

THE
SENATE
WATERGATE
REPORT

ABRIDGED

THE FINAL REPORT OF THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE
ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
(The Ervin Committee)

Introduction by
DANIEL SCHORR

CARROLL & GRAF PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK

"fake ticket routine," in which the ask for the ticket of an individual and then escort the individual from the rally.⁷⁵² technique was used in Charlotte, North Graham Day to cope with potential planning to show up for the President's

d that there were other recommendations nonstrators. One idea that was discussed e operation should have ready a pick up in it, and, if there were any trouble at would release the cowboys and "let things said he recalled Haldeman discussing such tactics never actually occurred.⁷⁵⁴

'chemes. Vote siphoning is essentially a one political campaign in the affairs of paign for the purpose of weakening or ition candidate.

mittee to Re-elect the President (CRP) orts to take votes away from Senator Hampshire and Illinois primaries and effort in California to drive the regis an Independent Party (AIP) below the that AIP would not qualify for a spot general election.

ire Primary. The effort to take votes luskie in New Hampshire was initiated according to Magruder, who told him been approved by both Haldeman and uder cleared the project (at a cost of 1 John Mitchell and also spoke to Colson, or someone in his office, ac drafted a letter supporting a write-in Kennedy, whose name was not on the taken by someone in Colson's office democratic politician in Montgomery o had been running a Kennedy-for since July 1971.⁷⁵⁷

February 1972 someone, who iden phone conversation as Mike Abram 15, 1973, p. 6.

s, August 18, 1973, p. 3; and October 1, fual who took the letter to Ficker worked in has not been identified.

son, asked him to sign a letter calling for a Kennedy write-in campaign. The letter was brought to Ficker's home by a "Bill Robinson," who said he was with a law firm in Washington, D.C.⁷⁵⁸

Ficker signed the letter because he agreed with its contents. He was later told that between 150,000 and 180,000 copies of the letter were mailed to New Hampshire residents whose names appeared on the CRP mailing list of Democrats.⁷⁵⁹

Ficker also went to New Hampshire, shortly before the primary, and campaigned for Kennedy for four of five days. At Abramson's suggestion, he placed one advertisement in the *Manchester Union Leader*, credited to the United Democrats for Kennedy, which he signed and paid for himself.⁷⁶⁰

Ficker never saw Mike Abramson and never knew where he could be reached. Ficker believed that he worked with Kennedy aides in coordinating the Kennedy write-in campaign in New Hampshire.⁷⁶¹

The write-in campaign for Senator Kennedy was totally financed by the Committee to Re-Elect the President, yet that information was never disclosed either to Mr. Ficker or to the public during the campaign.

Patrick Buchanan, a Presidential speechwriter and campaign strategist, testified that, although not acquainted with the Ficker letter, he knew about Ficker's write-in campaign.⁷⁶² Asked about the propriety of the letter, Buchanan responded that it was "a borderline case," with regard to unethical campaign practices.⁷⁶³ Buchanan had advocated a form of vote siphoning in an October 5, 1971, memorandum to Mitchell and Haldeman:

3) *Fourth Party Candidacies.* Top-level consideration should be given to ways and means to promote, assist and fund a Fourth Party candidacy of the Left Democrats and/or the Black Democrats. There is nothing that can so advance the President's chances for re-election—not a trip to China, not four-and-a-half percent employment—as a realistic black Presidential campaign.⁷⁶⁴

758. Robin Ficker interview, p. 1.

759. Magruder interview, October 1, 1973. For a copy of the letter, see 10 Hearings 4266. (Exhibit 197)

760. Ficker interview, p. 2. The write-in effort was not successful. Senator Kennedy received only 735 (0.9%) of the Democratic votes in the primary. *Congressional Quarterly*, March 11, 1972, p. 539.

761. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

762. 10 Hearings 3968.

763. *Ibid.*

764. 10 Hearings 4201 (excerpted from Exhibit No. 179, which begins at p. 4197).

desirables" was the "fake ticket routine," in which the advance man would ask for the ticket of an individual and then declare it a "fake" and escort the individual from the rally.⁷⁵² Walker said this technique was used in Charlotte, North Carolina, on Billy Graham Day to cope with potential protesters who were planning to show up for the President's appearance.

