shorter east-west hallway in the south end of the building."

Another fire investigator, Manuel Benitez, said that perhaps five gallons of gasoline had been used.

"That's a dangerous way to start a fire," he said. "The first thing we did was to check the emergency rooms in the hospitals for burn victims, because it is so easy for an arsonist to burn himself or even kill himself this way. But we didn't find him."

It took 40 firemen and eight pieces of firefighting equipment nearly an hour to douse the blaze, firemen said.

In addition to the President's committee headquarters and GOP offices, the building contained offices of the State Department of Property Valuation and the Resources Information System. The building is owned by the David H. Murdock Development Co.

Dennis Kemp, Arizona division leasing manager for the development firm, said the company would pay all moving costs of the tenants and would place them in other Murdock-owned buildings, in higher priced office space and with no increase in rents.

Offices of the two state agencies will be set up at 3500 N. Central, Kemp said. It had not been determined last night where the Republican offices would be relocated.

Police Sgt. Charles Roberts said it was impossible to determine whether the arsonist forced his way into the building because the damage was so extensive.

Fannin, who called on McGovern to disavow harassment of the GOP, said it was a serious matter that the arson occurred in Phoenix just after the visit of Mrs. Julie Nixon Eisenhower, the President's daughter. She was in Phoenix Thursday for the dedication of the Civic Plaza.

"The arson will only serve to draw the party closer together in a strong, united effort to win the November election," said Harry Rosenzweig, Republican state chairman. "We must not let violence infringe upon our right to choose for public office the candidates we believe to be most qualified."

Sam Mardian, chairman of the Arizona Committee for the Re-Election of the President, called the fire "a most reprehensible" act and a gross insult to the American political system.

"Philosophical differences are normal," Mardian continued, "but only a sick mind would resort to arson and property destruction. The mindless act of burning the Nixon headquarters can only hurt, not help, whatever cause the perpetrator stood for.

"I am heartsick at the damage to the building and the loss of valuable office equipment and records, but more so that such a deliberate and cowardly attack should be made at all.

"This will not deter the efforts being carried on by volunteers on behalf of President Nixon's campaign, and new headquarters will be opened as soon as possible."

EXHIBIT No. 256-2

AFFIDAVIT

I, Richard L. Schultz, Assistant Minority Counsel for the Select Committee On Presidential Campaign Activities, do hereby affirm that on September 21, 1973 I interviewed Mr. Jack Easton at his office, Room 659, Century Plaza Hotel, Los Angeles, California. In further affirmation, I state that Mr. Easton provided to me the following information:

During the 1972 presidential campaign, Easton functioned as the Nixon Communications Director for Southern California. In this capacity in September, 1972, at about the time President Nixon appeared at the Century Plaza Hotel, Easton received information concerning the fact that literature (scurrilous in nature) was being prepared in the McGovern Headquarters, located at 449 North Fairfax, Los Angeles, California, which is located in the heart of the Jewish community.

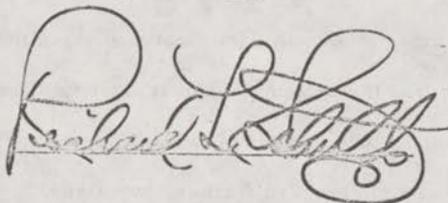
Mr. Easton stated that it was his belief that the scurrilous literature in question was entitled, "Nixon Is Treyf". The information concerning this scurrilous literature prompted him to go to the McGovern Headquarters located at 449 North Fairfax, Los Angeles, California and there, he along with a witness, Mr. Richard Nahagian, viewed this literature in the McGovern Headquarters and determined that in their opinion it was scurrilous in nature toward the President of the United States and it failed

-2-

to comply with existing legal requirements in that it failed to reflect the name of the individual or organization who prepared the literature for dissemination. Mr. Easton advised that a McGovern spokesman admitted the printing of the scurrilous literature at the McGovern Headquarters and the individual, though not identified in order that he not be embarrassed further, was fired.

I, Richard L. Schultz, Assistant Minority Counsel for the Select Committee On Presidential Campaign Activities, further affirm that on September 21, 1973 I contacted Mr. Richard Nahagian by telephone at the State Attorney's office, telephone 870-0131, ext. 396, with a view toward corroborating the information furnished to me by Mr. Jack Easton. Mr. Richard Nahagian corroborated the story of Mr. Easton and stated that he did in fact accompany Mr. Easton to the McGovern Headquarters, located at 449 North Fairfax, Los Angeles, California, during September, 1972 and that on this occasion he did note that there was scurrilous literature in the McGovern Headquarters pertaining to the President of the United States and though his recollection is hazy, it is his best judgement and recollection that the material so viewed was entitled, "Nixon Is Treyf". Mr. Nahagian also called to my attention the fact that the materials which he and Mr. Easton viewed in the

McGovern Campaign Headquarters were not properly identified as
to the individuals or organization who prepared same.



Washington,)
District of Columbia) ss

Dated: November 5, 1973

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of November, 1973.

Morie Geneau
Notary Public

My commission expires 10/31/78

EXHIBIT NO. 256-3

AFFIDAVIT OF TRUMAN F. CAMPBELL

TRUMAN F. CAMPBELL, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. That he is, and at all times herein mentioned was, the Chairman of the Fresno County Republican Central Committee, Fresno, California.
2. That in such capacity he supported the efforts of the Re-Elect The President Committee in the campaigns of 1972.
3. That on or about the 30th day of October, 1972, he was called upon by the Re-Elect The President Committee to moderate and serve as master of ceremonies at a rally at the Fig Garden Village Shopping Center, Fresno, California, where a "People to People" bus was to bring several nationally prominent Republican women, including Pat Hutar, Connie Armitage, and Ramona Banuelos; that the ladies were to speak and local candidates were to be introduced; and that entertainment was also to be provided.
4. That affiant appeared at the time and place set for the rally, along with many supporters of President Nixon, including many members of the Republican women's organizations in Fresno and the surrounding Valley counties.
5. That also gathering at the said time and place were numerous dissidents, some of the Spanish-Mexican race, some carrying anti-Nixon signs, some carrying pro-McGovern signs, some carrying anti-Proposition 22 (a California ballot proposition relating to farm labor) signs, some carrying United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) signs and banners; all shouting and jeering, using provocative, abusive, and in many instances, obscene language.

AFFIDAVIT OF TRUMAN F. CAMPBELL
Page 2.

6. That until the bus arrived the said demonstrators remained reasonably orderly, but that upon the arrival of the bus the demonstrators became unruly and uncontrollable, in that they vocally shouted down all attempts by affiant and the aforementioned potential speakers and entertainers to exercise their rights of free speech, and to carry on the rally as planned and organized.

7. That although affiant had a podium, microphone, amplifiers and speakers, he could not be heard above the din of the demonstrators, nor could any of the others who came to speak and entertain.

8. That there were many instances of provocation which would have caused serious consequences, but none of the insults, taunts and challenges were answered, nor were physical abuses returned.

9. That several of the ladies were pushed, shoved and molested by the demonstrators, but most decline to speak out for fear of retaliation. That one, Mrs. Flora Wise, had her hair pulled and was struck by a fist in her lower back and required medical attention thereafter; that another, Mrs. Eldora Cooney, was struck on the top of her head by a sign; that another, Mrs. Linda Carter, was pushed and shoved, and another, Mrs. Betty Blackburn, had her wig pulled off and thrown under a car; and, that affiant and all of the above-named ladies and all of the Nixon supporters were verbally, and some physically, abused, as aforesaid, by the close physical presence, by the loud and raucous shouting and jeering, by the insulting remarks and obscene language, and threats on the part of the demonstrators.

10. That when it became obvious that the rally could not

AFFIDAVIT OF TRUMAN F. CAMPBELL
Page 3

proceed as planned, the aforesaid personages returned to the bus and the bus departed.

11. That affiant understands that many who were on the bus did not come out for fear of their personal safety, and in fact, affiant is informed and believes that Mrs. Banuelos did not come to Fresno for the same reason.

12. That affiant recognized several of the participating demonstrators as those who had demonstrated in other prior demonstrations, and was informed by the California Re-Elect The President Committee directors that some of the same demonstrators participated in similar demonstrations in other areas throughout the day.

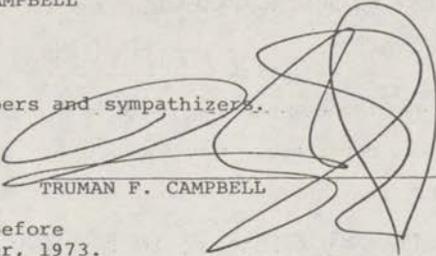
13. That the demonstrators in fact identified themselves and carried signs and banners describing themselves as farm workers and members of UFWOC; that they shouted, in Spanish and English, anti-Nixon, anti-Proposition 22, anti-Banuelos, pro-McGovern, pro-Chavez slogans and comments.

14. That the California Re-Elect The President Committee furnished affiant with evidence in the form of copies of the United States General Accounting Office forms which showed that money, approximately \$52,000.00, had been transferred to El Pueblo con McGovern, and from that organization to certain well known activist members of UFWOV, and UFWOC itself.

15. That there are many witnesses available, including the aforementioned ladies, who can support the matters hereinabove set forth, by affidavit or testimony, but, as indicated, many fear

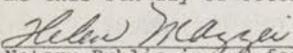
AFFIDAVIT OF TRUMAN F. CAMPBELL
Page 4

retaliation by UFWOC members and sympathizers.



TRUMAN F. CAMPBELL

Subscribed and sworn to before
me this 5th day of October, 1973.



Notary Public in and for said State.

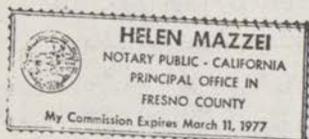
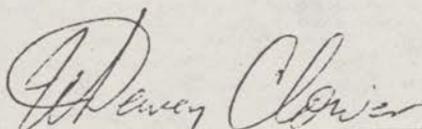


EXHIBIT NO. 256-4

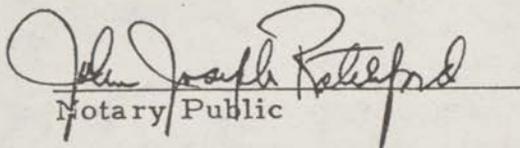
AFFIDAVIT

I W. Dewey Clower, to hereby swear and depose that the attached leaflets, reportedly disseminated by the McGovern-Berkley Headquarters, were utilized in the San Francisco area prior to September 27, 1972, to promote a demonstration against the President on the occasion of his campaign visit to that city on the aforementioned date.



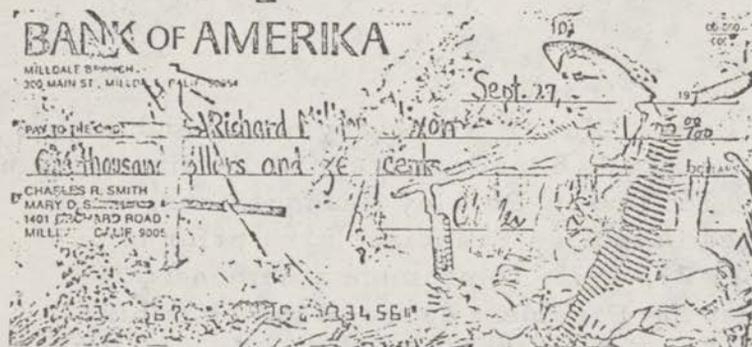
W. Dewey Clower

Sworn to and subscribed before me this
5th day of November, 1973.


Notary Public

My Commission Expires May 31, 1978

stop nixon



(they want to buy four more years of war)

Richard Nixon is coming to town on Sept. 27th to address a \$1,000 a plate luncheon at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel, for wealthy contributors to his campaign. This is the man who four years ago promised a "secret plan" to end the war. This has meant the most intense and indiscriminate bombing in the history of warfare, the use of ever more destructive weapons to replace American soldiers, which leave millions of Vietnamese killed, wounded, or made refugees.

Nixon also promised "prosperity and harmony" at home. What has this meant for us? Frozen wages, welfare cuts, rising prices and increasing unemployment. Only for the bankers, industrialists, and other rich people whom Nixon represents is there "prosperity and harmony". They will gladly pay a \$1,000 to buy a piece of Tricky Dick at the Sheraton.

He may please them, but he doesn't fool us. We must express our anger and once again shatter the myth of passivity among the people. Now, at election time, when Nixon is running on his platform of lies, we must confront him and expose him wherever he shows his face. We hold him and those he represents responsible for genocide in Indo-China and oppression in the U.S. There should be no peace in the United States until there is peace in Vietnam.

wed. sept 27

rally - 10:30 embarcadero plaza
market at ferry big.

march to lunch with NIXON at the sheraton palace

SUPPORT THE 7 POINTS

WEDNESDAY'S

\$1000 PIG LUNCHEON.



'HIMSELF' WILL SPEAK.

bring your own plate

PIG GALA

NOON

S.F. SHERATON-PALACE HOTEL

on Market / New Montgomery

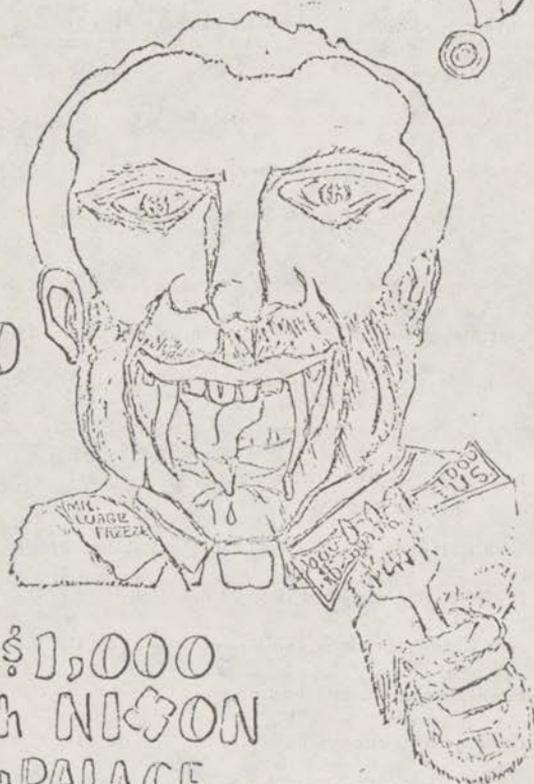
27 Sept. 27 (quang tri Committ)

NIXON IN SFT

WEDNESDAY
SEPT 27

RALLY at
EMBARCADERO
PLAZA

10:30 AM
then



MARCH to \$1,000
LUNCH with NIXON
at SHERATON PALACE

NEW MONTGOMERY & MARKET

Every ten days Nixon drops the equivalent of one atomic bomb on Quang Tri (about the size of Golden Gate Park), he bombs the dikes and he stalls in Paris...

YET, he has the gall to say he's for peace.

Nixon freezes wages, cuts welfare, allows prices to rise and encourages unemployment...

YET, he has the gall to say he's for working people.

He may please the people who are paying \$1000 to have lunch with him, but he doesn't fool us. We hold him responsible for genocide in Indochina and misery in the US.

DENOUNCE NIXON
SUPPORT the 7 POINT PEACE PLAN
April 22nd coalition

EXHIBIT No. 256-5

AFFIDAVIT

I, MICHAEL BARRY HELLER, am a Democrat who was once active in the Humphrey Campaign during the 1972 Presidential primaries. On or about August 13, 1972, I went to work for the Democrats for Nixon organization, as Director of their Fairfax Avenue storefront headquarters in the Los Angeles, California area. I was active in managing headquarters activity and in marshaling the area Jewish vote for Nixon.

On the day the Fairfax Avenue Headquarters opened, Mr. James Roosevelt and Mr. George Jessel were in attendance. The ceremonies were punctuated with heckling by McGovern supporters in the doorway. After the ceremony, this heckling continued on the street as Messrs. Roosevelt and Jessel shook hands and visited with voters on the street.

I slept in the Fairfax Avenue Headquarters and was very much aware of the hostility directed toward our Campaign. Shortly before the Fairfax Avenue fire, I moved out of the Headquarters to the Beverly Laurel Hotel in response to telephone threats and personal threats to the effect that something was going to happen to our headquarters. Hence, I was extremely suspicious of politically motivated arson when the Fairfax Avenue fire took place. I have, however, been advised that the police investigation into this fire revealed no political motivation.

While it is difficult to assess the scope of involvement of McGovern supporters and leadership in the unfortunate atmosphere of campaign hostility, there was one particular incident that indicated direct McGovern campaign support of this atmosphere. I refer to a piece of scurrilous literature captioned "Nixon is Treyf," copy attached. This literature urged a demonstration against Mr. Albert Spiegel, who was active in the Jewish campaign effort in behalf of the

President's re-election. This literature further smeared the President with the slogan "Nixon Brings The Ovens To The People Rather Than The People To The Ovens." I personally saw this piece of literature being passed out in the neighborhood community by McGovern workers and saw stacks of it in McGovern storefront headquarters in West Hollywood, California. I reported this to Mr. Jack Easton, the Communications Director for California CRP. Mr. Easton took a representative of the District Attorney's office to the McGovern headquarters in West Hollywood and confirmed that the document was actually being printed in that Headquarters.

I swear that the foregoing is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

Dated this 29 day of October, 1973.

Michael Barry Heller
 Michael Barry Heller

STATE OF OREGON)
 COUNTY OF MULTNOMAH } SS
 Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29 day of October, 1973.

Rhettis B. Stalsh
 NOTARY PUBLIC, STATE OF OREGON
 MY COMMISSION EXPIRES AUGUST 16, 1974

Note.--The piece of literature "Nixon Is Treyf" referred to is published as exhibit 247.

EXHIBIT NO. 256-6

My name is Byron S. James of 6 Croyden Circle, Piedmont, California. This statement is made by me freely and with any reservations. During the time period April 1, 1972 through November 15, 1972, I was employed by the California Committee for the Re-Election of the President. On May 12-13, 1972 the Republican State Central Committee of California held its regular quarterly meeting. This meeting was held at the St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, California.

On the day of May 12, 1972 Governor Reagan of California and Governor Rockefeller of New York were to attend the meeting. Their prominent positions in the campaign for the Re-Election of President Nixon had caused a large crowd to gather in Union Square as an act of protest to the Vietnam War, to President Nixon and to the Republican Party in general. The protest, and the call for persons to attend, had been well publicized in the press and media by handbills and by small posters posted in numerous locations throughout San Francisco and Berkeley.

The California Re-Election Committee had a hospitality suite in the St. Francis Hotel. The rooms were on about the 10th floor in the front and located above the intersection of Post and Powell Streets.

I arrived at Union Square sometime prior to noon. I wandered around Union Square for a while and then went to the hospitality suite. The crowd was rather large and numerous policemen were there to control traffic and keep the streets open. Also, policemen were at the normal street entrances to the Hotel.

I do not recall the exact time the demonstration began. However, the events, as I observed them from a window in the suite, were generally as follows:

There were some speeches in Union Square by persons obviously opposed to the re-election of President Nixon. At a point in time, persons strategically located in the crowd began the marching around. From my point of observation it was obvious that these persons, some with bullhorns and large placards, had been so located as to get the crowd moving around Union Square in a circular direction. Also, during this time I observed individuals with spray paint cans to make the peace symbol on the sidewalks in Union Square. They also painted anti-Nixon slogans.

Eventually, the crowd surged onto Post Street and began blocking traffic. Boards and rope from a construction job on Post Street plus the sheer presence of people were used. A municipal bus was stopped. About this time, police officers on motorcycles started clearing the street. Eventually, the crowd began throwing objects at the police officers. Additionally, the crowd tried to barricade the street with boards and rope. It was apparent that serious attempts were made to knock the police officers from their motorcycles.

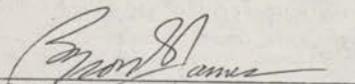
Byron S. James
at 9, 1972

During this same time period when the street was blocked, small groups from the crowd of protesters could be seen going in and out of the shops and stores on Post Street, along Union Square. I also observed police officers moving these small groups out of the shops and stores.

While the police officers were trying to keep Post Street clear (traffic was now halted), one police officer did fall from his motorcycle. When he tried to right the motorcycle he and another officer were driven back by objects hurled from the crowd. After several attempts had been unsuccessful, a male person from the crowd ran forward with lighted paper and set the motorcycle on fire. Shortly after this, there began an overall effort by the police to clear Union Square. This was accomplished.

As the crowd was being dispersed, I observed several small groups again going in and out of the shops. The newspaper reports on the following day noted that windows of shops and stores had been broken by the crowd as it was being dispersed.

The above comments present the events of May 12, 1972 to the best of my recollection.


Byron S. James

October 9, 1973
Date

[From the San Francisco Examiner, May 12, 1972]

ANTI-WAR RIOT—FIRES, ROCKS CLOSE STORES—3500 IN UNION Sq. OUTBREAK
ROUTED AFTER CYCLE UPSET

(By Jane Eshleman Conant)

Downtown San Francisco became a rampaging battlefield this afternoon as thousands of anti-war demonstrators swept through the shopping district breaking windows, setting fires, throwing rocks and fighting police.

They started out peacefully enough at a rally in Union Square.

Then things got rough. A police motorcycle was tipped over and set afire and the order went out to "clear the square."

The demonstrators—3500 to 5000 of them—were swept out by police on foot and on horseback.

WILD DISORDER

They swarmed away down Powell and Stockton Streets, in wild disorder. Some—perhaps 500—turned to violence.

Many were hurt. A number of others were arrested.

Some stores were closed by their proprietors.

Cable cars stopped running on Powell Street. Market Street transit was slowed.

Curiously enough, some shoppers and tourists went about their errands as though nothing was happening. Others were caught in the fray; one gray-haired woman was knocked down and stunned.

The rally was timed to coincide with a set of meetings in the St. Francis Hotel, attended by Republican bigwigs including Governors Reagan and Rockefeller.

LIKE TWO WORLDS

It was like two worlds in the Square—referred to by some as the heart of the City.

Inside, the neatly-dressed Republicans lunched in polite serenity.

Outside, long haired youths and their equally long haired girls listened raptly, sang, chanted and even danced as speaker after speaker denounced President Nixon's latest moves in Southeast Asia.

Then—just as Governor Rockefeller concluded his speech to the party faithful and Governor Reagan came to the podium—the violence began.

Reagan was just telling what he described as a new version of the old "Who was that lady I saw you with last night?" joke. Instead of "That was no lady, that was my wife," he said, the new answer is "That was no lady, that was my teen-aged son."

CYCLE IN FLAMES

The Republicans laughed heartily. Outside, on Post Street, all of a sudden the police motorcycle went up in flames and the war was on.

Demonstrators snatched building materials from a construction job and used them as makeshift barricades in the street.

One officer was hit in the head with a brick.

A Municipal Railway bus was stalled by the fire. Demonstrators boarded it and escorted the passengers out.

The police, carrying out a predesigned plan, started their sweep.

Union Square emptied in almost no time. The mounted officers were particularly effective; demonstrators appeared unwilling to argue with the big, smart and well-trained horses.

Some did challenge the officers who were on foot. Some clubbings followed. One youth was dragged and shoved some 50 feet by a baton-armed policeman, arguing all the way. Finally he fell to the ground and lay still. When the police moved on, the youth jumped up and ran.

The demonstrators, now in smaller groups or in rough parade-type file moved down toward Market Street, breaking windows as they went.

Across from the City of Paris, several smashed windows in a police car and pelted it with rocks. They tried to tip it over but ran when the mounted police came at them.

Two youths were arrested here. One promptly climbed out of the police car and fled, but was overtaken and re-arrested.

Windows were smashed in Woolworth's at Powell and Market. It was closed for the day.

A big trash fire was lit in a bin on the Emporium side of Market Street across from Powell.

KEPT MOVING

Windows were knocked out in Grodin's at Stockton and O'Farrell.

Some passersby were reported cut by flying glass on Post Street.

Rioters sprayed paint on buildings at Ellis and Powell Streets.

Police concentrated on keeping the demonstrators moving, in small groups.

When they observed these fractional elements merging into bigger crowds, they moved in with more "sweeps." One of these was ordered about an hour after the initial breakup when a crowd formed again at Powell and Post, just outside the St. Francis.

Motorcycle squads were used for mobility.

A police horse fell in the 200 block of Powell Street and was injured. The animal lay quietly, covered with a blanket. Demonstrators gathered around to rubber-neck.

BANK CLOSED

The Day and Night branch of the Bank of America was shut ahead of the regular closing hour.

A splinter group of demonstrators headed for the new Federal Building at 450 Golden Gate Ave. Police told the security guards to prepare for trouble. The demonstrators disappeared after 10 minutes.

Just before the affair began, a hidden arsenal of rocks and lengths of pipe was uncovered in the square.

Four big shopping bags of the weapons were filled as officers plucked 6 to 8 inch pieces of pipe and smooth round rocks from the shrubbery, under trash, and in the garbage cans.

Reagan was driven here from Sacramento with a military helicopter "flying shotgun" over his car along Interstate Route 80. California Highway Patrol cars gave him ground escort.

EXHIBIT No. 256-7

AFFIDAVIT

I, JOHN C. LUNGREN, M. D., do hereby certify that the attached photographs were taken in my professional offices at 2898 Linden Avenue, Long Beach, California, on September 21, 1972, and that they accurately depict the scene I found in my secretary's office upon arriving for work that morning.

The photographs show damage to the closet door. This closet was used as a vault and the door is kept locked. Inside the closet, I maintained an unlocked safe for the safekeeping of the medical records of the President of the United States. I had been the President's personal physician before he entered the White House and have acted as a medical consultant for the President since then. The President's records, dating back to 1960, were kept in chronological order in a file folder inside a manila envelope in the aforementioned safe.

A search of my office premises on September 21, 1972, revealed an apparent break-in. The intruders gained access to the suite of professional offices by forcing the sliding glass doors in the adjacent office of a colleague, Dr. Buell. Nothing appeared disturbed in the building on September 21 other than the contents of the closet safe.

As shown in the photographs, the contents of the safe, including three business checkbooks, an office ledger book, a payroll record book, and the President's records were strewn about the floor outside the closet. The President's records were outside the manila envelope in which they were kept. The petty cash money bag, containing approximately \$50.00, was in the closet undisturbed.

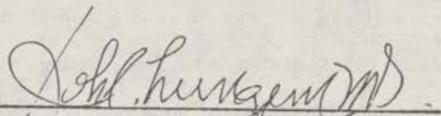
I examined the President's records in the file folder and found them to be out of the chronological order in which they were maintained. This led me to speculate that the President's records had been examined and, perhaps, photographed, although I am aware of nothing of a compromising or embarrassing nature contained in those records.

The September 21, 1972, break-in was the second break-in of my offices during that month. Previously, on Labor Day weekend, entry was gained in the same manner and the closet door forced open. On that occasion the offices were ransacked and \$27.00 stolen. The contents of the safe were undisturbed.

The September 21, 1972, break-in was investigated by the Long Beach Police Department and the FBI. I understand that the crime remains unsolved.

I swear that this statement is true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

Dated this 2nd day of ~~October~~ ^{November}, 1973.

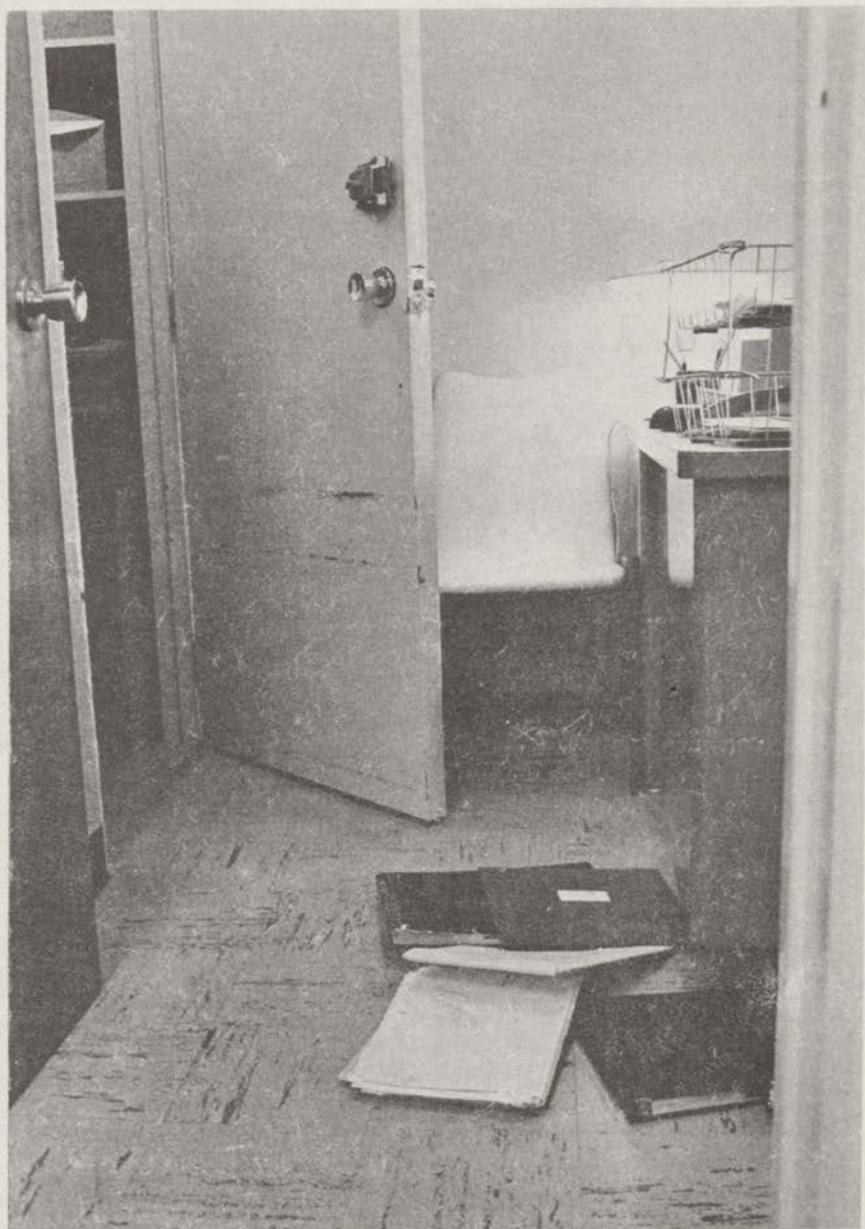


 John C. Lungren, M.D.

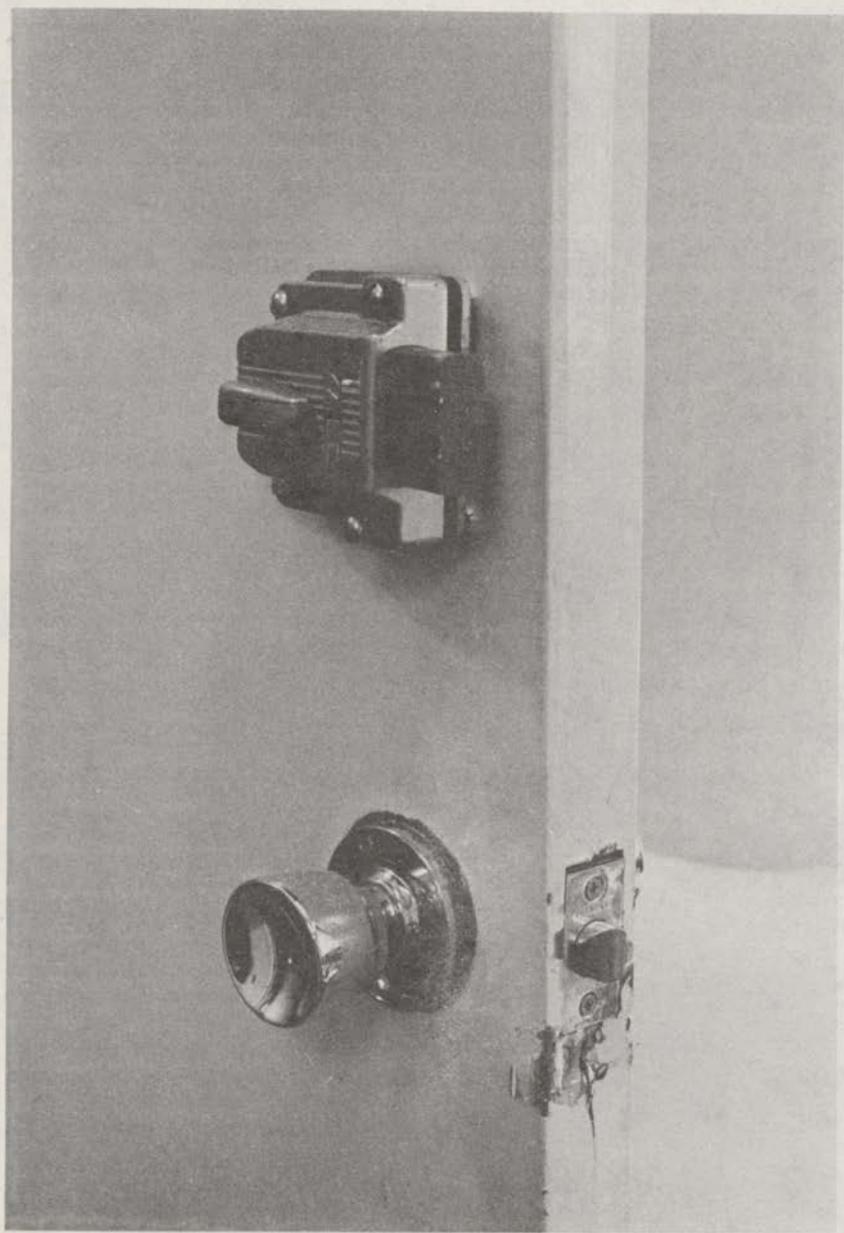
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of ~~October~~ ^{November}, 1973.



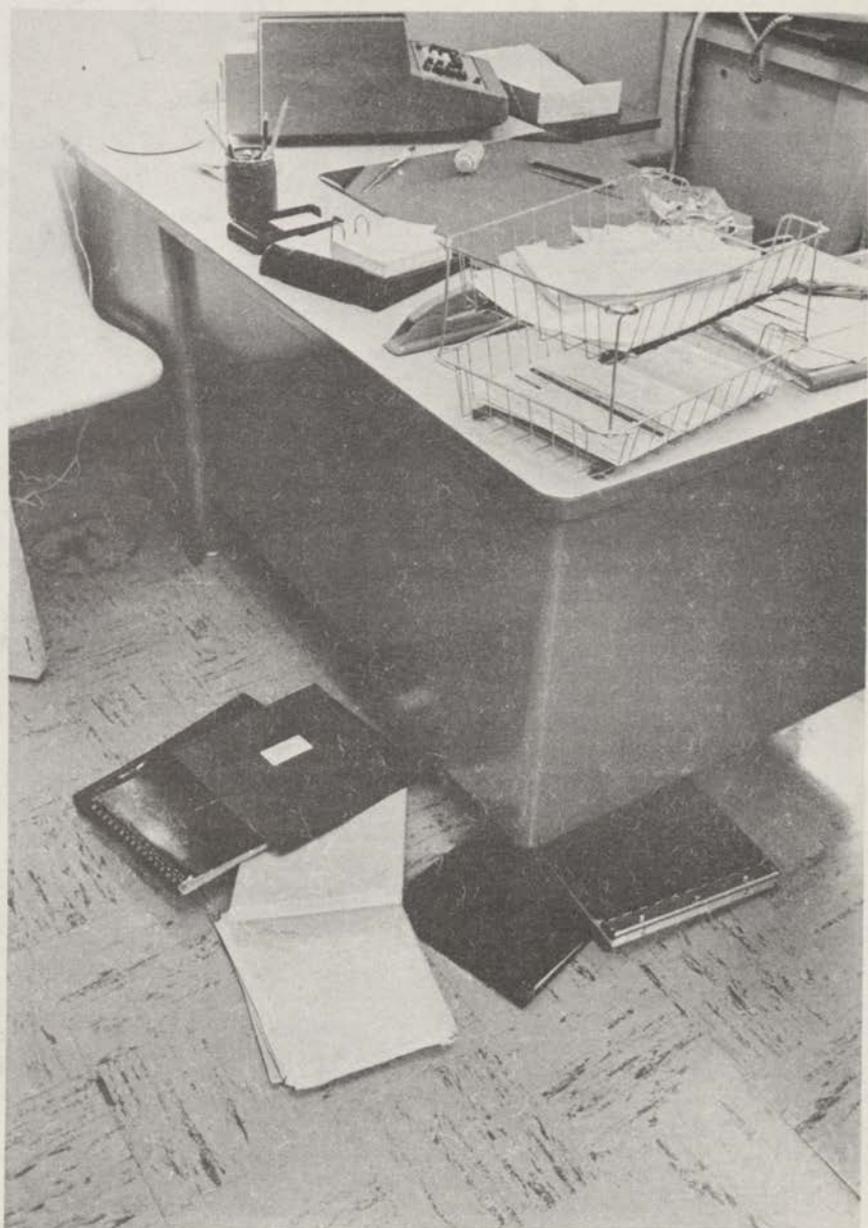
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EXHIBIT No. 256-8

James Ellis & Associates
Investigations

1221 Madison, Oakland 94612
Telephone 835-2007

OCTOBER 9, 1973

MR. HOWARD S. LIBENGOOD
ASSISTANT MINORITY COUNSEL
SENATE WATERGATE COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON D.C.

DEAR SIR:

THE ATTACHED PHOTOGRAPHS DEPICT THE DEMONSTRATION THAT TOOK PLACE,
DURING PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TO SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA ON SEPTEMBER
27th, 1972 IN FRONT OF AND AROUND THE SHEARTON-PALACE HOTEL.

RESPECTFULLY,



PAUL R. TOLAND

SEND ALL REPLIES TO: 111 BROADWAY, SUITE 202
JACK LONDON SQUARE
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94607

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

1st day of November 1973
Harriet L. Waggener
Notary Public
State of California - Principal Office, Alameda County

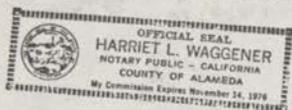






EXHIBIT No. 256-9

The Chairman of the Committee to Re-elect the President, in Hillsborough County, appointed me Chairman of the Agnew Appearance Day, giving me the highest responsibility to work with the Vice President's advance team in preparation for his visit to Tampa on September 29, 1972.

For one full week prior to the Vice President's visit, I worked day and night on his scheduled appearance and was fully aware of the activities in the community prior to his visit. On Wednesday night, 300 to 400 youths met at a rally on the University of South Florida campus with the avowed purpose of disrupting the Friday noon visit of the Vice President of the United States of America.

The advance men reported to me that this was a potentially dangerous event because many of the young people on our campus at the rally were using drugs and were obviously affected thereby. It was my understanding that there were weapons at the rally, although none were used. Some of the youths did have small arms on their person. However, the advance team informed me that the situation was well under control, for both the Secret Service and the FBI were at the rally and were making note of certain individuals who obviously had a history of causing public disturbances.

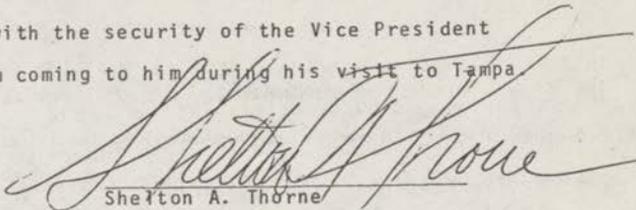
On Friday, the day of the Vice President's visit, I was in charge of events inside the hall. I received a report that there were 200 to 300 demonstrators protesting outside the Curtis Hixon Convention Hall interfering with the band that was playing patriotic music in the morning, and hindering those who wanted to enter the hall. They were carrying placards and signs in protest to the administration and our involvement in the war in Southeast Asia, and calling the President and Vice President of the United States murderers and other terms equally unjustified.

The meeting proceeded on schedule, however, with tight security on those entering the hall.

During the program, I was seated at the head table at the platform where I had a distinct view of the 6000 people in the hall who came to hear and see the Vice President. Prior to his appearance, a group of over 100 young people formed in the hall. They had smuggled in signs and revealed these prior to the Vice President's appearance, condemning the administration, the President and Vice President for activities in the war in Southeast Asia. The signs supported Hanoi, North Vietnam and, in general, the Communist objectives in that part of the world. In addition to the over 100 young people who sat together at the rally, there were some two to three dozen scattered among those in attendance on the main floor of the hall. They also carried signs, walked around the hall blocking the view of those who were seated in the hall, and in general, caused a disturbance and a most unpleasant atmosphere. Some of the demonstrators waived Communist flags. All of this was prior to the Vice President's appearance.

