



Jack Anderson

The Private Side Of Richard Nixon

RED SKELTON is an avid Nixon fan.

When his son was dying of leukemia, the sad clown took him to Lourdes but found no miracle. Then he brought the boy to the shrines of America and spent a day showing him the Capitol. Richard Nixon, then Vice President, volunteered his services as a guide.

Skelton had seen a hidden, human side of Mr. Nixon. "I'm not a Catholic," Skelton has said, "but on a small altar at home we keep a picture of Mr. Nixon. And during the 1968 presidential campaign, I lighted candles daily for him."

Other people who know him well see still other facets of Mr. Nixon's character that are usually obscured by the robot-like quality of his public personality.

To Rose Mary Woods, his secretary since 1950, Mr. Nixon is "shy" but "well disciplined." More than once, he has brought distinguished visitors in to meet her, and they have sat around the secretary's office chatting informally.

Evangelist Billy Graham, a long-time friend, calls the President a man with "an extremely high sense of ethics." On the evangelist's private advice, Mr. Nixon has made a number of anonymous contributions to charities.

Intimates say he donates more than \$50,000 a year to charities, almost all of it anonymously. High on his list are worthy black causes. He has sent a black youth through medical college, another through architect's school. Neither has any idea his tuition was paid by the President.

Betty Beale, the society arbiter of the Washington Star, finds Mr. Nixon a host whose parties reflect "smooth correctness, elegance of dress and smiling ease." She adds: "Whether you like it or not, this in itself is style."

TO THE woman who has known him the most intimately since 1940, his wife Pat, he is gentle and considerate. They often stroll along the shore at San Clemente or Key Biscayne, hand in hand.

To Washington's Florida Avenue Quaker Meeting, he is a stranger, although he still lists himself as a member of the Society of Friends.

Lawyers who worked with him on Wall Street remember him as an unusually diligent attorney. Life magazine once envisioned him as a future sports broadcaster.

Son-in-law David Eisenhower thinks of his wife's father as "the perfect father for a teen-age serial." Only David would say that.

The other son-in-law, Edward Cox, a former Nader's Raider, made it clear to friends he was marrying Tricia, not the President. But Cox has now been won over completely by his famous father-in-law.

To old friends, Mr. Nixon is loyal. When his old political ally Murray Chotiner was roasted in the Washington papers, the President phoned the next day and asked Chotiner to be his house guest at San Clemente.

To enemies, Mr. Nixon can be ruthless. But on occasion, he has also shown a quiet decency. He took Sen. Ted Kennedy aside at a White House reception after the Chappaquiddick tragedy and talked to him, say intimates, as Mr. Nixon would have expected the slain John F. Kennedy to bolster his brother.

Yet these are only fragments of the man. Despite a quarter of a century of public life and a massive effort by his staff of public relations experts to humanize him, Richard Nixon's public image remains oddly shallow.

MR NIXON is a very private person, an artichoke whose center has never been exposed. "Any kind of personal confession is embarrassing to me," he has said. "I believe in keeping my own counsel about personal matters . . . You can't confide in anyone about your personal plans, your personal feelings."

When a film crew asked him to stroll down the beach with his wife for a political documentary on his family life, Pat tried to reach for his hand. But he wriggled loose. Holding hands with his wife was too private for political exploitation.

There is also a constant hint in his behavior of a longing for admiration. The 1968 election was hardly a month old when the U.S. Information Agency began carrying the President-elect's new message to 112 foreign nations. A film was circulated which compared him to Woodrow Wilson.

In office, he sought more props of respect, and he decreed that white ties would replace black at state dinners. The Marine Band added a platoon of herald trumpeters. Dressed with extra gold braid over their scarlet tunics, the buglers blow fanfares for their chief.

And when Harold Wilson, then still British prime minister, arrived in Washington in January, 1970, there was a final touch of Mr. Nixon's idea of grandeur. Arrayed on the White House lawn was the President's own police force, in white jackets and pointed plastic hats.

While Mr. Nixon beamed, other observers gasped and giggled. The emperor's new clothes were much too visible.

Richard Nixon, clearly, looks upon Richard Nixon with deep and solemn seriousness. But his frequent, unguided voyages into his psyche are intensely private. He feels he must hide himself behind the masks that his advisers design.

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Nixon's Aloofness Irks GOP Governors

By Jack Anderson

GOP governors are beginning to show the same sort of discontent over President Nixon that exploded on Democratic statehouses in 1966 against President Johnson.

At that time, Democratic governors blamed Mr. Johnson for the party's poor showing in the polls and angrily complained about his lack of liaison with state capitals.

In fact, Missouri's Gov. Warren Hearnes said bluntly that the party "might be better off with someone else" in the 1968 presidential elections.

