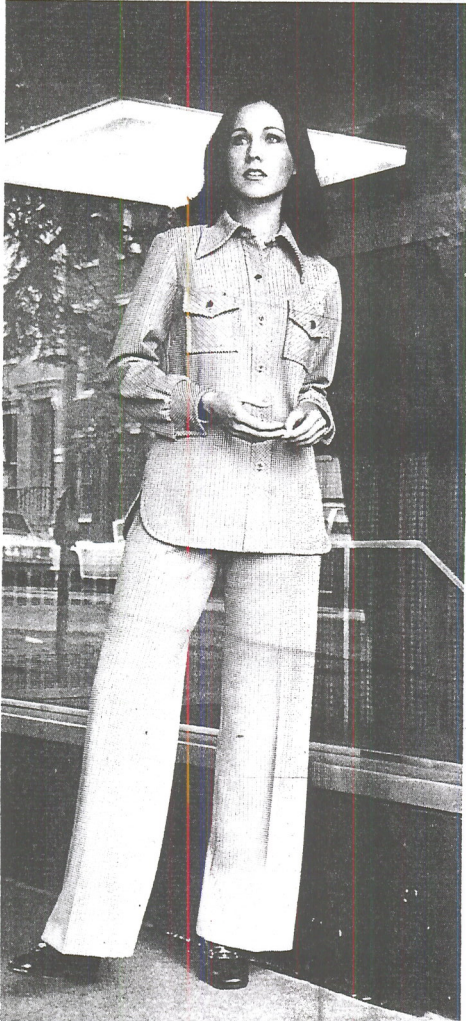


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Money (cont.)

without asking why he needed it. Magruder didn't volunteer the information.

Between March, 1971, and April 7, 1972, Sloan gave Kalmbach cash adding up to \$250,000.

Starting in early 1972, Liddy drew \$199,000 in cash from Sloan. At first he took it in relatively small batches, \$10,000 or \$15,000 at a time. Then around April 7, Sloan recalls, Liddy came to him with a budget of \$250,000. "He did not release it from his hand. He merely showed me the figure and said, 'I will be coming to you for substantial cash payments. The first will be for \$83,000, and I would like to pick that up in a day or two.'" Sloan called Ma-

gruder, who confirmed what Liddy had said and instructed him to pay out the \$83,000. Still disconcerted, Sloan went to Stans and said the single payment of \$83,000 was "totally out of line with anything we had done before." Stans said he would check with Mitchell. A few days later, Sloan says, Stans told him he had talked with Mitchell who had said Sloan should take his orders from Magruder. With regard to the funds' purpose, Sloan recalls that Stans told him, "I do not want to know and you do not want to know."

Late in March, Sloan recalls, Kalmbach told him that Haldeman wanted \$350,000 in cash. He said Gordon Strachan, an assistant to Haldeman, would arrange to have the money picked up.

Sloan says he put the \$350,000 in a briefcase, which he left with his secretary. Over the lunch hour somebody—he presumes Strachan—picked it up. The money is reported to have ended up in Haldeman's safe.

Starting in December, 1971, Herbert Porter drew batches of cash that he recalls added up to \$69,000 and Sloan thinks totaled \$100,000. In January, 1972, Sloan recalls he asked Porter what one \$15,000 withdrawal was for. He says Porter replied, "I can't tell you. You are going to have to go over my head if you want to find out." Porter says he really didn't know much about what the money was used for, except that he'd been told it would finance "Dick Tuck-type pranks and dirty tricks."

Dirty Tricks

Haldeman: "You S.O.B., you started this."

Tuck: "Yeah, Bob, but you guys ran it into the ground."

—Dick Tuck's report of an exchange between him and H. R. Haldeman in the Dirksen Senate Office Building, May 5, 1973.

DURING the 1962 California gubernatorial race, a beaming Richard Nixon posed in San Francisco's Chinatown with children holding campaign posters. Not until later did he learn that the Chinese characters on the posters spelled out, "What about the Hughes loan?"—a reference to a disputed loan from multimillionaire Howard Hughes. The Chinatown caper was the work of Dick Tuck, a Democrat whose name has since become something of a trademark for political mischief.

