

93d Congress }
1st Session }

COMMITTEE PRINT

INVESTIGATION INTO CERTAIN CHARGES OF
THE USE OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE
SERVICE FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES

PREPARED FOR THE
JOINT COMMITTEE ON
INTERNAL REVENUE TAXATION
BY ITS STAFF



DECEMBER 20, 1973

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

25-908

WASHINGTON : 1973

JCS 37-73

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(II)

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL REVENUE TAXATION,
Washington, D.C., December 20, 1973.

Hon. WILBUR D. MILLS, *Chairman*, and
Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG, *Vice Chairman*,
Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation,
U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MESSRS. CHAIRMEN: In its meeting on June 28, 1973, the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation instructed its staff to investigate charges that the Nixon administration used the Internal Revenue Service in its enforcement of the Internal Revenue tax laws, for partisan political purposes.

This document reports the results of the staff investigation which deal with the treatment by the Internal Revenue Service of several hundred individuals whose names appeared on two lists of political opponents made up by the White House staff. Also, it deals to some extent with the cases of people who allegedly received favorable tax treatment because of actions taken by people in the White House.

In the case of so-called extremist individuals and extremist organizations the staff has not yet had access to the complete files in these cases. As a result, it was possible in this report to deal only to a limited extent with the allegedly extremist individuals and not at all with the extremist organizations.

This report was prepared in large part from the examination of the Internal Revenue Service's files and records and from interviews with IRS personnel. In some cases the staff also carried on independent investigations outside the Internal Revenue Service. In addition, as is noted in the report, the staff with the approval of the committee has asked the Internal Revenue Service to review a limited number of cases where the staff is not completely satisfied or the facts are not clear. The staff will again consider these cases after obtaining the further comments of the Internal Revenue Service.

Sincerely yours,

LAURENCE N. WOODWORTH,
Chief of Staff.

(III)

I. ORIGINS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATION

On June 25, 1973, John W. Dean, III, began testifying under oath before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. He made several allegations that individuals in the White House attempted to use the Internal Revenue Service for partisan political purposes. Dean alleged that he was asked to stimulate audits on several "political opponents" of the White House and to "do something" about audits that were being performed on friends of President Nixon who felt that they were being harassed by the IRS. In addition, Dean revealed the existence of a special group within the Internal Revenue Service to collect information about extremist individuals and organizations. Since Dean's testimony, there have been several newspaper articles making similar accusations about the IRS.

Under section 8022 of the Internal Revenue Code, it is the duty of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to investigate the administration of internal revenue taxes by the Internal Revenue Service. Therefore, following Dean's testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, the Joint Committee met on June 28, 1973, and instructed its staff to conduct an investigation to determine whether individuals in the Nixon Administration used the Internal Revenue Service, in its enforcement of the tax laws, for any partisan political purposes.

DEAN'S CHARGES

Dean testified that during 1971 and 1972 the White House staff operated a "Political Enemies Project." As a part of the planning for the project, Dean wrote a confidential memorandum to H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and other members of the White House staff on the subject of "how we can use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies." The memo stated that "there have been many efforts in the past to take such actions, but they have ultimately failed—in most cases—because of lack of support at the top." In the memo, Dean recommended that the White House staff develop a list of less than ten names as their targets for concentration.¹

The staff working on the Political Enemies Project compiled and continually updated lists of political opponents of the White House. One such list, which Dean stated was sent to him from someone on Charles Colson's staff, contained 205 names and was apparently an updated version (as of June 1971) of the opponents list. Smaller lists of high-priority opponents were prepared by Dean and by George T. Bell, another member of the White House staff. With duplications, these lists of political opponents contained 213 names. Dean also showed the Senate Watergate Committee a section of a White House news summary with a note from Lawrence Higby, H. R. Haldeman's

¹ See hearings before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, *Watergate and Related Activities, Phase I: Watergate Investigation*, 93rd Congress, 1st Session, book 4, pp. 1349-50, 1498-99, 1689-90.

assistant, to Dean indicating that the Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, Robert Strauss, should be on the opponents list.²

The exhibits accompanying Dean's testimony include several other lists of individuals which apparently were the raw material from which the people involved in the Political Enemies Project constructed their lists of political opponents. These lists included people involved with the Joint Fall Peace Fund, the National Committee for the Impeachment of the President, a salute to Victor Reuther sponsored by the Americans for Democratic Action, and the Corporate Executives Committee for Peace; people who were large contributors to the Democrats in the 1968 Presidential Campaign; Muskie contributors in the 1972 campaign; people who participated in the National Labor for Peace Organization; and people on the McGovern campaign staff.³

Dean did not indicate that any systematic use was made of these various lists of political opponents. However, he did state that H. R. Haldeman had requested that Dean initiate tax audits on certain individuals and that Charles Colson requested that a tax audit be begun on Harold Gibbons of the Teamsters Union. Dean testified that in all but one case he ignored these requests.⁴

The exception was in the case of Robert W. Greene, the author of an article on C. G. Rebozo appearing in *Newsday* newspaper. Dean testified that he "got instructions that one of the authors of that article should have some problems." Dean expressed his reluctance to call Johnnie Walters, the Commission of Internal Revenue, on this matter. John Caulfield, who was on Dean's staff, however, told him that he "had friends in the Internal Revenue Service" and "was able to accomplish an audit on the individual" by sending an anonymous informant's letter.⁵

Dean stated in his testimony that the Internal Revenue Service was not "politically responsive" to the Nixon White House. A memorandum written by him and submitted as part of the record in the hearings stated that the administration had been "unable to obtain information in the possession of the IRS regarding our political enemies" and had been "unable to stimulate the audits of persons who should (sic) be audited." The memo indicates that Dean thought that this reluctance of people in the IRS to cooperate in this respect was a result of the domination of the "monstrous" IRS bureaucracy by Democrats. This so-called political unresponsiveness was, according to Dean, of concern to President Nixon. During a September 15, 1972, meeting with Dean, the President allegedly expressed annoyance with the political unresponsiveness of the IRS, and said that after the 1972 election the administration would appoint people who would be responsive to White House requirements into agencies like the IRS.⁶

In sum, Dean's testimony indicated that there was considerable interest among individuals in the White House, including the President, in using the Internal Revenue Service to make life difficult for the political opponents of the Nixon Administration, but that Dean knew of only one case where a politically motivated tax audit actually occurred—the case of the *Newsday* reporter.

² *Ibid.*, book 3, p. 1073; book 4, pp. 1408-10, 1529, 1693-99, 1713-24.

³ *Ibid.*, book 4, pp. 1700, 1705-11, 1726-53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, book 4, pp. 1349, 1447, 1480, 1498, 1686.

⁵ *Ibid.*, book 3, p. 1072; book 4, p. 1480, 1530.

⁶ *Ibid.*, book 3, p. 958; book 4, pp. 1479-81, 1499, 1535, 1682-5.

Dean also testified that the White House staff tried to secure special treatment for various friends of President Nixon when they were being investigated by the IRS. He stated, "I was told to do something about these audits that were being performed on two friends of the President's. They felt that they were being harassed and the like." He cited another case in which he was told to "do something" about an audit being undertaken on someone quite close to the President. Dean stated that in this second case he checked with the Justice Department about the status of the individual in question and was told that the man was in serious trouble. Dean stated that he did nothing except keep up to date on the status of the case.⁷

Dean also mentioned a third case regarding a friend of the President about whom H. R. Haldeman wrote a note saying that he had taken care of the problem.