Mr. Johnson labored mightily to woo the disgruntled governors with plane trips to the LBJ Ranch and frequent briefings. But the damage was done, and as late as March, 1968, only 14 of the 24 were back in the LBJ corral.

President Nixon's failure to maintain close liaison with the 32 Republican governors hasn't yet resulted in a wholesale fencekicking. But insiders in several GOP-controlled states have begun whispering their unhappiness over the off-handed treatment they are getting from the White House.

They were annoyed, for example, when Mr. Nixon sent Vice President Agnew to the Republican Governors Conference in Hot Springs, Ark., last December instead of making the trip himself.

They liked his plan, however, to return part of federal tax haul to the states, with no strings attached. They assumed he would lay the groundwork for action in January, but statehouse staffers have hotly told this column that Mr. Nixon has made no real move to get House hearings going.

Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, chairman of the GOP governors, has not openly criticized Mr. Nixon for his failure to keep in closer personal touch with the governors. But the vice chairman, Pennsylvania's Gov. Raymond Shafer, has sorrowfully told friends that the President has let him down and increased Democratic chances of taking over the Harrisburg state house in 1970.

Politicians Critical

Republican politicians in the states, while admiring Mr. Nixon personally as a savvy politician, are scornful of what one called "a stable full of lawyers and public relations men" in the White House.

Even liberal Republicans are impressed with conservative Harry Dent, an experienced political pro himself. But they regard such aides as Bryce Harlow, John Ehrlichman and Lyn Nofziger as inexperienced or inept.

Ehrlichman has come under special sarcasm for his Polyantha comments on what the White House is doing to solve

pollution problems. The truth is that the statehouses have been given pollution aid they don't need and have been denied the help they need most urgently.

The failure of the White House to help the governors in such crucial areas has got them perspiring over the 1970 elections. Thirty-seven governorships will be decided, 26 of which are now held by Republicans.

Only in the Southern states has Agnew really done his work as the President's special envoy to state capitals. Liberal GOP gubernatorial candidates are particularly resentful about this twist on the so-called Southern strategy.

President Nixon has been in office only a year, so the governors' ferment has a long time to go before it produces the bitter wine of President Johnson's Christmas, 1966, gubernatorial revolt. But Republicans in the states are making birth-control jokes about Agnew's Hot Springs crack that "in 1970 this Republican Governor's Association is going to suffer from a population explosion unknown in our history."

Managing History

Lyndon Johnson tried to manage the news while he occupied the White House. After a year alone with his memories, he is now trying to manage history.

All Presidents, of course, have sought to present the best possible face to the public. But no President ever worked harder at it than LBJ. Once he summoned the government's top press agents to the White House and berated them for failing to build him up to hero dimensions. He told them petulantly: "You're not getting my picture on the front page the way you did President Kennedy's."

Mr. Johnson's first contribution to recorded history was produced while he was still in the White House. He issued a pictorial history called "The Living White House," which contains 63 pictures of LBJ and his family. George Washington, the father of our country, rated only two. Abraham Lincoln was allotted six pictures. More space is devoted to the wedding of LBJ's daughter, Luci, than to all the other eleven White House weddings combined.

If the reader flips through the pages of this publication too fast, he may get the impression that LBJ succeeded George Washington and was re-elected at frequent intervals thereafter.

Now Mr. Johnson, in a series of television interviews, is offering the nation some more history. As usual, this is the LBJ version of history.

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'First Dog' Given Regal Treatment

By Jack Anderson

As befits the First Dog of the nation, President Nixon's handsome Irish setter, King Timahoe, has traveled cross country in a luxury class Air Force jet.

Last summer, instead, he dispatched the presidential mutt from Washington to San Clemente, Calif., in a remodeled 707 with the same pampering usually accorded high officials.

President Nixon leans toward the Franklin D. Roosevelt rather than the Lyndon B. Johnson school of dog-handling. FDR also treated his Scotty Fala to luxurious trips, while LBJ hoisted his beagles by their ears.

This elevation of pets has been a ruler's prerogative since the Emperor Caligula gave his horse, Incitatus, a retinue of slaves and announced the horse would be made a consul. Mr. Nixon, in this tradition, summoned King Timahoe to San Clemente last summer. At Andrews Air Force Base, outside Washington, officers were wryly informed only that an "important personage" would accompany White House aides to California.

To their astonishment, the "important personage" turned out to be the dog, tongue lolling, coat sleek as a four-star general's. One anti-canine member of the traveling party said King Timahoe was treat-

ed more like a dignitary than a dog.

Elephants, Too

The White House has not limited the space on presidential planes to dogs. In June, when the President sent a group of governors, senators and congressmen to Indochina to study the war, they airlifted back some artificial animals.

At Saigon, the distinguished passengers became entranced by some glazed ceramic elephants. Republican and Democratic bigwigs alike sent out government underlings to buy them as status gifts for GOP friends.

