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May 24, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CHUCK COLSON

FROM:

JOHN DEAN

Following up our conversation on the Hoffa document, since we have had some indication that there may be an attempt to use this matter to "set up" the Administration, it would be my recommendation that you dictate a classified memorandum of the facts surrounding your receipt of it and further actions. If you so desire, I will keep that memorandum and all copies in my safe.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*File
HSP*

May 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: John Dean

FROM: Chuck Colson

I would like to discuss this when you have a chance.

*(Colson said he had
Mr. DeLoach to his office
several weeks ago
He talked with no one
about it —*

[Signature]
5/25

Edward P. Morgan
296-5151

No.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD GRADY PARTIN, taken Saturday,
March 27, 1971, at 7:05 o'clock p.m., at 13044 Hartsook,
Sherman Oaks, California, before David Newman, C.S.R., Notary
Public.

APPEARANCES:

IRVING KRAMER
Attorney at Law
13044 Hartsook
Sherman Oaks, California 91403

Edward Grady Partin
Patrick Willis
J. M. Walters
Dalton Smith

ABKIN, NEWMAN & PALTER

CERTIFIED SHORTHAND REPORTERS

DEPOSITION NOTARIES

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I N D E X

WITNESS

MR. KRAMER

EDWARD GRADY PARTIN

3

SHERMAN OAKS, CALIFORNIA

SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1971, 7:05 p.m.

BY MR. KRAMER:

Q What is your full name?

A Edward Grady Partin.

Q Of what city?

A Baton Rouge.

Q Louisiana?

A Yes.

Q Your address?

A It is Postoffice Box 526, is the mailing address.

Q And you have come here to give an affidavit with regard to certain facts that occurred back in 1962, is that correct?

A Yes, that is correct.

Q Can you tell us what those facts are?

A Well, it was involving the Hoffa case in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and the facts were that the witness was coached prior to his testimony every day.

Q By the witness, do you mean yourself?

A Yes, that is correct, coached and told what to say, and the witnesses to this, me being coached, would be Emmett Tucker and Johnny Burch, who was present at the times that it

1 was being done and coached and written down on paper and given
2 to me the night before to go on the witness stand.

3 Q Who are these men?

4 A They are members of Local No. 5 that was present
5 in Chattanooga, Tennessee, during the trial.

6 One of them is an Executive Board member of Local
7 No. 5.

8 Q Executive Board?

9 A Yes, that is correct.

10 Q And are they the ones who coached you?

11 A No, no, no. The government attorneys.

12 Q Who were the government attorneys?

13 A The main one was out of Detroit, Michigan. You
14 would have to get -- it is a matter of court record there in
15 Detroit, Michigan. I can't remember. A big fellow.

16 Q Was that Walter Sheridan?

17 A No, he wasn't the attorney.

18 Q Peterson?

19 A No.

20 Q Miller?

21 A No.

22 Q McLauren?

23 A No. If you had the court reporter -- he is an
24 attorney that was involved in a case in Detroit, Michigan.

25 Q Was there anybody else present?

26 A Yes, we had the U. S. Marshal from Tyler, Texas.

27 Q What was his name?

28 A Again, he was assigned to me. He is in all the

1 pictures of the magazines in the courtroom, standing beside me
2 on the witness stand.

3 I can't remember his name offhand because it has been
4 -- it would be easy to get. It was quite a few years ago, but
5 he was the one standing beside me in the courtroom. He stayed
6 with me at night.

7 Q You see, Mr. Partin, I have been given a copy of a
8 Wallstreet Journal blurb on what happened, and that is where I
9 took these names.

10 A Well, you see what you have to do is the attorneys
11 that was present is not the ones -- you had several attorneys
12 present.

13 Q Yes?

14 A Some of them was going over the transcript and some
15 of them was talking to the witnesses and some was presenting
16 the case, so don't you know anyone you can call and get that
17 fellow's name?

18 Q We can get the name, that is all right, but tell us
19 what happened.

20 A You can fill it in.

21 He would come at nighttime and write down what they
22 was going to do the next day, the government was.

23 Q Yes?

24 A And tell me what to do in regard to how to answer the
25 questions.

26 Q I see. Well now, originally, as I understand it,
27 you were in jail and they released you in order to speak to
28 Hoffa and to give this testimony, is that right?

1 A Well, they released me. Hoffa had called me and I
2 had called him back and I had went up there.

3 Frank Grimsley went up there, who was with the
4 Justice Department at the time, and we went to Chattanooga.

5 The first time we went to Nashville, of course, you
6 understand, and from Nashville to Chattanooga, and Grimsley
7 was present at both places.

8 Q He wasn't with you when you spoke to Hoffa, was he?

9 A No, no, no. He wasn't with me. We talked on the
10 phone.

11 Q I see.

12 A The first time.

13 Q And Grimsley was there when you talked on the phone
14 to Hoffa?

15 A Judge William Daniels, a judge in Baton was there
16 and recorded the conversation.

17 Q Hoffa didn't know that this was being recorded?

18 A No.

19 Q And which is that, is that the first conversation?

20 A He recorded three of them.

21 Q Three conversations?

22 A Yes.

23 Q One was while you were in Nashville?

24 A No, they was all in Baton Rouge from the Holiday Inn,
25 North.

26 Q In Baton Rouge?

27 A Yes.

28 Q Because it is getting a little confused in my mind

1 as to what happened, when is the first time that you contacted
2 Hoffa?

3 A He was on his way to Nashville.

4 Q On the way to Nashville, and where did you contact
5 him?

6 A I think he was in New Jersey. Anyway, he wasn't in
7 Nashville. He was in route to Nashville and New Jersey, one
8 of those places.

9 Q Did he call you or did you call him?

10 A I called him.

11 Q How did you know where to get him?

12 A By calling his office.

13 Q When you called him what did you say?

14 A They had written down the questions for me to ask
15 him.

16 Q By "they," who do you mean?

17 A Judge Daniels and the Justice Department official.

18 Q One of the attorneys?

19 A No, not one of the attorneys. He would have to be
20 with the Justice Department. He wasn't one of the attorneys
21 that was used in the case.

22 Q You don't remember his name?

23 A No, but Judge Daniels would.

24 Q They told you what to ask Hoffa?

25 A That is correct.

26 Q And Daniels was recording?

27 A Yes, that is correct.

28 Q While you asked him these questions?

1 A Yes.

2 Q Do you remember offhand what it was you asked him?

3 A About plastic explosives.

4 Q About plastic explosives?

5 A Yes. That encompassed some of it. About plastic
6 explosives and about when he was going to Nashville and me
7 needing to talk to him, and he gave me the dates and times he
8 was going to Nashville and what time for me to come and talk
9 to him.

10 Q And that ended the conversation or did something
11 else --

12 A No, he had two more conversations.

13 Q But that ended this one?

14 A Yes, that is correct.

15 Q Do you remember approximately about when was this;
16 do you remember?

17 A About two or three days prior to him getting into
18 Nashville.

19 Q Then this was all recorded as you said?

20 A Yes, that is correct.

21 Q Now, the next session was when, the next phone
22 call?

23 A I think it was the next morning or that night. It
24 was eight or ten hours, or twelve hours.

25 Q Where did you get him, do you remember?

26 A He was in Nashville at the Andrew Jackson Hotel at
27 that time.

28 Q And that was at Nashville and what happened? You

1 called him?

2 A Yes, that is correct.

3 Q What happened at that time? Was the Judge there at
4 this time?

5 A Yes, that is correct.

6 Q And the same F.B.I. man?

7 A They had two of them then.

8 Q Two?

9 A Yes.

10 Q You don't know either of the names?

11 A One of them was from New Orleans, I think, and the
12 other one was from Atlanta. I don't know their names.

13 Q At that time you were calling at their direction?

14 A Yes, that is correct.

15 Q And they told you what questions to ask him?

16 A Yes, that is correct.

17 Q And what questions did they tell you to ask him?

18 A In generality, they wanted to know how the case
19 looked and what he thought about it, what kind of case he
20 thought the government had. In effect, trying to find the
21 basis of his case, what he was going to use as a defense.

22 Q Then the third time you spoke to him was when?

23 A Just prior to leaving, it was recording, just prior
24 to leaving Baton Rouge.

25 Q About how long after the second one?

26 A That night or the next morning. All of this took
27 place in a period of two days before I left.

28 Q Were the same people present with you when you made

1 the call or did he make the call to you?

2 A No, I made the call. I placed the call and
3 initiated the call.

4 Q Who was present?

5 A Judge Daniels and two government officials, I think
6 the same people but Judge Daniels would have knowledge of
7 which it was.

8 Q What did they ask you to ask about at this time?

9 A The same thing, "Who are you going to use, what you
10 are going to use for your defense, who your witness will be
11 and can I help you in any way," of that sort.

12 They wanted me, in effect, to get in his camp and
13 find out what was going on.

14 Q Now, I understand that sometime or other there was
15 some mention about Hoffa having offered to give you a certain
16 amount of money to do certain things regarding the jury.

17 Is that taken up in these three conversations?

18 A No, that was discussed with Mr. Grimsley later on.

19 Q What happened at that time? Do you remember who
20 made the conversation, who called who or where it was?

21 A I had been in Mr. Hoffa's suite of rooms and I met
22 Mr. Grimsley around the corner from Andrew Jackson Hotel,
23 and they wanted to know what was going on during the course of
24 Hoffa's conference with the attorneys.

25 Q Who is Mr. Grimsley?

26 A He was a special assistant to the Attorney General
27 at that time, Frank Grimsley.

28 Q Did he tell you to do certain things?

1 A Oh, yes.

2 Q What did he tell you?

3 A Find out what you can find in the room where they are
4 holding the meetings and report back to him so they would know
5 how to carry on the case.

6 Q What else happened at that time, do you recall?

7 A Well, that was a daily habit in Nashville, that was
8 almost daily.

9 Q Every day you would go --

10 A Very seldom I wouldn't. It would be when he went
11 out of town. I would go back to Baton Rouge when he wasn't.

12 Q Did you make any recordings of these conversations or
13 did you just report them back as they happened?

14 A No, I reported them back. I think the government
15 recorded the conversation, because I remember Mr. Hoffa said
16 the room was bugged and took some things from behind the
17 pictures and things.

18 Q But you never made any recordings?

19 A No. Just daily talk to him and writing down
20 notations.

21 Q Now, were you promised anything to do this, to allow
22 them to record the conversations with Hoffa and to ask the
23 questions that you were told to ask?

24 A Well, I'll put it this way. If I hadn't have done
25 it, I was told what would happen to me if I didn't do it.

26 Q Did they tell you what would happen to you if you
27 didn't do it?

28 A You had a life sentence for kidnapping and either

1 you would go ahead and do as they would say they would do or
2 they would prosecute the case on the kidnapping charges.

3 Q Were you guilty of those charges?

4 A No.

5 Q But you still were afraid, is that it?

6 A Definitely. When you are out, without bond, and a
7 District Attorney holds you without bond, he is working with
8 the government, and appearing as a witness for the government
9 in Chattanooga, Tennessee, definitely you have got to be
10 afraid of him. You don't have anything to do but be afraid of
11 him.

12 Q Am I correct, also, during all this time they had
13 somebody with you at all times?

14 A Two and three.

15 Q Two or three people?

16 A Yes, U. S. Marshals.

17 Q Except when you went over to see Hoffa, is that
18 right? At that time they would let you go but pick you up as
19 soon as you came out?

20 A They would be observing the place but they would never
21 come inside the place. They were staying at another hotel
22 not too far from there.

23 You see, the thing that needs to be brought out is
24 the fact if the District Attorney going in and framing up
25 charges and putting the pressure on people on a capital crime,
26 which had never happened, and it finally came out it never
27 happened.

28 After the Hoffa case they forgot about it, but then

1 they continued to say they could prosecute on individual cases.
2 This they could bring against you if you didn't stay in line,
3 in other words. They put, as well as you know -- they had
4 everything sewed up. They had the Attorney General. They
5 had the President. They had the District Attorney where I
6 lived, so I don't think you can get any more stronger than
7 that as far as having to do what they said to do.

8 Q In other words, are you telling me you were afraid
9 of your life if you didn't do what they told you to do?

10 A Definitely, because you have got too many powerful
11 people there.

12 Q And in your testimony about Mr. Hoffa offering you
13 a sum of money, you had to do that in order -- because they
14 told you to do that, is that right?

15 A You do it or else. When they hold you with a
16 capital crime above your head and tell you they won't
17 prosecute it if you do it, and they will if you don't.

18 In fact, the entire testimony at the time, they
19 would coach you so well that you would think at that time that
20 they would have you believing it was the truth, but then when
21 the hearing started on the trial, and I read the testimony,
22 I realized it wasn't the truth.

23 Q In other words, Hoffa never did offer you that
24 money, is that correct?

25 A No, and I found out later it wasn't intentional or
26 purpose on my part.

27 When I found out how they coached it and put it in
28 words and had it set in front of the jury, I realized it wasn't

1 the facts at the time.

2 Q But there was nothing you could do about it?

3 A Nothing you could do. You couldn't go tell them
4 it wasn't true. How could you go tell them?

5 Q Did you mention to them that, "Look, I didn't say
6 this" and they said that you had to say that, and you had said
7 it and you had to go out, or just how did it come about?

8 A At one time when I mentioned the fact -- well now,
9 he didn't mention money going to the witnesses but he mentioned
10 what it was costing him in court.

11 They said, "You misunderstood him. He was talking
12 about potential witnesses in the case and potential jury
13 people that was on the jury."

14 Q In other words, when Hoffa was talking about ten,
15 fifteen, twenty thousand, that is what he said it cost him to
16 defend the case, is that what you are saying?

17 A He was talking about monthly and weekly attorneys
18 but they would say, "No, that wasn't what he meant. He was
19 talking about potential jury people, because we had someone
20 following him and we know who they are."

21 So you don't just get up and discuss them when you
22 have got the District Attorney sitting in one room and the
23 prosecuting local District Attorney. You have got the
24 attorneys calling the U. S. Attorney every day, I mean the
25 Attorney General of the United States every day, and telling
26 the progress of the case.

27 So you just -- well, maybe that is the way it was,
28 so they said, "That is what you say."

1 Q In other words, this was a big mistake on your part
2 and you tried to tell them but they wouldn't listen to you?

3 A They said they was the only ones who could prosecute
4 you, they was the only ones that could do anything to you about
5 it; that the judge was favorable.

6 So they said, "Let it go like it is and don't say
7 anything about it." They said, "Don't tell Mr. Hoffa that it
8 wasn't the fact," the gentleman from Detroit.

9 Q I see.

10 A These are a matter of record in the courtroom. He
11 is on the transcript. He was the one that stayed with the
12 witnesses and all the talking to them.

13 Q So you didn't tell him, is that right?

14 A No.

15 Q But you did tell the F.B.I. man? Who did you tell?

16 A Well, this person, Grimsley was a special attorney,
17 assistant to the Attorney General. I assume he was under the
18 direction of the F.B.I.

19 Q He is one of the persons you told?

20 A Yes, because he stayed close to us. He and this
21 other attorney stayed in the room most of the time, the big
22 heavy-set attorney from Detroit, and Judge Daniels was present
23 a lot.

24 Q Judge Daniels?

25 A Yes.

26 Q Was Judge Daniels ever present when you said, "Well,
27 that isn't the way it was. That isn't what I meant to say"?

28 A Judge Daniels told me no longer than two weeks ago

1 he knew they had twisted the facts around in the case and he
2 tried to get a hold to Hoffa, Jr. to get it corrected but he
3 couldn't reach him. He tried himself several weeks ago and
4 also --

5 Q You mean several weeks ago from today?

6 A Yes, and also several months ago he tried to contact
7 people to get it corrected. He couldn't get anything done.

8 He said Sergeant Pitcher had blocked him and in fact
9 he quit the District Attorney's office after that trial because
10 of what was done in Chattanooga.

11 He was the chief prosecutor for the District Attorney's
12 office there. He was the one, along with Sergeant Pitcher
13 that took me about 2:00 or 3:00 o'clock in the morning and
14 Frank Grimsley, and the room at the courthouse when I was under
15 this no bond at the time and told me what could happen if I
16 didn't go along with them.

17 Q Who was he again? He was with Grimsley?

18 A Grimsley was special assistant.

19 Q Who was with Grimsley that took you?

20 A Judge Daniels, an F.B.I. agent or Justice Department
21 agent besides Grimsley, I don't know his name. I will know
22 him when I see him, and Sergeant Pitcher.

23 Q And they all took you into this room?

24 A Yes.

25 Q And they told you --

26 A They told me what they had to have and what they
27 wanted to do and what position I was in if I didn't do it,
28 what position I was in.

1 Q What did they say would happen to you if you didn't
2 do it?

3 A I couldn't get out on bond unless I went along with
4 them, at all. I couldn't even get out.

5 Q And they would go ahead and do what?

6 A Reduce the bond after I agreed to go along with them.

7 Q Then what would they do if you didn't go along?

8 A I would be prosecuted.

9 Q Did they say anything about fairly or unfairly?

10 A I wasn't indicted fairly, so just automatically
11 when you got a person that frames you up on an indictment to
12 get the results, you are going to get prosecuted.

13 Q Getting back to the very beginning, before you first
14 called and made any one of these calls to Hoffa, you were in
15 jail, weren't you?

16 A Yes, that is correct.

17 Q Now, who came to jail and spoke to you on behalf of
18 the government?

19 A Frank Grimsley and an F.B.I. agent that was with
20 him. I don't know the F.B.I. agent's name.

21 Q What did they tell you at that time?

22 A About the fact they could get the bond reduced.
23 Judge Daniels was present at the time. Get the bond reduced
24 and turn me loose, but they wanted me to make some calls to
25 Hoffa and they wanted to tape the calls and they wanted me
26 to go up and get in his camp in Nashville in the original
27 beginning of it, in Nashville, Tennessee.

28 Q That is why they let you out of jail?

1 A That is correct.

2 Q Did they tell you what would happen to you while you
3 were in jail there if you didn't go along with what they
4 wanted you to do?

5 A Yes. It was a capital charge. It is a chance of
6 the electric chair on a phony charge is what they said.

7 Q Did they say that they would see that you were
8 prosecuted?

9 A They had me there locked up. There was no seeing to
10 it. They had me locked up and had the court arraignment set.

11 So there was no doubt about what they was doing.
12 Reduced bond and they reduced the bond down to 5,000. I had
13 no bond at all.

14 Q Did they put up the bond for you or who put up the
15 bond?

16 A I don't know who put up the bond.

17 Q You didn't put it up?

18 A No.

19 Q When you got out of the jail, until after the trial,
20 was there someone with you from the F.B.I. office all the
21 time?

22 A Up until approximately 18 months ago.

23 Q In other words, long after the trial?

24 A Long after the trial.

25 Q There was always an F.B.I. man with you?

26 A Federal Marshals. Every call you made they sat
27 there, and where you went they was with you.

28 I didn't want them there. I didn't want them around

1 me but still what are you going to do? You couldn't tell them.

2 Q The main thing is before the trial they wouldn't
3 let you go anyplace, talk to an attorney or anything until the
4 trial, is that correct?

5 A They had four assigned to me.

6 Q Four assigned to you?

7 A Yes.

8 Q But would they let you talk to your attorney?

9 A I couldn't talk to anyone.

10 Q You couldn't talk to anyone?

11 A No.

12 Q Except them?

13 A Because they would make arrangements. They would
14 get on the phone every day and call in and make out a daily
15 report that was mailed in.

16 Q But could you have gone up to your attorney's office
17 if you wanted to?

18 A I wouldn't have dared try it because I would be put
19 back in the jailhouse.

20 A lot of the stuff I can't remember offhand because
21 it has been seven years or eight years ago.

22 If I had a transcript to look at, it would bring it
23 back into focus in my memory, because I would have recalled
24 then what was said and the questions and answers and so forth,
25 because I think I never -- you realize it is hard for someone
26 seven years exactly what happened.

27 All you can remember is the highlights and the fear
28 that was put into you by people.

1 Q But the things you have just told us is all true?

2 A Yes, they stand out in my mind.

3 Q And I have not promised you anything?

4 A I never saw you before in my life until I walked in
5 here.

6 The best example I can give you, if you will get the
7 Life magazine story of my life, you'll find everywhere I was
8 at they had U.S. Marshals in the pictures of it. Even where
9 I took my children, I had them.

10 I am saying to you and I am saying to the court
11 reporter that I was in fear of my life because of the fact
12 you had Marshals every step of the way you went.

13 You have all these rumors about the CIA having
14 people assassinated and killed, whether it was true or wasn't
15 true.

16 Evidently there was foundation for it because
17 Garrison came out later and accused them of killing the
18 President of the United States, the CIA, which is a division
19 of the Justice Department, and I might add that one night
20 when the records was burnt up from the daily testimony, the
21 U. S. Marshal gave me the matches to burn the paper with.

22 Q Let's hear that again?

23 A The U. S. Marshal gave me the matches to burn the
24 paper with that this attorney had written up for me to study,
25 to testify from.

26 Q In other words, they gave you each night --

27 A Most every night, very few nights this attorney
28 didn't come by and give me the stuff they were going to use the

1 next day, and it seemed to me as they knew what Hoffa was
 2 going to do, because the questions that would be given, would
 3 be to counteract what they put on the next day, and they would
 4 fit in perfectly.

5 Q In other words, they gave you the questions and they
 6 gave you the answers that they wanted you to give?

7 A They would say, "You'll probably be asked this and
 8 you will say this is what really happened here."

9 Q Did they tell you what to answer?

10 A They would write it down.

11 Q They would write down what your answer should be?

12 A Yes.

13 Q And then told you to study it?

14 A Yes. I have it all night to study it.

15 Q Then to burn it the next day?

16 A Yes, we would burn it the next night, day. I
 17 usually had the next day, we had a recess. I could look at it,
 18 but that night I would burn it, what I had the night before.

19 The way you can tie this down is the fact we were
 20 staying out by a lake north of Chattanooga, west of Chattanooga
 21 -- I take it back.