Dean stated that he received "a number of requests from various members of the White House staff to see if tax exemptions and alteration of the tax status could be removed from various charitable foundations and the like that were producing material that was felt hostile to the administration or to their leaders, who were taking positions that were hostile to the administration." He said that on occasion he checked these organizations out, concluded that their activities were proper under the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, and did nothing about these cases.⁸

Dean also showed the Senate Watergate Committee several memoranda indicating that the Internal Revenue Service maintained a Special Service Group (later renamed the Special Service Staff) to monitor the activities of extremist organizations. The memos, authored by Tom Charles Huston on the White House staff, indicated that the White House had considerable interest in this Special Service Staff, but was not satisfied with the progress being made by it in monitoring ideological organizations.⁹

ENEMIES LIST TURNED OVER TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

In a Joint Committee staff interview with Johnnie Walters, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Walters indicated that at a meeting with Dean (at 2:30 p.m. in Suite 106 of the Executive Office Building) on September 11, 1972, he received a list (referred to subsequently as enemies list 2). Apparently, at the conference he was informed that John Ehrlichman had asked that a list of this type be made up to see what type of information could be developed concerning the people on the list. The notes that Walters maintained on this conference indicate that Dean had not been asked by the President to have the IRS work done and that he did not know whether the President had asked directly that any of this work be done. In the conference, Dean apparently expressed the hope that the IRS could pick up material with respect to people on the list and could do so easily in a manner which would "not cause ripples." It was stated that Dean was not yet (the word "yet" in the notes is underlined) under pressure with respect to this information.

⁷ *Ibid.*, book 4, p. 1530, 1558-59.

⁸ *Ibid.*, book 4, pp. 1461-62, 1531.

⁹ *Ibid.*, book 3, pp. 1338-45.

Walters' notes indicate that he advised Dean that he would discuss the matter with the Secretary of the Treasury. The notes further indicate that the matter was discussed with the Secretary on September 13 and that he directed that Walters "do nothing." Walters stated that the Secretary glanced briefly at only a few pages of the list. A second note indicates that on September 25, 1972, Dean called to ask what progress had been made on the list. The note indicates that Walters told Dean that he had discussed the matter with Secretary Shultz and that so far no progress had been made in actually checking the list. Walters advised Dean again that any checking, as he had previously suggested, would be inviting disaster. He agreed, however, to reconsider the matter again with Secretary Shultz and recall Dean. However, he informed the Joint Committee staff that he did not reconsider the matter.

Walters has indicated that he sealed the list of names and locked it in his safe in the Commissioner's office. He indicated that no one had looked at the list other than the Secretary and he. He stated further that he did not furnish any name or names from the list to anyone, nor did he request any IRS employee or official to take any action with reference to the list. He said, "with absolutely no reservation, the IRS never took any action with respect to this list." He noted that he had sealed the list the last time on May 21, 1973, at which time he cleared his files at the IRS, having resigned as Commissioner.

OTHER ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

Since Dean's testimony, several newspaper articles have appeared alleging either politically motivated audits against political enemies of the White House or favoritism towards White House friends.

Columnist Tom Braden wrote a column stating that he had been audited by the IRS for the years 1969, 1970, and 1971. He wrote that he had no evidence that anyone in the White House wanted to give him a hard time but that he assumed the audits resulted from his being a White House enemy.

Columnists Jack Anderson and Les Whitten alleged that the IRS "made life miserable for Democratic National Chairman Larry O'Brien" and was moving against his successor, Robert Strauss. Anderson also reported the results of a poll taken by the American Civil Liberties Union indicating that, of the 95 White House enemies responding, 28 percent reported tax audits.¹⁰ Educator George Fischer of Chicago, according to Anderson, complained that he had been audited every year since 1969.

At a party given for the White House enemies in New York, philanthropist Stewart R. Mott claimed to be the victim of a "politically inspired investigation" of his taxes.

¹⁰ The Joint Committee Staff has asked for but not yet been able to see the details as to the ACLU poll.

II. NATURE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE STAFF INVESTIGATION

The Joint Committee staff investigation dealt with in this report basically tries to answer three questions:

1. Did the White House Political Opponents Project have any effect on the way the Internal Revenue Service handled the tax cases of individuals?

2. Did people receive any favorable treatment from the Internal Revenue Service in tax matters because they had friends in the White House?

3. To what extent did the Special Service Staff cause individuals to be treated differently than normal because of their political views or activities?

The Joint Committee staff investigation was carried on under two different procedures. First, the staff interviewed a series of persons presently or formerly associated with the Internal Revenue Service to obtain some idea of whether and, if so, to what extent there was political influence in the administration of the internal revenue tax laws. Second, the staff examined the Internal Revenue Service's files insofar as they related to the several hundred persons listed as political opponents of the White House and also to a much shorter list of alleged friends of the White House. In addition, to the extent possible, the staff also examined files on several dozen so-called extremist individuals who were investigated by the Special Service Staff.

The staff wanted to examine the Special Service Staff's files and made an official request to the Internal Revenue Service to do so. The IRS expressed its willingness to have the staff make such an examination but, because there was FBI material in these files, indicated that it was necessary to obtain approval from the FBI before these files could be examined. A request was made of the FBI to permit the staff to examine the files (with FBI representatives present, if that was their desire). This was requested both in writing and in a personal interview with a representative of the FBI. The staff was told that this matter would have to be passed upon by the Attorney general but no reply as yet has been received. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue also wrote a letter to the FBI requesting that the staff be permitted to examine these files, but he also has received nothing in reply but an acknowledgement of his letter. At the time this report went to press a call from the Justice Department suggested that access to these files might in the near future be made available to the Joint Committee staff on a limited basis.

The files examined in connection with the several hundred political opponents included the tax returns filed, various computer-generated documents indicating whether a tax return was computer-selected for audit consideration, revenue agents' reports and work papers of audits, and so-called "sensitive case reports". In the case of the friends, much the same types of documents were examined.

The report which follows deals only with the staff findings with respect to the enemies lists, to the friends and, to the limited extent information could be obtained, the so-called extremist individuals investigated by the Special Service Staff. This report deals with the material gained through the interviews only to the extent this bears directly on matters relating to the enemies lists or to friends.

The staff believes that the report which follows is an accurate reflection of what was contained in the Internal Revenue Service's files. While it is, of course, possible that materials might have been modified or documents removed from the files before their examination by the Joint Committee staff, the staff found no evidence of this. Furthermore, any attempt to do this on any significant basis would probably have led to internal inconsistencies in the data which remained in the files and which the staff examined.

III. INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE AUDIT SELECTION TECHNIQUES

During the years when the White House political opponents project was operating (1969 to 1972), the Internal Revenue Service used several techniques to determine which individual income tax returns should be screened by agents for possible audit.

