

**THE CONTENTS OF THIS FOLDER WERE REVIEWED ACCORDING TO
P.R.M.P.A. GUIDELINES IN LATE SEPTEMBER 2005, AND WERE
RELEASED TO THE PUBLIC INCREMENTALLY IN AN OPENING AT
N.A.R.A. II ON NOVEMBER 16, 2005.**

Executive Grant of Clemency

After reviewing the applications for executive clemency of the following named persons, and giving consideration to a letter of the Attorney General recommending executive clemency in each case, they are hereby granted full and unconditional pardons:

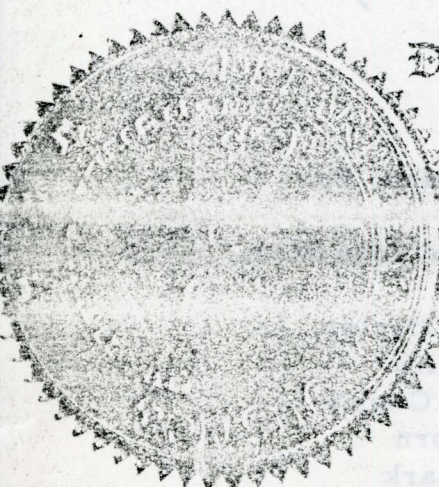
Thomas William Adams
 William Stewart Ahern
 Walker Benjamin Allen, Jr.
 Kingdon Ralph Allison
 David A. Aransky
 Larry Anthon Armitage
 Robert Oran Austin
 Frank Philip Bando
 Peter Willoughby Barrett
 Ronald Edward Beaudry
 James Dale Blackard
 Lee Blocker
 Paul Edward Boggs
 Vertie E. Bolyard
 Gerald Frank Bonaroti
 Melvan Laurence Boyer
 Frank Carl Brandes
 Otis Calhoun Braswell
 Leonard Dee Brazell
 Peter Joseph Brine
 Bobie Dean Brockmeyer
 Liberato George Brodo
 Arthur Brown
 Craig Whitney Carter Brown
 Edward Brown
 Sam Bufalo
 Thomas Atlee Buss
 Amos Edward Cabaniss
 Nicholas Camarata
 (also known as
 Nick Camarata)
 Joe Reed Campbell
 Thomas Joseph Cannon
 Louis William Caprio
 Willis Burdette Carmack
 Wayne Carr

Jesus Carrillo
 Anthony Joseph Cash, Jr.
 (also known as
 James Shea and John Shea)
 Felix Cepeda
 William Edward Charles, Jr.
 Leonard Ciampaglia
 Francis Nicholas Cianci
 James Neal Claborn
 William Siegle Clark
 Delbert Eugene Clegg
 Arthur Warren Cleveland
 Donald Angus Cleveland
 Howard Lowell Coleman
 Carlos Adolfo Conde, III
 Arnold Rae Condon
 Pedro Cosme
 (also known as
 Pedro Cosme-Ocasio)
 Wesley Junior Cottle
 Orlando Critelli
 Elton Ray Cude, Jr.
 Charles Taylor Cureton
 Aaron Bernard Curls, Jr.
 Charles F. Culver
 Benjamin Daitz
 Harold Raymond Davis
 Ralph Diaz, Jr.
 Anthony V. DiCarlo
 Stella Mae Dickson
 (now known as
 Stella Mae Irwin)
 George Leslie Dirigo
 Mortimer Dornburg
 Donald Kenneth Downing
 Thomas Francis Driscoll

Thereby designate, direct and empower the Attorney General, as my representative, to sign each grant of pardon to

the persons named herein. The Attorney General shall declare that his action is the act of the President, being performed at my direction.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name and caused the seal of the Department of Justice to be affixed.



Done at the City of Washington this twenty-third day of December in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-one and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and Ninety-sixth.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard Nixon".

Richard Nixon

President

I certify that there are sixty-four applications for executive clemency granted herein.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John W. Natchez".
Attorney General

Executive Grant of Clemency

After reviewing the applications for executive clemency of the following named persons, and giving consideration to a letter of the Attorney General recommending executive clemency in each case, they are hereby granted full and unconditional pardons:

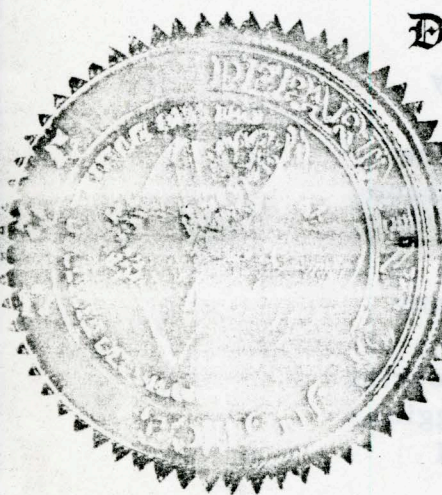
Roderick Paul Duffield	Melvin Earl Hatley
Delfin Duhaylonsod	Ina Miller Hefler
James Washington Dunn	Leo Frederick Heine
Raymond Leroy Eames, Jr.	Shirley Ann Henderson
William Wallace Eastman	(also known as
Merrill Edwin Edelston	Anne Morris)
Norman Robert Eggiman	Roy Frederick Henny
Marquid N. Elliott	Manuel Hernandez
George Denny Embry	Willie Spurgeon Herring
Dudley Craig Englett	Wilbur Eugene Higgins
John Henry Epps, Jr.	Horace Holden, III
Dan Fabrizio	Sam Hood, Sr.
Aldo Louis Falsetti	Charles Robert Horn
Guy Virgil Fisher	Ronald Brete Horton
Raymond A. Flax	Tate Houston
George Stephen Fondoulis	Henry George Hrovat
William Richard Forman	William Edward Hubbard, II
Russell Donald Freeman	Cecil Aubrey Hughes
Edward Roger Frick	Nicolai Joffe
Leon Ernest Gaillard	Robert John Johanson
Cedric Charles Garcia, Jr.	(also known as
Robert Hamrick Garrison	Robert Joseph)
Ramon Librado de la Garza	Floyd Leon Jones
Martin Benjamin Gavis	Edward K. K. Kaohelaulii
Harry Fredrick Gifford	Sidney Kastner
Walter Folsom Glenn, Jr.	Harry Kaz
Clarence Gowan	James Franklin Keenan
Arnold Harold Graf	Joseph Keenan, Jr.
Joseph Frank Greco	Arnold Creevy Kerr
Harold Benjamin Green	(also known as
James Columbus Green	Arnold Creevy Peterson
Edward Laverne Grout	Carl Aloysious Kipp
Wayne E. Guthrie	Robert Linwood Lancaster, Jr.
George Joseph Haendle	Ronald Marvin Lang
Loyce Waldo Hall	Antonio George Lauriano
James Monroe Harris	George Howard Lavery
Junious J. Harris	Charles Wesley Layne, Jr.

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A handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to be "Richard Nixon".

Richard Nixon

President

I certify that there are sixty-eight applications for executive clemency granted herein.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to be "John W. Archibald".

Attorney General

Executive Grant of Clemency

After reviewing the applications for executive clemency of the following named persons, and giving consideration to a letter of the Attorney General recommending executive clemency in each case, they are hereby granted full and unconditional pardons:

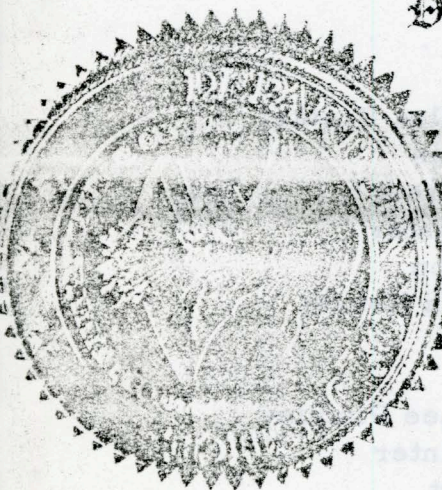
Jack Eugene Lea	Elna Oskar
John Henry Leaf	(now known as Elna Bratke)
Jimmy Jake Lee	Robert Truman Outs
Thomas Lee	Zebbie Dee Overstreet
Charles Henry Lempens	Charles Daniel Painter
Theodore Albin LeVander	Shirley Vera Paxson
Samuel Levin	(nee Shirley Vera House)
Harry Levy	Otho Keith Pigott
Troy Lewis Lindahl	Manon Pinkney
Kenneth L. Litz	Elmer Benjamin Lee Plumley
Luis Lopez-Monreal	James Edward Pointer
Marcel Max Lutwak	Ralph William Port
Robert Coroydon McCracken	Donald Ernest Price
Paul Robert McDonald	John Carlton Pyrah
Stephen James McGillicuddy	Carlos Manuel Ramos
Royce Woodrow McNeely	Louis Reaback
Salvatore Maienza	Thomas McGee Reardon, Sr.
Harmon Albert Marshall	Harris Bethea Reynolds
Harvey Levi Marshall	Edmund Gale Richardson
Carlos Oscar Martinez	John Henry Roberts
Jack LaVerne Martinson	Oliver U. Robinson
Bob Lee Mathews	Wayne Norman Robinson
Norbert Lee Matthews	Domingo Gonzalez Rodriguez
Jack Thomas Maxwell	Luther Boyd Rogers, Jr.
Jerome Cyril Mazalewski	Rex Orin Rogers
Harry W. Meeker	Harold Ralph Kather Roll
Alfredo Rodriguez Menchaca	Anthony Rosario Romano
John James Milne	Henry Stanley Rzemieniewski
Joseph Richard Miskell	Monty Timothy Scates
Lonnie Lee Murray	Fred Angel Schmidt, Sr.
Luther Ryals Musselwhite	Clair Raymond Schutte
Robert Warren Nay	Leonard Jules Sehres
Gerald Wayne Neff	Dominic William Serrett
Francis W. Nelson	Wilbur Willis Sewell
Terrance Edward Newman	Arthur Joseph Silva, Jr.
Karl Ochs, Jr.	Maurice Russell Smeltzer
Robert James Olive, Sr.	Charles Herman Smith, Jr.