The Vice President did appear on schedule in the hall. When he arrived at the platform to make his address, these 100-plus people began to shout in unison and heckle the Vice President, calling him a murderer. This, of course, caused considerable disturbance to those who were in attendance, as well as showing extreme disrespect for the Office of the Vice President of the United States of America. This disturbance continued for approximately 15 minutes, the entire duration of the Vice President's address. The ushers were unable to contain the disturbance or to escort those who were causing the disturbance from the hall. However, two or three young people were escorted out of the hall after they had gotten into a skirmish with some of the older men and women in the audience. Several times the shouting was applauded down by those in attendance, and when the applause overcame the heckling and vulgar shouts, the disrupters would refrain momentarily. Each time the Vice President began his address, it would start over again. This continued throughout the entire address of the Vice President.

The effectiveness of the FBI and Secret Service, and all those concerned with the security of the Vice President did prevent harm from coming to him during his visit to Tampa


 Shelton A. Thorne

State of Florida)
 County of Hillsborough) ss.

On this the 29th day of October, 1973, before me, Betty Wargo, the undersigned, personally appeared Shelton A. Thorne, known to me to be the person whose name he subscribed to the foregoing statement, and acknowledged that he executed the same for the purposes therein contained.

In witness whereof, I hereunto set my hand and official seal.

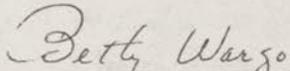

 Betty Wargo
 Notary Public
 My Commission Expires
 April 20, 1974

EXHIBIT NO. 256-10

AFFIDAVIT

I am GEORGE NORMAN BISHOP, JR. of Columbus, Georgia. I am presently Southern Regional Director of the Republican National Committee. In 1972 I was Field Director for the campaign of Fletcher Thompson for the U. S. Senate.

I was in Atlanta for the President's campaign visit on October 12, 1972, and during the week prior to this visit. I recall seeing leaflets advertising an anti-Nixon demonstration during that week.

On the day of the President's visit, I was shooting 16 mm. film for potential commercial television use. This involved meeting the Presidential party at the airport and accompanying the motorcade to the Regency Hyatt House where the President was to attend a reception, after making brief comments to a crowd gathered to welcome him at the Hotel.

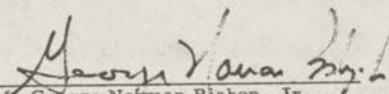
There was a huge and enthusiastic turnout for the President along the motorcade route. The motorcade moved rapidly without incident to the Regency Hyatt House. Upon arriving at the Regency, I noticed a very large cluster of protesters on the south edge of the Hotel driveway. The demonstrators, comprising approximately 35% of the Hotel crowd, had signs--some of which I believe were obscene--and were chanting and yelling. I was immediately concerned, particularly remembering an apparent attempt to provoke violence by demonstrators at a Senator Goldwater speaking engagement in Warner Robbins, Georgia one month before. There was a tremendous crush of people that surged forward as the President emerged from his vehicle to enter the Hotel. The police moved them back so that the President could enter the building in safety.

The large crowd lingered outside the Hotel in anticipation of a Presidential appearance. I understand that the President did not reappear to make brief comments

because of the demonstrators. The demonstrators, along with the crowd, dispersed when it became apparent that there would be no further appearance.

There is another incident that occurred in Georgia during the last month of the campaign that I believe is deserving of the Select Committee's attention. I am referring to a large quantity of 4' x 8' plywood signs, professionally painted, suggesting a Nixon-Nunn ticket. These signs were painted in a paint shop in Perry, Georgia, and transported to Dublin, Georgia. Thereafter, they were placed along the highway by personnel not sympathetic to the President.

Dated this 25th day of October, 1973.


George Norman Bishop, Jr.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of October, 1973.

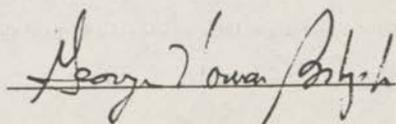


EXHIBIT NO. 256-11

AFFIDAVIT

I am MRS. JOHN HARKINS of Sandy Springs, Georgia. On October 12, 1972, I accompanied a group of young people from the Sandy Springs High School to a vantage point near the Regency Hyatt House Hotel in Atlanta to view the President of the United States. The President was making a campaign visit to Georgia and was coming to the Regency from the airport via motorcade.

Our group arrived early in the morning, and we were there as a large, enthusiastic crowd gathered throughout the morning. The crowd was well mannered and eagerly awaited the arrival of the President with patriotic anticipation.

Approximately one hour before the President arrived, a bus pulled up in front of the Capitol City Club and approximately 75 demonstrators got off with rolled up signs. The apparent leaders of this group directed them to the left front of the Regency. While I did not see all of the signs, I am told by others in attendance that the signs were basically anti-Nixon and pro-McGovern. I understand that some of the signs were obscene.

When the President arrived, the mob of demonstrators turned the anticipated glimpse of the President into a near nightmare. There was an abundance of jeers, catcalls, abusive language, all accompanied by pushing and shoving by the demonstrators. ^{ONE OF (N^{5A})} Our group was pushed into the street. I was genuinely fearful for the President's well being, as the mob scene bordered on violence.

The tragic thing about the demonstration was its impact on the happy bunch of beautiful young Americans that I had accompanied to see the President. They were both embarrassed and disillusioned, and their thrill at seeing the President was tainted by the offensive acts of the demonstrators. While I am neither a Republican nor a zealous supporter of Richard Nixon, I think it is a shame that

candidates for high office, the American public, and the President of the United States cannot commingle absent foul and provocative demonstration.

Dated this 26 day of October, 1973.

Mrs. John Harkins
Mrs. John Harkins

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of October, 1973.

Manuel R. Calloway
April
1973

EXHIBIT NO. 256-12

October 25, 1973

Mr. Fred Thompson, Minority Counsel
Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities
Room G-308
Dirksen Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Thompson:

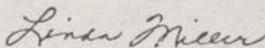
During the 1972 Presidential Campaign, I was a staff member for the Georgia Committee for the Re-Election of the President. Enclosed is a sample of flyers that were distributed on the Emory University campus as well as the downtown area. This particular flyer was handed to me in the downtown area of Atlanta. Many of these flyers were placed directly above posters announcing the President's visit to Atlanta.

On the day of the President's visit I, along with other members of the campaign staff, stood near the entrance to the Regency Hyatt House. Seemingly everyone around us was holding signs favorable to the President. I do recall seeing a few signs scattered about for McGovern, but nothing to really attract my attention. However, when the President's car arrived at the hotel, from out of nowhere, demonstrators pushed forward, knocking down the ropes and other barricades around the driveway. Signs, quite obviously hidden prior to the President's arrival, suddenly appeared bearing such words as "Sicky, Sicky Dick", Nixon's War Crimes" and "Nixon is through in '72".

For approximately 3 to 5 minutes there was mass confusion. There were continuous chants from the demonstrators of "Sicky, Sicky Dick", but more disgusting than this was their most abusive and filthy language to those people standing around them. The President was unable to go to the VIP reviewing box located in front of the hotel, as had been previously planned. Demonstrators completely surrounded the President's car and there was concern on my part, as well as others standing around me, for the President's safety.

I do hope that the above information will be of some use to you.

Sincerely,



Linda Miller

NIXON

IS COMING TO TOWN !

THURS. OCTOBER 12



DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE WARMAKER !

RALLY 10:30 PLAZA PARK (By the UNDERGROUND)

PICKET 12 NOON AT THE
REGENCY HOTEL

STOP THE BOMBING!
ALL U.S. FORCES
OUT OF S.E. ASIA NOW!

PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSERS: Atlanta Coordinating Committee, Atlanta Peace Action Coalition, City-Wide Student Mobilization Committee, Gay Liberation Front, Georgia State Student Mobilization Committee, Socialist Workers Party,

EXHIBIT No. 256-13

AFFIDAVIT

I, Merritt R. Laubenheimer, Jr., have acted on many occasions since 1968 to aid White House advance men, who have made arrangements for visits of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew to the Chicago area.

On September 26th of 1972 Vice President Agnew was in Chicago for a young peoples concert sponsored by (Youth for Nixon) and the following morning went to a rally at Proviso East High School in Maywood, Illinois. During this visit the Vice President was greeted with demonstrators when he arrived at the hotel and the following morning when he was in Maywood. The demonstrators were not able to provide harrassment at the youth concert as they were not allowed, by police, to enter the building and his motorcade entered the building by means of an underground entrance. On October 18th when Mr. Agnew came to Chicago he was continually disturbed by large groups of unruly demonstrators who were kept at bay by the police. Mr. Agnew attended a dinner the night of the 18th at McCormick Place and was greeted there by a large group of demonstrators.

President Nixon also came to Chicago on October 18th for the same dinner, arriving late (approximately 9:30 p.m.) and joined the Vice President at the speakers table. Demonstrators were present when both departed from the dinner. President Nixon made a second visit to Chicago on November 3rd in which he addressed a large group (approximately 20,000) at the airport. There were approximately 125 demonstrators, carrying signs, who were allowed to enter the hangar at O'Hare during this rally. They were quite unruly and several times interrupted the remarks which the President and others made.

It is my opinion, from remarks which I heard made by the Department of Justice undercover people and Secret Service men, that these were demonstrators whom they had expected to see during these visits as a result of their undercover work. Further these groups would often pass out flyers in advance stating that they would be there demonstrating and urging others to join them. Also, whenever

Merritt R. Laubenheimer, Jr.

Dorothy M. Black

news events nationally or having to do with the Vietnam situation stirred the demonstrators they were seen to picket outside and actually enter and cause mild disturbance within the Committee to Reelect offices on S. Dearborn St. in Chicago.

I would further state that since President Nixon and Vice President Agnew were inaugurated on January 20, 1969 they have made numerous visits to Chicago. To by best recollection there have been some sort of groups demonstrating at some point along the route of each visit, predominantly anti-war demonstrators. In the case of Vice President Agnew's visits these groups have often numbered in excess of 500.

The foregoing affidavit was executed and signed before me and in my presence by Merritt R. Laubheimer, Jr. of Winnetka, Illinois

Subscribed and sworn to, by me, this seventh day of October 1973, at Winnetka, Illinois.

Bonithy M. Black
Notary Public

5084

EXHIBIT NO. 256-14



MAINE
REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

I hereby affirm that the following information
contained in this affidavit is accurate and true to the best
of my knowledge.

DATE: October 26, 1973

Alexander C. Ray, Executive Director
Maine Republican State Committee
187 State Street
Augusta, Maine 04330

The above named Alexander C. Ray personally appeared before me and
swore that the statements contained herein are true and accurate to
the best of his belief.

Dated: October 26, 1973

Notary Public

My Commission expires: February, 1974

21-296 2216

On the 28th and 29th of April, 1972, Maine Republicans held their biennial State Convention at the State Armory in the City of Augusta, Maine. Approximately 3,500 Republicans were assembled on April 28 in the Armory to hear the convention's keynote address by former Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

State and local police as well as the Vice President's advance men and the Secret Service were aware through published newspaper accounts that anti-war protesters were planning on picketing the convention. We made arrangements with these agencies to cordon off an area in the Armory parking lot, adjacent to the Armory, to allow the protesters to conduct a peaceful demonstration so they would not disrupt the proceedings of the convention and would not inhibit the free passage of the delegates.

The demonstrators planned a rally in the Capitol Park area at noon and they were then to proceed to the Armory. Capitol Park is located directly across the street from the State House and approximately one-half mile from the Armory. (See clippings marked #s 1 and 2).

The identifiable leaders of the rally and the demonstration were: RogerTheberge, a member of the Viet Nam Veterans Against the War; Carolyn Dow, of the United Low Income People; Larry Moskowitz, a member of the Communist Party in Maine; John Hanson, of the Maine State Federated Labor Council; and Everett Brown Carson, a Democratic candidate for Congress in the First District of Maine.

At this noon rally, the demonstrators were read a telegram from Democratic

Governor Kenneth M. Curtis of Maine who said in his message that he wholeheartedly supported what the demonstrators were doing.

At the Augusta Armory, Maine State Police covered all entrances (See clipping # 3). The demonstrators marched to the Armory, surrounded the building, and completely ignored the section that had been reserved for them. They chanted obscenities of the lowest possible nature as they continued circling the Armory. The demonstrators tore down the American Flag from the flagpole in front of the Armory. They ripped down the lettering on the Armory marquee, replacing a greeting to the Vice President with "WELCOME VIET CONG". The demonstrators threw bread, fruit, cans, and plastic bags filled with tomato juice to simulate blood. Some of these objects hit our delegates and policemen.. They also placed signs accusing the Vice President of Murder and hung a figure of Agnew in effigy. Towards the end of the demonstration, the protesters burned a field adjacent to the Armory.

As the Vice President left the Armory through a side entrance he and his entourage were attacked by some demonstrators who threw tomato juice, climbed on his automobile, and attacked state police officers and secret service personnel.

The Maine State Police took movie and still photographs of the events, although no prosecutions resulted.

News clippings and newspaper photographs from the convention are included in this affidavit, as are two editorials condemning the Democratic Governor for his support of the rioters.



Antiwar rally

A rally at Capitol Park Thursday at noontime gathered a diverse crowd of demonstrators at the State House. The

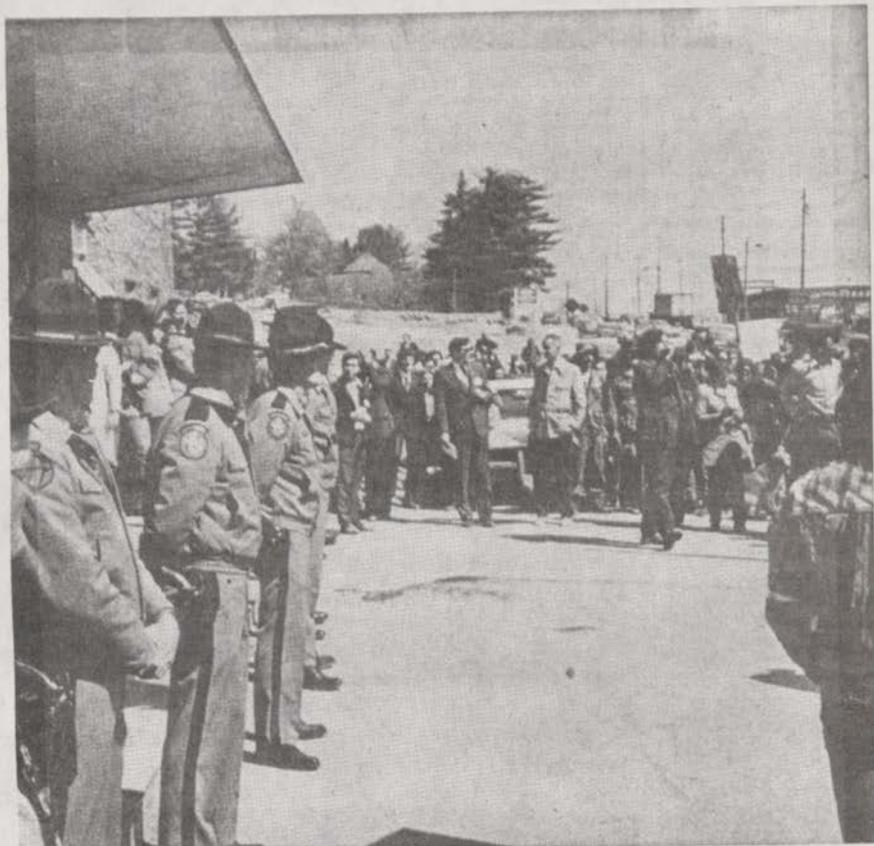
antiwar protest group then marched to the Armory where Vice President Agnew was speaking. (KJ Photo by Scideman)



Before the march

Carolyn Dow speaks at Capital Park, demonstration starting point.

—KJ Photo by Seideman



Solid blue-gray line

State Police officers covered all entrances to the GOP convention at the Armory Friday, courteous but firm. Demonstrators failed to get a reaction by cutting down

an American flag in front of the armory or by hanging Nixon in effigy. (KJ Photo by Seideman)

MacLeod Outside Looking In

AUGUSTA, Maine (AP) — Senate President Kenneth P. MacLeod of Brewer found himself locked out of the Augusta armory during Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's speech Friday to the state Republican convention.

The GOP official said he had gone outside to watch the anti-war protestors and couldn't get back into the armory to hear Agnew because police closed off the entrances.

MacLeod, who was supposed to be on the platform with the vice president and other party leaders, said he was spattered when the demonstrators threw plastic bags full of tomato juice "and other guck."



Protesters' version

Demonstrators changed a greeting for the vice president to this and hung the president in effigy. (KJ Photo by Seideman)



In protest

Although demonstrators were supposed to be corralled in the parking lot, they parked themselves in front of the armory. (KJ Photo by Seldeman)

PROTESTERS WERE FEW BUT NOISY

(By Donald C. Hansen)

Vice President Agnew came here Friday to accept the cheering applause of Maine Republican conventioners and left town two hours later with the chants of Vietnam War protesters ringing in his ears.

Agnew was introduced to Republicans as the vice president of the United States and "a man who tells it like it is" by Sen. Margaret Chase Smith.

To between 300 and 400 chanting protesters outside the Augusta Armory he was a "murderer" and a "fascist." Several waved Viet Cong flags.

Inside the convention center at the armory, about 2,500 Republican delegates and alternates applauded when Agnew defended the U.S. conduct of the war in Southeast Asia.

Outside the armory protesters threw bread, fruit and tomato juice at the Vice President's car as he and his wife left. Two young protesters broke through a State Police and Secret Service ring around the car and pounded on the trunk with their fists.

"One, two, three, four, we don't want your f—— war," they chanted again and again.

There were no arrests made by police, a fact which bothered some GOP conventioners.

The large plastic letters on a National Guard marquee reading "Maine Welcomes Mr. and Mrs. Spiro Agnew" were taken down and destroyed by the protesters and tomato juice was thrown at the sign. An American flag was also taken down.

A spokesman for the protesters, Ray Lavoisier of Augusta, a member of Veterans Against the War in Vietnam, said the group would make restitution for any damage.

There was no direct confrontation between the protesters and Agnew. State and local police ringed the armory and no protesters were permitted to enter the building while the Vice President was speaking inside.

Protesters, largely young men and women termed the demonstration "a success."

Some GOP delegates called it "shocking," "disrespectful," and a "disgrace."

The demonstrators, led by Veterans Against the Vietnam War, marched about a mile from a noon rally at Capitol Park to the Armory where they chanted, shouted obscenities and sang songs outside the main door of the convention center.

They chanted "Stop The War Now" over and over again, occasionally shouting "F—— you, Agnew," and finally sitting down on the asphalt to sing a song called "Gives Peace A Chance."

The GOP State Committee had turned over a large section of the armory parking lot for use by the demonstrators but they refused to use it.

Instead, the chanting, placard-waving protesters marched directly to the marquee in front of the armory and ripped down the lettering welcoming Mr. and Mrs. Agnew. The Agnews were already inside the armory attending a private reception when the demonstrators arrived.

In place of the lettering they placed signs accusing the vice president of murder, hung an effigy of Agnew from the marquee.

About a dozen State Police stood rigid and unmoving in front of the Armory watching as the lettering was ripped down and a tomato juice concoction resembling blood was thrown at the marquee.

Some convention delegates watching from the front steps of the armory were angered that police made no move to prevent the demonstrators from ripping down the lettering.

Paul Austin, a GOP alternate from Brunswick, watched as the lettering was torn down and said "I can go along with demonstration, but not with destruction. They ought to be kicked in the heads. And most of them aren't even veterans," he added.

Members of Veterans Against the Vietnam War, dressed in combat fatigues and many carrying toy rifles which they symbolically broke, stood in front of the bulk of the demonstrators and near the file of State Police in front of the armory.

They were stationed there, they said, to prevent physical violence, fights or confrontations between protesters and conventioners.

"We're here to prevent trouble," one of the veterans, Nick Hazlett, of Portland, told a stony-faced State Police trooper. "If there's any trouble, look to us."

"You'd better see the lieutenant about that," the trooper replied.

A GOP delegate from Bangor, Lawrence LaPointe watched the demonstrators rip down the marquee lettering and blamed much of the trouble on the press and television.

"This is a leftist group and I think the press is at fault," he said. "It's sensational and the press plays it up. These people are a minority but TV plays it up."

Some other delegates felt much the same way. When a television photographer climbed on the trunk of a car to take pictures, one delegate said "It's a good thing that's not my car or I'd rip your foot off."

Delegate Frank Garland of Freeport winced visibly as the demonstrators chanted "F--- you, Agnew," and said he considered the protest "distasteful. It shows a lack of respect for the women who are here."

Garland, who is a member of the Freeport School Committee, said "There's too much encouragement for this kind of thing, and some of it comes from our educational institutions."

The demonstration, which some thought might attract as many as 2,000 protesters from throughout the state, fell far short of that goal.

They assembled quietly in Capitol Park across the street from the State House, and heard a variety of speeches before marching to the armory.

Roger Theberge, a former helicopter pilot in Vietnam and a student at the University of Maine in Augusta, the acting coordinator for the protest, said Republicans are as deeply to blame for the Vietnam War as Democrats.

Larry Moskowitz of Freeport claimed that President Nixon and Vice President Agnew were war criminals and murderers. "The gangsters who are now in the White House make the Mafia look like a bunch of Gardiner Cub Scouts," he said.

The purpose of the protest was supported by Democratic Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis who sent a telegram to the group which said "I wholeheartedly support your objectives" to end the war in Vietnam. He declined an invitation from the protesters to march with them.

One Democratic congressional candidate—Everett Brown Carson of Brunswick—a member of the Vietnam veterans group, was on hand for the march and the armory protest.

Other speakers included John Hanson of the Maine State Federated Labor Council who said that "rank and file workers in America are against the war," and said that "since 1964 absolutely nothing concerning this war has been changed."

Also speaking were representatives from the women's lib movement and a spokeswoman for United Low Income People.

After the Vice President finished his armory speech his car was driven up to a side door and was quickly encircled by demonstrators. The Agnews waited inside the Armory for several minutes while Secret Service agents and State Police cleared a path to the car.

Then the Agnews walked quickly the few steps to the car and entered while the demonstrators shouted and jeered. The car, surrounded by both police and protesters moved slowly out of the Armory parking lot to the nearby Augusta State Airport where the Agnews flew to Portland.

MORESHEAD ACCUSES CURTIS OF ROLE IN DEMONSTRATION

AUGUSTA, MAINE (AP).—The chairman of the GOP State Committee said Tuesday that Democratic Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis "is attempting to cover up his support for the violent and destructive demonstration which occurred at the Republican State Convention" last week.

Charles E. Moreshead said Curtis was trying to "shift the blame to Vice President (Spiro T.) Agnew."

Moreshead added that in a telegram sent to the protesters (the day before the demonstrations) Curtis "supported and encouraged their activities, which included the tearing down of our American flag, the raising of a Viet Cong flag, the shouting of obscenities at the vice president and the destruction of private and public property."

"It amazes me how Curtis can rationalize his position by claiming that the views of Mr. Agnew are as dangerous to the future of democracy as are the revolutionaries in the street," said Moreshead.

"Rather than to continue this debate I will leave it up to the citizens of Maine to decide whether democracy and freedom are improved by such unlawful demonstrations," concluded Moreshead in a statement released by his office.

Agnew criticized Democratic presidential contenders for being un-American in their stands against the Nixon administration on the Indochina conflict. Included in the criticism was Maine's Sen. Edmund S. Muskie.

EXHIBIT NO. 256-15

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE

7979 OLD GEORGETOWN ROAD, SUITE 900 BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20014

TELEPHONES: HEADQUARTERS - 654-6984
CHAIRMAN - 654-6986

October 30, 1973

AFFADAVIT

from Joann Rogers Niefeld of 11813 Timber Lane, Rockville, Maryland.

I, Joann Rogers Niefeld, being a resident of Montgomery County, Maryland and a citizen of the United States of America, do hereby affirm the following. That on or about 5 October, 1972, I received numerous complaints from three or four precincts in the Silver Spring area concerning the unauthorized collection of funds by person or persons representing themselves as Republican Party workers. Ed Cadwallder, Precinct Chairman of 13-17, was also notified and immediate precautions were instituted. These precautions included a county-wide mailing to all Party leaders along with press releases to all local papers.

Unfortunately none of the support documents are available except two newspaper articles, (see attached) because all documents relating to that period in time are missing from Montgomery County Republican Headquarters. Our efforts to ascertain as to who might be responsible for the collection of monies while misrepresenting themselves as Republican workers, while handing out McGovern literature have proven to be fruitless. These collections lasted from one to two weeks and to the best of our knowledge, discontinued immediately after the public was made aware of them.

The exact method of these illegal collections were as follows. Person or persons unknown would go to houses in the above mentioned

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Page two - Affidavit of Joann Rogers Niefeld. ,

area and would solicit whatever financial help persons would give to the Republican Party. They would explain that they had a tough fight on their hands and needed every dollar they could raise. After the person gave the money, they would then be handed a piece of pro-McGovern literature. After they handed out the literature they would then depart from the premises. If they were challenged as to why they were giving out pro-McGovern literature, they would either retort with a slang expression or sometimes would explain that the regular Republican Party of Montgomery County could not endorse Nixon-Agnew. There were, to the best of my knowledge, no receipts given by these person or persons.

Signed

*Joann Rogers Niefeld*STATE OF MARYLAND)
County of) ss.
Montgomery)

Subscribed and sworn to before me, a Notary Public in and for said County, this 30th day of October, 1973.



Janet M. Stevens
Janet M. Stevens, Notary Public
Montgomery County, Maryland
My Commission Expires July 1, 1974.

EXHIBIT No. 256-16

TO THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES:

AFFIDAVIT

I, Samuel Hopkins, of 4302 Wendover Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21218, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says as follows:

1) During the 1972 Presidential campaign, I served as Chairman of the Baltimore City Committee for the Re-Election of the President with Headquarters at 403 North Charles Street and 3021 West North Avenue. This Committee was a sub-committee of the Maryland Committee for the Re-Election of the President located at 7979 Old Georgetown Road (Suite 600), Bethesda, Maryland 20014. State Senator Edward P. Thomas, Jr. (Frederick and Carroll Counties) served as Chairman and David Neideffer, 5807 Greenlawn Drive, Bethesda, Maryland, 20014 served as Executive Director of the Maryland Committee. The Maryland Re-Elect Committee approved and paid expenses of the Baltimore City Committee which operated on a very limited budget. The Maryland Committee for the Re-Election of the President has figures on the costs incurred from instances of vandalism.

2) This information is submitted in response to an October 12, 1973 verbal request which was confirmed in a letter dated October 12, 1973, which reached me on October 13, for details of certain incidents which had been called to the attention of Mr. Michael J. Madigan, Assistant Minority Counsel of the Select Committee by Mr. David Neideffer, Executive Director of the Maryland Re-Elect Committee. Mr. Neideffer phoned me on October 10, 1973 to let me know he had called these incidents to the attention of the Select Committee and that they would phone me.

3) The two costly incidents of vandalism involving the 403 North Charles Street Headquarters were:

(a) The large building-wide sign over the entrance disappeared, as I remember, during the night of August 12, 1972 a day or two after it was installed. This was reported to the Baltimore City Police and, I believe, to the FBI.

(b) We were never able to completely remove the paint or chemicals which were used to write anti-Nixon sentiments on the stone below the plate glass window. Funds were unsuccessfully expended in an effort to remove this writing -- but it can still be seen. We finally settled this damage to the building by waiving our rental deposit which, I believe, was \$300.00. The Baltimore City Police Department knows about this incident.

TO THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES:
Affidavit of Samuel Hopkins continued.

4) Telephone call requesting that our 3021 North Avenue Headquarters be given up because it would not be tolerated by area residents who were opposed to the re-election of the President. Early in September 1972, at about the time we opened our Headquarters at 3021 West North Avenue, I received this telephone call. Since I know of no witnesses to this phone call and the fact that the phoner could well have been an imposter, I will not mention in this affidavit more than the nature of the remarks made by the caller.

After the usual steps of identification and pleasantries, this caller proceeded to voice lengthy, strong and forceful objections to a re-Elect Committee Headquarters at 3021 West North Avenue. The arguments made were to the effect that you have no business in my area, the people in the neighborhood will not stand for this Headquarters, Mr. Nixon has no supporters there, the people all oppose the President and their feelings should be respected or they will respond with acts of violence against the Headquarters. You will not be able to stay.

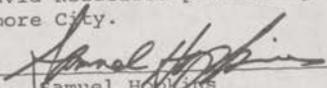
My reply to my caller was that the opening of this Headquarters had been urged by Republican leaders in the area. They felt that if we did not open this Headquarters it would be used to support the argument the President was not interested in the people of the area. To them it was essential to have a headquarters in the area. They believed the area would give the President a much improved vote over 1968. Our conversation ended with the phoner again forcefully insisting the President had no support in the area and that the presence of a headquarters there would not be tolerated.

I reported this phone conversation to Mr. Archie M. Jones, 1607 North Dukeland Street. Mr. Jones was Co-chairman of the Baltimore City Re-Elect Committee and also Chairman of the Republican City (State Central) Committee of Baltimore City. I also reported it to David Neideffer, Executive Director of the Maryland Re-Elect Committee. Mr. Jones, whose home is near the 3021 West North Avenue Headquarters, directed its operations. He had been a strong supporter of its opening. Our discussion brought out the fact that there had been a pattern of other telephone calls to dissuade Republican leaders from more than a token campaign. Although these calls may have been upsetting, the indications were that they had been ineffective. We agreed things were going well despite the calls and that it would be difficult, costly and, in fact, impractical to take any action to stop or identify the caller in these situations. As things turned out, a sample of five precincts near 3021 West North Avenue, shows the Nixon vote rose from 4.0% in 1968 to 13.2% in 1972.

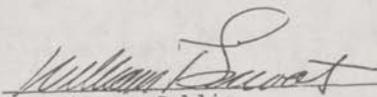
TO THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES:
Affidavit of Samuel Hopkins continued.

5) Unfortunately, the phone caller's prediction, covered in Item #4 as to destruction, proved correct. The large plate glass windows at 3021 West North Avenue Headquarters were broken on two occasions. The Baltimore City Police and I, believe, the FBI investigated these incidents of vandalism. The phoner's prediction that we would be unable stay in the Headquarters proved to be incorrect.

6) Enclosed is letter from David Neideffer pertaining to the incidents which occurred in Baltimore City.


Samuel Hopkins

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th day of October
1973.


Notary Public

My Commission expires:

7/1/74



Republican State
Central Committee
of Maryland

October 17, 1973

Chairman
Edward P. Thomas, Jr.

First Vice Chairman
Mrs. Sylvia Herrmann

Second Vice Chairman
James R. Pope

Third Vice Chairman
Gary P. Ponzoli

Treasurer
Archie M. Jones

Secretary
Mrs. Imogene Johnston

National Committeeman
Richard M. Allen

National Committeewoman
Miss Louise Gore

Mr. Samuel Hopkins
4302 Wendover Road
Baltimore, Maryland 21218

Dear Mr. Hopkins:

A review of our records indicates the following acts of vandalism were committed against our Baltimore City Re-elect the President Headquarters. Since there were 2 Headquarters, I shall deal with each one separately.

403 North Charles Street Office

1. On or around August 12, 1972 a 15'x 8' canvas sign was torn down and stolen. This sign had to be replaced at a cost of \$201.00.

2. During the second week in October, this office was smeared with anti-Nixon slogans and its marble front was painted with the slogan "Death to Nixon." We lost our \$300.00 deposit because we were unable to remove this slogan, in fact, it is still on the front of the building.

3. We were picketed by various anti-war groups and "peace" organizations. There were several incidents in which the personnel, including this writer, had confrontations with various dissidents.

4. The office was constantly bombarded with various anti-Nixon phone calls, veiled threats and obscene language.

3021 West North Avenue Office

1. On or about September 29, 1972 this Headquarters had all of its plate glass windows smashed. Replacement cost was \$55.00 for temporary boarding and \$366.00 to replace the windows. This particular office opened on September 15, 1972 and received,

Mr. Samuel Hopkins

October 17, 1973
Page 2

on a daily basis, threats and demands that this office should close -- or it would be closed. These threats continued and on or about November 1, 1972 the plate glass windows were again smashed. Since threats preceded this second breaking of the windows and since a funeral sign was used to smash the windows and then thrown inside the office, the personnel was very unnerved. After the many threats and the second overt act of violence, the office was again boarded up; however, the personnel refused to be run out of the 7th Congressional District and continued to keep what was left of the office open. This was accomplished, in part, because the Baltimore City Police Department agreed to beef up their patrols in the area.

This is to the best of my knowledge the summation of the major incidents that occurred in the Baltimore City Re-elect Headquarters. I hope that this account is a help to you.

Sincerely yours,

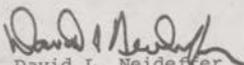
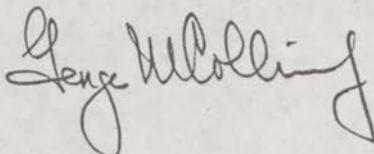

David L. Neiderfer
Executive Director

EXHIBIT No. 256-17

AFFIDAVIT

I, George Collins, do hereby swear and depose that:

I am presently employed as the Librarian at the Boston Globe newspaper, Boston, Massachusetts. I have forwarded to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities seven photographs of the demonstration which occurred on October 31, 1972. These photographs were taken by Donald C. Preston for appearance in the Boston Globe on November 1, 1972.



Then personally appeared the above mentioned George Collins of Boston, Massachusetts, and made oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best of his knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to those he believes the same to be true.

Before me, October 25th 1973

Prudence W. Fullerton
Notary Public

Note.--Three of the seven photographs referred to above were previously entered into the record as exhibits 253, 254, and 255. The other four photographs follow on next page.







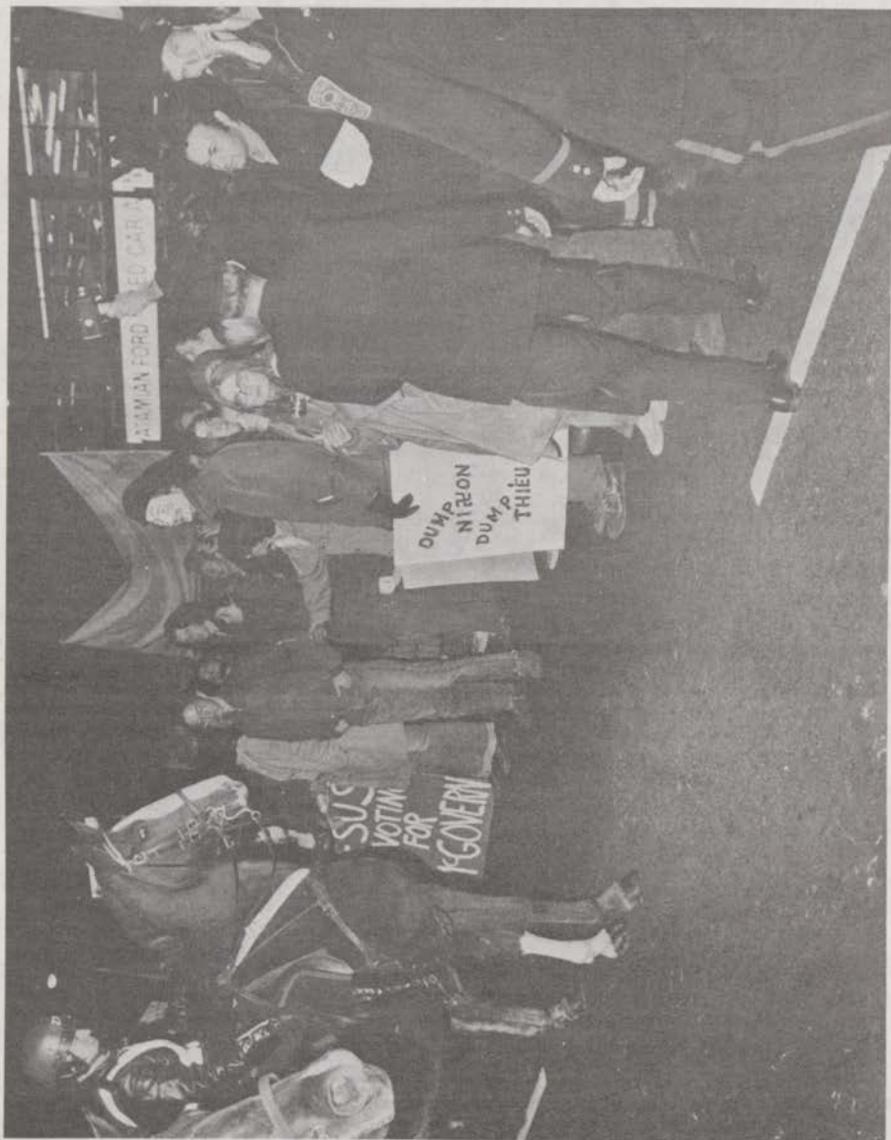


EXHIBIT NO. 256-18

AFFIDAVIT

I, Daniel M. Durand, do hereby swear and depose that:

I reside at 371 Rochester Street, Fall River, Massachusetts. I am employed as sales manager for a wholesale appliance distributor in the state of Massachusetts.

During the year 1972 I served as chairman for the Committee to Re-elect the President in Fall River, Massachusetts. In the 1972 election campaign several violent and/or destructive incidents occurred in and around the Nixon Campaign Headquarters in Fall River, Massachusetts.

On October 14, 1972, during the evening or early morning hours, paint was thrown all over the building that housed the Nixon Campaign Headquarters in Fall River. The perpetrators were not apprehended. Two weeks later, again during the evening or early morning hours, over two-hundred McGovern election stickers were pasted on the Nixon Election Headquarters building in Fall River. Most of these were pasted over the existing Nixon posters, signs, etc. These McGovern stickers were being sold two blocks away at fifty cents each.

Shortly before the election, at the end of October, 1972, a projectile was thrown through the window at Nixon Campaign Headquarters in Fall River. The perpetrator was arrested and convicted of destroying property. A newspaper article accurately describing the incident is attached hereto as Exhibit A.

-2-

On election night, November 7, 1972, after the early returns indicated a Nixon landslide, a large group of people demonstrated in front of the Nixon Headquarters in Fall River, screaming obscenities and throwing bottles at both male and female Nixon volunteers. Many of the bottles smashed at the feet of these volunteers. It was necessary to call the police and they managed to disperse the unruly crowd. I recognized many members of the crowd as McGovern campaign employees or volunteers.

Then personally appeared the above mentioned Daniel M. Durand of Fall River, Massachusetts, and made oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best of his knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to those he believes the same to be true.

Before me, Daniel M. Durand

My Commission Expires
June 30, 1976

John C. [Signature]
Notary Public

Nixon Quarters Window Broken, Man Arrested

Police have charged a man here with throwing a pumpkin and some tomatoes through a plate glass window of the Nixon campaign headquarters at 16 North Main St. early today.

Sgt. William Kilroy and Patrolman Henry Kozak said they heard glass breaking while they were standing on North Main Street, a short distance from the Nixon headquarters about 3 a.m.

Checking the area the men discovered the broken window and inside the office found a large pumpkin and tomatoes.

Kilroy radioed all sector cars to watch for a vehicle possibly carrying pumpkins and tomatoes.

A short time later Patrolmen Donald McKenzie and Michael Troia stopped a 1970 model car and inside it they found three large pumpkins and some tomatoes.

Facing charges of malicious mischief in District Court today was Joseph Karam, 24, of 500 Sherman St.

Police also charged him with operating without a driver's license in his possession, and failing to display a registration plate on the front of the vehicle.

EXHIBIT NO. 256-19

AFFIDAVIT

I, Gregory Gallagher, do hereby swear and depose that:

I am presently employed by Donald Dwight, Lieutenant Governor of the State of Massachusetts. During the presidential election campaign of 1972 I served as Executive Director of the Committee to Re-elect the President in Massachusetts.