The principal system used, known for 1968 returns as the "Standard" system, and for subsequent years known as the "Discriminant Function" (DIF) system, is wholly computerized. Under both the Standard and the DIF systems, the IRS attempts to identify those individual line items (for example, specific deductions or income items) on a tax return, the presence of which indicates that an audit of that return is likely to yield additional tax revenue. Computerized techniques are used to determine which returns contain the most of these specific items and thus have the most audit potential. (Under the DIF system the IRS uses a statistical technique known as discriminant analysis.) The number of these returns going out to a District Office for screening possible audit depends on the amount of auditing time available in the district.

The second major type of audit selection system used by the Internal Revenue Service, known in different years as the "Special" or "Automatic" selection system, is also computerized. Under this system, all return data are run through a computer to determine if the returns meet certain criteria (for example, a certain level of adjusted gross income or a certain level of unallowable deductions). All returns which meet any of these criteria are automatically sent to District Offices for screening for audit in that year. The specific criteria used to trigger automatic selection of a return vary from year to year.

A third computerized selection system is the Taxpayer Compliance Measurement Program (TCMP). Under the TCMP, the IRS selects one out of every one thousand returns and subjects these returns to a comprehensive audit. The sample is a random one within each income class; however, the sampling rate is higher in those income classes in which the IRS has historically found greater noncompliance. The data generated by these audits are then used in various research projects, including the computation of the DIF formulas.

Finally, some returns are manually selected for screening. Manual selection can occur for a variety of different reasons. Many returns are manually selected because they are related to other returns which were selected for audit. For example, partners in a business may have their returns screened as a result of an audit of any one partner, and a taxpayer's return in one year may be screened in connection with an audit of a prior or subsequent year's return. When audits of trusts or businesses lead to adjustments that should be carried through to individuals' tax returns, these returns are audited so that the changes can be made. Other returns are manually selected as a result of information from intelligence activities, news reports or informants' letters, or in connection with an IRS investigation of specific economic activities in a local area. The IRS routinely screens for audit the tax returns of people involved in criminal investigations. It also routinely screens tax returns of people who request a refund or who want to carry back an investment credit or a net operating loss.

Once a return is manually selected for screening, it will in most cases be given a full audit only after the person selecting the return examines it and determines that the return has significant audit potential. If he finds little audit potential, the IRS does not contact the taxpayer. Returns that are selected for audit consideration through the computerized DIF and Automatic systems are sent to the IRS District Office in which the taxpayer resides. At that point, the return is examined by a classifying officer of the District Office, who similarly determines whether the return has significant audit potential. If he finds little audit potential, the District Office sends the return back, and no taxpayer contact is made. The returns believed by the classifying officer to have high audit potential are assigned to revenue agents. The agents then screen the returns a second time and audit as many as they can, starting with those they think have the highest audit potential. Returns selected through the TCMP do not go through a screening process, but are automatically audited.

IV. INVESTIGATION OF INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE FILES ON WHITE HOUSE POLITICAL OPPONENTS

The Joint Committee staff has examined the Internal Revenue Service's files on over 700 individuals who appeared on various lists of political opponents made up in the White House. List 1 consists of the 216 individuals mentioned as political opponents of the White House in John Dean's testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee.¹ The Joint Committee staff has no evidence that this list ever went to the IRS. Nevertheless, the staff examined the returns in these cases in the same manner as in the case of the returns of people whose names were given to the IRS. List 2 consists of 490 individuals whose names were given by Dean to IRS Commissioner Johnnie Walters in

¹ Dean presented three lists of political opponents to the Senate Watergate Committee, consisting of 20, 16, and 205 names. There are substantial overlaps, and the lists include 213 different individuals. In addition, Dean presented a note from Lawrence Highy stating that Democratic National Committee Treasurer Robert Strauss should be added to the list of White House political opponents. In the body of his testimony, Dean indicated that John Caulfield arranged to have a reporter from *Newsday* newspaper audited, and the staff also added to the opponents list two people affiliated with *Newsday* who participated in the article about C. G. Rebozo that occasioned Dean's interest. These are the 216 individuals on list 1.

1972.² For list 1, the Joint Committee staff investigation applied to individual income tax returns filed for the years 1968 to 1971. For the second list, however, the investigation was confined to returns filed for the years 1970 and 1971 unless a return for one of those years was audited, in which case the investigation was extended to one or two prior or subsequent years. In most cases, returns tend to be audited one or two years after the year for which they are filed, if they are audited at all.

The staff has not looked into the cases of people on the various supplementary lists presented by Dean to the Senate Watergate Committee unless they were also on lists 1 or 2.

SUMMARY STATISTICS ON AUDITS—LIST 1

Table 1 summarizes the audit experience of the 216 individuals on list 1. Over the four-year period 1968–1971 these people could have filed a maximum of 864 returns. In five cases, however, the individual was not required to file a return in the United States either because the individual had died or did not reside in the United States. In addition, in 17 other cases no return was filed. Thus, 842 returns were filed by the individuals on list 1.

Of these 842 returns, 491, or 58.3 percent, were screened for possible audit; and 187, or 22.2 percent, were actually audited. Twelve returns were accepted as filed but referred to a State under the Federal-State Exchange Program.³

TABLE 1.—AUDIT EXPERIENCE OF 216 WHITE HOUSE POLITICAL OPPONENTS 1968-1971

	Number	Percent of returns filed
Not required to file a return in United States.....	5	-----
No record of filing a return and no assurance that no return was required.....	17	-----
Return filed and not selected for screening.....	351	41.7
Return filed and selected for screening.....	491	58.3
Audited.....	187	22.2
Referred to a State.....	12	1.4
Not audited after screening.....	292	34.7
Total possible returns.....	864	-----
Total returns filed.....	842	100.0

A question which naturally arises is, how does the audit experience of the 216 enemies compare with that of the population at large. The percentage of all individual income tax returns audited during fiscal years 1969 to 1972 is available by several adjusted gross income classes.

Of the 842 returns filed by the 216 enemies, 437, or 51.9 percent, had adjusted gross income (AGI)⁴ over \$50,000; and 387, or 46.0 percent, had AGI between \$10,000 and \$50,000. Only 18 returns, or 2.1 percent,

² The second list consists of 575 names. In 45 cases, the staff could not determine the identity of the individual, and there were 41 duplications (either with list 1 or internally in list 2). In one case, the staff could not decide which of two persons was on the list, so it included both of them. Thus, 490 cases were examined.

³ The IRS has agreements for the exchange of information with all States except Texas and Nevada. Most of the referrals on both lists were to the State of New York. Under the Federal-New York State Tax Agreement, the IRS refers to the State several thousand tax returns that it has screened and not audited because of workload limitations. New York then furnishes the results of any audit it undertakes on those returns to the IRS.

⁴ Adjusted gross income is income before the deduction of personal exemptions and itemized (or standard) deductions.

had AGI below \$10,000. Thus, the White House political opponents were a relatively affluent group, and it is probably appropriate to compare them with the national statistics for high income people. Internal Revenue Service data show that people with adjusted gross income over \$50,000 tend to be audited about 14 percent of the time.

Since 22 percent of the returns on the White House enemies list 1 were audited, they appear to have been audited significantly more frequently than random individuals with roughly the same incomes. A finer breakdown of the national statistics, however, might not show that this was true.