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A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard Nixon".

Richard Nixon
President

I certify that there are seventy-two applications for executive clemency granted herein.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John W. Archibald".
Attorney General

Executive Grant of Clemency

After reviewing the applications for executive clemency of the following named persons, and giving consideration to a letter of the Attorney General recommending executive clemency in each case, they are hereby granted full and unconditional pardons:

Eugene John Snyder	Ben Arnold Walker
Michael Grabiell Spada	Donald Herbert Wanamaker
LeRoy Sparrow	Clifford T. Ward
Fred Leo Spencer	Roger Washington
Asmon Floyd Spruill	Roger William Werner
Alfred Gwen Stephens	Robert Edward Whitson
Richard Henry Stowers	John Bonaparte Whittington
John Joseph Strate	William Albert Williams
Herbert John Sullivan	Herman Winkler, Jr.
Teddy Joseph Szymanski	Don Charles Wisely
Donald L. Taber	Herbert Wool
Harold Brooke Thompson, Jr.	John Wozniak
Benjamin Arthur Totten, Jr.	Morris Edward Yarrow
Harrison Francis Tryon	James Norman Yeloushan
Victor Henry Van Maren, Sr.	Thomas Vincent Yeo
Anthony William Viada	

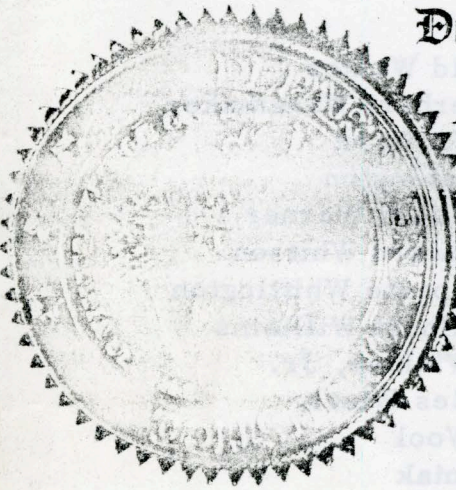
and the unpaid portion of the fines imposed upon Henry Talemontez Gamez and Bituminous Concrete Association, Inc., are hereby remitted; and the sentences of Charles Anthony Jones, Jan Polydoor Josef Lauwers, Felix Castillo Verela and Henry Grady Whitehead, Sr., are hereby commuted to expire at once; the sentences of John Woodrow Lewis, Louis Sachs and Ralph Sachs are hereby commuted to imprisonment for six years; the sentence of Charles Edward Jackson is hereby commuted to imprisonment for sixteen years; the sentence of Mario Lopez Covarrubias is hereby commuted to imprisonment for eighteen years; the sentence of Raul Gonzales Garcia is hereby commuted to imprisonment for twenty years; the sentence of Manuel Hernandez Luna is hereby commuted to imprisonment for twenty-one years; the sentences of Robert Barber, James J. Santore and Fred Stein are hereby commuted to imprisonment for twenty-five years; the sentence of Ella DeClay is hereby commuted to imprisonment for thirty years; and the sentence of James R. Hoffa, also known as James Riddle Hoffa, is hereby commuted to six and one-half years' imprisonment upon the condition that the said James R. Hoffa not engage in direct or indirect management of any labor organization prior to March sixth, 1980, and if the aforesaid condition is not fulfilled this commutation will be null and void in its entirety and the said James R. Hoffa shall be recommitted under the original judgments of conviction to a penal institution designated by the Attorney General and remain until the consecutive sentences of eight years' imprisonment imposed in the Eastern District of Tennessee on March twelfth, 1964 and the five years' imprisonment imposed in the Northern District of Illinois on July fourteenth, 1969, which consecutive sentences total thirteen years' imprisonment, shall have been served by him in accordance with law or until he is otherwise released in accordance with law.

Thereby designate, direct and empower the Attorney General, as my representative, to sign each grant of pardon to

the persons named herein. The Attorney General shall declare that his action is the act of the President, being performed at my direction.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name and caused the seal of the Department of Justice to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-third day of December in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-one and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and Ninety-sixth.



Richard Nixon

Richard Nixon
President

I certify that there are forty-nine applications for executive clemency granted herein.

John W. Mitchell
Attorney General

NY Times 12/24/71
**NIXON COMMUTES
HOFFA SENTENCE,
CURBS UNION ROLE**

**Teamster Served 4 Years
of 13-Year Term for Jury
Tampering and Fraud**

By **FRED P. GRAHAM**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23 —

President Nixon commuted today the prison term of James R. Hoffa, former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Hoffa walked free from the Federal Penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pa., after serving 4 years, 9 months and 16 days of a 13-year term

Hoffa was released under a conditional commutation of sentence that specifies that he cannot "engage in the direct or indirect management of any labor organization" until March 6, 1980, the date his full term would have ended.

President Nixon commuted the 13-year prison term—which represented an eight-year sentence for jury tampering and a five-year term for pension fund fraud—to six and one-half years.

Because the 58-year-old former chief of the union's largest union was entitled to time off for good behavior, that made him eligible for release today.

Will Join Family

He was met on his release by Robert Crancer of St. Louis, his daughter's husband. He was clad in a baggy charcoal suit and a dark coat. He told reporters that he would go as quickly as possible to St. Louis to spend Christmas with his family.

PRESERVATION COPY

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23 — President Nixon commuted today the prison term of James R. Hoffa, former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Hoffa walked free from the Federal Penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pa., after serving 4 years, 9 months and 16 days of a 13-year term.

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He will reside in Detroit, where he will have to report regularly to a Federal probation officer until 1973. Hoffa, who was voted a \$75,000-a-year lifetime salary as "president emeritus" of the teamsters' union after he resigned the presidency last June, has said that he will lecture and teach.

Before today's executive clemency, Hoffa applied three times to the Federal Parole Board and was turned down each time. The last time, on Aug. 20, the board stressed that when his case next came up for consideration, in June, 1972, the board would want assurances that he had cut all ties to the teamsters' union.

The commutation came with exceptional speed—especially for the Nixon Administration, which has frequently been accused of being slow to act on requests for clemency.

Morris Shenker of St. Louis, his lawyer, filed a request for commutation on Dec. 16. This morning, President Nixon signed the Executive order setting Hoffa free. He also signed other clemency actions.

Six other prisoners' sen-

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

PRESERVATION COPY

HE THOUGHT MR. NIXON'S ACTION was politically motivated to get teamster support and whether he planned to support Mr. Nixon for re-election, Hoffa said, "I will determine whatever I'm going to do politically after I learn what the restrictions are" on his release.

Hoffa's release brought to a close a long and controversial era of litigation, in which a special squad organized by the late Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy brought a series of prosecutions until two convictions were obtained against the teamster chief. His lawyers made repeated efforts to have the convictions overturned.

His first conviction came in March, 1964, when he was found guilty of tampering with a jury in Nashville, Tenn., while standing trial for an earlier charge brought by the Government. In August, 1964, he was convicted in United States District Court in Chicago on four counts of defrauding the teamsters' pension fund of some \$2-million. He entered prison on March 7, 1967.

Scene at Prison

LEWISBURG, Pa., Dec. 23 (UPI)—James R. Hoffa beamed and waved to his former fellow inmates as he left the penitentiary today.

"Anyone who tells you prison's not tough just isn't telling the truth," he said to newsmen. "I have spent many days in loneliness."

Asked whether he would seek to return to leadership of the union, Hoffa laughed, then turned serious and replied:

"I have no intention of returning to the teamsters. The leadership is in good hands. Frank Fitzsimmons is doing a good job."

In Washington, a Justice Department spokesman said that Mr. Nixon had granted executive clemency on the recommendations of the United States Parole Board's attorney and Attorney General John N. Mitchell.

As Hoffa walked across a prison courtyard to two electronically controlled gates, dozens of inmates in cellblocks behind him cheered his exit.

"Good luck, Jimmy," they shouted. "Take it easy."

Hoffa smiled broadly and turned back, raising a clenched fist.

"O.K., fellas," he shouted back.

When a guard in a tower 30 feet above opened the final gate for Hoffa's release, the former union leader was crowded by newsmen and almost pushed back inside.

"Hi, ya, fellas," he said. "It's good to be out."

At one point, Hoffa interrupted questions and said:

"I just want to say one thing.

PRESERVATION COPY

Hoffa Suggests Prison Boards As a Reform in Parole System

By JUAN M. VASQUEZ

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 17—James R. Hoffa, testifying before a Congressional committee for the first time since his release from prison, proposed today that each penitentiary establish a parole commission to decide when inmates should be released.

Hoffa, former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, said that such panels, which would each include an inmate as adviser, could perform a more adequate job than the Federal parole board members or examiners who now make such decisions.

In an 80-minute appearance before a House Judiciary subcommittee, Hoffa concentrated on reform of parole procedures, which the committee has found to be a dominant concern of Federal inmates.

Although the proposal for a parole commission appeared to be novel, the underlying idea—that persons who make parole decisions should be better acquainted with the inmates—has been advocated before by prison reformers.

Hoffa, who was denied parole three times while serving a 58-month sentence for jury tampering and pension fund fraud, said the commission should be composed of the warden, a prison case worker and a medical officer, with an inmate elected by other prisoners serving as adviser without a vote.

"You cannot really fool these people," Hoffa said. "They know every trick in the game."

The 58-year-old former union leader, whose sentence was commuted by President Nixon last December, said that in his

own case, he never found out why he had been turned down and he learned of the refusals by way of radio news programs.