En route back to Washington, the elephant-buyers decided it would be politically disastrous for news photographers to catch them deplaning from a "war mission" laden with expensive, silly looking elephants. The Customs Bureau had already agreed to clear them with whatever gifts they brought in, so the stage was set for the great elephant smuggle.

The sumptuous Air Force airliner taxied in. Newsmen and cameramen rushed up. Sombre as only all-night partiers and brainwashed briefees can be, the delegates told of the ordeals they had gone through.

Only after the newsmen had left were the glazed elephants quietly unloaded and delivered to the delegation members.

Footnote: The VIP traffic at

Andrews picked up around Christmas time. No less than four "classified" plane loads of junketeering congressmen and officials arrived at the base with Santa loads of gifts for themselves and friends. These included furniture, lamps, vases, \$1,000 antiques, all hauled through Andrews gates while customs agents looked the other way. Ordinary citizens can bring in only \$100 worth of duty-free gifts.

Phony Reforms

Instead of unseating the House's encrusted chairmen, the House Democratic caucus seems more intent upon taking chairmanships away from some of the most vigorous younger members.

This is the effect of Rep. Julie Butler Hansen's milksop proposals to reform the House seniority system.

What happened is clear. Mrs. Hansen and 10 colleagues on a select committee worked so hard to find a compromise which would get past the House leadership that they scuttled reform.

The proposals explicitly block democratic elections of committee chairman to the delight of the creaky octogenarians and septuagenarians who rule Congress. And a proposal intended as a mild reform actually will knife some of Congress' hardest workers.

This is a clause that would bar a congressman, no matter how efficient he is, from chairing two legislative subcommittees. For example, it

would rob Rep. John Moss (D-Calif.) of either the gavel he has used to protect freedom of information or the one he has wielded in behalf of investors.

It would reduce the power of Rep. Henry Reuss (D-Wis.) to fight the polluters or the greedy bankers, depending on which subcommittee he would lose. Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.) would have to give up his power to reform law enforcement or lose his effectiveness on Latin American affairs.

Other dynamic younger members with two committees include Reps. L. H. Fountain (D-N.C.), the drug industry reformer; Leonor Sullivan (D-Mo.), the truth-in-lending battler; John Dingell (D-Mich.), enemy of the Penn Central giveaway; and John Blatnik (D-Mich.), another anti-polluter.

Two of the House's few blacks, typically, would have to give up subcommittees. One, Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) would lose either his leadership in fights for Washington's poor or his top job on the African Affairs subcommittee.

The most ironic aspect of the reform is that it would allow such ancient husks as Bill Colmer (D-Miss.) to keep on leading the powerful Rules Committee, but would force Wright Patman (D-Tex.), 77, the only one of the ancients still fighting like a young lion, to step down from two of his three chairmanships.

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Electronic Net Guards White House

By Jack Anderson

The bombing of the Capitol Building has raised urgent questions about White House security. Could those modern know-nothings, who practice the politics of hurled brick and the dynamite charge, plant a bomb anywhere near the President?

The reassuring fact is that the White House, despite its pastoral setting, sits in the center of an electronic entanglement that has never failed to pick up intruders.

Back in Lyndon Johnson's day, the Secret Service ran a security test at Camp David and succeeded in infiltrating the presidential retreat in Maryland's Catoctin Mountains. The Marines who guard Camp David sheepishly tightened up their security.

But similar attempts to penetrate the White House grounds have failed. Infiltration teams have never been able to slip past the all-seeing electronic eyes that the Secret Service began installing around the White House 20 years ago. Occasional intruders, who have climbed over the White House fence, have been picked up as fast as they set foot on the lawn.

About 10 years ago, some-

one managed to flip a hand grenade — happily, a dud — over the fence. It went undetected until a member of the grounds crew ran over it with a lawn mower. But even this harmless, unpublicized incident probably couldn't be repeated today.

The tourists who stream through the White House five days a week are hustled through the historic rooms and are kept under constant surveillance.

Berserk Newsmen

The Secret Service is more worried about the distinguished visitors, newsmen, aides and even bodyguards who have personal access to the President.

During the Eisenhower era, the mind of a White House correspondent suddenly snapped on a presidential trip. He was one of the trusted White House regulars, representing a great New York newspaper.

The incident, until now, has been hushed up. But the late dean of White House correspondents, Merriman Smith, overheard the man muttering incoherently that he intended to kill the President. Smith lunged at the man and grabbed him around the neck.

There was a brief tussle. The New York reporter slammed Smith to the floor and stomped on his face. But Secret Service agents quickly moved in and hustled the berserk correspondent away.

Security is necessarily intensive around Air Force One, the presidential plane. All luggage is carefully inspected for hidden weapons.