In October, 1972, a man arrived at the Nixon Campaign Headquarters in Boston and worked there for one day as a volunteer. At approximately 3 p. m. that day, he came into my office and said he was a reporter. Subsequently, he wrote an article in the newspaper describing President Nixon and the Nixon volunteers in obscene language. He also claimed to have, and my investigation revealed he did in fact, copy telephone numbers incorrectly while posing as a volunteer, thus disrupting the Nixon Headquarters' effort to try and urge Massachusetts residents to go out to the polls and vote. ~~An accurate copy of the newspaper article is attached hereto as Exhibit A.~~

On October 31, 1972, Mrs. Nixon attended a dinner in Boston at the Commonwealth Armory. I also attended that dinner and drove there in a "Nixon Campaign car". Outside the armory a violent demonstration of approximately 7,000 persons occurred. The demonstrators marched down Commonwealth Avenue in Boston, smashing windows and causing considerable damage to private property. While the dinner was in progress

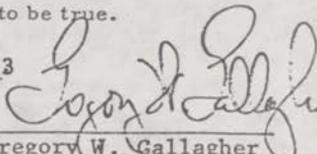
on the inside of the armory the demonstrators tried to storm the doors and break into the armory, but they were rebuffed by the Boston police. Outside, the demonstrators burned a press car, smashed car windows, defaced numerous automobiles, and slashed the tires of many automobiles.

At the conclusion of the dinner, while the guests were leaving with their wives, the demonstrators shouted obscenities at them. I personally observed this while I was leaving the dinner with my wife. When we returned to the "Nixon Campaign car!" we found that both the front and back windows had been smashed and that "fuck Nixon" had been scratched in the paint all over the car. In addition, all four tires of the campaign car were slashed. Moreover, numerous guests at the dinner had their automobile tires slashed, particularly those whose automobiles had Nixon stickers attached to them. Several newspaper articles and photographs accurately describing and depicting the disruption and damage are attached hereto as Exhibits A through E.

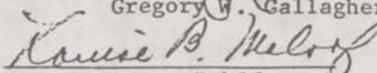
Then personally appeared the above mentioned Gregory Gallagher of Boston, Massachusetts, and made oath that the foregoing statements are

true to the best of his knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to those he believes the same to be true.

Before me, This fifth day of October, 1973



Gregory W. Gallagher



Notary Public

My commission expires 7/29/79

Notary Public

[From the Boston Herald Traveler and Record American, Nov. 1, 1972]

1,500 POLICE GUARD PAT NIXON DINNER—7,000 PROTESTERS STORM ARMORY

(By Ken Powers, John McGinn, and Ed O'Connor)

Seven thousand screaming anti-war demonstrators stormed Commonwealth Armory where Mrs. Pat Nixon was guest speaker at a fund-raising Republican dinner last night but a massive security force of 1500 police kept the waves of youths from breaking into the building.

Wording on signs carried by the youths and shouted slogans indicated outspoken dissatisfaction with the fact that the cease-fire settlement in Vietnam was not signed yesterday in Paris.

Prior to that time North Vietnam had been insisting on an Oct. 31 signing.

At one point of the riot which erupted about twenty minutes before Mrs. Nixon arrived by helicopter with other dignitaries, demonstrators penetrated the police lines in front of the armory on Commonwealth ave. and threatened to turn the GOP affair into a shambles.

Mounted horsemen, K-9 dogs, and bus loads of Boston, state and Brookline police were thrown into the fray. A number of persons were injured, including two policemen. Five were arrested.

An estimated 6500 youths gathered in Copley sq., then marched toward Boston University Bridge. By the time the crowd reached the armory it had swelled to 7000.

The armory already was ringed with riot-equipped state police.

All traffic was shut down on Commonwealth ave. as the crowds began their push. It appeared police officials had underestimated the number of youths who would take part, for the contingent in the area of the armory as the protestors arrived appeared almost threadbare in comparison to their opposition.

Bus loads of officers were quickly brought in from all sections of the city. All available Tactical Patrol Force men and plainclothes detectives were summoned as well as additional state police.

Armed with placards, spray paint cans and rocks, collected from the roadbed of the MBTA tracks outside the armory, the attackers swarmed to the front door as about 1000 guests were in line to get inside.

They went through the ranks of police and the battle to force them back started. Rocks were hurled. After a 15-minute assault the youths fell back to a chain-link fence separating the inbound and outbound MBTA tracks.

The protestors ripped up the fence and retreated to the opposite side of Commonwealth ave. where they made anti-Nixon speeches.

Those arrested on Commonwealth ave. at the time of the melee were identified by police as Bruce A. White, 21, of Chester st., Allston; Michael J. Fishbein, 21, also of Chester st., Allston; Bruce E. Cailler, 21, of Commonwealth ave., Allston; Robert A. Barbanti, 23, of Greenleaf st., Roxbury, and Jonathan J. Goldstein, 18, of Marion, Pa.

They were booked for being disorderly persons at District 14.

The guests eventually entered the building with comparative safety through the Gaffney st. entrances.

Minor skirmishes erupted from time to time while Mrs. Nixon spoke, but the police dogs were the deciding factor in most cases.

Meanwhile auto dealers kept busy boarding up huge plate glass windows for a half mile on either side of the armory.

Restlessness spread across the entire Back Bay through the night.

At 8:30 a splinter group of 400 left the armory but the main body remained formulating harassing movements. A stolen car with three men inside, one carrying a rifle sticking out the window, was seen in Kenmore sq.

Police said the youth fired several shots. At about the same time a fire was reported at the rear of 920 Commonwealth ave. A fire truck was hit by rocks and police were needed to get the firefighters in and out of the block where rubbish had been ignited.

Gangs were roaming the streets carrying bags of rocks and hockey sticks. Groups moved from the armory to Kenmore sq. damaging parked cars.

Thirty-two police from District 4 were sent to Kenmore sq. to handle that gang. It was reported that demonstrators had stockpiled bricks, nails, bottles and gasoline in the vicinity of Kenmore sq.

Two youths made it inside the police lines at the armory's outside walls.

A crowd of more than 6,000 jammed the affair which included appearances by a number of Hollywood celebrities headed by comedian Bob Hope.

Prior to the dinner students for a Democratic Society had issued a warning they would attempt to block the door and throughout the day police organized their huge security force.

Anti-war groups reportedly staged a "penny-a-plate" rally downtown before starting their trek to the Armory.

The dinner was held in the same location where Sen. George S. McGovern and the Democrats hosted a \$25-a-plate fund raiser on Oct. 11. That rally drew a full house of 6000 and raised an estimated \$130,000.

Some discontent was voiced within the ranks of the GOP youth movement long before the First Lady arrived.

Daniel J. Rea, Jr., New England regional director of the Young Americans for Freedom, said sponsors of the dinner backed on promises to set aside 1000 tickets for four or five youth groups that had worked for President Nixon in recent weeks.

He said Warren Chase, youth coordinator at the dinner, had promised seats would be underwritten by donations and then had withdrawn the promise.

The organizations involved were the YAF, the Young Republicans, Young Voters for the President, Young Labor for the President and Young Ethnic Groups for the President.

Rea, said at a meeting last Friday night Chase told 100 representatives the 1,000 figure had been cut to 500, then on the following day all tickets were canceled.

Rea said Chase told him the invitations to the young people were withdrawn because of tightened security, the caterer needed more room than expected and the dinner had been oversold.

Rea said he believed the latter reason should be accepted as "the honest excuse." Chase finally offered 20 tickets to YAF but the group declined saying it felt it would be unfair to the others who had worked for the President's reelection. He noted that it could not be considered a boycott of the dinner because the YAF still supports President Nixon.

Meanwhile a spokesman for the McGovern-Shriver campaign office in Boston announced that the Massachusetts McGovern-Shriver organization did not sponsor or support any of the actions of the antiwar mobs that marched on the Armory.

'PAT' CALM, POISED DESPITE FUROR

(By George Briggs and Joe McLean)

Undisturbed by several thousands demonstrators outside the building, Mrs. Richard M. Nixon presented a picture of poise and grace last night as she entered Commonwealth Armory for a fund-raising dinner honoring her President husband.

However, the nation's First Lady had not been forced to run the gauntlet of the angry crowd on her arrival. Instead, in an area behind the Brighton armory cordoned off by state and local police, she landed by helicopter following her flight from Washington to Hanscom Field in Bedford.

Mrs. Nixon, stunning in a sparkling blue, scoop-necked dress, smiled radiantly as the nearly 8,000 guests in the armory gave her a standing welcome to the \$25-a-plate Republican dinner.

Uniformed state and local police and obviously unobtrusive Secret Service agents stood watch on the fringes of the gala gathering. But, contrary to the mood outside, there was only good will displayed in the vast hall and a secondary dining room.

Flanked by an imposing array of top Republican Party officials at the head table, Patricia Nixon chatted at length with fellow guests during a dinner that featured pilaf-stuffed breasts of chicken with cranberry sauce, Mediterranean salad, Moussaka (a Mideast dish of lamb and eggplant) and a Bakalava dessert served with coffee.

Among those sharing the head table with her were Gov. and Mrs. Francis W. Sargent, Mrs. Edward W. Brooke, U.S. Reps. Margaret M. Heckler and Hastings Keith, former U.S. Sens. Henry Cabot Lodge and Leverett Saltonstall, Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson, Lt. Gov. Donald Dwight and state Rep. Frank Hatch Jr.

The invocation at the dinner was delivered by the Rt. Rev. Joseph F. McGuire, Auxillary Bishop of Boston.

And sharing the limelight with the distinguished guests were popular celebrities of the entertainment field including comedians Bob Hope and Frankie Fontaine, singers Ethel Merman and Ruta Lee and the ever popular Lionel Hampton and his band.

EXHIBIT NO. 256-20

AFFIDAVIT

I, Raymond N. Tuller, do hereby swear and depose that:

I reside at 140 Chalmers Street, Springfield, Massachusetts. I was President of the Cold Storage Company, Inc. in Springfield, Massachusetts for twenty-seven years and I am presently employed as Manager of the Cyr Arena in Springfield, Massachusetts.

During the year 1972, I served as Coordinator of the Committee to Re-elect the President in Springfield, Massachusetts. During the 1972 election campaign several violent and destructive incidents occurred in and around the Nixon Campaign Headquarters in Springfield, Massachusetts.

The first such incident occurred on October 13, 1972, when an unknown person jumped out of a car and threw a large brick through the front window of the Nixon Campaign Headquarters in Springfield. A number of people were in the room at the time and the brick narrowly missed my wife's head. My wife was struck, however, by a fragment of the brick and suffered a leg cut from the broken glass. She was taken to the hospital thereafter and examined. A newspaper article describing this incident and a photograph portraying the damage that occurred therefrom is attached hereto as Exhibit A.

On October 31, 1972, many Springfield residents who supported the President attended a dinner in Boston at which Mrs. Nixon spoke. Many of these persons had Nixon stickers on their automobiles and during a violent demonstration outside the dinner the tires of these automobiles

were slashed. In particular, Mrs. and Mr. Theodore Banforth and Mr. and Mrs. Harley Runyon suffered four slashed tires on each of their respective automobiles.

On November 4, 1972, a large demonstration occurred in front of the Nixon Campaign Headquarters in Springfield. Brochures were passed out prior to the demonstration. One of these brochures, accusing President Nixon of "murderously increasing the human costs of the war", is attached hereto as Exhibit B.

On November 7, 1972 election night, an unknown gunman fired a shot through the plate glass window of the Nixon Headquarters in Springfield. Although the room into which the shot was fired was full of people, no one was injured. A newspaper article and photograph accurately describing the incident and depicting the damage caused by the bullet is attached hereto as Exhibit C.

After the election, probably as a result of a victory photograph of me that appeared in the newspaper and is attached hereto as Exhibit C, I received numerous telephone threats indicating that persons unknown would "get me" for supporting the President.

Then personally appeared the above mentioned Raymond N. Tuller of Springfield, Massachusetts, and made oath that the foregoing statements

are true to the best of his knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to those he believes the same to be true.

Before me, Raymond H. Teller

Harry B. Huskin
Notary Public



(Union Photo by Dick Russell)

A volunteer working for the reelection of President Nixon received a leg cut after a youth fired a brick at a poster and through a window at Republican Headquarters, 273 State St., Springfield, Mrs. Raymond N. Tuller of 160 Chalmers Ave. received leg cuts.

Youth Hurls Brick Through GOP HQs

A young white man hurled a brick through the Republican Party Headquarters, 273 State St., Springfield, yesterday, injuring the wife of the Hampden County coordinator for President Nixon.

Raymond N. Tuller of 140 Chalmers St., said his wife received a piece of glass in the ankle and was nearly struck by a large piece of brick. A smaller piece struck her in the leg, he said.

A man parked across State Street got out of a new yellow Datsun and carried the brick in his hand, he said.

The man smashed the window, throwing the brick through Nixon's face on a poster in the window, he

said. The man, described as 19 or 20, about 5 feet 10 inches tall with a blue denim jacket, drove off toward Main Street, he said.

The incident has been reported to Boston and Washington, D.C. presidential campaign headquarters, he said. It is the 203rd such incident across the country including two torch jobs, he said.

"This will be the second window we will replace," he said.

Tuller said his wife was some 20 feet from the window and the brick landed 37 feet from the window.

"We were kind of shook up," said Tuller, who took his wife to the doctor.

Gunman Takes Shot At GOP Headquarters

While members of the Springfield Committee to Reelect the President were celebrating last night, an unknown gunman fired a shot through the plate glass window of the Nixon campaign headquarters on State Street.

Raymond Tuller, Nixon's campaign manager in Springfield, said he and other workers were taking it easy shortly after 11 when a bullet or pellet hit the window.

"We didn't see anyone or hear a car go by, we just heard the shot," Tuller said. The pellet put a small hole in the plate glass but the window did not shatter, Tuller said.



(Union Photo by Steve Van Meter)

Dennis Murphy, Nixon campaign worker in Springfield, stands behind the bullet-shattered plate glass window at Nixon campaign headquarters at 723 State St. A lone gunman pumped a single shot through the window narrowly missing a dozen persons in the room.

EXHIBIT No. 256-21

NIELSEN, STOCK & BLACKBURN, LTD.

D. JAMES NIELSEN
ARTHUR J. STOCK
BRUCE W. BLACKBURN

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SEVEN-THIRTY SECOND AVENUE SOUTH
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. 55402
TELEPHONE 338-0795

WILLIAM A. GREEN
OF COUNSEL

October 30, 1973

Mr. Ronald Riggs
Senate Committee on Presidential
Campaign Activities
Room G308
Dirkson Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

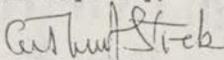
Dear Ron:

As requested we enclose original and one executed copy of Affidavit with respect to campaign irregularities committed by the McGovern Campaign Committee on election day, 1972.

Prior to the election we regularly received reports of other opponent activities planned or implemented, but because of our investigative system of party officials and Youth for Nixon volunteers, it soon became known that we were being especially alert to irregularities. During the campaign we were given time at regional meetings and the state-wide meetings of the Committee to Re-elect for our affirmative campaign to educate our volunteers and leaders on election law do's and don'ts, and to indicate to them our purpose and objective was to give every eligible voter the best opportunity possible to vote and to have his vote counted. Although to some it may sound incredible today, no violation of Minnesota election law by Nixon Committee to Re-elect the President were detected by me or reported to me on election day.

We will be pleased to furnish what further assistance you may need, if possible.

Yours very truly,



Arthur J. Stock

AJS:sw

cc: Congressman William Frenzel
Robert Brown, Chairman
Minnesota Republican Party
Mrs. Rhoda Lund, Chairwoman
Minnesota Committee to Re-elect
the President

BEFORE THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE
ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIESAFFIDAVITSTATE OF MINNESOTA)
) ss
COUNTY OF HENNEPIN)

ARTHUR J. STOCK, being first duly sworn, deposes and says as follows:

1. That he is a practicing attorney in the City of Minneapolis, State of Minnesota, in the firm of Nielsen, Stock & Blackburn, Ltd; that he graduated from Yale College in 1954 and Yale Law School in 1959, and has been admitted to practice before state and federal courts since 1959.

2. That regularly since 1962 he had advised and consulted various Minnesota Republican Party organizations, candidates and candidate committees on election law matters; he has represented said political party and candidates on numerous occasions in election contests and election related legal proceedings, and is a consultant to members of the Committee on Elections of both houses of the Minnesota legislature.

3. That in the 1972 general election he was Chairman of the Ballot Security Program for the Minnesota Republican Party and the Minnesota Committee to Re-elect the President, as well as serving as adviser to the Committee on election procedures; that he organized and operated on election day in November, 1972 a state-wide ballot security headquarters which opened two hours prior to the opening of the polls and closed two hours after the polls had closed.

4. That in the course of such activities certain alleged election irregularities in violation of Minnesota Statutes §211.15 (which forbids campaigning on election day) were reported and acted upon, as follows, to-wit:

- (a) By 9:00 A.M. on election day Youth for Nixon members on the campus of the University of Minnesota reported a massive recruitment effort on campus by the McGovern Volunteer Committee for volunteers to do electioneering work on election day.
- (b) Before 10:00 A.M. reports were received from several neighborhoods in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Minneapolis suburbs of organized campaign activities such as distribution of handbills urging election of McGovern, use of sound trucks, personal approach of citizens urging them to vote for McGovern and handing out other campaign material.
- (c) Before 10:00 A.M. reports were received of similar mass recruitment efforts on three other college campuses.
- (d) By 10:30 A.M. reports were received from the Ramsey County (St. Paul) Ballot Security team of similar activity in St. Paul and St. Paul suburbs.
- (e) To verify the reports the Ballot Security program had two college age volunteers for Nixon respond to the recruitment; they showed up at two different McGovern campaign headquarters, received literature, were given instructions and transported to two different places in the city to solicit votes for McGovern; complying with our instructions each went to a home of a known Republican upon being left by the McGovern Committee organizer, and called Ballot Security

headquarters to report their verification.

- (f) Having confirmed the original reports as to extent and activity, the Ballot Security staff then contacted the Minneapolis City Clerk and Hennepin County Auditor (who are responsible for conduct of elections), the Minnesota Attorney General, the Minnesota Democrat-Farmer-Labor Party, and the McGovern Committee Headquarters (as well as alerting the state-wide Ballot Security system); for the next three-four hours the McGovern leaders denied the existence of such activities or professed ignorance; finally, however, the matter was resolved when Affiant was contacted by two attorneys representing the McGovern Committee who made assurances that the activity had been terminated.
- (g) That such activities, to-wit the soliciation of votes is prohibited by the Minnesota election law, to-wit: Minnesota Statute 211.15.
- (h) That there were other election irregularities that came to the Committee's attention before the election and on election day; however, the foregoing represents the clearest example of an organized effort by a campaign committee for a Presidential candidate to engage in concerted activities clearly forbidden by law.

5. That he makes this Affidavit for the purpose of establishing that the events set forth above did occur and occur in the manner above described, that the foregoing is based upon

EXHIBIT No. 256-22

AFFIDAVIT

State of Minnesota
County of Beltrami

Chester A. Oman, County Republican Chairman
512 Beltrami Avenue
Bemidji, Minnesota 56601

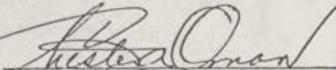
Being duly sworn states that under oath to wit:

Republican Campaign Headquarters for Beltrami County was located at the corner of Second Street and Beltrami Avenue and was under lease from Mr. Roy Wright of Bemidji for period July 1, 1973 to November 30, 1973. The building was under control of the county committee and the rent of \$240.00 paid by the county committee.

This location was Campaign Headquarters for the Nixon-Agnew Committee, Seventh District Congressional candidate Jon Haaven, U.S. Senate candidate Phil Hansen and the local legislative candidates Allan Habedank and Willys Nord.

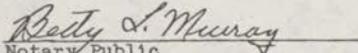
The break-in was made during the night or morning hours after headquarters closed on Sunday October 13, 1973. Entry was gained by forcing the front door open and breaking the lock.

Materials destroyed were primarily the last joint-mailing of literature of all the candidates using this headquarters. Destruction was done by pouring motor oil over all the envelopes and paper material including bumper stickers, handouts and signs of President Nixon and Agnew. Attached is a copy of news article in the October 14, 1973, issue of the Bemidji Pioneer which records this effort to disrupt the GOP campaign as an organized effort throughout the county.



Chester A. Oman

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th day of October 1973.



Betty L. Murray

Notary Public

BETTY L. MURRAY
Notary Public, BELTRAMI CO., MINN.
My Commission Expires JUNE 17, 1978

[From the Bemidji Pioneer, Oct. 14, 1973]

VANDALS HIT GOP HEADQUARTERS

In a campaign which has been plagued by acts of vandalism for several weeks, Allan Habedank today reported a break-in at GOP headquarters at Second Street and Beltrami Ave.

Police said entry was gained by prying open a front door. About 6,000 pieces of mail had been destroyed by pouring a light grade of motor oil over the literature, some of which had been strewn about the floor, both in the main room of the campaign office and in a storage room at the rear of the building.

Habedank, candidate for state senator from the 4th District, said some 2,000 pieces of mailing literature belonging to Willys Nord, candidate for state representative from District 4-A, was included in the vandalism.

He also reported that a crew of volunteers numbering from eight to 10 persons had worked all day Sunday in preparing the literature for mailing, which had been scheduled for today.

"I'd like to think it was just a Halloween prank," the candidate said, "but we've been dogged by vandalism for the past several weeks, and now, with this happening so close to election day, well, it's just a little hard to take."

The GOP headquarters building had been closed at about 7 p.m. Sunday, the break-in being discovered this morning when Habedank and fellow-workers opened the office at 8 a.m. in anticipation of mailing out his own literature along with that of Nord.

Several days ago Habedank reported theft of several thousand small "stake" signs from locations throughout the district. Over the past weekend, he noted, signs had disappeared from Deer River, Remer, Federal Dam, Longville and other areas.

Police Chief James McDowell said this morning the case is still under investigation.



SURVEYING DAMAGE at the local GOP headquarters is Allan Habedank, right, and Gary Katzenmaler. Habedank, candidate for state senator from District 4, said about 6,000 pieces of mailing literature had been totally ruined by motor oil poured over the campaign

material, some of it, belonging to another candidate, Willys Nord, who is running for the state legislature from District 4-A. The office was broken into sometime between 7 p.m. Sunday and 8 a.m. today. (Pioneer photo by Frank Bain)

EXHIBIT NO. 256-23

AFFIDAVIT

I, Arthur C. Egan, Jr., do hereby swear and depose that:

I am the Chief Investigative Reporter for the Manchester Union Leader which is located at 35 Amherst Street in Manchester, New Hampshire.

On February 12, 1972, a demonstration occurred in front of the Nixon Headquarters in Manchester, New Hampshire. Eleven persons who participated were arrested. Four days later, on February 16, 1972, the Manchester Police Department was bombed in the early morning hours. The bombs damaged both the police and fire departments. In addition, one bomb went off in the hand of one of the two perpetrators, Jaan K. Laaman, injuring him. A press release was seized from the person of the second perpetrator, Kathryn A. Holt. The press release stated that they had intended to bomb both the police department and the Nixon Headquarters that evening.

On February 16 and 17, 1972, the Manchester Union Leader ran front page stories on the bombing. As a part of the February 17 story, the Manchester Union Leader printed photographs of the anti-Nixon demonstration of February 12, which clearly depicted both Laaman and Holt in the forefront

of the demonstration, carrying a banner and shouting. These stories and photographs are an accurate description of the bombing February 16 and the demonstration of February 12. They are attached hereto as Exhibits A and B.

Arthur C. Egan, Jr.

Then personally appeared the above mentioned Arthur C. Egan, Jr. of Manchester, New Hampshire, and made oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best of his knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to those he believes the same to be true.

Before me, October 4, 1973 .

Edward C. Clark

Notary Public

11/16/76









[From the Manchester Union Leader]

LETTER PREDICTED BOTH BOMB BLASTS

Manchester Police this morning released a letter that attributes bombing of Manchester Police and Fire headquarters to the "People's Liberation Army." Police Chief John A. Stips said the letter was taken from a suspect detained shortly after the bombings.

It was learned that copies of the same letter were scheduled to be mailed to various newspapers, among them the Manchester Union Leader.

A reprint of the full letter from the "People's Liberation Army" follows:

"On Sat. Feb. 11, in Manchester, N. H., there was a demonstration of people from all over N. H. against the opening of Nixon headquarters, the war in S E Asia and the repression in America. Even though Manchester is known as a center for right wing activity, the people came and demonstrated militantly. Tho the people refused to be intimidated the pigs viciously attacked them and after a series of busts the demonstration was broken up. While demonstrations like this are necessary and good we are not going to get far always fighting on the pigs terms—fighting unarmed or underarmed openly in the streets.

"Seeing the need to carry the initial attack of the people further the peoples liberation army in N. H. staged a series of attacks in Manchester on the nite of Feb. 15. We bombed Nixons headquarters, we simultaneously bombed police headquarters from three sides—offices, pig lounge area, and garage area. We continued the same fight on a different level, this time on our terms . . . meaning moving right under the pigs nose using surprise as our most heaviest weapon, moving aggressively the pig media has been trying to portray this coming election as a traditional quiet affair. Nixon, McCloskey and the rest of the Republicans along with Muskie, Daley and all the Democrats are looking at New Hamp. and the first primary and hoping this comes true. We've shown them what to expect—

All power to the imagination
War on our Terms
Peoples Liberation Army"

POSSIBLE LINK TO CLASH HERE

(By Bill Robinson)

A 21-year-old woman, charged in connection with this morning's bombings at Manchester's police headquarters and the Central Fire Department, may be linked with Saturday's "antiwar" march in Manchester which ended in a clash between police and protesters.

Police said that Kathryn A. Holt, gave an address of 430 Commonwealth Ave., Boston. Deputy Chief Thomas King said, however, a car confiscated by officials bearing New Hampshire registration plates was registered in Miss Holt's name. King added that the registration certificate lists an address of 32 Hanson St., Dover.

A check with the Manchester Highway Department revealed that a parade permit was issued to the New Hampshire Peace and Anti-war Group under the name of David Parker of the same address listed on Miss Holt's registration certificate, 32 Hanson St., Dover.

Saturday's demonstration was aimed at the opening ceremonies of President Nixon's Manchester headquarters on Hanover Street. Police arrested 12 demonstrators during the 20-minute melee, which broke out after the estimated 175 demonstrators violated police orders and crossed from the south side of the street to the north side and converged on the Nixon headquarters office.

A news release was received at the Manchester Union Leader in today's mail from the "Lincoln's Day Parade Committee."

The letter concerned Saturday's demonstration in Manchester and stated "for further information: contact Judy Collins." It then listed a phone number.

According to the Dover business office of the New England Telephone Company, the number listed in the news release is listed to David Parker of 32 Hanson St., Dover.

A call to the name listed in the release, Judy Collins, revealed that she also lives at that address and is a member of the New Hampshire Peace Action which she said is a coalition of different groups.

The release reads in part:

"On Saturday, February 12, 250 people participated in a demonstration and march against Richard Nixon's domestic policies and the continuation of the war in Indochina.

"A spokeswoman for the Lincoln's Day Parade Committee, Valerie Hawkins, said that, 'in accordance with the parade permit stipulations, the march proceeded as planned. When it reached Nixon's campaign headquarters; officially being opened by HUD Sec. George Romney; a spontaneous demonstration occurred.'

"For a short time, the marchers chanted slogans, such as: Stop the air war in Indochina, tax the rich not the poor, drop Nixon not bombs, and others. After 10 minutes, Miss Hawkins said that 'The police began forcing people off the street and onto the south sidewalk. A few demonstrators then crossed the street to the north sidewalk without police opposition, and continued to chant directly in front of the headquarters.'

The release continued, "Mrs. Hawkins made it clear that at this time, 'There was no antagonism towards the police.'"

Miss Collins said this morning that Miss Hawkins resides at the same address as she does, 32 Hanson Street.

When asked if Miss Holt also resided at that address she said "I can't answer that." She denied that Miss Holt was a member of the New Hampshire Peace Action group.

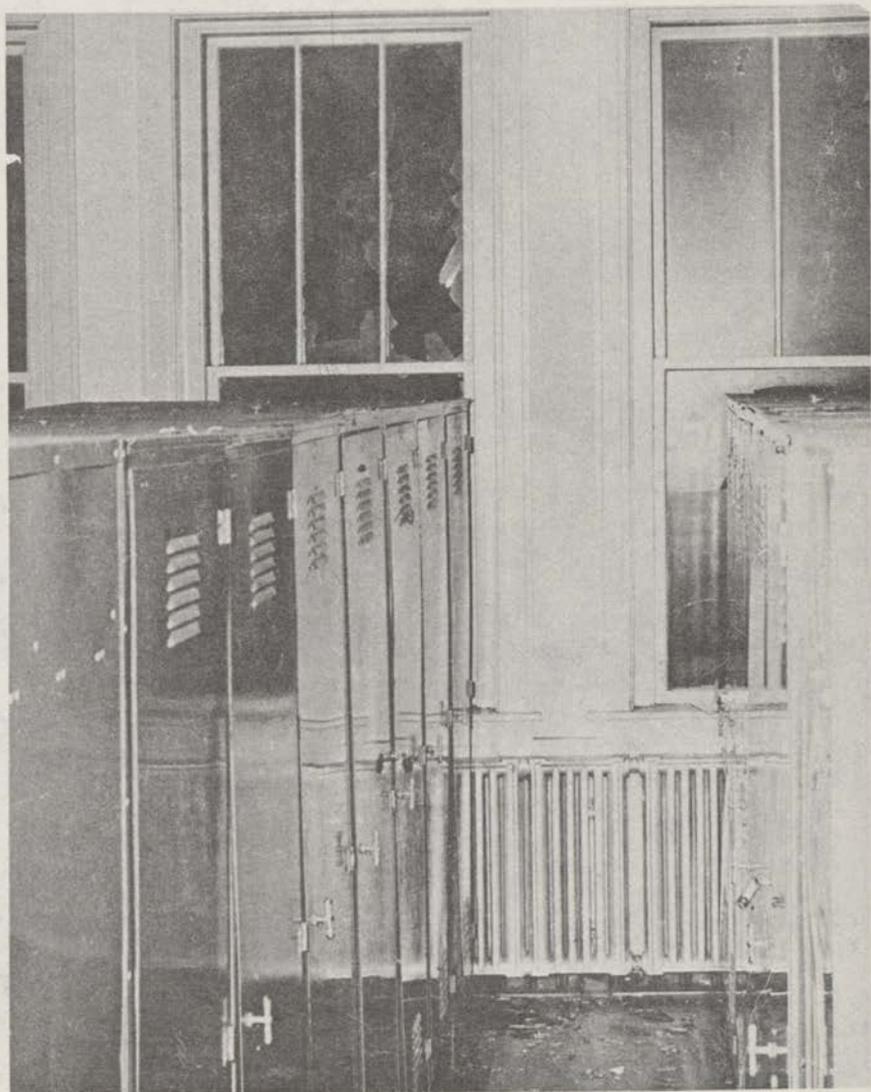
She concluded with, "I don't want to answer any questions about that," referring to further questions concerning Miss Holt.

EXHIBIT NO. 256-24

AFFIDAVIT

I, Donald F. Glennon, do hereby swear and depose that:

I am Lieutenant, Manchester Police Department, Manchester, New Hampshire. During the early morning hours of February 16, 1972, I was on duty in the Manchester Police Department, Manchester, New Hampshire. I heard a bomb explode and later observed that several windows near the police locker room area had been blown out. A photograph accurately depicting the damage caused by the bomb blast is attached hereto as Exhibit A. Investigation that night revealed that one Jaan K. Laaman had placed a bomb under one of the windows of the Police Department. The bomb went off, prematurely, blowing the window out as well as severely damaging Laaman's hand. Further investigation revealed that a second bomb had been placed under the window of the office of the Chief of the Manchester Police Department. This bomb did not go off and is accurately depicted in the photograph attached hereto as Exhibit B. A third bomb exploded near the fire department, which is located adjacent to the police department, and damaged the windows and structure of the fire department. A fourth bomb exploded on the sidewalk near the police department where it apparently had been dropped by one of the two perpetrators, Jaan K. Laaman and Kathryn A. Holt. Both Laaman and Holt were arrested that same evening and subsequently convicted of the bombing offense.





5139



5140

AFTER 8 DAYS RETURN TO

ZIP CODE

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE
MEMORIAL UNION BUILDING
DURHAM NH 03824

AFTER 8 DAYS RETURN TO

ZIP CODE

LEBANON VALLEY NEWS
LEBANON NH

5141

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

ZIP CODE

CONCORD MONITOR
3 NORTH STATE ST.
CONCORD NH 03301



AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

ZIP CODE

NASHUA TELEGRAPH
60 MAIN ST.
NASHUA NH 03060



ON THE LI
PO BOX
DOVER NH

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

STRAWBERP
PO BOX 40
PORTSMOUTH

AFTER 3 DAYS RETURN TO
ZIP CODE

EXHIBIT No. 256-25

FOR SALE BY THE VALIANT CO., ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

AFFIDAVIT—GENERAL—1

STATE OF NEW MEXICO

County of Bernalillo

} ss.

, being first duly sworn

Paula E. Maloy

according to law, upon his oath deposes and says:

I became a member of the New Mexico Committee For the Re-election of the President on April 11, 1972, as State Special Projects Coordinator. On April 17, 1972, I opened the state CRP headquarters in Albuquerque. I have knowledge of the following events which occurred during the 1972 Presidential election in Albuquerque. On the morning of May 9th, at the office of the CRP, at 3908 Central NE, I found paint on the window and front of the building. This included negative references to the Presidential address of May 8th. I removed the paint and slogans without any publicity. I did report it to the local police, but asked that no further investigation be made. I can not recall the wording of the defacement. On or about this same date, an expensive outdoor display sign for the CRP, located in front of this office, was broken by thrown rocks or similar materials. This sign was the property of Mr. Gus Bruskas, the owner of the building. There was a period of unrest and demonstrations in Albuquerque for some days after this. Beginning May 9th, I and my co-workers, removed all our

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

31st

day of

OctoberA. D. 1973

ADD TITLE OF OFFICER BEFORE WHOM SWORN.



files, records and materials from the office each night and took them home with us. I arranged for a security system to be installed.

May 10th, shortly after noon, three young men dumped a load of debris in front of the headquarters and attempted to light it, without success. They ran away, around the building. A person, unknown to me, who said he was walking by and saw the incident, came into the office and told me that the three men got into an old white Plymouth, N.M. license #AOT 316 and drove away. Shortly thereafter, the police department called me on the telephone and said that a large group of demonstrators was marching to my office with the intention of burning it. A few minutes later, a group of police officers arrived at the office and told me the same thing. The officer in charge instructed me to remove all signs, posters, etc., place most of the furniture in the store room, lock the front door and to leave the building through the rear exit. The police officers remained in the building, in the rear store-room, out of sight. I went to the front of the building where I saw a group of several hundred persons come down Central Ave., chanting and carrying anti-war signs. When the group arrived in front of the CRP office, some persons looked through the windows, tried the door and yelled to the crowd, "They've moved out." The crowd then moved on down the street. Within half an hour, I received notice from the property owner that I would have to move the office because he and other tenants feared the building would be burned and their offices would be endangered. We continued to occupy this office for several weeks, as the rent was prepaid and no other suitable office space was available. The secretary and volunteers were instructed to maintain a very low profile. No campaign materials were visible, the telephone was answered with 'Hello'. No information was given over the phone nor to visitors to the office who were not known to us. We tried to give the public appearance of a telephone solicitation service. We believed this was necessary for the security of the office and the personal safety of the secretary and volunteers.

On May 14th, the Bernallillo County Republican headquarters, at 3420 Lomas N.E. was defaced with paint. I saw TV coverage of this which showed a group of women painting the front of the office. They were arrested on the scene. I also read about this in the local newspapers. They had notified the press of their intention to demonstrate at this office and at the public park across the street. I later visited the headquarters and saw the damage. A friend of mine told me that her neighbor, Ms. Nancy Nevison, 4432 Ave. Del Sol, (who is also know to me and whom I know to be active in the Democratic Party), stated to her that she, Ms. Nevison, organized this demonstration, but stayed across the street in Bataan Park because she did not want to be arrested.

May 16th, I heard that the headquarters at 3420 Lomas had been firebombed the night before. I went to see the damaged. The front window had been broken and a large quantity of election material and printed matter which had been prepared for delegates to a Bernallillo County Republican convention to be held May 20th had been burned. I had seen this material a day or so before, when I had sent some of my volunteers to help in its preparation.

On several occasions, groups of protestors in sheets, white faces and oriental-type straw hats blocked entrance to the office at 3420 Lomas and I was told by the staff there that these persons entered the office and made remarks and gestures which were offensive and threatening. Similar protestors appeared in front of my office, but to my knowledge did not prevent anyone from entering nor did they cause disturbance inside my office.

September 26th, when I was attending a CRP fund raising Evening with the President dinner at the Four Seasons Motel, we were advised by the MC that there were protestors outside. He advised us all to leave with care. Some persons, about this time, attempted to enter the banquet room via the outside doors, which were locked. They rattled the doors and banged on them. When I tried to leave the building, the door was blocked by people dressed as described above. They carried anti-war and anti-Nixon signs, accosted guests and blocked the entrance/exit. It was necessary to leave the building by a rear exit.

In June, the CRP office was moved to 5210 Lomas N.E. We incurred quite a bit of additional expense in moving, signs, change of letter-head, telephones, etc. as a result of being forced from the previous location. Although I was out of town at this time, my secretary did tell me that the locks were changed when we moved in. There were numerous incidents during the following months of unauthorized entrance to this office. Confidential materials were disturbed, some were removed from the files and later returned. Certain special CRP campaign material items, which I personally counted each day, were removed during the night when the office was locked. I had the lock changed again September 27th. I continued to notice evidence of entry. Oct. 22, I locked my personal file in the presence of three witnesses and found it open and disturbed early the following morning. I had the key in my possession at all times. Twice I had to call a repair man to fix the evaporative air cooler which was on the roof. He told me there was evidence of someone tampering with it each time. I checked with the building maintenance people and no one had touched it. This was significant to me because it is a commonly used mode of entry in this part of the country and also because another political office (one of Senator Pete Dominici's) was entered and robbed by this method about this same time.

When we needed additional telephone service in our office, I had two private unlisted lines installed, without the call numbers being on the sets, so that these would be used only for outgoing calls. I was the only person other than the installer who knew these numbers. There was mechanical difficulty with my private line the entire time it was in place. The telephone repair men could not trace or correct the problems. Although these numbers were supposed to be unavailable, I received harassing calls on my private line directed toward the CRP and the President. I do not know how the callers learned the number.

During the campaign we got many telephone calls of an antagonistic nature. In the final weeks, the same voices repeatedly called to "discuss" issues. I believed that this was an attempt to tie up our telephones during the busiest time of the campaign. This is the extent of my direct knowledge of unusual activities directed toward the CRP during the 1972 election.

Paula L. Maloy

EXHIBIT NO. 256-26

AFFIDAVIT

I, Willard Lewis, do hereby swear and depose that:

I presently reside at 1301 Sigma Chi Road, N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico. During the presidential election campaign of 1972 I served as Campaign Manager for the New Mexico Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

During the week of May 8-12, 1972 the State Nixon Campaign Headquarters was subjected to various acts of vandalism, harassment, and disruption which resulted in a severe interruption of the campaign operations. That week was the week of the so-called Haiphong Harbor mining events.

Some of the disruptive activities directed at the Nixon campaign operations are noted below:

1. During the night following the President's announcement of actions against North Vietnam the campaign headquarters was vandalized. Black spray paint was used to spray vulgar and obscene anti-Nixon slogans across the plate glass windows, the glass door, and metal trim. In addition, a portion of lighted display advertising sign was destroyed.
2. For several subsequent days the headquarters staff was subjected to a number of obscene and harassing anonymous telephone calls.
3. During the week protest demonstrations in Albuquerque intensified. City police intelligence warned me that our headquarters was a potential target for demonstrators, and suggested that we take measures to protect life and property.
4. Shortly after noon on Wednesday, May 10, 1972 the City police dispatcher called to alert us that a large group of demonstrators who had massed at the gates of Kirtland Air Force Base

were marching toward our headquarters. A few minutes later, in advance of arrival of the main body of demonstrators, a small group in an automobile drove into the parking lot, jumped from the vehicle, and dumped a substantial amount of inflammable debris along the building front and doorway, then sped off. With the assistance of personnel from a neighboring office and a roving police patrol, we were able to remove the debris before the mass of the demonstrators arrived. We assumed that the demonstrators intended to burn the building, and began to bring additional fire extinguishers into the building. At this time the mobile tactical police unit arrived and grouped behind the building, a squad of approximately fifty police officers. Shortly thereafter the main body of demonstrators arrived in front of the building which had been evacuated and locked. I estimate the number of demonstrators to be approximately three hundred fifty. After chanting for approximately ten minutes the group moved on down Central Avenue toward the University campus. No damage was sustained and there was no confrontation with police.