Hoffa said he and other inmates had maintained a "box score" on those prisoners who had been paroled, predicting on which ones would soon return to prison.

"Invariably, we were right and the parole board wrong," Hoffa said in arguing that the board makes arbitrary decisions and often has no real knowledge of individual inmates.

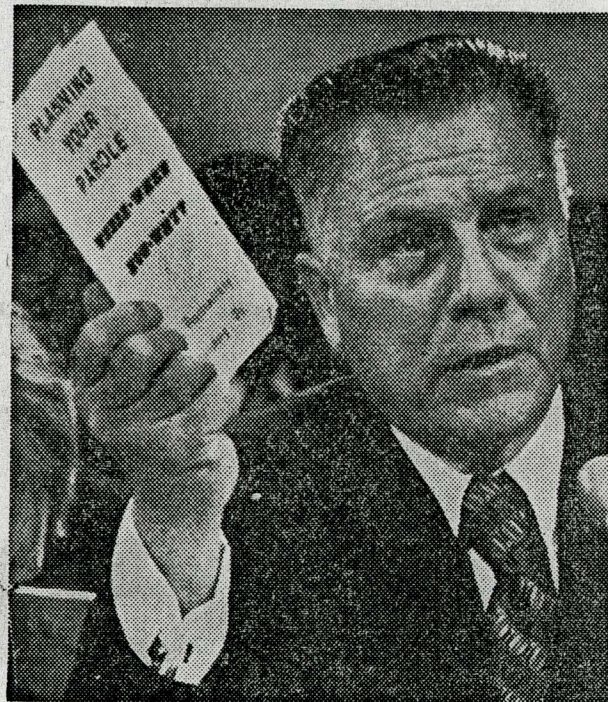
Another witness was Dr. Willard Gaylin, a New York City psychiatrist, also an author, who conducted a two-year research project on Federal inmates.

"The parole board operates in a willy-nilly procedure often quite independent of either the behavior of the convict, the supposed purposes of incarceration, or even the explicit intentions of the sentencing judge," Dr. Gaylin said.

Since September, the subcommittee has visited numerous prisons across the country. A staff member said the current hearings were the first in 42 years in Congress on parole reform.

The chairman, Representative Robert W. Kastenmeier, Democrat of Wisconsin, has drafted a bill that would take the board out of the Department of Justice, inject due process into the parole system and make parole mandatory unless the board makes an evidentiary finding to the contrary.

Another bill would abolish the Federal Board of Parole and replace it with 90 regional boards.



Associated Press

URGES PAROLE COMMISSIONS: James R. Hoffa testifying to House Judiciary subcommittee in Washington. He holds copy of a booklet on how to plan a parole.

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HOFFA CAN SPEAK ON UNION ISSUES

NY TIMES 12/28/71

Justice Aide Upholds Right
—Ex-Leader to Take Cash
Pension of \$1.7-Million

By AGIS SALPUKAS

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, Dec. 27—James R. Hoffa will be able to renew his many friendships in the giant teamster union and speak out on issues affecting the union without violating the conditions of the commutation of his sentence, according to a Justice Department official in Washington.

Hoffa will also have few financial worries. His lawyer, Morris Shenker, confirmed today in an interview that Hoffa had decided to take his pension of \$1.7-million in a lump sum. He will get \$1.2-million after taxes.

The former teamster leader, whose 13-year sentence for jury tampering and pension fund fraud was commuted last week by President Nixon, showed his old bounce as he briskly strode into the United States Probation and Parole Office here this afternoon.

After a meeting of an hour and 10 minutes, Hoffa and Charles T. Hosner, chief of the probation and parole office, were uncertain about the extent of the activities in which Hoffa could participate.

The conditions imposed on

Continued on Page 14, Column 4

so that over a time in fact we have a marked change" in union policy.

There had been reports that Hoffa was entitled to draw \$75,000 a year for life as a pension from the Teamsters. But Mr. Shenker's statement today was the first disclosure that Hoffa had decided to take the amount in a lump sum of \$1.7-million.

Mr. Shenker said that Hoffa's pension agreement gave him the option of taking the amount as a lump sum or in annual payments. The \$1.7-million would be equivalent to a 22-year pension for the 58-year-old Hoffa.

During his session with Mr. Hosner today, Hoffa said that he would like to renew friendships and relations with union leaders in the Detroit area and asked for clarification of what he could do and could not do.

Mr. Hosner said that Hoffa's

He added, however, that he interpreted "managing" as meaning directing and controlling but not necessarily as influencing. He said that Hoffa "has a right to express an opinion, like any other citizen."

Mr. Shenker, Hoffa's lawyer, said that he interpreted the conditions as allowing Hoffa to express an opinion, whether it influenced the union or not. But he added that Hoffa would "be very cautious" and "observe the conditions to the nth degree."

Mr. Shenker said that Hoffa was appealing his jury tampering conviction, for which he received a sentence of eight years in a district court in Chattanooga in March, 1964.

If he wins the appeal, he would have a good chance of being freed from the present restrictions since, he has served almost all of the five-year term

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NY Times 12/25/71

Hoffa Promises Granddaughter a Horse

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 24 (AP)—James R. Hoffa walked with his 8-year-old granddaughter down a tree-lined street in the suburb of Glendale the day before Christmas and they talked about Black Gold.

That is the riding horse he bought her while he was still in Federal prison at Lewisburg, Pa. The former teamsters' union president was released yesterday when President Nixon commuted his 13-year sentence on jury tampering and mail fraud convictions.

As they strolled along, he in a windbreaker and khaki pants, they waved to neighbors who were outdoors on the mild holiday morning.

"You will have a horse," said Hoffa to Barbara Jo Crancer, his granddaughter. "A quarter horse. He still needs some breaking in. The picture is here, the horse will be here in the spring."

He had disclosed his Christmas gift early.

Quarter horses, so-called for their high speed at short distances (about a quarter of a mile), were developed on Western ranges for great endurance under the saddle.

Comes Down Whistling

Hoffa, 58, chatted with newsmen even while his attorney, Morris Shenker, was saying there would be no interviews. As he came downstairs to meet them after a night's sleep at his daughter's home, he was whistling.

"You look just like a little kid," said Josephine, his wife. But Hoffa did not hear her. He was talking about the frequent diet of sauerkraut, beans and pork he ate during his

57 months in prison. He lost 22 pounds.

He was asked if he thought a stipulation in his parole that he not participate in the running of the union until 1980 was fair. He paused, said, "I don't know," and continued walking hand in hand with Barbara Jo.

He said he "would certainly want to" continue his life's work in labor, but added: "I don't know until we see the details of the stipulations."

Will Report Monday

He said he was to report Monday to parole officials in Detroit, where he will make his home.

"The only thing we know about the conditions of the parole is what we've read in the papers," he said.

"It's very difficult to know your family's growing up, the children getting older and your wife is sick," he said. "We're appreciative of the fact that he [Nixon] saw fit to release me so I could be with my family."

Mrs. Hoffa, who had a heart attack earlier this year and reportedly had a mild seizure Wednesday night, was cheerful as she served coffee to newsmen. She gave some impromptu kisses to her husband.

"I never gave up hope," she said. "We give grateful thanks to President Nixon."

Three previous appeals for parole had been denied.

"This is the nicest Christmas we've ever had," she said last night after her husband arrived.

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NY
TIMES

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1971

S Hoffa Says Phase 2 Has 'Not Bothered' Teamster Members

By AGIS SALPUKAS

DETROIT, Dec. 28—James R. Hoffa, former president of the teamsters Union, said today that Phase Two of President Nixon's economic program so far had "not bothered the teamsters."

It was his first statement touching on union affairs since Mr. Nixon commuted his prison sentence last Thursday with the condition that he not engage directly or indirectly in the management of labor organizations until March 6, 1980.

Lawrence M. Traylor, the pardon attorney for the Justice Department who helped to draft the terms of Hoffa's release said yesterday that he did not intend to prevent Hoffa from expressing his opinions on union matters.

Hoffa, in a short news con-

ference, said that most of the teamsters' pay rises had not been affected by Phase Two controls.

Frank E. Fitzsimmons, the president of the 2-million member teamster union, has been a firm supporter of President Nixon and his economic policies.

Hoffa, in his second meeting today with Charles T. Hosner, the chief probation officer of the Federal Court of the Eastern District of Michigan, further discussed his parole, which will last until March, 1973.

Mr. Hosner gave Hoffa permission to go to Miami for 90 days to be with his ailing wife, Josephine. During the 90 days Hoffa must report to a parole officer in Miami once a month.

Mr. Hosner said in an interview that he saw no reason why Hoffa could not participate in rank-and-file meetings of Teamster Local 299, in Detroit.

He cautioned, however, that "we would not like it if he attended a lot of meetings and began to be an influence."

PRESERVATION COPY

*EVE
STAR*

ORDERS FROM WASHINGTON

Caged, Hoffa

By JACK CRELLIN

Copyright Detroit News

James R. Hoffa charged today that he was kept in maximum security at the Lewisburg, Pa., prison and assigned to a job which kept him confined in a cage for seven hours a day for almost three years on orders from Washington.

"In my opinion they were trying to break my spirit," said Hoffa, who was released from the federal penitentiary last Thursday when President Nixon commuted his 13-year sentence for jury tampering and pension fraud.

Due to his own experience, Hoffa said, he plans to press for prison reforms.

He blamed the treatment he received on persons in the Justice Department who were left over from the Kennedy administration. Former U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy was instrumental in putting Hoffa behind bars.

Hoffa said he did not believe it was the people running the prison who were responsible, but "Washington."

The former president of the Teamsters Union made his charges in an exclusive interview with the Detroit News.

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The former president of the Teamsters Union made his charges in an exclusive interview with the Detroit News.