Walker also stated that there were other recommendations for coping with demonstrators. One idea that was discussed was that the advance operation should have ready a pick up truck with cowboys in it, and, if there were any trouble at an appearance, they would release the cowboys and "let things happen."⁷⁵³ Walker said he recalled Haldeman discussing such tactics but that such tactics never actually occurred.⁷⁵⁴

I. Vote Siphoning Schemes. Vote siphoning is essentially a direct interference by one political campaign in the affairs of another party or campaign for the purpose of weakening or eliminating an opposition candidate.

In 1972, the Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP) secretly financed efforts to take votes away from Senator Muskie in the New Hampshire and Illinois primaries and secretly supported an effort in California to drive the registration of the American Independent Party (AIP) below the required minimum so that AIP would not qualify for a spot on the ballot in the general election.

The New Hampshire Primary. The effort to take votes away from Senator Muskie in New Hampshire was initiated by Charles Colson, according to Magruder, who told him that the project had been approved by both Haldeman and the President.⁷⁵⁵ Magruder cleared the project (at a cost of \$8,000-\$10,000) with John Mitchell and also spoke to Haldeman about it.⁷⁵⁶ Colson, or someone in his office, according to Magruder, drafted a letter supporting a write-in campaign for Senator Kennedy, whose name was not on the ballot. The draft was taken by someone in Colson's office to Robin Ficker, a Democratic politician in Montgomery County, Maryland who had been running a Kennedy-for-President headquarters since July 1971.⁷⁵⁷

Ficker said that in February 1972 someone, who identified himself in a telephone conversation as Mike Abram-

752. Walker interview, Aug. 15, 1973, p. 6.

753. *Ibid.*

754. *Ibid.*

755. Jeb Magruder Interviews, August 18, 1973, p. 3; and October 1, 1973, p. 11.

756. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

757. Magruder said the individual who took the letter to Ficker worked in Colson's office, but this person has not been identified.

son, asked him to sign a letter calling for a Kennedy campaign. The letter was brought to Ficker's home in Robinson," who said he was with a law firm in D.C.⁷⁵⁸

Ficker signed the letter because he agreed with its contents. He was later told that between 150,000 and 200,000 copies of the letter were mailed to New Hampshire voters whose names appeared on the CRP mailing lists.

Ficker also went to New Hampshire, shortly before the primary, and campaigned for Kennedy for four days. At Abramson's suggestion, he placed one advertisement in the *Manchester Union Leader*, credited to the U.S. Labor Party, which he signed and paid for.

Ficker never saw Mike Abramson and never knew whether he could be reached. Ficker believed that he was instrumental in coordinating the Kennedy write-in campaign in New Hampshire.⁷⁵⁹

The write-in campaign for Senator Kennedy was financed by the Committee to Re-Elect the President. Information was never disclosed either to Mr. Abramson or to the public during the campaign.

Patrick Buchanan, a Presidential speechwriter and campaign strategist, testified that, although not acquainted with the Ficker letter, he knew about Ficker's write-in campaign. Asked about the propriety of the letter, Buchanan responded that it was "a borderline case," with regard to campaign practices.⁷⁶⁰ Buchanan had advocated vote siphoning in an October 5, 1971, memorandum to Mitchell and Haldeman:

3) *Fourth Party Candidacies.* Top-level consideration should be given to ways and means to promote and fund a Fourth Party candidacy of the Liberal Democrats and/or the Black Democrats. There is no reason that can so advance the President's chances in the election—not a trip to China, not four-and-a-half percent employment—as a realistic black President campaign.⁷⁶¹

758. Robin Ficker interview, p. 1.

759. Magruder interview, October 1, 1973. For a copy of the letter, see Hearings 4266. (Exhibit 197)

760. Ficker interview, p. 2. The write-in effort was not successful. Kennedy received only 735 (0.9%) of the Democratic vote in New Hampshire. *Congressional Quarterly*, March 11, 1972, p. 539.

761. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

762. 10 Hearings 3968.

763. *Ibid.*

764. 10 Hearings 4201 (excerpted from Exhibit No. 179, p. 4197).