22 We went out on the road. The Marshal and I stopped
 23 the car at nighttime, I would say about 9:00 or 10:00 o'clock,
 24 and got out and took the paper and tore it all to pieces and
 25 then set a match to it while he gave me the match and guard
 26 it while I burned it.

27 A Marshal from Tyler, Texas was assigned to the case.

28 Q Did they make sure that you burned it each night?

1 A Oh, yes. They would get it from me or I would burn
2 it. They wanted to know what happened to it.

3 Q Let me repeat it and correct me. I'll pause after
4 each sentence, correct me if I'm wrong in my previous sentence,
5 because I think I understand now what you have said.

6 In regard to the testimony given by you at Hoffa's
7 trial about Hoffa saying something to you about money in terms
8 of 10,000, 15,000, 20,000, something like that, in that regard,
9 what you have told the Marshal or those people that you
10 mentioned earlier whose names I have forgotten, what you told
11 them was that Hoffa had discussed sums like this with regard
12 to how much it was costing him each day or week.

13 A I told them my opinion was he was talking about the
14 cost of his court. They said, "No, we have the evidence he
15 is talking about bribing the jury witness or bribing the jury
16 man."

17 Q And they told you to say that he asked you to give
18 that amount of money to a jury man or jury men?

19 A It was a jury woman in this case.

20 Q A jury woman?

21 A Yes.

22 Q To --

23 A To vote for acquittal.

24 Q To vote for his acquittal?

25 A And when I would say he didn't say that and they
26 would say that is what is meant by that and that is what you
27 are supposed to say.

28 Q Then they repeated that so often --

1 A You would think yourself that it was true, but then
2 when the trial was over and I got to looking at it and listening
3 to it on the radio and television and watching the thing and
4 thinking about it, when I got to where I could reach to go to
5 the bathroom without a Federal Marshal with me, and I got to
6 thinking about it, and I keep asking why do they have a Federal
7 Marshal, because I wasn't scared any more, and they kept him
8 constantly, and they would run them in teams. They would
9 stay two weeks at a time and come back two weeks at a time,
10 and I knew then there had to be something wrong or they
11 wouldn't be guarding me.

12 They wanted me to stay away from an attorney, wanted
13 me to stay away from my attorney and wanted me to stay away
14 from talking to people.

15 Q When did you start realizing that really you had
16 done something harmful to Hoffa in saying this?

17 A Well, when I kept watching them make out these
18 reports and things, how we went and where we went and they
19 would be sent into the Justice Department daily, and if I got
20 ready to go to see my children, there they would be, right
21 there, right behind me in the car, in front of me and behind
22 me.

23 If I went to make a call, they would stay right
24 beside me, and I figured to myself, my God, there must be
25 something they are trying to hide or they wouldn't be watching
26 me like this, so I got to reading what was in the paper, and
27 the statement was made and what they said was made wasn't
28 exactly what I thought it should have been.

1 So the more I saw of that, the more that came to me.
2 I got to realizing what the farce of the whole thing was, and
3 as soon as the Marshals got away from me, I attempted to do
4 something about it.

5 Q What did you attempt to do?

6 A I called Jimmy Hoffa, Jr. for one thing.

7 Q Did you get him?

8 A Yes, and he was supposed to send someone down to
9 talk to me. And an attorney called, Ossie Brown talked to me
10 briefly and said he had been hired by him to do something.

11 Q By him, meaning Hoffa?

12 A Yes, to get the truth of what went on in the trial
13 in Chattanooga.

14 Q Yes?

15 A And then he brought in Frank Regano who was an
16 attorney, and they was all trying to get the facts on the case,
17 so they could present it on these appeals and things, and when-
18 ever they would hear that you were talking to anyone concerning
19 the Hoffa case, you would get a call from the District
20 Attorney wanting to know how everything was going, or you would
21 get a call from someone and, in effect, where you were just
22 scared to talk to anybody at all, and the best example I can
23 give you, Mr. Dalton Smith.

24 Q That is this gentleman here?

25 A Yes, that is right, was indicted on evidence of a
26 winehead, the only witness in front of the Grand Jury that
27 indicted Mr. Smith for attempting to bribe me, to change my
28 testimony in the Hoffa trial.

1 He was found not guilty, but every time he would
2 attempt to get the thing together and try to get Hoffa to keep
3 him from going to jail, so they indicted him on a phony charge.

4 He was tried and acquitted for it. But just those
5 kind of things kept you from coming out with the stuff, because
6 they watched you every step you made.

7 Q In other words, you were afraid and you still are
8 afraid that they --

9 A Definitely.

10 Q -- that they would cause you to be imprisoned if you
11 every told anybody about it?

12 A I think they will try it now. I don't think there is
13 any doubt they will try it right now because they still have
14 enough other people left in the different departments of the
15 Justice Department that they could do it.

16 Q When you said they reported to the Attorney General
17 daily, who was the Attorney General at that time?

18 A At that time Robert F. Kennedy.

19 Q Who is Herbert J. Miller?

20 A He was over the criminal division of the Justice
21 Department.

22 Q He was chief --

23 A He was head of the criminal division of it.

24 Q Chief of the Justice Department, Criminal Division?

25 A You see, he went into private practice now, so you'll
26 understand, he left the Department of Justice and went into
27 private practice.

28 Q Did he act as your attorney at any time?

1 A He has since then, yes. The firm is Miller, Cassidy,
2 LaRoca and Downing. I think that is the full name.

3 Q Downing?

4 A Downing.

5 Q He acted as your attorney? He is your attorney now?

6 A They do work for me. I haven't paid them anything
7 but they do work for me now.

8 Q Why do they do work for you if you haven't paid
9 them?

10 A Well, I would assume, have to assume, and I think it
11 is a fair assumption, it is because of the Hoffa case.

12 Q Were you ever promised that they would do work
13 for you?

14 A You didn't have to promise. You just automatically
15 did it.

16 The best example I can give you, do you do work free?

17 Q No, not generally.

18 A Okay. You would have a reason if you did, wouldn't
19 you?

20 Q Yes, that is right. Did you receive any kind of
21 written agreement from anybody in the government to do what
22 you did, or was everything oral?

23 A Everything was verbal and oral.

24 Q You had received no written agreements from them?

25 A No.

26 Q Really what you received was threats?

27 A Well, that is what I said at the start of this. It
28 was more or less threats instead of a fair trial. You was

1 threatened.

2 Q Who is Mr. Sheridan?

3 A He was assistant, as I understand now, and he is not
4 an attorney, he was assistant to the Attorney General and I
5 would assume a special assistant, the same as Mr. Grimsley was.

6 Q As I recall in the article it says he was chief of
7 the team who investigated Hoffa.

8 A I don't know the details of what he was. All I
9 know he was pretty high in as far as the Justice Department.

10 Q Did you ever run across him?

11 A Yes, he was at both places, Chattanooga and
12 Nashville.

13 Q When you made your phone calls?

14 A No, he wasn't there, no. That was made in Baton
15 Rouge.

16 Q At the trial?

17 A He was in Nashville and Chattanooga.

18 Q Well --

19 A With Grimsley.

20 Q With Grimsley?

21 A Yes. You see, they had, I would guess, six, eight
22 or ten at both places besides the Marshal and so forth, and I
23 do want to point out that Judge Daniels told me that Edward
24 Bennett Williams was bringing information back from Hoffa's
25 place or camp, whatever you want to call it, to the U. S.
26 Attorneys and Kennedy.

27 They played touch football on Sundays, and this
28 information passed back and forth. Judge Daniels said he was

1 present when this happened several times.

2 Q How did he get this information?

3 A He was with them.

4 Q With who?

5 A He was with them when they was playing touch football.

6 Q With Kennedy? With who was he?

7 A The U. S. Attorneys, Mr. Edward Bennett Williams,
8 Sheridan, that whole group from the Justice Department. They
9 played touch football every Sunday, and when Bennett Williams
10 would be there playing touch football and so forth with them,
11 Judge Daniels said he would pass information to them that came
12 out of the Hoffa camp.

13 That is something I'm sure he would give an
14 affidavit to.

15 He also tried to get a hold of the attorneys for
16 Hoffa to give them this information.

17 My personal opinion in looking back at the record
18 in the past, I think Mr. Hoffa has been wronged and should be
19 righted. I think he should be relieved of the stigma over
20 him on account of the case, myself, and as I was called one of
21 the chief witnesses, that is my honest belief on it.

22 I think he has been wronged as anyone could be
23 wronged, and I made this statement and you might -- if it
24 ever needs to be checked, to a news media in Baton Rouge, a
25 few days or several days after the conviction. I thought he
26 shouldn't be convicted, and it is a matter of record in the
27 public libraries of the newspapers and the television stations.

28 Q But you did not recant your testimony at that time?

1 A You couldn't.

2 Q Why couldn't you?

3 A Who was you going to talk to?

4 Q Would something happen to you if you talked to
5 somebody?

6 A I was never subpenaed by Hoffa's people here at all
7 to change my testimony or asked did I tell the truth.

8 I have never been subpenaed in front of any court
9 to do that.

10 Q But you did not tell the truth because, as I understand
11 it, they had threatened you and practically gotten you to
12 believe that the statements you said were made were true?

13 A That is correct, sir, but I do want to point out
14 again on the record that I was never called by anyone in front
15 of a court of law to give these statements here, or I would
16 have given them if I would have been given protection from
17 these people.

18 Q By "these people" you mean who?

19 A From the people that was prosecuting Hoffa or trying
20 to keep him in jail.

21 Q Who are those people?

22 A I am assuming it has to be a mingling of company
23 people, Kennedy people and the whole Kennedy faction, whether
24 it was Kennedy people or not. You just don't know where they
25 are all at.

26 The best example I can give is Clark Mullenhoff.
27 He was a reporter. He was in the Nixon administration as a
28 special assistant to one of the top Kennedy people.

1 So how do you say anything when you know they have
2 got one of the top Kennedy people over there in the administration?

3 Q Also, am I correct in saying it was the F.B.I. that
4 you were afraid of?

5 A Why, certainly, because as I understand it, the head
6 of the secret service is a close friend of the Kennedys, a
7 close personal friend, so how would you go from the Justice
8 Department with anything, knowing that Clark Mullenhoff was
9 in the White House?

10 I have a book personally autographed from him to me
11 with Sergeant Pitcher's picture in it, Judge Daniels' picture
12 in it and myself in it and the Kennedy team in this book that
13 he wrote and published, and then you find him sitting in the
14 White House, so I mean you still figure they have control of
15 the Justice Department or the F.B.I. or both, and I assume
16 they both come under one another.

17 The F.B.I. I assume is the one that did all the
18 investigation work because they are the one that kept the
19 pressure on me, frankly, from the day the trial was over until
20 now, even up until today. They kept the pressure on me.

21 Q You say from the day the trial was over. Was there
22 pressure on you before the trial was over?

23 A The entire time but I'm talking about surveillance,
24 the fear, the intimidation.

25 Q I just wanted to correct -- to be sure I understand
26 correctly.

27 A I'm talking about the inception of it. When the trial
28 was over, the fear and intimidation and threats from the F.B.I.

1 Q They were still on you?

2 A Certainly.

3 Q That is why --

4 A They kept the pressure contantly.

5 Q That is why you didn't come forward before today?

6 A Well, you wouldn't know who to come forward to
7 because you would have a mingling of all the people that was
8 there, that is still there.

9 MR. KRAMER: For the record, put down there was present
10 Patrick Willis and J. M. Walters.

11 Where do you live, Mr. Walters?

12 MR. WALTERS: Baton Rouge.

13 MR. KRAMER: You came here together with Mr. Partin?

14 MR. WALTERS: That is correct.

15 MR. PARTIN: I want to put on the record if I was ever
16 given a copy of the transcript, there would be a lot more
17 details that I can remember by reading it and refreshing my
18 memory after seven or eight years.

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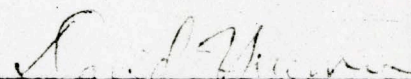
EDWARD GRADY PARTIN

1 STATE OF CALIFORNIA)
2) ss.
3 COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES)

4 I, David Newman, a Certified Shorthand Reporter, hereby
5 certify:

6
7 That EDWARD GRADY PARTIN, the witness named in the
8 foregoing statement, personally appeared before me at the hour
9 of 7:05 o'clock p.m., on Saturday, March 27, 1971, at
10 13044 Hartsook Street, Sherman Oaks, California; that said
11 statement was by me then and there written down in Stenotype
12 writing and was thereafter transcribed into typewriting under
13 my personal direction and supervision, and that the foregoing
14 31 pages of typewritten matter comprise a full, true and
15 correct transcript of said statement.

16 I further certify that I am in no wise interested in the
17 event of said matter.

18
19
20 

21 David Newman
22 Certified Shorthand Reporter
23
24
25
26
27
28

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: JOHN W. DEAN, III
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with
Mrs. Hoffa



As you know, Fitzsimmons telephoned George Bell in the presence of Mrs. Hoffa and Jimmy Hoffa, Jr. requesting that they be given an opportunity to meet with the President. This request has been stalled and to date we have given no response to Fitzsimmons. I understand that Hoffa's parole case comes up on March 31. The outcome of the Parole Board's action could have profound significance to the Teamsters and organized labor in general (see attached article by Victor Riesel). Accordingly, I would like to pass along an argument that has been presented to me regarding such a meeting. An argument that I think you may want to give some consideration.

If a meeting were arranged it should include Mrs. Hoffa, Jimmy Hoffa, Jr. and Fitzsimmons, keeping in mind that every word will get to Jimmy Hoffa. The President's stance would be that of sympathy, indicating that he would of course in no way pass judgement on the courts, but he could recognize that an important aspect of the system of justice is the availability of parole, and that he personally feels that Hoffa is entitled to consideration based on his prison record the same as any other person in the criminal justice system. He might conceivably go further and indicate that he has always been disturbed by the Kennedy "vendetta" aspect of the conviction, impressed with Hoffa's leadership abilities, his conduct in jail and the stewardship of the union by Fitzsimmons, etc., etc. This approach would have to be phrased very carefully with major emphasis on warmth and sympathy.

If nothing more were done and it was kept a confidential meeting, it would be a strong plus:

- A. If he stays in jail, he is still a power in the union for the next year or so, and it is conceivable that Mrs. Hoffa may have some influence. We will have built character with the Teamsters, as the President's stance will be spread throughout the union, and there appears to be no counterproductive damage of significance.
- B. If he is paroled, we may get some credit and he will start off with a constructive relationship with the President. He will give us a counter force to Meany and COPE, he would be a dedicated factor to box in Kennedy, and he might eventually be the key for us to organized labor.

If the visit were to obtain some publicity, emphasizing only the President's feeling that a man who has paid his debt to society should appear before any parole board equal in its eyes with any other citizen, it would add to the above.

It can be argued apart from politics, the country would have much to gain from Hoffa's reascendancy to leadership. He can control the union and its locals like no one else can or will be able to in the reasonably near future. This in itself could be a stabilizing influence. We might be able to get some advance commitments from him in this respect. If he stays in jail, the shadow situation will probably continue for another year or so. Even if Fitzsimmons is elected, he will not have the control that Hoffa would.

Politically, for him to be released with a sense of debt and/or interest relative to the President, could be momentous. Between now and '72, we haven't much chance of capturing Meany and COPE. Although DRIVE isn't presently in the same league, under Hoffa's leadership it could generate a split and support which could be of critical value.

However, entirely apart from the above judgements, and apart from whether he is released or not, it can be argued that a visit with the President as described could be of immense value.

Given the fact that the President is leaving for California on the 26th, if we are going to respond to Fitzsimmons, I would assume it would have to be early next week.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

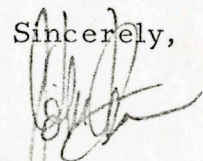
May 19, 1971

Dear Mr. Sweeney:

This will acknowledge receipt of the Petitions from the Teamsters Joint Council No. 52 of Toronto, Ontario, containing approximately 350 signatures urging the President to commute the prison sentence of James R. Hoffa.

You may be assured that every request to the President for an exercise of Executive Clemency is given very careful consideration.

Sincerely,



John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Mr. David Sweeney
International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Warehousemen and Helpers
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

BCC: Lawrence Traylor
with attachments

May 18, 1971

Dear Mr. Sweeney:

This will acknowledge receipt to the Petitions from the Teamsters Joint Council No. 52 of Toronto, Ontario, containing approximately 350 signatures urging the President to commute the prison sentence of James R. Hoffa.

You may be assured that every request to the President for an exercise of Executive Clemency is given very careful consideration.

Sincerely,

John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Mr. David Sweeney
International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs,
Warehousemen and Helpers
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

bcc: Lawrence Traylor @ attachments
JWD:FFF:bav

May 7, 1971

Dear LaMar:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter to the President informing him of the opposition voiced within your District to the possibility that Mr. James Hoffa might receive a Presidential pardon. I will bring these views to the President's attention and also share them with the appropriate persons on the staff.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

William E. Timmons
Assistant to the President

Honorable LaMar Baker
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

~~hec:~~ w/incoming to John Dean - for your information.

WET:EF:VO:vo



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

LAMAR BAKER
THIRD DISTRICT
TENNESSEE

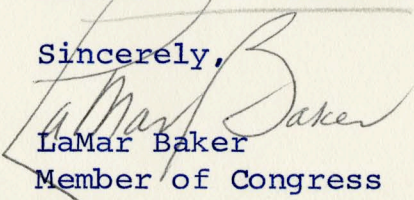
BT
April 29, 1971

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

Dear Mr. President:

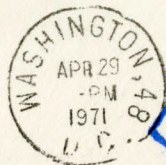
Many of my business friends are concerned over the possibility that Jimmy Hoffa may receive a Presidential pardon. I wouldn't have the temerity to suggest what action you should take on any such request from Mr. Hoffa and/or his attorneys but I feel I should make the observation his pardon would be highly unpopular with my business associates in the Third District of Tennessee.

Sincerely,


Lamar Baker
Member of Congress

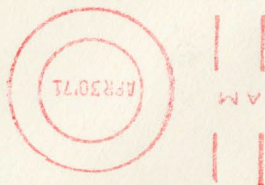
LB/db

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515



La Mar Baker

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



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES W. COLSON

SUBJECT: Frank Fitzsimmons

The other day Fitz dwelt on the attached at some length, saying that if this had been the Teamsters Union the leaders would have gone to jail, citing this is another example of the Teamsters' problem with Justice.



George T. Bell

Attachment

Send to Dean

The State of the Mine Workers Union

There is a dramatic story behind the searing opinion in the United Mine Workers case written by U.S. District Judge Gerhard Gesell—a story of arrogance and oppression and conspiracy among the leaders of that mighty union and a story of heroic courage among humble, remote and seemingly helpless miners who dared to challenge a powerfully entrenched establishment. Charges of mismanagement and fiduciary irresponsibility brought by these rank and file miners—charges that they had been systematically defrauded as contributors to the Welfare and Retirement Fund of the union—were upheld by Judge Gesell who ordered that the union president, W. A. (Tony) Boyle step down as a fund trustee and that compensatory damages should be assessed against the union and the National Bank of Washington.

In the light of this ruling, it is shocking to realize that Tony Boyle, although removed from his retirement fund trusteeship, remains the president and Lord High Pooh-Bah of the United Mine Workers Union, a position of almost unchecked power in which he controls the union's very considerable financial assets, its publication, The United Mine Workers Journal, and a large portion of its complex hierarchy. The validity of Boyle's election to the presidency in December, 1969, is now seriously shadowed; he manipulated the pension fund in a transparent effort to win votes. It seems high time, indeed, for the Secretary of Labor to ask U.S. District Court Judge William Bryant, before whom another suit against the union is pending, to appoint a monitor to conduct the union's affairs.

The conspiracy goes back to 1950 when the Welfare and Retirement Fund was established as one of the great accomplishments of the Mine Workers' great leader, John L. Lewis. In Judge Gesell's words there was an agreement among the fund's trustees and the National Bank of Washington "to maintain on deposit at the bank substantial sums in interest-free accounts, without relation to the real needs of the fund for liquidity or otherwise, for the benefit of the union and the bank and

in disregard of the best interests of the beneficiaries." The union owned 74 per cent of the voting stock in the National Bank of Washington, and several union officials, including Boyle (until he resigned just recently following his indictment for other alleged misconduct) served on the bank's board of directors. At the time the lawsuit decided by Judge Gesell was brought, the fund had about \$28 million in checking accounts and \$50 million in time deposits in the bank. Had these funds been invested as they should have been, they would have redounded to the benefit of the fund's pensioners; as it was, they benefited only the bank and the union.

There are important lessons to be drawn from this scandal. One of them, obviously, is that Congress needs to devise tighter rules to assure responsibility in the management of pension funds of this character. Another is that mechanisms need to be provided to assure rank and file union members easier opportunity than is available to them now to challenge what they deem arbitrary rule by leaders entrenched in their top offices. Union rulers in control of health and welfare and pension funds possess powerful instruments with which to punish dissidence or rebellion of any sort among their subjects.

But perhaps the most powerful lesson of all lies in this fresh illustration of the dangers that lurk in allowing unchecked power to accumulate in the hands of even the best and most benevolent of leaders. It is a pity, in a way, that the memory of John L. Lewis, a titan of the American labor movement, should now be so seriously scarred by the disclosures in this case. So far as is known, Mr. Lewis did not profit personally in any way from the bizarre arrangement he worked out among the union and the fund and the bank. In all probability, he was doing what he believed in his autocratic way was wisest for the mine workers. But unchecked power, whether in the hands of a union president or a captain of industry or a director of the FBI, no matter how patriotic and well-intentioned they may be, is, of itself, corrupting and dangerous and destructive.

PRESERVATION COPY

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EYES ONLY

April 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DEAN

FROM: CHARLES COLSON *WC*

If you will recall, we had some difficulty getting an FBI clearance for Frank Fitzsimmons, acting President of the Teamsters, and we wanted this in connection with his meeting with the President.

As I recall, we ultimately did get the clearance and you advised me that the possibility of prosecution, which precluded a clean bill of health from the FBI, had now been removed.

Trudy Brown's office advises, however, that there has been no change in Fitzsimmons' status and that we cannot consider him for a Presidential appointment. If this is so, it must be related to things other than the matters you and I discussed.