These incidents caused severe interruptions and disruptions in campaign activities. Some of these are noted below:

1. The month-to-month lease which the Committee held on the campaign headquarters building was cancelled, requiring the removal of the headquarters to another location. The lessor said that other tenants had insisted upon our removal because they were afraid of arson and vandalism. Since our location had been widely publicized, the move caused confusion, particularly for those desiring to volunteer as campaign workers.

2. The forced move was a financial loss to the committee because of telephone systems which had been installed, stationery printed with the address, lost paid staff time required to pack and unpack the office files, supplies, and equipment, and other expenses related to moving.

3. The impact upon the volunteer staff was severe. The momentum of regular volunteer schedules was lost in the confusion. During the May 8 week we asked volunteers to stay away because we feared for their safety. The intimidation of volunteers coupled with the subsequent forced move resulted in a severe interruption of planned activities utilizing volunteer services.

4. A careful schedule of publicized events was disrupted. Publicity had already been released, and invitations printed, for a "Grand Opening" later in May. The forced move, and concern about further potential demonstrations and harassment required postponement of the Grand Opening which finally occurred in mid-July, about seven weeks later than originally scheduled.

5. Normal office routine was completely disrupted during the week of May 8-12, 1972. The staff was required to pack valuable files, supplies, and equipment each night and remove them from the building because of fear of destruction. On May 10, 1972 the staff, with volunteer and police help, had to remove virtually all furniture, in addition to files, supplies, and equipment because it appeared that destruction by fire was an imminent danger. Time was lost answering numerous anonymous harassing telephone calls.

Willard Lewis

Then personally appeared the above mentioned Willard Lewis

of Albuquerque, New Mexico, and made oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Before me appeared this 9th day of October, 1973.

Harry A. Spire
Notary Public

My commission expires
4/20/77

EXHIBIT NO. 256-27

AFFIDAVIT

I, William Kapps of 505 West 55th Street, New York, New York 10019, swear and affirm that I have personal knowledge of the following disturbances directed against the Nixon Campaign in New York City during the 1972 campaign:

On August 17, 1972, there was a conference held by Father Daniel Berrigan and David Dellinger in the Roosevelt Hotel, Room 417, with Craig Thorn, David Richman, and myself. The subject of the meeting was a plea by Berrigan and Dellinger to end the war in Vietnam. After the meeting Berrigan and Dellinger held a news conference attended by approximately twenty observers and media people outside the Nixon Campaign Headquarters in the Roosevelt Hotel.

On August 26, 1972, a demonstration took place on the southeast corner of East 45th Street and Madison Avenue, outside the Nixon Headquarters in the Roosevelt Hotel. Approximately 150 people participated. Speeches were made, accompanied with songs and chanting. Leaflets, speculating an attendance of 1,000 people, were distributed approximately two weeks in advance of the demonstration. The demonstration lasted approximately one and one-half hours.

On September 6, 1972, twelve to fifteen demonstrators emerged from the elevators on the fourth floor of the Roosevelt Hotel. They donned masks

and headgear, proceeded to chant, blow bugles, and dumped bags of live roaches on the floor. They passed out leaflets concerning the Watergate bugging and fled. The demonstration lasted less than two minutes.

On October 1, 1972, a similar demonstration occurred at the same location. The building was vacant on this Sunday except for security personnel. The demonstrators again dumped live roaches on the floor and distributed leaflets.

On October 25, 1972, cans of red paint were thrown on volunteer workers at the Nixon store front, 520 Madison Avenue.

On the night of October 30-31, 1972, approximately 30 people conducted an all night sit-in demonstration in front of the Nixon store front at 520 Madison Avenue. The store front windows were covered with anti-Nixon posters and then broken.

This information was extracted from my diary from the months of August, September, and October, 1972.

William Kapps

Then personally appeared the above mentioned William Kapps of New York, New York, and made oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best of his knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to those he believes the same to be true.

Before me, 10/9/73

MAURICE RUBINS
Notary Public, State of New York
No. 31-8592850
Qualified in New York County
Commission Expires March 30, 1974

Maurice Rubins

Notary Public

EXHIBIT NO. 256-28

AFFIDAVIT

I, ROBERT I. HISLOP, JR., do hereby swear and depose that:

I am presently employed as Detective, Columbus, Ohio Police Department, Intelligence Bureau, and have been with the Department for two and one-half years. During the month of May, 1972, several demonstrations occurred in Columbus, Ohio. I was present at the demonstrations occurring on May 9 and May 11.

At the May 9 demonstration, Vice President Agnew spoke at a fund-raising dinner. As the guests for the dinner arrived, they were physically and verbally abused. As the Vice President's car arrived, the rear window was struck with a rock directly behind where the Vice President was seated. In addition, the demonstrators threw potatoes at the guests and police. The demonstrators were also shouting obscenities at the guests and were observed spitting on the guests.

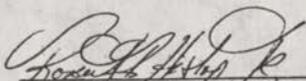
At the May 11 demonstration, 250-300 demonstrators marched to the ROTC building on the Ohio State campus, Columbus, Ohio. The ROTC building was assaulted with rocks, and the fence and gate were damaged by rocks and other assaults. During this demonstration, the demonstrators blocked traffic and

destroyed personal property while marching from the Ohio State ROTC building to Fifteenth and High Streets in Columbus. As the police attempted to disperse the crowd, rocks were thrown at the police. A full-scale riot then resulted, causing the destruction of property, the setting of fires, and numerous arrests, as well as injuries to the police officers.

The attached photographs accurately depict some of the demonstrations on May 9 and May 11. The attached press release was issued on May 14 by the demonstrators after the demonstrations were completed, acknowledging that they "attacked" Vice President Agnew, among others. The attached flier was distributed prior to the May 11 demonstration by the organizers of that demonstration. The attached news articles were written concerning these demonstrations.

Then personally appeared the above mentioned ROBERT I. HISLOP. JR.
of Columbus, Ohio, and made oath that the foregoing statements are true
to the best of his knowledge and belief, except those based on information,
and as to those he believes the same to be true.

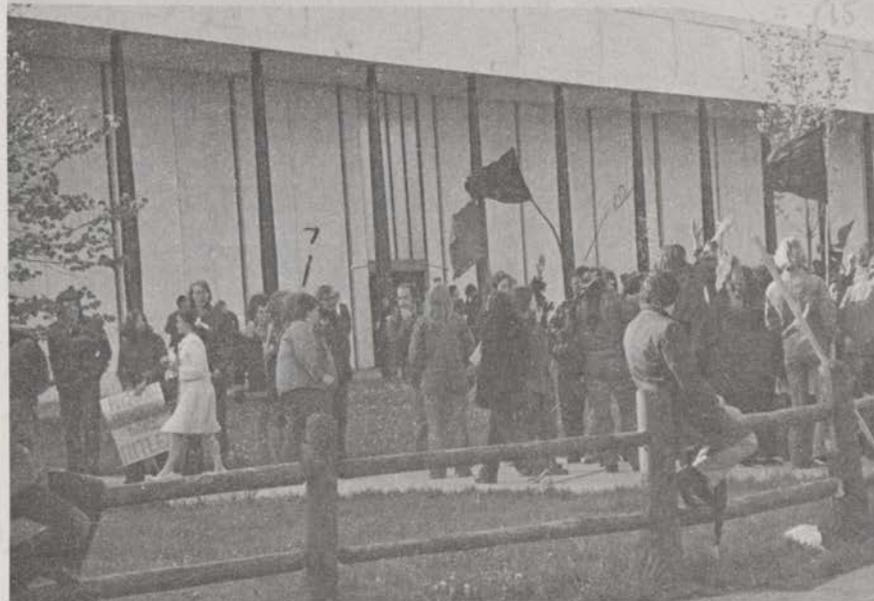
Subscribed and sworn to in the District of Columbia
Before me, this 29th day of October, 1973.



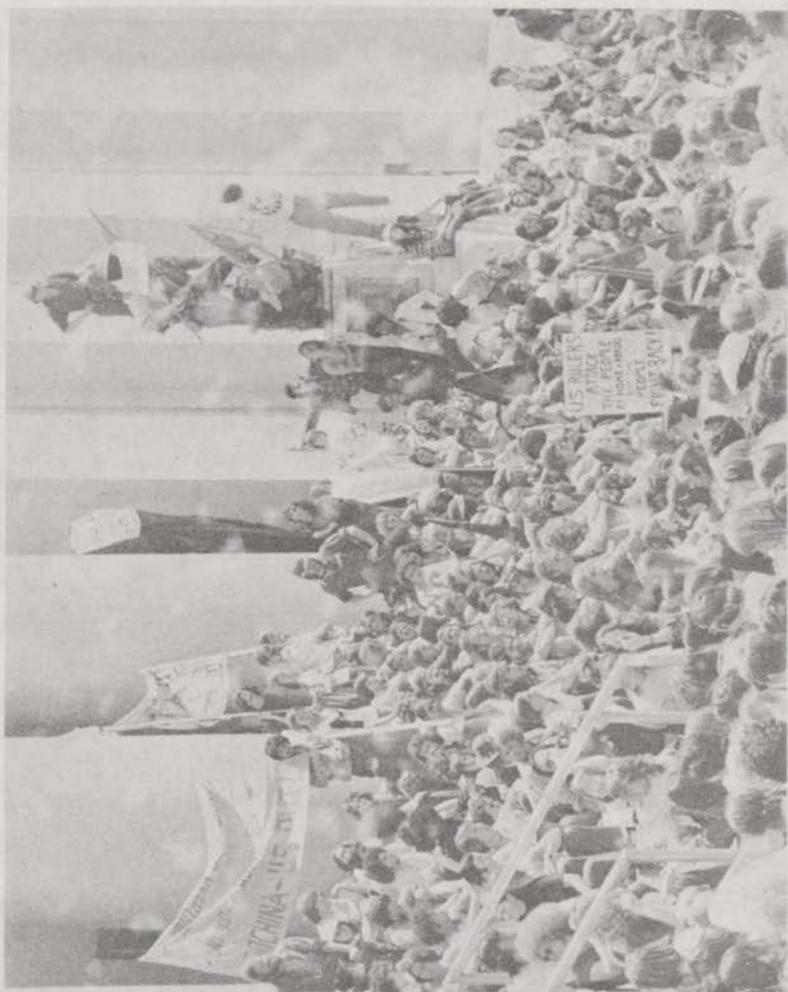
ROBERT I. HISLOP. JR.



Notary Public
My Commission Expires May 11, 1978







For Immediate Release

MAY 14-1972

STATEMENT OF THE INDOCHINA COALITION

Early Friday morning, 1500 OSU campus community residents opposed to the Indochina War were attacked by police under orders from Safety Director Bernard Chupka and Sheriff Stacy Hall. We sought maximum visibility of our opposition to the war Nixon has declared on humanity by nonviolently occupying the intersection at 15th and High. Against the advice and desires of OSU and city politicians and the Columbus police, Chupka and Hall, upper-class Republicans from the suburbs, invaded our community and attempted to order us to leave or be arrested. The reason the National Liberation Front and the Vietnamese people are winning is because they are fighting for control of their own land in the area where they live and work. We, too, will defend our communities against aggression and invasion.

Since Friday, warrants have been issued for the arrests of at least nine well-known community activists, described by police as leaders. None of the four people accused of inciting to riot did, in fact, encourage anything but a militant yet disciplined, nonviolent demonstration, and several vocally opposed entering High Street. Two people, Margaret Sarber and John Miernik, who left the area two hours before the police attack, are in jail with a combined bail of nearly one-quarter of a million dollars.

These nine people were selected by the Moody Administration for political arrest, as part of a nation-wide conspiracy by the Nixon Administration and the Republican Party to silence opposition to their war of aggression in Southeast Asia. Margaret, John, Colin Neiburger and Steve Abbott are staff members of the Columbus Free Press, which has exposed and opposed the Moody and Nixon administrations and local, national and international oppression and repression. Margaret and Colin were perhaps the most visible spokespeople for the Indochina Coalition, which has conducted sustained antiwar activities since the resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam, and which, on Tuesday, embarrassed Vice President Agnew and Republican fat-cats at their \$125 a plate blood dinner. Ray Twohig, who was busted in court, and Mike Schwartzwalder are well-known movement lawyers, who have been deeply involved in the struggle for community control of police, and who were present at 15th and High as legal observers; Ray, perhaps the most visible attorney for Charles Rose, had filed suit against the police charging brutality., especially during the November 1971 riots. Jerry Friedman is well-known as the former president of Undergraduate Student Government and the figurehead of Community Union, which has worked towards community control of police. Karen Daneai and Chet Dilday are leaders of SDS, and have been active in organizing workers and students. Colin was instrumental in organizing Gay Pride Week, and is one of Columbus' few publically-admitted homosexuals. Margaret, John, Colin and Steve have been active in the struggle against death drugs in our community, a vital aspect of the Nixon Administration's ghetto pacification program.

Margaret, John, Ray, Mike, Jerry, Steve, Colin, Karen and Chet have publically opposed, attacked and embarrassed such Republican officials as Chupka, Hall, Moody, Judges Schull and Fais, and Spiro T. Agnew. The charges against them seven are no more the result of their actions at 15th and High than was the FBI interrogation of at least 20 people the result of the rock or potato that did not break Spiro Agnew's windshield.

The Republican Party power brokers hope to silence opposition to their murderous policies throughout the world, from Columbus to Indochina, through McCarthyesque attacks upon those they perceive to be our leadership. We will not be silenced. In the words of murdered Black Panther Fred Hampton: "When one of us falls, a thousand will rush to take his place."

Rally against INDOCHINA War



The Peoples uprisings in South Vietnam is winning. Nixons latest escalation, shows the failure of Vietnamization, and the desperation of the warmakers.

Since Mondays speech, by Nixon, the people from Berkeley, Madison, Alburquerque, (where two were shot), have met the escalation with INCREASING MILITANCY to end the war. Here in Columbus we met the SPIRO T. AGNEW, and the REPUBLICAN Party with 500 angry, shouting people, who saw thru the facade of the \$125 dinners while people starve.

In the next few days our anger will focus on ROTC and Battele Institute. ROTC provides 85% of our Second officers to the Indochina war. Battele reseaches and produces projects, as the Chemical Defoilixtion, Counter Insurgency Studies.

Faced with a defeat in Vietnam, warmongers have launched a frenzied attack on working people, especially black and brown people. From the wage and price freeze, inflation, welfare cutbacks, and runaway shops to the frame ups of political leaders like Angela Davis, and Rachel Magee to outright MURDERS like George Jackson, and Attica repression is intensifying. But like the people of Indochina, blacks women gays working people are fighting back.

JOIN US. JOIN US. JOIN US. JOIN US. JOIN US.

TODAY -

1:00 - MARCH TO STATEHOUSE FROM
GOODALE PARK (DENNISON + BUTTLES 1 BLOCK)
W. FROM HIGH + BUTTLES

8:00 RALLY - OVAL MARCH TO ROTC

FRIDAY 3:30 RALLY 15th + HIGH
MARCH TO BATELLE INSTITUTE

ANTIWAR RALLY SET FOR TODAY

Another rally to protest the war in Vietnam will be held today at 1:30 on the Oval.

Plans to have the rally and a "guerrilla theatre" were made at an open meeting called by the Indochina Coalition Sunday night at the Wesley Foundation.

The 50 people who attended also discussed ways to protest Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's visit to the Ohio State Fairgrounds Tuesday. Agnew will be speaking at a \$125-a-plate dinner sponsored by the Ohio Republican Finance Committee.

Colin Nieburger, one of the members of the coalition, said, "I think the word strike is the most premature action we can conceive of doing. People really don't want to relive 1967 again."

Other people at the meeting said it would be "too bad" if people looking for a riot or having exams cancelled are disappointed.

"As much as possible I think we should work on building something that will continue, not just end in June," said an unidentified speaker.

Various forms of civil disobedience were the main actions discussed concerning Agnew's visit. Handing out free balogna sandwiches and closing off the fairgrounds entrances with sit-ins were discussed.

The presence of secret servicemen and police was also brought up. "The police are always ready to change the issues," said one person. "They would love to change the issue of the Indochina War to 'hippies riot.'"

The Indochina Coalition is a recently-formed group opposing the war in Indochina, according to some people at the meeting. By a show of hands, less than half the people at the meeting were students.

Members also discussed ways to involve non-students in the protests. "A lot of us work and can't make it to the rallies," said some.

Another rally is scheduled for 4:30 p.m. Tuesday.

AGNEW ATTRACTS PROTESTS

(By Renee Kaputkin and Gary Gorman)

About 375 demonstrators protesting President Nixon's blockade of North Vietnam marched from the Oval to the Ohio State Fairgrounds' Lausche Building Tuesday where Vice President Spiro Agnew spoke at a \$125-a-plate Republican fund raising dinner.

The demonstrators arrived two hours before Agnew and formed a semicircle around the building. They shouted insults at the dinner guests as they entered, but there was little violence.

Agnew aides said the rear window of the Vice President's car was cracked by a hard object. Agnew was not injured or disturbed, the aides said.

Agnew was ushered through a back entrance that was closely guarded by riot-equipped Highway Patrolmen.

Col. Robert Chairamonte, head of the Highway Patrol, said that 70 patrolmen were called out when demonstrators began blocking entrances to the building. "We're here to protect your right of peaceful assembly," Chairamonte said.

The march began at a rally on the Oval organized by the Indochina Coalition, a recently formed group that opposes the war in Indochina.

Coalition member Colin Nieburger, who is not a student, said the group is "fighting the same thing the Vietnamese are fighting—U.S. imperialism."

He said the group wants to renew student interest in the war and educate people about war research on campus.

"The only way to stop the war is for us to march, protest and stop the war machine," Nieburger said. "Voting has given us only Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon."

About 100 persons joined the original group of marchers before they reached the fairgrounds.

Some dinner guests responded to the demonstrators' claim that they were supporting the war by attending the dinner.

"I fought my wars so you people could be here now," one man said. Another said, "If we look for promises and performance, Nixon has pulled men out of Vietnam."

Jeff Coleman, a member of the Indochina Coalition said, "We're trying to show that the young people of the United States are going to react to the escalation of the war and that the quiet campus is a myth."

DEMONSTRATION ERUPTS

(By Mary Umberger)

The Rod Serling Festival wasn't the only "orgy" on campus late Thursday night.

While an estimated 4,000 Twilight Zone fans watched the Maydaze "Movie Orgy" in French Field House, several hundred persons participated in a demonstration that eventually led to a rock throwing and tear gas shooting battle between police and protestors.

At the end of it all, 72 had been arrested, 31 had been injured, and about \$3,000 damage had been done to University property.

Among the injured was David E. Stormer, associate director of campus police, who was hit in the face with a brick. He suffered a compound fracture of the nose and facial cuts and bruises. He was treated and released from University Hospital.

A police spokesman said he will be back at work today.

Of the 31 injured, including 18 police, none was seriously hurt. All were treated and released from either University or Mount Carmel hospitals.

Bernard Lachner, vice president for administrative operations, estimates damage to campus police vehicles at \$1,000. He said five cruisers were damaged, all of which were back in operation by Friday afternoon.

Lachner said about \$2,000 damage occurred to windows and doors of campus buildings, primarily in South Campus residence halls.

Campus police arrested four persons, none of whom were students, and of the 68 arrested by Columbus police, 28 were students, Lachner said.

Meanwhile, Saturday night city police Intelligence Bureau officers filed affidavits charging about 14 additional persons with offenses related to the disturbance.

Included in the list was former Undergraduate Student Government President Jerome Friedman, on a charge of inciting to riot. As of Sunday afternoon, Friedman had not been located.

The demonstration began early Thursday evening with a rally by about 100 persons on the Oval. The rally was organized to protest military research at the University and President Nixon's Indochina policy.

At about 8:30 the group marched to the ROTC Building, led by Colin Neiburger and Margaret Miernik, gathering marchers until the crowd size reached about 250, observers said. The group tried to take over the building but were prevented by the building's gates and by University policemen on the scene and inside the building.

The group left the ROTC Building and moved to 15th Avenue and High Street, where they blocked traffic, smashed windows, overturned trash barrels, and pulled an old truck into the intersection.

Columbus police stood by for more than two hours without taking action as Undergraduate Student Government President Mike White and Off Campus Student Association member David Showalter met with Police Chief Earl Burden in an effort to get the police to wait before taking action.

At 12:23 Columbus Safety Director Bernard Chupka ordered the crowd to disperse. Demonstrators answered by throwing rocks and bottles.

Then Burden ordered police to move in at the 15th and High intersection, splitting the crowd into two sections.

Police dispersed the crowd by shooting wooden knee-knockers, which are one and a quarter inch pellets. Cruisers patrolled north and south from Ninth to 15th Avenues, and east to west from North Fourth to High Streets until 2 a.m.

The last reported trouble occurred at about 2 a.m., when a group burned some wooden crates in the street on 11th Avenue.

About 45 campus police were called out during the disturbance, a police official said. Exact figures on the number of city policemen on the scene were unavailable, but observers' estimates ranged from 50 to 80, in addition to an undisclosed number of city detectives and undercover intelligence officers.

A demonstration and march to Battelle Memorial Institute on King Avenue planned for 3:30 Friday afternoon failed to materialize, as only about 50 persons gathered at 15th and High.

The campus remained quiet Saturday and Sunday, although police continued to patrol the area.

EXHIBIT NO. 256-29

AFFIDAVIT

I, Ella Carol Jacques, campaign manager for the Montgomery County Committee to Re-elect the President, 237 N. Main Street, Dayton, Ohio, swear and affirm that I have personal knowledge of the following disturbances directed against the Nixon Campaign in the 1972 campaign:

In September of 1972, two break-ins of the Montgomery County Committee to Re-elect the President headquarters at 237 N. Main Street, occurred. In the first break-in, office equipment was damaged and computer records were stolen and destroyed.

for copy F.L.D.
In the second break-in, computer printed precinct and mailing lists were stolen. Peace slogans and pro-McGovern slogans were painted on windows and walls.

Prior to the Republican telephone campaign in our area, there was another group calling voters. The group identified themselves as an independent polling organization. If the receiver of the calls indicated that they intended to vote for President Nixon, the callers became abusive in language and berrated the call receivers' choice.

On October 4, 1972, Senator William Brock appeared as surrogate speaker at the University of Dayton Student Center for the Committee to Re-elect

the President. Interspersed in the crowd of listeners were approximately 30 hecklers who attempted to prevent Senator Brock from speaking.

October 10, 1973

Ella Carol Jacques

Then personally appeared the above mentioned Ella Carol Jacques of Dayton, Ohio, and made oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best of her knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to those she believes the same to be true.

Before me, F. Keith Donley 10/10/73

F. KIETH DONLEY, Notary Public
In and for Montgomery County, Ohio
My Commission Expires Nov. 25, 1973

Notary Public

EXHIBIT NO. 256-30

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF OKLAHOMA)
) ss
COUNTY OF TULSA)

I, RICHARD J. BIGDA, of lawful age, being first duly sworn upon oath state:

On Friday, November 3, 1972, an airport reception was held for President Nixon in a hanger at the Tulsa International Airport. At that event a number of anti Nixon, McGovern sign carrying youths tried to disrupt the President's speech. I observed these events from the vantage point of being the Chairman of the Tulsa Committee for the Re-election of the President. In this capacity, I was able to move freely in the area in order to coordinate the various activities and I could also observe many of the events which occurred that day. Two people from the President's advance staff, Mr. Buzz Mandel and Mr. J. David Andrews were also keenly aware of the demonstrators.

The McGovern-Anti Nixon demonstrators arrived together in the reception hanger early, about noon, the President was to arrive at 3:15 p.m. They gathered on a platform near the rear of the building, it was elevated above the general audience and in front of the speakers stand. They carried official blue and white McGovern-Shriver signs which were about 16X24" in size and mounted on poles and sticks. They also had hand made signs which said No More Years, Ban the Bomber, No More Bombs and other anti Nixon, anti war slogans.

At Mr. Buzz Mandel's urging, I sent several young people into the same area to separate the demonstrators or dilute their increasing chants of No More Years. I was not able to count them in the crowd, but there were perhaps about 10-15. I heard from some of our people that they were making themselves quite unpopular.

After the President arrived and he began his speech, the McGovern sign carrying group began to chant, "No More Years". They repeated this chanting 8 or 10 times during the President's address. Those surrounding the Nixon group countered with a chant of "Four More Years", in order to drown out their noise. From my point next to the speakers stand, it was difficult to understand what the President was saying. The sound system was poor and the chanting detracted from the effectiveness of the speech.

I did not meet any of the demonstrators and personally could not identify who they were. The November 4, 1972 Tulsa newspapers mention one name, the Tulsa police may have others. I do know that when some of our Republican youth urged the demonstrators to leave, the Secret Service men who had also moved close to the anti group restrained the pro-Nixon youth from their activities.

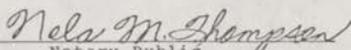
One other incident occurred during the grand opening of the Nixon headquarters. I received a report of several young men who were bothering some of our teenage Republicans outside of the buildings but they left before I actually knew of the incident.

Our general policy was to ignore the McGovern campaign, its activities and headquarters entirely. We conducted our campaign

in a positive manner without mentioning the opposition.


Richard J. Bigda

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5th day of October,
1973.


Notary Public

(SEAL)

November 8, 1975

My Commission Expires:

EXHIBIT No. 256-31

I, MERRILL R. JACOBS, do swear and affirm the following to be true.

On November 3, 1972, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, a group of demonstrators numbering 35 or 40 did appear at a Presidential rally to disrupt a political gathering. The demonstrators were organized in a manner to gain as much publicity and create a vocal, visible disturbance.

Said demonstrators destroyed or pulled down Nixon, Bartlett (for Senate) and Hewgley (for Congress) signs and banners and replaced them with their own banners bearing obscenities. They also shouted chants in order to drown out whoever was speaking.

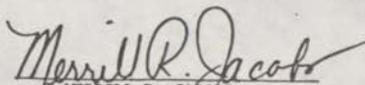
Rumors of such a demonstration had been circulating prior to the Presidential visit and a demonstration was anticipated. The policy of the Nixon campaign was not to react to the demonstrators but to ignore them and hope they would not get out of hand.

After the incident I was informed by several persons that the disturbance was led by a Mr. Lane of Tulsa who was a McGovern youth coordinator in the area. Mr. Lane was detained and questioned by Tulsa police after the rally.

The demonstration could be described as "semi-violent" in as much as signs, banners, etc. were destroyed, but to the best of my knowledge no physical violence occurred.

There can be no doubt that the demonstration was planned well in advance. The people in question arrived at the rally site early and staked out their positions. It was not a spontaneous outburst. The demonstrators were well supplied with McGovern signs and placards, and their intent was to prevent Nixon from being heard and at the same time gain press for their candidate, McGovern. The point of the matter being that the protestors were attempting to prove that President Nixon did not have solid support at the rally.

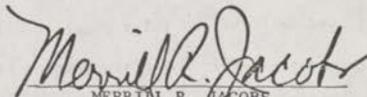
Being present at the McDonnell Douglas facility where the rally and demonstration occurred and observing the event with much interest, I swear that the above is a true account of the events of that day of which I have personal knowledge.


MERRILL R. JACOBS
1972 Oklahoma Chairman
Young Voters for the President

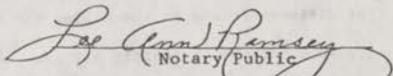
VERIFICATION BY OATH OR AFFIRMATION

STATE OF OKLAHOMA)
) ss.
COUNTY OF OKLAHOMA)

I, MERRILL R. JACOBS, being duly sworn, depose (affirm) and say that this statement of events is complete, true and correct to the best of my knowledge.


MERRILL R. JACOBS

Subscribed and sworn to (affirmed) before me this 4th day of October, 1973.


Notary Public

My commission expires June 8, 1976.

EXHIBIT No. 256-32

TO THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS:

A F F I D A V I T

JIM RODRIGUEZ, of lawful age, being duly sworn, deposes and says as follows:

- (1) During the 1972 Presidential campaign I served as youth coordinator of the Tulsa County Committee of the Re-Election of the President.
- (2) I was assigned by Richard Bigda and Paula Unruh, County Chairmen, to organize and direct the activities of youth at the airport rally held in Tulsa on November 3, 1972.
- (3) I received information from our Tulsa Office that some type of disturbance was in the making the morning of the rally. I was requested by Dave Andrews, a Seattle attorney who was a member of the President's advance party, to monitor any disturbance which might develop and to report back periodically during the day.
- (4) I observed a group of college-age youths gathering just west of the hanger to be used in the rally. There were several who had signs, but were making modest attempts to conceal their contents. By 2:00 P.M. their number had grown to approximately 35 to 45 strong and they were huddled together in football fashion. By this time it was obvious to me that this group was planning some type of organized disturbance.
- (5) I reported to Dave Andrews my observations and he asked me to continue to monitor the movements of the group.
- (6) It was sometime in the vicinity of 2:00 P.M. when the group began to move into the building and gathered in an area directly in front of the speaker's platform about two-thirds back in the crowd. I would estimate that they were positioned about 100 feet from the speaker's stand. The group remained rather placid until the arrival of the President.
- (7) During the time of the President's walk to the platform, introduction and address there was constant demonstration of disregard for the President's right to speak to the thousands of people who had gathered to hear his message. The group caused a disturbance by yelling obscenities and chanting slogans derogatory to the President. One in particular that I remember was, "One, two, three, four, we don't want your f--king war." The group of demonstrators stole sign poles belonging to the Re-Elect the President Committee and displayed their signs high over the audience.

(8) Many of the signs which the demonstrators displayed were standard McGovern yard signs. There were several homemade signs with anti-Nixon slogans and some with obscenities.

(9) During the disturbance several of the demonstrators were detained by local police for 20 to 30 minutes. One of these was Richard Lane, College Co-ordinator for the Eastern Oklahoma McGovern campaign. I will comment again about Mr Lane's involvement in the disturbance.

(10) During the disturbance, a long-haired male youth activated a high-pressure fire hose spraying a good number of the crowd. I saw the police pursuing the youth and do not know if he was apprehended and associated directly with the group of demonstrators. I believe that he was.

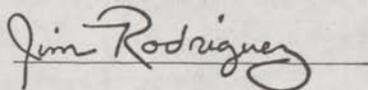
(11) During the demonstration I was requested by Bus Mandel, of New York City and a member of the President's advance party, to remove the protesters from the building. The demonstrators said that this was a free country and did not leave. I did manage to recover some of the stolen sign poles, but more were taken as the rally progressed,

(12) Immediately after the rally I went to the McGovern Headquarters on North Sheridan in Tulsa and spoke with a woman who identified herself as the County Chairman for the McGovern campaign. I spoke quite frankly with the Chairman describing how I felt about the disturbance. To the best of my recollection I said that my idea of good campaigning did not include shouting down a candidate for office at a rally paid for out of that candidate's funds. I also stated that it was a sad day for Tulsa when the President of the United States couldn't come to town without being the object of a chorus of obscenities. The chairman told me that a group of young people did stop by her office that morning and pick up some signs, but that she had no control over their use. She added that no one from the McGovern Headquarters was involved in the disturbance.

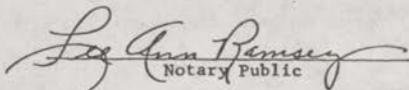
(13) After the meeting at McGovern Headquarters I started down Sheridan to find a place to eat. I was listening to KRMG, a local radio station. The station was reporting on the rally and commenting on the demonstration and the subsequent detainment of some of the demonstrators. The announcer played a statement made by Richard Lane, the McGovern College Co-ordinator. Lane was one of those detained by the police. To the best of my recollection, Lane said that he was the leader of the demonstrators,

and that the police had deprived him and his associates of their freedom of speech.

(14) Two days later I met Mr. Lane in the lobby of the Twin Towers Dorm at Oral Roberts University. I asked him if the group of demonstrators was any of his work. He said yes. I asked Lane, "Is your idea of freedom of speech the right of an individual to shout down the President of the United States when he was expressing his right to be heard?" Lane said, "Yes." I said, "That's where we differ."

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jim Rodriguez". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Subscribed and sworn before me this 4th day of October, 1973.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Lee Ann Ramsey". Below the signature, the words "Notary Public" are printed in a small, sans-serif font.

My commission expires June 8, 1976.

EXHIBIT No. 256-33

AFFIDAVIT

I, Samuel R. Caltagirone, do hereby swear and depose that:

in September and October of 1972, during the election for President Nixon, it was reported to me and the police of Kutztown that bullet holes appeared in the plate glass window of one of our store fronts located in Kutztown on the main street in Berks County, Pa. on about three different evenings between the hours of Midnight and five A.M. On the fourth report, a rock was thrown thru the window. This was reported to our insurance carrier for the campaign thru our attorney in Phila., Pa. The glass window was replaced by Pittsburgh Plate Co., Reading, Pa.

Attached is a written report of an incident that occurred during the campaign. It is signed by the two women who witnessed the demonstration and enclosed is the newspaper article.

Then personally appeared the above mentioned SAMUEL R. CALTAGIRONE,
of City, Reading, and made oath that
the foregoing statements are true to the best of his knowledge and belief,
except those based on information, and as to those he believes the same to
be true.

Samuel R. Caltagirone

Sworn to and subscribed

Before me, this 31st day of October, A.D. 1973.

Eva J. Law

Notary Public

Reading, Berks County, Pa.

My Commission Expires

~~March 3, 1977~~

March 3, 1977.

EXHIBIT NO. 256-34

AFFIDAVIT

I, Jack Moore, do hereby swear and depose that:

I am a staff writer for the Lancaster New Era, which is located in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The last week in September, 1972, a publicity release for the Rural Pennsylvania Committee for McGovern-Shriver was mailed from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, using a State Department of Agriculture addressograph stencil. A copy of this release was received by Sam Taylor, a Lancaster New Era staff writer. In the same mail, Taylor also received a letter from the State Agriculture Department. The code numbers and type faces on the two envelopes were identical to the release by the Rural Pennsylvania Committee for McGovern-Shriver.

Pennsylvania Agriculture Secretary, James A. McHale, resigned in late August of 1972 as State Chairman of the above-mentioned McGovern-Shriver Committee to avoid possible prosecution for violation of the Hatch Act.

On October 2, 1972, following a report that McHale was using his departmental staff and facilities to aid the political activities of the McGovern-Shriver Committee, I made an attempt to gain access to conference room 202 in the Department of Agriculture building. According to McHale's office, the only key to the room was in the possession of William Minnick, McHale's administrative officer, who could not be located. It was later learned that a police

guard at the building had a key to room 202, but access was still refused by McHale's office. At 2:30 p.m. on October 2, 1972, three men were observed entering room 202 and removing cartons of materials. The cartons were removed from the building, and it was subsequently learned that these cartons were burned.

On October 3, 1972, the Lancaster New Era ran a front page story and photographs on this political activity by the Secretary of the State Agriculture Department. As a part of the story, the front of the two letter envelopes referred to above were reproduced. This story and photographs are an accurate description of the activities described above, and are attached hereto as Exhibit A.

Jack Moore

Then personally appeared the above mentioned Jack Moore of Lancaster, Pennsylvania and made oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best of his knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to those he believes the same to be true.

Before me, October 11, 1973.

Marie M. Murphy
Notary Public

Marie M. Murphy
Notary Public, Lancaster, Lancaster County
My Commission Expires July 26, 1976

EXHIBIT No. 256-35

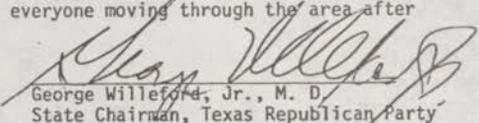
To The Senate Select Committee on Campaign Activities

I, George Willeford, Jr., M. D., was notified by the Austin Fire Department shortly after noon on April 22, 1972 that the suite of offices occupied by the Republican Party of Texas on the third floor of the Littlefield Building in Austin, Texas was on fire.

I immediately went to the Littlefield Building to inspect for possible damage. I was admitted into the building and allowed to go to the third floor in the company of a fireman, who was obviously a supervisor. After the flames were put out, ceiling and wall panels torn out and so on, it was obvious that one end of our suite was heavily damaged and the rest of our office was smoked filled. An official of the Fire Department inspected the area closely and pointed out a spot on the floor in front of one of the offices that had suffered extreme heat. I was told at this time that the evidence around this particular area indicated arson--further tests and study confirmed his initial opinion. (A copy of the Marshall's report is attached as evidence.)

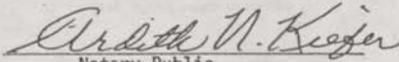
To my knowledge, no one has ever been charged with this arsonist act. The fire took place during the time when anti-war demonstrations and campus turmoil was prevalent at the University of Texas and threats were common in other state, federal and political offices.

The fire forced us because of the damage to relocate in the Littlefield Building. Later in the year, before the election, we were warned by responsible Austin authorities that their intelligence indicated further acts of arson or intrusion were anticipated. Our state headquarters was considered a prime target. To head off as best as possible any further incidents, and acting on the advice of the Austin police, we hired an armed guard to provide all night in-office service. In addition to this precaution, the management of the building instituted a sign-in/sign-out procedure for everyone moving through the area after 6 p.m.


George Willeford, Jr., M. D.
State Chairman, Texas Republican Party

Sworn to before me this

8th day of October, 1973


Ardith N. Keizer
Notary Public

FIRE MARSHAL'S OFFICE - AUSTIN, TEXAS
FIRE INVESTIGATION REPORT

Building Fire Other (Specify) _____
 Date of Fire April 22, 1972 Time A.M. 2:20 P.M.
 Location 104 East 6th Street Persons Killed _____
 Kind of Structure 9 Story Brick " Injured _____
 How Occupied Office Building " Made Homeless _____
 Owner Littlefield Building Corporation
 Occupant State Republican Executive Committee, et al
 Occupant _____
 Cause of Fire INCENDIARY

VALUES:	INSURANCE CARRIED:			LOSS:	
			Total	Insured	
Building:	\$ 1,600,000.00	\$ 1,590,000.00	\$ 41,821.00	\$ 41,821.00	
Contents:					
Contents:	60,000.00	55,000.00	3,422.00	3,422.00	
Bus. Inter:					
TOTAL	1,660,000.00	1,645,000.00	45,243.00	45,243.00	

Local Agent: _____ Insurance Company & Policy No: _____ Amt. Insurance _____

SEE ATTACHED LIST

Remarks: A fire of incendiary origin gutted about 50 feet of hallway in front of offices number 327-329 and 331. An incendiary device had been placed in front of 329 and a flammable liquid poured in front of the other doors. The offices were closed and locked. There was minor fire damage inside the offices. Smoke damage was heavy in the offices, hallways on the third and fourth floor, and other offices located on the third floor. The remains of the incendiary device were removed and retained for evidence. There was a strong odor of gasoline in the hallway at the time of the fire. The majority of the offices on the third floor are occupied by the Republican Party Election Campaign Headquarters. The fire was directed at this organization. However, there is no apparent motive at this time. This investigation will continue.

Name of Fire Marshal: Leland M. Priest
 Date & Time Investigation Started: 4-22-72 4:15 p.m.
 Adjuster: _____
 Chief Investigator James D. Loflin
 Title _____

Insurance Information for fire at 104 East 6th Street - Littlefield Building.

INSURED:	Littlefield Building Corporation	
AGENT:	C. A. Schutze	
POLICY INFORMATION:	Commercial Insurance - F6273588	\$450,000.00
	Commercial Insurance - F6273592	\$550,000.00
	Twin City Fire Ins. - 115049	\$200,000.00
	West American Ins. - 1314433	\$200,000.00
	(Rent Coverage) Commercial Insurance - F6273586	\$190,000.00

INSURED:	Better Business Bureau - 404 Littlefield Building	
AGENT:	Enfield Agency	
POLICY INFORMATION:	Aetna - 547931 (contents)	\$ 15,000.00

INSURED:	B. G. Shelby DBA Shelby Co. - 322 Littlefield Building	
AGENT:	Nieman, Hanks, and Puryear	
POLICY INFORMATION:	General Accident - 4541217 (contents)	\$ 25,000.00

INSURED:	State Republican Executive Committe	
AGENT:	Employers Ins. of Texas	
POLICY INFORMATION:	Employers Casualty Co. - FNC041362 (contents)	\$ 15,000.00

Austin Fire Marshal's Office

FOLLOW-UP INVESTIGATION REPORT

Date of this report May 9, 1972 Time _____
 (When Work Started)

SUBJECT: FIRE at 104 East 6th Street April 22, 1972
 (Fire-Explosion-Complaint) (Location) (Date)

Remarks: On Saturday afternoon, April 22, 1972, a fire was reported on the third floor of the Littlefield Building. Mr. B. G. Shelby occupies Suite 322, doing business as Shelby Company. Mr. Shelby specializes in distinctive printing. Mr. Shelby said he was working in his office and noticed smoke coming in the office. He said he immediately called the Fire Department. He then opened the door to the corridor and it was loaded with smoke. A fire escape was just to the left of Mr. Shelby's office door and he used the fire escape to leave the building. The fire was located in a short hallway off the main corridor. Mr. Shelby said he did not believe he could have got past the hallway to the elevator due to the heavy smoke and flames. Mr. Shelby's office and equipment suffered considerable smoke and moisture damage. Mr. Shelby was interviewed at the fire scene and again on Monday, April 24. He said he did not hear or see anyone in the hallway since he was concentrating on his work and the first he knew of the fire was when the smoke started coming into his office.

