Rove said the tape recording may be false or altered. However, Bernie Robinson, a former CRNC member from Chicago whose lecture on "dirty tricks" is recorded on the tape, said that the transcript and tape given to The Post are a "fair representation" of the talk.

A report by the committee clearing Rove of the "dirty tricks" charges and recommending his confirmation as chairman of the CRNC was awaiting Bush's approval when The Post first asked for information on the matter.

In a later conversation with a reporter, Bush said, "I'm a little less relaxed and more concerned than when you first brought it to our attention."

Rove's confirmation as CRNC chairman would be held up until the new investigation was complete, the Republican leader said. "I'm not discounting the allegation now," Bush explained. "It is important enough in terms of my desire to keep this place (the GOP) clean to look into this thing in further detail."

The charges against Rove were made after a bitter factional dispute split the CRNC convention in June, 1973. In five or six states where splinter groups of College Republicans split away from the national organization, two sets of delegates were sent to the convention.

After arguments over membership of the credentials committee and allegations of improper election tactics, the convention ended in confusion and dissension with the election of two rival chairmen - Rove and Robert Edgeworth.

Bush appointed the committee to investigate the election and rule on who was rightful chairman of the CRNC. The CRNC, which is housed and partially funded by the national organization, comprises more than 1,000 collegiate Republican clubs and 100,000 members.

It is unclear whether the "dirty tricks" allegations against Rove were actually investigated before Bush's personal intervention this week. Robert R. Roussek, the GOP's director of communications who sat in on some sessions of the committee, insists they were. "They talked to Karl at some length and got his evidence . . . they were completely investigated," Roussek said. "There were allegations on both sides and as much information as could be obtained was." However, no one of the committee's three members, GOP convention director Josephine Good, said the "dirty tricks" lectures happened before the convention's election and were thus outside the committee's charter. In addition, the tape and transcript were not considered, because "one of the things with tapes is that they can be doctored by editing."

Some of the people who attended the seminars denied that Rove placed any prohibitions on the use of "dirty tricks" by them.

Aubrey Mirkin, 19, an area director of the CRNC who attended a San Diego seminar in August, 1972, said of Rove's discussion of dirty tricks, "I think he was proud of them. I don't know if he was advising us, but be sure gave us a lot of ideas." She added she knew of no one actually applying the tactics.

A former CRNC leader on the West Coast, who asked not to be named because he now holds a government job, said he helped Rove run a number of the seminars and heard him give the talk on questionable election tactics between 8 and 10 times.
"I talked to him about the propriety of teaching it—of giving the effect of being something to learn and go out and do," he said.

However, Ginny Ward, chairman of the Florida Technological University Republicans in Orlando who attended the most recent seminar—at American University last week—said Rove gave no instructions on conducting dirty tricks. "It was all very much on the up and up," she said.

When asked whether she believed Rove or any of the lecturers had ever used such tactics, she replied, "I would place a lot of confidence in these individuals. I'm confident they would not lower themselves to that," Miss Ward said.

The tape given to The Post is a recording of a talk by Rove and Robinson. A transcript supplied along with the tape describes the tape as a session of the West Virginia Training School. Robinson said he believed it probably refers to a seminar held in Lexington, Ky., in August, 1972.

In the lecture, Robinson described—without embellishing the interjections from Rove—how during the 1970 Illinois campaign Rove assumed a false name and posed as a supporter to infiltrate the campaign headquarters of Alan J. Dixon, the Democratic candidate for state treasurer that year. Robinson told his audience that Rove took some of Dixon's campaign stationery and later used it to fake some 1,000 invitations to the opening of Dixon's campaign headquarters.

Rove, according to the tape recording of Robinson's lecture, added, "free beer, free food, girls and a good time for nothing," to the invitations and distributed them as a hippie commune, Chicago's bowery, a rock concert and soup kitchens. Dixon, who nonetheless won the campaign, is on vacation and was unavailable for comment yesterday. However, Tom Loftus, public relations adviser to Dixon, confirmed that the incident did take place and that 1,500 people—nearly as many as expected—turned up at the opening of Dixon's headquarters.

"It was supposed to be embarrassing, actually it was unsuccessful," Loftus said. "If he's saying it was something to brag about, then he's coming someplace. We thought it was kind of pathetic... inept, amusing." Rove admitted this week in the presence of two GOP officials that Robinson's account was basically correct.

Robinson, according to the tape recording, also told how he purloined the opposition party's garbage to help defeat Gov. Sam Shapiro, a Democrat, in the 1968 Illinois gubernatorial election.

In an anecdote that starts out, "it just so happens that the first night we struck gold," Robinson describes how he discovered in the stolen garbage evidence that one of his own supporters had contributed $5,000 to Shapiro.

"So one of our finance guys called the guy up the next day and told him there was a vicious rumor going around... that not only was he giving money to both sides... but that they had heard he had given Shapiro more," Robinson recalled.

"The guy got all embarrassed," Robinson said, "and flew to Chicago that day with a check for $2,000" for Richard Ogilvie, the Republican candidate.

The tape and transcript contain no word or hint that such "dirty tricks" should be avoided. However, there are numerous references to the need for discretion and secrecy in such activities.

Robinson, who is now director of governmental affairs for the Illinois State Medical Society, refers to the Watergate break-in at one point. "Again, in those things, if its used surreptitiously in a campaign, its better off if you don't get caught," Robinson warned. "You know, those people who were caught by Larry O'Brien's troops in Washington are a serious verification of the fact that you do get caught."

Robinson also advised his audience, "While this is all well and good as fun as games, you've really got to use your head about who knows about this kind of thing."

Robinson told a reporter that he was dismayed that the telling of what he described as "old war stories" was being construed as "an unholy alliance to enlist these people as operatives."

Robinson was unable to confirm that Rove always followed the lectures with a warning to the students not to use the tricks. However, the stories were only intended to be "stimulating, interesting, entertaining."

The two affidavits submitted to the GOP charge that Rove gave a talk on campaign espionage at a Wisconsin seminar in August, 1971. The notarized statements were submitted by George C. Rand of Cleveland and Mark S. Freedman of Chicago, both members of the College Republican group.

In the Wisconsin lecture, according to the affidavits, Rove discussed the two incidents that Robinson described in his tape-recorded lecture.