There are several reasons why people on the White House political opponents list might be audited more frequently than average. First, they tend to be involved in a wider range of business activities than the average person with the same income. Second, a large fraction of the political opponents in the middle income range are journalists and writers. These people tend to have large deductions for business expenses, and under the DIF formulas in use between 1968 and 1971 this tends to give them higher-than-average DIF scores for people in their income range.

Table 2 shows the reasons why the 491 returns of people on list 1 that were screened as possible candidates for audit were selected. Of these, 425, or 86.6 percent, were selected for screening under one of the three computerized systems. Two hundred and eighty-seven returns were selected under the Standard or DIF systems, 134 under the Automatic or Special systems, and 4 under the Taxpayer Compliance Measurement Program. Twenty-one returns were screened in connection with prior or subsequent year audits. Eighteen returns were picked up in relation to audits of trusts, partnerships, or corporations. Three more were screened in connection with claims or requests for refunds. Seven were screened as part of special projects (generally, Strike Forces or Joint Compliance Projects).⁵ Two were referrals from the Intelligence Division. In 15 cases there was some other reason for the screening.

In the cases in which a return was computer-selected for screening, the Joint Committee staff has verified this by examining various documents that the IRS computer routinely generates when such a selec-

TABLE 2.—REASONS FOR SCREENING RETURNS FROM LIST 1

	Number	Percent
Total screened.....	491	100.0
Computer selected.....	425	86.6
Standard or DIF system.....	287	58.5
Automatic or special systems.....	134	27.3
Taxpayer Compliance Measurement Program.....	4	0.8
Multi-year audit.....	21	4.3
Related pick-up ¹	18	3.7
Claims and other requests for refunds.....	3	0.6
Intelligence Division referrals or requests.....	2	0.4
Special projects ²	7	1.4
Other.....	15	3.0

¹ Returns picked up in connection with audits of other returns.

² Mainly Strike Forces and Joint Compliance Projects.

⁵ Strike Forces refer to the use of the investigative resources of several Federal agencies, including the IRS, to fight organized crime. In 1972, the IRS closed 5,894 audits in connection with Strike Forces. Joint Compliance Projects are carried out by the Audit and Intelligence Divisions within each District. They are directed against any individuals in the District who engage in specific economic activities that the IRS suspects are associated with failure to comply with the tax laws.

tion is made. In the cases where a return was audited in connection with a prior or subsequent year audit, the staff has verified that the prior or subsequent year audit did indeed occur and determined why the return was selected for screening that year. In cases of related pickups, the staff has verified that the related trust, partnership or corporation was indeed audited. In the cases of returns in which there were claims or requests for refunds, the staff has verified that such claims were made. In the case of special projects, the staff has either traced a project to an investigation begun by some other government agency or, if it was initiated by the IRS itself, examined the project to see that it was conducted without regard to the political views or activities of the individuals under investigation. In the other cases, the staff has satisfied itself that screening was not the result of White House pressure on the IRS.

Informants' letters present special problems. Any person who wishes to have somebody audited by the IRS can try to do so by sending a convincing informant's letter. Presumably, there is no reason why somebody in the White House could not send an anonymous letter (or even a signed letter) as well. Dean testified before the Senate Watergate Committee that this is how Caulfield arranged to have the *Newsday* reporter audited. (The staff, however, did not find any informant's letters in this file.) The files on the individuals on list 1 contained 30 informants' letters on 19 people, of which 8 were anonymous. In many cases, these were the sort of crank letters that are routinely written to, and about, public figures. In no case was a return screened or audited because of such a letter. In one case, however, a letter was referred to an agent who was already auditing the subject of the letter, and the letter led to the assessment of a \$365 deficiency.

Of the 187 audits, 121 had been completed by the time of the Joint Committee staff investigation. Thirty-one led to no change in tax liability; 82 to a tax increase; and 8 to a tax reduction.

SUMMARY STATISTICS ON AUDITS—LIST 2

The staff has also examined files on 1,417 returns of the 490 individuals on list 2. Table 3 summarizes the audit experience of the individuals on list 2 only for the years 1970 and 1971. In those two years the 490 individuals could have filed a maximum of 980 returns. Actually, they filed 962 returns. Of these, 569, or 59.1 percent, were selected for screening and 253, or 26.3 percent, were audited. Seven returns were referred to States under the exchange program. As was true in the case of list 1, this represents a higher percentage of cases audited than for people with high incomes generally. However, as previously pointed out, there are differences between this group and high income persons generally which may well account for the higher percentage audited.

Of the 1,417 returns examined for all years, the IRS selected a total of 999 returns for screening. Table 4 summarizes the reasons why these returns were selected. In 802 cases, or 80.3 percent of the total, the return was selected by one of the computer systems. Of these, 367 were selected under the Standard or DIF systems, 416 under the Automatic or Special systems, and 19 under the Taxpayer Compliance Measurement Program. In 17 cases, the screening was associated with a

claim or request for a refund; and in 35 cases it was a result of a prior or subsequent year audit. There were 65 pick-ups related to audits of businesses or trusts. Five returns were screened because of Intelligence referrals or requests. Eleven returns were screened as the result of special projects. Sixty-four returns were screened for some other reason.

TABLE 3.—AUDIT EXPERIENCE OF 490 WHITE HOUSE POLITICAL OPPONENTS 1970 AND 1971

	Number	Percent of returns filed
Not required to file a return in 1970 or 1971.....	2	
No record of filing a return and no assurance that no return was required.....	16	
Return filed and not selected for screening.....	353	40.9
Return filed and selected for screening.....	569	59.1
Audited.....	253	26.3
Referred to a State.....	7	
Not audited after screening.....	309	32.1
Total possible returns.....	980	
Total returns filed.....	962	100.0

TABLE 4.—REASONS FOR SCREENING RETURNS FROM LIST 2

	Number	Percent
Total Screened.....	999	100.0
Computer selected.....	802	80.3
Standard or DIF system.....	367	36.7
Automatic or Special systems.....	416	41.7
Taxpayer Compliance Measurement Program.....	19	1.9
Multi-year audit.....	35	3.5
Related pickup ¹	65	6.5
Claims and other requests for refunds.....	17	1.7
Appellate or Intelligence Division referrals or requests.....	5	0.5
Special projects ¹	11	1.1
Other.....	64	6.4

¹ See notes to Table 2.

As with the returns from list 1, the staff has verified the reasons why each of these 999 returns on list 2 were selected for screening. It has found no evidence that any returns were screened as a result of White House pressure on the IRS.

CONDUCT OF AUDITS AND COLLECTION AND INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

In addition to determining whether an individual on one of the political opponents lists was audited in a particular year, the staff has examined the revenue agents' reports and the workpapers of each audit to judge whether the audits were conducted without harassment or undue strictness. Income tax audits necessarily involve some inconvenience for the taxpayer being audited. However, the staff has found no evidence that revenue agents attempted to increase unnecessarily this inconvenience for people on the political opponents lists. In some cases, the agents were relatively strict. However, this was usually motivated by a previous lack of cooperation on the part of the taxpayer. In an equal number of cases the agents were somewhat lax. The staff has found absolutely no evidence that audits of people on the political opponents lists were on the average conducted more harshly than normal.