The hallway in front of offices 327, 329 and 331 was completely gutted by the fire. These offices and several other offices on the third floor are occupied by the State Republican Executive Committee. The offices are used for campaign headquarters, printing offices, and other services for the Republican Party. The fire did not acutally get into any of the offices. There was extensive smoke and some water damage to the contents of the rooms served by the hallway that was gutted. Some of the printing supplies and materials stored along the walls of the office next to the fire area were damaged by fire when the glass in the doors and windows broke out. The heaviest damage was to the wiring and telephone lines in the ceiling of the hallway. The remainder of the hallway and offices on the third floor suffered heavy smoke damage. There were varying degrees of smoke damage on the fourth floor. The stairway from the third to the fourth floor was open and there was nothing to stop the flow of smoke up the stairway.

Fire Inspector R. E. Brune was on duty at the time of the fire and made the preliminary investigation. Fire officers on the scene believed the fire had originated in wiring in the ceiling of the hallway. Inspector Brune was able to determine that the fire was of incendiary origin and recovered the remains of an incendiary device that had been placed in front of the door to office number 329. It appeared that a flammable liquid had also been poured in front of the doors to the other offices in this hallway.

Page 2

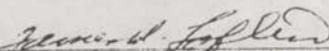
The remains of the incendiary device appeared to be two plastic containers in a brown paper bag of the size and type used in grocery stores. There was also a white powder residue around the plastic containers. There was a strong odor of gasoline in the hallway at the time of the fire. The remains of the incendiary device also smelled strongly of gasoline.

Jim Kane and Cyndi Taylor, employees of the Republican Party, said that employees had been working in the offices until around 1:00 P.M. A clock in the office had stopped at 2:20 P.M. and this was also the time the fire alarm was received.

Noble Lytle of Leander was the security guard on duty. He said he had made the rounds and was in the hallways and corridors of the third floor around 1:45 p.m. He said the halls were clear and no one around at that time.

Mrs. Olivia Smith works at the Better Business Bureau office on the fourth floor. She said that she had entered the building about 1:45 P.M. and got on one of the elevators. She said she noticed a young man around 30 years old had entered the foyer behind her but did not get on the elevator. He just stood around the foyer. She said the elevator did not move and she changed to the other elevator and the man still did not get on the elevator. She said they exchanged a few words about the elevator and that he stayed in the foyer when the elevator started up. Mrs. Smith described the man as a Johnny Carson type, with light hair, clean shaven, normal haircut, and wearing a sport shirt. He was not wearing glasses. Mrs. Smith said he was carrying a bundle under his arm wrapped in a light colored denim material. The size of the package she described would have been about the size of the incendiary device recovered by Inspector Brune before it burned. Mrs. Smith said the man did not have any distinctive accent or speech defect, and appeared to be about 5 foot 10 inches tall and weighed about 160 pounds. Employees of the Republican Party offices did not know of anyone fitting this description, and no one knew of any threats or motive for the fire. A few days prior to the fire there had been so called anti-war demonstrations and riots at the University of Texas and several of the employees thought this incident might have been related to these riots.

This investigation will continue.


James D. Loflin, Chief Investigator

JDL:sc

EXHIBIT NO. 256-36

AFFIDAVIT

The undersigned being first duly sworn, deposes and states:

(1) That he served during the last Presidential campaign as an advance aide to President Richard M. Nixon and to members of the First Family.

(2) That on October 24, 1972, he was the advancement man for Tricia Nixon Cox in connection with her participation in a dedication ceremony for the Department of Transportation Personal Rapid Transit System in Morgantown, West Virginia.

(3) That preceding and during the dedication ceremonies, a number of student demonstrators, estimated to be approximately 100 in number, attempted to disrupt the ceremony through chanting and catcalling during the progress of various speeches.

(4) That the organization sponsoring the demonstration was identified as the Coalition to Stop the Re-Election of President Nixon. An article announcing the demonstration appeared in the University of West Virginia Campus newspaper the day preceding the dedication. See attached.

Howard F. Roycroft
Howard F. Roycroft

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 5th day of October, 1973.

Elizabeth A. Ballou
Notary Public in and for the State
of District of Columbia residing
in _____

My commission expires June 14, 1975.

**Demonstration set
at PRT ceremony**

The "Coalition to stop the Re-election of President Nixon" is sponsoring a demonstration at the PRT dedication on Tuesday, Oct. 24.

Those who wish to participate are asked to meet in front of the Engineering Building on the Evansdale Campus at 9:30 a.m. Tuesday, according to Alan J. Stephens, spokesman for the group.

EXHIBIT NO. 256-37

A F F I D A V I T

I, Richard M. Cohen, do hereby swear and depose that:

I presently reside at 647 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C. and am presently employed at The American Broadcasting Company. In August 1972, I decided that I would join the McGovern for President campaign in early September 1972. In August 1972, I had a meeting with Ted Van Dyk with regard to a possible position in the McGovern campaign. At that meeting, Van Dyk suggested that I might undertake a project involving traveling on the President's or Vice President's campaign planes so that I might have ready access to all events occurring on or off the planes. The primary purpose of the project was to convey information from public statements rapidly to McGovern Headquarters, and a secondary function would be to relate embarrassing incidents which might occur on the planes. Van Dyk further explained that there were other things that I might do for the campaign, such as field organizing or speech research. I agreed to do the project because I saw it as an opportunity to combine an active commitment to the McGovern candidacy with a chance to publish some articles about the campaign. I had a background of writing a column for The New Democrat, a reform-minded magazine of Democratic politics. Van Dyk and I tentatively agreed on a salary of \$150 per week plus expenses, hopefully to be paid by somebody independently of the campaign. We projected the cost of the project at \$10,000. That figure, however, was a rough estimate, and the project was never carried far enough to refine that figure.

It was clear from the beginning that I was to seek legitimate credentials on my own, and I would be free to write anything and for anybody that I saw fit. At no time did we even discuss using phony credentials or a false cover story to gain access to the Nixon and Agnew campaign planes.

Van Dyk and I discussed the project on several occasions, and I also discussed it with Henry Kimelman. Van Dyk was in favor of the project, and I was informed that Frank Mankiewicz, too, gave his approval. Of that, I have no first-hand knowledge. Kimelman was opposed primarily because he felt that it represented a waste of McGovern campaign funds. At one meeting, Van Dyk told me that one of the reasons for undertaking the project was that the Humphrey people had done it successfully against Nixon in 1968.

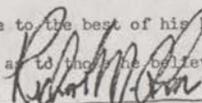
After my meetings with Van Dyk, I independently sought to obtain legitimate press credentials. I met with a senior editor of a large publishing house and was told that my book proposal was an interesting one and that he would welcome a manuscript, but that no "advance" would be possible. I then went to see Gloria Steinem, editor of Ms. magazine. I suggested to her a number of topics for articles and she indicated her interest. I was issued a letter stating that I was authorized to cover the Nixon-Agnew campaigns on behalf of Ms. I would like to state that at no time, to my knowledge, did Ms. Steinem have any knowledge of the McGovern connection. I later filed the credential with the appropriate press officers at the White House and the Executive Office Building.

During that approximate time, I visited with Stewart Mott to discuss his possible role in financing this operation. Mott indicated that he was skeptical about it, but stated that he would fund it if it were important to Mankiewicz, Van Dyk and Kimelman. He did add, though, that he would subtract the expenditure from his total contribution to the McGovern campaign. I believe that he discussed this with Henry Kimelman by telephone on more than one occasion. The whole idea was quashed long before the resolution of financial arrangements.

The entire time-span of consideration of this project was approximately two or three weeks. I was informed in very early September by Ted Van Dyk that Senator George McGovern had been consulted and disapproved the project, and that after some discussion, all concerned agreed that we should not pursue it. I then went to work for Citizens for McGovern-Shriver, where I enjoyed a short, but respectable, career as an organizer.

To my knowledge, nobody served my originally planned function, nor any similar function, at any time during the campaign of George McGovern.

Then personally appeared the above mentioned Richard M. Cohen of Washington, D.C. and made oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best of his knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to which he believes the same to be true.


 RICHARD M. COHEN

Before me, Washington D.C.

Subscribed & sworn to before me Thomas J. Dutton a Notary Public in & for the District of Columbia on this the 31st day of October 1973

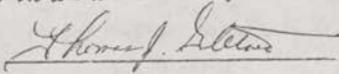

 Notary Public

EXHIBIT No. 256-38

AFFIDAVIT

I, Toni B. Greenwood, do hereby swear and depose that;

On October 12, 1972 I was office manager for the Washington office of Democrats for Nixon located at 1010 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. At approximately 11:00 A.M. on October 12, 1972, 75 to 100 people entered the office. They identified themselves as a "poor people's lobbying group" against pending welfare legislation. I found travel vouchers which indicated that buses or reimbursement for gasoline had been provided to transport some of the demonstrators from as far away as Philadelphia and Baltimore. The group took over the office and proceeded to tear down our Nixon campaign posters. Nixon campaign material was destroyed by the demonstrators and pro-McGovern literature was left in the headquarters. Typewriters and other office equipment were damaged by the demonstrators. Office supplies such as staplers and soft drinks kept on hand for our volunteer workers were stolen. Typewriter Wite-Out was poured on the carpet staining it permanently. A number of long distance telephone calls were made by the demonstrators on our telephones. At 4:30 P.M. I told the demonstrators they would have to leave or face arrest. At 5:00 P.M. the demonstrators vacated the office, except approximately 20 people who volunteered to remain. Those that remained were arrested by the Metropolitan Police.

Attached as Exhibit A is an article appearing in the Washington Post on October 13, 1972. This article accurately describes the demonstration.

Then personally appeared the above mentioned Toni B. Greenwood of Washington, D. C. and made oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best of her knowledge and belief, except those based on information, and as to those she believes the same to be true.

Before me, _____

Notary Public

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 13, 1972]

WELFARE ACTIVISTS ARRESTED AT PRO-NIXON OFFICE

(By Jon Katz)

Twenty persons, including six children, were arrested last night after a day-long takeover by more than 75 welfare rights protesters of a Washington office of Democrats for Nixon.

The demonstrators, from Washington, New York City, Baltimore and Philadelphia, occupied an office of the campaign group at 1010 16th St. NW shortly after 11 a.m. and converted it into a "poor people's lobbying group" against pending welfare legislation.

They were permitted to remain inside the storefront office until 4:30 p.m. when office manager Toni Greenwood told them they had to leave or face arrest.

The bulk of the demonstrators left shortly before 5 p.m., but the 20, including George Wiley and Audrey Colom, both officials of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), refused to leave and were escorted out by police.

Shortly after they entered the office, the demonstrators destroyed all Nixon campaign literature in sight. They ripped posters off of the walls and windows and replaced them with welfare rights literature and signs.

Throughout the day uniformed metropolitan police stood outside, but acceded to requests by Democrats for Nixon officials that the demonstrators be permitted to remain.

Despite the destruction of the literature, Wiley and Roxanne Jones of the Philadelphia WRO repeatedly urged the demonstrators not to bother the campaign workers, several of whom bantered and exchanged food with the protesters.

The demonstrators burst into cheers and chants when Wiley told them at 1 p.m. that they could remain. "We officially declare this place the poor people's campaign against HR-1 (welfare legislation) before Congress," said Wiley.

There were no injuries or incidents during the arrests. Police said all 20 were charged with unlawful entry. The men were taken to the second district police station, the women were taken to the Women's Detention Center, and the juveniles were taken to the youth division holding center in Georgetown, said police.

The welfare rights official said the takeover was prompted by television ads sponsored by Democrats for Nixon warning that the election of Democratic nominee George McGovern would result in an increase in the number of welfare recipients.

The demonstrators, Wiley said, were also protesting and lobbying against provisions of the Social Security Bill (HR-1) which went to conference Wednesday. Welfare organizations charge that some provisions are "racist and repressive."

The bill, said Wiley, would strip the poor of legal protection and force some welfare recipients and their children to live far below minimum subsistence levels.

Provisions of the bill attacked by NWRO include:

Authorizations of \$400 million for tests of various welfare provisions the NWRO says lack safeguards for the poor.

Permission for states to cut back Medicaid programs for the poor and to charge the poor for part of the services.

Requirements that Social Security numbers be assigned to children of welfare recipients to check cheating; barring added payments to welfare women who are pregnant; creating a federal system to track down deserting fathers; re-establishing residency requirements; and softening confidentiality rules for welfare case records.

Democrats for Nixon is headed by former Treasury Secretary John Connally, who was campaigning on Mr. Nixon's behalf yesterday and was unavailable for comment.

A spokesman for the group, which is headquartered in the Madison Office Building at 15th and M Streets NW, said the demonstrators were permitted to remain during the day "because they didn't bother anyone and were demonstrating for something they believe in. There's no reason to evict them."

Wiley said if the provisions were not eliminated, the group would continue its occupation of the Democrats for Nixon storefront as a lobbying center against the bill.

EXHIBIT No. 256-39

AFFIDAVIT

I, ROBERT C. ODLE, JR., do hereby swear and depose that:

I am employed as Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Housing Management at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. I reside at 309 North Saint Asaph Street, Alexandria, Virginia.

During the 1972 Presidential Campaign, I held the position of Director of Administration for the Committee for the Re-election of the President. During the campaign the CRP was greatly concerned for the security of its National Headquarters at 1701 and 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. This concern was due to acts of violence and destruction which were both threatened and perpetrated against the headquarters of the CRP in Washington, as well as the state and local CRP headquarters throughout the country. In my position as Director of Administration, I often received information regarding these threats, and acts of violence and destruction, and caused various memoranda to be prepared by me and received by me from other staff members. These memoranda detailed the measures which were contemplated and executed by the CRP throughout the country to protect ourselves against violence, and against demonstrations which might become violent.

During the 1972 campaign the national CRP headquarters on Pennsylvania Avenue was the object of numerous bomb threats. In fact, on at least one occasion, we were forced to evacuate, for several hours, the entire headquarters building due to a bomb threat. In addition, we received reports, almost on a daily basis, from CRP headquarters across the country that had received bomb threats directed against their buildings. Moreover, at least one CRP office was completely destroyed by arsonists and a bomb also exploded in the Alameda County Republican headquarters in Oakland, California, causing considerable damage. These bomb threats and actual bombings caused us intense concern, and necessitated the distribution of a memorandum to all our state chairmen recommending procedures to be employed in the event of bomb threats or other destructive or dangerous incidents or threats thereof. I have attached to this affidavit a copy of that memorandum dated September 25, 1972.

Another cause of great concern during the 1972 campaign was the numerous demonstrations which occurred throughout the country including the District of Columbia. During the 1972 campaign, many demonstrations occurred at or near the national CRP headquarters on Pennsylvania Avenue. On one occasion, for example, a group of demonstrators chained themselves to the

door of the building at 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue for approximately 24 hours. During this demonstration, blood was thrown by the demonstrators, both on the buildings and on Nixon campaign workers. The headquarters was forcibly shut down for an entire day. Finally, the CRP headquarters received many threats against the life of the President, the Vice President, the Campaign Director, and the wife of the Campaign Director.

Thus, the extreme concern which the CRP had for the security of its staff and National headquarters was caused by a series of death threats, bomb threats, threats of demonstrations, demonstrations, threats of violence, and actual violence, both in Washington and at CRP offices across the Nation -- a kind of harassment which I believe is unparalleled in American political history.

Then personally appeared the above mentioned
ROBERT C. ODLE, JR., of Alexandria, Virginia, and made
oath that the foregoing statements are true to the best
of his knowledge and belief, except those based on informa-
tion, and as to those he believes the same to be true.

Before me, this 1st day of November, 1973

Robert C. Odle, Jr.

ROBERT C. ODLE, Jr.

Bernard E. Poole

Notary Public

My Commission Expires June 30, 1976

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR STATE CHAIRMEN

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR. *R.C.O.*SUBJECT: Security Measures

As you may have read, a campaign facility in California was the recent victim of an arsonist. It is possible that some storefronts in your state will also become targets for demonstrations or incidents similar to California's experience.

While it is almost impossible to predict or prevent a spontaneous incident, the following precautions are suggested:

- 1) Require positive identification (e.g., a driver's license) of all unknown persons who volunteer to work. A guest register is also helpful.
- 2) Local police (including campus police when appropriate) should be notified of the existence of a storefront and its hours. The police should also be given the name and the phone number of the person(s) to be contacted. Someone should be designated as responsible on a 24-hour basis. Close liaison with local police should be developed. The police should also be asked to provide information regarding their recommended procedures for bomb threats and suspicious packages.
- 3) Call collect Stephen B. King, Director of Security for the National Committee, immediately upon learning of any incident, actual or potential. His office number is 202/ 333-6120. Steve's home number is 703/ 360-5642.
- 4) Consideration should be given to contingencies in the instance of petitioning demonstrators, a confrontation inside the facility, etc. Who will meet with demonstrators, receive petitions, etc.? One or two demonstrators could be permitted in a facility if they demand it and it seems appropriate. Police, of course, should handle any serious problem within their jurisdiction (street, sidewalk). Careful planning could avoid incidents or complaints to the police.

5) None of the above should preclude you or any office manager from making arrangements on an individual need basis; e.g., providing guards at night and/or day, installation of alarm systems, etc. The expense, of course, must be borne locally. The Wackenhut Corporation, a private security firm, has offered to provide guards, etc., at discounted costs. Further information may be obtained by calling Steve King.

Please contact Steve King if you have any questions or if he can be of assistance.

EXHIBIT No. 256-40

A F F I D A V I T

State of Wyoming)
) ss.
 County of Sheridan)

I, DAVID B. KENNEDY, being first duly sworn upon oath do depose and say:

1.

That during the year 1972 I was Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Wyoming.

2.

That on Thursday, November 2, 1972, then Vice President, Spiro T. Agnew came to Cheyenne, Wyoming to give a campaign speech at a political rally.

3.

That a great deal of interest and enthusiasm in Wyoming over this much publicized speech resulted in an over-flow crowd of more than 5,000 people at Storey gymnasium in Cheyenne.

4.

That I was present at the rally and sat on the speaker's platform during the entire rally, including the Vice President's speech.

5.

That there was no demonstration of any kind during remarks by any of the preliminary speakers, but shortly after the Vice President began his speech a group of more than 10 but apparently fewer than 20 individuals created a major disruption.

6.

That some of the demonstrators shouted not only political slogans but obscenities as well. Most of the disruption, however, was caused by the demonstrators' blowing whistles which was done so constantly that I found it impossible to hear more than isolated phrases of the Vice President's speech for a major portion of the speech.

7.

That subsequent reports in the press and an investigation into the incident have shown that the demonstrators were nearly all from Wyoming and had been recruited for the express purpose of creating just such a disruption.

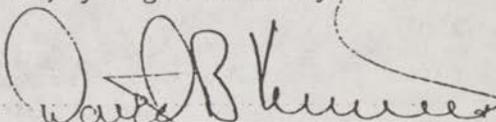
8.

That one of the participants in the demonstration recently bragged publicly that the demonstration was indeed "organized".

9.

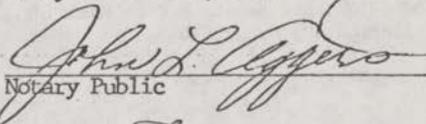
That by virtue of the sad performance of a handful of disruptive people, the Vice President of the United States and some 5,000 Wyoming citizens who came to hear him were deprived of their First Amendment rights.

DATED at Sheridan, Wyoming this 29th day of October, 1973.


 DAVID B. KENNEDY

The foregoing affidavit was acknowledged before me by David B. Kennedy this 29th day of October, 1973.

(SEAL)


 Notary Public

My commission expires:

March 5th 1974

5196

EXHIBIT No. 257



STATE ARSENAL, ST. AUGUSTINE
32084

MSCA

11 October 1973

SUBJECT: Transmittal of After Action Report - OPERATION DADE

Mr. Robert Silverstein
Assistant Minority Counsel
Select Committee on President's Campaign Activities
United States Senate
Room G-308, New Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Transmitted herewith is one (1) copy of After Action Report - OPERATION DADE per your request to Mr. Robert T. Mounts, Assistant General Counsel, Office of the Governor, State of Florida.

FOR THE ADJUTANT GENERAL:

FRANK PANZARINO
LTC, GS, FlaARNG
Asst. Director, MSCA

1 Incl
After Action Report

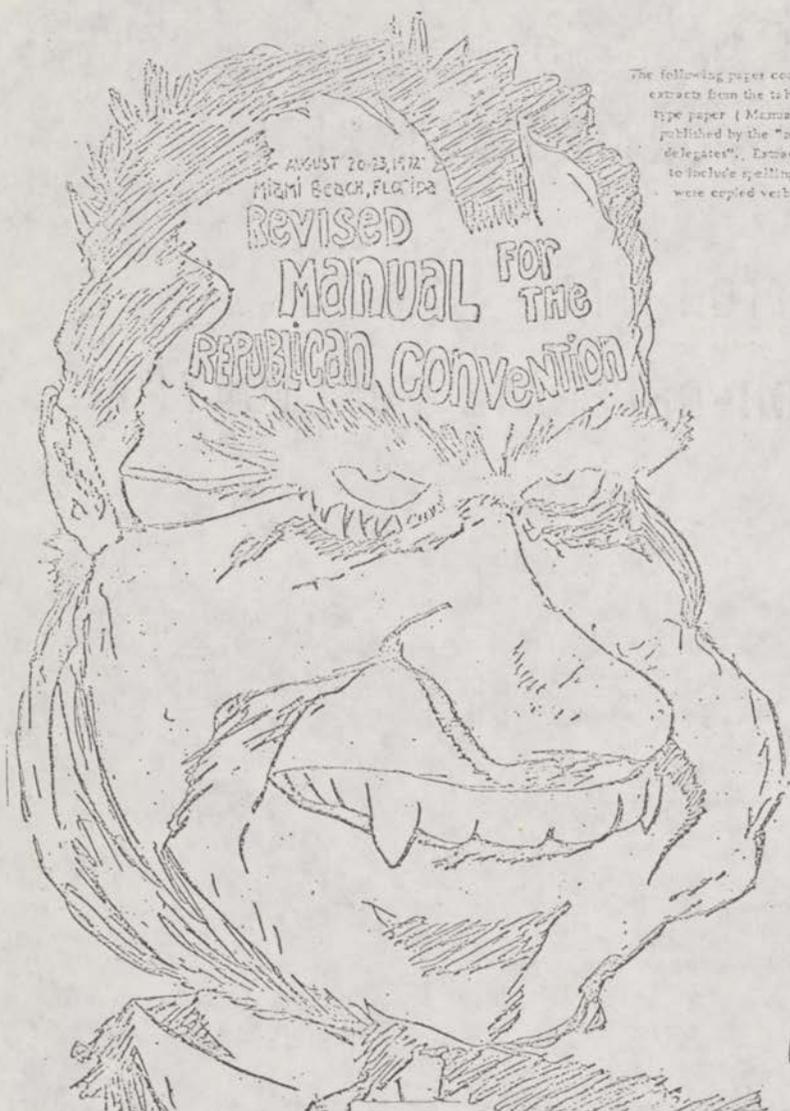
CF: Mr. Mounts

PART G

SUPPORTING MATERIAL

SECTION VII

NON-DELEGATE PUBLICATIONS



The following pages contain
 extracts from the tabloid
 type paper (Manual)
 published by the "non-
 delegates". Extracts,
 to include spelling,
 were copied verbatim.

X
 SECTION
 X

(2)

HERE WE GO

This is the revised edition of The Manual for the Republican Convention. It was published to help you better understand the scenario, programs, and services of this action.

This manual should answer most of your basic questions about life and services on the land, survival in the streets, and how the scenario was developed.

As you read through this manual, you'll notice the strong emphasis we place on Viet Nam and the Vietnamese. We do so, not only because that country is the main target of Nixon's genocidal game plan, but because there is much that we can learn from the Vietnamese revolution. The people in Viet Nam have demonstrated to the world that the spirit and determination of the people can spell victory.

They have also taught us what organization and revolutionary discipline can mean for any struggle. This manual seeks to develop our skills in organization and discipline by defining our actions and our needs.

For the next few days, all power to the people.

Hoa Binh, (in peace)
The Red Buffalo Press

LETTER FROM THE VIETNAMESE

Dear American friends in Miami,

First of all, allow us to extend our best greetings to all of you, citizens of Miami and people who come from various states to Miami on this occasion.

We are the Vietnamese who have never come to the U. S., like most of you have never visited our homeland Vietnam. Our two countries are separated by an ocean. However, we are both concerned about a common problem. This is the problem of ending the war, the sooner the better. This war has been a catastrophe for our two peoples.

In the 1968 election campaign, Mr. Nixon promised that he would end the war. And he was elected. Four years have elapsed, his term is going to end and the war is neither ended yet nor winding down. The war has been extended to the whole of Indochina. Early this year, Mr. Nixon tried to make the war not visible, but the war is still in the headlines of the media.

In fact, Mr. Nixon has withdrawn a part of U'S' ground troops in South Vietnam but he intensified the dispatch of air-naval forces, B. 52's included, to carry genocidal bombing raids against North and South of Vietnam. He is by far surpassing his predecessor in the bombing.

Meanwhile we Vietnamese people only wish to live in Independence and Freedom to build our country, like every people in this world. We do not threaten the security of the U. S., we haven't done any harm to the sound sleep of the American people.

Our dikes, hospitals, schools, cities have been targets for "smart bombs" which the Pentagon is often boasting about their precision . . . Our civilian population have been targets for anti-personel bombs the pellets or darts of which are improved by U. S. modern technology and made of plastic so that X ray cannot detect them.

You do know that one of the most precious and great legacy our forefathers left us is 2000 miles of dikes. This system of dikes have protected our lives on the plain throughout thousands of years in our history against natural calamities.

In his statement made on April 30, 1972 Mr. Nixon indicated that dikes were "strategic targets and indirectly military targets". 173 air-raids have been systematically and deliberately launched against the dikes, thereby posing a serious threat against the lives of millions of out people.

In Mr. Nixon's eyes, our country is merely a no man's land and our people are not human beings.

Mr. Nixon acknowledged however that he had good will, that he wanted to negotiate seriously a solution to the Vietnam problem. This is purely ironical and impudent indeed! Mr. Nixon only wants to win a position of strength so as to force the Vietnamese people to accept peace on his terms.

He is often boasting about U. S. power. He can wipe the dikes out within a week. He can finish off the North Vietnamese in an afternoon. He believes that brutal force can help him decide the fate of the Vietnamese people. He has miscalculated. The American and world people will not permit him to do as he likes. The Vietnamese people, like other peoples, are self-respecting, self-relying and undomitable people. The Vietnamese people will never submit to brutal force. Previously, with more than half a million troops in the South and waging over four years of airwar against the North, the U. S. could not bring our people to our knees. At present, our people have gathered more experiences in the war. Then, Nixon Administration will never achieve the aims that its predecessor has failed to achieve. On the contrary, the longer it continues the war, the more hatred it will inspire to our people for the aggressor and the more it will strengthen our determination and solidarity to fight for the defense of our beautiful native land, our independence and freedom, our human dignity and our life.

Dear American friends, we are fully aware that the majority of the American people are against the prolongation of war. They want an early end to the war to let the Vietnamese people settle their own affairs, and not to waste more U. S. money and lives in Vietnam. They want to solve their own domestic problems.

They have come to Miami, together with the citizens of Miami, they will act to make pressure on Nixon Administration and to demand that it stop the war, stop the U. S. involvement and stop backing Thieu.

With our best wishes of success. Hoping we will meet you someday, in Miami or in our Halong bay when the war ends.

NGUYEN MAI

Secretary of the Vietnamese Committee
for Solidarity with the American People

S C E N A R I O

SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 1972

Vietnamese Cultural Event

TIME: 7 PM

PLACE: Flamingo Park

At 7 PM on Monday evening, August 21, on the Flamingo Park land site, Vietnamese living in the United States will present a pageantry of their history, a Cultural Event.

Many of us who have been demonstrating over the past several years, in order to help the Vietnamese in their struggle for freedom and independence, have heard of their legendary indomitable spirit. But, to understand a revolution, we must understand the people.

The Cultural Event is a rare opportunity for us to see the Vietnamese portray their culture through song, dance, theater and poetry. The 4,000 year Vietnamese legacy of resistance and independence will be explained, demonstrating why Viet Nam is for the Vietnamese. In addition, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, foreign minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam will address the assembly via transcontinental telephone to make a proposal to end the war.

We in America who protest the war, act out of our anger, but we also act out of love. Let's learn about those we love; let's learn about the Vietnamese and their beautiful way of life.

MONDAY AND TUESDAY, AUGUST 21-22, 1972

Youth and Senior Citizen

Panel Investigation

TIME: 9:30 AM - 5 PM, both days

PLACE: Jewish Cultural Center (429 Lenox Avenue, Miami Beach)

On August 21 and 22 at the Jewish Cultural Center (5th and Lenox Avenues, Miami Beach), beginning at 9:30 AM, a jury of young and old citizens will investigate un-American activities that were carried out by the Nixon Administration.

Among those who will testify and answer questions will be Jane Fonda, William Kuntzler, Bobby Seale, Allen Ginsberg and representatives of native Americans, Chicanos, Vietnamese and other groups with grievances against the state.

On Wednesday morning the jurors will present their findings to the Republican National Committee.

MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1972

Women in Revolt

TIME: 4 PM - Flamingo Park

5:30 - 8 PM - Convention Hall Rally

Richard Nixon is carrying out a genocidal war against the people of Viet Nam, and especially against Vietnamese women - forcing them into prostitution, causing them to breath chemicals and deliver deformed babies, destroying the family fabric of the society. We demand an immediate and total withdrawal of all U. S. troops, planes, battleships and money from South East Asia, and an end of U. S. support of the Thieu dictatorship.

The opening day of the Republican Convention will be a day of Women' protest.

In the morning of Monday, August 21, several women's guerrilla theatre actions will confront the Republicans at their hotels. On Monday, workshops on Lesbianism and Women and the Law will be held.

At 4 PM Monday afternoon, women will join together in a militant march from our tent in Flamingo Park to the Convention site. During the march we will carry symbols of the oppression of women, and we will build a sculpture of those symbols when we arrive at the Convention Hall.

Among those who will participate in WOMEN IN REVOLT will be: Jane Fonda, Diane di Prima (a women's poet), Barbara Dane (afolksinger), Mary Ann Scoblick (a former nun and one of the Harrisburg Defendants), Rita Mae Brown (poet and writer for the Furies, a radical feminist-lesbian monthly), Tran Thanh Tuyet (a woman from South Viet Nam), Rachel Stone (an 82 year-old woman from the Miami community) and Ericka Huggins (poet and member of the Black Panther Party).

During the Tuesday and Wednesday demonstrations, women's affinity groups will participate in mobile non-violent civil disobedience, and sit-in tactics.

MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1972

Goerge Jackson Memorial Event

TIME: 8:00 PM

PLACE: In front of Convention Hall,

"After the killing is done, the ruling class goes on about the business of making the profits as usual."

-George Jackson

August 21, 1972 the night the Republicans open their convention to renominate Richard Nixon, also marks the first anniversary of the assassination of Brother George Jackson. At 8 PM that night, thousands of people will rally outside Convention Hall to tell our unacceptance with the police state terror of today.

The people speaking at the rally will include John Thorne, George Jackson's friend and lawyer; spokespeople from the Republic of New Africa and the Malcolm X United Liberation Front; William Kuntzler, defending attorney for H. Rap Brown, the Harlem Four and the Tombs Seven; the lawyer for Billy Dean Smith, a black active-duty GI accused of killing his superior officer; and a brother who survived Rockefeller's massacre at Attica.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1972

Street Without Joy - - March Against Murder

TIME AND PLACE: Eden Roc and Fountainbleau Hotel: 6:30 - 7:30 PM

Gauntlet of Shame -

Procession to Convention Hall: 7:30 - 8 PM

March Against Murder -

Washington Avenue side of Convention Hall: 8:30 - 10 PM

STREET WITHOUT JOY

The Street Without Joy, followed by the March and Rally Against Murder, gives us our often missed opportunity to visually and verbally present our anti-imperialist and anti-war politics. As Dan Berrigan wrote in his letter of invitation to this day, "We will show them for their crimes. To make the Street Without Joy a GAUNTLET OF SHAME".

THE THIRD DAY

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1972

Day of Unacceptance

TIME: Delegation Arrives at Doral Hotel: 11 AM

Rally at Flamingo Park: 4:30 PM

March Encircles Convention: 5-6 PM

Rally and Dike Building: 6:30 PM

Civil Disobedience (Approx.): 6 PM

End of Convention Session

August 23, Day of Unacceptance

On the morning of the 23rd of August, a delegation headed by local senior citizens will arrive at the Doral Hotel, Headquarters for Nixon and the Republican National Committee. The delegation will present the findings of their panel investigation into the crimes of the Nixon administration. Central to their demands will be a GOP acceptance of the Seven-point peace proposal initiated by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Viet Nam and of the Poor People's Platform, put forward by the National Welfare Rights Organization. A Republican failure to respond positively to these two basic demands will signal the beginning of our response on the third day of the Republican Convention: A Day of Unacceptance.

Our response will be disciplined, angry, and nonviolent. We will use three tactics:

1). Dike-building in front of the Convention Hall.

2). Stationary Civil Disobedience; and

3). Mobile Civil Disobedience to encircle the Convention Hall. We

hope to be able to maintain an angry presence around the convention complex while the delegates are inside.

All participating organizations feel that mass arrests will help convey our message to the American people. With large numbers of arrests of non-violent people who surround the Convention Hall, our message of anger and militance will become clear.

STATIONARY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(See Map Page G-132)

The object of stationary civil disobedience will be to encircle the Convention Hall of Meridian Avenue and 17th Street. This will be accomplished by getting people as near to the access roads and gates on these two roads and sitting down and allowing themselves to be arrested (a process which is definitely obstructive and time consuming).

It is anticipated that people may encounter police lines which will prevent them from directly sitting down on Meridian or 17th Avenues. In that event, people should move to those points where the police lines end and place themselves in front of those police lines and attempt to deny access to the Convention Hall. The mobility needed in order to help people situate themselves in strategic locations should not be confused with the mobile civil disobedience that will be used above Dade Blvd. The people undertaking sit-ins on Meridian and 17th Avenues will allow themselves to be arrested or removed by police, thus obstructing those key access and gate entrances.

MOBILE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

People who engage in mobile civil disobedience complement the efforts of those engaged in the sit-down. While the sit-downs will be aimed at the streets West and South of the Convention Hall, mobile civil disobedience will occur only North and North East of the Convention.

The tactical objective of mobile civil disobedience is to flood the northern approaches to the Convention Hall. To make this happen, there are four general areas we will operate in and a key intersection in each area. Please refer to the map for each area:

AREA 4: 21st St. to Dade Blvd., looking north and south respectively. From east to west, from Bay Rd. to No. Michigan. Key intersection: Dade and Alton Roads.

AREA 5: W/ 23rd Street to Dade and from North Meridian to Prairie Drive. Key Intersection: North Meridian and Dade Blvd.

AREA 6: West 24th Street to 22nd Street and from Pine Tree Drive to Flamingo. Key Intersection: 23rd Street and Dade Blvd.

AREA 7: 29th Street to 24th Street and from Indian Creek Drive to Collins Avenue. Key Intersection: 26th Street and Indian Creek Drive and Collins Avenue.

The basic idea is to flood each of the four areas with hundreds of people and by our very presence to disrupt the flow of delegate buses and vehicles. Of course, we will be moving around in the area but delegate traffic should not be allowed to pass through the key intersections. As a last resort, we recommend that people sit down and not move to prevent buses from making it through any of the key intersections.

If our efforts in mobile civil disobedience are frustrated in one way or another, affinity groups should fall back to the area immediately around the Convention Hall and either join in the stationary sit-ins or the dike-building. Clusters of affinity groups organized into larger regional groups will be assigned to each of the four areas during the days of August 20 and 21.

LAND LOGISTICS

By the time this manual is completed, Flamingo Park should be a living, breathing community of revolutionary people. It is of the utmost importance that we gather together dedicated to confront the real enemy Richard Nixon, and his gang of Republican accomplices. Although the temptation to draw differences among us and engage in petty squabbles is easy, we must resist and put aside those divisions that separate us.

If we are truly revolutionary people, we must show our eagerness to be united and strong. It is only in our strength and our struggle that we will be able to beat the pig system. It is only when we are divided and fragmented that we will be defeated. To quote the famous Indian Chief Miami Turtle, "If we fight as single fingers, we will be easily divided and killed; but if we form into a clenched fist, no enemy will be able to defeat us".

The land has been divided to provide the most space for camping and services. As you walk in the Meridian entrance there will be people at the gate to answer any questions and give out logistical material. To the left of the entrance is the office tent. There will be a table from every constituency group and service located there. To the right of the entrance is Expose '72. Within Expose will be an extensive multi-media exhibition of Asian, Latin and North American life under American rule. Also located in that area will be the major sound system. The chalked lane called Ho Chi Minh Trail will be lined by the information tents of Unicorn News and UPI, and the medical tent staffed by the acid rescue people; at the end of the trail will be the food facilities of the Coconut Co-op, and the major medical tent. The Ho Chi Minh Trail will be the lifeline of this campsite, and we ask you to use the trail and not to walk through the peoples' living areas.

There are few rules on the campsite and we ask you to honor them for the sake of everybody on the land. There will be no cars allowed on the campsite; if you must make a delivery, you can drive down the trail until you arrive at the closest possible point to your site. Please, please, unload quickly and leave so as to avoid hassling your neighbors. For those with campers and buses, there will be a special parking lot just adjacent to the campsite. We will not tolerate any death drugs on the land. We will ask anyone pushing death drugs to leave and not to return until they pledge to stop. The security people are here to help.

The swimming is free and open 20 hours a day, but it represents a special problem. The pool, during the Democratic Convention, had to be drained because the filter system broke down. To insure that this won't happen again, we are asking people to take showers before swimming, and that people not go to the bathroom while in the pool (that really fucks up the filter system). The county has said that if there is wide-spread nude swimming, the pool will have to be drained. Please help us keep the pool open - - it's hot out there folks.

We hope to have a land program every day. As part of the program, speakers such as Jane Fonda and Bobby Seale will be on the land. The land program will also include a wide range of political and skill workshops.

SURVIVAL INFORMATION

During the demonstrations at the Democratic Convention in Miami, it became apparent that there is a need for people to learn how to survive at demonstrations in general, and in Miami in particular.

Added to the general problems of what to wear at a demonstration, how to protect against riot-control weapons, how to communicate necessary information to the medics and how to remember the lawyer's phone number were the incredible heat and the strong sun of Miami.

Survival is everyone's business; it can't all be left to the medics. Some information in this article may sound like what your mother has been trying to cram down your throat for years. It takes on new importance if you realize that even a sunburn can keep you from being effective. What is worse, it can make you a burden on others and put a lot of people out of action.

You should wear the same things to a demo in Miami as to any other demo, that is: two shirts, the outer one with long sleeves. The long sleeves will serve as protection against gas and mace as well as the sun. They will serve to protect you against getting foot-cut up by clubs. The purpose of two shirts is that if you are gassed, the outer shirt will be contaminated and must be removed. For the same reasons long pants are necessary. You should wear boots, shoes, or sneakers with sox. It is hard and dangerous to run in sandals, thongs, or clogs and you will need to protect your feet from being trampled.

You should NOT wear contact lenses if there is any danger of being gassed or maced. The lenses can trap gas on the eye causing eye burns or even blindness. People with pierced ears should not wear earrings which can be pulled resulting in painful ear injuries. People should not wear chains, which can be used to choke you. The best protection against riot control weapons is to avoid riots. This may not be possible if the pigs insist on committing violent acts. In this event you should wear a helmet any time the pigs are armed with clubs. Choice of helmet will depend on taste and money, but cheap helmet liners can crack under direct blows and are unsafe. Any helmet should be equipped with either an "anti-choke" strap or be fastened with two light paper clips which will serve the purpose of releasing if the helmet is grabbed from behind, thereby preventing strangulation. The helmet should also fit over the gas mask if you are planning to use one.