Though wittier than many of his imitators, Tuck is by no means unique. In that very 1962 campaign, 500,000 Democrats throughout the state received postcards from a group called "The Committee for the Preservation of the Democratic Party." In the guise of an opinion poll, the cards asked whether Democrats were aware how their party—and their candidate, Gov. Pat Brown—had fallen

under the domination of the California Democratic Council, which the cards pictured as virtually a Communist front. Two years later, Judge Byron Arnold found that the Committee for the Preservation of the Democratic Party was actually a committee to enhance the political future of Richard Nixon and that the postcard poll, purporting to be a communication among concerned Democrats, was prepared under the supervision of H. R. Haldeman, Nixon's campaign manager, and "approved by Mr. Nixon personally."

Even before the 1970 returns upset the President's advisers, steps were apparently under way once again to insure Richard Nixon's political future. Convinced that a third-party candidacy by George Wallace would draw more votes from Nixon than from any potential Democratic opponent, the Nixon camp apparently set out to prevent Wallace from running. The Atlanta Constitution has reported that James D. Martin, the national Republican committeeman from Alabama, calling himself the President's personal emissary, demanded that Wallace sign an agreement not to run in 1972 (Martin has denied this). When Wallace insisted upon running, Republicans reportedly poured \$200,000 to \$400,000

of leftover 1968 funds into Alabama to defeat Wallace in the closely contested 1970 gubernatorial primary. According to John Dean, the expenditure was authorized by Herbert Kalmbach.

But Wallace was renominated and re-elected and soon began touring the country in preparation for another Presidential race under the banner of his American Independent Party. In early 1971, Robert J. Walters, a Los Angeles advertising man, approached Jeb Magruder with a plan for reducing the A.I.P.'s registration enough to remove it from the California ballot. One of Walters' former aides told The Washington Post that the effort was approved by John Mitchell. With \$10,000 supplied by Hugh Sloan, Walters' canvassers—some of them from the American Nazi Party—urged A.I.P. members to change their registration.

(As late as May 15, 1972, when Arthur Bremer shot Wallace in Maryland, the White House was still seeking to siphon off Wallace votes. According to accounts of Howard Hunt's secret testimony, within an hour of the shooting, Chuck Colson asked him to fly to Milwaukee, break into Bremer's apartment and find evidence linking the assassination attempt to left-wing causes. Hunt says he

persuaded Colson the break-in would be too risky. Colson denies the whole thing.)

But Wallace was not the real enemy. Already in the spring of 1971, a formidable array of Democratic challengers had pitched tents on the 1972 battlefield: Kennedy, Muskie, Humphrey, McGovern. Somebody was needed to sow dissension within and among those camps. One of the men worrying about that was Dwight Chapin, the President's appointments secretary.



Chou En-lai was impressed. The 30-year-old advance man for the President's trip to China had handled all the details so efficiently that the Premier went out of his way to congratulate him. Dwight Chapin was the master detail man for Richard Nixon even before he reached the White House. In 1966 and 1968, he was "responsible for getting Nixon up in the morning, putting him to bed at night and looking after his wardrobe, meals and schedule." No task was too small for Chapin, the "superloyalist," who was proud to work for the man he was sure would become "the greatest President in history." (In 1968, author Joe McGinnis watched Chapin clapping after Nixon answered each question during his taped commercials.) He began working for Nixon in 1962 while still an undergraduate at the University of Southern California. After that campaign, he went to work for H. R. Haldeman at the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency and ever since he has been as loyal to Haldeman as he is to Nixon. He is also close to another old California friend, Ron Ziegler, the Presidential press secretary, who says, "When we were young marrieds in California, they [Chapin and his wife Suzie] were a lot of fun to go out with; he's a very humorous guy."