In any event, I would like to get this resolved because we very much want to put Fitzsimmons on a Commission. If, indeed, the issues that were of concern to the Bureau in their original inquiry have now been resolved, it would seem to be that it would now be possible to so advise the Bureau and thereby permit us to have the clearance that we need for appointment. Would you please let me know as soon as possible.

cc: Trudy Brown

April 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON MURDOCK

FROM: JOHN DEAN

SUBJECT: Letters Regarding
Pardon for James Hoffa

In handling mail regarding the pardon of James Hoffa, we try to consistently respond in the following terms:

Pro-Hoffa Letters:

Thank you for your recent letter urging the President to grant a pardon to James R. Hoffa.

You may be assured that every request for an exercise of Executive Clemency is given very careful consideration.

Anti-Hoffa Letters:

Thank you for your recent letter urging that James R. Hoffa not be granted a pardon by the President.

Since any grants of Executive Clemency are made by the President in his discretion, he greatly appreciates having the benefit of the views of interested citizens.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR : JOHN DEAN

FROM : DON MURDOCH

What is our standard reply to a letter like the one attached?

UK out
Franklin Courtney Ellis • 1119 SHERIDAN ROAD, WINNETKA, ILLINOIS 60093

February 17th, 1971

The Hon. Donald Rumsfeld,
The White House Office,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Rumsfeld:-

I have heard two references on the radio to Jimmy Hoffa that have frightened me. One was a supposedly inside prediction that the President will pardon Jimmy Hoffa. The other was reference to a vigorous campaign to bring about such a pardon.

I have the feeling that the President could do himself severe damage if he pardoned Jimmy Hoffa. I am confident that all over the country are people, like me, who look upon Jimmy Hoffa as a cheater and an enemy of good citizens.

Regardless of any merits of the case, I am sure that pardoning of this man by the President would look like collusion with objectionable elements of the population on the part of the President; and that he could be done widespread damage.

I myself have great admiration for President Nixon and great confidence in him. I doubt that he would do it; but I want thus to speak up.

We miss you as our congressman. Incidentally my son, Franklin Ellis, Jr., who was your classmate in '54, is now a city planner in Troy, New York, having spent three and a half years in Puerto Rico.

Yours very sincerely,

Franklin Courtney Ellis

April 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY PETERSEN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: JOHN W. DEAN, III
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Submission of Statement
of E. G. Partin

On Monday, March 29, 1971, Ken BeLieu of the White House staff phoned to advise me that he had received a call the preceding week from Audie Murphy in which Murphy told him that he would like to have the attached statement delivered to the President. BeLieu told him this was out of his area and that he should get in touch with my office.

About noon on the 29th of March, Patrick Willis called. I was aware of Willis' connection with this matter from information Audie Murphy had given BeLieu. Since I was in a meeting, I had my assistant Fred Fielding take the call. See attached memorandum regarding this call from Willis to Fielding.

After my conversation with you, I called Audie Murphy during the late afternoon of March 29, 1971 to advise him that we would send an FBI man to receive the document. I also informed Murphy that this was a matter for the Department of Justice. Murphy told me that "he didn't want to proceed that way." He indicated that he had made other arrangements to get the statement to both the President and the Attorney General.

Murphy -- or someone else -- did in fact make arrangements to have the statement delivered to John Ehrlichman's office in San Clemente. Upon receipt of the document in San Clemente, it was immediately forwarded to my office and I am, in turn, forwarding it to you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE FILE

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING 

SUBJECT: Telephone Call Re Hoffa

On Monday, March 29, 1971, around noontime, I took a phone call for John Dean, and spoke with a man who identified himself as Patrick Willis.

Willis stated that he had talked to Ken BeLieu who in turn had talked to John about Mr. Willis' request, and Willis wanted to know if we could help.

Upon inquiring, Willis said that he had in his possession a sworn statement (which had been lawyerized and all) of Mr. Partin, the chief government witness in the Hoffa case. He wanted to deliver this to the President, and was requesting our assistance. He advised that Partin's statement established that his earlier testimony at the Hoffa trial was perjury in a forced situation, and a complete fabrication. Willis said he wanted the President to receive this so that it could be handled properly, and because he did not want it to be used against the President if it was released to the papers.

During the conversation (actually there were two calls - we had a problem with the telephone connection and I called him back), in response to my questions, Willis also related the following:

- He was not a lawyer, but rather might be said to be in the snooping business; however, he denied being a private investigator.
- The statement came into his hands from Partin's attorney, and was given to him because they thought he could expedite its receipt by the President.

- Mr. Partin was prompted to make the statement at this time because of Mrs. Hoffa's recent heart attack and because he noted a news item about the parole board review and felt that even if Hoffa was paroled it still was not right that he was ever convicted.
- Willis and his friend, Audie Murphy, wanted to be sure that the Administration got credit for rectifying this injustice.

I advised Mr. Willis that the President was remaining impartial in the Hoffa matter, and that if he felt that this statement was important he should provide it to the Department of Justice or the Attorney General. He said that this was not possible since it involves people at Justice. His reasons for not wanting to give it to the Attorney General were not clear. He again renewed his request and said he was ready to take the statement down to San Clemente.

I ended the conversation by telling Willis that I did not know what steps had been taken, if any, by Dean or BeLieu, but I would relay his request and we would be back to him. He asked that we call either him or Murphy at 213-766-4041 (Los Angeles).

March 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM:

JOHN W. DEAN, III
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Presidential Meeting with
Mrs. Hoffa

As you know, Fitzsimmons telephoned George Bell in the presence of Mrs. Hoffa and Jimmy Hoffa, Jr. requesting that they be given an opportunity to meet with the President. This request has been stalled and to date we have given no response to Fitzsimmons. I understand that Hoffa's parole case comes up on March 31. The outcome of the Parole Board's action could have profound significance to the Teamsters and organized labor in general (see attached article by Victor Riesel). Accordingly, I would like to pass along an argument that has been presented to me regarding such a meeting. An argument that I think you may want to give some consideration.

If a meeting were arranged it should include Mrs. Hoffa, Jimmy Hoffa, Jr. and Fitzsimmons, keeping in mind that every word will get to Jimmy Hoffa. The President's stance would be that of sympathy, indicating that he would of course in no way pass judgement on the courts, but he could recognize that an important aspect of the system of justice is the availability of parole, and that he personally feels that Hoffa is entitled to consideration based on his prison record the same as any other person in the criminal justice system. He might conceivably go further and indicate that he has always been disturbed by the Kennedy "vendetta" aspect of the conviction, impressed with Hoffa's leadership abilities, his conduct in jail and the stewardship of the union by Fitzsimmons, etc., etc. This approach would have to be phrased very carefully with major emphasis on warmth and sympathy.

If nothing more were done and it was kept a confidential meeting, it would be a strong plus:

- A. If he stays in jail, he is still a power in the union for the next year or so, and it is conceivable that Mrs. Hoffa may have some influence. We will have built character with the Teamsters, as the President's stance will be spread throughout the union, and there appears to be no counterproductive damage of significance.
- B. If he is paroled, we may get some credit and he will start off with a constructive relationship with the President. He will give us a counter force to Meany and COPE, he would be a dedicated factor to box in Kennedy, and he might eventually be the key for us to organized labor.

If the visit were to obtain some publicity, emphasizing only the President's feeling that a man who has paid his debt to society should appear before any parole board equal in its eyes with any other citizen, it would add to the above.

It can be argued apart from politics, the country would have much to gain from Hoffa's reascendancy to leadership. He can control the union and its locals like no one else can or will be able to in the reasonably near future. This in itself could be a stabilizing influence. We might be able to get some advance commitments from him in this respect. If he stays in jail, the shadow situation will probably continue for another year or so. Even if Fitzsimmons is elected, he will not have the control that Hoffa would.

Politically, for him to be released with a sense of debt and/or interest relative to the President, could be momentous. Between now and '72, we haven't much chance of capturing Meany and COPE. Although DRIVE isn't presently in the same league, under Hoffa's leadership it could generate a split and support which could be of critical value.

However, entirely apart from the above judgements, and apart from whether he is released or not, it can be argued that a visit with the President as described could be of immense value.

Given the fact that the President is leaving for California on the 26th, if we are going to respond to Fitzsimmons, I would assume it would have to be early next week.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1971

CWC:

Frank FitzSimmons called while Mrs. Hoffa and her son, Jim, were present to ask us to arrange a meeting with them and the President. He is hoping for some kind of indication promptly.

GTB

PS Please buzz me if you would like some additional background.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Return
3/19/71

3/10/71

TO: John Dean

From: Chuck Colson

Per the attached and in view of our relationship with Fitzsimmons, something should be done about this asap. Perhaps a mtg. with the Attorney General would be best?

~~Advised Bell~~
no action
at time per
H. G. 3/14

Hoffa Plays It Cool:

Rejects Taking \$1.5 Million
To Walk Away From Teamsters

By Victor Riesel

Washington: -- In the highest political executive suites here there are the hushed strains of unfinished sympathy for Lewisburg's penitentiary prisoner James Riddle Hoffa -- still General President of the world's largest union, cell or no cell.

So this unusual little man is convinced he'll be back in civilian clothes, white socks and all, sometime in April. Love him or loathe him, fear him or scoff at him, or hate him for his erstwhile ghastly companions, even critical observers must admit he's been playing it cool.

He could, for example, take some \$1.5 million from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, due him under his pension arrangement, and walk out of those prison gates a free man. All he need do is resign his general presidency and seek clemency while pledging never again to go near the labor movement.

There seems to be no doubt in politically sophisticated circles here that virtually everybody would be happy to be rid of James Riddle Hoffa -- and that in some fashion the clemency would be forthcoming. The \$1.5 million, if taken in a lump sum, would be augmented by \$60,000 from his own Joint Council 43 (Michigan) and by some \$350 to \$400 a month from the Teamsters' Central States Pension Fund.

Having served more than four years in prison, at 58 years of age, the tough bantam Teamsters chief could live well for life. But of course he would have to resign all his posts to get the lump sum settlement.

For the moment he's disdaining all this. He has rejected, at least on the record, the \$100,000 due him annually as General President, albeit even in prison. It is true that Mrs. James Hoffa receives some \$40,000 annually as nominal head of the Teamsters political action committee, known by its acronym, DRIVE. And some expenses. Thus she is supported by the union while "Jimmy" is in prison. So he's playing a long shot.

If it pays off it will make Damon Runyon's Nick the Greek of Broadway's halcyon days look like a penny-ante piker.

James Riddle Hoffa is playing for the leadership -- call it control -- of American labor.

If he loses he could wither in prison as a lonely forgotten man for another nine years. If he doesn't and he walks free in coming months, he takes over as active international president; joins in common campaigns with the United Auto Workers; throws millions of dollars annually into organizing; gives the AFL-CIO a tough run for its money, and tries to outwait the doughty AFL-CIO President George Meany, almost 20 years his senior.

Should George Meany resign in the coming decade Jim Hoffa and his auto union allies would return to the AFL-CIO with a bloc of almost four million votes -- enough to swing any election for president of a merged labor movement. As far back as 1963 Hoffa said he would back the late UAW President Walter Reuther for president of the AFL-CIO.

--MORE--

So Jimmy Hoffa, eschewing the \$1.5 million, is sending two lawyers, Rufus King and Morris Schenker, to an "en banc" session of the federal Parole Board on March 31.

There is a vacancy on the board. So Hoffa's plea will be heard by seven men. And he will need four favorable votes to go free. There will be witnesses to tell of his "admirable" character. There will be reports that he has been a model prisoner, that he has created no difficulty and that he has not even asked for a transfer to "country club" prisons in Florida or Connecticut. There will be personal pleas from his family and friends.

The board has many options. It now must consider the aggregate 13 years to which he has been sentenced -- jury tampering (8 years) and mail fraud (5 years). The board will consider that federal courts, right up to the high bench, have rejected all of Hoffa's drum-beat appeals. Then it can decide to free him, deny his appeal, or simply put it over for another year or so -- as it did in October 1969.

If Jim Hoffa is freed he takes power immediately -- unless the parole commission conditions his freedom, which is not likely.

Under the Teamsters constitution Jim Hoffa is absolute boss. General Vice President Frank Fitzsimmons really has no power. The constitution, as Hoffa had it amended in 1966, states that the General Vice President (Fitz) shall assume such duties and perform such functions as may be delegated to him by the General President -- meaning Hoffa.

Even if Hoffa's appeal is held over by the parole board he has that power. No one has removed him from the presidency. The union officers know what he wants. The messages get through from the prison cell. And they will know just what he wants done at the July 4 quinquennial convention in Miami.

They will know this when they meet on April 19 in Hollywood, Fla.'s, Hotel Diplomat for their final General Executive Board session before the massive convention. They will know that, barring some last minute change of mind, Jim Hoffa wants to run again and expects no one to oppose him. Otherwise there will someday be a reckoning with him and his friends. That is, if the parole board doesn't keep him in for another nine years.

But Hoffa is playing it cool. He expects to be free this spring.

(All Rights Reserved)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1971

TO: John Dean

FROM: George T. Bell

Attached FYI.

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To Walk Away From Teamsters

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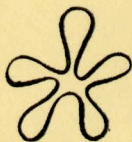
Taking Liberties

Chapter 9

(Pages 223 to 244)

R.F.K. *The Man Who Would Be President*

By RALPH deTOLEDANO



REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION OF MR. RALPH deTOLEDANO AND
G. PUTNAM'S, PUBLISHERS

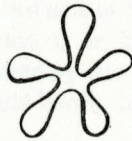
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Chapter 9

A PROSECUTOR can gain fame and fortune in many ways. He can take the way of Thomas Edmund Dewey—the coldly efficient scourge of crime, methodical and ruthless—whose most sensational case led to the conviction of Lucky Luciano for the one crime he had probably never committed. There is the way of Homer Cummings, who enlisted the powers of his office to clear a man unjustly accused of murder. And there is the way of the prosecutor who seizes upon one issue and makes it his own. Robert Kennedy had no need of fortune, and fame was already his, if only as a result of the focus on his abilities which a relationship to a President of the United States gave him. Yet whatever virtues he may have had as Attorney General—and many members of the mass media were convinced that he brought a new effulgence to the office of national prosecutor—he was ready to compromise grievously to satisfy an obsessive desire to destroy James Riddle Hoffa, president of the country's biggest union.

It was more than crusading zeal that drove him on. His hatred of Jimmy Hoffa came from that tight-lipped Jansenist streak in his nature which seethed at all that the Teamsters Union stood for. He could phrase it in a verbal concern for the plight of rank-and-file members, saddled with union corruption and strong-arm methods. But by and large, the dues payers in Hoffa's union were not particularly bothered by Hoffa's alleged speculations. They saw in him a union boss who more often than not got them good wages and fringe benefits. If, by the way, he made himself rich in the process they were not overly concerned. It was not that Bobby deplored the Hoffa philosophy of justifying means by ends, for this was inherent in his own. He simply saw Hoffa as an evil that must be destroyed. And to this end, he dedicated much of his time as Attorney General, and much of the taxpayers' substance.

That this would be came through loud and clear during the 1960 Presidential campaign. On three major occasions, Senator John F. Kennedy had sounded the call to battle. In Raleigh, North

Carolina, he had said, "I will not be satisfied as long as Jimmy Hoffa remains at the head of the Teamsters Union. And I think it would be extremely helpful to have a Justice Department which pursued and administered present laws with vigor involving Mr. Hoffa." During his first television debate with Vice President Richard Nixon, he said, "I am not satisfied when I see men like Jimmy Hoffa, in charge of the largest union in the United States still free." And in Salt Lake City, he charged, "In my judgment, an effective Attorney General with the present laws that we now have on the books can remove Mr. Hoffa from office. And I can assure you that both my brother and myself share a very deep conviction on the subject of Mr. Hoffa."

For the Kennedys, the guilt of the Teamster president was no longer a matter of debate. He had been pronounced guilty as charged by the extralegal device of congressional confrontation — most notably the televised and publicized three-year inquiry of labor-management corruption by the Senate Labor Rackets Committee, in which the two Kennedys shared high billing. Due process seemed not to concern them. To Bobby's disappointment, however, the Teamster rank and file had shown little respect for what had been read into the record by the chief counsel or his investigators. As Attorney General, Bobby had greater resources—and a far greater problem. He had to move from inference to guilt to proof of guilt, from accusation to legal indictment. In the hearing room, the accusation had been sufficient and Bobby's method was nowhere more ably employed than in the questioning of Joseph Glimco, president of Teamster Local 777 in Chicago. A staff investigator had read into the record a long list of Glimco's arrests, with only a few minor convictions, thereby setting the stage for what followed: another catalog of "associates" and people "who have been seen in his company." "In court, this would have been entirely improper. But it made its point and enlivened the proceedings. "There followed a goodly company fully equipped with such nicknames as 'The Waiter,' 'Little New York,' and 'Cherry Nose,' " Professor Alexander Bickel wrote. "Some were allowed to remain identified by their nicknames only. Others were further placed as 'another member of the Chicago syndicate,' or 'a close friend of Mr. Hoffa.' "

This was followed by allegations that, if provable, could have led straight to a court of law and conviction for a series of felonies: receiving kickbacks, milking the union treasury, running extortion rackets. It even became part of the hearing record, by Bobby's method of guilt by allegation, that Glimco had violated his marriage vows by having an affair with his secretary, and his labor vows by financing the liaison with union funds. Since Glimco took the Fifth Amendment, from which there was no deviating for fear of "opening the door" to the loss of his constitutional immunity, Bobby easily got his story told by making flat statements in the form of questions:

Mr. Kennedy: Then, when you were indicted . . . you used these kinds of contacts (Cherry Nose and others) in order to intimidate witnesses and get them to change their story?

Mr. Glimco: I respectfully decline—

Mr. Kennedy: You got your citizenship and abused it, did you not?

Mr. Glimco: I respectfully—

Mr. Kennedy: Did you ever do anything to help the union membership, one thing? . . . You don't care anything about yourself and these other people who are gangsters and hoodlums, do you? . . . And you defraud the union.

Bickel's comments, written with such authority as a law professor from Yale can exact, foreshadowed what was to come when Hoffa was presented to the court. "In terms of legitimate ends he was appointed to serve, this was totally useless. Mr. Kennedy's purpose was now to condemn and to punish, to cleanse the labor movement single-handed. . . . He was not any longer laying the foundation for legislation to be enforced in court, but attempting to render it superfluous. . . . Mr. Kennedy was within the law, but just barely. He used against Glimco a good deal of innuendo, based no doubt on what Mr. Kennedy sincerely believed to be true information, but not based on any fact that could be vouchsafed to Glimco or to the public. . . . Mr. Kennedy appears to find congenial the role of prosecutor, judge, and jury, all consolidated in his one efficient person. . . . No doubt he sought to serve the public interest as he sees it."

As much as Bobby Kennedy ever understands his critics, he understood what Bickel and other critics were saying about him.

So, to his Hoffa compulsion was added, the need to confound them. One of his first acts as Attorney General, therefore, was to organize what later became known as the Hoffa Brigade. Its leader was an old subordinate from the Rackets Committee, Walter Sheridan. The members of the brigade had one purpose in life, to "get Hoffa." Their tactics were, from the start, more fitted for jungle warfare than for the courts and might be characterized as a form of lawyers' counter-insurgency. It was this unofficial division which organized the trials of Jimmy Hoffa, procured the witnesses, developed the strategy—though always in close consultation with Bobby—and carried out the litigation.

But there was more than one arrow in the Kennedy quiver. He still felt that he could eradicate Hoffa by use of the same publicity techniques which had proved so valuable in his day as chief counsel to the Rackets Committee. He was, however, handicapped. For once a case against a Teamster official or an unsorted labor racketeer had passed the indictment stage, circumspection became mandatory if the defendants were not going to be handed the opportunity to claim that a fair trial had been denied them by prejudicial publicity. The McClellan committee had found its pursuit of justice inhibited by the indictment of Tony "Ducks" Corallo, a New York gangster, for conspiracy to fix a federal bankruptcy proceeding. A report on underworld control of a Teamsters "dummy local" in New York—one of those paper organizations designed to exact tribute from employers—heavily implicated Corallo, and until he was convicted the committee held back its report.

This was Bobby's problem when Sam Baron, a thirty-year veteran of the labor movement, approached him. Baron came from the ranks of the Socialist movement. Personal courage he had in plenty, having served in the Republican forces during the Spanish Civil War. After capture by General Francisco Franco's Nationalist troops, he was sentenced to death and would have faced a firing squad except for the intervention of the American Socialist leader, Norman Thomas. His last eight years had been spent in uneasy service with the Teamsters where he had risen to the post of Field Director in the Warehouse Division. He could rationalize his acceptance of the Teamsters only to a point. But

when Dave Beck was replaced by the activist Jimmy Hoffa, Baron decided that the time had come for him to get out. With this in mind, he had volunteered his knowledge of internal Teamsters affairs to Bobby. This, to Bobby, seemed like a way to light a fire under Hoffa without seeming to be in any way involved, should his litigious plans for the Teamsters boss lead to significant court action. After some thought, he summoned Henry Suydam of "Life" magazine to a back room in the Attorney General's eight-room suite in the Justice Department. Suydam was one of Bobby's trusted friends and he represented more than 7,000,000 readers. He reported the clandestine encounter in a memorandum to his managing editor, E. K. Thompson, on March 6, 1961:

"Here's the story, as related to me by this fellow after a cloak-and-dagger shift of scenery, involving Kennedy slipping us out through back corridors, a drive by a roundabout route to the guy's home in Virginia, and the assigning to me of the code name 'Brown.' " In his initial interview with Suydam, Baron portrayed Hoffa as arrogant, heartless, and shady—but not necessarily criminal. He was, he said, given an account of Hoffa's alleged part in the rigging of the 1957 Teamster election, of wiretapping, of the Cheasty bribery case—but he could prove nothing. "The expose stuff sounds interesting," Suydam wrote in his memo, "but to me at least, pretty undocumentable and therefore probably very libelous. But the more personal stuff on what Hoffa is like and how he behaves sounds pretty good."