The staff has also reviewed the collection activities of the IRS concerning people on the lists. It has found no evidence that the IRS has been more vigorous in its attempts to collect unpaid taxes from political opponents of the White House than normal. Indeed, if anything, the opposite is true. Several individuals on the lists appear to pose collection problems for the IRS. The Service has been quite lenient in granting extensions to file in many cases, and has not yet attempted to collect taxes from several political opponents who have failed to file returns or even to ascertain the reasons for the failure to file.

The staff has also found no indication that the IRS was more vigorous than normal in recommending prosecution for tax violations in the cases of political opponents of the White House.

CASES OF ALLEGED IRS BIAS

The staff's investigation paid particular attention to the cases of those individuals mentioned in the press as victims of politically motivated audits. The Joint Committee staff has difficulty in discussing these cases specifically because of the problem this would present in violating the individuals' rights of confidentiality. However, in none of these cases has the staff found any evidence that the taxpayer was unfairly treated by the Internal Revenue Service because of political views or activities. If the staff were freed from restraint as to disclosure of information, it believes the information it has would indicate that these taxpayers were treated in the same manner as taxpayers generally.

In one case, it is possible to make some comments since the information involved does not come from Internal Revenue Service files. This was the case involving Robert W. Greene, a reporter for *Newsday* who had authored an article on C. G. Rebozo. In this case, Dean stated that John Caulfield had initiated an audit with an informant's letter. According to statements made by Greene, however, his return was not audited by the Internal Revenue Service but rather by New York State under the Federal/State exchange program. The staff has talked with Mr. Greene, the New York revenue agent who audited Greene's State return, and other people in the New York State Department of Taxation and, as a result, believes that his audit by New York State was unrelated to his being classified as a White House enemy.

V. INVESTIGATION OF INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE FILES ON "FRIENDS" OF THE WHITE HOUSE

Seven individuals have been reported in the media or in testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities to be friends of people in the White House who allegedly received some favorable tax treatment because of actions taken by persons in the White House. In all of the 7 cases called to the staff's attention, audits were undertaken by the Internal Revenue Service. It is believed that all 7 of these were, at one time or another, listed as "sensitive case reports." Such reports are maintained on a current basis within the Internal Revenue Service for cases involving prominent persons. A listing of this type apparently has been used

since the Eisenhower administration when Dana Latham was Commissioner of Internal Revenue. It has been stated that the principal purpose of this list is to keep top officials in the Internal Revenue Service informed of the status of cases in progress where problems may be raised and to assure that Service officials are not uninformed if news relative to some case appears in the press. In addition, the listing has apparently been used to inform top personnel in the Treasury outside of the Internal Revenue Service about cases being developed on prominent people. It is clear that the White House staff has been notified about cases being developed which might affect persons with whom the President may come in contact. The purpose is to insure that he is not embarrassed by a tax case which suddenly appears in the press with respect to a person with whom he has had social or official contacts.

Statements have also been made that on occasion names on the sensitive case list have been seen by those on the White House staff and that requests have been made not to harass or otherwise bear down too hard on cases involving "friends." It is clear from information available that in 2 or 3 of the cases such requests were made by White House personnel. In one case, to demonstrate that there was no harassment, a special study was made by the Internal Revenue Service to show that the returns of others in the same industry were given at least as much attention as was the return of the taxpayer in question. In another case, it is clear that there was a communication from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to a District Director and to the agent working on the return regarding a "friend's" return. On the other hand, in the case of one "friend" an indictment has been obtained, and in another case the audit is continuing. In another situation, the Government did not prosecute a case involving a prominent "friend." Questions may be raised as to whether this was the appropriate action.

In reviewing the returns, the staff finds it difficult to "second-guess" the agents who were actually performing the audits. The staff believes that in three cases there are substantial questions about decisions made by governmental agencies about friends of the White House, but the staff does not have evidence that there was any pressure involved. With the approval of the committee, the staff has requested the IRS to re-examine these cases and to present analyses showing why it believes further action should, or should not, be taken.

While the staff is not as yet satisfied as to some of the cases involving "friends," the staff also believes that a number of "enemies" either were not audited when the staff believes they should have been or were audited too leniently. In some of the "enemies" cases, errors were clearly made where more careful examination of the returns would have disclosed an underpayment of tax. In one "enemies" case, an individual subtracted his minimum tax payment from his regular tax rather than adding it. In another case involving a prominent "enemy" of the administration, the Service recomputed the tax due and erred in not adding his self-employment tax to the total tax due. Another case of a prominent "enemy" involves a gift of papers and tapes where it appears quite possible that some of the papers and tapes may relate to a period of time after the effective date of the 1969 code amendment which in effect terminated the allowance of such a deduction.

Still another "enemies" case involves an individual with a large income where harassment was alleged. In fact, there was no audit in this case by the IRS although it appears that the screening should have resulted in an audit based upon items appearing on the face of the return. In another such case, there is a serious question as to how expenses for food for a particular diet can be classified as travel expenses.

Finally, there are sixteen cases (involving eleven individuals) on enemies list 2 where no return was filed at all. On list 1 there were 17 such cases (involving 8 individuals). In some of these cases, the individuals involved apparently are students who may well owe no tax. Other cases, however, involve prominent individuals where it is difficult to believe that no tax is owed.

In addition to requesting the Internal Revenue Service to review some of the cases involving the "friends," the staff, with the approval of the Joint Committee, has submitted to the Internal Revenue Service a request to audit a number of the returns of the "enemies" and to investigate the cases where no returns at all were filed.

In summary, there are cases on both the friends and enemies lists in which people who probably should have been audited were not audited, in which audits were not done adequately, or in which returns were not filed and no collection activity has been undertaken. Therefore, the Joint Committee staff does not conclude, although it cannot foreclose, that the instances of lenient audits of White House friends were the result of White House pressure on the IRS. As a result, the staff, with the approval of the Joint Committee, has requested further reports from the IRS with respect to certain friends' cases, as well as in the cases of certain enemies.

VI. THE SPECIAL SERVICE STAFF

HISTORY

In 1969 the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations held extensive hearings on civil disorders. A certain Jean Powell, a former member of the Black Panther Party, testified under oath that the party received between \$50,000 and \$100,000 each month and that most of this income flowed directly to the officers of the party. It was noted that the Black Panthers had never filed Federal tax returns and had never been audited by the Internal Revenue Service. This revelation caused Senator Karl Mundt, the ranking Republican on the Committee, to comment on the "special treatment" being given to the party and its members. Other evidence was presented indicating that certain extremist organizations and individuals were evading taxes.¹

Shortly thereafter and presumably in response to the evidence presented at the Senate hearings, the IRS created a special unit to gather information about the finances of so-called extremist organizations and individuals. This unit, the Activist Organizations Committee, began operating in August 1969. In 1970, the IRS renamed it the Special Service Group, and subsequently its name was changed to the Special Service Staff ("SSS").

¹ See hearings of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, *Riots, Civil, and Criminal Disorders*, 92nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 3783.

At some stage, the SSS appears to have shifted its emphasis from extremists *per se* to organizations and individuals who preached non-compliance with the tax laws.

Several congressional committees cooperated with the SSS by providing information to it about extremist organizations and individuals. These included the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, the House Committee on Internal Security, and the Subcommittee on Foundations of the House Select Small Business Committee.