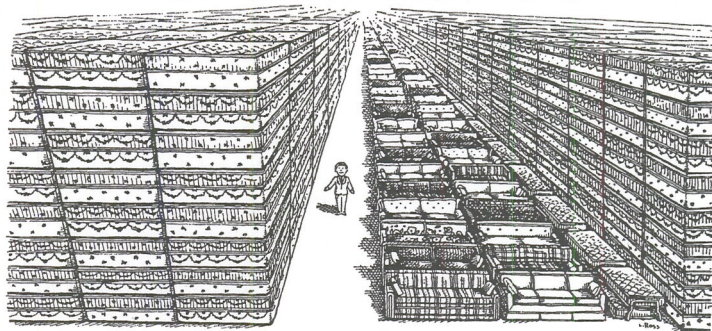
They were all humorous back in those days. U.S.C. in the early sixties was a light-hearted place devoted to sports, fraternity life, practical jokes and campus politics.

Chapin and many of his friends belonged to the Squires and the Knights, honorary societies which guarded the U.S.C. Trojan Sword and otherwise upheld "Troy Traditions." They also belonged to Trojans for a Representative Government, a group from the large fraternities that tried to oust a small fraternity clique from control of campus government. U.S.C.'s relentlessly Republican politics produced a whole pep squad of Nixon aides including Chapin, Ziegler, Herbert Porter, Strachan, Tim Elbourne, one of Ziegler's assistants, and Mike Guhin, a member of Kissinger's staff—not to mention an older generation of Trojans: Herb Klein, Robert Finch and Herbert Kalmbach. And the politics could get rough. An alumnus recalls: "There were secret organizations that engaged in all kinds of espionage . . . one guy infiltrated another person's campaign for class president to the extent that he became the opposition guy's campaign manager. Needless to say, nothing ever quite went right." Newsweek says the Trojans for a Representative Government also ripped down opposition campaign posters, stole leaflets, stuffed ballot boxes and packed the student court in order to quash any complaints brought against them. So when Chapin began thinking of someone to head up the White House's "dirty tricks" squad for 1972 he naturally thought of a former Squire, Knight and Trojan for a Representative Government.

In June, he got in touch with his old friend, Donald Segretti, a lawyer then serving as a captain in the Judge Advocate General Corps at Fort Ord, near San Francisco. Earlier that month, Segretti had been in touch with Gordon Strachan to ask about the possibility of a job in the executive branch. Chapin and Strachan discussed their old college chum and decided he would be perfect for what they called the "black advance" program of spying and sabotage. In late June, they met with Segretti in Washington, and told him they wanted a "Republican Dick Tuck" who would harass and confuse the Democrats without doing anything outright illegal. According to Dean, Strachan then cleared all this with Haldeman and discussed salary with Kalmbach. Segretti then met with Kalmbach at his Newport Beach office and agreed on \$16,000 a year plus expenses. (In all, he received between \$30,000 and \$40,000 from Kalmbach, Dean says.)

Within days, Segretti began

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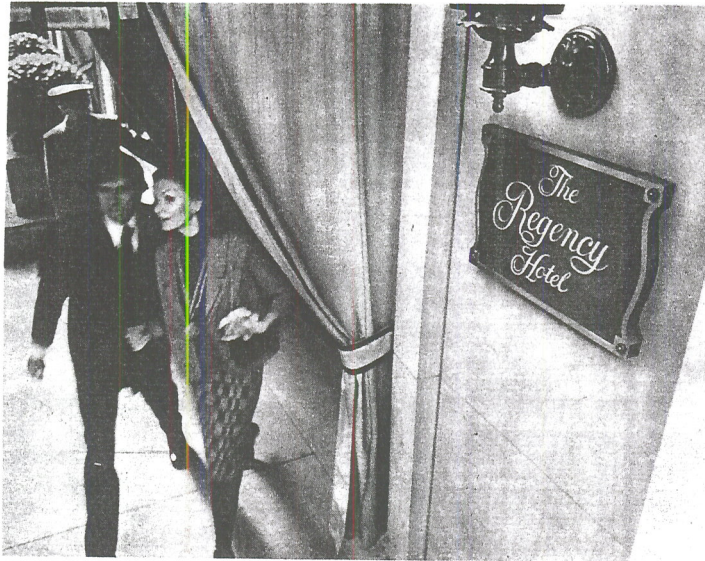
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Tricks (cont.)