On rare occasions, a crewman has turned away from the luggage long enough to buy a cigarette or a coke. Quickly, quietly, Air Force security men have taken advantage of his inattention to plant smoke bombs in the luggage. When the crewman has discovered the smoking luggage, he has been reminded that it could have been a real bomb.

Indian Raid

Insisting that Puyallup Indians were squatters, Tacoma, Wash., police last summer surged into the Puyallups' ancestral home to arrest, beat and teargas them for fishing there.

The Indian Affairs Bureau has now found that the police attack was actually an invasion of Indian lands held in trust by the United States, just as the Indians had claimed all along.

Our own investigation has uncovered that the Tacoma police, whose brutality may be questioned, at least were acting on good faith. For the federal authorities, who should have been protecting the Indian's rights, actually incited the police attack.

A careful, secret study by Indian Commissioner Louis Bruce's office now confirms that the federal government misled the local authorities. The Interior Department had indicated to local and state officials that the Indians were not on land in the Indian trust territory. "The majority of the arrests were made without question on Indian trust land," said a spokesman for the Commissioner.

Footnote: U.S. Attorney Stan Pitkin, who himself has been accused by some of giving the "green light" for the raid, denied it vehemently. But he conceded to us he passed on the Interior Department's view to local officials. Tacoma Police Chief Lyle Smith said the city attorney, after conferring with Pitkin's aides, told him police had jurisdiction. "If I had felt that this was Indian land, the (raid) would not have been made," said Smith.

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Astronaut, Actor Spurn SST Drive

By Jack Anderson

The rich new supersonic transport (SST) lobby quietly tried to enlist such glamor boys as astronaut Frank Borman and movie star James Stewart to front as the lobby's national chairman. When both refused, the organization chose that reliable old plumber, AFL-CIO head George Meany.

Members of the new pressure group, called the National Committee on an American SST, range from corporations such as Boeing to 31 unions. Even the Retail Clerks of America, with little visible interest in the project, have agreed to join.

Overall strategy was laid out at a hush-hush meeting Feb. 23 in a plush suite a few blocks from the White House. A dozen men representing air transport, aircraft manufacturing, aerospace and other huge industries worked out a 16-point program for selling the public on paying for the gigantic pollution-prone plane.

A confidential resume of the

secret meeting, discussing who would head the lobby for the multi-billion SST program, says: "Frank Borman has refused to be chairman . . . going now to James Stewart . . . George Meany (is) hoped to be First Vice Chairman of Committee and he will testify."

The lobby's able executive director, James O'Shea, said that Borman turned down the chairmanship because he has just taken a demanding job as vice president of Eastern Airlines.

Actor Stewart refused because it was "not in his area of competence," according to O'Shea. The lobby then turned to Meany.

Feelings Hurt

The minutes also reveal that the lobby's feelings were badly bruised from an attack by John Gardner, former Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary, and now head of the citizens' lobby, Common Cause. Gardner charged that the SST would be a polluter and fund waster.

"Like to turn Common Cause around but can't; it's too late," laments the resume. It divulged that former Sen. Mike Monroney, now president of the National Aeronautic Association, suggested the group leave Gardner alone.

The summary talks of a "special office" to be set up away from the lobby's headquarters for "congressional liaison" and for keeping a head count of "Yes, no and maybe" for each senator and congressman. We have learned this office is being run by John Salter, a former aide to Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.).

The master plan also includes "trying to get letters to congressmen and public pressure on Congress." The lobby laid out its fund-raising plans and said the "ATA (Air Transport Association) will offer their staff, but not much money."

Other national figures at the meeting besides Monroney were Leo Bodine, executive vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers;

Ed Stimpson, president of the General Aviation Manufacturers Association; C. F. Von Kann, senior vice president of the Air Transport Association. Boeing's Washington SST representative, Brian Tennant, and representatives of the Aerospace Industries Association and Air Force Association were also there.

O'Shea said the lobby hopes to raise \$350,000 to use in selling the SST to Congress and the public but is still far short of its goal. Funds are coming from 22 corporations such as Boeing, big defense contractors and unions. The lobby funds, in many cases, are plucked from the pockets of American taxpayers who pay for contracts with the SST lobby's members.

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.), the SST's leading Senate foe, plans to go to the floor to demand how much tax money is going indirectly into the SST lobby's efforts through federal contracts.

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Brothers of Nixon, Ford Enjoy Junket

By Jack Anderson

An ambitious Navy captain, bucking hard for promotion to admiral, has apparently decided that the way to President Nixon's heart is through his brother's Navy reserve assignment.

While other naval reserve officers spent their annual active duty performing routine drudgery here in the states, Cmdr. Edward Nixon flew to Europe on military aircraft and spent a week in mid-January on the sunny Mediterranean.