While the existence of the SSS was known to these congressional committees, its existence was not announced to the general public until April 1972, when it was mentioned in the Internal Revenue Manual. However, the description contained there did not mention the fact that the SSS was concerned only with allegedly extremist or (later) tax resistance and protest organizations. The IRS did not release a more complete description of the function of the SSS until June 1973, after Dean's testimony.

In August 1973, the IRS decided that financial information about tax resisters and protesters could be gathered adequately by the regular divisions of the Service, and it abolished the SSS.

FUNCTION

The function of the SSS was to gather information on the finances and activities of extremist organizations and individuals, both right and left, and make this information, along with recommendations about what to do with it, available to the appropriate division of the IRS. The Joint Committee staff has not been allowed access to the files of the SSS; however, the IRS states that the main sources of this information were congressional committees, the FBI, the Justice Department, the Defense Department, other branches of the IRS, and various publications. The SSS referred information to the Audit, Collection, Intelligence, and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Divisions. (The Joint Committee staff has not as yet investigated the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division in this particular regard; however, it is presently conducting a study into their activities in coordination with the General Accounting Office.) The SSS did not engage in either audit or collection activity itself, nor did it make recommendations about criminal prosecutions. Its recommendations were rather that a certain tax return should be examined by the Audit Division or that the Collection Division should investigate a certain individual who has not filed an income tax return but appears to have income in excess of the filing requirement.

The SSS collected a large amount of information. Apparently, in June 1972, there were 9,800 separate information files on 2,500 organizations and 7,300 individuals.

As of August 1972 after three years of operation, the SSS had referred 182 cases to the field. (It is not clear what fraction of these went to the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Divisions.) Of these 182 cases, 103 cases had been closed. In 51 of these cases, there was no productive result. The remaining cases led to the filing of 124 tax returns with tax liabilities of \$56,000 and refunds of \$4,000 as well as to audit deficiencies of \$50,000 on returns that had been filed. In addition, information furnished by the SSS led to the collection of

a Taxpayer Delinquency Account amounting to \$2,600. The total revenue yield of the SSS in these three years, then, was slightly over \$100,000.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATION

The Joint Committee staff has examined the cases of 37 individuals about whom referrals of information were made by the SSS to either the Audit, Collection, or Intelligence Divisions. These cases included many of the prominent radicals who were active in the years 1969 to 1972 as well as several rightwingers.

The Joint Committee staff has used the same procedures and data for these individuals that it used for the White House political enemies on lists 1 and 2. In addition, the staff examined the summaries of the SSS files that the SSS prepared and sent to the Audit, Intelligence and Collection Divisions.

Clearly, the establishment of a special unit to gather and disseminate to the IRS divisions information about individuals with "extremist" political views in itself means that these individuals were selected for special attention. Some such special effort with respect to individuals who preach noncompliance with tax laws (since it is likely that they will practice it as well) may be in a somewhat different category.²

The Joint Committee staff, however, has found no evidence that individuals about whom referrals of information were made by the SSS to the Audit, Intelligence, and Collection Divisions were treated any more harshly by these divisions than was normal. Indeed, in some cases the IRS seems to have been more lenient than normal with prominent extremists, perhaps in order to avoid the charge that radicals were being persecuted.

Even though several of the individuals whose files were examined are chronic nonfilers, none have been prosecuted for their failure to file. The Collection Division does not appear to have made an inordinate effort to collect small amounts of tax, as it presumably would do if it wished to harass the individuals in question. In some cases, the IRS has not yet even attempted to collect unpaid taxes.

Since the staff has not as yet been allowed access to the files of the SSS, as indicated above, it has not completed its investigation of the treatment by the IRS of the organizations about whom referrals were made by the SSS.

² The prior administrations singled out some rightwing extremists for special attention by the IRS. This effort was on a much smaller scale than the recent investigation. Only tax-exempt organizations, not individuals, were examined, and the project was confined to only 22 such organizations.

APPENDIX A

ENEMIES LIST 1

(The names and addresses contained on this list are those names and addresses which were received by the committee and no attempt has been made to ascertain whether or not the names have been spelled correctly or the addresses are current.)