using his accumulated leave time for mysterious trips around the country. On June 27, he came to Washington and asked Alex B. Shipley, a Judge Advocate officer based there, if he wanted to engage in "a little political espionage." According to Shipley, Segretti explained: "The Democrats have an ability to get back together after a knockdown, dragout campaign. What we want to do is wreak enough havoc so they can't." Segretti reportedly told Shipley that everything would have to be carried out in great secrecy and under assumed names but that "Nixon knows that something is being done. It's a typical deal: Don't-tell-me-anything-and-I-won't-know." Finally, Shipley says, Segretti "stressed what fun we could have." For example, he said later, he might set up a "Massachusetts Safe Driving Committee" and award a gold medal to Ted Kennedy. Shipley says he turned Segretti down then and on several other approaches.

Segretti was discharged from the Army on Sept. 1. On Sept. 24, he flew to Portland, Ore., and checked into the Benson Hotel the night before President Nixon's party arrived there on the way to meet Emperor Hirohito in Alaska, Dean says Segretti met with Chapin there. Then in October, Segretti settled down in an adults-only apartment complex in Marina del Rey, a Los Angeles suburb that attracts mainly "swinging singles."

Italian) projected an air of brisk confidence, but friends say he was sensitive about his size (5 feet 4 inches; 135 pounds). He was bright: After graduation from U.S.C. in 1963, he attended one of the nation's best law schools — Boalt Hall at Berkeley — then worked briefly for the Treasury Department in Washington. And he was ambitious: A former girl friend says he was aiming for a job in the White House. "He would hate most being stowed away doing some monotonous, unglamorous job," she says. "He was looking for excitement, challenge, big stakes."

Having failed to sign up Shipley and other Army lawyers, Segretti turned his attention in late 1971 and early 1972 to young Republicans. Among those he contacted through the national "old boy" network of former college Republicans were Thomas J. Visny, a 24-year-old aide to then-Governor Richard Ogilvie of Illinois, and Charles Svihlik, also 24, who had worked as an aide to several major Indiana Republicans. According to Newsweek, Svihlik agreed "for the fun of it."

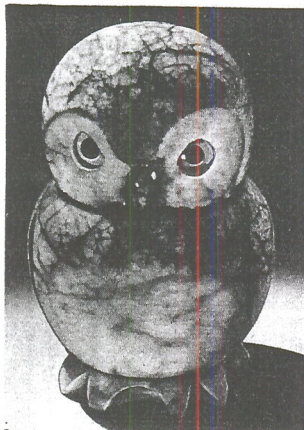
Segretti told Svihlik that his objective was "to swing the convention to McGovern . . . to literally destroy strong candidates like Muskie." This may indeed have been the plan, but in the spring of 1971, when Chapin first approached Segretti, it was by no means clear that McGovern would run such a poor campaign. The "dirty tricks" effort may also be described as an attempt to knock off the front runner at any given time.

In the summer and fall of 1971, a series of strange incidents bedeviled the Muskie camp. A poll of New Jersey voters disappeared during the night from the desk of Anna Navarro, the Senator's polling expert. A Harris Poll denigrating Senator Kennedy was sent out to other members of Congress in Muskie envelopes.

On Dec. 12, Evans and Novak published portions of a confidential Muskie campaign memo. Herbert Porter has testified that 35-mm. film strips containing this and other documents were turned over to him by Jeb Magruder and that Magruder later instructed him to send typed copies to Evans and Novak. Porter said he does not know the source of the documents, but Senate investigators have focused their attention on a retired Maryland cab driver who shuttled documents back and forth between Muskie's



In late 1971, a \$6,000 white Mercedes sports car replaced the aging Mustang in Segretti's reserved parking space. The tanned young veteran, whose neighbors thought he worked for a Los Angeles law firm, led the Southern California version of the good life: bicycling around the marina, sailing, swimming, Sunday "open houses" with California red wine and having dates with several attractive women. Segretti (whose name means "secrets" in



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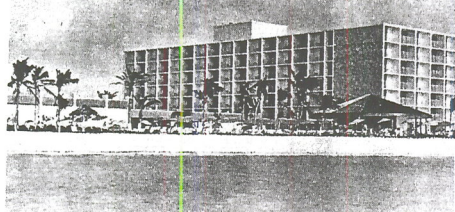
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Tricks (cont.)