The best protection against gas and mace is to have your skin covered with clothing and to wear a good gas mask. If you are getting a mask, be sure that the cannister is unused and is dated after 1957. Cannisters before that date are ineffective against CS, which is the most common agent now in use. Also be sure that you know how to clear, fit, and put on the mask. You should NEVER use vaseline or oil, or make-up with an oil base if there is danger of gas or mace. The grease or oil will dissolve the gas/mace trapping it on the skin and causing severe burns. First aid for gas or mace injuries is in the outline below.

Anyone who is taking any medication regularly such as insulin, anti-epilepsy drugs, antibiotics or anti-allergy drugs should write that information on his or her arm in magic marker. People who are allergic to anything should write that on an arm. You should also write needed phone numbers,

such as the lawyer's phone number and the number of a friend in Miami. It is easy to forget a phone number in the stress of an arrest or injury. The reason for writing on an arm is that arm is less likely to be lost than a shirt or slip of paper.

To prevent heatstroke and sunstroke you will need to increase your intake of liquids. Fruit juices or Gatorade, which was made for quick absorption by the body. If there is no medical reason for you to avoid salt, you should take salt tablets four times a day. Many people drink wine or beer to quench thirst, but in the heat any alcoholic drink will serve to draw liquids out of your body (you piss a lot). In this way, if you are drinking alcohol in the sun, you are even more likely to keel over.

As far as dope went, we saw no smack, but Miami is famous as a downer city, and there were a lot of those. We saw reds (Seconal), Yellowjackets (Nembutal), and many Quaaludes. There were several problems other than that - - as a group - - downer freaks don't get much done.

Alcohol is also a down, and they can combine with any other to cause an OD.

The acid in the city was free of poisonous impurities, but a lot of it is either very strong or speedy. You should be careful of acid here though, as it is easy to bum out if you don't drink enough or are near heatstroke.

People who are going to Miami in August should remember that this is no place for pets - - many were injured in July.

Everyone should be familiar with the basic first aid outlined below, as not all doctors and medics in Miami know anything and the knowledge can protect you and your friends.

GAS AND MACE FIRST AID

A. There are two basic chemicals of tear gas, CN and CS. These can be dispersed in different ways: From fog machines, grenades or cannisters, etc.

B. MACE is CS in concentrated aerosol form.

C. The difference in action is that CN is a "weak" gas and effects the eyes and throat. There is tearing and choking.

D. CS is stronger and effects: eyes, breathing tubes, and skin.

E. The first aid for both is the same:

1. If the victim is wearing contact lenses, remove them immediately.
2. Flush eyes and skin with lots of water.
3. Flush eyes with boric acid solution and/or eye drops.
4. Wash all effected with mineral oil, followed immediately with alcohol.
5. Do not leave mineral oil on the skin as severe burns will result.

6. Reassure the victim before you start treatment as to the fact that the water will hurt and sting the skin but this disappears in a few minutes.

F. The best protection for an imminent gas attack is a gas mask but you can use wet gauze over your mouth for a minute or two. You should have as much skin as possible covered by clothing (including sox and shoes).

G. Remember to grab hold of another person as this increases balance and decreases panic. Walk, do not run, out of gas.

MASS ARREST

While the prime political purpose in coming to the GOP Convention is not necessarily to get arrested, the possibility of mass arrest does exist. The government has spent much time and effort in bringing people from across the country to Miami to help the Dade County officials develop a response to the actions of demonstrators. The plan that has been developed is one that has been experimented with in several mass arrest situations in Washington, D. C., in the last year.

If the police decide to make mass arrests, a warning is usually given over a loud speaker or bullhorn. People should not take the warning lightly if they feel there may be a warrant out for them or if they are out on bond, et cetera. After the warning and the "grace period" is over, the police buses will come into the area with special police squads to perform the arrests. The police who are on the streets or surrounding the demonstration will not leave their assigned posts unless something unusual occurs. The police who arrive on the arrest buses will take people one by one, photograph them on the scene with their "arresting Officer", fill out a field arrest form with basic information (name, age, sex, address, etc.), and place them on the bus to be transported to the detention facility.

Women (up to 500) will be taken to the City of Miami jail, 1145 N'W' 11th Street, in Miami. The first 2,500 men will be taken to the Dade County Stockade, 6950 N.W. 41st Street, Miami. The overflow will be sent to the Youth Fair Building, 10901 S.W. 24th Street, Miami (can hold between 1,000 and 1,500 people). When the Youth Fair Building is full, any other arrested people will be taken to military staging areas in Miami. Nobody will be jailed in Miami Beach, everyone will be taken to Miami. The police will use county statutes to arrest people in order to justify the use of facilities in Miami, and also to keep people away from the solidarity of their comrades who will still be in the street.

The criminal court dockets for all the courts in Miami have been cleared for the week of the convention. The courts will operate on a 24 hour per day basis during a mass arrest situation.

When you are taken before the judge, the following things will happen:

A. You will be advised of your rights.

B. You will be assigned an attorney if you do not have one and cannot "afford" to hire one.

C. A bond will be set, or in the case of Dade County residents, personal recognizance may be granted.

D. If you do not have money for bail, you will be returned to the detention facility until trial.

As you can see, the government has developed a basic machine to grind out Amerikkan justice. Whether you cooperate or not is entirely your decision, and not the legal people's.

BAIL

It is not anticipated that the political organizations staging this action will be able to provide bail in a mass arrest situation. We urge people who feel that they may be arrested at sometime during their stay in Miami to make prior arrangements for bail money. County officials have informed us that in misdemeanor cases, money will not be taken from prisoners before the bail hearing is heard. This is being done so that, if, at the time of the bail hearing, you have enough money on you to post bail, you may bail yourself out of jail. In the event that you do not have enough money when you appear at the bail hearing, you will be returned to jail, and your money, as well as any other possessions not previously taken from you, will be removed and held until you are released. It is not possible to predict what the bail for the mass arrest charges will be. It would be good to carry between \$10 and \$25 with you. We discourage people from carrying larger amounts, as this may be a temptation for rip-offs by unscrupulous officials.

Bail forms will be available at the administrative tent on the land, or from your regional organizer. We urge everyone to get one of these forms, fill it out and return it to the administrative tent or your regional organizer. The information contained will be extremely useful in contacting family, friends, or others for bail money, if you are unable to bail yourself out.

Although it is not known how long people will remain in jail following their arrest, you should be prepared to spend at least 24 hours, and in unfavorable circumstances, it would be wise to anticipate spending as long as two or three days as a guest of the state.

Solidarity in confinement is crucial. There is strength in unit, and a unified group of people in jail can do much to turn a potentially uncomfortable experience into a good collective experience. Stick with your sisters and brothers.

Some of us who will be arrested will be classified as juveniles by the State. A juvenile under Florida law is 17 years old or under. Juveniles arrested will be "counseled" by a Dade County Juvenile Authority worker and provisions will be made to send the person home. Brothers and Sisters under 17 may want to consider this before being arrested.

LEGAL OFFICE

The legal office, The Miami Convention Legal Collective, staffed by movement lawyers and legal workers will be located at 1951 Park Avenue Apartments 9 and 10. The telephone number is (305) 538-0305. This office will answer questions, provide legal assistance and coordinate whatever bail money is available.

DRUG LAWS

Basically, possession of any type of drug without a prescription is illegal. Possession of 5 grams or less of marijuana is considered a misdemeanor and the case will be heard in a Municipal or Metropolitan Court.

Possession of anything more than 5 grams is considered a felony, and the case will go to Criminal Court. Sale of any drug is a felony. Drug felonies carry a maximum 5 year sentence.

CLOTHING

Under Miami Beach laws, "skinny-dipping" is illegal. It is also illegal to change clothes in public, or wear bathing suits on the street. Recently, a court action overturned local laws that made the wearing of women's clothing by men an illegal act.

STOP AND FRISK

The Stop and Frisk Law in Florida has been made stronger by a recent Supreme Court ruling that the police may search a suspect on the basis of information supplied by an informer, and is not restricted to acting only on his own observations. This, of course, refers to the stopping and frisking of suspects on the streets for dangerous weapons.

The law of Florida is that whenever a cop encounters a person under circumstances which reasonably indicate that a person has committed, is committing, or is about to commit a crime, he may temporarily detain the person for the purpose of ascertaining the suspect's identity and circumstances surrounding her or his presence. This is the "stop" section of the law.

The "frisk" section of the law is that whenever the cop authorized to temporarily detain a person has probable cause to believe that the person is armed with a deadly weapon.

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

Greetings from the New York Attica Brigade!

We are all here in Miami to help forge an alternative to the politics of War, Racism and Repression - the rotten fruits of imperialism.

The Attica Brigade is here as an anti-imperialist, student based organization united around three principles -

- that the 7 Point Peace Plan of the National Liberation Front/Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam should be constantly put forth as the only way to bring a settlement to the war in Vietnam.

- that the struggles of oppressed peoples at home and abroad must be linked together in the fight against U. S. imperialism, and

- that the only way to carry out these two principles is always to keep our politics up front in any tactical decisions we make.

We want to talk with people about the 7 Point Peace Plan and about imperialism - to explain that the war in Vietnam is not a mistake, that Richard Nixon and his administration are not "insane" blunders, but people and policies representing a desperate attempt to keep down people who dare to fight back against imperialism - and who are winning that fight!

After years of struggles - from the beginnings of the Civil Rights movement to struggles on campuses and building an antiwar movement - we have learned that we must keep our politics - anti-imperialist politics - visible whenever possible.

In order to do this, we believe we must have at least one demonstration that clearly supports the 7 Point Peace Plan, attacks the bombing of the dikes, attacks and exposes the policies of the Nixon administration as policies representing a ruling class and corporations which thrive on exploitation and misery of working and poor people everywhere, and which supports the struggles of all people against U. S. imperialism.

We invite you to join us in planning this action, which will be Tuesday evening.

We will hold a meeting to discuss more about it SUNDAY AFTERNOON in FLAMINGO PARK at the NEW YORK REGIONAL AREA - look for us there.

ATTICA MEANS FIGHT BACK



SUPPORT THE 7 POINT PEACE PROGRAM!

Here is a summary of the two main points:

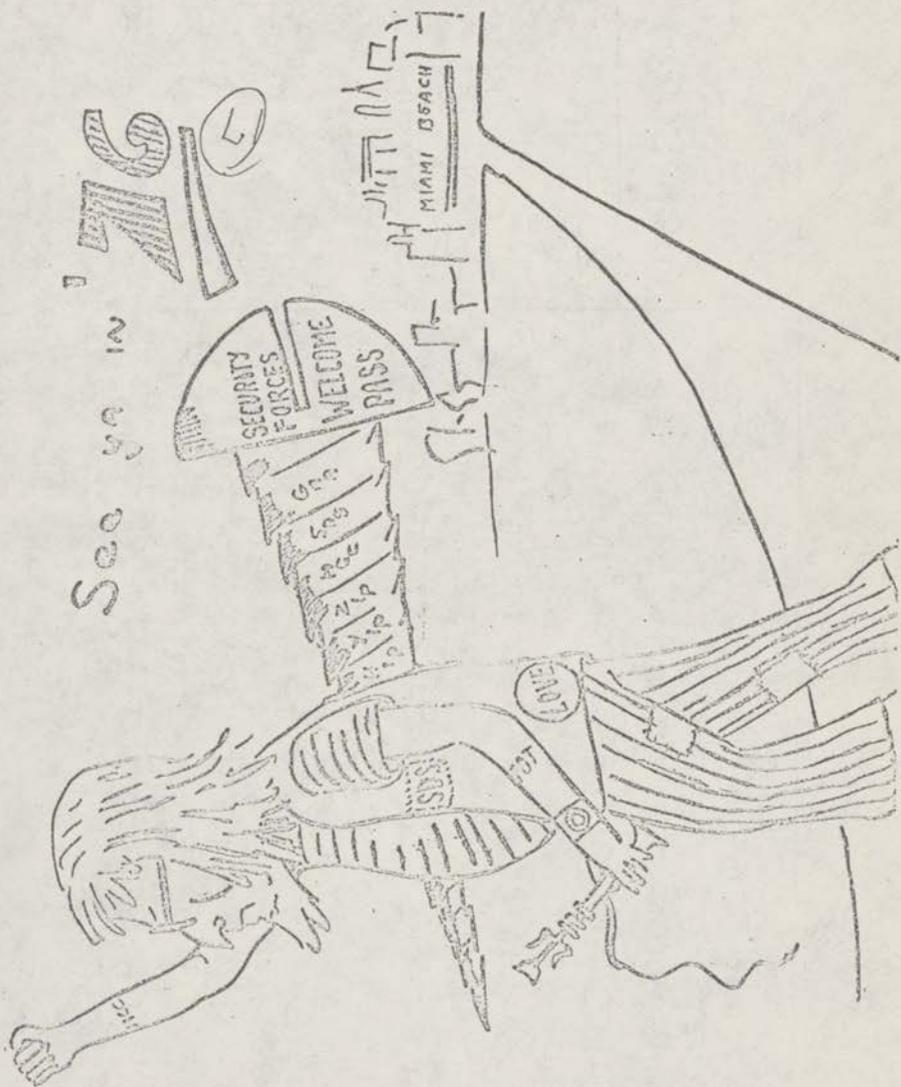
1. The U. S. must set a terminal date for withdrawal from South Vietnam of all U. S. forces. The Vietnamese guarantee safety of withdrawal operations. Both sides to release all captured military personnel and civilians.
2. The U. S. must stop all aid to the Thieu regime. The new government in Saigon will set up a broad 3-part Government of National Concord to hold and organize General Elections, with continued ceasefire, no reprisals, civil liberties ensured, all political prisoners freed and dissolution of all concentration camps.

16

207

See ya in '76

76 (L)





PLACE DRAFT CARD

HERE
(THEN BURN)

STREET PASS

DAY OF UNACCEPTANCE

AUGUST
23

MIAMI BEACH

A YIPPIE
COMPLEMENTARY TICKET

THIS DOCUMENT ENTITLES THE HOLDER AND ALL FRIENDS TO A FREE SEAT IN THE INTERSECTION OF HIS OR HER CHOICE. THIS PASS ALSO ASSURES POLITE AND NON-VIOLENT STREET ARRESTS WITH A SCENIC RIDE TO THE NEAREST ARREST HOLDING AREA.

NOTE TO ARRESTING OFFICER: PLEASE FEED, CLOTHE, BATHE, AND PROVIDE THE BEST IN SLEEPING ACCOMODATIONS. IT'S NOT OFTEN THAT WE CAN R. AND R. IN MIAMI BEACH.





PRESENTS

BROTHERS & SISTERS
HEALTHY FOODS
 HEALTHY FOODS for
 ENERGY for HEAVY POLITICAL
 CONFRONTATION.
 EDUCATION of BROTHERS and SISTERS
 about the GOODNESS of HEALTHY FOODS.

HELP

with
FOOD, TIME, & MONEY
 MIAMI BEACH 1718 ALTON RD

100-0122 AUG 1ST 531-0000

O, SAY CAN YOU SEE...



WHAT 4 MORE YEARS OF NIXON WOULD BE?



"What have they done
to the EARTH
What have they done
to our fair SISTER
RAVAGED and PLUNDERED
and RIPPED HER and
BIT HER ...
Stuck HER with KNIVES
In the side of the DAWN
and Tied HER with FENCES
and DRAGGED HER DOWN..."

(20)

FIGHT BACK! YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY

YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY

City of Miami Beach (2)

WE'VE HAD ENOUGH, DICK

VENUE
3-7925



On August 20-23 in Miami Beach, Richard Nixon and his fellow conspirators come to town for the Republican Convention. Thousands of people from all over the country will be there in the streets to greet them and to show the American people that a vote for Nixon is a vote for murder. Throughout his administration, Nixon sought to project an image that he was pacifying the war in Vietnam and the population at home. More often than not, the American people have let themselves be lulled by these lies. Now that it is clear that Nixon only intended to cover up the war rather than wind it down, and that there can be no peace

at home until the war is over, we should launch a fullscale offensive against Nixon's reelection.

For information, posters, or literature, contact:
The Miami Conventions Coalition
1718 Alton Road, Miami Beach, Florida 33139
Telephone: 305/672-0122

Youth International Party
1674 Meridian Avenue, Miami Beach, Florida 33139
Telephone: 305/531-8895

MIAMI August 20-23 (21)

HERE WE COME!

YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY
 1674 MERIDIAN AVENUE
 Miami Beach, Florida 33139
 (305) 531-8895

NEWS RELEASE
NIXON SUMMONED TO PEOPLE'S COURT

Anti-war activities for the Republican Convention officially began Wednesday, August 9, when a gross amount of Yuppies in an assortment of cars, trucks, vans, unicycles and roller skates drove from Flamingo Park to Nixon's Florida White House at Key Biscayne to present the President with a People's Summon to appear in the Streets, August 20-23 to stand trial for his crimes against humanity. Fittingly enough, it was the 27th anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki. The President, who was at a secret peace meeting with John Wayne, Ara Parseghian, William Calley and Billy Graham, was unable to attend. But daughter Tricia, looking as wholesome as a Hostess Twinkie, in her pink floral cotton dress and patent leather pumps, was on hand.

"I'm so proud to accept this token of depreciation for my father, who is the President. As you all know, Daddy wants more than anything to provide police not only for this generation, but for all generations."

After a darling curtsy, the little princess disappeared in a cloud of soap bubbles. After a brief time-out for these members of the People's Jury, who felt the necessity to puke, a people's hearing was held and evidence, in the form of guerilla theatre, was presented to show the need for the trial.

The jury sat horrified as the Mad Bomber released signs of Nixon's manhood over the face of Vietnam; they watched as Jack the Quack performed his butcher act on a pregnant woman who was unable to afford a legal abortion; they squirmed in their seats as a victim of CIA heroin shot up for the last time before dying of an overdose. When an Indian, a prisoner at Attica and a student at Kent State-Jackson State pleaded for justice . . . for equality . . . for no more that the basic rights of humanity - - and were then shot down in cold blood - - the people of the Jury were no longer able to hold back their tears. The evidence was so overwhelming that a policeman and a soldier freaked out and begged for forgiveness. But the pigs guarding Nixon's gate remained macho to the end, true representatives of the American way. Counsel for the defense, meanwhile - - tie loose, pits sweating, hair tousled - - sank deeper into his chair and cried.

The trial will take place in the Streets of Miami Beach, August 20-23. Only we, the People can judge the crimes against us that were committed in our name. Come to Miami Beach and take part in the Nuremberg Trials of the 1970's.

PEOPLE'S JUSTICE WILL PREVAIL! !

5219

EXHIBIT No. 258

City of Miami Beach

FLORIDA 33139

"VACATIONLAND U.S.A."



POLICE DEPARTMENT
ROCKY POMERANCE
CHIEF

120 MERIDIAN AVENUE
TELEPHONE: 673-3925



October 24, 1973

Mr. Robert Silverstein
Assistant Minority Counsel
United States Senate
Select Committee on Presidential
Campaign Activities
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Silverstein:

I certify that the attached is a copy of the original "Chronological Log of Events" of the 1972 convention week, (19 August - 24 August 1972) Republican National Convention, which was included as Item #18 of the After Action Report, and that the information contained therein was obtained from the official records of the Miami Beach Police Department, and that they accurately reflect the activities contained in said reports.

Rocky Pomerance

ROCKY POMERANCE
Chief of Police
City of Miami Beach
120 Meridian Avenue
Miami Beach, Florida 33139

RP:md
Encl.

Mark K. Brown

NOTARY PUBLIC
October 24, 1973

NOTARY PUBLIC STATE OF FLORIDA AT LARGE
MY COMMISSION EXPIRES MAR. 14, 1977
BONDED THRU GENERAL INSURANCE UNDERWRITERS

MBPD

(IL)

H
CRONOLOGICAL LOG OF EVENTS

CONVENTION WEEK

RNC

Item # 18

Saturday, 19 August, 1972

This morning, the Miami Beach Police Department began operating on a full Convention schedule. Although the Republican National Convention was not scheduled to convene until Monday, August 21, 1972. Because intelligence had indicated the potential of pre-convention dissident groups activities and several operational changes had been instituted since the conclusion of the Democratic National Convention six weeks earlier, it was felt that assuming a convention posture two days early would give personnel a chance to work any "bugs" out of the new procedures. At 11 A. M., Miami Beach personnel assigned to convention duties took their positions and Command Post "Beta" became operational.

Scout teams, which were so effective during the Democratic Convention, were to be employed again and in much greater numbers. Instead of having 15 scouts working only during on-session hours, 43 scouts would be working on-session and 10 would be assigned to off-session hours. A scout briefing session was held at 10 A. M. in the 100 Meridian Avenue Building. At 12 Noon, the scout radio frequency became operational and at 1:40 P. M., the scouts began their duties.

At 11 A. M., Gate 11X was opened and all others were locked.

At 4 P. M., the detectives assigned to campsite liaison reported that there were approximately 1200 non-delegates presently in the park. They advised that the groups were quiet today and no demonstrations were planned until tomorrow. Today was being used for planning and organizing.

Seven non-delegates were seen checking the fence and the locations of the officers in the area of Gate IX at 4:05 P. M.

At 6:30 P. M., Miami Beach platoon #1 was sent to take up positions at the Fontainebleau and Doral Beach Hotels because of the possibility of demonstrations there this evening. Both hotels were quiet, however, and Miami Beach platoon #1 returned to the Complex at 8:33 P. M.

A group of about 20 non-delegates gathered at 17 Street and Washington Avenue at 8:10 P. M. They sat on the grass and talked until 9 P. M.; then half the group walked south on Washington Avenue and the other half walked west on 17 Street. No problems occurred.

At 10:26 P. M., Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel, responsible for off-session security, arrived to relieve Miami Beach personnel on the gates. When all perimeter personnel had been relieved, Miami Beach platoon #1 and all other on-session personnel secured for the night.

Sunday, 20 August, 1972

At 7 A. M., Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Division personnel were still in position around the Complex perimeter, maintaining Convention Complex security. Gates 3X and 11X were open and all others were locked.

At 7:25 A. M., officers of the Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission apprehended a man after he was seen jumping the perimeter fence near Gate 8X. Investigation revealed that the man was employed within the Complex as a day laborer and was taking a short cut. He promised to discontinue the practice and was released.

At 9:26 A. M., a group began to gather at 14th Street and Washington Avenue for a march to the Convention Complex. Numbering 25 at this time, several hundred were expected.

At 9:35 A. M., 12 demonstrators showed up in front of the Carillon Hotel at 6801 Collins Avenue. Carrying signs with anti-war slogans, the group marched peacefully back and forth in front of the hotel.

Shortly before 10 A. M., marchers began to gather at 18th Street and Washington Avenue. They were members of a Cuban group known as the 2506 Brigade who had planned an "I Love America" parade. By 10:15 A. M., between 150 and 200 people had gathered and were listening to speeches and waving banners and flags. They disbanded at 11 A. M. without incident.

A flat-bed truck arrived at 14th Street and Washington Avenue. A teen-age band gathered on the truck and played music for the approximately 125 people assembled there. At 10:30 A.M., the group got into 10 cars and slowly followed the flat-bed truck north on Washington Avenue toward the Complex. The group disbanded at 11 A. M. shortly after reaching the Complex.

At 10:45 A. M., the first of the Florida Highway Patrol platoons reported in position. They were platoons 19 and 20 and were staged in the Garden Center Auditorium. At 11 A. M., the other FHP (Florida Highway Patrol) platoons were in their staging areas: Platoons 21, 22 and 23 at St. Patrick's Church, 3700 Meridian Avenue; and platoons 24, 25 and 26 in the Veterans of Foreign Wars Club House, 650 West Avenue.

At 10:54 A. M., the Mobile Command Post reported that it was in position in front of the Convention Hall and was functional.

At 10:55 A. M., Public Safety Department platoons 2, 3, 4 and 5 arrived at their staging area inside the Miami Beach Auditorium, and at 11:06 A. M., Miami Beach platoon #1 reported that it was in its staging area within the auditorium. P.S.D. platoons 10 and 11 were staged inside the Fontainebleau Hotel. Platoon 11 was scheduled to work a 12-hour day shift and platoon 10 would relieve them and work a 12-hour night shift. However, both platoons were now inside the hotel.

At 11 A. M., personnel of the Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission were relieved at their positions on the Convention Complex gates by Miami Beach personnel and returned to their quarters.

Florida, 20 August, 1972 (continued)

At 1 P. M., Miami platoon 18 moved into the Complex and was staged in the auditorium. This platoon had been staged in Miami during the Democratic National Convention, but would be staged in Miami Beach for the Republican National Convention. At 1:45 P. M., Miami platoons 12, 13 and 14 arrived on the Complex and were also staged in the auditorium. Miami platoons 15, 16 and 17 were staged in the Miami Police Benevolent Hall in the City of Miami in case of trouble on that side of the bay.

At 1:25 P. M., an arrest was made outside Flamingo Park. A young man who had been causing trouble was evicted from the park by members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (V.V.A.W.). Once outside the park, he attempted to force his way back in several times and the police were called. After he was taken away, the V.V.A.W. destroyed his cache of weapons reportedly consisting of two fused Molotov cocktails, three "wrist rocket" sling shots, two lead weighted arrows, 200 marbles and 100 sharpened bolts.

At 2:15 P. M., P.S.D. platoons 6, 7, 8 and 9 arrived at the Complex and were also staged in the auditorium.

At 2:20 P. M., a group of about 300 non-delegates, reportedly Zippies, left Flamingo Park and marched north on Meridian Avenue toward the Convention Complex. Another group of 50 to 100 left the campsite a few minutes later and caught up with the first group. All police units within the Complex were notified and, at the request of the Miami Beach Tactical Commander (905), men were moved out of their staging areas to positions behind the perimeter fence: Miami units from Gates 1X up to Gate 9X; P.S.D. units from Gates 9X to 12X and north to the canal, and Miami Beach platoon # 1 along the north perimeter. Gate 3X was closed leaving only Gate 11X open.

As the marchers approached the Complex on Meridian Avenue, they were diverted onto 17th Street by Miami Beach officers in the street and sent toward the demonstration area in front of the Convention Complex. They arrived at the South Demonstration area at 2:40 P. M. and started their planned activities by burning the American flag. Several of the Zippies urinated on the flag while it lay in the street. They concluded their activities at 3:25 P. M. and marched south on Washington Avenue back to Flamingo Park. At 3:53 P. M., those police units sent to the perimeter were returned to their staging areas, and Gate # 3X was reopened.

At 3:07 P. M., it was reported that 50 V.V.A.W. members were demonstrating in front of the Doral Beach Hotel, 4833 Collins Avenue; and several F.H.P. observers were sent from St. Patrick's Church. The V.V.A.W. members were apparently waiting for a group of V.V.A.W. who had been marching south from Jacksonville, Florida, to attend the convention. Their progress had received a lot of media coverage and the group was now reported marching south on Collins Avenue after having crossed the 79th Street Causeway.

At 3:35 P. M., about 20 members of the National Socialist White Peoples Party, (formerly the American Nazi Party), entered the campsite and attempted to take over the stage. They were forceably evicted from the park by V.V.A.W. members who injured several to the degree that they needed medical treatment. The Nazis vowed to return to the park later that night with 150 storm troopers. At this time nightsticks were passed out by V.V.A.W. to S.D.S. members; and guards were posted throughout Flamingo Park.

Sunday, 27 August, 1972 (continued)

The V.V.A.W. who were waiting for the group marching from Jacksonville had gone to the municipal beach at 46th Street; and were now, at 4:21 P. M. involved in a disturbance with some Cubans who resented the manner in which the veterans were displaying the American flag. The two groups were separated by police, and after a while the Cuban group disbanded. The V.V.A.W. remained in the area waiting for their comrades. At 5:30 P. M., they started marching back to Flamingo Park.

Between 6:00 P. M. and 6:10 P. M., three different groups totaling about 600 non-delegates left Flamingo Park, all reportedly bound for the Fontainebleau Hotel, 4441 Collins Avenue, to demonstrate against a \$500 per plate Republican Dinner taking place inside the hotel. Florida Highway Patrol platoons 21, 22 and 23 were asked by 905 to go to the Fontainebleau Hotel and F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 were sent to the 46th Street Municipal Lot to stand-by.

As the non-delegates approached the Complex, two squads from Miami platoons 12 and 13 were stationed inside the 17th Street side of the perimeter on Washington Avenue and P.S.D. platoons 6,7,8 and 9 were positioned along 17th Street, behind the fence. The non-delegates marched past the Complex and continued north toward the Fontainebleau Hotel; and at 7 P. M., the units along the fence were secured and returned to their staging area.

At 6:54 P. M., the first group of about 300 demonstrators reached 41st Street and Collins Avenue. Moving to the front of the Fontainebleau Hotel, they began to block traffic and harass delegates trying to enter the hotel. They completely blocked northbound lanes on Collins Avenue, pelted the delegates with eggs, and were forming human fences across the hotel's entrances restricting pedestrian and vehicular movements. 905 ordered that traffic on Collins Avenue be detoured at 63 Street and 41 Street; and at 7:45 P. M. requested that F.H.P. troopers clear the front of the hotel. The troopers moved the demonstrators across Collins Avenue to the west side of the street. 905 requested that F.H.P. platoons 19 and 20 be sent from the Complex to the Front of the Fontainebleau Hotel where they were to assist in containing the demonstrators and making arrests. Two prisoner vans were also requested, and P.S.D. platoons 6 and 7 were sent to assist.

At 8 P. M., some of the demonstrators started walking south on Collins Avenue and soon the entire group was moving away from the hotel. They were allowed to continue leaving the area of the Fontainebleau Hotel; and P.S.D. platoons 6 and 7 and F.H.P. platoons 19 and 20 were returned to the Convention Complex. The prisoner vans returned to their staging area. At 8:30 P. M., Collins Avenue was clear and the detours were removed from 63 Street and 41 Street.

By 8:40 P. M., the demonstrators were stretched out along Collins Avenue between 25 and 20 Streets; and 905 requested that the F.H.P. cars patrol in that area to prevent the group from reorganizing and reversing direction. As they approached the Convention Complex, Miami platoons 12, 13, 14 and 18 were moved out to their positions on the perimeter, but the group continued south toward Flamingo Park.

Sunday, 10 August, 1972 (continued) -----

By 9:06 P. M., most of the group was in the park and all F.H.P. platoons had returned to their staging areas. The Miami platoons secured from their fence positions at 9:15 P. M.

At 9:20 P. M., 15 of the Nazis arrived at the Fontainebleau Hotel carrying a sign reading "Flush Integration". They were in uniform but were not wearing swastikas. They peacefully demonstrated there until 10:40 P. M., when they left marching south to 41 Street and Pine Tree Drive where they had left their cars.

A group of approximately 75 departed from Flamingo Park at 9:22 P. M. They were members of various gay groups who marched with lighted candles to the North Demonstration Area and stated that they planned to stay until 5 A. M. Two additional small groups walked near the Convention Complex, but after a short time walked south toward Flamingo Park.

At 10:45 P. M., Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission personnel arrived and relieved the Miami Beach personnel on the gates. All Florida Highway Patrol, Public Safety Department and Miami Police Department platoons were secured for the day. At 10:50 P. M., P.S.D. platoon 11 secured from the Fontainebleau Hotel, due back at 9 A. M. to relieve platoon 10.

Officers from the P.S.D. Bomb Squad arrived at 11:13 P. M. to conduct a complete sweep of the Convention Hall which they completed at 12:55 A. M. Nothing suspicious was located.

Monday, 21 August, 1972

At 10:50 A. M., P. S. D. platoons 2 through 9 reported to their staging area within the Convention Complex, and at 11 A. M., Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel were relieved from their gate positions by Miami Beach personnel. Miami platoons 12, 13, 14 and 18 arrived on the Complex, and only Gates 2X and 11X were opened. The F.H.P. platoons were all in their staging areas by 11 A. M.

At 11:24 A. M., Miami Beach platoon #1 reported in service at its staging area. Gates 8X, 9X, 10X and 12X were also opened at this time as P.S.D. platoons took up their positions along the perimeter. By 11:44 A. M., the Miami platoons had assumed their fence positions and Gates 3X, 4X, 5X and 6X were opened.

An estimated 1500 non-delegates were now using the Flamingo Park Campsite. Several meetings were taking place, but there was no noticeable movements in or out of the park. The Nazi bus was reportedly enroute to Flamingo Park from Fort Lauderdale and the V.V.A.W., who had taken over all campsite security, had sentries posted.

Traffic was flowing smoothly in and out of the Convention Complex as the delegates arrived for the convention's scheduled 1 P. M. opening session. At 1:09 P. M., a group of 25 non-delegates were seen making a tour of the Convention Complex perimeter and police traffic positions in the area of the Complex, taking notes as they went.

At 2:15 P. M., a group of about 500 non-delegates left Flamingo Park and marched toward the Complex. The Convention Tactical Commander (905) requested that all police units be notified. Moving slowly, the marchers approached the Complex from the Washington Avenue side. All Miami and P.S.D. platoons were in position along the perimeter, but the group continued north on Washington Avenue. One male demonstrator removed all his clothing and executed several cartwheels in front of the Convention Complex. He was placed under arrest. About 20 elderly citizens were peacefully demonstrating near Gate 2X, holding signs urging victory in the war. One of the V.V.A.W. members took a sign from an elderly demonstrator and tore it up; but the rest of the marchers ignored the small group.

At 3:18 P. M., the opening session was concluded and all of the delegates exited the Convention Complex.

The marching non-delegates crossed Dade Boulevard at Washington Avenue and arrived in front of Miami Beach High School, the staging area for approximately 700 National Guardsmen. The demonstrators called to the Guardsmen to come out and join them, and several non-delegates climbed onto the roof of the school and to the area housing communication aeriels, etc. 905 requested that those persons on the roof be arrested and 7 demonstrators were taken into custody. At 3:39 P. M. 905 requested that F.H.P. platoons 21 through 26 come to the High School, but they were asked to come to the east side of the school and remain out of sight of the demonstrators unless needed.

At 3:48 P. M., a group of about 150 Zippies came out of Flamingo Park and made their way toward the Convention Complex, reportedly to join with the V.V.A.W. group at Miami Beach Senior High School. When they reached the North Demonstration Area, they stopped and grouped around several of their members who began making speeches against the war. Two women stripped to their waists and 3 men stripped completely as part of the demonstration.

At 4:08 P. M., some of the V.V.A.W. members left the school and drifted south on Washington Avenue. F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 remained at Miami Beach Senior High School with approximately 300 V.V.A.W. members still standing around in front of the school.

Two hundred members of a women's liberation group left the Park at 4:38 P. M. They marched east on 14 Street to Collins Avenue and turned north.

At 4:47 P. M., the V.V.A.W. group at Miami Beach Senior High School moved south on Washington Avenue and joined in the North Demonstration Area. When the V.V.A.W. left the school, some of the Zippies left the demonstration area and marched to the high school. They remained there for about 30 minutes and returned to the demonstration area. The women's liberation group reached the demonstration at 5:05 P. M. and set up a speakers platform at 19 Street and Washington Avenue. Soon all of the groups had merged and were sitting on the grass and in the roadway between 18 and 19 Streets, listening to speeches.

At 5:30 P. M., Cubans had started gathering in the Burdine's parking lot at 17 Street and Meridian Court, staging area for a parade scheduled to begin about 6:30 P. M. A similar group was gathering in Miami at the Orange Bowl Stadium and would rendezvous with the Miami Beach group shortly before parade time. At 6:44 P. M., approximately 250 Cubans from Miami had joined with the 150 - 200 waiting paraders behind Burdine's and were marching east on 17 Street. Late arrivals enlarged the group to about 700 marchers by the time the group reached Washington Avenue. To avoid a confrontation with the non-delegate group sitting at 18 - 19 Streets, the Cuban parade was prevented from going north on Washington Avenue by a line of officers stationed at the intersection. Instead, the marchers were routed to James Avenue and then north to 19 Street, thus, they arrived on Washington Avenue just north of the large group still listening to speeches in front of the Convention Complex. A line of P.S.D. deputies and a line of V.V.A.W. marshals kept the opposing groups separated. When the Cubans marched into the North Demonstration Area at 7:10 P. M., stragglers at the rear of the Cuban parade came into contact with several non-delegates at 17 Street and Washington Avenue and an altercation resulted; but was quickly broken up by police and parade marshals.

April 21, 1972 (continued)

It began to sprinkle at 7:15 P. M.; and by 7:30 P. M. it was raining. The Cuban demonstration came to an end and the leaders led the marchers back the way they had come. At 7:37 P. M., a group of 500 - 600 left the Flamingo Park campsite and headed for the South Demonstration Area to join the group already there for a mammoth George Jackson Memorial Rally. As the last of the Cuban members reached 17 Street and Washington Avenue on their way back to Burdine's parking lot, the large group from the Flamingo Park campsite approached the same intersection. A group of men with orange "Ombudsmen" armbands formed a line across the east side of Washington Avenue at 17 Street and held back the last portion of the Cuban marchers in order to avoid a conflict between the two groups. The marchers from the park crossed 17 Street and entered the South Demonstration Area. The Cubans then proceeded on 17 Street and disbanded at Meridian Avenue.

At 7:52 P. M., there were an estimated 2500 people in front of the Convention Complex for the planned rally. Because of rumors that the S.D.S. were going to try to incite the crowd to storm the fence, numerous precautions were taken by police inside the Complex. All gates were locked except Gates 2X, 6X, 9X, 11X and 12X. Pepper foggers were brought to the Mobile Command Post on Jackie Gleason Drive and issued to Miami Beach platoon #1 positioned there. Miami platoons 12, 13, 14 and 18 were along the east perimeter, and Miami platoons 15, 16 and 17 were called to the Complex from their Miami staging area. P.S.D. platoons 2, 3, 4 and 5 were positioned from Gate 11X to the Garden Center, platoons 8 and 9 were along the south perimeter and platoons 6 and 7 were on buses in front of the auditorium. F.H.P. platoons 19 through 26 were placed on stand by, and Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel were called to the Complex from their off-duty hotel quarters and positioned along the west side of the complex. Prisoner control was alerted. Miami platoons 15, 16 and 17 arrived at the Complex at 8:30 P. M. and were positioned along the east perimeter.

At 8:32 P. M., the evening session of the Republican National Convention commenced. There were several incidents of delegates being harassed verbally as they entered the Complex, but most entered unmolested.

Numerous speakers addressed the non-delegates. Some of the more noteworthy were attorney William Kunstler, Black Panther Bobby Seale, actress Jane Fonda, George Jackson's former attorney John Thorne, attorney Luke McKissick who represents an imprisoned G.I., and a member of the I.R.A., Sean Keane.

At 9:25 P. M., there were only about 800 people remaining in front of the Complex. Most of the crowd was drifting slowly back toward Flamingo Park. At 11:05 P. M., the rally ended and the crowd was asked by someone on the stage to clean up their litter. Most of the non-delegates did pick up the trash in the area and then threw it over the fence at the officers. Some eggs were also thrown at officers near the South Demonstration Area.

1972 (Continued)

At 11:17 P. M., 905 requested that the F.H.P. be assigned to patrol south of 17 Street to prevent damage to property as the non-delegates made their way back to the campsite. Some gates along 17 Street were blocked by non-delegates, but no overt attempt was made to storm the fence. As the area cleared of demonstrators, police units were returned to their staging areas. The convention session ended and the delegates left the Complex.

At 11:40 P. M., 905 advised the F.H.P. troopers that they could secure for the evening. All Miami platoons, except platoons 12 and 13, returned to Miami. At 12:01 A. M., Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel joined Miami Beach personnel on the gates. At 12:22 A. M., all P.S.D. platoons assigned to the Complex secured. P.S.D. platoon 27 was called to the Complex and would remain until 4 A. M. Miami Beach personnel were secured at 1 A. M. As the officers at Gate 2X were preparing to leave their posts, a man drove up to the gate and attempted to gain entrance to the compound for himself and a woman companion. He claimed to be a Secret Service agent but could not produce his identification. Refused admission, he was turning his car around when agents of the Secret Service approached him and questioned him. Bullets were found under the front seat of the car and a .22 rifle was discovered in the trunk. The man was placed under arrest for impersonating an officer.