"Life" published Baron's inside story of life as he saw it lived at Teamster headquarters, and the piece caused considerable excitement. It appeared, moreover, in July 1962, between Hoffa's indictment and his mistrial on charges that he had accepted more than \$1,000,000 in illegal payments from a Detroit trucking company. Though not technically damaging to Hoffa, "Life's" journalistic coup was distinctly bad pretrial publicity. Had the Attorney General's catalytic role in the story's production become known at the time, it would have had serious repercussions. But it remained hidden for two years after publication. Ironically, it was Bobby Kennedy's old antagonist on the McCarthy committee staff, its chief counsel Roy Cohn, who inadvertently effected the discovery.

Cohn had been one of Bobby's minor obsessions. In 1964, Cohn was tried and acquitted on ten counts of perjury and obstruction of justice in connection with a stock fraud case he had handled. Between indictment and trial, the Justice Department had ordered the Post Office Department to "cover" the mail of both Cohn and his lawyer, Thomas A. Bolan. In a mail cover, postal clerks record the names and addresses on all letters sent and received by the subject. Bolan discovered the practice and went to court to stop it. Federal Judge Archie Dawson immediately issued an order enjoining the United States Attorney, Robert Morgenthau, from continuing the mail cover, and he called it a "shocking" invasion of privacy. This postal spying brought no credit to the Justice Department. And it served Cohn as a warning of other possible activities inimical to his case. He usually suspected the Attorney General of the worst, and in pondering what that worst could be he began suspecting that an unflattering piece about him in "Life" might have been inspired by Bobby. Seeking possible proof of Justice Department complicity in the preparation of the critical article, Bolan subpoenaed the magazine's files. Tucked away among these papers, whether by clerical error or not, was the "personal and confidential" Suydam memo to Thompson.

"Last Saturday I got a phone call from Bob Kennedy asking if I could drop whatever I was doing and come to his office," the memorandum began, "I did and when I got there he closed the door and told me the following: in a back room was a high official of the Teamsters, a man who had been privy to the inner workings of the organization since 1953. He was particularly knowledgeable about Hoffa. This official is honest, said Kennedy, and also quite an idealist. The man had been working directly with Kennedy and in secret for the last two years. He was now so disillusioned and disgusted with the corruption he saw all about him, particularly as concerns Hoffa, that he has just about decided to make a public break with the union. Kennedy said he had suggested to this man that he make his break via an article in "Life" in the form of a personal expose of Hoffa. Kennedy asked my personal word that for the moment only you and I would know of this matter. Kennedy feels perhaps melodrama-

tically, perhaps not, that the man's life would be in danger if word leaked out of his intentions."

In a second memorandum to his managing editor several days later, Suydam was equally explicit:

"I told Kennedy of your high interest and he is delighted. He makes the suggestion that the piece go into Baron's background and philosophy somewhat, to help explain his disgust with Hoffa and his motivation for breaking with the Teamsters. Kennedy believes deeply that this is not a case of sour grapes, but of a man acting out of conscience and principle. Kennedy thinks the break will be understood better in light of his total life in the labor movement."

In due time, the Suydam memoranda passed quietly from Cohn's camp to Hoffa. It surfaced during the Republican National Convention of 1964 in San Francisco when Sidney Zagri, the Teamsters' legislative counsel, appeared before the platform committee to urge adoption of a plank calling for a congressional investigation of the Attorney General's tactics and denouncing "government snooping." He charged Bobby Kennedy with "provoking incidents, hiring informants and agents provocateurs, and planting a story in 'Life' magazine to influence litigation against James R. Hoffa." In the Suydam memorandum, Zagri argued, "we have positive proof that these charges are true." In August, less than a month later, he told the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, where a trailer placarded with Hoffa's defiance sat on a lot near the convention hall, that it should do likewise. The Republicans called for the investigation. The Democratic answer was profound silence.

In September, however, the House Judiciary Committee felt enough political heat to vote twenty to thirteen to look into the possible invasion of constitutional rights by the Justice Department, without naming any victims. An ad hoc committee was formed to make the inquiry, but its chairman was Representative Emanuel Celler, a dedicated Kennedy man who had opposed the investigation from the start. Nothing was done about what in another day would have aroused the national legislature. In March 1965, a Senate Administrative Practices subcommittee looking into federal violations of the right of

privacy took up what on the face of it seemed like a clear case of meddling with the judicial process.

The protagonists this time were Roy Cohn and Tom Bolan, ready to discuss the propriety of putting mail covers on a man and his lawyer. This entered an area of privilege in lawyer-client relationships which was once sacrosanct. While press and Senators alike acted as if they had never heard of the Suydam memoranda, Bolan placed in the record the offending documents and described their genesis. "Shocking," said the committee chairman, Democratic Senator Edward V. Long of Missouri. "It is obvious that the Department of Justice was attempting to try cases out of court. For me this is a serious charge." In rebuttal the next day, Bobby, now a member of the Senatorial club, employed an offense of injured innocence to cover the disingenuousness of his defense. He resented the inquiry, he said, and he challenged the propriety of allowing "to go out over the country the implication that I had done something improper as Attorney General." This, he said angrily, was truly "trial by press"—a statement that must have brought startled looks to those who had taken the stand before Bobby's committee.

Suydam's memoranda, Bobby admitted, were substantially accurate. Yet he indignantly denied that the idea for the Baron article was his. Explicit mentions by Suydam of Kennedy's advice on the scope and approach of the "Life" piece were brushed aside in Bobby's insistence that he had merely brought Baron and Suydam together for the initial interview. Even more surprising to the Senators was Bobby's assertion that the original agreement had been to refrain from publishing the piece unless "something happened" to Baron. There was no mention of this in the documentary evidence nor had it been suggested by anyone prior to Bobby's testimony. And the piece, after all, had appeared at the time most propitious for the prosecution, without a word of protest from the Justice Department. It made no sense, moreover, to break publicly with Hoffa, as Baron informed Bobby he intended to do, and then suppress his reasons for doing so.

Hoping to find an answer to the contradictions, the Long committee pressed Bobby. Did he have any independent evidence on the disputed points? "You have the testimony I have just

given here," Bobby snapped. When the committee continued to look for something more than Bobby's word on a matter of conflicting testimony, Bobby decided that the time had come to call retreat. "I have made my statement on this," he said in ill-suppressed pique. "I have given you full information." And he stalked from the hearing room. But he left behind him one exchange with Senator Long which showed his utter lack of responsiveness to the committee's questions. "Is it proper," Long asked, "for the Justice Department to put a person in contact with a magazine to do an article on a man who is under investigation by the department?" Senator Kennedy answered: "The circumstances were quite different from the implication put out by this committee."

The Suydam-Baron episode was but one in a long series of events involving the prosecution of James Hoffa and his Teamster officials. The Hoffa Brigade moved from one litigation to another. Legally, the cases were unconnected. But in a philosophical sense they were violative of the principle in American law which forbids the government to try a man twice for the same crime. There was nothing the courts could do about this double and triple jeopardy. Each indictment addressed itself to a different crime, and the courts are not empowered to assess inner motivations or reject legal vendettas. Hoffa had been acquitted of attempting to bribe Cheasty, the man he had presumably planted in the Labor Rackets Committee. He had been acquitted of the wiretapping charge. The Justice Department had failed to make a case against him of mail fraud and of the misuse of union funds in promoting a Florida senior citizens community, when the court found the indictment faulty.

But there was no doubt in anyone's mind that Bobby would continue to pile up indictments until one of them stuck. Most important to this chronicle was the next attempt—the Test Fleet trial in Nashville, Tennessee, in late 1962. The indictment accused Hoffa and his Teamster associate Owen Bert Brennan of setting up a truck-leasing firm which supplied equipment to Commercial Carriers, a Detroit company which specialized in hauling new cars from plant to dealer. The Test Fleet leasing firm was owned by the wives of the Teamster leaders in their maiden names, Josephine Posyzwak and Alice Johnson. The

Government contended that this was a subterfuge, and Hoffa's sardonic answer did not help him. "I once heard of a doctor that had a piece of an undertaking firm," he said. "Some of his professional patients became his business patrons, but nobody accused him of anything wrong. I know a lot of guys put property in their wives' names. I heard women own most of the wealth in this country. I happen to be the husband of Mrs. Hoffa." This avoided the point completely. The Taft-Hartley Act specifically forbids a labor leader from accepting money from an employer with whom he bargains. It was the government's contention that Test Fleet was a cover for these payments and a way to collect large sums of money in return for a guarantee of industrial peace.

Bobby had complained that the government was badly prepared in the Cheasty litigation. Now the prosecution's case was thorough and Bobby expected that the trial would present him with his long-delayed revenge. The government had evidence that Commercial Carriers had paid Test Fleet more than \$1,000,000, ostensibly for equipment and services rendered. It had what it believed was good and sufficient proof to establish that the money had indeed been paid as a kind of illegal insurance against Hoffa-inspired strikes. But there were troubling aspects to the case. A few days before the trial began, Hoffa had negotiated an unprecedented nationwide contract which brought 400 trucker locals into a single bargaining unit, thereby immeasurably enhancing his power over the trucking industry. The trial was certainly with some justice, seen by some as a means of cutting him down. In the course of the trial, Hoffa was attacked by a fanatic who pumped three shots into him from an air-powered pellet gun. Hoffa himself subdued his assailant while the United States marshals took cover. And to this drama there was added a seedy episode which could not have failed to impress the jurors. On the first day of the Test Fleet litigation, a person representing himself as a reporter for the Nashville Banner telephoned some of the jurors. Acting to protect the reputation of his staff, James G. Stahlman, publisher of the newspaper, announced a \$5,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of the impostor. To everyone's surprise, Bobby called Stahlman, asking that news of the incident be suppressed. The

Attorney General felt, Stahlman later disclosed, that "if a detailed story in connection with this matter were made, it might very well lead to a mistrial."

"What has happened," Stahlman answered, "has made it necessary for me to defend the reputation of my newspaper, which has existed for eighty-six years, and I don't intend to have it sacrificed for Jimmy Hoffa, the federal government, or anybody else."

The Nashville trial did, of course, end in a hung jury, with seven of the panel voting to acquit and five to convict. But the trial was inconclusive in another way. While the jury was being selected, James Tippens, one of those tentatively selected, reported to the judge that a friend had told him that it would be worth \$10,000 to Hoffa if he sided with him. This was a bribe attempt, and the trial judge disqualified Tippens. Two similar "incidents" were brought to the judge's attention and he replaced the jurors with their alternates. But had these attempts been made by Hoffa's people? Or were they planned by some overzealous member of an anti-Hoffa group to earn his pay? Federal Judge William E. Miller, as he presided over the case, was disturbed; and when the jury brought in its split verdict, he ordered a federal grand jury to make a complete investigation.

The hardly unexpected indictment of Jimmy Hoffa for jury tampering followed. What came as a shock from the start was the realization that Federal Judge Frank W. Wilson, for all his absent-minded unconcern, had taken to heart the old frontier role of "hanging judge." These are hard words, but the record sustains them. The accused in the case were James Riddle Hoffa; Ewing King, head of Nashville Teamsters Local 327; Larry Campbell, business agent for Hoffa's own Detroit Local 299; Thomas E. Parks, a Nashville funeral-home employee and Campbell's uncle; Allen Dorfman, a Chicago insurance broker with close personal and business ties to Hoffa; and Nicholas J. Tweel, a West Virginia business associate of Dorfman. Defense counsel for these men had asked and gotten a change of venue, from Nashville to Chattanooga. Perhaps they expected that Judge Wilson, who owed his job to the Kennedys would lean over backward. They also must have reckoned that in the federal courts, it is the practice—and a sound one—to give the defense

all the latitude possible and to hold the prosecution within the rigid restraints of procedure.

To their surprise, they discovered that just the opposite would be the rule in Judge Wilson's courtroom. Before the trial was over, they would also learn that the most hallowed of trial principles, the privilege of confidential communication between the accused and his attorneys, would be repeatedly violated without so much as a murmur of disapproval from the trial judge. As the trial proceeded, it became apparent that Walter Sheridan and the "get Hoffa" forces he commanded, under the overall supervision of Bobby Kennedy with whom he consulted on a daily basis, were taking law and the established practice of Anglo-Saxon justice into their own hands whenever it suited their purposes.

In line with Bobby Kennedy's conviction that Hoffa was guilty, the prosecution acted as if there were no need to allow him the due process which the Constitution guarantees. To begin with, the panel from which the jury would be selected was not drawn by lot. Instead, two private citizens, a Democrat and a Republican, were asked to submit 100 names each. These were then screened by three local industrialists and checked by the FBI. The defense, which had a right to knowledge of the backgrounds of the men selected, was denied this information. Though the names were made known to the defense, addresses were not. Hoffa's lawyers, therefore, were unable to exercise intelligently their right to challenge those jurors who might be prejudiced against the defendants. As it happened, two of the jurors who weighed the testimony had histories of anti-labor activity. The jury was, in fact, a "blue-ribbon" panel which would hardly look with sympathy on a man like Hoffa or have patience with his ungrammatical sentence structure and his slum origins. Very early in the questioning of jurors, Judge Wilson lost patience and insisted on handling it himself, and the objections of defense counsel were overruled with deadening regularity.

Three witnesses were called to give evidence of jury tampering. Even on direct examination, their stories were shaky. On cross-examination, they fell all over their previous testimony. One witness withdrew his statement that he had been approached by Ewing King and swore that he had initiated the contact. It

was shown that in pretrial questioning by the prosecution, these witnesses had offered no evidence of any attempt at tampering. Their earlier signed statements had, in fact, said just the opposite. An alleged "fixer" for King, Oscar "Mutt" Pitts, testified that Walter Sheridan had said to him on the evening preceding his appearance before the grand jury, "If you don't tell me the truth, I will get you and your wife both indicted." A state trooper who had given positive testimony of an attempt to fix the Nashville jury admitted that he had never so reported to his superiors, that his statements to the FBI clearly denied what he had later stated under oath, and that "I knew that I was deliberately perjuring myself when I was in the U.S. District Court." The third witness to the alleged jury tampering told a muddled story but could offer no explanation for not having made a report to his superiors or to the FBI.

This was the tenor of the testimony—contradictory and full of lies compounded and truth confounded. From this kind of performance, no jury could have in conscience arrived at a conclusion. Most conspicuously, none of the witnesses, even when they were telling their stories under the direct examination of government lawyers, had linked Hoffa to the crimes charged under the indictment. The government's case had so little substance that the defendants and their lawyers began to wonder at Bobby Kennedy's folly in allowing the matter to come to trial. At that point, there was enough on the record to warrant a congressional investigation of the Justice Department's tactics, and this became even more evident when the defense put Frederick Michael Shobe, for two years a member of Sheridan's Hoffa Brigade, on the stand. Shobe had served a term in Michigan State Prison for forgery, burglary, and armed robbery. After his release, he was accused of violation of parole, threatened with a return to prison, then offered a way out.

That way was to join Sheridan's "investigative" unit. In his testimony at the trial, Shobe described his career in that unit. His job was to travel about the country as an agent provocateur, stirring up trouble in Teamster locals, Shobe told the court. Once past the time period of his parole, Shobe had asked his superiors in the Justice Department to get him another job, out of the government. He was finally offered one—in Japan. He suspected

then that the Justice Department wanted him out of the country, far away from any opportunity to speak up. At this point, Shobe testified, he had poured out his story to William Buffalino, one of Hoffa's lawyers. That he had worked closely with Sheridan was evident when Shobe supplied the court the unlisted phone number of his superior. Shobe's testimony was very damaging to the government. For he told of being sent by a Justice Department aide to Louisville and Nashville in order to get evidence against Hoffa. When he tried to recount his conversations with Sheridan in Nashville, the government objected, and as he so frequently did, Judge Wilson sustained the objections. Shobe was not permitted to testify to anything that might incriminate the government except in voir-dire proceedings, after Judge Wilson had sent the jury out. (The judge later admitted that at least sixty percent of the trial record was made with the jury not present.)

The defense argued in vain that it had an absolute right "to expose any attempt by the government to do something wrong or illegal. . . . Where they attempt to fabricate testimony and suborn perjury, it is for this court to take such testimony and for the jury to hear it directly because it bears very materially upon all the credibility of the testimony of all the witnesses put in here up to this point by the government." But Judge Wilson was adamant, and Shobe's testimony never reached those who were entrusted with deciding on the guilt or innocence of the men at the bar. Shobe's story included a plot to kidnap a needed witness and to frighten him into playing ball with the government, as well as other details. Of importance to this account is the following exchange:

Q. Let me ask you this: As you sit here now can you tell us whether you had discussed with Walter Sheridan a plan to frame Mr. Hoffa?

A. . . . It was my understanding that the only reason for the existence of the particular department that Sheridan headed was to get Mr. Hoffa.

Q. I see. Was that made plain to you by Walter Sheridan that the purpose was to get Mr. Hoffa?

A. That is correct.

Q. And was it indicated to you that it made no difference whether he was—they used legal or illegal means?

A. Well, preferably if there was something found that incriminated Mr. Hoffa, well and good. However, if there wasn't, the feeling in the department was that Mr. Hoffa should be in jail anyway and that we—if we had to resort to unfair tactics, well, that's where a person like myself came in at.

Q. I see. And that is why they called you into service, because they wanted you, as you described, 'that's why they wanted me in the service, to frame Hoffa,' is that correct?

A. Well, to get him by any means, fair or foul, that was my understanding of the matter.

Q. And you were directly told this by Walter Sheridan?

A. That is correct.

The jury was not permitted to hear this. When Shobe had finished his direct testimony, the government had no questions to ask him. James Tippens, the man who had first raised the jury-tampering issue in the Test Fleet case, was allowed to testify, however, even though the prosecution could not link the alleged bribe offer he described to any of the defendants. As a point of law, Tippens' testimony should not have been permitted by Judge Wilson until he had received reassurances from the prosecution that it could be linked to the defendants. But matters such as these did not upset the trial judge.

And then the prosecution sprang its surprise. He was Edward Grady Partin, and on him the entire government case rested. In any other court of law, Partin would have been cut to ribbons. For Partin's record, and the manner in which he became involved in the Hoffa case, was such that had the jury been allowed to hear of it, there would have been no case. "Life" magazine later wrote that Partin had been in jail "because of a minor domestic problem" and had been indicted on charges of embezzling \$1,600 in union funds. Walter Sheridan painted him as a kind of hero, ready to do his duty and asking for nothing. The facts were something else again.

In December 1943, he had been arrested in the state of Washington for breaking into a restaurant. He pleaded guilty and

was sentenced to fifteen years. After two attempted jail breaks, he was finally released.

He joined the Marines and was dishonorably discharged.

In 1961, he had been shot, but told police that the wound was accidentally self-inflicted. At the time, the Teamsters local he headed in Baton Rouge was in turmoil. Several members had charged him with embezzling union funds and of having gone to Castro's Cuba to consult with one of Castro's aides about an arms-smuggling deal. The 600-pound safe in which the union kept its books disappeared from the union's offices and was later found empty at the bottom of the river. Two men who testified against him at grand-jury proceedings were savagely beaten and subsequently one of them was killed by a truck.

On June 27, 1962, he was indicted on twenty-six counts for embezzling union funds and falsifying union records. He was released on \$50,000 bond. His conviction would have had a maximum sentence of \$260,000 in fines and seventy-eight years in prison.

On August 14, 1962, damage suits were filed against him for driving a car off the road, injuring two occupants, killing the third, then driving off. On September 26, he was indicted in Alabama for first-degree manslaughter and leaving the scene of the accident that had inspired the damage suit.

On September 25, the day before the indictment for manslaughter was handed up, Partin had surrendered himself to Louisiana authorities on a charge of aggravated kidnapping. (He had kidnapped from their mother, who had legal custody, the two sons of an associate.)

His troubles ended when he announced to his jailers that he had knowledge of a "plot to kill" Bobby. After conversations with police, Louisiana law-enforcement officials, and A. Frank Grimsley of the Justice Department, Partin's previously revoked \$50,000 bond, as well as \$5,000 bail for the Alabama manslaughter charge and \$5,000 bail for the Louisiana kidnapping charge, suddenly and mysteriously materialized. On October 7, he walked out of jail. On October 8, he called Jimmy Hoffa in Newark, while Justice Department investigators recorded the conversation. After a second telephone call, ten days later, Partin set out for Nashville to make contact with Hoffa. He carried with him

Walter Sheridan's Nashville telephone number and instructions, so he said, to report any evidence of jury tampering. His good luck was boundless. On the day he arrived in Nashville, he ran into a stranger in the hotel lobby, Nicholas Tweel, who generously, and out of a clear sky, volunteered Hoffa's plans to "fix" the Test Fleet case jury. Within forty-eight hours of his arrival, the first talk of jury tampering reached the trial judge—a coincidence worth noting.

Partin, however, had other jobs to do for Bobby Kennedy's trusted special investigator. Partin had made himself the indispensable hanger-on at Hoffa's legal headquarters, and every night he reported to Walter Sheridan. This must have been of tremendous help to the prosecution, but it was both illegal and unethical. When Partin took the stand in Chatanooga, he could claim to be an expert on the internal strategy of the Hoffa defense operation. His appearance in court shook Hoffa and his lawyers. When Partin began to testify to his great good fortune in finding a loquacious jury-rigger ready to confide in him, the defense rose up to object. They said that Partin had been present when defense strategy was being discussed and was therefore an "improper intrusion on the defendants' rights." It was pointed out that the prosecution in the Test Fleet trial had reassured the court that there was no illegally obtained evidence, no wiretapping, no eavesdropping.

The prosecution countered with an explanation that under ordinary circumstances would have been laughed out of court. The United States Attorney said that Partin had reported only on matters referring to jury tampering, but had studiously refrained from mentioning anything else. (This was thoroughly disproved later in the trial.) The prosecution also tacitly admitted that the presence of an informer in the inner defense circle was grounds for keeping Partin off the stand by its tortured argument that his appearance at the Test Fleet litigation would have been improper, but that this was another trial and therefore there could be no taint to his testimony. It was no surprise that Partin, when questioned on the kind of informing he did, remembered with phenomenal detail all that had allegedly been said by the defendants about the jury but suffered a complete loss of memory about everything else. Did that case come up at all in

his conversations with the defendants and their lawyers? he was asked. "I don't think it ever did," Partin said, "(I) wasn't interested."