INDIVIDUALS

Abel, I. W. (Bernice), 3216 Apache Road, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Abernathy, Ralph (Juanita), 76 Cerro St., Atlanta.
Abzug, Bella (Mrs. Maurice), 37 Bank St., New York.
Alexander, Clifford Jr. (Adele), 512 "A" St., S.E., Washington, D.C.
Anderson, Jack (Olivia), 7300 Burdette Ct., Bethesda, Md.
Anderson, William R. (Yvonne), 2700 Virginia Ave., Washington, D.C.
Barkan, Alexander E. (Helen), 6515 E. Halbert Road, Bethesda, Md.
Barnet, Richard, 1712 Portal Drive, Washington, D.C.
Bayh, Birch (Marvella), 219 Garfield St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Beneson, Charles B., 941 Park Ave., N.Y.C.
Bengston, Nelston, 200 E. 36th St., N.Y.C.
Bernstein, Leonard (Felica), 205 W. 57th St., 551 5th Ave., N.Y.C.
Bishop, Jim (Elinor), Golden Isles, 442 Tamarind Dr., Hallandale, Florida.
Balke, Eugene Cakson (Valina), Country Club Rd., New Cahaan, Conn.
Bok, Derek Curtis (Sissela), 33 Elmwood Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
Brademas, Stephen John, 750 LeLand Ave., South Bend, Ind.
Braden, Thomas, 101 E. Melrose, Chevy Chase, Md.; 825 Dolly Madison Parkway, McLean, Va.
Brewster, Kingman Jr. (Mary) 43 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn.
Brown, Holmes.
Bruckner, D. J. R., Suite 730-1700, Penn Ave., Washington, D.C.
Bundy, McGeorge (Mary), 1040 5th Avenue, N.Y.C.
Buttenweiser, Benjamin, c/o Kuhn Leob & Co., 40 Wall Street, N.Y.
Calkins, Hugh (Ann), 1750 Union Commerce Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
Chait, Lawrence G. (Sylvia), 32 Linwood Dr., Valley Stream, N.Y.
Chanes, Ernest R., 34 W. 9th St., N.Y.C.; 213 E. 27th St., N.Y.C.
Channing, Carol (Mrs. Charles F. Lowe), 14921 Ventura Blvd. #312, Sherman Oaks, Calif.
Childs, Marquis, 2703 Dunbarton St., Washington, D.C.
Chisholm, Shirley, 1028 St. Johns Place, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Chomsky, Avram Noam (Carol Doris), 15 Suzanne Road, Lexington, Md.
Clark, Ramsey (Georgia), 3 W. 12 St., N.Y.C.
Clay, William (Carol A.), 633 Whittingham Dr., Silver Springs, Md.
Clifford, Clark (McAdams), 9421 Rockville Pk., Bethesda, Md.
Collins, George W. (Cardiss), 1438 So. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Conyers, John Jr., 19970 Canterbury Rd., Detroit, Mich.
Gosby, Bill (Camille), 1900 Ave. of the Stars, Suite 1900, Los Angeles, C.A.
Culter, Lloyd (Norton), (Louise), 5215 Chamberlin Ave., Chevy Chase, Md.
Dane, Maxwell (Belle), 650 Park Ave., N.Y.C.
Davidoff, Sidney, 250 East 73 St., New York, New York
Deakin, James (Doris), 6406 Whittier Court, Bethesda, Md.
DeBakey, Michail Ellis (Diane), 5323 Cherokee St., Houston, Texas.
Dellums, Ronald (Leola), 1749 N. Portal Dr., N.W. Oakland, Calif.
Diggs, Charles C., Jr. (Janet), Washington, D.C.; Detroit, Mich.
Dogole, S. Harrison, Presidential Apt., Phila., Pa.
Doyle, James S., 6401 Tone Drive, Bethesda, Md.
Drinan, Robert Frederick, 140 Commonwealth Ave., Newton, Mass.
Dudman, Richard B. (Helen), 3409 Newark St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Dusch, Julius (Carl), (Priscilla), 3421 Raymond St., Chevy Chase, Md.
 Dyson, Charles Henry (Margaret), 24 Tomrius oad, Scarsdale, N.Y.
 Eaton, William (James), (Marilynn), 1106 Trinity Drive, Alexandria, Va.
 Eisner, Norman 100 Overlook Terrace, N.Y.C.
 Ellsberg, Daniel.
 Evans, Rowland Jr. (Katherine), 3125 O St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Feld, Bernard T. (Eliza), 42 Arlington St., Cambridge, Mass.
 Feller, Karl, 3106 Manning Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Finch, Charles Baker (Angela), 167 82nd St., New York City, N.Y.
 Fischer, George Drennen, 260 E. Chestnut, Apt. 4301, Chicago, Ill.
 Fonda, Jane (Mrs. Roger Vadim), c/o Frusch, 120 E. 56th St., Room 1010, New York, New York.
 Frazier, George, 81 Upland Road, Winthrop, Mass.
 Friedman, Saul (Evelyn), 11503 Bucknelle Drive, Silver Spring, Md.
 Fritchey, Clayton (Naomi), 2100 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, D.C.
 Fulbright, James William (Elizabeth), Fayetteville, Ark. (1000 Shrewsbury).
 Galbraith, J. Kenneth (Catherine), 30 Frances Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
 Gardner, John (Aida), 5325 Kenwood Ave., Chevy Chase, Md.
 Gelb, Lesley, 2405 Elba Court, Alexandria, Va.
 Gibbons, Harold J., 4466 West Pine, St. Louis, Mo.
 Goldfinger, Nathaniel (Clara), 306 Hamilton Ave., Silver Spring, Md.
 Goodell, Charles, 12 Elmark Road, Bronxville, N.Y.
 Goodman, Julian (Betty Davis), 15 Greystone Road, Larchmont, N.Y.
 Gottlieb, Sanford (Gladys), 11102 Brandywine, Kensington, Md.
 Gregory, Dick (Lillian), 1451 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill.
 Greene, Robert.
 Guest, Raymond R.
 Grosiron, A. F. (Etta), 2777 South Eastern Way, Colorado.
 Guinan, Matthew, 3890 Sedgwick Ave., Bronx, New York.
 Guthman, Edwin (Joanne), 1436 N. Capri Dr., Pacific Palisades, Calif.
 Halperin, Morton, 8215 Stone Terrace Dr., Bethesda, Md.
 Hammil, Pete, 1771 Troy Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Harrington, Michael (1) (Stephanie), 1182 Broadway, New York City, N.Y.
 Harris, Fred R. (LaDonna), 1104 Waverly Way, McLean, Va.
 Harris, Patricia (Roberts) (Mrs. Wm. Beasley Harris), 1742 Holly St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Harris, Sydney, 401 N. Wabash, Chicago, Ill.
 Hawkins, Augustus Freeman (Peggy), 125 N. Carolina Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C.; (Los Angeles, Calif.)
 Healy, Robert Edward (1), (Jeanette), 17 Cavanaugh Road, Boston, Mass.
 Heineman, Frank (7), 6 Eve Lane, Rye, N.Y.
 Heller, Walter (Wolfgang) (5) (Emily), 2203 Farwell St., St. Paul, Minn.
 Hemenway, Russell D. (2), 8711 Second Ave., Rye, N.Y.
 Hickel, Walter (Joseph), P.O. Box 1700, Anchorage, Alaska.
 Hillman, George, 11 5th Ave., N.Y.C.
 Hines, William Jr. (Ethel), 152 G St., S.W., Washington, D.C.
 Hughes, Harold (Eva), 813 Carrie Court, McLean, Va.
 Jennings, Paul (Dorothy), 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Kalb, Marvin (Madeleine), c/o Stanley Goldstein & Co., 135 E. 55th St., N.Y.C.
 Karnow, Stanley (Annette), 1515 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Kastenmeier, Robert William, (Dorothy), 300 No. Water Street, Watertown, Wisc.
 Kenin, Herman D., 14 Northfield Drive, Westport, Conn.
 Kennedy, Edward Moore (Virginia Joan), 3 Charles River Square, Boston, Mass.
 Kimelman, Henry L. (Charlotte), Virgin Islands.
 Kirkland, Joseph Lane (Edith), 1200 Old Georgetown Road, Rockville, Md.
 Knap, Ted (Thaddeus), 1429 Woodacre Drive, McLean, Va.
 Knoll, Erwin, 4202 River Road, Washington, D.C.
 Kondracke, Morton, 3812 Van Ness St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Kraft, Joseph (Polly), 3021 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Laird, James.
 Lambert, Samuel M. (Juanita), 3144 Oliver St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Land, Edwin (Helen), 163 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.
 Lapin, Raymond H. (Mary), 86 San Carlos Ave., Sausalito, Calif.
 Laventhol, David A. (Ester), 22 Bayview Ave., Port Washington, N.Y.
 Lerner, Max (Edna), 445 E. 84th St., New York, N.Y.
 Levey, Stanley (Nan), 611 G. St., S.E., Washington, D.C.