Senate office and his downtown campaign headquarters during a five-month period in late 1971 and early 1972.

In February, 1972, New Hampshire voters received phone calls at night, often after midnight, from representatives of the "Harlem for Muskie Committee" who, in plainly "black" accents, promised Muskie would deliver "full justice for black people." Then on Feb. 24—less than two weeks before the New Hampshire primary—came the clincher. On that day, The Manchester Union-Leader published a letter from a "Paul Morrison" of Deerfield Beach, Fla., which said that Muskie, campaigning in Florida, had been asked what he knew about blacks. "He didn't have any in Maine a man with the Senator said. No blacks, but we have Cannocks [sic]. What did he mean? We asked—Mr. Muskie laughed and said come to New England and see." Inspired by the letter, the paper ran a front-page editorial headlined "Sen. Muskie Insults Franco-Americans." Two days later, Muskie wept while speaking in front of the Union-Leader office. (Paul Morrison has never been found. Months later, Marilyn Berger of The Washington Post wrote that Kenneth Clawson, deputy director of communications at the White House, told her, "I wrote the letter." Clawson says, "I know nothing about it.")

Although Segretti was in Manchester at least once—on Nov. 18, 1971—he has not been linked directly to any of these incidents. But he had been busy elsewhere. On Dec. 15, Robert Benz of Tampa, Fla., a 24-year-old former president of the Hillsborough County Young Republicans, received a phone call from a "Donald Simmons" who said he wanted someone to work on a "voter research project." Later that day, over draft beer at a local hotel, Simmons [Segretti] told Benz he wanted to place people in the headquarters of several Democratic candidates, starting with the "front runner," Muskie, but including Jackson and Humphrey. He wanted information which would allow them to "screw up" the Democrats' campaigns.

As coordinator of these activities, Segretti said, Benz would get \$150 a week and could hire others at \$75. In the weeks that followed, Benz hired at least seven assistants. One got a job in Muskie's Tampa headquarters and fed

information steadily to Benz. Then Benz himself swung into action, sending out fake Muskie press releases; picketing Jackson headquarters with signs reading "Believe in Muskie"; picketing Muskie headquarters with blacks instructed to say they were working for Jackson or Humphrey; passing out cards at a Wallace rally reading, "If you liked Hitler, you'll just love Wallace," on one side and "Cast your ballot for Sen. Edmund Muskie" on the other; stapling signs to trees and telephone poles reading something like "Help Muskie Support Busing Our Children."

These incidents began attracting attention. Sometime in February, Gordon Strachan got a phone call from Gordon Liddy, who by that time had transferred to CREEP as general counsel and intelligence operator. Liddy said, in effect, "Something screwy is going on out in the field," and Strachan said, "We've got a guy out there." When Liddy demanded some coordination, Strachan gave Liddy Segretti's phone number, then called Segretti and told him that Liddy would get in touch with him.

Instead Liddy turned the matter over to his fellow "plumber" Howard Hunt, who by then was working with CREEP. A week or so before, Jeb Magruder recalls, he got a phone call from an assistant to Chuck Colson. "He indicated that Mr. Hunt had completed his assignments at the White House and since we were now involved in intelligence activities, he thought I would find Mr. Hunt was very valuable," Magruder says, "I had only met Mr. Hunt once, so I was not really quite sure in what terms he would be valuable. So I indicated . . . that he should refer Mr. Hunt to Mr. Liddy." Over the next few months, Hunt called Segretti from time to

time—in what a friend describes as "a whispery, conspiratorial voice"—to give him ideas or instructions.