The evidence spoke differently. William Buffalino, a Hoffa lawyer, took the stand to swear that "on the night of the fourth of December, he (Partin) was in our room . . . and I was in the process of preparing, interviewing several witnesses, truck drivers, that were in from Detroit. . . . I asked questions and made notes. These notes were typed in question and answer form. . . . Ed Partin helped me type them. He was carrying copies back and forth from one place to the other. . . . The record will show, on the fifth . . . when Mr. Neal (the Nashville prosecutor) was interrogating defense witnesses, he asked, 'Isn't it a fact . . . that, or were you supplied with questions and answers as to what your testimony should be?' "

Buffalino recalled a second instance. Several of the Hoffa attorneys were discussing defense strategy while Partin sat with them. Buffalino laid out the approach he planned to take with a witness. "The next day," he testified before Judge Wilson, "when I got on this particular area I started, 'Now,' and this is the language, 'Now, witness, I bring you back to 1953,' and that is all I had to say and Mr. Neal jumped to his feet and said, 'I object, Your Honor, they are getting into a different area.' I said, 'How do you know where I am going, what I am going to ask?' He said, 'I am psychic.' That's in the record." There was no rebuttal from the government, and when Walter Sheridan took the stand, he reluctantly conceded that Partin had passed on to him information dealing with defense strategy and activities, including the "comings and goings of people," which had no conceivable connection with jury tampering.

Seeking to get at the question of motive, the defense tried to ask Partin about his previous indictments and his discussions with Frank Grimsley and Bobby Kennedy's representatives. The judge sustained objections, ruling out this testimony on the preposterous ground that it was not "material to the issue that is before this court." Its materiality was eventually established when it was finally conceded by the "get Hoffa" brigade in open court that Partin had been acting as a secret agent for the Justice Department before he had made his first approach to the

Teamster chief. When Partin's denial that he was on the government payroll blew up, his reliability as a witness was destroyed, on the legal principle that if a man once lies on the stand the jury can reject his entire testimony. Judge Wilson tried hard to prevent this disclosure, since it involved the Justice Department in a clear violation of law. The colloquy is interesting:

The Court: Were you in any way in the employ of the United States at that time?

Partin: No, sir, I wasn't. . . .

The Court: But was there any arrangement for the government paying your expenses and compensating you in any way in your trip to Nashville?

Partin: No, sir.

The Court: At whose request did you go to Nashville?

Partin: Mr. Hoffa's. Telephone conversation at Newark, New Jersey.

(This conversation was monitored by Justice Department agents, with whom Partin was already working.)

The matter of payments to Partin was of vital importance. Under a 1962 law, no witness in a federal case was to be reimbursed for anything more than his actual travel expenses. Under oath, Walter Sheridan, Bobby's man in Chattanooga, testified that no money was paid to Partin nor were any promises of money made to him. Yet in Sheridan's files was a memo authorizing a check to be drawn against the Justice Department's "confidential fund" for \$300 a month. In time, at least \$1,500 was drawn from that fund. Much later, the Justice Department would admit that checks for \$300 a month, made out to Frank Grimsley, were paid over to Partin's ex-wife. The government tried to argue that these funds had been paid to cover Partin's expenses, although he and Sheridan had also denied that any expense money had been paid. But this belated "explanation" failed to stand up, since the government could produce no expense vouchers. Nor could it explain why the "expense" checks had always been for exactly the same sum, or why such an effort had been made to hide these payments, or

how it was that the sums exactly coincided with the amount due Mrs. Partin for alimony.*

Judge Wilson's duty was clear: to take action against both the government attorneys and the government's star witness. But he remained mute.

The judge seemed at times to be the mainstay of the prosecution. Partin had testified that Hoffa told him of the "fixing" of the one negro juror. But at the time given for this disclosure by Hoffa, the jury had not even been selected. Then the defense asked Partin: "How could he fix the jury when he didn't even know who was going to be on the jury?" The government objected to the question, and Judge Wilson sustained the objection. When Partin was being cross-examined on his criminal record, the judge again intervened. The defense had just asked: "And one of those (offenses) was assaulting a Mr. Colotto which you pleaded guilty to on December 2, 1955?"

The Court: "Sustain the objection."

Defense Counsel: "I didn't hear any, Your Honor."

The Court: "Well, counsel stood up."

All of Partin's testimony except for his accusations against Hoffa was withheld from the jury, and efforts by the defense to inform the jurors of what had been brought to light during the voir-dire proceedings were frustrated by Judge Wilson. His activities as what has been called "an arm of the prosecution" reached its high point when he withheld vitally important evidence from the defense. Partin had repeatedly insisted in his testimony that he had gone to Nashville at Hoffa's invitation. This Hoffa denied. The defense, knowing that the two telephone calls had been recorded, demanded that the recordings be made available to them to check Partin's veracity—a standard procedure. The prosecution thereupon secretly gave a sealed packet with the recordings to Judge Wilson. Repeatedly, the defense moved that the recordings be made available. But neither Judge Wilson nor the prosecution divulged that this incriminating evidence was in the hands of the court. Finally,

*When the checks were produced by the government, they showed that they had been issued to A. Frank Grimsley. He had taken them to the First National Bank of Atlanta with his endorsement, and had then gotten cashier's checks made out to Mrs. Partin, which he wrapped in plain pieces of paper. He inserted them in envelopes and mailed them to Mrs. Partin. Grimsley never signed any vouchers, receipts, or other forms to show where the \$300 was going every month.

after Partin was off the stand, and just before the trial ended, the prosecution was forced into admitting that Judge Wilson had the recordings. The judge lamely said he "hadn't known" that the defense didn't know that he had this evidence in his possession.

The defense could rail that the United States Attorney "knew Partin, when he testified, was perjuring himself, he had the physical documents and hid them in a sealed envelope and then gave them to Your Honor and hid them there, kept the contents from you, kept it from the defendants when he knew that the physical evidence refuted and showed his star witness was perjuring himself and he, as government counsel, put the perjurer on the stand knowingly." When the recordings were played, moreover, they showed that Hoffa had told the truth and that Partin had lied. In his conversations with Hoffa, Partin had repeatedly stated that he would like to meet with him—"If you get an opportunity or something, I would like to get with you and talk with you," and again, "I hate to interrupt you, Jim, but I need to talk to you"—and this evidence placed him in the category of agent provocateur.

With this background, Partin's testimony that he had heard Hoffa discuss with others ways and means to tamper with the jury lost all merit. From beginning to end, the prosecution's hands were legally dirty. The jury heard less than forty percent of the testimony, and therefore could come to no conclusions of its validity. The subsequent contention of Hoffa's attorneys that the jurors while they were sequestered during the trial were wine and dined, given gifts, and furnished with prostitutes—unbelievable under most circumstances—becomes secondary in the context of the Chattanooga trial and the activities of Robert Kennedy's Hoffa Brigade. Burning acidly are the words of Judge Wilson after he had fined Hoffa \$10,000 and sentenced him to eight years in prison. "You stand here convicted of seeking to corrupt the administration of justice itself. You stand here convicted of having tampered with the very soul of the nation." If this were true of James Hoffa, a slum boy who had clawed his way to the top in the jungle of Teamster politics, how much more true was it for those who turned an American court into a drumhead court martial?

Three of the codefendants were sentenced to three years in prison and received \$5,000 fines; two of the defendants were acquitted for reasons best known to the jurors. Jacques Schiffer, counsel for Parks, was fined \$1,000 and sentenced to sixty days in jail because he had energetically attacked the judge's conduct of the trial. When he asked for a hearing before another judge, Wilson denied it.

Walter Sheridan's reaction to the verdict surprised no one. Leaping to his feet, shouting and laughing, he raced to the telephone like a Hollywood-style reporter to inform Bobby. The Attorney General congratulated him for his services to the cause of justice. Hoffa's reaction was understandably somewhat different. "If this is justice in the United States," he said, "then I pity those who haven't the money to pay for an appeal, because this is a railroad job."

The congressional outcry against the conduct of the Chattanooga trial, to the surprise of many, was bipartisan. The most detailed speech on the floor of the House was delivered by Representative Roland V. Libonati, an Illinois Democrat: "What is on trial here is the American system of justice," he said. To make his point, he listed thirty questions which have so far remained unanswered. Among them were these:

"Is there, in fact, a 'get Hoffa' squad in the Justice Department?"

"Did the payments . . . to Mrs. Partin violate an act of Congress?"

"Did the (Justice) Department induce Partin's testimony by promise of immunity?"

"Did the government forgive Partin \$5,000 in back taxes?"

"What happened to pending indictments against Partin in two states?"

"Is there an investigation into Partin's gun-smuggling plot into Castro's Cuba?"

"Was there a relationship between Partin's release from prison on October 7, 1962, and a call to Hoffa by Partin the next day?"

"Were two government witnesses threatened with indictment and reprisal if they did not cooperate?"

"Were three defendants offered immunity if they cooperated and since they refused were indicted?"

"Were there a 'Mr. Bug' who operated (electronic eavesdropping equipment) from the 10th floor of the Read House, where the jury was sequestered?"

"Was money authorized for labor spy activities?"

"Why were over 24 marshals brought in from all over the nation?"

"Were these marshals brought for any purpose other than guarding the jury?"

"Did the marshals conduct themselves in a manner befitting their office or did the behavior include lewd conduct, immoral conduct, and at least one wild all-night party on the 10th floor of the Read House?"

"Was the 'locked up' jury really locked up, or could they come and go individually?"

On March 23, 1964, Chairman Emanuel Celler of the House Judiciary Committee appointed a committee to investigate these allegations. Celler has always been a defender of Democratic party causes and, in 1948, was vocal in his attacks on Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley after they had testified to the existence of two Communist espionage apparatuses in the federal government. Appointment of the committee, therefore, was all that Chairman Celler did. He could guarantee this inactivity by naming himself chairman. His sop to congressional indignation had been prompted by a letter from Sidney Zagri, the Teamsters' legislative liaison man. Representative James Roosevelt, who answered the letter on behalf of the House Labor Committee, noted that Teamster charges "were made under oath, and that the government did not offer any rebuttal to them during the course of the trial." Roosevelt supported an investigation because justice "must be for the accused just as much as for the individuals who are recognized to be innocent without too much probing."

There was other congressional comment.

"It is questionable whether a man can have a fair trial in this country if he does not have the opportunity to confer with his lawyers in complete privacy," said Representative William Brock. Representative Michael A. Feighan said: "I am informed that witnesses who are prepared to testify with respect to certain matters in the Hoffa trial have been threatened and that

economic reprisals have already been taken against some key witnesses." And Representative S. M. Matesinaga added: "The real issue under discussion is not the guilt or innocence of James R. Hoffa; it is whether or not an agency of government has taken illegal means to convict a man."

One of the few members of Congress to defend the Justice Department was Representative Tobert Macdonald of Massachusetts, a long time Kennedy intimate. In a long paraphrase from Bobby's "The Enemy Within" he justified the government's position on Hoffa, and then called for less noise about the case while it wended its way through the appeals courts.

In the upper chamber, Senator Wayne Morse raised the question of the "get Hoffa" squad and the successful efforts of the Justice Department to win its verdicts in the press. "The issuing of press releases constitutes a trial of the defendant in the press by the Department of Justice," he argued in presenting a bill to end what he believed were abuses of constitutional rights. Such activity "has a detrimental effect upon the defendant and makes it difficult for him to obtain a fair jury—and without a fair jury there can be no fair trial." Morse, in his indignation, was prepared to throw out the baby with the bath water. Needed far more than any legal inhibition on the release of press materials was greater exposure of Justice Department practices and less of the censorship which the Kennedy Administration imposed on all information that might damage it in the public eye.

Labor leaders, on other matters antagonistic to both Hoffa and the Teamsters, reflected the views of Representative Alvin O'Konski, who saw in the litigation "persecution and not prosecution." That Bobby Kennedy had assigned more than 300 people to the Hoffa case was seen as "a willful violation of the intent of Congress and a misuse of public funds. . . . If the rankest Communist had been treated the way Jimmy Hoffa has been treated, using police state methods, you can be sure the American Liberties Union, the Americans for Democratic Action, and all the people who are constantly crying of violation of civil rights . . . would be heard."

They all missed the point. It was best summed up by Joseph P.

Kennedy when he made two observations: "Bobby never likes to lose," and "Bobby doesn't care how he wins."

Among lawyers, however, it was assumed that Jimmy Hoffa's conviction would be reversed by the Supreme Court. The record of the case cried for a new trial in which the evidence could be fairly presented to the jury. With the American Civil Liberties Union crying out that Hoffa had been deprived of his civil rights, and filing an amicus curiae brief in his favor with the Supreme Court, a cross section of public and legal opinion seemed to be arrayed against the conviction. But by one of those ironies which tend to cast doubt on the validity of due process, the high court sustained the conviction by a highly unusual four-to-one vote. In short, a minority decided the issue.

Justice Byron White abstained because of his association with the Justice Department during the litigation. Justice Abe Fortas also abstained, for similar reasons of prior involvement. And Justices William O. Douglas and Tom Clark voted separately to dismiss the writ of review granted by the Supreme Court on the technical ground that, innocent or guilty, Hoffa's appeal should not have been heard—even though they found that Partin's testimony was "an affront to the quality and fairness of Federal law enforcement." By this legal freak, therefore, James Riddle Hoffa finally fell before Bobby Kennedy's attack.

There is one postscript to the Hoffa trial. To date, Edward Grady Partin has never been brought to book for manslaughter, embezzlement, income-tax evasion, or kidnapping. Repeatedly postponements have been followed by dead silence. For a man of his talents, after all, virtue could hardly be its own reward.

February 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: LAWRENCE TRAYLOR
PARDON ATTORNEY

FROM: JOHN W. DEAN, III
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Petitions for Executive Clemency - James Hoffa

I am herewith transmitting to you two cartons, containing petitions requesting Executive Clemency for James Hoffa. We are advised that there are approximately 250,000 signatures on these petitions.

It will not be necessary for your office to acknowledge receipt of these petitions, as we have already done so.

JWD:FFF:bav

New \$10M Tax 'Mis'

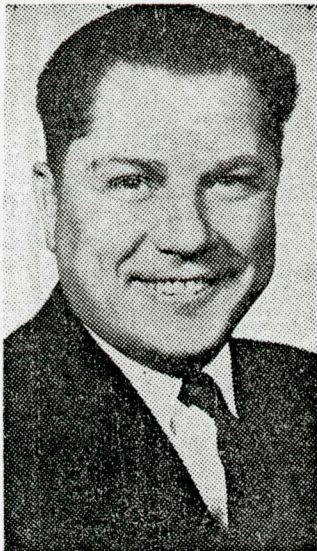


HEAD ST

An Editorial

Upside-Down Justice

The Supreme Court's agreeing to hear the Cassius Clay case, while turning down the appeal of General President of the Teamsters Union James Riddle Hoffa, seems to this newspaper to be a perfect example of upside-down justice.



MR. HOFFA

While no man can look inside another man's conscience, what goes on there IS sometimes accurately guessed at by reviewing the surrounding circumstances and actions of the individual in question.

In the case of Cassius Clay, this newspaper has always thought his claim to exemption from fighting for his country was based not on his religious convictions against war but, rather, on his desire to continue his profitable career as a boxer. In contrast to the activities of other heavyweight champions in previous wars, it seems quite evident to this newspaper that Cassius Clay does not think he owes anything to the United States of America.

The vast consideration given him and his continued financially successful career in the ring must leave a very sour taste in the mouths of black and white American young men who are fighting for their country in Vietnam.

AN EDITORIAL

Page 12

Alternative To \$4.2M Proposal

File Minority Plan

'Mistake' \$28 Million Due Cities, Towns In Fiscal '71

By D. FRANK O'NEIL

CONCORD — Gov. Walter Peterson today asked the Legislature to increase the state's short-term borrowing authority to 40 per cent of the yearly General Fund spending.

His top aide, Stewart Lamprey, offered this amendment at a legislative hearing this morning to a bill that would have boosted the borrowing authority from \$15 to \$25 million.

\$10 Million 'Mistake'

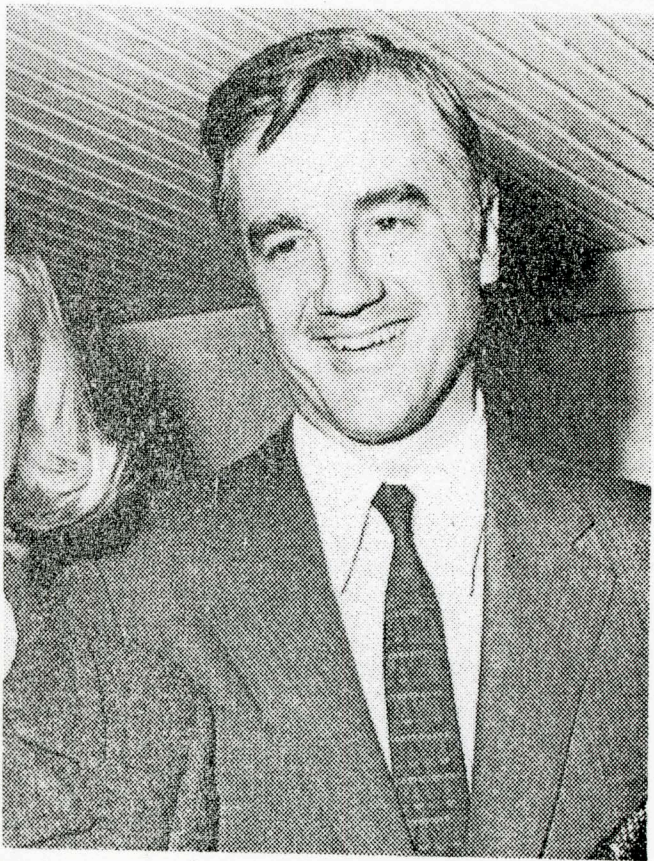
Lamprey startled the legislators by admitting that a \$10 million "mistake" had been made when the original Business Profits Tax law was passed by the Legislature.

As a result, he told the committees that the cities and towns must be paid \$28 million in this fiscal year, instead of the \$18 million that was intended.

Towns and cities operate on a calendar year, while the state works on a fiscal year basis. The local communities already received \$18 million



Pondering problem of where to get her hay bale weighed is Heidi Seward, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Seward of Route 1, Manchester. Heidi said she



W SCHOOL
la Ann, are
ed president
lay. Bok, 40,
succeeds Nathan Pusey, 63, who retires
in June after 17 years as president of
the nation's oldest and wealthiest uni-
versity. (UPI Telephoto)



MARSHALL COBLEIGH
COBLEIGH
(Continued from Page One)

ailed to file an expense sheet
or a five-day trip to Puerto
Rico to attend a conference
of State Legislative Leaders.
A check of Cobleigh's past
expense vouchers disclosed
that only six to 10 days
passed before the House
speaker presented his vouchers
for payment.
However, more than a
month has passed since Cob-
leigh returned from his "juni-
et" to Puerto Rico and the
speaker has yet to submit any
vouchers for payment. Ac-
cording to informed sources,
Cobleigh can present the ex-
penses for payment "any time
during the present session of
the Legislature."
Five-Day Conference
The Puerto Rico trip was
a five-day conference held at
the plush beachfront San
Juan Hotel from Nov. 30
through Dec. 4. It is not
known how much was spent
by Cobleigh for his out-of-
state trip.

HEADSTART (Continued from Page One)

from representatives in the
regional office of the Health
Education and Welfare agency
to operate Head Start in 1971.
'Late Start'
"We realize it is a serious
decision to give up the Head
Start project," related Ward 2
School Committeewomen Mrs.
Mary P. Brown, chairman of
the Committee on Instruction
and Curriculum.
"We believe in the concept of
the project . . . But we were
very disappointed with some of
the things that happened last
year. We got off to a very late
start and we received very little
cooperation from those who ran
the program before," she con-
tinued.
A new set of guidelines have
been established this year and
one that particularly upset Mrs.
Brown stated that teachers in
the program are subject to the
approval of the parents of
pupils who, in a sense, have the
right to hire and fire them.
"We felt we couldn't accept
this. We felt the parents don't
have the kind of knowledge of
what teachers are doing," said
Mrs. Brown.
Ward 1 School Committeeman
James Lianos, a member of
Mrs. Brown's committee,
echoed similar sentiments.
Lianos, added that presently,
"the chief beneficiaries of the
program are dentists and not
the children because they re-
ceive the bulk of the funds."
"I am bothered by the
requirement of having parents
decide who the teachers will be
—they are usurping the powers
of this board of education," he
continued.
Lianos concluded, "I am not
opposed to the Head Start idea,
but I would like to see some
changes made in it."
Ward 10 School Committeeman
James Pollock, while com-
manding the

An Editorial

Upside-Down Justice

(Continued from Page One)

Now the U.S. Supreme Court has decided to give Mr. Clay some MORE consideration.

In the case of James Riddle Hoffa, however, the Supreme Court has ALWAYS missed the fundamental point of the entire case. This point is that Mr. Hoffa not only was convicted in the Chattanooga case on the basis of what this newspaper believes to be perjured testimony—contrived under such unusual circumstances that even the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Earl Warren, opposed the conviction—but also, and far more importantly, Mr. Hoffa was convicted in an atmosphere of carefully contrived HYSTERIA, built up against him systematically by men who at that time held high political positions in the United States government.

For instance, it is not a matter of speculation but a matter of record and written documents presented under oath before a congressional committee that Robert Kennedy, while attorney general, promoted in Life magazine an article depicting Mr. Hoffa in the blackest of light and that he did so at a time when the attorney general KNEW one of Mr. Hoffa's trials was about to begin.

The Kennedys and their public relations clique in magazines and newspapers throughout the country at that time created such an atmosphere of hate and distrust for Mr. Hoffa that it permeated almost every corner of the country and certainly would have HAD to affect the attitudes of jurors in any trial of Mr. Hoffa. This newspaper believes that this is exactly what was planned in the Hoffa case.