Tuesday, 22 August, 1972

A lot of planning had taken place during the night as the groups in Flamingo Park prepared for a major demonstration in front of the Fontainebleau Hotel this morning. The Republican National Committee had meetings scheduled for 9 A. M. on Rules and Credentials, and the Republican women had a brunch scheduled for 10 A. M. S.D.S. members had reportedly obtained 12 tickets to the brunch and planned to demonstrate inside the hotel. At 9 A. M., the only non-delegates in front of the hotel were about 25 "Jesus Freaks". None of the major groups had left Flamingo Park.

At 9:15 A. M., about 40 members of a religious organization called the "20th Century Reformation Group" arrived in front of the Fontainebleau Hotel. Consisting of older people, their activity consisted of handing out literature to passers by.

P.S.D. platoon 11 arrived at the Fontainebleau at 9:45 A. M. to relieve platoon 10 staged inside.

At 10:02 A. M., a group of about 200 led by S.D.S. marched out of Flamingo Park. They marched east on 14 Street to Collins Avenue and then north on Collins, picking up stragglers along the route. When they reached 17 Street there were an estimated 350 non-delegates in the group, marching in the middle of the street and blocking all 4 lanes of traffic. Smaller groups were gathering in the park, looking for transportation to the Fontainebleau. Some had cars and were already enroute to the hotel.

All F.H.P. platoons were in service by 10:30 A. M., but 50 F.H.P. troopers from the group staged in St. Patrick's Church were brought to the Fontainebleau at 10:27 A. M. and posted out front in the driveway. P.S.D. platoon 11 would maintain the hotel's internal security. The Police Tactical Commander (905) requested that two prisoner vans be sent to the hotel and parked on the west side of Collins Avenue opposite the hotel.

At 10:30 A. M., the "20th Century Reformation Group" left the front of the Fontainebleau and moved north to the front of the Doral Beach hotel, 4833 Collins Avenue.

P.S.D. platoons 2,3,4 and 5 arrived at the Complex at 10:50 A. M., and Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel were relieved on the perimeter gates by Miami Beach personnel.

The demonstrators arrived in front of the Fontainebleau Hotel at 10:45 A. M. and began marching back and forth carrying signs and shouting slogans. At first, hotel traffic was able to get through the line of non-delegates, but before long the driveways were blocked in addition to northbound traffic on Collins Avenue.

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At 11:05 A. M., 905 requested F.H.P. platoons 21, 22 and 23 report to the Fontainebleau Hotel, and F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 positioned themselves at 44 Street and Collins Avenue. At 11:13 A. M., 905 asked the F.H.P. troopers to move the demonstrators back from the front of the hotel. F.H.P. troopers moved them south about half a block, opening up the north driveway of the hotel and one northbound lane on Collins Avenue. The demonstrators regrouped at their new location, and, after a short meeting, started moving south on Collins Avenue, reportedly bound for the Saxony Hotel at 3201 Collins Avenue, headquarters hotel for delegates from Puerto Rico, South Carolina and West Virginia.

At 11:08 A. M., Miami Beach platoon #1 reported in service at their staging area, and 11:30 A. M., Miami Platoons 12, 13 and 14 reported on Complex. Platoon 18 was still enroute and reported a few minutes later. There was no non-delegate activity evident around the Convention Complex other than two pickets carrying signs at Gate 12X.

After the non-delegates withdrew from the area of the Fontainebleau, 905 requested that the F.H.P. units move from the hotel to the Municipal Parking Lot at 46 Street to await further developments.

At 11:31 A. M., a group of demonstrators showed up at the Deauville Hotel, 6701 Collins Avenue, headquarters for the Michigan Delegation. They milled around in front of the hotel, shouting anti-war slogans and blocking delegates buses when they tried to leave. Members of Miami Beach's off-site crowd control contingent were sent to assist the delegates.

The S.D.S. demonstrators arrived at the Saxony Hotel at 11:48 A. M. and gathered in front on the Collins Avenue side. Some non-delegates walked around the outside of the hotel looking for another way in, and a rumor circulated through the crowd that there was an opening on the south side. 905 requested that several F.H.P. troopers be positioned inside the hotel to keep the demonstrators out. At 12:16 P. M., the demonstrators decided they were not getting anywhere and began to move south again, back to the park. At 12:17 P. M., 905 advised the F.H.P. units and the prisoner vans that they could return to their staging areas.

The S.D.S. marchers had ice-picked tires on several cars during their trip south from the Fontainebleau Hotel. They broke the windows in a bank at 2397 Collins Avenue and when they reached 22 Street and Collins Avenue, a few of them jumped into the decorative pool in front of the public library. Continuing south, the demonstrators smashed several windows at 2004 Collins Avenue and broke the flagpole in front of 1565 Collins Avenue while stealing the flag. At 1:04 P. M., 905 requested F.H.P. platoons 21 through 26 respond to 16 Street and Collins Avenue and make appropriate arrests. Four prisoner vans were also

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requested at that location. Shortly after these requests were made, the demonstrators discontinued vandalizing and marched straight back to Flamingo Park. At 1:08 P. M., 905 cancelled the requests for F.H.P. troopers and prisoner vans.

At 12:45 P. M., about 175 Zippies left Flamingo Park and marched north on Meridian Avenue. P.S.D. platoon 2 was deployed along the perimeter between Gates 9X and 10X and platoon 5 was moved onto its bus. The Zippies marched down the center of Meridian Avenue, blocking all traffic lanes. When they reached the Lincoln Road Mall, they turned east and marched over to Washington Avenue. Turning north on Washington Avenue, the group continued until they were in front of the Convention Complex. Miami platoon 12 had been deployed along the east perimeter adjacent to the North Demonstration Area, and P.S.D. platoons 2 and 5 were returned to their staging area since there was no activity along 17 Street at this time.

Meanwhile, demonstrators had been drifting back to the Fontainebleau Hotel. At 1:10 P. M., there were over 100 in front of the hotel who were beginning to interfere with Collins Avenue traffic and vehicles entering and exiting the hotel. At 1:12 P. M., 905 requested that 3 prisoner vans be dispatched to the front of the Fontainebleau, and a minute later requested that F.H.P. platoons 21 through 26 respond to the hotel and move the demonstrators back as they had done earlier. The crowd was moved without difficulty and no arrests were made. The F.H.P. platoons remained in the area of the hotel and did not return to their staging areas.

The afternoon convention session began at 1:13 P. M.

The 175 Zippies were all in the North Demonstration Area at 1:20 P. M. When they arrived in the area about half the group had gone into the Demonstration Area and the other half had continued north to 20 Street where they blocked traffic. After a short time, they moved back to join the first half of the group.

At 1:28 P. M., the entire group moved over to 20 Street and completely blocked Gate 2X. They again blocked traffic on Washington Avenue and several Zippies were seen vomiting on hoods of cars they had forced to slow down. They jumped on top of cars parked along Washington Avenue and rocked them back and forth. One female demonstrator removed her blouse and paraded around topless, her body painted several different colors. Miami platoon 14 was posted along the perimeter from Gate 1X to Gate 3X, and platoon 18 was put on its bus and sent to Gate 2X to stand-by. At 1:30 P. M., 905 requested that platoons 19 and 20 be sent to the Fontainebleau to relieve F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 at their positions. F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 were

Tuesday, 22 August, 1972 (continued)

asked to come to 23 Street and Dade Boulevard to meet with 905. Two prisoner vans were also requested at 23 Street and Dade Boulevard.

At 1:35 P. M., the Zippie demonstrators had left 20 Street and Washington Avenue and were back in the North Demonstration Area where they were climbing the light poles, pulling off the decorative red, white and blue bunting and setting fire to it. At 1:37 P. M., a line of F.H.P. squad cars pulled along side the Demonstration Area. The troopers exited from their cars and formed a solid line around the demonstrators, sealing off the area. The troopers closed in around the demonstrators until they were in a compact group surrounded by a 3-deep layer of troopers. The prisoner vans were moved up along side the squad cars, about 20 troopers were formed into arrest teams, and arrest procedures were initiated. The demonstrators did not resist and in an hour and five minutes, the entire group of 212 demonstrators had been processed and loaded aboard 6 prisoner vans.

At 1:25 P. M., about 500 V.V.A.W. had left Flamingo Park bound for the Fontainebleau Hotel, and arrests were still being made in front of the Complex when they came marching up 17 Street and turned onto Washington Avenue. P.S.D. platoons 3 and 4 were moved out onto Washington Avenue just north of 19 Street because it was not known what reaction the V.V.A.W. marchers might have when they saw the arrests being made. The V.V.A.W. group remained orderly and marched east on 19 Street to Collins Avenue and continued toward the Fontainebleau Hotel. At 2:08 P. M., P.S.D. platoons 3 and 4 returned to their staging area.

The demonstrators who had been moved from in front of the Fontainebleau Hotel at 1:13 P. M. by F.H.P. troopers had continued a slow southward movement. Encountering a beer truck at 44 Street, they surrounded it and helped themselves to some of its contents. They also let air out of the tires of some cars in the same vicinity. At 36 Street and Collins Avenue, they met the V.V.A.W. group enroute to the Fontainebleau and joined with them.

At 2:55 P. M., the V.V.A.W. group reached the Fontainebleau Hotel and were met by about 100 demonstrators waiting for them. Estimated at slightly over 800 people, part of the group blocked off the hotel's main entrance driveway and the rest sat down in the street. A source within the group stated they planned on being arrested here and that is why they avoided a confrontation with police in front of the Convention Complex. 905 ordered Collins Avenue traffic be detoured at 41 Street and 63 Street; and requested 5 prisoner vans to the Fontainebleau Hotel.

At 3:21 P. M., 905 advised that the main driveway to the hotel had been cleared. F.H.P. troopers were posted at the driveways and along the front of the hotel on the sidewalk, but the demonstrators were orderly.

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At 4 P. M., a group of about 40 blacks arrived at the Fontainebleau Hotel carrying pro-Nixon and anti-McGovern signs. They assembled about 50 yards north of the V.V.A.W. sit-in, passed out literature and listened to speeches. The V.V.A.W. group ignored them for the most part.

Conditions were relatively quiet around the Complex. Thirty Seminole Indians arrived at Gate IIX at 2:15 P. M. Carrying signs and marching to the beat of a drum, they made their way to Washington Avenue and assembled in the North Demonstration Area. They remained there for approximately an hour and a half and then returned to Gate IIX and their waiting vehicles.

At 4:30 P. M., about half of the V.V.A.W. group sitting on Collins Avenue in front of the Fontainebleau Hotel got up and started walking back to Flamingo Park. A few minutes later, 3 V.V.A.W. members in wheelchairs were assisted into the hotel lobby by police. A report of a bomb in the lobby men's restroom had been received at 4:30 P. M. and most of the lobby was cordoned off, but the veterans delivered a letter to a man who promised to deliver it to the President in person. The veterans then left the hotel and rejoined the group out front. At this time, 905 announced to the group that they had 3 minutes to leave the area or they would be arrested for disorderly conduct. The group arose and started back toward Flamingo Park. The bomb threat in the Fontainebleau men's restroom was a false alarm. A cylinder was found taped to a door, but examination revealed it was not a bomb.

At 4:47 P. M., 905 advised the prisoner vans to return to their staging area. F.H.P. platoons 19 through 23 were also returned to their staging areas and Collins Avenue was opened to traffic.

At 5:45 P. M., an estimated 1500 to 2000 demonstrators left Flamingo Park headed for the Convention Complex. This large group was composed of smaller groups representing the various organizations in the campsite; but all were marching together to symbolize their united desire to end the War. The evening's demonstration had been entitled "Street without Joy." Many of the non-delegates wore costumes and had their faces painted to resemble death masks; and their parade contained several floats and was led by a live elephant pulling a coffin. When the group reached 16 Street and Meridian Avenue, they met and were joined by the V.V.A.W. demonstrators returning from the Fontainebleau Hotel.

At 5:57 P. M., P.S.D. platoons 3 and 4 were loaded on their buses and positioned by Gate IIX; and Miami platoons 12, 13 and 14 were positioned along the east perimeter. At 6:04 P. M., P.S.D. platoon 2 was positioned between Gates 9X and 10X; and at 6:10 P. M., Miami platoon 18 was in stand-by position behind the east perimeter forces. P.S.D. platoon 5 was ordered to assemble at its bus at 6:17 P. M.

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The afternoon session of the Republican National Convention ended at 6:20 P. M. as the demonstrators began to encircle the Complex. It was drizzling outside and a motion was made to stay in the Hall for supper rather than leave the Complex. Many delegates voted to remain.

About 1000 demonstrators continued north on Meridian Avenue past 17 Street while the remaining marchers proceeded east on 17 Street to Washington Avenue. As the groups moved around the perimeter, they left a solid line of demonstrators behind them standing silently along the curb, shoulder to shoulder. At each gate demonstrators announced to the officers that they intended to block the gate if any tried to exit.

At 6:30 P. M., 905 requested F.H.P. platoons 21, 22 and 23 position themselves in the 46 Street and Collins Avenue Municipal Parking Lot after reports were received that members of the militant Attica Brigade planned to separate from the rest of the marchers and go to the Eden Roc Hotel, 4525 Collins Avenue.

Washington Avenue, from 17 to 20 Streets had been closed to vehicular traffic to give the non-delegates a large area in which to demonstrate. When the Complex perimeter had been lined on the east, south and west sides, most of the remaining protesters gathered on Washington Avenue near Gate 2X. At 6:45 P. M., Miami platoon 18 was positioned in support of the police units already at Gate 2X, and Miami Beach platoon #1, with pepper foggers, was positioned on Jackie Gleason Drive by the Mobile Command Post.

At 6:46 P. M., a group of about 50 Cubans was seen marching up 17 Street to Washington Avenue. They marched around for about 2 hours before returning to their cars, but did not cause any great problems with the other demonstrators. They appeared to be ready and looking for trouble, but other groups were not interested.

At 6:47 P. M., the National Guard placed its 2/124 Infantry Battalion, staged in the Miami Beach High School, on "red" alert and its 2/116 Task Force, staged in Miami, on "Yellow" alert.

The main demonstration took place in front of Gate 2X in the form of Guerilla theatre. Several groups took part and acted out different scenes using home-made props. The high point came about 7:30 P. M., when the papier mache models of bombs and airplanes used in their skits were set on fire and thrown over the fence into the compound. The coffin which the elephant had been pulling was also thrown into the Complex. Harassment of delegates continued. Mostly verbal at first, as time went by, it intensified.

Tuesday, 22 August, 1972 (continued)

At 7:13 P. M., 905 requested that Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel be alerted at their hotel and asked to come to the Complex. At 7:16 P. M., 905 requested that F.H.P. platoons 21, 22 and 23 come from the 46 Street Municipal Parking Lot to the parking lot of Miami Beach High School. F.H.P. platoons 19 and 20 were sent to assist P.S.D. platoons on Gates IIX and I2X as demonstrators blocked vehicular traffic from entering the gates by laying down in the street.

At 7:38 P. M., the tri-agency communications tie-in failed and P.S.D., Miami and Miami Beach switched to their alternate channels.

At 7:39 P. M., demonstrators had all gates blocked except for IIX, and demonstrators were beginning to lay down in front of that gate again. The evening session of the convention was scheduled to begin at 8:30 P. M., and delegates were starting to arrive. At 7:43 P. M., 905 requested F.H.P. platoons 21, 22 and 23 report to Dade Boulevard and Meridian Avenue and sweep Meridian Avenue clear of demonstrators to 17 Street. They were told it had to be completed in 12 minutes. Three prisoner vans were sent to Dade Boulevard and Meridian Avenue to back up the F.H.P. sweep. F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 were placed on alert in their staging area. Traffic escorts for delegates buses were advised to bring them through Gate IIX, which would be open by the time the buses arrived.

When F.H.P. troopers began their sweep of Meridian Avenue, one of the demonstrators threw a tear gas grenade at them, but the troopers continued their sweep without responding until Meridian Avenue was cleared up to 17 Street. Gates IIX and I2X were opened to delegate traffic and F.H.P. troopers remained there to keep the gates open.

The demonstrators who were cleared from Meridian Avenue joined the demonstrators on 17 Street and assisted in the harassment of delegates attempting to enter the Complex through Gate 9X. At 8 P. M. a large number of non-delegates on Washington Avenue began to move south toward 17 Street and gather in the intersection. Miami platoons 15, 16 and 17 had just arrived at the Complex after being called from their staging area in Miami. They were asked by 905 to go out through Gates 8X and 9X and clear the non-delegates from those areas. Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel had arrived at the Complex and were assigned to the area of Gate 10X to do the same. The demonstrators were moved away from the gates, but they went into the street and began harassing vehicular traffic by breaking windows and letting air out of tires. Some Miami officers were sent to assist, but at 8:08 P. M., 905 requested that F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 come to 17 Street and Meridian Avenue and push the demonstrators east onto Washington Avenue.

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At 8:16 P. M., the tri-agency tie-in was back in service and P.S.D., Miami and Miami Beach switched back to the common frequency.

A number of demonstrators had gone to Dade Boulevard and Washington Avenue to block delegate traffic enroute to Gates 11X and 12X. F.H.P. troopers had cleared the non-delegates from Gate 10X so at 8:26 P. M., 905 requested that Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel respond to Dade Boulevard and Washington Avenue to push the demonstrators back into the demonstration area. Traffic was flowing freely by 8:30 P. M.

At 8:34 P. M., there were an estimated 1000 demonstrators in the intersection of 17 Street and Washington Avenue and they were interfering with the operation of Gate 6X, primary exit for buses and taxis. Miami Beach platoon #1 was requested to come to Gate 6X with the pepper foggers.

The evening session of the convention began at 8:36 P. M.

At 8:38 P. M., F.H.P. troopers were clearing 17 Street at Washington Avenue, pushing the non-delegates north toward the demonstration area. Miami units were checking the double-decked parking lot and clearing it out. Demonstrators had been hiding behind the upper level wall and throwing things at troopers making the sweep and officers on the fence.

After 17 Street and Washington Avenue had been cleared, F.H.P. troopers remained across the entrance to 17 Street to keep the demonstrators on Washington Avenue in the demonstration area provided.

Demonstrators continued to harass delegates trying to get through the gates. At Gate 5X, demonstrators jumped on a car, broke several windows and were beating on the car when the driver apparently panicked and struck several of them with the vehicle in his efforts to get away. Several of the demonstrators required medical attention.

At 9:25 P. M., 905 requested Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel meet 905 at 17 Street and Washington Avenue. They relieved the troopers who were posted across the entrance to 17 Street and 905 requested that the F.H.P. units position themselves along the Lincoln Road Mall to prevent vandalism by demonstrators as they left the Complex to return to the Flamingo Park campsite.

There was still a lot of non-delegate movement on Washington Avenue near 17 Street and northbound traffic was detoured at Lincoln Road at 9:09 P. M. At 9:30 P. M., a Miami Police Lieutenant was struck with a rock and had to be taken to a hospital for suturing.

At 9:47 P. M., 200 or 300 demonstrators broke away from the people listening to music in the North Demonstration Area and walked south on Washington Avenue toward Flamingo Park. At 9:52

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P. M., it was estimated that there were from 500 to 700 people singing and listening to rock music and speeches in the North Demonstration Area, another 100 to 150 by Gate 5X, and about 100 at 17 Street and Washington Avenue. People continued to drift away toward Flamingo Park.

At 9:59 P. M., F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 were positioned at Dade Boulevard and Washington Avenue in case some demonstrators tried to interfere with delegate traffic as it left the complex after the session.

At 11:32 P. M., the speeches ended and the remaining non-delegates started walking back to the park. Perimeter security relaxed and prepared to secure for the evening.

At 11:42 P. M., the evening session of the convention adjourned.

At 11:44 P. M., the non-delegates were passing Lincoln Road, thus allowing F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 to return to their staging area, but the platoons were asked to stay in their cars until word was received that the non-delegates were all back in Flamingo Park.

P.S.D. platoons 2, 3, 4, and 5 were returned to their staging area at 11:49 P. M., and they secured for the night at 12:06 A. M. All of Miami's platoons also secured for the night at 12:13 A. M. and all F.H.P. platoons were secured. At about the same time, Miami Beach platoon #1 secured and Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel relieved Miami Beach personnel on the gates.

Wednesday, 23 August, 1972

The third and final day of the Republican National Convention and the day the non-delegates had chosen to close down the Convention Hall.

A detailed scenario had been published in their "Revised Manual for the Republican Convention" and distributed throughout the Flamingo Park campsite. In it they called for demonstrators to fill key intersections around and north of the Convention Complex to prevent the arrival of delegates in time for President Nixon's acceptance speech. The object was to dramatize the strength of their movement by forcing the President to either delay the scheduled 9 P. M. start of his nationally televised speech, or deliver it in an armed camp surrounded by National Guard and military, or deliver it in a Convention Hall devoid of delegates. The scenario outlined 7 demonstration areas: 3 at the Convention Complex, and 4 in between the delegates hotels and the Convention Hall. It also suggested delaying techniques to be used by the demonstrators against the delegates and the police.

Aware for several weeks that the non-delegates were going to attempt to close down the Convention with such tactics, plans had been made and partially implemented prior to the Convention to deal with that possibility. Rather than attempting to keep all gates open at all times, planners concentrated on maintaining two gates: 11X at 18 Street and Meridian Avenue and 12X at 19 Street and Meridian Avenue. To avoid physical confrontations at these points, it was decided to extend the existing perimeter to include all of Meridian Avenue from 17 Street to Dade Boulevard. Forty-five derelict buses had been rented prior to the Convention from as far away as Palm Beach, Florida, and stored on the north end of the Complex. Early this morning 33 of those buses had been towed into position, bumper to bumper along the west side of Meridian Avenue from 17 Street to Dade Boulevard. Later 2 more buses would be used to close off Meridian Avenue at 17 Street, forming a solid barricade around Gates 11X and 12X. To prevent non-delegates from going north of the Complex to interfere with delegates, buses were used to block northbound traffic at Dade Boulevard and Alton Road, Dade Boulevard and Washington Avenue, and Dade Boulevard and 23 Street, leaving Collins Avenue unobstructed. Three platoons of Florida Highway Patrol Troopers were assigned to keep traffic arteries open between Dade Boulevard and 41 Street, especially along Pine Tree Drive and Prairie Avenue. Two other F.H.P. platoons were assigned to Collins Avenue north of 41 Street to make sure demonstrators could not delay the delegates by blocking hotel entrances and exits. The 3 remaining platoons of F.H.P. troopers were staged in the parking lot of the Miami Beach High School at Dade Boulevard and Prairie Avenue where they would be readily available.

In addition, the following adjustments in personnel assignments were made to compensate for the expected change in the tempo of the demonstrations. Twelve 4-man Miami units were assigned to

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the area designated in the non-delegate scenario as sector 4 to prevent trashing and to keep southbound Alton Road open for delegates trying to reach the Convention Complex from that direction. Fifty Dade County Public Safety Department deputies in marked cars and 41 P.S.D. motormen were assigned to patrol the Lincoln Road Mall to prevent vandalism by demonstrators going to and from Flamingo Park. The Florida and Fresh Water Fish Commission personnel will be called in at 2 P. M. and divided up into 3 squads of about 20 men each. One squad will be assigned to man the bus barricades at each of three locations: Dade Boulevard and Alton Road, Dade Boulevard and Washington Avenue, and Dade Boulevard and 23 Street. Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel also secured the 3 pedestrian bridges into the area.

Responsibility for perimeter integrity was also changed somewhat. Miami P.D. was assigned to the fence from Gate IX up to, but not including, Gate 9X. P.S.D. will take from Gate 9X to where the fence reaches Meridian Avenue, and Miami P.D. will pick up the length of Meridian Avenue, behind the bus barricade, to Collins Canal. Miami Beach P.D. retained responsibility for the north perimeter along Collins Canal.

Such was the police strategy for the last day of the Convention with continued emphasis on arbitration and flexibility.

At 6:45 A. M., 3 wreckers began to move the derelict buses into place along the west curb of Meridian Avenue. All 33 buses were in position at 8:15 A. M., and it was not long before news of this deployment made its way to the Flamingo Park campsite, causing great confusion and speculation. The non-delegates previous plans were now thwarted and new meetings would have to be held to discuss strategy. An 11 A. M. mass meeting was scheduled, but S.D.S. and Attica Brigade representatives suggested that new plans be made in secret because of possible police infiltrators.

Demonstrations had been unofficially scheduled for the front of New York Governor Rockefeller's headquarters hotel, the Deauville, 6701 Collins Avenue, Miami Beach. Consequently, at 10:30 A. M., Florida Highway Patrol platoon 23 was pre-positioned within the hotel. However, the demonstration failed to materialize as planned and at 12:15 P. M. the troopers returned to their staging area within the Complex.

Florida Highway Patrol platoons 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25 and 26 were all within the Complex and ready by 10:40 A. M., and 5 minutes later Dade County P.S.D. platoons 2, 3, 4 and 5 reported ready for duty. Miami Beach P.D. personnel relieved Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel at the perimeter gates, and at 11:09 A. M., Miami Beach platoon #1 reported they were ready. Miami P.D. platoons 12, 13, 14 and 18 arrived on the Complex at 11:45 A. M. after rendezvousing in Miami.

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A meeting was called in the Miami Beach Police Chief's Command Post office for ranking supervisors of all participating agencies. The aforementioned plan was discussed and accepted with one change, suggested by the officer in charge of the Miami police contingent. He suggested that the bus barricade at Dade Boulevard and Washington Avenue be moved down Washington Avenue to just south of Gate 2X, and additional buses be used to block off 20 and 21 Streets and Washington Court at Washington Avenue. This would extend the perimeter and allow the Miami force in that area to keep Washington Avenue open from Dade Boulevard to Gate 2X, providing a third gate for the delegates. Several additional buses were obtained and this suggestion was incorporated into the overall plan. It was decided that all men and buses should be in position at 2 P. M.

At 11:35 A. M., 12 members of the National Socialist White People's Party (formerly the American Nazi Party) arrived at Complex Gate 8X on 17 Street and Euclid Avenue to demonstrate against a Miami Beach City Ordinance which forbade display of any Nazi insignia. They lined up outside the fence and stood quietly at parade rest. Although all twelve were in Nazi-type uniform, only the unit commander wore a Nazi insignia: a red armband bearing a black swastika. A Miami Beach Police official approached the unit commander and advised him of the city ordinance; but the unit commander refused to remove the Nazi insignia. He was placed under arrest and transported to the police station for booking. After their commander was removed from the scene, the group unfurled a large banner reading "Flush Integration" and marched east on 17 Street to Washington Avenue, then north on Washington Avenue to the North Demonstration Area. While they were standing there, a black male apparently took exception to their banner. Wearing a long robe with no underclothing, he turned his back toward the Nazis, bent over and lifted the back of the robe to his waist, exposing his naked buttocks to them. He then lowered the robe and walked to the other end of the line of Nazis and repeated the exposure in the same manner. He then walked back to the first position and exposed his buttocks to them a third time. He was arrested by Miami Beach police officers. The Nazis rolled up their banner and left the demonstration area at 1 P. M. without further incident.

Shortly after noon it was noticed that fire hydrants in the area of the Complex had been tampered with and many of the caps were loose. The Miami Beach Fire Department was notified and the area checked. Some 14 caps were found to have been loosened mostly on Washington and Meridian Avenues. They were tightened and 3 hydrant wrenches were borrowed from the Fire Department and issued to police supervisors patrolling in the area of the Complex.

As 2 P. M. approached, men and material began to assume their assigned positions. At 1:54 P. M., P.S.D. platoon 27 began their patrol of the Lincoln Road Mall. Two derelict buses were towed to 17 Street and Meridian Avenue and at 1:57 P. M. were in position, closing off Meridian Avenue to northbound traffic. At 2 P. M. Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel were roused at their hotel and called back to the Complex after only 3 hours rest.

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By 2:15 P. M., F.H.P. troopers were in position. Platoons 19 and 20 had the assignment of keeping the hotel entrances clear, while platoons 21, 22 and 23 undertook to keep open the routes from hotel row to the Convention Complex. Platoons 24, 25 and 26 were held in reserve at the Miami Beach High School parking lot.

At 2:30 P. M., 3 derelict buses were towed into position across Washington Avenue at 20 Street and northbound traffic was detoured at 17 Street, leaving from 17 to 20 Streets clear of traffic for the non-delegates.

At 2:51 P. M., one of the scouts reported that about 100 non-delegates had straggled out of Flamingo Park in groups of two's and three's, some wearing back-packs. The other scouts were asked to watch for any build-up of non-delegates around intersections. Up to this time, the only officers on the perimeter were the Miami Beach officers assigned to each gate, but because the non-delegates were beginning to stir, Miami and P.S.D. each sent a small number of men out to the fence as a precaution.

Miami P.D. platoons were assigned as follows: #18, from Dade Boulevard to Gate 2X in the street behind the buses; #14, inside the perimeter fence, from Gate 2X to Gate 3X; #13, from Gate 3X to Gate 5X; and platoon 12 from Gate 5X up to Gate 9X. Platoon 16 was on Meridian Avenue behind the bus barricade, platoon 15 was assigned to fluid patrol in section 4, and platoon 17 was used as reserve for platoons 12, 13 and 14. At 3 P. M., P.S.D. platoons 4 and 5 were reported in position along the perimeter between Gate 2X and Meridian Avenue. P.S.D. platoons 2 and 3 had assumed positions along the Lincoln Road Mall, platoon 2, east of Meridian Avenue and platoon 3 west of Meridian Avenue. (Platoons 2, 3, and 27 remained in position along the Mall, but it was up to the command officer of each agency with perimeter responsibility to determine how many of his men were deployed along the fence at any one time. The previously listed platoon responsibilities were for initial deployment.)

At 3:32 P. M., non-delegates were seen checking the buses along Meridian Avenue, and officers at Dade and Alton reported seeing a sizeable group of non-delegates in their area. About noon, a scout had seen V.V.A.W. members bringing 6 bundles of burlap bags into the park, and now several people were seen leaving the park with these bags apparently full of sand. Reports were also received that some of the non-delegates had bolt cutters, and officers on the Complex perimeter were alerted. Several scouts reported seeing non-delegates with a red panel wagon moving around between the park and the Complex, distributing nightsticks to other non-delegates.

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Other demonstrators were seen walking toward the Complex carrying gas masks and wearing protective helmets.

Non-delegates were continuing to straggle out of Flamingo Park in small groups. A number of these groups were walking around on the Lincoln Road Mall while other groups were circling the Complex, some of their members taunting and cursing at officers on the gates. There had also been a steady flow of non-delegates into the North Demonstration Area, where some of them were seen checking the tires on the buses blocking Washington Avenue. At 4:18 P. M., a group of 50 left Flamingo Park together and headed north toward the Complex. One scout walked through the park and estimated that there were only between 700 and 1000 non-delegates left in the campsite at this time.

Word was received at 4:30 P. M. that about 150 members of the V.V.A. were not going to participate in tonight's demonstrations, but were going to leave for Gainesville at 5:30 P. M. in order to support their indicted leaders who would be standing trial there.

Several small groups of non-delegates had gathered at 17 Street and Meridian Avenue until now there were about 50 people there. At 4:34 P. M. the group started moving north on Meridian Avenue, behind the buses, toward Dade Boulevard. One of the group tried to loosen the cap on the fire hydrant at 18 Street and Meridian Avenue. The group moved down 18 Street to Jefferson Avenue and then north on Jefferson Avenue to the canal. Several of the group entered the water and attempted to swim along the canal to the north fence of the Complex, but they were seen by officers as they reached the bridge at Dade Boulevard and Meridian Avenue and were dispersed from the area.

More non-delegates had gathered at 17 Street and Meridian Avenue, one appeared to be tripping out and was causing a disturbance, while several others were using paper soaked in gasoline in an attempt to set fire to the buses blocking the avenue until dispersed by officers. A fire unit responded, but damage was negligible.

Group leaders apparently still had not been able to formulate satisfactory new plans. Meetings had been going on all day and were still in progress at 4:42 P. M. Small groups carrying nap-sacks and wearing protective clothing continued to leave the park and drift toward the Convention Complex. Up to this time the non-delegates had, for the most part, limited themselves to verbal abuse of the officers stationed on the Complex perimeter, but at 4:43 P. M. the tempo changed and incidents began to occur which required rapid police response. Many of these incidents were handled by a not previously mentioned contingent of Miami Beach officers assigned to off-site crowd control, and by officers on routine city patrol and not assigned to convention-related details.

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Several non-delegates had made their way to the roof of the hotel at 1975 Washington Avenue and were throwing things off into the street below. At 4:45 P. M., a hippie type individual wearing a V.V.A.W. shirt assaulted several people on 17 Street and ran north on Jefferson Avenue. Non-delegate pedestrian traffic had increased in the area of 23 Street and Collins Avenue and some of them were throwing rocks and trash between 23 and 24 Streets. Several non-delegates put a barricade out on 23 Street at Park Avenue, and 6 or 8 others pushed and pulled park benches into the street at 22 Street and Collins Avenue. Another group attempted to get around the bus blockade at Dade Boulevard and Alton Road by swimming across Collins Canal, but they were seen and dispersed from the water and area. At 23 Street and Collins Avenue, non-delegates approached cars stopped for the traffic light and let the air out of tires. At 4:52 P. M., a group that had been standing by Gate 2X moved over to Dade Boulevard and began to harass motorists. A large group of 300 to 400 left Flamingo Park and headed toward the Complex at this time. A group on 21 Street east of Washington Avenue tried to overturn an automobile, but failed. They then turned over a large "dumpster" garbage container in the middle of the street. Another group was seen letting air out of automobile tires at 22 Street and Park Avenue. At 4:54 P. M. a second group of from 250 to 300 people left the park and marched east on 14 Street. To discourage non-delegates from their continual attempts to get north of Dade Boulevard, the Miami Beach Tactical Commander requested that half of the F.H.P. troopers staged at Miami Beach High School be put on foot patrol along Dade Boulevard from Alton Road to 23 Street. The other half of this F.H.P. task force was deployed into the area around 20 Street and Park Avenue to assist Miami Beach routine patrol officers with the rash of problems being caused by the non-delegates.

Various groups of them were using news stands, benches, garbage cans, etc., to obstruct traffic on Collins Avenue from 16 Street north to about 24 Street, and intelligence reports indicated they intended to go as far north as the Doral Beach Hotel at 48 Street. Some had infiltrated over to Pine Tree Drive where disturbances were reported until F.H.P. was dispatched to alleviate them. Delegates were advised to traverse the Prairie Avenue route south from their hotels to the Complex.

At 5:03 P. M., 3 more large groups came out of the campsite. They stretched from Lincoln Road and Washington Avenue almost back to the park, which was now empty.

Although buses were used to block certain streets around the Complex, ordinary wooden barricades were used to block other streets such as those side streets leading into the North Demonstration Area. At 5:05 P. M., it was found that some non-delegates had removed the barricades at 19 Street and Washington Avenue and were directing unsuspecting motorists onto Washington Avenue where the cars would be surrounded and beat upon by other non-delegates. Groups continued to harass the officers assigned to the Complex fence, mostly with verbal abuse but several empty coke cans were thrown and several

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were seen picking up rocks at 17 Street and Meridian Avenue. Other groups kept up their disruptive tactics along Collins Avenue primarily from 16 to 23 Streets. Vandalizing cars and throwing objects into the street, they dispersed when a police car appeared only to reappear as soon as the car was sent elsewhere.

At 5:07 P. M., a P.S.D. motorcycle was pushed over on 20 Street near Park Avenue and two motormen were reported to be surrounded by demonstrators. A squad from Miami platoon 18 responded and assisted the officers. One motorman had been injured and was transported to the hospital for treatment.

At 71 Street and Collins Avenue, a Metro bus was given a flat and had to be assisted through traffic. A group of non-delegates made their way to the foot bridge at 24 Street and Collins Avenue leading over to Pine Tree Drive, only to find it had been guarded by Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel, as were all three foot bridges in the area.

As the non-delegates continued their tactics along James, Park and Collins Avenues from 19 to 23 Streets, a prisoner van was sent to that area to be at the disposal of the F.H.P. personnel patrolling there.

At 5:15 P. M., a large number of non-delegates were reported on the second deck of the Municipal Parking Lot opposite the Complex on 17 Street. They were reportedly bothering the police scouts stationed there, and throwing things at the officers on the Complex. P.S.D. platoon 27 was dispatched to the parking lot and they "swept" the area clear of demonstrators. Demonstrators continued their disruptive tactics along Collins Avenue. At 5:20 P. M., the F.H.P. troopers on patrol along Dade Boulevard were put back in their cars and sent to assist the other half of that Task Force in clearing up Collins Avenue. The one prisoner van sent earlier was now full and 2 additional vans were sent to the area. Several prisoner vans were also sent to Pine Tree Drive around 28 Street where F.H.P. platoons 21, 22 and 23 had rounded up a number of the non-delegates who had been blocking traffic and harassing motorists along Pine Tree Drive.

The National Guard had been monitoring the police tactical frequency and because of the large number of trashing incidents and the wide area over which they were occurring, at 5:21 P. M. they placed Infantry Unit 2/124 on "red" alert and their 1/116 and 2/116 Artillery units on "Yellow" alert. ("Red" alert indicating a 15 minute response time and "Yellow" alert indicating a 30 minute response time).

At 5:24 P. M., the demonstrators erected their own blockage across Washington Avenue just south of 20 Street. The several hundred who had been gathered in the North Demonstration Area moved out onto the Avenue and lined up the burlap bags full of sand until they extended from curb to curb. The non-delegates then took up positions on the south side of their barricade. Many were

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throwing things at the police behind the fence.

At 5:26 P. M., 40 or 50 demonstrators entered the canal at Michigan Avenue and attempted to make their way up to the north barrier fence, but they were discouraged by a couple of well placed "baseball" teargas grenades. At 5:28 P. M., 2 more prisoner vans were sent to 20 Street and Park Avenue at the request of the F.H.P. troopers in that area. An estimated 300 to 500 demonstrators had moved out of this area and were going north on Collins Avenue to the Fontainebleau Hotel, vandalizing cars as they went. A helicopter was asked to go to 26 Street and Collins Avenue and report on the movements of this group as it had apparently split up, some going up Indian Creek Drive and some going up Collins Avenue. F.H.P. platoons 19 and 20 were sent to 36 and Collins to "cover" these groups south. When the F.H.P. units arrived the small group of demonstrators on Indian Creek Drive ran over to Collins Avenue to join the larger group. Using gas and making arrests as they could, the F.H.P. troopers pushed the demonstrators back toward 23 and Collins. At 30 Street and Collins Avenue the mob of demonstrators broke up and many ran toward the beach and into hotels to try to evade the troopers, but a number were apprehended and a van was dispatched to pick up the prisoners. At 5:59 P. M. 3 more prisoner vans were sent as arrests continued. Two more vans were sent at 6:02 P. M., making six in all.

At 5:59 P. M., a large group tried to crash Gate 6X. Gas was used and a squad from Miami platoon 12 was sent as reinforcement. Non-delegates, again on the second deck of the Municipal Parking Lot, bombarded the officers with stones and other objects. P.S.D. platoon 27 cleared the lot of demonstrators for the second time and at 5:51 P. M. the gate was reopened.

Finding themselves unable to go north to the hotel area, the demonstrators continued to set up road blocks and vandalize cars around 20 and 21 Streets and Park Avenue. Using ice picks and knives, they punctured and slashed tires on numerous cars. A delegate bus was stopped and its tires were flattened. Several demonstrators lifted the door to the engine compartment and tried to set fire to the engine after pulling out some of the wiring. Officers who attempted to aid the delegates were pelted with rocks and were compelled to use mace to disperse the demonstrators. One police motorcycle was temporarily disabled when a demonstrator disconnected its spark plug wires, and a 6-year old child required medical attention after being struck by one of the rocks.

Demonstrators continued to harass delegates trying to enter the complex, shouting obscenities at them, throwing rocks, sticks, paper soaked in red dye, and physically restraining them. At 6:03 P. M., 2 squads of officers were sent outside Gate 4X to assist delegates through the non-delegates.

At 5:52 P. M., 6 non-delegates were arrested at 2142 N. Bay Road after being caught running through the area throwing rocks at houses.

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Other demonstrators at Dade and Alton were approaching cars stopped for the traffic lights and forcing potatoes up their exhaust pipes in an attempt to stall the cars and block traffic.

The non-delegates along Collins Avenue continued to be a problem and at 6:16 P. M., the Tactical Commander requested that all F.H.P. personnel not assisting with the arrests being made begin fluid patrol from 21 to 23 Streets in the area of Collins Avenue. Several prisoner vans were also requested. At 6:24 P. M., the Tactical Commander requested that Miami's mobile platoon 15 also patrol the area of 21 Street and Collins Avenue. The situation there was improving, but the demonstrators were trashing as they left the area and at 21 Street and Park Avenue had turned over a "dumpster" and set it on fire.