He was selected for the junket by Capt. Reginand Armistead, who felt it wouldn't hurt his career also to have a voice close to House Republican leader Gerald Ford's ear. The minority leader's brother, Capt. Thomas Ford, was picked to go to the Mediterranean on the same excursion.

Captain Armistead, a career officer in the nation's capital, helps administer the Naval Reserve. For a Navy officer, such an assignment is like a transfer to Butte, Mont., for an FBI agent. Not only is Armistead stuck with Naval Reserve affairs but, unhappily, he was also passed over for promotion to admiral.

This double disaster may have had something to do with his decision to summon Commander Nixon all the way from Seattle and Captain Ford from Michigan to join him in the Mediterranean.

Armistead said he made the trip to review the progress of a reserve air training program, which has been conducted in the Mediterranean for the past several years. He would not discuss the reasons for his choice of companions.

Because Ed Nixon isn't listed in the Seattle phone book and the White House refuses to give any information about him, we were unable to talk to him about his trip. But we reached Thomas Ford.

What, we asked, was his reaction when he learned the President's brother would be along?

"I damn near fell out of my seat," he said.

Was he surprised at being selected for Mediterranean duty?

"No," said Ford. "I've learned to live with the fact that Gerry Ford is my brother."

But he added: "Anybody who thinks this is going to influence my brother just doesn't know Gerry Ford. And I certainly can't picture Ed Nixon sitting down to influence the President and saying, 'Now Dick, baby...'"

Footnote: After Captain Armistead lost out on the last round of promotions Maine's Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, the ranking Republican on the mighty Senate Armed Services Committee, received an anonymous letter telling how much better qualified Armistead was than some of those chosen for

Admiral. Armistead told us he knew about the letter but swore he didn't write it.

Bootleg File Cards

The offices of two congressmen who preach about honesty in men, both crusty conservatives, have been chiseling the taxpayers out of nickels and dimes to provide cut-rate file cards for one of their favorite pressure groups.

The cheap file cards, along with other stationery items, are available to bona fide House employees in a drab, basement stationery shop. The store has nothing but bargains, since all items are sold at their wholesale cost. There is no markup for overhead or salaries, which are furnished by the taxpayers. It's strictly against the House rules, however, for congressmen to make purchases for outsiders.

Yet the offices of Congressmen John Schmitz (R-Calif.) and Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), have been buying up the three-by-five cards for the American Security Council, that bastion of militant conservatism and redoubt for the reputable right. The council saves 91 cents on every packet of a thousand cards.

The bootleg cards are used by the council for keeping files on potential contributors. The information is cribbed from political campaign lists and copied on the cards.

The council's researchers, who supposedly are engaged

in digging up facts to fight communism, spend much of their time picking over the financial records of political candidates. Teams of researchers already have copied down all available information about likely contributors from the public filings of New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Sen. James Buckley (Con-R-N.Y.), ex-Sen. Charles Goodell, and ex-Rep. William Cramer (R-Fla.).

This has taken a lot of file cards. The saving, at 91 cents per thousand, has been substantial.

Both Schmitz and Ichord support the American Security Council's hardline anti-communism. But the council professes not to approve of the extremist John Birch Society, which claims Congressman Schmitz as a card-carrying member. Apparently, the council doesn't object to accepting bargains from a Bircher.

In Schmitz's office, a spokesman said the practice has now ended because "it is not the proper thing to do." He claimed the congressman personally knew nothing of the arrangement.

Ichord's administrative assistant, Virginia Wekenborg, said American Security Council John Fisher's office had called and asked for the cards. She said Ichord, too, was unaware of the transaction.

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White House Holds GOP Fund-Raiser

By Jack Anderson

President Nixon is using the White House to throw fund-raising dinners for the Republican campaign chest.

He invites fat cats to the White House for quiet black-tie dinners. Afterward, over Sancerre and cigars, they are hit up for political contributions.

To preserve the presidential dignity, Mr. Nixon doesn't stay around for the sordid financial pitch. He makes some lofty remarks about peace and prosperity, then discreetly departs before the money tree is shaken.

The latest White House fund raiser was held on April 8, less than three weeks after the President declared on TV his firm support for limiting campaign contributions.

A glittering gathering of Illinois millionaires munched on delectables from the White House kitchen and listened to the President talk.

He told how he was turning the Vietnam war over to the Vietnamese and said he was sorry he hadn't followed his own advice when he urged stock market speculators to start buying a year ago.

He started to leave, paused to listen respectfully to Illinois Gov. Richard Ogilvie, then made good his escape.

Political Pitch

Thereupon, lesser White House celebrities took over

and began to warm up the group for the plucking. Even Harry Dent, the President's Southern strategist, joined in the political evangelism.

"Southerners just love the President," said Dent.

First on his feet to offer financial aid was insurance tycoon W. Clement Stone, perhaps the sweetest sugar daddy of them all, who contributed a traceable \$650,000 to the GOP in 1968, another \$1 million in 1970 through a maze of channels.