Seated in the law offices of his son, James P. Hoffa, a Detroit attorney, the man who once ran the nation's largest union told about his 4 years, 9 months and 16 days of confinement.

Hoffa said he was placed in maximum security immediately after getting out of the customary quarantine after his arrival and remained there 2 years and 9 months.

Got Job Stuffing Mattresses

"I was in A Block Building, which is the tightest security in the prison, in a cell by myself with an open front like you see in the movies," Hoffa said.

"I tried several times to get changed and they wouldn't change me. Always their answer was the order came from Washington not to change my quarters."

Hoffa said he was assigned to stuffing mattresses "in a cage" seven hours a day.

"I tried to get out of there but they finally told me they had been instructed by Washington not to change my working conditions," Hoffa said.

He said he thought this was designed to see "how far they could go" to get him to "blow my top."

But he got around it, he said, by determining to accept whatever was handed out to him.

After three years, Hoffa said he "graduated" to an "honor dormitory," which meant he had an individual cell, but with a solid door that wasn't locked so that he could walk out into the hall to watch television, go to the restaurant or the library.

"But it is the pure monotony of prison that drives people crazy," he said.

Will Take Wife to Florida

Hoffa yesterday was given clearance by U.S. parole officials to take his ailing wife, Josephine, to Florida next week.

He was also granted permission to associate with union friends and appear on television shows.

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Under the terms of Nixon's commutation, Hoffa cannot participate in union management

PRESERVATION COPY

mental in putting Hoffa behind bars.

Hoffa said he did not believe it was the people running the prison who were responsible, but "Washington."

The former president of the Teamsters Union made his charges in an exclusive interview with the Detroit News.

ary quarantine after his arrival and remained there 2 years and 9 months.

Got Job Stuffing Mattresses

"I was in A Block Building, which is the tightest security in the prison, in a cell by myself with an open front like you see in the movies," Hoffa said.

"I tried several times to get changed and they wouldn't change me. Always their answer was the order came from Washington not to change my quarters."

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Under the terms of Nixon's commutation, Hoffa cannot participate in union management at least until 1980.

With money in the bank and his union activities taboo, Hoffa said he has taken up the crusade for prison reform.

His own experience, he said, is etched forever on his mind and he is determined to effect changes in correctional institutions through contacts with legislators and judges.

He feels that prisons, particularly the one at Lewisburg, are "dehumanizing" and "demoralizing," with the result that they return men to society more bitter than when they entered the institution.

Clothes Issued at Random

Hoffa said the "dehumanizing" processes starts the moment prison gates close behind a man.

The object is to make him a statistic, he asserted. Hoffa says he was a statistic—No. 33298.

For him it started when he was issued clothes at the end of his 10-day quarantine.

"Those people really don't understand," said

See HOFFA, Page A-7

PRESERVATION COPY

HOFFA

Story of Prison Life Told

Continued From Page A-1

Hoffa. "They give some prisoner a used pair of shoes if they feel like it. Sometimes they don't even fit."

"Then they send you next door where you pick up your clothes. If you are 160 pounds and 6 feet tall and your waist is 32 inches they give you a pair of pants.

"The guy who comes behind you might have a 32-waist and be five feet tall (Hoffa is not much more than that) and he gets the same pair of pants. All they do is crop off the legs."

Hoffa said this is particularly distressing to young, first offenders who had dressed fairly well on the street.

"They put them in a frame of mind that is just unbelievable," he said.

A rough, tough product of Detroit who fought his way to the top of the Teamsters, Hoffa said first offenders should never be assigned to cell-blocks with hardened criminals.

His most shocking experiences, he said, were witnessing gang rapes of young men by groups of inmates while guards stood helplessly by.

He said bureaucracy in the prison is "unbelievable," and that it has resulted in mass misery in an institution. (Lewisburg) built in 1952 to house 950 people, and which today has a

population of 1,500 with no expanded facilities.

Hoffa said many of his experiences with individual guards and administrators at the prison were good.

He said 85 percent of the guards were normal people not intent on hurting anybody.

Five Percent Called 'Sadists'

Another 10 percent, Hoffa said dedicated themselves to harassing inmates for their own personal advancement, and the remaining five percent were "outright sadists."

Referring to the 15 percent, Hoffa described them as "the God-damned people whose hatred creates the entire trouble where everybody hates every guard."

While education is available in the prison, he said, it should be expanded.

He said there was only one caseworker for about each 300 prisoners. The caseworker supposedly also serves in the role of counselor, Hoffa added.

"Their workload is so great that they just can't get around to every man," Hoffa said.

Hoffa lost 16 pounds in prison. He is still in excellent physical shape from working out daily in the gymnasium and walking in the prison yard.

What about the food?

"The food they serve is good food," said Hoffa. "Anybody can live on that food. But the way they prepare it is just unbelievable."

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Wash. Eve. Star 1/12/72

Letters to the Editor

Hoffa's Commutation

SIR: After a parole board had refused twice to grant an early parole to James Hoffa, the ex-president of the Teamsters' Union who had been convicted of jury tampering, President Nixon commuted his sentence. Apparently the President thought this would win him votes from union members.

I believe I am closer to organized labor than Nixon.

I am a (retired) member of Local 189 of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the AFL-CIO. I helped unions in the shoe and textile industries to organize right after the 1930-32 depression, when the unions were weak and struggling. I have been arrested on the picket line on such obviously trumped up charges as blocking traffic and parading without a permit before the unions were strong enough politically to prevent such harassment of their picket lines. I have helped to raise money for strikers when the unions were weak. I just got a letter from George Meany thanking me for my testimony in favor of government health insurance, which organized labor supports.

In the course of speaking tours for the NAACP I have spoken at union meetings as diverse as a steel workers' local in Gadsden, Ala., and a longshoremen's union in Lake Charles, La. I was and am proud of my son-in-law, who, until his recent death, was an organizer for the hospital workers' union. That is why I think I know more about the psychology of union members than does Nixon.

Very few union members will regard pardoning a millionaire like Hoffa, who was a convicted criminal and a former union leader, as an act of friendship toward organized labor. They will know such an act is blatantly unjust and clearly politically motivated. Actually, Nixon, in that act, has done more to undermine the faith of the public in criminal justice than does a cop taking a bribe from a heroin pusher.

Alfred Baker Lewis.

Riverside, Conn.

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The White House
Washington

1971 DEC 23 PM 8 24

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HON WILLIAM E TIMMONS

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

THE JURY SYSTEM IS THE FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN JUSTICE. CLEMENCY
FOR HOFFA IS TANTAMOUNT TO CONDONING ITS DESTRUCTION. AM SHOCKED
THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WOULD CONSIDER IT

FRANK B LIDDELL JR FORMER CHAIRMAN 1968 SHELBY COUNTY NIXON
FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE.

(454)

FORM 0805 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY, U. S. A.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Liddell:

This is in response to your recent telegram expressing concern over Executive Clemency for Mr. James R. Hoffa.

Mr. Hoffa was one of 13 persons who received commutation of sentence by the President on December 23, 1971. The Attorney General, who is responsible for initially investigating and reviewing all petitions for Executive Clemency, cited a number of reasons in recommending to the President that he commute Mr. Hoffa's 13-year sentence to 6 1/2 years, making him eligible for immediate mandatory release.

Mr. Hoffa's 4 1/2 years of confinement had considerably aggravated his wife's serious heart condition and her physicians felt that this condition would be greatly relieved if Mr. Hoffa were released from prison. During his term of confinement, Mr. Hoffa was considered a model prisoner who responded well to supervision and whose adjustment to prison life was termed "excellent." It was further felt that little would be gained by making Mr. Hoffa serve out the remaining term of his sentence, particularly since the President attached a condition to his release that he not engage in any direct or indirect management of any labor organization until March of 1980. Mr. Hoffa will also be under the supervision of the U. S. Probation Office until about March of 1973.

I think it can be fairly stated that Mr. Hoffa's release was purely a humanitarian act on the part of the President, who felt that in view of the severity of the sentence, his 4 1/2 years of confinement, his excellent readjustment while in prison, and the conditions attached to his release, ^{he} would be sufficient^y to deter ^{red} ~~him~~ from engaging in any further illegal activities.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN W. DEAN III

FROM:

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS

BT

Would you please furnish me with some draft language for use in replying to my friend, Frank Liddell. Thank you.

D R A F T

Dear _____:

This is in response to your recent inquiry regarding Mr. James R. Hoffa.

As you ^{may} know, Mr. Hoffa was one of 16 persons whose sentence was commuted by the President on December 23, 1971. ~~Mr. Hoffa was then~~ ^{He} ~~serv~~ ^{His} ~~ing~~ a 13-year sentence, ~~which~~ was commuted to 6 1/2 years, making him eligible for immediate release. ~~However,~~ Mr. Hoffa's commutation was ^{however,} conditioned on the requirement that he not engage in the direct or indirect management of any labor organization prior to March 6, 1980. Any breach of this condition will result in his being recommitted to prison to serve out the ^{remainder} ~~duration~~ of his ^{original} sentence.

In recommending to the President that he commute Mr. Hoffa's sentence, the Attorney General considered a number of factors. ~~The first~~ ~~was that~~ ~~he~~ was a model prisoner during his 4 1/2 years of confinement and was considered to have an excellent attitude toward both his fellow inmates and supervisory officers.

Second, Mr. Hoffa's wife is suffering from a serious heart condition with attendant difficulties, many of which were being aggravated due to his continued confinement. In April, 1971, Mr. Hoffa was granted an emergency

furlough from prison to visit his wife in a West Coast hospital after her attending physician had advised that her condition was critical and that Mr. Hoffa's presence at her bedside was urgently required.

~~Also~~ Also
Third and last, Mr. Hoffa had resigned from all union offices he had held and did not seek reelection as president or any other office at the Teamsters Union ^a Annual ^g Convention in July, 1971.