Courts have chosen on numerous occasions to show mercy and understanding when defendants have been convicted in an atmosphere of hysteria.

Certainly when that hysteria and that atmosphere of prejudice have been created by officials of the government, itself, reconsideration of the entire set of convictions—in this instance, against Mr. Hoffa—should be an obvious requirement of ANY system of justice.

However, unfortunately—and tragically—this is an ugly age in which we live. Justice seems to be not only blind but also indifferent to the plight of any one individual, unless that individual belongs to some special group which the Liberal Establishment in this nation has chosen to believe requires special consideration.

It is a marvel to this writer and to this newspaper that Mr. Hoffa, stuffing mattresses behind the walls of Lewisburg Prison, should still believe—as he DOES—in the system of American justice. The latest Supreme Court decision makes this newspaper doubt very much that our system of justice is what it SHOULD be.

William Loeb
William Loeb, Publisher

LICENSES

(Continued from Page One)

Dover, Mass.; William A. Fer-
nald, 48, Salem; Camillien Gagnon
29, Salem; Charles Gilchrist, 58,
Raymond; Robert J. and

indefinite; Lydia Briggs, 42, Anchor-
age, Alaska, indefinite; Edward
Canfield, 23, Durham, indefinite;
Frederick D. Clemens, 51, Bradford,
indefinite; Glenn H. Colburn, 26,
Charlestown, 60 days.
Adrian Desmarais, 17, Keene, 15
days; Arthur H. Doyle Jr., 22,
Franklin, indefinite; Richard Du-
field, 35, Manchester, indefinite;
Dwight B. Dunlap, 20, Kittery,
Maine, 30 days; Wayne Eastman, 20,
indefinite; Eric F. Fischer

SPRING

POLICE OFFI
wanski and Lt. Ro
eye witnesses to a
Fairfield branch o
tution for Savings

BANK

(Continued from P

Two high school stu
outside the metal tra
for the bank while a
ing is constructed in
ping complex. They
heard "two loud ba
then saw a man, ab
10, wearing an Arr
with a hood, run from
ing.

The youths, Wayn
and Robert Stalcup, e
trailer and found Eise
Mrs. Hammack lying
on the floor, fatally
A cigarette was still b
tween the man's fing
"We are working o
that the victims wer
ther because they
the robbers or so tha
nesses would be era
Capt. David Rojowsk
detectives.

He said the pair ha
operating with the r
had not attempted to
alarm. Bank emplo
strict orders not to
sist in case of a hold

The youths told I
gunman ran behind
ment store in the shop
plex. A white car with
haired youths in it sh
through an exit down
used road, and polic
was possible the gu
a getaway car waitin

Eisemann had a wil
young children while I
mack had three child

Officials at the Spr
stitution for Savings
was the first robbery
bank's 144-year histo

PETERSON

(Continued from Pe

The Peterson ac
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of spending is aln
million per year.

Lamprey, in testi
fore the Senate Fin

Hoffa

February 9, 1971

Dear Mr. Robison:

This is in further response to your letter of February 1, 1971 to Bill Timmons, to which I have been asked to respond.

In accordance with established regulations and procedures, all Petitions for Executive Clemency are in the first instance subjected to investigation and review by the Department of Justice, and are considered by the President only after this is completed and the Attorney General has made his recommendation for the disposition of the Petition. Regardless of the offense involved or the person involved, each case is given very careful consideration at all levels.

In regard to the Petitions urging the President to grant a pardon for James Hoffa, these are currently being reviewed by the Department of Justice pursuant to the aforementioned procedures.

In responding to your constituent mail on this subject, by way of background you may wish to advise them that the granting of pardons and commutations is a power given to the President by the Founding Fathers, providing him with the opportunity to exercise clemency in those instances where he feels a person convicted of a Federal offense has since that time demonstrated that he is worthy to be forgiven or excused for the crime for which he was found guilty. While the granting of such relief is at the President's discretion, he is most interested and mindful of the views of concerned citizens in such matters.

- 2 -

I trust the foregoing will be of use to you; please advise me if I can be of any further assistance to you in this regard.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Honorable Howard W. Robison
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

cc: William Timmons

JWD:FFF:bav

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DEAN

FROM: FRED FIELDING 

SUBJECT: Inquiry of Rep. Robison - James Hoffa Pardon

I am reluctant to have Larry Traylor draft a response to Congressman Robison's letter, especially in light of the fact that no formal Petition for pardon has been filed by Hoffa personally. I also do not think we should make a definitive statement as to the possibility of such a pardon in the near future. Therefore, the attached letter to the Congressman merely advises him of the general procedures for handling of pardons, and the fact that Petitions on Hoffa's behalf are being reviewed by the Department of Justice. I have also included some background information relating to the pardon power in your letter to him.

February 4, 1971

Dear Howard:

Thank you for your February 1 letter requesting information which will be helpful to you in replying to constituents who have written in opposition to Mr. James Hoffa receiving a Presidential pardon. I will be pleased to obtain an appropriate reply which will be responsive to these inquiries.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

William E. Timmons
Assistant to the President

Honorable Howard W. Robison
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

✓ bcc: w/incoming to John Dean for DIRECT REPLY to Mr. Robison.

WET:EF:VO:jlc

HOWARD W. ROBISON
33D DISTRICT, NEW YORK

CHARLES O. INGRAHAM
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
February 1, 1971

23
MEMBER:
COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS

HOME ADDRESS:
OWEGO, N.Y.

DISTRICT OFFICE:
302 FEDERAL BUILDING
BINGHAMTON, N.Y.

EF

Mr. William E. Timmons
Assistant to the President for
Congressional Relations
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

FEB 3 1971

Dear Bill:

Recently, I have been receiving some constituent mail urging me to do all in my power to prevent James Hoffa, former Teamsters' President, from receiving a Presidential pardon. I suspect that this has been prompted by the news account of Senator Cotton's transference to President Nixon of petitions urging that Mr. Hoffa be pardoned.

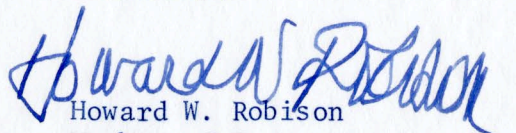
I really am not in much of a position to say whether Mr. Hoffa should be pardoned or not; but in order that I might be able to respond to my constituents, can you give me a reading about whether or not such a pardon is possible in the near future?

Obviously, it would make me look a little dense if I write back to my constituents, telling them that I have no word of an imminent pardon, and then have the news come out the following day that such an action has been taken.

Thanks a great deal for your help.

Best personal regards,

Sincerely,


Howard W. Robison
Member of Congress

HWR:ciw

Fitzsimmons Loses Bid for Support To Succeed Hoffa

By Harry Bernstein
Los Angeles Times

Top Teamsters Union officers have turned down Frank Fitzsimmons' request for a pledge of support in his bid to succeed James R. Hoffa as president of the nation's largest union. Fitzsimmons, now acting president of the million-member organization, is still expected to succeed the imprisoned Hoffa when the union holds its convention in July at Miami Beach.

But the unexpected action of the Teamsters' executive board means that the controversial leader could still be re-elected even if he is in the Lewisburg Penitentiary in Pennsylvania.

"We owe Jimmy a lot, even though I don't like everything he did," one top Teamster said.

The rejection of Fitzsimmons' request for support came at a closed meetings of the executive board two weeks ago in Palm Springs.

When Fitzsimmons asked for the pledge, three vice presidents spoke against it: Harold Gibbons, head of the Central States Conference; Robert Holmes, a vice president from Hoffa's home base of Detroit, and Murray (Dusty) Miller, head of the Southern Conference of Teamsters.

The debate continued more than an hour. While there was no outright opposition to Fitzsimmons himself, in the end his move was denied.

Fitzsimmons, Hoffa's own selection for the job as acting president, said in an interview that he will not run against Hoffa if he wins a parole before July.

"But if I am elected at the convention, then I intend to serve the full five years in office, and I would not resign," he said when asked what he would do if Hoffa is released any time after the convention.

If Fitzsimmons is elected, he is certain to get an invitation to rejoin the AFL-CIO, which kicked the Teamsters out in 1957 because of corruption charges. AFL-CIO President George Meany has said that as long as Hoffa is president of the Teamsters no invitation to rejoin the labor federation will be issued, but Meany's aides say that Fitzsimmons is acceptable.

Still unanswered is the question of whether Hoffa will send word from his prison cell that he would like to be re-elected.

PRESERVATION COPY

Closing Labor's Ranks

Teamsters, UAW Likely to Join AFL-CIO; Changes in Leadership Seen as One Factor

By BYRON E. CALAME

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The nation's divided labor movement is heading toward reunification.

Signs are growing that the nation's largest union, the Teamsters, plus the smaller Chemical Workers, may be back in the AFL-CIO as early as the end of this year, though posturing and maneuvering could cause delays. The second-largest union, the Auto Workers, may not be far behind.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, who has had harsh criticism for the three rambunctious outcasts in the past, is making it increasingly clear he would welcome their return. Well-informed men in the federation talk optimistically about the two-million-member Teamsters and the 110,000-member Chemical Workers rejoining the AFL-CIO during 1971. The 1.4-million-member UAW, they suggest, might take a bit longer to make its reentry.

Authoritative sources in the three unions agree that their increasing contact and cooperation with the 13.6-million-member Federation probably will lead to reaffiliation sooner or later. In the UAW's case, though, an insider says: "I don't think it will happen this year, maybe not for at least a year and a half."

A strong impetus toward rapprochement has come from dramatic leadership changes in the three unions. Low-key Frank Fitzsimmons is running the Teamsters in place of imprisoned James Hoffa and has had a friendly meeting with Mr. Meany. The late Walter Reuther, whose outspoken manner and social activism led to the UAW's exit from the federation in 1968, has been succeeded by mild-mannered Leonard Woodcock, who has won praise from Mr. Meany. The Chemical Workers president who pushed through a hookup with the UAW and the Teamsters died shortly afterward; his successor, Thomas Boyle, has grown increasingly disillusioned with that alliance.

Enhancing the Prospects

ed by the federation's executive council at its next session in mid-February.

The return of the Teamsters, the UAW and the Chemical Workers would clearly strengthen labor's hand in dealing with management and Government. "Organizing is where the pickup would be," opines one AFL-CIO insider; "we could work out improved approaches to organizing by setting up target areas and that sort of thing." A UAW source predicts that labor's Washington and statehouse lobbying efforts would gain added power through the closer coordination made possible by reunification. And improved coordination could make labor's election-campaign dollars go further and accomplish more.

In other ways, however, the impact of reunification would be less significant. Both the Teamsters and the UAW, for instance, already participate along with AFL-CIO affiliates in coordinated multi-union bargaining in the electrical and copper industries.

Reuniting 'The House of Labor'

Apart from benefits to organizing and political action, the AFL-CIO has other reasons for wanting the three unions back in the fold. The federation's claim to being "the house of labor" is obviously tarnished by the conspicuous absence of the country's two largest unions. And regaining the 3.5 million members whose per-capita payments (10 cents a month per member) total \$4.2 million a year would increase the federation's revenues by about 25%.

But the thought of having to cough up so much money to the AFL-CIO could discourage any hasty move by the two big unions. In any case, says a federation insider, "a lot of ifs still have to fall into place."

The largest uncertainty, probably, is the Hoffa parole question. If the Teamster chief should be freed this spring, chances of the union's rejoining the AFL-CIO would almost evaporate. He hasn't any love for the federation, which expelled the Teamsters in 1957, and Mr. Meany has had

would-be rivals are wary of announcing their ambitions until it is certain Hoffa won't be freed in March; by that time, insiders predict, it will be too late for any of them to mount a successful challenge to Mr. Fitzsimmons.

A Teamsters Drive for Respectability

Sources inside and outside the Teamsters Union suggest that Mr. Fitzsimmons' "desire for respectability" is a compelling reason for his apparent interest in return to the AFL-CIO. "I think Fitz wants the status and respect that would come from being affiliated with the federation again," says one knowledgeable insider. Adds an onlooker familiar with both the big unions: "I think the Teamsters are more anxious to return than the UAW right now."

Some Teamsters agreed with AFL-CIO strategists that reaffiliation may come before the end of this year, but there are indications the matter won't be on the agenda for the unions' July convention. One Teamster suggests "a formal request from the federation will probably be necessary" before any firm plans for reentry can be made. That could easily delay the move until next year.

UAW sources see little planning for a return to the AFL-CIO until the path appears cleared for the Teamsters reentry. They say new President Woodcock is still preoccupied with union business and the process of solidifying his position.

"Most of this year the UAW will be tied up with bread-and-butter internal things," predicts one seasoned observer. The list includes wrapping up the UAW's main bargaining in the auto and farm-equipment industries and bringing the financially pinched union's operating costs

under control. Its annual per-capita payments to the AFL-CIO would run almost \$1.7 million.

Some people in the UAW contend the union shouldn't get too enthralled by flirtations with the federation. "I'm opposed to it (reaffiliation)," declares UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey. "I don't see it in the foreseeable future. I expect there will be a continuation of collaboration, but there's a difference between cooperation on a specific problem and reaffiliation."

Increasing Presence Likely

Nonetheless, pressure for the UAW's return to the AFL-CIO is expected to grow as the Teamsters get closer to rejoining. A key test, says one UAW insider, will be the reaction of the auto union's powerful regional directors, who sit on its policy-making executive board. He says that "they've had a lot of money to play with since the payments into state and central bodies of the AFL-CIO stopped, and

they probably like it."

Rank-and-file sentiment must also be considered. UAW men figure Mr. Woodcock will take time to build up the reentry idea among his membership and will insist that the plan be voted on by a union convention. The next regular UAW convention will take place in the spring of 1972.

PRESERVATION COPY

ing with Mr. Meany. The late Walter Reuther, whose outspoken manner and social activism led to the UAW's exit from the federation in 1968, has been succeeded by mild-mannered Leonard Woodcock, who has won praise from Mr. Meany. The Chemical Workers president who pushed through a hookup with the UAW and the Teamsters died shortly afterward; his successor, Thomas Boyle, has grown increasingly disillusioned with that alliance.

Enhancing the Prospects

Now fresh developments are enhancing the prospects for reunification.

The chances that Hoffa will be reelected president at the Teamsters' convention in July were sharply reduced this month when the U.S. Supreme Court refused to overturn a second five-year sentence for the union chieftain, who is serving an eight-year term for jury-tampering. The Court's action isn't likely to improve his prospects for parole this spring. If he doesn't go free, acting president Fitzsimmons probably will seek and win the top spot—and the AFL-CIO is expected to embrace the "reformed" Teamsters.

It is already becoming clear that the Chemical Workers will lead the reunification parade. At a meeting in Las Vegas this month, the union's executive board took up the question of leaving the Alliance for Labor Action, formed two years ago by the UAW and the Teamsters; the Chemical Workers were suspended by the AFL-CIO in late 1969, for joining the "rival" organization. Though the union declines to disclose the outcome of the board meeting, sources say the Chemical Workers will leave the alliance and rejoin the AFL-CIO. And AFL-CIO insiders predict that this reentry will be approv-

But the thought of having to cough up so much money to the AFL-CIO could discourage any hasty move by the two big unions. In any case, says a federation insider, "a lot of ifs still have to fall into place."

The largest uncertainty, probably, is the Hoffa parole question. If the Teamster chief should be freed this spring, chances of the union's rejoining the AFL-CIO would almost evaporate. He hasn't any love for the federation, which expelled the Teamsters on corruption charges in 1957, and Mr. Meany has indicated he wouldn't take the union back with Hoffa still in the driver's seat.

Moreover, the proud AFL-CIO leader hasn't yet issued a clear-cut public invitation for any of the three unions to return. His reasoning: All three were ousted because they violated the federation's rules; they can come back whenever they are ready to "follow the rules." Asked last August about who would have to make the first formal move in the case of the UAW, he replied: "I don't know. If the time is ripe, I wouldn't worry."

Games Unions Play

Already, though, the mating game has begun and Mr. Meany has found ways subtly to show interest in all three outcast unions.

Less than four hours after Mr. Woodcock was elected UAW president last May 22, Mr. Meany dispatched a warmly worded wire of congratulations. Other, more private signals followed. In June the AFL-CIO chieftain agreed to serve on the Nixon Administration's new National Commission on Productivity only if Mr. Woodcock was given one of the labor slots.

Relations between the AFL-CIO and the UAW grew closer in June when Messrs. Meany and Woodcock met in Washington and agreed to combine their then-separate legislative drives for broad national health insurance. Mr. Woodcock, declared Mr. Meany after the meeting, is "a solid trade unionist." Last week spokesmen for the union and the federation held a joint press conference to discuss legislative strategy on health insurance. Both sides, however, insist there hasn't been any formal discussion yet of anything except health insurance.

The federation's weekly newspaper, the AFL-CIO News, has reflected the subtle wooing of the UAW. An article in mid-November covered a Woodcock message on health insurance presented to the American Management Association. The UAW's General Motors settlement in late November got front-page play in the newspaper, with Mr. Meany hailing the pact as a "splendid victory" deserving "the highest commendation."

AFL-CIO moves to mend relations with the Teamsters have been especially delicate. Mr. Meany was presumably loath to make any significant overtures until it became clear that Hoffa isn't likely to return to power. Now, however, informal feelers are apparently being exchanged. One channel of contact: Joseph Keenan, a member of the AFL-CIO's executive council, and a longtime Keenan friend, Thomas Flynn, who is secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters.

Contact With the Teamsters

A key breakthrough toward a rapprochement between the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters came last October as Mr. Meany and Mr. Fitzsimmons met formally for the first time to discuss the farm workers' organizing dispute in California. (They had met briefly at a White House dinner last Labor Day.) The 80-minute meeting, held on neutral ground at a Washington hotel and attended by Messrs. Keenan and Flynn, was described by an AFL-CIO spokesman as "most cordial."

The AFL-CIO's apparently successful courtship of the Chemical Worker Union, which was banished from the federation in a blaze of bitter words, involved yet another technique. In a letter last month to the presidents of all AFL-CIO unions and state and city labor bodies, Mr. Meany urged "complete support" for the Chemical Workers' boycott of New York-based Sterling Drug Co. to back up a strike against that company.

The more cautious response of Teamsters and UAW leaders to the federation's wooing reflects, in part, the internal political realities they face. No matter how strong their own inclination to reaffiliate, the leaders have to make sure they don't move so fast as to upset powerful regional barons in each union who like the added leeway that can come from being outside the AFL-CIO.

At the same time, Mr. Fitzsimmons, who will surely run for the Teamsters presidency at the July convention if Hoffa isn't paroled, must keep an eye out for potential challengers. But

one seasoned observer. The list includes wrapping up the UAW's main bargaining in the auto and farm-equipment industries and bringing the financially pinched union's operating costs

PRESERVATION COPY

January 19, 1971

Dear Mr. Loeb:

Thank you for your letter of January 12, 1971, and the enclosures contained therein relating to the case of James R. Hoffa.

Having noted the contents of your January 12th editorial and chapter 9 of Ralph de Toledano's book, I am forwarding those items to the Department of Justice for its consideration, as is the established procedure in the processing of petitions for Executive Clemency.

I also appreciate having the benefit of your personal comments and insights regarding Mr. Hoffa and his trials, and am taking the liberty of sending a copy of your letter to the Pardon Attorney for inclusion in Mr. Hoffa's file.

Thank you again for taking the time to write to me regarding this case; your views regarding the granting of Executive Clemency will be carefully considered.

With best regards,

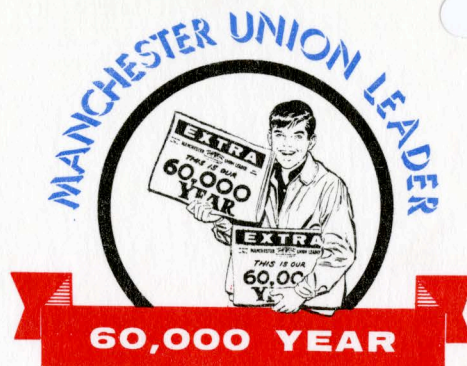
Sincerely,

John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Mr. William Loeb
Manchester Union Leader
Union Leader Corporation
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

cc: Pardon Attorney

JWD:FFF:bav



UNION LEADER CORPORATION
MANCHESTER, N. H. 03105
AREA CODE 603-625-5432

WILLIAM LOEB
PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

January 12, 1971
(tel. dict.)

Mr. John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dean:

Thank you for the courtesy of your letter of January 8.
I appreciate it.

I enclose a copy of a front page editorial on Monday's Supreme Court decision in the Hoffa case. While I am not a practicing lawyer, I DID spend almost three years at the Harvard Law School and, in my humble opinion, the error made by the Hoffa lawyers was that they never presented to the Supreme Court the real injustice in this case, which is that Bobby Kennedy deliberately created an atmosphere of hate and vilification towards Hoffa which would make it really impossible for any jury anywhere in the United States to render an impartial verdict.

For instance, the reference in the editorial is to testimony before a Senatorial committee, where copies of correspondence between LIFE'S Washington correspondent and their New York office was produced. This correspondence was to the effect from the Washington end that Bobby Kennedy had just called in the LIFE correspondent and told him he had a new and particularly damaging story about Hoffa and asked if LIFE wanted it. The New York editor of LIFE responded to his Washington correspondent in the affirmative and the story was put out. Bobby KNEW this article would appear just before one of Mr. Hoffa's trials.

Now, when adverse publicity is confined to a local newspaper, a change of venue outside of the circulation area of the newspaper will remedy such a situation, but what recourse does the defendant have when the adverse publicity is nationwide? Even if the counsel for the defendant asked the prospective juror whether he has read the LIFE article, and even if the juror

Mr. John W. Dean III-2

answers truthfully in the negative, it is perfectly possible and probable that the juror's friends, relative, companions in his office or in his shop have read it and have said to him: "What a bum that Hoffa is! If we ever have a chance to get him let's GET him!"