Lewis, Flora, 11912 Old Bridge Rd., Rockville, Md.
 Ley, Herbert L. Jr. (Doris), 9209 Friars Rd., Bethesda, Md.
 Lichenstein, Bertram, 14 E. 75th St., N.Y.C. (Dilton Ltd. 290 Ave. of the Americas).
 Lindsay, John V. (Mary), Gracie Mansion, New York, N.Y.
 Loeser, Hans F., 78 Washington Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
 Loory, Stuart, 5546 29th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Lowenstein, Allard K. (Jennifer), 163 Lindell Blvd., Long Beach, N.Y.
 McCarthy, Eugene J. (Abigail), 301 First St., N.E., Washington, D.C.
 McGee, Vincent Jr., 501 W. 122 St., N.Y.C.
 McGovern, George, Mitchell, South Dakota; 3020 University Terrace, Washington, D.C.
 McGrory, Mary, 2710 Macomb St., Washington, D.C.
 McKee, Gerald, 2 Park Ave., N.Y.C.
 McNamara, Robert S. (Margaret), 2412 Tracy Place, Washington, D.C.
 McQueen, Steve T. (Neile), 9134 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, C.A.
 Macy, John Williams Jr. (Joyce H.), 1127 Langley Lane, McLean, Va.; Office-888 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Manealoff, William, 210 Central Park South, N.Y.
 Manning, Robert Joseph (Margaret M.), 191 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.
 Mankiewicz, Frank (Holly), 5408 Duvall Dr., Washington, D.C.
 Meselson, Matthew Stanley (Sarah), 11 Moon Hill Road, Lexington, Mass.
 Metcalfe, Ralph H. (Madelynn), 4530 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Miller, Joseph Irwin (Xerria R.), 2760 Highland Way, Columbus, Ohio.
 Millstone, James (Pat), 6985 Princeton, St. Louis, Mo.
 Milstein, Paul, 76 Birchall Drive, Scarsdale, N.Y.
 Mitchell, Parren J., 951 Brooks Lane, Baltimore, Md.; 1228 Longworth Office Bldg.
 Mondale, Walter F. (Joan), Minneapolis, Minn., 3421 Lowell St., Washington, D.C.
 Morgenthau, Hans J. (Irma), 19 E. 80th St., New York, N.Y.
 Morrisett, Lloyd N. (Mary F.), Cedarlawn Road, Irvington, N.Y.
 Mott, Stewart Rawlings, 515 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Munro, S. Sterling Jr., 711 Lambertson Drive, Silver Spring, Md.
 Muskie, Edmund S. (Jane), Main Street, Waterville, Maine.
 Namath, Joe William, 1604 Ross Hill, Beaver Falls, Pa.
 Nelson, Gaylord Anton (Carrie Lee), 618 Bordner Drive, Madison, Wisc.
 Newman, Paul (Joanne W.), c/o E. Traubner, 1800 Central Park East, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Newton, Hughie, 1200 Lakeshore, Oakland, Calif.
 Niles, Henry Edward (Mary C.), 307 Tuscany Road, Baltimore, Md.
 Nix, Robert N. C. (Ethel L.), 2139 N. 22nd St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Nolan, Martin, 6400 31st Place, Washington, D.C.
 O'Neal, Frederick (Charlotte), 41 Convent Ave., N.Y.C.
 O'Neal, Thomas, 4209 Tuscany Court, Baltimore, Md. (Died 3 years ago).
 Osburne, John (Gertrude), 2917 O. St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Palmer, Charles, Silver Spring, Md.
 Palmieri, Victor H. (Martha C.), 116 Malibu Colony Road, Malibu, Calif.
 Patman, Wright (wife deceased), 1205 Main St., Texarkana, Tex.
 Peck, Gregory, 9171 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 420 Beverly Hills, Calif.
 Phillips, Lawrence S., 219 E. 69 St., New York, N.Y.
 Picker, Arnold (Nettie R.), 200 Golden Beach Drive, Golden Beach, Florida.
 Pierson, John, 1604 32nd St., Washington, D.C.
 Pirie, Robert S.
 Pollock, William (Anna M.), Ofc.-99 University Pl., New York, N.Y.
 Potofsky, Jacob S. (wife deceased), 19 E. 88th St., New York, N.Y.
 Prochnau, William W., 3808 Pleasant Ridge Rd., Annadale, Va.
 Proximire, William (Ellen H.), 4613 E. Buckeye Road, Madison, Wisc.
 Randall, Tony, 5636 LaMirada, Hollywood, Calif.
 Rangel, Charles Bernard (Alma C.), 4807 Colorado Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Raskin, Marcus (Barbara), 1820 Wyoming Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Reston, James Barrett (Sarah J.), 3124 Woodley Road, N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Rhodes, Joseph Jr., Harvard University, Boston, Mass.
 Roosa, Robert Vincent (Ruth G.), 59 Wall St., New York, N.Y.
 Rose, David, 39 Oxford Road, Scarsdale, N.Y.

Rosenfield, Joseph Frankel (Dannil), 700 Hubbel Bldg., Des Moines, Iowa.
 Roth, Julian, 166 E. 63rd St. (850 3rd Ave.), N.Y.C.
 Rovere, Richard Halworth (Eleanor A.), 108 Montgomery St., Rhinebeck, N.Y.
 Rowan, Carl Thomas (Vivian L.), 3116 Fessenden St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Rowen, Henry Stanislaus (Beverly G.), 2 Wisteria Way, Atherton, Calif.
 Ruder, William (Helen B.), Beverly Road, Rye, N.Y.
 Rustin, Bayard, 340 W. 28th St., N.Y., N.Y.
 Samuelson, Paul Anthony (Marion C.), c/o North East Merchants Bank, 28 State Street, Boston, Mass.
 Scharer, Seymore, 6 Romala Drive, Kings Point, N.Y.
 Schlesinger, Arthur Meier Jr. (Marion C.), Ofc. 33 W. 42nd Street, New York, N.Y.
 Schorr, Daniel Louis, c/o N.S. Bienstock, 850 7th Avenue, N.Y.C.
 Seiden, David S. (Bernice), 7102 Rebecca Drive, Alexandria, Va.
 Semer, Milton Philip (Charlene), Southdown Farm, Great Falls, Va.
 Sherrill, Robert, 617 N. Carolina Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C.
 Shriver, Robert Sargent Jr. (Eunice M.), c/o T. J. Walsh, Room 3021, 200 Park Avenue, N.Y., N.Y.
 Slaner, Alfred Philip (Luella B.), 10 Normandy Lane, Scarsdale, N.Y.
 Sonnabend, Roger Philip (Elsa G.) Odell Road, Sandouner, N.H.
 Sorensen, Theodore (Camilla), 345 Park Ave., New York, New York.
 Stark, Ray (Frances B.), 2 Beekman Pl., New York, N.Y.
 Stein, Howard (Janet), 767 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Stokes, Louis (Jeanette F.) 12600 Shaker Blvd., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Stone, Jeremy, 264 A "G" St. S.E., Washington, D.C.
 Strauss, Robert S. (Helen).
 Streisand, Barbra (Mrs. Elliott Gould), c/o Hecht Brayer & Grill, 1501 Broadway, N.Y.
 Sweig, Morton, 983 Park Ave., N.Y.C., N.Y.
 Talbot, George H., 417 Hermitage Road, Charlotte, N.C.
 Taylor, Arthur Duane (Roberta), 375 Rosemary Lane, Ruddy, Calif.
 Tishman, Alan V. & Margaret, 131 Briar Brae Road, Stamford, Conn.
 Tucker, Lem, 175 W. 13th St., N.Y.C.
 Unna, Warren W., 121 6th St., N.E., Washington, D.C.
 Valenti, Jack Joseph, 1st Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Van Horne, Harriet (Mrs. William Lowe), N.Y.C.
 Vanocur, Sander (Edith), c/o Jules Lefkowitz & Co., 1350 Ave. of the Americas, N.Y.C.
 Viorst, Milton, 3432 Ashly Terrace, N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Wallace, George Corley (Cornelius), 3465 Norman Bride Road, Montgomery, Ala.
 Wallach, Ira David (Miriam), 5 Sherbrooke Road, Scarsdale, N.Y.
 Warnke, Paul Culliton (Jean F.) 5037 Garfield St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Watson, Thomas J. Jr. (Olive F.), Meadowcroft Lane, Greenwich, Conn.
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APPENDIX B

ENEMIES LIST 2

(The names and addresses contained on this list are those names and addresses which were received by the committee and no attempt has been made to ascertain whether or not the names have been spelled correctly or the addresses are current.)

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