I trust this information will be of assistance to you in responding to your constituent's inquiry.

Sincerely,

William Timmons

Hoffa Plans To Reside In Detroit

ST. LOUIS (AP) — Former Teamsters Union President James R. Hoffa, released from prison last week, planned to fly to Detroit today to make his home in that city.

Hoffa's attorney, Morris Shenker, said the former labor leader would confer with a parole official in Detroit. Shenker said he and Hoffa wanted to learn details of restrictions that President Nixon imposed in granting Hoffa his freedom.

In commuting Hoffa's 13-year sentence for jury tampering and mail fraud to 6½ years, Nixon said Hoffa could not become involved in union management until 1980, when his prison term would have ended. Hoffa served 57 months in prison.

Shenker said yesterday that Hoffa, 58, thoroughly enjoyed his Christmas holiday with his wife and family at the home of his son-in-law, Robert Crancer, in the St. Louis suburb of Glendale.

"He's finally getting rested a little," Shenker said.

Earlier, the attorney said Hoffa was not thinking about making an effort to lift the restriction on union activity.

"I want to know what the full restrictions are. We're not going off the top of our head with decisions," Hoffa said.

Wash. Ev. Star 12/27/71


PRESERVATION COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

December 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN DEAN 
SUBJECT: Nominees for Executive Clemency

Attached are four Master Warrants containing the names of 235 nominees for pardons, 16 nominees for commutation of sentences, and 2 nominees for remission of fines, each of which has been recommended for Executive Clemency by the Attorney General. The Attorney General has also recommended that this entire group be acted upon before Christmas.

I have carefully reviewed each case and agree with the Attorney General's recommendations in each instance.

As you are aware, Mr. James R. Hoffa is one of the nominees for commutation of sentence. His sentence is to be commuted to six and one-half years, which will permit his immediate release, upon the condition that he not engage directly or indirectly in the management of any labor organization.

The granting of these pardons and commutations will greatly reduce the backlog of qualified candidates for Executive Clemency and all individuals concerned can be notified prior to Christmas.

Pursuant to normal procedures in handling Clemency actions, no press announcement is planned, but the Department of Justice will be prepared to appropriately handle questions regarding the commutation of Hoffa's sentence.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the Master Warrants at Tabs A, B, C and D.

Dear Mrs. Erb:

I am writing to acknowledge receipt and thank you for your letter to the President regarding Executive Clemency for Mr. James R. Hoffa.

Your interest and concern in sharing your views with the President in this matter are greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Mrs. Frederick A. Erb
649 Edgemere Court
Bloomfield Hills
Michigan 48013

~~NO RESPONSE~~
~~TO JF~~
~~1/24/72~~
TO CF
1/25/72

ACTION

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RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the Master Warrants at Tabs A, B, C and D.

1/24/72

Dear Mrs. Copeland:

Mrs. Nixon has asked me to respond and thank you for your remarks and suggestions concerning Mr. James R. Hoffa.

Your interest in giving Mrs. Nixon the benefit of your views in this matter are greatly appreciated.

With best wishes of the White House.

Sincerely,

JS/

John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Mrs. Doris Copeland
6223 Villa Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22310

TO SD
1/24/72

Hoffa Hopes for Eventual Role As a Leader of the Teamsters

MIAMI BEACH, Fla., Feb. 27 (UPI)—James R. Hoffa says he plans to get back into the labor movement and into a leadership position with the teamsters as soon as parole restrictions on his union activity expire.

In the meantime, Hoffa said during an interview in his apartment here, he will spend his time in the promotion of prison reform and in personal business ventures.

Hoffa, the former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has talked freely with reporters since President Nixon let him out of prison in December on the condition that he stay out of union activities until 1980. But this is the first time he has said he wants to return to a position of power in the two-million-member teamsters' union, largest in the nation.

It is believed that, to Hoffa, this means the presidency of the union, a post he held for 14 years. He gave it up last June as a condition to getting the commutation that permitted him to win parole from sentences totaling 13 years for jury tampering and mail fraud.

A long-time protégé, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, ran the union as acting president when Hoffa went to prison in 1967, and was elected to a five-year term as president last July after Hoffa retired with a \$1.7-million lump-sum teamster pension.

The 59-year-old Hoffa would be 67 years old when the parole restrictions on his union activity expire in 1980, but he pointed out that his lawyers were seeking a court order to set aside his jury tampering conviction in Chattanooga. If they are successful, the limitations would be removed immediately, since he has already served enough time on the mail fraud conviction in Chicago.

'An Excellent Job'

Hoffa said that Mr. Fitzsimmons, 63, had done a good job as head of the teamsters and that reports that Hoffa might already be running the teamsters' union from behind the scenes were "just absolutely not

"The contracts have been excellent, the membership has increased and he has done an excellent job," Hoffa said of his successor. The two have been close colleagues since the 1930's.

Mr. Fitzsimmons, whose mild manner and taciturnity contrast sharply with Mr. Hoffa's ebullient nature, is not expected to seek re-election after his present term expires in 1976.

Mr. Hoffa apparently still enjoys wide support among rank-and-file teamsters, but many of the teamsters vice presidents are not anxious to have Mr. Hoffa back. They prefer the less centralized control exercised



United Press International
James R. Hoffa

by Mr. Fitzsimmons, which gives them more freedom in their own areas.

Mr. Hoffa renewed some old union acquaintances recently when the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations was holding its midwinter meeting at the Americana Hotel a few blocks from where Mr. Hoffa is living here with his ailing wife, Josephine.

He showed up twice in the Americana lobby, talking with reporters covering the council meeting and chatting with some members of the council and other union officials.

But the A.F.L.-C.I.O. president, George Meany, who led the move in 1957 that ousted the teamsters from the labor federation on corruption charges, refused to take note of Mr. Hoffa. Mr. Meany said last year that the teamsters would be welcomed back into the federation as soon as they got rid of Mr. Hoffa.

PRESERVATION COPY

July 14, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLES COLSON
FROM: JOHN DEAN

Pursuant to your request I have returned Mr. Taub's call via my secretary. My secretary informed Mr. Taub that I was out of town and relayed the following message:

1. There is nothing this office can do regarding your request;
2. The matter of your client's traveling is a matter for his parole officer and the Parole Board; and
3. Because of the above reasons, no meeting will be scheduled on this matter.

After reading the above message to Mr. Taub, my secretary indicates that he was quite distressed that a meeting was not being scheduled. He made many other statements to my secretary but she informed him that she knew nothing of the matter and was merely instructed to pass this message on.

bcc: Henry Kissinger

*approved by JWD
2/3/72*

sent to M Fadane

DRAFT RESPONSE TO HOFFA INQUIRIES

Dear _____:

This is in response to your inquiry regarding the President's recent grants of Executive Clemency.

As you know, the President commuted the sentences of sixteen persons on December 23, 1971. Clemency is granted on the basis of merit, need, the individual's rehabilitation while in confinement, and the best interests of society. Each petition is considered on an individual basis. After a thorough investigation and analysis of the request for clemency, the case is reviewed by the Attorney General, who then makes his recommendation to the President. In each of these sixteen cases, it was determined that a commutation was appropriate and consistent with the interests of society.

In Mr. Hoffa's case, his thirteen year sentence was commuted to six and one half years, and with credit for statutory good time he was eligible for immediate release. The commutation was, however, conditioned on the requirement that Mr. Hoffa not engage in the direct or indirect management of any labor organization prior to March 6, 1980. Any breach of this condition will result in his being recommitted to prison to serve out the remainder of his original sentence.

I hope this information will be of assistance to you in responding to your constituent's inquiry.

Sincerely,

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Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date 1/27/72

TO: Pete Kinsey

FROM: Bud McFarlane

Please handle _____

For Your Information _____

Other

Per our conversation.

TENNESSEE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

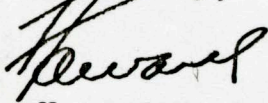
January 11, 1972
1972 JAN 15 PM 12 25

Mr. Clark MacGregor
Counsel to the President for
Congressional Relations
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Clark:

Can you lend any assistance on the
attached?

Sincerely,



Howard H. Baker, Jr.

HHBJr:nst

Enclosures 2

BUILT-IN KITCHEN APPLIANCES
MODERN MAID, INC.

P. O. BOX 1111

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE 37401

L. HARDWICK CALDWELL, JR.
PRESIDENT

January 5, 1972

Senator Howard Baker
Senate Building
Washington, D.C.

REC'D JAN 7 1972

Dear Howard:

Many of us in our community are getting more involved in politics. I think we should do this and I'm glad to take a part in it.

There are many things we don't understand, however, and from time to time, I'm going to write you, Bill Brock, Clark MacGregor, etc. and ask you to explain things in order that we might do a better job for you folks down here.

One thing I can't understand is the recent commutation of Jimmy Hoffa's 13 year sentence for jury tampering efforts and union fund manipulation. There were others who had their sentences commuted at the same time.

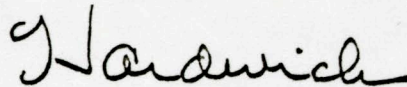
The thing we don't understand is why any official would be inclined to think that his judgment was better than that of those who tried the cases, heard the evidence, and set the length of the term.

I don't expect to agree with everything that happens in the Republican Party - I don't even agree with everything that happens in my own family. On the other hand, if I'm going to work actively for it, I'd like to know the reasoning behind some of these decisions. Actually Clark MacGregor might be a better one to answer this because he may have heard the President discuss it.

I'll work hard for you and Bill and LaMar but I want to be sure at all times that I know why.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,



L. H. Caldwell, Jr.

LHCJr/avb

cc: Senator Bill Brock

cc: Mr. Clark MacGregor

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTING SLIP

TO:	NAME	DIVISION	BUILDING	ROOM
1.	<i>Mr Santarelli</i>			
2.				
3.				
4.				