I have dealt with Jim Hoffa now for a good many years and my experience with him is completely at variance with the horror stories put out by the Kennedy publicity apparatus.

At the risk of making this over-long, let me give you two illustrations.

In 1964 the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Bill Miller, said to me, in discussing the forthcoming Presidential campaign: "You will have to support Rockefeller." I said: "Why?" He said: "Well, the Teamsters are going to support Rockefeller and they have a mortgage on your paper." I went right ahead supporting Barry Goldwater in the New Hampshire Presidential primary and nothing more was ever said to me about supporting Rockefeller. Afterwards I learned that the Rockefeller forces had indeed gone to see Mr. Hoffa and asked him to make the paper SUPPORT Rockefeller, to which his reply was: "Bill Loeb is a personal friend of mine. We didn't make the loan to the paper to control its editorial policy. Bill has been kicked around by some of the same type of federal judges as I have. He has every right to support anybody he wants to support politically and I have every right to support anybody I want to support politically -- and that happens to be the way they DO things in the United States of America."

In the Summer of '69 I saw Jim in the county jail in Chattanooga, at a time when his counsel were attempting to bring about a new trial on the basis of wire-tapping, and I told him I was perfectly prepared to testify to what Deke DeLoach had told me about Bobby Kennedy's activities and giving the names of the wire-tap squad which worked on the Hoffa case. Jim shook his head and said: "No, Bill, I'm not going to let you do it." I said: "You are trying to get out of jail, aren't you?" He said: "Yes, but not at your expense. You know and I know you are telling the truth, but supposing the government puts on a great many witnesses to the contrary and then you find yourself charged with perjury. I am not going to get out of jail and have YOU suffer."

This is quite a guy and if you talk to anybody in the trucking business you will find that he knows the industry as well as they do and does not make bargains they can't afford to meet. Furthermore, when a bargain is made there are no wild-cat strikes and there is no trouble. You will notice that the industry is presently in the process of constantly having more and more trouble. This is because the necessary strong hand at the helm is not there.

Mr. John W. Dean III- 3

Jim supported the President in 1960. I know because the President, himself, told me this. There would be no left-wing alliance with the U. A. W. -- Hoffa has no use for Reuther -- if Mr. Hoffa were out.

In critical fights, such as fortunately we won in Tennessee recently, we would not have the Teamsters backing Gore as they did, had Hoffa been out of prison.

As a lawyer, I think you may be interested in the chapter from Ralph deToledano's book, "RFK: The Man Who Would Be President", which I enclose. You can see the travesty of a trial in which the jury is not allowed to know that the chief witness is a man who has had a criminal record all his life and who obviously was perjuring himself for what he could get out of it -- and he did very WELL as a result of his perjury, although Gerald Gallinghouse, the very able and, I think, fine U. S. Attorney in New Orleans, now has Partin, the stool-pigeon, under indictment on two different cases. Until the Republicans came into power Partin led a charmed and happy life as a reward for his framing Hoffa.

Hoffa's principal lawyer today is a Southerner from Chattanooga, Harold Brown, who is of a different stripe than some of the earlier counsel, and a very sensible, honorable individual, but unfortunately the situation is so tangled in the court that I see no way out by THAT route. The only thing that will bring justice in this case is executive clemency. If ever there was a case for it, this is IT.

However, you must remember the unfortunate fact that your administration has not seen fit to clean out some of the Kennedy mafia in the Department of Justice who are still there, attempting to give President Nixon the political hot-foot whenever they can and, of course, continuing their vendetta against Hoffa.

To the best of my information, they have only recently sent word that they oppose the parole for Mr. Hoffa in March and also have identified him as linked with organized crime, which automatically makes a man serve his full sentence. This is by the grapevine and may not be entirely authentic, but I believe it is.

Another very interesting fact I think you should bear in mind is that some of the "shenanigans" of which Mr. Hoffa has been accused, especially in connection with the Pension Fund, have continued right along, now that Mr. Hoffa is in jail. This raises the question as to whether or not the wrong man is in prison.

Mr. John W. Dean III-4

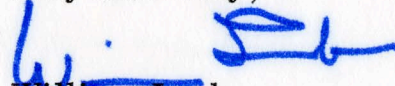
I can also tell you that Mr. Hoffa has had some very clear second thoughts about some of his previous associates and I think if he is pardoned and brought out of Lewisburg you will see a thorough house-cleaning going on in the Teamsters.

This letter is long enough. I could elaborate at great length on the manifold injustices in this case. I had President of the United States Theodore Roosevelt for a godfather and I was brought up on his principles of fighting for what is right. Mr. Hoffa has never asked anything of me, so when my friend is in this difficulty and the injustice is obvious, my tradition and the way I was brought up indicate to me that I must fight for his freedom with every ounce of my energy.

I am at your service if I or any of my associates can furnish you with further information on this case, which really ranks with the great Dreyfus case in the last century in France as an outstanding example of injustice unfortunately perpetrated by one of the highest officials of the United States; namely, the Attorney General of the United States, Robert Kennedy.

With appreciation of your attention to this matter and with regards and best wishes,

Very sincerely,


William Loeb
President

WL:Miss F. J. Mullally

John Herling / Hoffa's 13

WASH DAILY
NEWS
1/12/71



AFTER nearly seven years of legal in-fighting up and down the federal judicial appellate ladder, Teamsters President James R. Hoffa was finally turned down yesterday by the Supreme Court in his plea to avoid serving an additional 5-year sentence.

That sentence had been imposed in 1964 after a Chicago jury found Mr. Hoffa guilty of mail and wire fraud in connection with the finances of the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund of which Mr. Hoffa had been a trustee.

Mr. Hoffa is now serving an 8-year sentence in Lewisburg, Pa., penitentiary following his other conviction in 1964 in Chattanooga for jury tampering and obstruction of justice.

This latest blow to Mr. Hoffa comes a few days after the climax to a drive conducted by a Michigan Teamsters group which had circulated petitions urging President Nixon to commute Hoffa's 8-year sentence to the time already served. On Dec. 29 these petitions were brought to the Washington office of Sen. Norris Cotton of New Hampshire for conveyance to President Nixon. The Republican Senator arranged with Presidential Assistant Peter Flanagan to receive the petitions.

On Jan. 8, the senator's Executive Secretary, Dolores Drayer, brought the petitions to the White House where she handed them to John Wesley Dean, the President's counsel. The senator was unable to bring the petitions in personally because of serious illness in his family. When asked why he, a New Hampshire senator, had agreed to act as intermediary for the conveyance of the petition assembled by the Michigan organization he explained that he had done so at the behest of a longtime friend, William Loeb, a New Hampshire publisher and political leader.

WHAT the latest action by the Supreme Court does to the orchestration of pressure being carried on for Mr. Hoffa's release is not certain. Parole was once denied him by the federal parole board, but Mr. Hoffa had been planning to renew his plea for parole in March.

The Chattanooga conviction brought Mr. Hoffa what is known as a "term certain", that is a specific number of years. In the Chicago case, however, he was given five years under what is known as an "A 2" sentence. Such a

sentence enables the convicted person to appeal for parole immediately after sentencing. It is usually given under special conditions, and usually to young offenders.

Under the combined 13-year sentence, Hoffa might be eligible for parole after serving one-third of his time. This could mean his possible release no earlier than next June — or a few weeks before the Teamsters convention. It is arguable whether the crimes for which he has been convicted and sentenced would make him automatically ineligible to serve as a union officer. The Landrum-Griffin Law is not clear on this score. At any rate, if Hoffa remains in the Lewisburg penitentiary until after the July, 1971, Teamsters convention, it is practically a lead pipe cinch that Frank Fitzsimmons, now acting president of the Teamsters Union, would be elected in his own right. Under such a schedule, that would mean that Mr. Hoffa was finished as the top leader of the Teamsters.

TWO days before Christmas, Mr. Fitzsimmons, accompanied by Assistant Labor Secretary William L. Usery, was received by President Nixon for an hour-long conversation on Teamsters relations with the government. Mr. Fitzsimmons complained that various federal agencies had been giving his union a hard time. In the course of their talk, Mr. Fitzsimmons carefully avoided mentioning Mr. Hoffa's name. The President, however, did mention Mr. Hoffa, saying he did not wish to go into the merits of the Hoffa matter or whether Mr. Hoffa had been justly or unjustly convicted.

Now that the Supreme Court has spoken once again on Mr. Hoffa's second conviction, its decision may have an effect on the attitude of the parole authorities.

PRESERVATION COPY

January 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DEAN

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING

On letters regarding requests for a Presidential Pardon for Hoffa, such as the attached from Rep. Gaydos, if Timmons' office has acknowledged I do not think a further reply is desirable.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

NB: On this particular letter, I talked with Timmons' secretary and cautioned her against a direct statement of the President's active consideration of this matter; rather, it will be stated: "You may be assured that all requests for Executive Clemency are given very careful consideration."

FFF:mtb

January 11, 1971

Dear Mr. Fitzsimmons:

This will acknowledge receipt and thank you for forwarding to the White House the Resolution approved by the General Executive Board on December 16, 1970, petitioning the President to grant Executive Clemency to James R. Hoffa.

We have forwarded this Resolution to the Department of Justice for its consideration, as is the normal procedure in the handling and processing of such petitions.

You and the members of the Board may be assured that every request for an exercise of Executive Clemency is given very careful consideration.

Sincerely,

John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Mr. Frank E. Fitzsimmons
General Vice President
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DRAFT

January 6, 1971

Ad hoc file

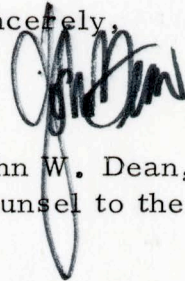
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You and the members of the Board may be assured that every request for an exercise of Executive Clemency ~~by~~ ~~the President~~ is given very careful consideration.

Sincerely,



John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Mr. Frank E. Fitzsimmons
General Vice President
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

*Colson spoke with
Fitzg II 1/11/71
8:11 AM
H. R. 11/11/71*

*Should be sent as is - will
be read to Executive Council*

not published !!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DEAN

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING

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Agree

Disagree

NB: On this particular letter, I talked with Timmons' secretary and cautioned her against a direct statement of the President's active consideration of this matter; rather, it will be stated: "You may be assured that all requests for Executive Clemency are given very careful consideration."

JTB

January 8, 1970

Dear Mr. Gaydos:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your January 5 letter to the President, on behalf of the members of the Drivers and Dairy Employees Local 205, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, asking that favorable consideration be given to granting a Presidential pardon to Mr. James R. Hoffa. You may be assured your letter will be brought to the President's attention at the earliest possible date.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

William E. Timmons
Assistant to the President

Honorable Joseph M. Gaydos
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

✓ bcc: w/incoming to John Dean for further handling.
bcc: w/incoming to Clark MacGregor for your information.

WET:EF:VO:vo

1
JOSEPH M. GAYDOS
20TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

1033 LONGWORTH HOB
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
202-225-4631

COMMITTEE:
EDUCATION AND LABOR

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

January 5, 1971

VI-7
DISTRICT OFFICES:
727 NEW FEDERAL BLDG.
1000 LIBERTY AVENUE
PITTSBURGH, PA. 15222
412-644-2896

* 505 NATIONAL BANK BLDG.
MCKEESPORT, PA. 15132
412-673-3756

BT
The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

A matter of serious importance has been referred to me by a resident of my Congressional District, Mr. William E. Lickert, President of the Milk and Ice Cream Salesmen, Drivers and Dairy Employees Local 205, International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

This matter involves the pending application for a Presidential Pardon filed on behalf of former Teamster President, James R. Hoffa, presently an inmate at the federal penitentiary located in Lewisburg. Mr. Lickert has requested, as president of Local 205, which consists of 3,000 dues paying members, that I join in his request that the President of the United States favorably consider Mr. Hoffa's pending application for a Presidential pardon.

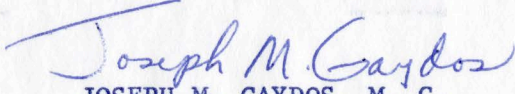
The facts are well established that Mr. Hoffa has already been incarcerated over 3 1/2 years, during which time he has deported himself as a model inmate in full compliance of the rules and regulations of this federal detention facility. Based upon information made available to me and which can be verified as a matter of record, it appears that Mr. Hoffa, by his exemplary conduct, should be considered as fully rehabilitated and that the application filed on his behalf for a Presidential pardon is in order at this time.

The President
Page Two
January 5, 1971

Therefore, I have no hesitancy to honor President Lickert's request on behalf of the 3,000 members of Local 205 to ask your favorable consideration regarding Mr. James R. Hoffa's pending application for Presidential Pardon.

I am confident that this application shall receive a complete and equitable consideration by you as Chief Executive of the United States of America.

Faithfully yours,


JOSEPH M. GAYDOS, M. C.

JMG:pd

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500



11 AM 11



Joseph M. Gaydos
M.C.

January 8, 1971

Dear Mr. Loeb:

The President has asked me to respond to your recent correspondence and to thank you for giving him the benefit of your thoughts and comments in regard to a pardon for James R. Hoffa.

You may be assured that your comments have been noted and that every request for a Presidential pardon is given very careful consideration.

President Nixon also read the tear sheets of your editorial on the SST, and asked me to thank you for your sympathies and support in that matter.

With the President's best regards,

Sincerely,

John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Mr. William Loeb
Union Leader Corporation
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

bcc: Pat Buchanan

JWD:FFF:bav

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/16/20

To: JOHN DEAN

From : Bruce Kehrli

Bob has NOT SEEN.

PLEASE HANDLE. RETURN IF
YOU THINK IT SHOULD GO TO
THE P.

B.

THE WHITE HOUSE

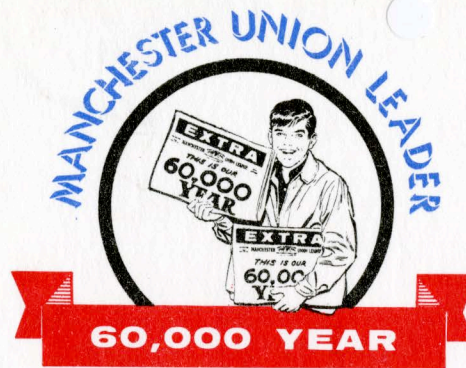
WASHINGTON

December 14, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: Pat Buchanan

Attached is a letter from William Loeb re: James Riddle Hoffa, and the chances of parole. He has sent it to me asking that I pass it on to the President. He had written to me about the matter, and I had answered that the whole affair was outside my province of responsibility and concern -- hence this he has written for the President.



UNION LEADER CORPORATION
MANCHESTER, N. H. 03105
AREA CODE 603-625-5432

WILLIAM LOEB
PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

December 7, 1970
(dict. Dec. 4)

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

Dear Mr. President:

During what turned out to be your very successful visit to Hartford, Connecticut, on Columbus Day, you may recall that I mentioned to you how much I would appreciate a pardon for James Riddle Hoffa who has now been in Lewisberg Prison stuffing mattresses for over three and a half years. You said you would look into the matter.

I am, however, well aware of the many more important matters that press you all around, so I trust you will not mind my reminding you of Jim Hoffa.

As you know, not only do I, but many other individuals in the United States, including the former Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, who is no friend of either yours or mine, have very serious doubts as to Mr. Hoffa's guilt and even more so as to the methods used by the late Robert F. Kennedy to get Mr. Hoffa convicted. However, regardless of that fact, I feel that three and a half years in prison is long enough to teach anyone a lesson.

I can tell you further that the time Jim Hoffa has had for reflection in prison has opened his eyes to the truth regarding a number of his associates which his very strong sense of loyalty previously prevented him from seeing. As a result, I am convinced that if he is now freed from prison, he will be a force for reform in the labor movement.

This new attitude, plus his long-established devotion to the free enterprise system and his understanding of economic realities which, unfortunately, some of our labor friends do not recognize, will, I think, make him a most constructive force in the nation at this critical time.

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
December 7, 1970
Page 2

I am enclosing an article entitled, "Let the Punishment Fit the Crime, If Any" by Professor Ralph James. Professor James and his former wife write the book "Hoffa and the Teamsters" which, at the time of its publication, received great praise from reviewers and labor experts, with the notable exception of Clark Mollenhoff who has always made Jim Hoffa his own private devil.

Professor James, unlike most authors nowadays, maintains a capacity for putting great events in the classical perspective of Shakespeare and Gilbert and Sullivan, as you will note if you have a chance to read the article.

I could talk about the political advantages to be gained from freeing Mr. Hoffa but I prefer to rest the case on the matter of righting an injustice or of showing mercy where I think mercy is deserved.

On an entirely different matter, I enclose tear sheets of my editorial in your support on the matter of the SST. My sympathies are certainly with you. I wonder whether a historical research could ever turn up any more recalcitrant Senate with which any President of the United States ever had to deal.

On the political side, I think my long time friend, Jim Buckley will be a great help to you in the coming session. He is much sounder and more sensible than his fascinating but rather frothy brother, Bill.

Nackey joins me in sending you and Mrs. Nixon every best wish for a Merry Christmas and many Happy New Years.

We were happy to see you both looking more relaxed and in better physical shape in Hartford than you seemed to be on that very lovely evening we spent at the White House on the occasion of Suharto's dinner.

Regards and best wishes.

Very sincerely,



William Loeb
President

W. L. -Miss M. Grady
Enc.

January 8, 1971

Dear Mr. Arnold:

Through the courtesy of Senator Cotton we are in receipt of petitions containing approximately 250,000 signatures urging the President to commute the prison sentence of James R. Hoffa.

You may be assured that every request to the President for an exercise of Executive Clemency is given very careful consideration.

Sincerely,

John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

Mr. Stanford Arnold
Executive Director
Construction Trades Council
of the Michigan Building Trades Union
508 Michigan National Towers
Lansing, Michigan 48933

January 7, 1971

These petitions regarding James Hoffa were brought to Senator Cotton's office December 29, 1970 by Mr. Stanford Arnold, Executive Director, Construction Trades Council of the Michigan Building Trades Union, 508 Michigan National Towers, Lansing, Michigan 48933. Office Telephone: 517/484-8427, Lansing, Michigan.

Mr. Arnold stated there are approximately 250,000 signatures secured within a six-week period.

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Construction Trades Council
of the Michigan Building Trades Union
508 Michigan National Towers
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January 7, 1971

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN DEAN

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING ~~✓~~

My inclination is to disagree with Chuck Colson's conclusion that no White House reply should be sent. This Resolution is Fitzsimmons' public gesture to the Hoffa faction and part of building his record of support for Jimmy in case the latter is pardoned or paroled, or retains power. Fitzsimmons can and should be wooed; even if he eventually takes over the Teamster presidency and joins forces with Meany by rejoining the AFL-CIO, that will probably be nothing more than a mild acceleration of the inevitable (Meany is an old man, and with his demise the trades unions will probably take control and then make official their long-standing unofficial alliance with the Teamsters - under Hoffa or Fitzsimmons).

Therefore I see no value in ignoring the Resolution; rather, I think the White House should have the appearance of complete neutrality in this internal struggle, and that an innocuous letter should be sent acknowledging receipt of the Resolution and "you may be sure that all requests for Executive Clemency are given careful consideration", etc.

Colson's thought may be that a White House response hurts Fitzsimmons or that it links us with Hoffa. I don't think that a letter as I suggested will do either, and yet it permits the White House to take advantage of either contingency in the power fight.

Perhaps we should get a reading of the long-range strategy on this before doing anything.

I agree with Colson send it to Jurin but send note to Fitzsimmons that it is being sent as per normal procedures - wh.
[Signature] 1/4/71

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 28, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN DEAN

This was just delivered to me at my office. It is fascinating and significant that it was adopted on December 16th yet Mr. Fitzsimmons did not deliver it to the President yesterday, nor did he even raise the subject during his meeting with the President yesterday.

I suggest that it be sent to the Justice Department for whatever reply is to be made. We should ignore it.


Charles W. Colson

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS • WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA

MAIN AND PRINCIPAL OFFICE, 2801 TRUMBULL AVENUE • DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48216

WASHINGTON OFFICE OF
• FRANK E. FITZSIMMONS •
General Vice President
25 LOUISIANA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001



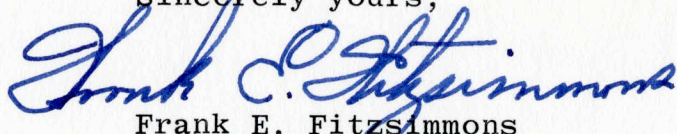
December 23, 1970

Mr. Charles W. Colson
Special Counsel to The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Colson:

The enclosed resolution was approved by our General Executive Board on December 16, 1970. Accordingly, I am forwarding it to your office for expeditious handling.

Sincerely yours,


Frank E. Fitzsimmons
General Vice President

FEF/s
enclosures

R E S O L U T I O N

WHEREAS, James R. Hoffa, General President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, has been imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania since March 7, 1967, and

WHEREAS, under such sentence he was eligible for parole in November of 1969, and

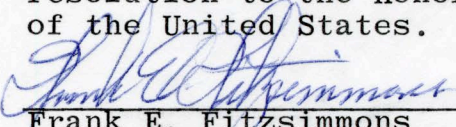
WHEREAS, his application for parole was denied at that time, and

WHEREAS, it appears to us that keeping James R. Hoffa imprisoned for more than a year after he was eligible for parole, without any stated valid reason for doing so, raises serious questions of whether James R. Hoffa is being treated as even-handedly as are others under such circumstances, and

WHEREAS, the record of James R. Hoffa during his many years as a trade union leader was not only that of dedication to the legitimate needs of the working men he represented but also that of full awareness of his responsibility and duty to his country as a trade union leader and as a citizen, and

WHEREAS, the continued imprisonment of James R. Hoffa, under all of the circumstances, appears to us to be neither fair nor just to James R. Hoffa and his family;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the General Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters respectfully petition the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, that he, during this season of good will and brotherhood, grant executive clemency to James R. Hoffa, and the General Executive Board herewith directs the General Vice President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to submit this resolution to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States.