Meanwhile, Hunt was recruiting other operatives. In early February, he spoke with Robert Bennett Fletcher, a nephew of the man who ran the Mullen company. According to Fletcher, Hunt asked him if he had any Republican friends who might be interested in infiltrating Democratic campaigns. Fletcher recommended Tom Gregory, a friend from New Jersey then studying at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

On Hunt's instructions, Gregory went to the Muskie headquarters at 1910 K Street, volunteered his services and was assigned to the Foreign Policy Section where he began work on March 1. During the next several weeks, Gregory fed Hunt information on Muskie's scheduling, the campaign organization, dissension in the ranks and—when he could get them—advance texts of Muskie speeches. He and Hunt would meet every Friday at a Drug Fair at 17th and K Streets, where Gregory would hand over an envelope containing the information he had typed up and Hunt would give him an envelope containing his weekly salary—\$175 in cash. (At Liddy's instructions, an office was leased adjacent to Muskie headquarters, as a monitoring post for bugs to be placed next door. But the bugs were never installed.)

Still another "dirty tricks" operation was under way at this time—under the supervision of Jeb Magruder, with funds paid out by Bart Porter, frequently carried out through the CREEP Youth Division, with ideas reportedly conceived by Chuck Colson. According to one CREEP official, Colson's role aroused some friction. The official recalls Magruder saying, "That goddamn Colson, he just sits there and dreams up this crap!"

The projects carried out were varied and imaginative. Porter dispatched Roger Stone, the head of the District of Columbia Young Republicans, to New Hampshire to make a contribution to the McCloskey campaign on behalf of the Gay Liberation Front. (At the last moment, he balked at identifying himself as a homosexual and made the contribution instead in the name of the Young Socialist Alliance.) Ted Brill, the 20-year-old chairman of the College Republicans at George Washington University, was paid \$750 for six weeks in May and June,



1972, to join a group of Quakers carrying on a peace vigil in front of the White House. He was told to pass himself off as a member of the peace movement and find out "what the radicals were up to."

At Magruder's instigation, Porter also recruited undercover agents under the code name "Sedan Chair," a name Porter remembered from a Marine Corps exercise in which he once took part. "Sedan Chair I" was a young Californian named Roger Greaves. Over several months, Greaves was paid some \$3,800 to recruit hostile pickets against Democratic candidates in California and perform various other "dirty tricks" in New Hampshire and Florida.

MEANWHILE Segretti was still hard at work. In early March, he met Benz at a Tampa shopping center and showed him an olive green Army ammunition cannister containing two or three small vials. In the vials were a clear liquid with an evil smell. Benz gave the vials to George Hearing, a 40-year-old accountant whom he had hired earlier. According to Benz, Hearing scattered the liquid on the grounds around the Mary Help of Christians Church where a Muskie picnic was scheduled and tossed some more through a broken window at Muskie headquarters in Tampa.

In early March, the Government says, Benz received a packet from Segretti containing about 200 pieces of "Citizens for Muskie" stationery and envelopes plus a typewritten letter. Benz says he gave the letter and stationery to Hearing and told him to mail the letter to a list of Jackson supporters. On March 11—three days before the Florida primary—the letters were mailed out. They alleged that Senator Jackson, while a high school senior in Everett, Washington, in 1929, had become involved with a 17-year-old girl and fathered an illegitimate child. It also charged that he had been arrested twice on homosexual charges in Washington—on May 5, 1955, and Oct. 17, 1957.

The letter also said that Senator Humphrey had been arrested for drunk driving in Washington, D.C., on Dec. 3, 1967, after hitting two cars and a mailbox and that in the car was a "well-known call-girl" who had been paid by a lumber lobbyist to entertain the Senator. (Senators Jackson and Humphrey have denied these allegations and there is nothing to substan-

tiate the charges in police files.)

In late March, Benz and Segretti went to Milwaukee, where the Wisconsin primary was scheduled for April 4. There they printed up a fake Humphrey press release announcing free food and drink, "balloons for the kiddies" and speeches by Mrs. Martin Luther King and Lorne Greene, and passed them out in the black neighborhoods of Milwaukee. They also ordered several dozen flowers, 50 pizzas, 50 buckets of fried chicken and two limousines in the name of George Mitchell, Muskie's advance man, and had them sent to Muskie's hotel.