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> SIGNATURE | <input type="checkbox"/> COMMENT | <input type="checkbox"/> PER CONVERSATION |
| <input type="checkbox"/> APPROVAL | <input type="checkbox"/> NECESSARY ACTION | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AS REQUESTED |
| <input type="checkbox"/> SEE ME | <input type="checkbox"/> NOTE AND RETURN | <input type="checkbox"/> NOTE AND FILE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> RECOMMENDATION | <input type="checkbox"/> CALL ME | <input type="checkbox"/> YOUR INFORMATION |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ANSWER OR ACKNOWLEDGE ON OR BEFORE _____ | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> PREPARE REPLY FOR THE SIGNATURE OF _____ | | |

REMARKS

*for Ray Kenzie,
White House*

FROM:	NAME	BUILDING & ROOM	EXT.	DATE
	FRED B. UGAST			
	<i>Dr Santarelli</i>			

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Fred B. Ugast
Deputy Assistant Attorney General
Tax Division

DATE: February 14, 1972

WDH:y1
5-17M-2710

FROM : William D. Hyatt *WDH*
Attorney, Criminal Section

SUBJECT: Testimony of James R. Hoffa

On February 11, 1972, pursuant to subpoena, James Hoffa testified for the Government in United States v. Frank Ragano (Cr. No. 71-195, Cr. Tampa).

Ragano is charged with 26 U.S.C. 7206(1) for attempting to disguise a finder's fee received for obtaining a Teamster Pension Fund loan for a Mr. Rizzo, promoter of Two Seasons Development Corporation.

Mr. Hoffa was questioned with regard to his knowledge of the events surrounding the granting of this loan and his association with Messrs. Ragano, Rizzo and one Cal Covens. Mr. Hoffa testified that Ragano had been his lawyer and that Ragano may have discussed or arranged loans for his clients from the Pension Fund.

Mr. Hoffa had no independent recollection of any conversations with anyone with regard to the above loan, including whether a provision was made in the loan for the amount the borrower would have to pay as a finder's fee. Mr. Hoffa did affirm the minutes of the Pension Fund meetings. He also gave some general information with regard to the operation of the Teamster Pension Fund. There was no cross-examination of Mr. Hoffa.

Mr. Bernard Dempsey, Assistant United States Attorney handling the case for the Government, indicated that Hoffa was generally cooperative with the Government, although he was at first somewhat unhappy at being called.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN DEAN

Attached is page 21 from Mr. Colson's News Summary of February 10. "Are you aware of this? If so, are you following it?"



W. Richard Howard

*Pete
We should get
some people
info from
DoJ re
Hoffa's
activities*

The House Agric. Committee approved 32-4 a multimillion-dollar rural development bill, minus Admin. plans for sharing revenue and credit.... Boggs says Congress will "hopefully" complete action on a number of major bills, including revenue sharing, before it adjourns. He also said "it makes it hard to legislate, we have so many messages to read. Then when we do legislate, RN vetoes it or refuses to spend the money we have allocated."

Camden's Antipoverty Legal Services Dir. said he "definitely" considers it his duty to confront local officials with poor-people's suits "if my clients request it and it's legally sound."...NBC film of 250 welfare recipients and their children who ordered steaks in the Stardust in Las Vegas and refused to pay their bill in order to protest inadequate benefits and insufficient food stamps. No more meals for demonstrators, said the management.

Four young men, believed to be Black Liberation Army members, wanted for killing two NY rookie patrolmen, are now being sought nationally. They may have been involved in other ambush slayings. Police Comm. Murphy also named 5 others, including a woman, wanted in the case.

Hoffa has been called to testify in the income tax evasion trial of Tampa attorney Frank Ragano altho authorities didn't disclose the reason for the summons. Jimmy says he doesn't know why himself. (He'll be on Issues and Answers Sunday.)

Prompted by the return to Chicago of the attys for Davis, Rubin, Froines, Hayden, et al, CBS concluded the show with 5 minutes on the differences on campuses between '70-'71 and now when they're at their calmest point in a decade. The wave of left-wing protest of early '71 has suddenly receded. Froines said the left is humbler now and

*John Deane -
are you aware
of his?
to are you
following?
WR*

JDHW

August 4, 1971

*John
Have someone
make sure this
is all
taken care
of*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAVID PARKER
CHUCK GOLSON

FROM:

JOHN DEAN

SUBJECT:

Letter to President from
Clark Mollenhoff

I received a copy of the Mollenhoff letter of July 28, 1971 on Monday morning, August 2. I spoke with Mollenhoff on that date and we discussed the items in the letter. While I am sure that Clark would still like to meet with the President to discuss the matters, I think I can satisfy him in that I will continue to have dialogue with him on the subjects and am reading and reviewing the reams of material that he has forwarded to me on these subjects. Accordingly, I think that a short note should be written to Clark simply turning down his request to discuss these matters with the President in that my office is concerned with them and taking a thorough check into the matters.

~~Write Attorney~~
~~copy~~

*P you might want
to check Herb Klein -
he received the original
for reply.*

B. KENNEDY

August 4, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVID PARKER
 CHUCK COLSON

FROM: JOHN DEAN

SUBJECT: Letter to President from
 Clark Mollenhoff

I received a copy of the Mollenhoff letter of July 28, 1971 on Monday morning, August 2. I spoke with Mollenhoff on that date and we discussed the items in the letter. While I am sure that Clark would still like to meet with the President to discuss the matters, I think I can satisfy him in that I will continue to have dialogue with him on the subjects and am reading and reviewing the reams of material that he has forwarded to me on these subjects. Accordingly, I think that a short note should be written to Clark simply turning down his request to discuss these matters with the President in that my office is concerned with them and taking a thorough check into the matters.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1971

*John Dean to
advise or
handled as
he sees fit.*

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVE PARKER
FROM: MARGITA E. WHITE *MEW*
RE: Letter to President from Clark Mollenhoff

Clark's letter was referred by Correspondence to our office because, as you know, we handle general media correspondence.

However, you will note that Clark is seeking an appointment with the President to discuss James Hoffa and irregularities in the Hirshhorn project. Apparently he previously has tried to see the President on this.

Attachment

CC: John Dean III

1971 JUL -09 PM 9 20

DES MOINES REGISTER AND TRIBUNE

HOMETOWN PAPER FOR ALL IOWA

CLARK R. MOLLENHOFF
Bureau Chief

NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004

July 28, 1971

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have made a number of efforts to see you but all have failed to materialize, which, I am sure, worked against your best interest.

I feel that there are some things you should know in connection with two projects: the Hoffa matter and the Joseph Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden.

It would be unwise from a standpoint of good government as well as your own political fortune to free James R. Hoffa on some promise that he will not run the Teamsters Union. Anyone familiar with the background knows this is wishful thinking. It is particularly bad to provide Hoffa with a parole at this stage in the light of the testimony before the McClellan committee and other places on the harm done by early release of big figures in organized crime.

The Hirshhorn project is filled with so many illegal and irregular activities by Dillon Ripley of the Smithsonian and others that I doubt if it could get a handful of votes in Congress at this stage.

I am sure you have not been given the full details on these matters and realize that these cases may lack the earmarks of high-priority projects. However, I regard them as vital from a standpoint of demonstrating an active interest in promoting honest government.

I believe that your moves in Vietnam and with regard to meeting with the Red Chinese put you in a position of having little to fear on the international issues. There is a great deal of danger with regard to domestic issues and this is likely to become worse before it gets any better.

I know that you are interested in doing what is best for the country. I believe that in any crisis the strongest thing a President has going for him is a belief in his integrity. I believe that proceeding with a parole for Jimmy Hoffa or continuing the building for Hirshhorn (a man with two criminal convictions) would seriously undermine your record.

I have just completed a book on organized crime and the Strike Forces and believe the Strike Forces' accomplishments represent one of the strongest forces for your 1972 campaign. Any relaxing on Hoffa, who has been convicted of pension fraud and jury tampering, could seriously undermine your efforts to project a strong law enforcement image.

~~I will be available at any time for discussion of the irregularities on the Hirshhorn project and the record of James R. Hoffa.~~

I have tried to present in this letter the same non-partisan advice I would have given to you as Presidential ombudsman.

Respectfully yours,


Clark R. Mollenhoff

CRM:eb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DEAN

FROM: CHARLES COLSON *WC*

Clark Mollenhoff has sent me the attached. I think you should make a real effort to call Clark in and try to see him. Obviously this isn't the kind of stuff that should be discussed with the President. You could set him straight, however, and listen to his tales of woe. If there is something we should know about, let's look into it. Really you've taken over what Clark used to try to do. Therefore, he would probably have some confidence in talking to you.

DES MOINES REGISTER AND TRIBUNE

HOMETOWN PAPER FOR ALL IOWA

CLARK R. MOLLENHOFF
Bureau Chief

NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004

July 28, 1971

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The Honorable Richard M. Nixon

July 28, 1971
page - 2

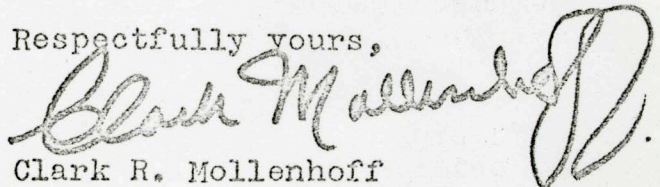
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I have tried to present in this letter the same non-partisan advice I would have given to you as Presidential ombudsman.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Clark R. Mollenhoff". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name.

Clark R. Mollenhoff

CRM:eb

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Eyes Only

December 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN DEAN

FROM:

CHUCK COLSON *WC*

Have you been able to determine whether any previous prisoners who have had their sentences commuted have been denied parole on a series of instances? In other words, do we have a long series of precedents on the Hoffa matter? I think it is very important to find out.