Frank E. Fitzsimmons
General Vice President

Harold J. Gibbons
Sixth Vice President

Thomas E. Flynn
General Secretary-Treasurer

Joseph Trerotola
Seventh Vice President

Joseph J. Diviny
First Vice President

Dominick Calabrese
Eighth Vice President

Einar O. Mohn
Second Vice President

Robert Holmes
Ninth Vice President

Harry A. Tevis
Third Vice President

Ray Schoessling
Tenth Vice President

George E. Mock
Fourth Vice President

William Presser
Eleventh Vice President

Murray W. Miller
Fifth Vice President

William J. McCarthy
Twelfth Vice President

R E S O L U T I O N

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General Secretary-Treasurer

Joseph J. Diviny
First Vice President

Einar O. Mohn
Second Vice President

Harry A. Tevis
Third Vice President

George E. Mock
Fourth Vice President

Murray W. Miller
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Harold J. Gibbons
Sixth Vice President

Joseph Trerotola
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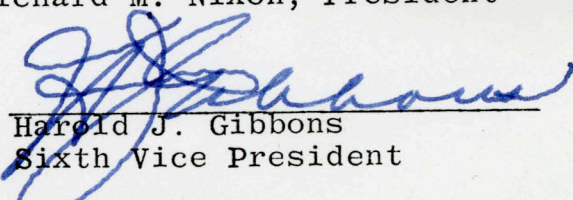
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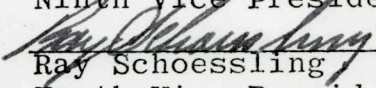
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

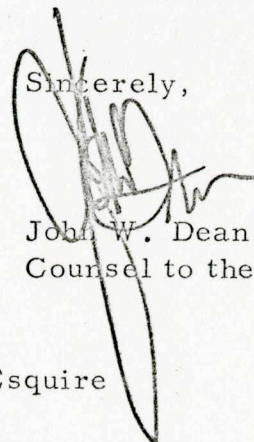
December 22, 1970

Dear Mr. Culbertson

The President has asked me to respond to your letter regarding Jimmy Hoffa and to thank you for giving him the benefit of your thoughts on this matter.

You may be assured that every request for a Presidential pardon is given very careful consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "John W. Dean, III", written over a large, loopy, handwritten "D" that extends from the signature down towards the typed name.

John W. Dean, III
Counsel to the President

John Bolt Culbertson, Esquire
110 Elford Street
P.O. Box 332
Greenville, South Carolina 29602

17

JOHN BOLT CULBERTSON

ATTORNEY AT LAW
110 ELFORD STREET - P. O. BOX 332
GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
29602

TELEPHONES: 232-7364
232-7365

December 17, 1970

Airmail

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

Re: Jimmy Hoffa

Dear Mr. President:

My heart and prayers have gone out for Jimmy Hoffa since he was imprisoned following prosecution in Tennessee. I have never felt that Jimmy Hoffa got a fair trial, but the fact remains that he was tried, convicted, sentenced, and imprisoned, and the only hope that I can see for him now is to be treated at least as well as an ordinary non-famous prisoner would be and here at Christmastime I am thinking more about him than I have before. I recall that immediately following his conviction that I discussed this matter with my late good friend, Senator Olin D. Johnston, and told him that I felt that a lot of things went on during that trial that made me believe there were improper relationships between certain United States marshals and the jury and asked him for his cooperation in helping me to interview the marshals from South Carolina that had been assigned to that case. And, through his good offices, arrangements were made for me to interview these marshals at Charleston, S. C. and the then United States marshal for this area, John Roland, who had been appointed to the office on the recommendation of Senator Johnston, set up an appointment for me to interview these men at his office in Charleston, but when I got there, Mr. Roland told me that he had had direct orders from Attorney General Robert Kennedy not to permit any interview and naturally I was prevented from discussing anything with these men. It was my information that one of the deputy marshals had been involved with a prostitute in an automobile accident while assigned to this case. Since I could not talk with any of these people and since I was acting on my own without fee, I did not pursue the matter any further.

But, be that as it may, I still feel that Jimmy Hoffa has been punished enough and, except for the fact that he is Jimmy Hoffa, in my opinion, he would have already been pardoned or paroled.

No one has suggested to me that I write you this letter, but I want to say honestly and forthrightly to you that I know of nothing--no one single thing that you could do to win the support of myself and thousands of

December 17, 1970

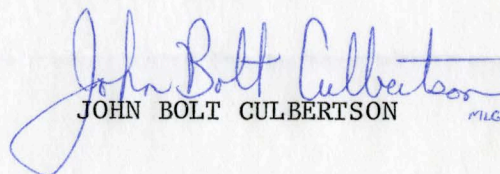
others like me than by granting a compassionate pardon for Jimmy Hoffa at this time. I do not write this letter lightly but from the depth of my feeling. Not that I owe Jimmy Hoffa or anybody anything that I know of, but just out of the experience of fair play and justice, I think that Jimmy Hoffa deserves to be released from prison.

In passing, I would point out to you that when Senator Thurmond was running for reelection to the Senate as a Republican candidate that I announced as a candidate in the Democratic Primary against State Senator Bradley Morrah, and despite the fact that I had no campaign headquarters and no staff, and my campaign fund was limited to less than \$12,000.00, and while I could not afford to be away from my office to make a vigorous campaign and only covered about one-third of our counties, yet and still, I received more than 130,000 votes or approximately 46% of the total. So I feel that I do have some influence and that my opinions carry some weight. I believe that if you were to check with Harry Dent or Senator Thurmond or Senator Hollings or any member of the South Carolina delegation, you would be told that I do not make idle statements. I hope that you will pardon me for intruding upon your time in this matter, but I did not feel right to let this opportunity pass without at least letting you know that there are those of us who feel very strongly about this.

Since learning of the hardships that you and your family underwent when you were quite young and the death of your brother from tuberculosis, I admit that my feelings toward you have undergone a great change and the more I watch you in operation, the more I can admire the way that you are conducting yourself in office. I do feel that you have a feeling for the oppressed and the unfortunate and I hope that you will seriously consider my request concerning Jimmy Hoffa.

With kind regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,


JOHN BOLT CULBERTSON MLG

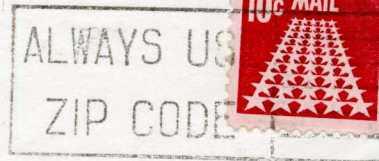
JBC/mlg

cc: Attorney General of the United States
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
Attention: Attorney General Mitchell

JOHN BOLT CULBERTSON

ATTORNEY AT LAW
110 ELFORD STREET - P. O. BOX 332
GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
29602

AIRMAIL



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



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1970

Mr. Mitchell --

I've told George Bell of Colson's office that you plan to visit with Fitzsimmons as soon as possible. They have become concerned that Fitzsimmons is becoming "up tight" about the situation. If it is going to be a while before you meet with him it might be best to let Fitzsimmons know, since Colson has informed him of your interest in visiting with him.

Incidentally, Colson did not learn of your desire to meet with Fitzsimmons from me!

If I can be of any assistance in resolving this matter, please let me know.



JOHN DEAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN DEAN

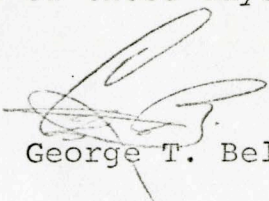
SUBJECT: Frank Fitzsimmons, Acting President,
Teamsters Union

We are reaching a very embarrassing situation with Mr. Fitzsimmons in arranging his visit with the President, and request your assistance in moving the appointment forward.

We approached Mr. Fitzsimmons because the President expressed an interest in talking with him, laid the groundwork for a visit and set up the formal request. As you know, information in the FBI file then delayed the matter and after much discussion back and forth we were informed that the Attorney General would see Fitzsimmons first. We informed Fitzsimmons that he should expect a call from the Attorney General.

Three to four weeks has now gone by, and I am now getting at least 2 calls a week from Fitzsimmons as to where the appointment stands. What started out to be a friendly gesture on the part of the President and was being interpreted in the same light by Fitzsimmons, is now becoming very touchy. It is important that our relations with Fitzsimmons start off on a friendly footing, which will be impaired as time goes by to the point where it could prove embarrassing to the President.

Your help will be most appreciated in arranging an appointment between Fitzsimmons and the Attorney General at the very earliest possible moment. Fitzsimmons will be in Washington this Wednesday and Thursday, and I certainly hope someone will be in touch with him on one of those days.



George T. Bell

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file:
Labor

December 4, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN DEAN

The attached article illustrates the paradoxes encountered in dealing with the labor leadership. If Hoffa is released, he will probably be able to retain the Teamster presidency. If he is not released, the Teamsters will probably rejoin the AFL-CIO to effect stronger labor unity against the Administration.

Some choice!!


Fred F. Fielding

2 Unions May Rejoin AFL-CIO

By Neil Gilbride
Associated Press

Informed labor sources are voicing strong speculation that the nation's two largest unions — Teamsters and Auto Workers — will rejoin the AFL-CIO, possibly within a year.

Such a move would bring virtually all major unions under one roof for the first time in nearly 15 years, forming a massive organization of more than 17 million workers.

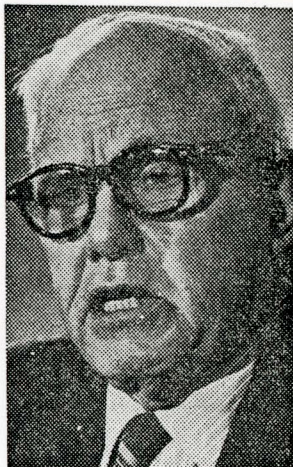
Nothing is official, and hitches could develop, but sources point to a number of major considerations.

One is the desire for stronger labor unity in the face of what union leaders view as a basically hostile Republican administration in the White House—despite a few friendly overtures from President Nixon.

Another is the death last May of the Auto Workers' president, Walter Reuther, who huffed out of the AFL-CIO two years ago in a per-



FRANK FITZSIMMONS



GEORGE MEANY

... labor leaders in friendly meeting

sonality clash with its venerable president, 76-year-old George Meany.

Reuther's successor, Leonard Woodcock, is said to have privately opposed the break and has been friendly with Meany since he took over.

The loss of the 1.6 million-member Auto Workers was a big one in both money and manpower for the AFL-CIO, reducing its total membership to the present 13.6 million workers in 121 unions.

Another sign viewed as

highly significant was Meany's recent friendly meeting with the Teamsters' acting president, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, the first such high-level conference since the Teamsters were kicked out of the AFL-CIO on corruption charges in 1957.

Meany and Fitzsimmons insisted they discussed only a dispute over jurisdiction among farm workers, which they worked out to their mutual satisfaction. But it was a major thawing of relations.

The key to whether Meany would invite the 2 million-member Teamsters back is whether imprisoned James R. Hoffa is finally squeezed out as Teamsters president next July.

The betting is that he will be, paving the way for the return of the Teamsters to the AFL-CIO fold after nearly 15 years as an out-cast.

See LABOR, F6, Col. 1

Fitzsimmons is believed the frontrunner to be named Teamsters president in his own right if Hoffa still is in prison on his jury-tampering and mail-fraud convictions, or is ruled legally ineligible for re-election.

Meany has sworn the Teamsters never will be taken back while Hoffa is president.

The first sign of the re-affiliation of the labor giants reportedly will be a move by the International Chemical Workers Union to quit the Alliance for Labor Action formed by the Teamsters and Auto Workers and rejoin the AFL-CIO.

The 100,000-member Chemical Workers, the only national union to join the Teamsters-Auto Workers Alliance and which was booted out of the AFL-CIO for doing so, will make the decision Jan. 17 at its board meeting in Las Vegas.

If they decide to rejoin, it is expected the AFL-CIO will take them back with none of the bitter name-calling that marked the Chemical Workers' expulsion last year.

"I expect they would be affiliated without any trouble," said a source close to Meany.

"We're not saying anything about the Alliance because Meany has said he hopes for the eventual re-affiliation of both the Teamsters and the new Auto Workers leadership.

"Since Reuther died, it died," one source said of the Alliance.

A Teamsters source, asked about the chances of rejoining the AFL-CIO, said "We haven't been invited."

Auto Workers sources are chary about discussing their possible rejoining the AFL-CIO. I think it's still quite a way down the road," one

PRESERVATION COPY

November 30, 1970

*file - hold
no further
action at
this time
12/7/70*

Dear Lou:

I appreciate your November 25 letter with which you enclosed a copy of Mr. William Loeb's letter to you regarding a pardon for Mr. James R. Hoffa. I certainly will be pleased to share his comments in support of such a pardon with the appropriate members of the staff.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

William E. Timmons
Assistant to the President

Honorable Louis C. Wyman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

✓ bcc: w/incoming to John Dean for FURTHER HANDLING.
If reply is made please furnish Bill Timmons with copy.
WET:EF:VO:vo

bcc: w/incoming to Ron Ziegler for your information.

LOUIS C. WYMAN
1ST DISTRICT, NEW HAMPSHIRE

410 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
AREA CODE 202-225-5456

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11-30
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON DEFENSE

GERARD F. SCHIAPPA
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

EF

November 25, 1970

NOV 30 1970

PERSONAL

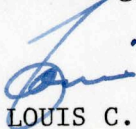
Mr. William Timmons
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

The attached from Bill Loeb is self-explanatory. It should have been marked November 23rd rather than September, but I think this was a typing error.

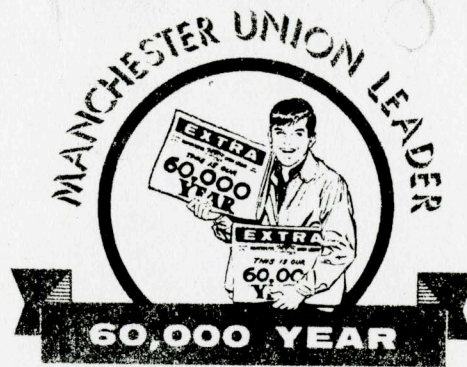
If an appropriate opportunity should present itself, could you check on this and let me know what the prospects are? I certainly think it an advisable move, and would highly recommend it to the boss.

Warm regards,



LOUIS C. WYMAN
Member of Congress

LCW:aj
Enclosure



UNION LEADER CORPORATION
MANCHESTER, N. H. 03105
AREA CODE 603-626-5432

WILLIAM LOEB
PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

September 23, 1970
(tel. dict.)

Congressman Louis C. Wyman
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Louis:

When Nackey and I saw the President in Hartford on Columbus Day the reception line was rather leisurely and casual, so I had a chance to bring up the matter of a pardon for Jim Hoffa this Christmas.

The President did not in any way seem to take the suggestion amiss. He asked me how long Jim had been in jail and I said three and a half years. He asked me to repeat the length of time and said he would look into the matter.

In view of the over-all results in the last election and the hostile activity of some Teamster units under the present leadership, it would seem more desirable than ever from the standpoint of the Republican party that Jim should be freed from jail and pardoned.

I previously sent you a copy of Professor James' article on the whole Hoffa situation which, you remember, ends up, "Let the punishment fit the crime--if any".

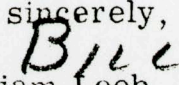
I also sent you a copy of Holmes Alexander's recent column on the advantages to the Republican party if Mr. Hoffa were free.

I am writing this same letter to Norris Cotton, Barry Goldwater, John Tower, John Rhodes and Bob Wilson because you six have been most active and helpful in this matter. I have a feeling that this Christmas is the time for a concerted push so we can complete this matter, get it over with and right a great injustice.

Regards.

WL:Miss F. J. Mullally

Very sincerely,


William Loeb
President

PRESERVATION COPY

September 24, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached are two self-explanatory documents dealing with the recent visit of James Hoffa, Jr. with a member of the White House Staff, at which the time the question of the possibility of a pardon for Jimmy Hoffa was raised by his son, James Hoffa, Jr.

I forward the attached for your information.

JOHN W. DEAN, III
Counsel to the President

Attachments

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 22, 1970

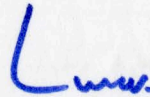
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN DEAN

Sometime ago I was informed by Bud Krogh that any overtones we received regarding James Hoffa should be reported forthwith to the Attorney General. The attached is self-explanatory. Young Hoffa did not come to us ostensibly for that reason, but I sensed that he wanted to bring the subject up. He continuously talked about his Dad. The fact is that ~~he~~ raised it. He pursued it quite vigorously and advised us that he was considering seriously filing a petition. Of course, all hell will break loose when he does. I think the Attorney General should be forewarned and should be aware of the situation.

Obviously, Cashen and I said nothing except merely to ask factual questions.

In view of the work we are doing with labor, should there be any developments in this area, I would very much like to be forewarned if at all possible.



Charles W. Colson

Attachment.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 1.3

By  NARA, Date 9/27/05

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES W. COLSON

FROM: HENRY C. CASHEN II *HC*

SUBJECT: Meeting with James Hoffa, Jr.

This is a summary memorandum with respect to the captioned meeting. Hoffa generally discussed improved labor relations between the White House and the Teamster's Union and indicated that he would talk to Frank Fitzsimmons, Acting President, to determine what problems he would like to discuss with the White House and in the alternative make the Teamster's available to any problems or independently related matters we might choose to discuss with him. The meeting was a rather general discussion concerning endorsement of political candidates and overall support of the present Administration.

The very sensitive question which finally surfaced, and which was pursued between Jim and myself alone, concerned the possibility of a pardon for his father. Jim was very serious, obviously, on this question and indicated to me that in all probability a petition for pardon would be filed and in strict confidence would welcome any advice whatsoever on this subject (either pro or con) from the White House.

For background, I have a great deal of respect for Jim, both academically and with respect to his integrity. He is a good man and we should continue to develop a good working relationship with him.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 1.3

By *W/C* NARA, Date 9/27/05

John Dean - XVI - Ly

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1970

THE GREENVILLE NEWS

WATCH ON WASHINGTON

by Clark Mollenhoff

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Do not undersell the current campaign by Teamsters Union members, lawyers, and friends who urge that Teamsters boss James R. Hoffa be released from federal prison by Christmas.

The "Free Hoffa" group may not expect to get Hoffa out of the federal prison in Lewisburg by Dec. 25. But, they are dead serious on the effort to spring Jimmy before July 5, 1971, the date set for the next Teamsters convention in Miami Beach, Fla.

Hoffa entered prison on March 14, 1967 after two felony convictions and a 13-year cumulative federal prison term was set. His initial effort to win White House sympathy failed with rejection of an application for parole on Oct. 2, 1969. The eight-member parole board denied his application, and set March 4, 1971, as the first date it can be reconsidered short of direct intervention by President Nixon.



MOLLENHOFF

Hoffa's lawyers and miscellaneous "friends of Hoffa" have kept up a continuing effort to convince the White House of the "political advantage" in springing Hoffa. It is argued that Hoffa can serve as Republican political counter to George Meany and the AFL-CIO.

Always it is argued that Hoffa was the "innocent" victim of a vendetta by the late Robert F. Kennedy.

Most recently, this theme on Hoffa's innocence has been pushed through a paper written by a college professor, the author of a highly favorable biography of Hoffa that was highly subsidized by the Teamsters Union. His thesis is that while Robert Kennedy was "a great man", he used "questionable tactics" to convict Hoffa of jury tampering.

The paper leaves the impression that Hoffa was convicted on the uncorroborated word of a stool pigeon with a criminal background. It ignores the fact that every aspect of the testimony by Edward Grady Partin was corroborated by FBI agents as well as documents, and admission by others involved.

There is some difficulty in seeing the advantage to a "law and order" administration in freeing one of the most notorious labor racket figures of the last 20 years. But Hoffa and his lawyers have devised arguments to reach Republicans from the far right through the far left.

The arguments make much of an appeal to the Republican desire to shatter "the Kennedy myth."

The Hoffa case story includes three trials. The first was the one in 1962 on a charge of Taft-Hartley Law violations that ended in a hung jury after three jurors had been excused as a result of attempted jury tampering. Hoffa and another Teamster had approved establishment of a truck-leasing system in the maiden names of their wives in Nashville, Tenn. This firm received more than \$1,000,000 in leasing fees from truck lines with \$242,000 profit flowing to the wives of the Teamsters bosses.

The government contended that the firm was a device for union officials to obtain money from employers in violation of the law. Certainly, the incorporation in Tennessee in the maiden names of the wives indicated they didn't want union members to know the wives were dealing with the truck lines.

Even after three jurors were dismissed because of "fix" attempts, the trial ended in a hung jury.

The judge ordered a grand jury probe that linked Hoffa to the jury fixes, and resulted in the conviction in Chattanooga in February, 1964. Hoffa was sentenced to eight years in federal prison.

Efforts to upset that conviction included the use of false affidavits from prostitutes, bell hops and others to raise questions about the personal conduct of the judge, the prosecutors, the federal marshals and even some of the jurors. Those affidavits, many admittedly false, were purchased by a Hoffa helper.

In sentencing Hoffa, Judge Frank Wilson told him: "You stand here convicted of having struck at the very foundation upon which everything else in this nation depends . . . the administration of justice."

A few months later, Hoffa was found guilty with others of frauds in the handling of loans of \$20 million from union pension funds. It was charged that Hoffa and his racketeering associates diverted more than one million dollars from the pension funds for their own use.

Much of the money was in the form of 10 per cent kickbacks on loans, with delivery in "old small bills."

Judge Richard Austin sentenced Hoffa to five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine on each of the four counts. He commented he hoped "the sound of the clanging jailhouse door" would have a salutary effect on Hoffa as well as "those who may be tempted to indulge in the same conduct."

If the White House is tempted to give Hoffa a break on the basis of an academician's paper on Hoffa's "innocence", it would be well to look at the actual record of the Hoffa trials. If still in doubt, the White House may want to examine the more than 200 indictments returned against members of Hoffa's hoodlum empire and the nearly 150 convictions of Hoffa's associates as an indication of the path of massive corruption followed by the Hoffa-run Teamsters.

President Nixon owes it to himself to examine the full available record before considering the proposal that it might be "good politics" to spring Hoffa. The convictions show that Hoffa sold out his union members in deals with employers, that he arrogantly tried to buy jurors, that his lawyers and aides continued to try to corrupt the court system, and that he was even making deals with the union pension funds for personal profit.