But Stone has received unfavorable publicity for his beneficence. Presumably with this in mind, R. Douglas Stuart, the Quaker Oats magnate, suggested bluntly that Clem Stone's name ought to be kept out of their fund-raising effort.

"You are absolutely right," said Stone amiably. "I agree with you completely."

In the awesome atmosphere of the White House, full of good food and drink, the money men offered little resistance. Indeed, the fat cats are expected to line up for a chance to be dunned at a White House dinner. And the rustle of every unfolding bill and the scratch of pen on check add emphasis to the need for reforming the great-

est evil in the American political system.

Hassan's Army

FBI and narcotics agents are investigating a black nationalist who is using \$523,000 in federal funds to prepare artisan-soldiers for eventual emigration to Africa.

At the head of this bizarre private army is Col. Hassan Jeru-Ahmed, a handsome, ebullient man of 47, who has also wangled \$169,000 in government drug-treatment money for his Blackman's Development Center.

The FBI is checking allegations that the federal funds are being misused. The narcotics agents are inquiring why his drug-treatment center can't seem to bar heroin from its own premises.

And the Anti-Defamation League would like to block all funds to the self-styled colonel because of his anti-Semitic past.

Yet a number of responsible officials, doctors and even narcotics men praise him for reaching the unreachable. Addicts who would never deal with a government agency have flocked to Hassan's center for methadone treatment. Some don't come back; others stop by merely to pick up the substitute drug. But others, apparently, have been cured.

Hassan, a one-time bad check artist and one-time wig seller, has nearly 200 men quartered in his private army

billets around Washington. He claims to have 8,000 troops scattered across the country, a figure doubted by federal officials.

Brilliant Organizer

Whatever his past, he has proved to be a brilliant organizer. Besides his government grants, he is trying to run construction teams, an arts program in an old theater and a filling station.

He calls his paramilitary force the Blackman's Volunteer Army of Liberation, the military arm of the Provisional Government of the United Moorish Republic. This mythical government exists only in Hassan's mind. But the troops are real, and \$523,000 is real.

His drug-treatment program, structured entirely by Hassan himself, has registered thousands of addicts, many for the first time. Dr. Robert DuPont, whose own Washington, D.C., drug program has been harshly criticized by Hassan, allows that the controversial colonel has "played an important and constructive role in dramatizing to the Washington community the serious epidemic of heroin addiction."

But two prominent black leaders, who asked that their names be withheld because of fear of violence from Hassan's troops, called him a "phony" who has fooled the establishment.

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FBI Checks on Citizens, but Not Drugs

By Jack Anderson

With crime running rampant across the country, the FBI has tied up countless agents prying into the private lives of political figures, black leaders, movie stars, football players, newsmen and other prominent Americans.

Indeed, no American who speaks his mind is altogether safe from the all-seeing FBI.

FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, the old curmudgeon of law enforcement, fiercely resisted a White House suggestion that he spare a few hundred agents to crack down on drug abuses. But he can spare agents to snoop into the sex habits, business affairs and political pursuits of individuals who aren't even remotely involved in illegal activity.

Hoover's gumshoes have loaded FBI files with titillating tidbits about such diverse figures as movie actors Marlon Brando and Harry Belafonte, football heroes Joe Namath and Lance Rentzel, ex-boxing champs Joe Louis and Muhammad Ali, black leaders

Ralph Abernathy and Roy Innis.

It's no secret that the FBI hounded the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the apostle of racial brotherhood and nonviolent protest. We have seen FBI reports on his political activities and sex life.

Now the FBI is watching his widow, Coretta King. As evidence of what the FBI considers suspicious activity, here's a typical excerpt from her secret file:

"On February 18, 1970, a confidential source advised he had learned that Coretta Scott King, widow of Martin Luther King Jr., contemplated pursuing in the near future a program of voter registration in several Southern states."

Persecution Complex

In Joe Louis's case, the FBI went to pains to report on a mental breakdown, which led to his confinement in a Denver hospital.

The FBI keeps a particularly hostile eye on newsmen who are critical of government policies. The undefatigable muckraker I. F. Stone, for

example, is kept under regular surveillance.

"Stone's residence," his secret file shows, "was verified on February 5, 1972, by a representative of the FBI utilizing a suitable pretext."

The most suspicious notation was placed in his file in 1966. "On February 11, 1966, at 1:09 p.m.," states a surveillance report, "the subject was observed to meet Oleg D. Kalugin in front of Harvey's Restaurant, 1107 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. Together, they subsequently entered Harvey's Restaurant."

The FBI added darkly that Kalugin was the "press secretary" at the Soviet embassy.

The file on one famous movie actor, not mentioned above, contains nothing but rumors about his sex life. Indeed, the file begins by acknowledging that the actor "has not been the subject of an FBI investigation."