Spoke with CC
[Signature]

OFFICE OF THE
DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL



To: John Dean

JCH
WJG

JAMES R. HOFFA
2420 GUARDIAN BUILDING
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226

August 11, 1972

Mr. George A. Tensa
United States Parole Board
832 Federal Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Re: James R. Hoffa

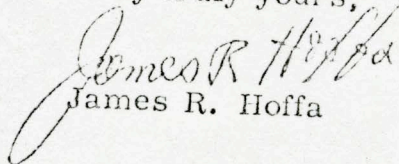
Dear Mr. Tensa:

As you know a Presidential Election will take place in November, 1972. Recent political developments have led me to the strong belief that President Richard Nixon should be re-elected. I base this on a review of President Nixon's record in office, as well as a review of the record of his opponent in the forthcoming election.

As an American citizen it is my desire to speak out on behalf of President Nixon. In furtherance of this effort I would like to speak to various groups of citizens, including, but not limited to groups of Union members and officers. I would also like to spread my beliefs through the communications media. I would like to know whether my participation in these activities would constitute a violation of my present parole restrictions.

I would appreciate a prompt reply, so that, in the event that I am permitted to take part in these activities under my parole, I will be able to begin this endeavor at the earliest possible time.

Very truly yours,


James R. Hoffa

JRH/pat

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
MJE*

January 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DEAN

FROM: CHUCK COLSON *WC*

I was visiting with the Attorney General this afternoon on other matters and gave him the attached to read. I think you should have it for your files.

January 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE

SUBJECT: Jimmy Hoffa/Clark Mollenhoff

Clark Mollenhoff called me this afternoon to advise that I should read the Herling column attached.

He said he strongly recommended that we send Hoffa back to jail. Coming from Mollenhoff who earlier suggested we put something in Hoffa's tea, this suggestion was not particularly startling. He went on to say he was going to start a campaign to have Hoffa re-committed; that based on his investigation, he knew there was derogatory information in Hoffa's file that the Parole Board was aware of and that was the reason his parole was denied. He also said we had been wrong by arguing that Hoffa was a model prisoner. In fact, he had tried to have federal prison personnel bribed and he, Mollenhoff, thought he could prove it. He said he didn't like to, considering himself a friend, but if he didn't someone else was going to; better that he be the one, he said.

Charles W. Colson

1 You can file to change your job position. I was never allowed
2 to change my job position and never allowed to change my
3 quarters. I personally talked to the captain, the lieutenants
4 and to the warden, and whether they will admit it or not
5 publicly, they resented the fact that I was being treated
6 different than the average, ordinary person who came to Lewis
7 burg.

1 of both prices, wages, interest and dividends and received
2 no answer back from him, and so it is very difficult for
3 anybody to say how does labor feel, but I know one thing about
4 labor and I have represented them 43 years, their children are
5 going to want more than the father had and so forth down the
6 line and they are entitled to it because of automation,
7 increased production, and the every right of individuals
8 to expect to have a better standard of living as time goes on.

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1 MR. HOFFA: I will do the best I can do and I can tell
2 you this, I have received over 500 letters from organizations
3 who are interested in prison reform, who are willing to be
4 part of any organization that I start, or I will join with
5 them and we will create as many meetings and as many forums
6 as we can to clear out the inhuman activities that are per-
7 mitted in prisons.

8 MR. REYNOLDS: Do you intend to go around and lecture
9 at colleges?

10 MR. HOFFA: I certainly will. I intend to devote a
11 considerable amount of my time to trying to clear up a
12 situation which the ordinary citizen on the street is affected
13 by. The policeman walking the street and the patrol car is
14 affected by, because if you are going to turn out of prison
15 the thousand people who come out of Lewisburg, pass through
16 Lewisburg every year, worse than the day they went in, then
17 what can you expect for the citizen to gain on the street
18 except trouble?

19 MR. REYNOLDS: Thank you very much, Mr. Hoffa. Good
20 luck to you, sir. Thank you for being with us today on ISSUES
21 AND ANSWERS.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file

EYES ONLY

December 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DEAN

FROM: CHUCK COLSON

Can't we do something somehow to keep Hoffa quiet. He is becoming a national figure overnight. No good can come of this.

For: John Dean

Handwritten initials

Here is the thing I told you about.

Clark Mollenhoff
Dec. 9, 1970

To Clark M. Hoffer

WHY BOBBY KENNEDY WENT AFTER JIMMY HOFFA:
LOOKING BACK ON IT ALL AND LOOKING AHEAD

by

Ralph C. James
Associate Professor of Economics
State University of New York, Albany

April 1970

It All Began Accidentally

Once upon a time a long time ago (November 1956), a young fella, named Robert Kennedy, was appointed by Senator John F. McClellan (D-Ark) as chief legal counsel for the sub-committee on Labor-Management Relations for the Permanent Senate Committee on Investigations. On this sub-committee were two relatively unknown freshmen senators, John F. Kennedy and Barry Goldwater, both of whom later rose to great political prominence, largely as a result of this sub-committee.

Immediately, Robert Kennedy and staff went to Portland and Seattle, mostly on hunch. They found the pickings easy -- a) a bit of liquor scandal, and b) the basis for charges against David Beck, the then President of the Teamsters Union, some of which charges led to his imprisonment. Beck had a public image as "a labor statesman". In early February 1957 he destroyed this image. He fled the country for three months. When he returned, he was a broken man, as best documented by the famous New York Times photo of him covering his face with his hat as he landed at a New York airport.

I doubt Kennedy expected such success. Suddenly, they all became front page news and TV celebrities: the two Kennedys, McClellan, and Goldwater.

Bobby now says to himself: What now? It seems so easy. Who now? The obvious target: Jimmy Hoffa, a powerful,

Then It Became Political Publicity

a record

Between 1957 and 1960, the Kennedys and McClellan pulled Hoffa for testimony before a Congressional investigating committee more times and for more hours than anyone in the history of the country. Twice, Bobby tried to get President Eisenhower's Attorney General to indict Hoffa, and twice he refused. But in the interim it became better play on TV than "I Love Lucy". The extent of the publicity was virtually unprecedented.

Then It Became Political Expediency

The potential political payoff gradually became apparent. Maybe it was envisaged by the Kennedys from the beginning. This, I doubt. Yet, its relevance to the impending 1960 Presidential elections must have become apparent to them by the fall of 1958, especially after George Meany, President of the then newly formed AFL-CIO, broke the truce with the Teamsters and attacked the cooperative arrangements worked out between AFL-CIO affiliates and Hoffa.

Opposition to Hoffa was an obvious road to The White House, which RFK and JFK capitalized on, undoubtedly with the best of intentions.

Then It Became Political Necessity

The question of Hoffa came up dramatically in the 1960 political campaign. In the first of the famous "no-

holds-barred" TV debates, the Republican candidate, Richard M. Nixon, asked John F. Kennedy, the Democratic candidate, "What do you think of Jimmy Hoffa?" Kennedy replied, "This nation is not safe so long as a man like that is permitted to run free."
GH

The die was cast. JFK, advertently or not, had committed himself to putting Hoffa in jail. Thus, the attack on Hoffa had become political necessity.

Then It Became Political Cruelty: The Hounding of Hoffa

When JFK became President he appointed his brother, Robert, as Attorney General. RFK quickly revived the old so-called "Test Fleet" case which had been rejected twice by Eisenhower's Attorney General. Hoffa was indicted, tried in Nashville in November-December 1962, and acquitted (it was a hung jury with the majority voting in Hoffa's favor). If he had been convicted, the maximum penalty would have been one year in jail. Again, the Kennedys were made to look foolish.
Jho's
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C19

But Bobby was not a man to take this lying down. His FBI Agents hounded Hoffa wherever he went. Twenty-nine Grand Juries investigated the Teamsters' pension fund in the Midwest. Quietly, the FBI studied the selection of jurors in the Nashville trial. As a result, Hoffa was indicted twice in 1963: 1) for jury tampering, and 2) for fraud in connection with the pension fund.
J.J. Juries

Jury tampering. The government alleged that associates of Hoffa had attempted to bribe or influence prospec-

5
tampering
tive jurors for his Nashville trial. Let us be quite clear on this. They did not allege that he had. They did not even allege the alleged tamperers were his agents, or that they were acting as his agents. Rather, they simply alleged he knew about it.

There is no reasonable question that at least a couple of these alleged tampering attempts occurred. The villains were convicted and are currently in jail.

Partin
The government's case against Hoffa rested entirely on the testimony of one man, a minor inconsequential, somewhat nefarious, Teamster official from Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Name: Edward G. Partin.

5
None served
Partin had been in Hoffa's company during the days preceding the Nashville trial and purportedly reported each evening to the FBI on what Hoffa was saying about attempts to influence the jury prior to the selection of the jury, but purportedly not on what Hoffa was discussing with his lawyers. The FBI then followed Partin's leads and discovered that at least some were correct. None of the prospective jurors allegedly tampered with ever actually served on the jury which acquitted Hoffa.

Partin's background and capacity for veracity is worthy of note (although Judge Wilson did not permit the jury to hear any of it). Partin was under indictment for several charges at the time, on none of which he has ever been tried, now, almost five years later. Partin's background is best

summarized by a recent front page Wall Street Journal article under the headline, "A SPECIAL CASE? A Louisiana Teamster Eludes Courts Since Hoffa Trial Testimony". The first paragraph puts it simply and to the point, stating:

"Edward G. Partin is no candidate for a good citizenship award. At various times during the last three decades, he has been jailed on a conviction of burglary, arrested on charges of robbery, larceny and rape, indicted (but not tried) on a charge of manslaughter, and charged with kidnapping (latter dismissed)."²

This long article then mentions allegations concerning Partin's embezzlement of his own local union's funds (for which allegation there is substantial documentation); and substantial evidence concerning Partin's strategic direction of tremendous violence in Louisiana, following Hoffa's conviction and completely contrary to Hoffa's desires and interests. Incidentally, the alleged rape (for which there is substantial documentation) was of a thirteen-year-old girl. This is the distinguished background (practically incomparable) of the FBI witness whose sole testimony put Hoffa in jail.