Still monitoring our tactical frequency, at 6:25 P. M., the National Guard had changed the status of their 1/116 and 2/116 Artillery units from "Yellow" to "red" alert.

By 6:38 P. M., the area of 23 through 21 Streets on Collins Avenue had been cleared of demonstrators, and an emergency vehicle which had been disabled and surrounded by non-delegates at 24 Street and Collins had been assisted. Most of the demonstrators had run south and west. Many had been arrested, but still the vandalizing and harassment continued. A group at 18 Street and Collins Avenue was apprehended trashing cars and they were arrested. While waiting for the prisoner van, reports were received that another group had traffic stopped at 17 Street near James Avenue and was trashing a car there. As the troopers moved down to take care of that problem the trashing began again between 23 and 25 Streets on Collins Avenue. And so it continued. The dozens of small groups with their hit and run techniques kept the officers on the move.

At Lincoln Road and Collins Avenue, a group of about 50 demonstrators were marching in the street and blocking traffic. Turning right, they marched west on Lincoln Road toward the Mall. When officers from P.S.D. platoon 2 moved forward to clear them out of the street, one of the non-delegates threw a gas grenade at the officers.

At 6:54 P. M., Collins Avenue was clear of demonstrators north of 18 Street and the Miami cars of platoon #16 were asked by the Tactical Commander to concentrate their patrol south of 18 Street. F.H.P. continued to make arrests on Pine Tree Drive and prisoner vans were requested at 35 and 28 Streets.

As Collins Avenue was swept clear, problems increased in intensity around the Complex. About 500 demonstrators converged at 17 Street and James Avenue and marched down 17 Street, bringing traffic to a halt. At 7:05 P. M., the crowd completely surrounded 2 bus loads of delegates attempting to get into the Complex at Gate 9X.

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P.S.D. platoon 4 was sent out into the street to surround the buses and assist the delegates into the Complex. They were pelted with rocks while helping the delegates and one officer had to be taken to the hospital for treatment. Two arrests were made. East of Gate 9X, about 150 demonstrators were sitting in front of Gate 6X and blocking it completely. A taxi, attempting to bring delegates to an open gate, slowly made its way through the crowd. The driver apparently became unnerved by the yelling of the demonstrators and their banging on his car, because he ran into several of them and injured them slightly. At 7:18 P. M., the Tactical Commander requested that half of P.S.D. platoon 27 sweep 17 Street to clear the gates.

Meanwhile, a large crowd estimated at about 1000 demonstrators had gathered on Collins Avenue between 19 and 21 Streets. A sound truck set up by the demonstrators in the North Demonstration Area had been urging the non-delegates to begin "direct action" now and telling them to go to Collins Avenue "where the action is". F.H.P. units 21, 22 and 23 were assigned to sweep the demonstrators south to 18 Street. Platoons 19 and 20 were still engaged in mass arrests procedures at 30 Street and Collins Avenue and requested 2 more prisoner vans.

At 7:42 P. M., smoke was seen coming from the direction of Dade Boulevard and Meridian Avenue. Someone had set fire to a shade-providing structure on the southwest corner of Bayshore Golf Course. The Fire Department was notified and the fire was quickly extinguished.

At 7:24 P. M., P.S.D. platoon 27 began its sweep of 17 Street. F.H.P. was notified and dispatched several units to 17 Street and Washington Avenue. As the non-delegates were swept into that intersection by the P.S.D. deputies, the troopers pushed the group south down Washington Avenue. When 17 Street had been cleared, a line of officers remained across it on the west side of Washington Avenue to keep the demonstrators from filling it up again. Some of the demonstrators climbed to the upper level of the Municipal Parking Lot and started damaging vehicles parked there. A gas launcher was used to fire tear gas projectiles onto the lot and the demonstrators were dispersed.

At 7:40 P. M., the final session of the Republican National Convention was called to order, only 10 minutes behind the posted schedule in spite of the non-delegates efforts to close it down.

Several hundred non-delegates were gathered around a sound truck in the North Demonstration Area, listening to speeches. A large group had attempted to turn over one of the buses at 20 Street and had been repulsed through the use of mace. Now they listened to David Dellinger, one of the Chicago 7, as he tried to get them to join their fellow demonstrators at 20 Street and Collins Avenue.

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Small bands of non-delegates were all along Washington Avenue from 17 to 19 Streets. Staying out of range of the Mark-7 noise canisters, they threw curses, rocks, sticks, potatoes, M-80 firecrackers, pieces of pipe and other assorted items at the police behind the perimeter fence. Occasionally a car would drive by and divert their attention to it for a few minutes. They would walk in front of it, climb on its hood, curse the driver and occupants, bang on it, and flatten or attempt to flatten its tires. When the car passed, their harassment of the officers would continue.

At 7:52 P. M., they began to fill 17 Street and Washington Avenue again, blocking traffic and throwing things at the officers on 17 Street and within the Complex. F.H.P. platoons 19 and 20 were requested by the Tactical Commander to sweep the intersection and push the demonstrators south on Washington Avenue, not letting them go east to Collins Avenue. The troopers pushed the demonstrators continued south from there.

The sound truck in the North Demonstration Area had been calling to the demonstrators, telling them to come into the area if they did not want to be gassed or arrested, and reminding them that these areas were put there for them to demonstrate in. At 8 P. M., there were about 300 people there, and the sound truck was attracting more. Father Groppi addressed the assembly, telling them that they were in charge, not the police, and they would call the shots tonight.

A build-up of non-delegates was reported at 17 Street and Meridian Avenue, and reports were received of cars being trashed and delegates being harassed. Also, Collins Avenue was again experiencing problems. Lincoln Road and Collins Avenue were reportedly completely blocked with people and vehicles, and demonstrators were causing a disturbance in a hotel at 20 Street and Collins Avenue. F.H.P. platoons 21, 22 and 23 were asked to respond to the Collins Avenue problems, and P.S.D. platoons 8 and 9, which had been standing by at Miami International Airport in case of problems there, were asked to come to the Convention Complex to assist here.

At 8:07 P. M., a report was received by the F.B.I. that there was a white Ford parked in the rear of the Convention Complex with a bomb in it set to go off at 8:15 P. M. Another call was received at 8:20 P. M. by the Florida Department of Law Enforcement that there was a bomb in the north end of the Convention site set to go off at 9:15 P. M. Extensive searches were conducted, but both calls were apparently false alarms.

Prior to the arrival of P.S.D. platoons 8 and 9, a contingent of police partially cleared the intersection of 17 Street and Meridian Avenue, freeing the delegates being detained there and pushing the demonstrators south and west. The demonstrators pushed to the west regrouped at 17 Street and Washington Avenue and headed for the Lincoln Road Mall. When they reached the Mall, they were

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confronted by P.S.D. deputies stationed there and prevented from entering. Deputies reported that this group had tear gas equipment which they used against the officers as they passed through the Mall going south on Jefferson Avenue. Turning right on 16 Street, they went to Lenox Avenue where they broke the windows of the Southern Bell Telephone Company office and then ran south toward 15 Street.

The Flamingo Park compsite was quiet. There were about 200 non-delegates inside, listening to various speakers.

Once on Collins Avenue, the group blocking its intersection with Lincoln Road had been dispersed. The E.H.P. troopers had started their sweep at 17 Street and pushed the demonstrators south to 16 Street. There, the Miami P.D. units picked up the sweep and moved the group down to 15 Street and off Collins Avenue, hoping the non-delegates would return to Flamingo Park.

Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel had arrested 4 persons: Two at the footbridge on 27 Street and two at the 24 Street footbridge, and a prisoner van was dispatched to pick up the prisoners.

P.S.D. platoons 8 and 9 had arrived on the Beach at 8:30 P. M., and were now engaged in clearing 17 Street and Meridian Avenue. Some of the demonstrators went up 17 Street into the Municipal Parking Lot where they throw objects at the officers and let air out of tires of cars parked there. Tear gas was used to clear the lot. Several arrests were made at Lincoln Road and Meridian Avenue and at 18 Street and Meridian Avenue. Prisoner vans were dispatched to pick up those prisoners.

At 8:40 P. M., another group of 50 or 60 demonstrators left Flamingo Park and started harassing motorists on Meridian Avenue. Several in this group carried long sticks tied in bundles. They would use the stocks to beat on cars. Several other smaller groups also left the park and Miami squad 153 was sent to survey the situation. When the group saw the officers, several retreated back into the park.

Between 17 Street and Lincoln Road on Collins Avenue, a group of about 50 demonstrators disabled a bus by pulling some wires loose in its engine compartment. They beat on the bus and were attempting to turn it over when on-duty patrol units responded to the call for help. The demonstrators surrounded the patrol units and F.H.P. troopers had to be called to disperse the crowd.

At 8:48 P. M., there were about 500 non-delegates in the North Demonstration Area. Dave Dellinger had been addressing them from the sound truck, urging a march to the Doral beach Hotel, 4833 Collins Avenue. He proposed a peaceful march, without crashing and on the sidewalk so as not to interfere with traffic. They would march 4 abreast up Collins Avenue to the hotel and assemble in front of it on the sidewalk. At 9:02 P. M., the group now estimated at about 800 began to move east on 20 Street led by Dave Dellinger

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and Father Groppi. The Police Tactical Commander requested that certain task force units drop what they were doing and take the following positions: F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 were to patrol Collins Avenue from 23 to 44 Streets to prevent trashing; and Miami platoon 15 was to patrol Collins Avenue from 15 to 23 Streets, also to prevent trashing.

F.H.P. platoons 19 and 20 had been using tear gas in their efforts to clear Collins Avenue and the Miami units on the perimeter fence between 17 and 18 Streets had also been using tear gas to chase away rock throwing demonstrators. An easterly breeze had carried some of the gas up to the Convention Hall itself and at 8:55 P. M., the Interior Security Commander ordered that all doors on the east side of the Hall be closed. At 9:06 P. M., more gas had to be used to disperse a large crowd trying to crash Gate 6X and this necessitated keeping the doors closed a while longer.

The marchers enroute to the Coral were at 26 Street and Collins Avenue by 9:20 P. M., moving in an orderly fashion as they had promised. Vandalism continued at other locations, however, with groups at 20 Street and Park Avenue, the 1600 block of Collins Avenue, the 300 block of Lincoln Road, the 1600 through 1900 blocks of Washington Avenue, along 17 Street from Collins Avenue to Washington Avenue, Dade Boulevard and Alton Road, and 1500 Bay Road causing the major police problems at this time. Also, at 14 Street and Meridian Avenue, scouts reported about 200 non-delegates in the street, completely blocking Meridian Avenue, and on 18 Street just east of Washington Avenue, demonstrators had pulled a high pressure fire hose out of a hotel and were turning it off and on in the street. These and other problems were being handled by F.H.P. platoons 19 and 20, Miami platoon 15, P.S.D. platoons 8, 9 and 27, and the Miami Beach off-site crowd control contingent. At 9:40 P. M., roughly 800 marching demonstrators enroute to the Doral Beach Hotel were approaching 30 Street and Collins Avenue. The Police Tactical Commander had been in touch with the leaders of the march and certain agreements had been reached. The leaders agreed not to permit trashing or other disruptive conduct, and to keep the marchers on the sidewalk where they would not interfere with traffic. The police agreed not to use gas and to permit the march to continue as long as it remained non-violent. The leaders also stated that most of the marchers wished to be arrested as part of their demonstration, but stressed their intention to be completely non-violent and to submit peacefully to the arrests. The Tactical Commander acknowledged this and said that an order to disperse would be given and anyone who wished to avoid being arrested would be allowed to leave the area. With this understanding the march continued toward the Doral Beach Hotel.

Anticipating having to arrest over 800 people, the Tactical Commander requested that all 8 platoons of F.H.P. troopers go to the Doral Beach Hotel and stand-by. At 9:43 P. M., he requested that 5 prisoner vans be dispatched to Collins Avenue south of the Doral Beach Hotel, later changing the number to 10 vans.

Wednesday, 23 August, 1972 (continued)

Meanwhile, problems continued at the Complex. Demonstrators at 19 Street and Washington Avenue were blocking cars and shooting objects at police with slingshots. Four squads were called out of the Complex to sweep the area.

At 9:55 P. M., the marchers had reached 42 Street and Collins Avenue. Picking up stragglers as it moved, there were now estimated between 800 to 1000 people in the crowd. A motorcycle officer was sent to 63 Street and Indian Creek Drive to block off southbound traffic leading to Collins Avenue.

Also at 9:55 P. M., President Nixon arrived at the Convention Complex. To limit the necessity of using any further gas, Miami's entire task force "C", platoons 12, 13, 14 and 18 were moved out onto the west side of Washington Avenue. Some demonstrators were still causing problems and throwing rocks at officers on Washington Avenue at 17 Street, and these people were pushed south on Washington Avenue by Miami platoon 15, away from the Complex.

By 10:04 P. M., the large group marching to the Dorat Beach Hotel had passed 44 Street and Collins Avenue and motorcycle units were posted on 41 Street at Collins Avenue and Indian Creek Drive to divert northbound traffic. Identification equipment and personnel to process 900 to 1000 arrestees were requested at the Dorat Beach Hotel by the Tactical Commander.

At 10:10 P. M., a black male fired several shots with a hand gun at Miami police officers and fled north on James Avenue from 17 Street in a Chevrolet convertible. Described as being 6 feet tall, early 20's, afro haircut, longsleeved khaki shirt and dark pants, a man matching his description was seen later at Lincoln Road and Washington Avenue. He ran south on Washington Avenue when approached by 3 P.S.D. deputies and 2 Miami Beach officers. During the chase, he pulled a chrome plated revolver and pointed it at the officers chasing him. Although he avoided capture, this gun was recovered by police after the subject dropped it while fleeing.

At 10:12 P. M., a group of about 150 demonstrators blocked Collins Avenue between 19 and 20 Streets and were throwing trash and vandalizing a tax cab. Miami platoon 15 had finished its sweep of 17 Street and Washington and was asked by the Police Tactical Commander to go to 19 Street and Collins Avenue to clear that area. They did so, making several arrests in the process. Another group was trashing cars along Lincoln Road between Collins and James Avenues. Members of P.S.D. platoon 2 and several Miami Beach officers pushed the demonstrators back to Lincoln and Collins, but the non-delegates vastly outnumbered the officers and pelted them with rocks. Two squads from P.S.D. platoon 27 had to be sent to assist them.

Wednesday, 23 August, 1972 (continued)

At 10:27 P. M., a group of about 200 non-delegates left Flamingo Park, reportedly carrying clubs and in an angry mood, an informant stated they were going to trash the Doral Beach Hotel. Marching 4 abreast, they moved north on Washington Avenue and it looked as though they were headed for the Complex; but at Lincoln Road, they turned east. Some going north on James Avenue and the rest going North on Collins Avenue, they met again at 18 Street and Collins Avenue, and continued north, picking up stragglers along the way. At the Doral Beach Hotel, Collins Avenue was completely blocked by the demonstrators. At 10:44 P. M., an order to disperse was given and most of the demonstrators elected to leave. About 250 chose to be arrested, the rest moved south on Collins Avenue toward the park. The F.H.P. crowd control vehicle was called for and positioned on the bridge between Indian Creek Drive and Pine Tree Drive on 41 Street to prevent the demonstrators from crossing the bridge and being in a position to either trash the 41 Street business district or, block the delegates return traffic routes from the Complex to the major hotels.

At 11:05 P. M. the other referred to angry mob heading north for the Doral Beach Hotel had reached 23 Street and Collins Avenue. In as much as all of the F.H.P. platoons were involved in the arrests taking place in front of the Doral Beach Hotel, the Police Tactical Commander inquired of the commanders of the P.S.D. and Miami platoons what units they had available to deal with this impending problem. P.S.D. platoons 8 and 9, from within the Complex, and Miami platoon 15 were volunteered by their respective commanders and the Police Tactical Commander requested they meet at 44 Street and Collins Avenue to intercept the group before it reached the Doral Beach Hotel.

At 11:10 P. M., the convention session concluded and the delegates prepared to leave the Complex. Those with cars were able to; however, the charter bus drivers were reluctant to drive their buses in fear of being trapped by demonstrators once outside the Complex and risking damage to their buses and possible injury to themselves and their passengers. Because of this situation and the President and Vice President personally greeting and shaking hands with numerous delegates, few persons left the Convention Complex on time.

At 11:11 P. M., Collins Avenue was still closed to traffic from 41 Street to 63 Street as the arrests continued in front of the Doral Beach Hotel. The 500 to 600 demonstrators who had chosen not to be arrested were moving slowly south at about 46 Street. When the demonstrators reached 41 Street and Indian Creek Drive, they were disturbed to find the F.H.P. Crowd Control vehicle and its motorcycle escort blocking the bridge. They milled around in the intersection throwing rocks and bottles at the officers, and one officer was struck by a 9/11th wrench thrown at him. At about 11:30 P. M., the group coming north reached 41 Street and the 2 groups merged and together unsuccessfully tried to force their way over the bridge.

Wednesday, 23 August 1972(Continued)

By 11:32 P. M., delegates in cars were leaving the Convention Complex. The Police Tactical Commander advised that Collins Avenue was still blocked off and the delegates should be north on Alton Road or Pine Tree Drive to 63 Street and come south on Collins Avenue from there, if there hotels were in that area.

At 11:35 P. M., P.S.D. platoons 8 and 9 and Miami platoon 15 began to clear 41 Street and Indian Creek Drive by pushing the demonstrators south on Indian Creek Drive, and slowly the group began to move. Some arrests were made there and a van was sent to pick up the prisoners. Arrests were still being made at the Doral Beach Hotel, but some F.H.P. troopers were released from that scene and sent to 41 Street and Collins Avenue to help push the group south. Some trashing began as the group headed south and rocks and bottles were thrown at the troopers.

The group continued moving south with little urging from officers. At 35 Street, the group stopped for a short time then continued again, small groups began breaking off the main body of demonstrator and spreading out.

At 11:46 P. M., a group of about 75 demonstrators, reportedly members of the Attica Brigade, ~~left the park~~ and marched north on Meridian Avenue, shouting "Kill the pigs." Thirty F.S.D. motormen were sent to check the group and when the demonstrators saw the motors coming, they ran back inside Flamingo Park.

At a few minutes to midnight the charter bus drivers agreed to man their buses and began to shuttle delegates back to their hotels. Most of the non-delegates had left the area of the Complex although Gate 6X had to be closed for a short time at 11:46 P. M., when 20 demonstrators attempted to break into the Complex and were harassing delegates attempting to leave.

At midnight, Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel at 24 Street and Collins Avenue made an arrest and a prisoner van was dispatched to them. Also, reports of a group trashing on the west end of the Lincoln Road Mall were received and P.S.D. platoon 3 was asked to investigate.

At 12:03 A. M., the last prisoner was removed from in front of the Doral Beach Hotel and Collins Avenue was opened to northbound traffic. The Police Tactical Commander requested that F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 patrol Collins Avenue in the area of 25 Street and requested that F.H.P. platoons 21, 22, and 23 assist with demonstrators on Collins Avenue between 18 and 20 Streets. All units were directed to use tear gas as a last resort only.

At 12:07 A. M., Miami units requested a prisoner van at 1611 Meridian Avenue. Arrests were also being made at 18 Street and

Wednesday, 23 August, 1972 (continued)

Collins Avenue and a prisoner van was requested there. Small groups of 10 or 15 non-delegates were seen in various areas, most headed back to Flamingo Park.

At 12:13 A. M., about 10 demonstrators attempted to block the driveway of the Doral Beach Hotel. Miami Beach Police headquarters was contacted and 2 zone cars were sent to investigate. Arrests were made and prisoner control sent a van to pick up the prisoners.

By 12:13 A. M., 18 Street and Collins Avenue had been cleared and F.H.P. platoons 19 and 20 were sent back to their staging area. The Police Tactical Commander asked F.H.P. platoons 21 through 26 to assume fluid patrol along Collins Avenue and Indian Creek Drive to prevent the demonstrators from regrouping.

At 12:16 A. M., P.S.D. platoon 3 requested 2 prisoner vans: one to Lincoln Road and Washington Avenue and another to Lincoln Road and Pennsylvania Avenue.

By 12:19 A. M., P.S.D. had cleared all non-delegates off Lincoln Road, and Collins Avenue from 21 Street to 41 Street was also clear of demonstrators.

At 12:25 A. M., operator 22 at the Fontainebleau Hotel received a call that there was a bomb in the hotel set to go off at 12:40 A. M. F.B.I. and Secret Service were notified and a search was conducted with negative results. The call was classified as a false alarm.

At 12:30 A. M., F.H.P. platoons 24, 25 and 26 were returned to their staging area, and 5 minutes later, F.H.P. platoons 21, 22 and 23 returned to their staging area.

By 12:35 A. M. there was no non-delegate activity in the area of the Complex. Almost all non-delegates were back in the park and police units were asked to stay away from the campsite anticipating that it would settle down. Many of the campers had already packed up and left and more continued to do the same.

At 12:37 A. M., Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel were relieved from their positions and asked to return to their staging area.

At 12:45 A. M., P.S.D. platoons 4 and 5 were relieved from their positions along the fence and staged in the auditorium.

At 1 A. M., all gates were locked except Gates 2X and IIX. Persons assigned to the gates were told to remain there until relieved. P.S.D. platoons 2 and 3 reported no activity on the Mall, and were advised to return to their staging area. P.S.D. platoon 27 returned to its staging area in Miami.

At 1:45 A. M., Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel were relieving Miami Beach personnel on their perimeter positions.

Tuesday, 23 August, 1972 (continued)

At 2:05 A. M., P.S.D. platoons 2,3,4 and 5 were secured and they returned to Miami.

At 2:15 A. M., Miami Beach platoon #1 was secured.

At 2:30 A. M., platoons 8 and 9 of P.S.D. which had been held over in case of activity in the park were secured and left the Convention Complex. |

Page 23

National Guard units monitored police radio during the last day of the Republican convention and produced a log of selected incidents. Several incidents involving use of firearms were reported. Some of these may have proven to be rumors, but the report was on the radio and probably contributed to the tensions at the time.

1:25 P.M. Be on lookout for car bearing Alabama plate ~~##~~ Subject observed placing rifle on rear floor of the vehicle.

3:31 P.M. Metro motorman spotted 3 white male hippies in 1964 red Ford van, Oregon plates, loading shotguns into the van.

9:17 P.M. White van, tag ###, moving south from 41st & Collins, occupants armed and supposedly out to kill Nixon.

11:00 P.M. Van is stopped by Secret Service, occupants said to be armed.

10:10 P.M. Miami Beach patrolman McCormar reports black male fired 4 shots at Miami police, 17th & James, and ran north.

10:12 P.M. White male, stripe shirt, strip pants, firing revolver, jumped into Chevrolet convertible, traveling north on James from 17th.

(Could that be the same man?? Someone giving chase??)

Thursday, 24 August, 1972

The next morning, the only non-delegate activity was in the area of Flemingo Park as many prepared to leave the city.

At the Convention Hall Complex, Game and Fresh Water Fish personnel were relieved at 8:30 A. M. by Miami Beach personnel and police security on the gates was discontinued. Several uniform squad cars patrolled the Complex and personnel from the Andy Frain private security service were stationed at the only gates opened: 2X and 11X. At noon, the Andy Frain personnel secured and the roving uniform squad cars were the only security force checking the perimeter.

City Council's authorization for non-delegates to use Flemingo Park as a campsite expired at noon. Some were still there at noontime, but it was evident that all of those remaining were in the process of packing their belongings. It was decided to give them more time and take no action to move them out unless it appeared that they had no intentions of leaving. By nightfall, all campers had left the park and all security forces other than that of the City of Miami Beach had been secured from Convention details and the community relaxed.

EXHIBIT NO. 259

October 5, 1973

Mr. Robert Silverstein
Select Committee on Presidential
Campaign Activities
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Silverstein:

In response to your letter which I received on October 1, 1973, the following is an account of my experience in Miami Beach. Considering the amount of time that has elapsed since then, I will try to give a general account with attention to detail when and if it comes to mind.

I arrived in Miami Beach late in the evening on Saturday, August 19, 1972. The following day I looked up my friend, Mr. Gene Ingold, who had been placed in charge of the R.N.C. Press Headquarters located in the basement of the Fontainebleau Hotel. Mr. Ingold assigned me various duties relating to the general operation of the Press Room. That first day was spent getting acquainted with other workers and generally getting to know my way around.

The following day, Monday, August 22, I reported to Mr. Ingold and was assigned the task of making deliveries of press materials to the convention center. I was provided with an official convention automobile since the distance between the hotel and the Convention Hall was about four or five miles. It was in this capacity that I served for the duration of the convention.

The delivery of a large volume of printed matter required several trips per day between the Press Headquarters at the Fontainebleau and the Convention Hall. During those frequent trips, it was not all unusual to see groups of demonstrators picketing both the Fontainebleau and the various entrances to the Convention Hall. Although some of these demonstrators were painted to appear as skeletons and carried signs stating that "Nixon is a Murderer", they generally conducted

themselves in a peaceful manner.

On the final day of the Convention, the proceedings in the Press Room picked up a hectic pace. Everyone worked diligently throughout the day. I made several trips to the Convention Hall delivering press releases and other printed matter that day.

The President was scheduled to make his acceptance speech in the evening of that last day of the convention. On my final delivery to the hall I was to take some of the girls, who had worked so hard in the Press Room, along with me, so that they might hear the acceptance speech. As I have said before the pace was so hectic in the Press Headquarters that day, that no one had even a chance to eat. So, on our way to the Convention Hall, we decided to find a place to get a quick bite to eat. This is when the incident which the committee has contacted me about occurred. The account that follows is to the best of my recollection.

As we approached the intersection of 17th Street and Collins Avenue, we had to stop the car because a group of demonstrators was blocking our path. Some of them noticed that we were driving an official convention car. One of them tried to open the hood of the car and when he failed at this, he kneeled in front of the car and blocked our path. I lowered the window to try to reason with them. I was wearing an identification tag on my lselp which said: R.N.C. Press Headquarters. When one demonstrator noticed it he said, "Let them go, they're press." Another then pitched in saying that R.N.C. stood for Republican National Committee. They then began to taunt us, calling us "murderers" and using vile language. The women in the car with me became frightened at this time and I rolled the window up. The car then became a rallying point for all

RALLYING

the demonstrators. They slashed all four tires, spit on the windows, tore the official license plate off, and began to rock the car trying to turn it over. They also began writing on the car with spray paint and nails.

While sitting in the car, I was amazed at how organized the demonstrators appeared. I saw one guy with a military-type field radio on his back. Others had walkie-talkies and bullhorns.

In a few minutes members of the Miami Police Department arrived and we were able to get out of the car. The police dispersed the crowd and moved the car out of the intersection. We went to a nearby hotel and called the Press Headquarters to tell them what happened. They sent a car for the girls and since my hotel was close by, I returned to watch the acceptance speech on television.

Lyle R. Graser

 LYLE R. GRASER

SS DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence this 5th day of

Oct, 1973

Robert Brantford

 NOTARY PUBLIC

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

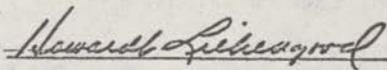
MY COMMISSION EXPIRES DEC. 14, 1975

EXHIBIT No. 260

AFFIDAVIT

I, Howard S. Liebengood, do swear and depose that I have this date reviewed by telephone with Dr. Neal D. Thigpen his letter to the Select Committee of October 16, 1973.

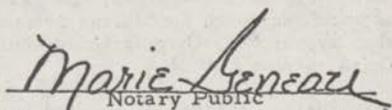
Dr. Thigpen advises that he would be willing to swear under oath as to the truth and accuracy of all facts and statements made in the aforementioned letter, a copy of which is attached hereto.



Howard S. Liebengood

Washington,) SS
District of Columbia)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of November, 1973.


Notary Public

My commission expires 10/31/78



Department of Political Science
and Geography

Francis Marion College

FLORENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29501
(803) 664-4121

October 16, 1973

Mr. Robert Silverstein
Assistant Minority Counsel
United States Senate
Select Committee on Presidential
Campaign Activities
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Silverstein:

Please know how very much I appreciate your letter of October 5th. I apologize for the delay in answering, but I have been away at a professional meeting for the last few days.

With the Watergate scandal and the other revelations of 1973, I am surprised anyone really remembers what happened to the South Carolina delegation in Miami Beach on the evening of August 23, 1972. The South Carolina delegation, of which I was one of the twenty-two delegates, was housed at the Saxony Hotel for the duration of the 1972 National Republican Convention (August 20, 1972--August 23, 1972).

On the last night of the Convention, the entire delegation, which included delegates, alternates, wives, children, and friends, began boarding our bus in front of the Saxony to proceed to the Miami Beach Convention Hall. I suppose there were as many as sixty-five or seventy people in the bus. Before everyone had boarded, the first ranks of a massive body of protestors marching north on Collins Avenue appeared a block or so from us. As they approached, they screamed, cursed, and threw various types of objects (eggs, stones, etc.).

With the bus filled, we hurriedly rounded the corner and started south toward Convention Hall on the street running parallel to Collins. The first ten or twelve blocks of the trip were fairly uneventful. We passed only intermittent groups of demonstrators as we wove through openings in police barricades composed of buses pulled into the street. At one point, a young demonstrator ran into the street and sat down with his back to the traffic. Our bus narrowly missed him, but I think an automobile traveling next to us did hit him.

Up to then, we were not doing badly. At that point, however, our driver turned the bus left and then right onto Collins Avenue. Just why he did, has never been successfully explained to me. In any event, the

traffic on Collins Avenue was almost stopped and the street and sidewalks were crowded with hordes of protestors. We went another block or so, and then the trouble started. Dozens of demonstrators poured into the street and physically blocked our bus. The driver attempted to move the bus forward but couldn't.

The protestors then very methodically began to put our bus out of commission. They first sprayed all of the windows with black paint so that it was difficult for anyone, including the driver, to see through them. We were able, however, to see the demonstrators using knives and icepicks to slash the bus' tires. In the meantime, our assailants were breaking the windows with bricks, stones, etc.

While all this was happening, things inside the bus were chaotic. Women and children were crying. Men shouted back at the attackers and argued what courses of action were available to us. After much urging, the driver then attempted to move the bus forward again. But with the tires flat, it moved another half a block and came to its final resting place at an intersection. The demonstrators then opened the bus' rear hood and pulled out the gas lines. Gasoline spilled onto the street and ran under the bus. When the protestors began throwing firecrackers under the vehicle, we decided it was time to get off the bus and take our chances outside.

We agreed beforehand to stay together in a group. But that's exactly what we didn't do. The first fifteen or twenty of us got off the bus and wading into the protestors, tried to push south on Collins. My wife and I were among the last in this initial group which also included U. S. Representative Floyd D. Spence. After going a hundred or so feet, I turned around and saw to my horror that there was no one behind us but a sea of demonstrators. Everyone else from our bus, a much larger group of perhaps fifty individuals, had stayed together and moved off Collins Avenue to the right by way of an intersecting street. Initially they fought off the demonstrators and had things pretty rough, but eventually they were aided by an unidentified Black man who led them to a police perimeter and safety.

Meanwhile, the smaller group moving up Collins was having its own difficulties. We tried to stay together but that became impossible. As we were pushed and shoved, struck by eggs, stones, and fists, and spit on, we found ourselves separated into twos and threes. They tore clothing and screamed obscenities. The slogans many of them chanted called either for ending the war in Vietnam or dumping President Nixon. In the confusion, my wife and I were temporarily separated. I finally was able to rescue her from a doorway where she was trapped by the mob. Her dress had been torn and she was hysterical.

We battled on for another block where several dozen policemen came to our assistance. Incidentally, these were the first officers we

Mr. Robert Silverstein

-3-

October 16, 1973

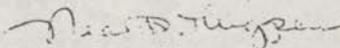
had seen, with one exception, since the bus turned onto Collins Avenue. When we had first gotten off the bus, a lone motorcycle policeman had tried to help us. There wasn't much he could do, and we soon lost him in the press of a horde of protestors.

The police ushered us into the front yard of what I gather was a recreation center of some sort. Congressman Spence told a police captain he was a U. S. Representative and, shortly thereafter, a police vehicle took eight or ten of us to the convention site.

Aside from what I have recounted here, I was involved in no other incident of disorderly conduct. In addition, I did not observe nor do I have any personal knowledge of illegal, improper, or unethical activities during the 1972 National Republican Convention.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,



Neal D. Thigpen
Associate Professor and
Chairman of the Department
of Political Science and
Geography

NDT:pm

EXHIBIT No. 261

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

September 23, 1972

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

FOR: Jeb S. Magruder
FROM: E. D. Failor
SUBJECT: McGovern-Shriver Confrontations

On Friday, September 15, 1972, you assigned me responsibility for the above project. Attached is Ken Rietz's report re the above subject matter for the past week.

In addition to the items in the attached, I have personally endeavored to create an encounter between Shriver and a bussing-opponent on the bussing issue for today in Las Vegas. Anti-bussing people will be used in this encounter and no Republicans will be surfaced.

Excellent television, radio and print coverage of some of these events has resulted during the past week. Definite pluses for our campaign have resulted from the media coverage. It should be pointed out that other Republican types, undoubtedly, will be copying this week's activities on their own in their localities. We have no control over the activities we do not program.

We have learned the McGovern organization and/or the Secret Service has reacted to our activities. The San Gennaro Festival in Greenwich Village, New York, Saturday night was originally planned as a walking tour of a few blocks by McGovern. However, as a result of the events in Flushing, New York, on Thursday, September 21st, the street walk was cancelled and McGovern spoke in an area that was barricaded off.

I have, and will, maintain continuing supervision over this project. Ken Smith is the key guy from YVP and I will contact other resources.

If you have any questions or suggestions on the above project, please advise.

Confidential

From September 15-22, preparation for our activities in providing sign carriers and leafleteers was made in Milwaukee, Chicago, Bergen County, New Jersey, Columbus, Ohio, Detroit, Lansing and Flushing, New York. Chicago and Lansing were dropped because of the closed nature of the candidate's schedule. Busing quotes were distributed in Detroit outside a closed labor meeting. That was the only activity there due to the lack of public appearances. We began work on literature (hand-lettered) on Wednesday after conferring with Ken Kachigan. The following is a city by city report:

September 19 - Milwaukee: A dozen young people carrying signs questioning the candidate's stands and criticizing his remarks about young people (which end is up?) were at the noon downtown rally. While no press coverage was generated, we do know we upset the candidate. With cameras zooming in he asked one of our girls wearing a YVP button "You don't really support Nixon do you?" Her reply was classic: "Yessir. I've had my head examined and I'm for Nixon now more than ever!" Photos of the event are attached.

September 20 - Columbus: The reception for the candidate at the factory (Nixon buttons, hats and the debaters) came about much the same way as in Bergen County, i.e., our people were alerted to check into the schedule and they assisted the senior committee distributing the Nixon material. However, as we know from the evening news and morning page 1 newspaper coverage, it did the job.

September 20-21 - Detroit: As noted previously, mimeographed handouts attacking the candidate's busing stand were distributed to labor members entering closed meetings.

September 21 - New York (Flushing subway situation): Again, we had to scramble for time, but 20 young people turned out with Nixon signs and buttons - some with "Nixon" in Hebrew. The film coverage of this was excellent on the CBS morning news -- no matter where the camera turned, the signs were there along with audible chants of "Nixon Now!" and "Four more years!" throughout the report. Reporter Bruce Morton concluded that it was not a very good stop. We are told an AP wire story reported the presence of young Nixon supporters.

We have activities planned in Seattle on Monday, Los Angeles on Tuesday, San Diego on Wednesday, and Toledo on Friday of next week. Specific events will, of course, depend on the candidate's schedule. ✓

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

AFFIDAVIT OF ANTHONY H. BARASH

STATE OF CALIFORNIA)
) ss.
 COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES)

I, ANTHONY H. BARASH, being duly sworn declare:

Based upon my review of the testimony of Messrs. Michael McMinoway and Frank Mankiewicz as set forth in Volumes 44 and 45, respectively, of the United States Senate Report of Proceedings - Hearing held before Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities Senate Resolution 60, I have the following general and specific comments:

Commencing on or about July 5, 1972 and continuing through and including Saturday, July 15, 1972, I served as chief of the convention security activities for Senator McGovern's staff at the 1972 Democratic National Convention. In that capacity, I had occasion from time to time to solicit volunteers to assist in the activities of the security staff, which consisted primarily of manning a variety of security points designed to control traffic within the public areas of the Doral Hotel in Miami Beach, Florida, and access to the campaign convention headquarters at the Miami Beach Convention Center. With the exception of Jay Henderson, of Senator McGovern's staff, the security staff consisted entirely of volunteers recruited in Miami Beach from available resources. With one exception, none of the volunteer security personnel had any formal police or security training, and they were not called upon to perform any services requiring such training. Their duties consisted almost exclusively of checking requests for admittance to various meetings or private areas against lists of invited guests or

identified himself as a salesman from Louisville, contrary to his testimony.

Page 8693, l. 15-22. The security person assigned at any point in time to the 17th floor was stationed at the Secret Service security table located at the stairwell entrance to the 17th floor. His duties consisted solely of determining whether persons seeking access to the 17th floor appeared on a list which was permanently located at that table. The list consisted of the names of those persons who were resident on the 17th floor, plus a limited number of other persons who were given access to the 17th floor on a routine basis. Any person seeking admittance to the 17th floor whose name did not appear on that list was required to be specifically cleared by Messrs. Gary Hart, Frank Mankiewicz or Gordon Weil. The security staff was not empowered independently to clear access to the 17th floor.

Page 8694, l. 14-23. At no time was any security staff member cleared to enter any room on the 17th floor unless specifically invited to enter. No security person could enter Senator McGovern's suite without specific clearance from Senator McGovern, or Messrs. Hart, Weil or Mankiewicz.

Pages 8695-8697. At no time was the possession of a button of any color sufficient to enable any person to enter the 17th floor or any private rooms on the 16th floor. Access to the 17th floor was limited to persons whose names appeared on a specific list maintained by the Secret Service or specifically authorized to enter the 17th floor by Messrs. Hart, Weil or Mankiewicz. Blue buttons were given to persons resident on the 17th floor or visiting on the 17th floor with permission solely for the purposes of enabling them to move about the

floor without challenge. Similarly, red buttons were given to certain people who had reason for frequent access to the 16th floor. White buttons and gold buttons were distributed indiscriminately, in effect, as campaign souvenirs. At no time were persons wearing any buttons permitted access to the 17th floor solely by reason of the possession of a particular button or badge. The Secret Service was not requested to acknowledge the possession of any button or badge for any purpose. Mr. McMinoway was issued buttons to enable him to perform his services as a volunteer member of the security staff.

Page 8699, l. 7-24. At no time was any member of the security staff, in his capacity as a member of the security staff, requested to chauffeur delegates.

Pages 8707-8709. Mr. McMinoway was known to members of the McGovern campaign staff as a volunteer from Washington, and he identified himself to me in that fashion. The routine Secret Service information was obtained and processed, but no other investigation of his background or credentials was made, in reliance upon his representation that he was a volunteer who supported Senator McGovern and had prior experience with other Democratic candidates for President before becoming a McGovern supporter prior to the convention. It was neither feasible nor felt necessary to specifically perform a political background investigation on every volunteer at the convention.

Page 8749, l. 24-25. At no time did I hire Mr. McMinoway or did he serve as my deputy. Mr. McMinoway volunteered as a member of the security staff and served in that position, without further responsibility or supervisory duties.

Page 8750, l. 3-13. As one of many volunteers, Mr.

<u>Editor's Note--Transcript Page</u>	<u>Book 11 Page</u>
8699	4499
8707-8709	4502-4503
8749-8750	4520

of the testimony of Frank Mankiewicz, Thursday, October 11, 1973, before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities:

Page 9014, l. 20-23. The buttons to which Mr. Mankiewicz referred were distributed by the Secret Service to a very limited number of people and were not the buttons referred to by Mr. McMinoway. At no time could or would Mr. McMinoway have received any of those buttons except from the Secret Service. The buttons Mr. McMinoway referred to were in fairly general circulation and did not provide access to the 17th floor, as noted.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 9th day of January, 1974, at Los Angeles, California.

Anthony H. Barash

ANTHONY H. BARASH

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 9th day of January, 1974.

Cheryl A. Jones

Notary Public in and for said county and state.



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