Three weeks later in Washington, some strikingly similar tactics pestered the Muskie forces. On April 17, Muskie threw a fund-raising dinner for 1,300 people at the Washington Hilton. That day, a \$300 supply of liquor, a \$50 floral arrangement, 200 pizzas, some pastries and even two magicians from the Virgin Islands arrived unordered. Then, the Embassy of Niger called to say that the chargé d'affaires was coming and asking when the limousine would pick him up. "We hadn't invited anybody from foreign embassies," Madalyn Albright, the dinner's organizer, told The Washington Star-News. "This was an internal thing for Democrats, but you can't offend foreign dignitaries, so we said come ahead, but that there would be no limousine. . . . The evening started out with a small V.I.P. cocktail party. I was there when I saw a couple arriving. They were dressed in batik, so I went up and said, 'You must be the chargé of Niger.' But it wasn't. He said he was the Ambassador from Kenya. Upstairs, we got a call that the Ambassador from Afghanistan was arriving. Finally, 16 ambassadors showed up, all from African and Middle Eastern countries. Since this was a seated dinner, it caused us a little bit of pain trying to seat them without causing embarrassment. . . . Later on we discovered that they had all come in rented limousines. We were presented with the bill for the limousines."

Several weeks later, the White House proved it could create "support" for the President, as skillfully as it could create trouble for the Democrats. On May 8, the President announced that he had ordered the mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese harbors to halt war matériel coming in from the Soviet Union. The move

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18" wide \$47
24" wide 53
30" wide 60
36" wide 74
48" wide 87
60" wide 120

60" h 9½" d
18" wide \$53
24" wide 60
30" wide 74
36" wide 87
48" wide 107

72" h 9½" d
18" wide \$66
24" wide 80
30" wide 93
36" wide 107
48" wide 132

84" h 9½" d
18" wide \$79
24" wide 93
30" wide 113
36" wide 132
48" wide 159

96" h 9½" d
18" wide \$99
24" wide 120
30" wide 141
36" wide 159
48" wide 174

30" h 12" d
18" wide \$46
24" wide 48
30" wide 58
36" wide 66
48" wide 76
60" wide 107

36" h 12" d
18" wide \$47
24" wide 54
30" wide 64
36" wide 74
48" wide 89
60" wide 118

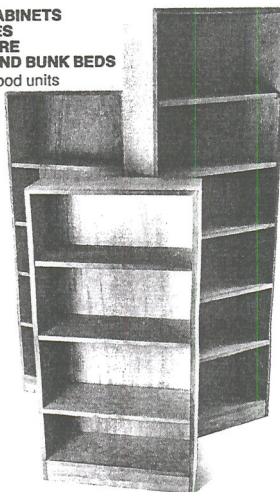
48" h 12" d
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48" wide 107
60" wide 141

60" h 12" d
18" wide \$60
24" wide 73
30" wide 87
36" wide 102
48" wide 126

72" h 12" d
18" wide \$74
24" wide 90
30" wide 107
36" wide 123
48" wide 154

84" h 12" d
18" wide \$89
24" wide 104
30" wide 126
36" wide 145
48" wide 186

96" h 12" d
18" wide \$107
24" wide 131
30" wide 154
36" wide 180
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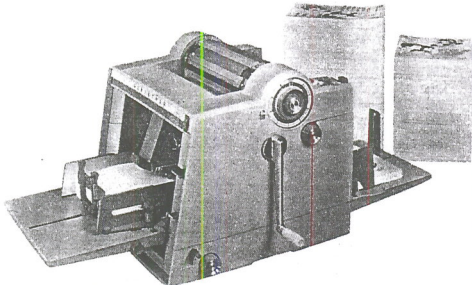
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Tricks (cont.)

aroused widespread protest around the nation. The White House was alarmed. "We felt the Haiphong decision could make or break the President," a former Nixon campaign official explained later. So White House and CREEP staffers swung into action.