The above succinct summary may say something about Mr. Partin's character. But his testimony (with his background unbeknown to the jury) prevailed. Afterwards, Life magazine made a big to-do about what a wonderful man he is.

2. Wall Street Journal, June 13, 1969, page 1, column 1.

The FBI set up Partin to entrap Hoffa. There seems no question about this. Whether it was the FBI's idea or Partin's (a question much debated) is irrelevant, for the FBI set it up. Partin could not have, because he was in a Louisiana jail at the time this FBI conspiracy was concocted.

Then, solely on the basis of Partin's testimony, Hoffa was convicted, and sentenced to eight years in jail. Appeals followed (on grounds such as that the government supplied the jurors with prostitutes while they were locked in hotel rooms in-between deliberations, a seemingly improbable allegation which, though, has considerable foundation and certainly extensive documentation). The appeals were rejected. In March 1967, Hoffa was incarcerated in Lewisberg federal penitentiary, where he is still currently domiciled.

In July 1964, Hoffa was convicted on the fraud charge, a case which is still under appeal. It was an extremely complicated case, which the jury could not possibly have understood. After seven weeks of hearings, the presiding judge, the Honorable Richard Austin of Chicago, almost threw the case against Hoffa out of court. I personally feel (based on careful reading of most transcript and background documents),³ Judge Austin did not understand it either. I doubt the government did. Although some of the other defend-

3. For detailed analysis, see James and James, op. cit., pp. 213-319, and 378-393.

ants were undoubtedly guilty of something, the case against Hoffa was tenuous and flimsy. It was the final ploy in Bobby Kennedy's "Get Hoffa" campaign and it succeeded.

Then It Became Disaster

The above is not intended to cast aspersions on the Kennedys. Although quite different, both were great men and our country appropriately deeply and greatly mourns their passing. But this does not escape us from the obligation to analyze the motives and effects of their actions.

To recapitulate: My interpretation is that it all began accidentally. When RFK was appointed chief counsel of the McClellan Committee in 1956 he probably had never heard of Jimmy Hoffa. When he started to go after Hoffa, I am sure his motives were as noble as Don Quixote's. But as it rolled along, political expediency and political necessity became inextricably intertwined with moral purity. I very much doubt the great Bobby Kennedy himself was able to distinguish how much of each element was involved. It was as though the hand of fate was in charge, not Bobby's, the FBI's, or Hoffa's.

It was one of the biggest and longest political-legal battles in our country's history. It went on for precisely ten years: March 1957 to March 1967.

Bobby won, but it was a hollow victory. As he said on the day Hoffa was finally incarcerated, "It's a sad

day when anyone goes to jail", a statement that had a quite different ring from his brother's comment seven years earlier, "This country is not safe so long as a man like Hoffa runs free." It was hollow partially because his brother, JFK, had been murdered about four years before, and he himself was no longer Attorney General. Probably, he also called it "sad" because he was confused as to whether it was right or not. The question of justice. It is like the question which JFK thought about, if not Bobby: Did Lancelot really want to beat Arthur, or was it all just a game?

And then tragedy struck again: The senseless, regurgitating assassination of Bobby. Ironically, he was shot because of his vigorous support of the state of Israel.

Ironically? Yes, because so is Hoffa a strong, committed supporter of Israel.

All that is left of the three is Guenivere, and he's in jail. I do not mean to impute ethical or theological interpretation, but somehow, in some sense and to some degree, all three did it to each other.

But what of Guenivere? -- he's still alive.

Act Five: Or Will There Be One?

What does all this add up to?

It reads like a combination of a Thomas Hardy novel and a Shaksperian tragedy, as if the plot had all been composed ahead of time and the hand of fate were at the wheel.

After great struggle, the Kennedys achieved success. Then, the third act: the ultimate conflict between the Kennedys and Hoffa, with Hoffa at first appearing to win, then losing.

The dramatic Shaksperian tension arises: Is this really what will happen? In the traditional Shaksperian formula, the apparent victors are murdered in the Fourth Act. The fifth act is still to be written, for Hoffa is still alive, albeit incarcerated as a resident of Lewisberg federal prison.

If Shakespeare were writing it, Hoffa would die in prison, or, more likely, be murdered right after getting out, or something like that. If Hardy were writing it, Hoffa would probably emerge from prison to return as President of the Teamsters (as he still is), and eventually be elected President of the United States, only to collapse and die as he is taking the oath of office from Chief Justice Agnew, with one of Agnew's children dramatically stepping in as Hoffa's replacement as President.

But this is not fiction. It is real life. And deadly serious.

What happens, and what is relevant, for both pragmatic politics and the State of the Nation is what President Nixon does. There is an easy solution. He could pardon Hoffa by Executive Order.

Nixon could justifiably do this. Maybe he does not

know (but probably he does) whether Hoffa was really guilty of his Chattanooga conviction. However, as a lawyer, Nixon does know of a basic simple legal concept in this country, namely, "Let the Punishment Fit The Crime". He knows that eight years in maximum federal detention for the flimsy charges against Hoffa do not fit this legal concept.

With respect to a pardon, President Nixon could reasonably explain, "This man has suffered enough" without passing on the uninformed judgment (possibly prejudiced) of the jury. He could add, "Hoffa has been in jail for almost three years on charges, even if completely true, would ordinarily only involve one year of imprisonment". Concerning Hoffa's second conviction (still under appeal), any reasonable autopsy of the evidence would be sufficient to merit a full pardon.

The Political Evaluation

What does President Nixon do (if anything) in such circumstances? In such a situation, one has to ponder.

1) Some call him "Tricky Dicky" -- everyone picks up a nickname. For example, I call my daughter, "Squirt".

2) The President of the United States has to make a moral decision, which modestly may be called "'Tis it Fair?" From the above, above all else, the question is: "Does the Punishment Fit the Crime?" The answer is obviously, NO.

3) The President also has to make a political decision. It might complicate his moral decision, although I feel the President will make his decision on moral and ethical considerations -- not political opportunism. But, the President of the United States has to consider political expediency to a degree, as to a considerable degree did the Kennedy two.

4) Hoffa in jail is obviously related to the Black vs. White question. The first Hoffa trial was alleged to be on racial grounds with Hoffa and black people winning. The fifth Hoffa trial put one of Hoffa's best Business Agents, a black man (and his uncle) in jail. The feeling among many black leaders (although for political expediency reasons they might not say it), is that Hoffa is, and has been for years, a friend of the black man. This is politically relevant.

Jews
5) Hoffa is distinctly pro-Israel. This might complicate Nixon's political decision. Yet, there are many people in this country who feel Jews had difficulties in Nazi Germany and sympathize with the Jewish state.

6) Political freedom for trade union leaders is another consideration. A leading trade union leader is Jimmy Hoffa, president, albeit in jail, of the world's largest union.

The Political Decision

Would President Nixon pardon Hoffa?! What could be his motives?

Pro

1) Hoffa is Republican oriented.

2) The "ALA" (Alliance For Labor Action) which now includes the Teamsters, the Automobile Workers, the Chemical Workers, and (closely affiliated) the West Coast Longshoremens, could provide substantial support for Nixon in the 1972 presidential election. Yet, if they did, it would be called a political payoff. If they did not it would be called a political sell-out.

Con

1) Nixon would obviously be accused of being in favor of the allegedly corrupt Teamsters (some of whom surely have been and some of whom undoubtedly still are). Nixon might even be accused of compromising his campaign to suppress the MAFIA (which would be a most distorted and false smear). Contrariwise, if Nixon pardoned Hoffa, the MAFIA might reasonably conclude Hoffa was in cahoots with Nixon against them, and send Hoffa to oblivion as efficiently as they did Roger Touhy.

2) Because of Hoffa's feelings about the state of Israel and Nixon's support of Israel, to free Hoffa would be tantamount to letting run rampant a man who has done things like having a "commemorative dinner" (circa: \$300,000) to set up in Israel a school for children of parents butchered by the Nazis.

This is the Fifth Act. It hasn't been written.

It would be dangerous, but a courageous political decision by President Nixon. It would require guts and have to be decided almost exclusively on moral and ethical (if not religious) grounds, for the political ramifications are too diverse and complicated to evaluate with confidence. But how could a man get to the Presidency of this great country if he did not have it?

Once upon a time a long time ago, a man (just a man) was asked to answer a question while standing on one foot. His answer was: "Do not do unto others what you do not want them to do unto you." The rest is commentary. And that is what the above is. Ecclesiastes says, "There is a time to talk and a time to keep silent." The above is as brief as I can put it.

Coda

Beethoven wrote a coda, so why can't I?

Looking back on it all, the thing that puzzles me most is: Why, after all he has been subjected to in our great country, does Hoffa still believe in it? He believes in American justice. That takes tremendous strength and stamina. After what Hoffa's been through, Job had a picnic party in comparison. Knowing him as well as I do (Hoffa, not Job), the only thing I can conclude is he is made of the same peculiar fibre as my father: the belief that a man can walk through mud and come out clean. But no man can do

*He
Belongs*

that. We all error. "To error is human", someone once
might have said. Gilbert and Sullivan summed it up best,
"Let the Punishment Fit The Crime" -- if there was one.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: TO Hqs file 9/7
(Date)
FROM: JOHN DEAN

ACTION: DUE DATE: _____

_____ Prepare Reply For John
Dean's Signature

_____ Direct Reply

_____ Comments/Recommendations

_____ Please handle

_____ Information

_____ File

REMARKS:

No response at this time -
we can't win with Leds -