Nevertheless, the FBI has compiled a full dossier on the actor.

"During 1965," begins the FBI summary, "a confidential informant reported that sev-

eral years ago while he was in New York he had an 'affair' with movie star _____. The informant states that from personal knowledge he knew that (the actor) was a homosexual.

"The belief was expressed that by 'personal knowledge' the informant meant he had personally indulged in homosexual acts with (the star) or had witnessed or received the information from individuals who had done so.

"On another occasion, information was received by the Los Angeles office of the FBI that it was common knowledge in the motion picture industry that _____ was suspected of having homosexual tendencies.

"It is to be noted in May, 1961, a confidential source in New York also stated that _____ definitely was a homosexual.

"Our files contain no additional pertinent information identifiable with (the actor). The fingerprint files . . . contain no arrest data identifiable with (him)."

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February 19, 1972

Dear Mr. Miller:

This is just a note to thank you for your letter of February 1st enclosing a column which had appeared in the Long Island Press on January 31st.

I have forwarded it to our press research office in the event they might have overlooked this particular column.

With appreciation for your thoughtfulness,

Sincerely,

**Rose Mary Woods
Secretary to the President**

**Mr. Wallace A. Miller
2-J - 400 Flower Road
Valley Stream, New York 11581**

RMW:ma

WALLACE A. MILLER
PUBLIC RELATIONS
2-J - 400 FLOWER ROAD
VALLEY STREAM, N. Y. 11581

February-
1st, 1972

Dear Miss Woods;

You may wish to keep the enclosed news item or editorial in the ready-reference files relating to the Jack Anderson very-busy-about-the Presidents-business which appears under the direction of a syndicate of the L.I. Press, Jamaica, N.Y. featured "Anderson."

I trust the Presidents good executive administrative assistant, though as busy as he may be, would desire to keep watchful of the Jack Anderson Story which is having wide general reporting through the press syndicate system, since there is the possibility of a tendency to misquote information.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

Wallace A. Miller

Anderson

Chiang Feels Nixon Has Betrayed Him

By JACK ANDERSON

WASHINGTON — President Nixon's turnabout on Communist China has left Chiang Kai-shek isolated, lonely and personally embittered. The 85-year-old Generalissimo feels that he has been double-crossed by an old friend.

Over the years, Chiang has wined, dined, and financed Richard Nixon. In 1950, Chiang sent his nephew, Louis Kung, to California with a bankroll of \$100 bills to contribute to Nixon's campaign for the Senate.



Jack Anderson

The Chiang regime's financial house, the National Bank of China, also retained a public relations outfit called Allied Syndicates to help elect Nixon. The firm hired Leo Casey, who organized the "Independent Voters Committee for Nixon."

In 1964, Nixon visited Taiwan in behalf of his chief law client, Pepsi Cola. He was lavished with hospitality by the Chiangs. Not long afterward, the Generalissimo opened up Taiwan to Pepsi Cola.

The Chiangs have also showered Nixon with valuable gifts, including several Chinese paintings which used to hang in the hallway of Nixon's fashionable Fifth Avenue apartment in New York City.

Old Chiang had every reason to believe that Nixon, in the White House, would continue to be a close friend and dependable ally. They exchanged warm, personal letters. The old Washington-Taipei axis seemed stronger than ever.

* * *

THE FIRST test came in the Spring of 1969. The State Department wanted to recognize Mongolia. Recognition would have given the United States a closer view of the epic Russian-Chinese struggle in this remote but strategic area.

But Chiang Kai-shek growled an angry objection from his island lair. He didn't want to see the United States establish a diplomatic outpost in what used to be part of the Chinese mainland. He still had enough influence at the White House to get the State Department overridden.

Unknown to the old tyrant, however, Nixon was changing his thinking about Communist China. Just 15 days after he took office as President, he ordered a major review of U.S.-China relations. As early as November 1969, Nixon quietly terminated the two-destroyer patrol that the United States had kept in the Taiwan Strait.

The President's ultimate announcement that he would visit Peking came as a jolt to Chiang.

Nixon tried to appease his old friend by writing a warm letter, assuring him that the U.S. would faithfully keep its defense commitments to Taiwan. But the aging Chinese leader retreated into deep isolation and avoided American friends who tried to see him.

The U.S. embassy worked through other Nationalist leaders to soften the blow. It would help, they agreed, if President Nixon would include Chiang on his schedule of summit meetings. But the President feared this would offend the Red Chinese on the eve of his Peking visit and delicately rejected the suggestion.

Desperately, the U.S. embassy urged a meeting, at least, between Secretary of State Bill Rogers and Foreign Minister Chow Shu-kai.

"Fonmin Chow spoke to (the embassy) today about his desire to see Secretary when passing through U.S. on his way to presidential inauguration in Liberia," cabled William Gleysteen Jr., the embassy's No. 2 man . . .