On May 10, less than two days after the President's announcement, Ziegler announced that telegrams and phone calls were running five or six to one in favor of the President's action. Many, if not most, of these messages were the result of hurried phone calls by Nixon aides to offices of such organizations as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which in turn relayed the request to rank and file members. At the same time, CREEP sent 2,000 to 4,000 phony ballots in a poll conducted by television station WTTG in Washington (the station final count showed 5,157 for the President's action and 1,158 against). James Dooley, the former head of CREEP's mail room, recalls that "work ground to a halt in the press office while everybody filled out 15 postcards. Ten people worked for several days buying different kinds of stamps and postcards and getting different handwriting to fake the responses."

One of the protests against the President's action was an editorial in The New York Times of May 10 which said the mining was "counter to the will and conscience of a large segment of the American people." A week later, an

ad appeared in The Times entitled, "The People vs. The New York Times." It cited polls showing that anywhere from 59 per cent to 76 per cent of the people supported the President. The ad was signed by 14 people and appeared to represent citizen support for the President. But, according to The Washington Post, officials of the November Group, the special New York organization which handled advertising for Nixon, conceded that the ad was originated and written by Chuck Colson. It was placed by the November Group and paid for with 44 \$100 bills sent up by Bart Porter.

After Muskie's defeat in several spring primaries, attention began to turn to the two remaining favorites—McGovern and Humphrey. In mid-April, Hunt told Tom Gregory to switch his volunteer duties over to McGovern headquarters at 410 First Street, S.E. In addition to the kinds of information he had wanted on Muskie, Hunt asked Gregory to provide detailed layouts of the offices of Gary Hart and Frank Maniewicz, McGovern's two campaign managers. And sometime in late spring, Roger Stone reportedly hired Michael McMinoway, a Louisville, Ky., private detective, and dubbed him "Sedan Chair II." Soon, the exotically named informant had obtained a job in the Humphrey campaign and was sending reports through Stone to CREEP.

In May, activities began to center on California where a showdown was developing between McGovern and Humphrey. On or about May 19, a letter went out on the sta-

tionery of Eugene McCarthy's campaign asking McCarthy delegates to support Humphrey in the primary. The letter was signed with the name of Barbara Barron, a member of the California Committee for McCarthy. Ms. Barron charges that the letter was a forgery sent out by Segretti. Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, Donald Segretti signed up to work for McGovern, even volunteering to join a bicycle parade.

And in early June, the focus turned to the Democratic National Convention in Miami. Michael McMinoway got a job as a security guard in the Doral Hotel where McGovern was staying. According to Time magazine, Chuck Colson began recruiting young men to pose as Gay Liberationists and wear large George McGovern buttons at the convention (Colson denies this). Pablo Fernandez, a former C.I.A. operative in South America, says Eugenio Martinez asked him to recruit 10 persons to masquerade as "hippies" and descend on McGovern's headquarters during the convention. There, Fernandez said, Martinez wanted the hippies to throw rocks, break glass, defecate and urinate in public "and all that sort of thing, to give the voters a bad impression of people supporting McGovern." The plan fell through. And one day, Robert Reiser recalls, Gordon Liddy burst into his office saying, "I have this great idea!" The great idea, Reiser says, was to have "a woman who would have disrobed at the Democratic National Convention."

Gordon Liddy had some other great ideas, too.

Break-In

Any old retired man in the New York City Police Department who would have become involved in a thing like that . . . he would not have walked in with an army, that is for sure.

—Anthony Ulasewicz, testimony to Ervin Committee, May 23, 1973.

RETIRED New York City policeman John Caulfield had a plan. He called it "Sand Wedge."

Through the summer of 1971, he lobbied for it with John Dean and other White House officials: a private investigating firm that would be funded by corporations and would work for the Nixon campaign.

To be called Security Consulting Group, Inc., it would have "overt" offices in Washington and Chicago and a "covert" operation based in New York.

But Sand Wedge died a-borning. Dean says John Mitchell decided instead to centralize the intelligence-gathering function under a general counsel at CREEP and, at Egil Krogh's suggestion, selected