"Although Fonmin has contemplated Washington visit for some time, it has taken on greater importance to GRC (Government, Republic of China) since announcement of President Nixon's meetings with various foreign leaders.

Rogers obligingly sat down with Chow for 30 minutes at Key Biscayne, Fla., where the Secretary was conferring with Nixon. But the President was careful to avoid being seen with Chiang's foreign minister.

Back in Taipei, meanwhile, the aging generalissimo is silently nursing his resentment over Nixon's ingratitude.

Donald Nixon Airs His Ventures

By Jack Anderson

Donald Nixon, the President's likeable, loquacious brother, is an inveterate wheeler-dealer.

He talked expansively about his business ventures recently to a few visiting businessmen. One was my associate George Clifford, posing as a realtor.

They met in a big, pastel building just off the Los Angeles-San Diego freeway in Fountain Valley, Calif.

The sign outside said "Hallamore Homes," but the proprietors were building empires, not houses. They were floating a stock offering; they were trying to line up customers for their modular housing; they were hustling; they were playing for the big buck.

Everything about their operation looked big. The founding father, Lloyd G. Hallamore, was large enough to dwarf most football linemen. His son, Barry, was even bigger.

But the biggest man in the room was Donald Nixon, who is only six-foot-two in physical size but sits high on the shoulders of the President of the United States.

The stocky, amiable Nixon, who was wearing blue trousers and a light blue, open-necked sports shirt with a monogram on the breast pocket that looked like a jelly smudge, did most of the talking.

Government Deals

He said the Navy was close

to purchasing 1,200 Hallamore homes for personnel at El Toro Marine Air Station, near Richard Nixon's San Clemente estate.

Donald said other deals were being worked with Fred Harvey, Inc., a concessionaire in the national parks, which depends on the continued good will of the Interior Department to keep its lucrative contracts.

Donald Nixon winked.

He had also encountered considerable interest in Hallamore homes, he said, while traveling abroad as a vice president for the Marriott Corp., a large restaurant, food catering and hotel chain.

In Greece, he discussed modular houses with Aristotle Onassis, husband of the widow of the man who defeated Donald's brother in the 1960 presidential race. Donald remembered that Onassis had sent to his hotel room roses with the longest stems he had ever seen.

There was also interest in Hallamore homes, said Donald, in Spain, Portugal and Brazil.

"The director of the National Bank in Spain told me he wanted these houses over there," Donald said, and he winked.

Suddenly, he fixed his gaze on a visitor connected with the airline Air West.

"How do I get Air West?"

Donald demanded "We ought to do their catering. They owe me that."

High Finance

After the meeting, the participants drifted away. Four of them, including Donald Nixon and George Clifford, went to a roadside restaurant not far from the Hallamore plant.

"I've already eaten," Donald said from his side of the booth. But he eyed the menu hungrily and ordered a "melted burger" — a hamburger with melted cheese on pumpernickle—and a chocolate milk shake.

"Don't tell my wife," he said, and he winked again. He has a serious weight problem. But he would rather talk about making money than losing weight. He told about his deal with Hallamore.

"They have promised me 25 per cent of their stock," he said. "And I'm going to be a director of San Bar." This corporation, he said, would handle foreign sales of Hallamore homes.

Then he embarked on a rambling discourse of his activities abroad. He was asked whether he planned to accompany his brother on the presidential trip to Peking.

Donald's face took on all the earnestness that Richard Nixon displays on television. "Oh, no," said Donald. "Only my brother and his closest advisers will go."

Then he grinned, and his left forefinger jabbed the air.

"But remember this," he said, "don't overlook the possibility of trade with China. And with Russia. There is an opportunity there. Someone has to do business with them."

Footnote: A spokesman for the Naval Facilities Engineering Command confirmed that the Marines had been looking at Hallamore homes but hadn't decided whether to install any at the El Toro station. Hallamore is the subcontractor, meanwhile, in another bid to provide modular homes for the Air Force. Fred Harvey, Inc., has decided against installing Hallamore homes in Death Valley and the Grand Canyon, a spokesman said.

Bell-McClure Syndicate

Oregon Mission Visiting S. Korea

SEOUL, Feb. 10 (AP)—A 30-member trade mission from Oregon headed by Gov. Tom McCall arrived in South Korea from Taipei today for three days of discussions to promote sale of Oregon's farm products.

The group will meet with South Korean government and business leaders. It was met at the airport by representatives of the Korea Trade Promotion Corp. and U.S. Ambassador Philip Habib.

PRESERVATION COPY

Nixon Puts an Eye on His Brother

By Jack Anderson

President Nixon has given aide John Ehrlichman a delicate personal assignment to keep the President's irrepressible brother, Donald, out of hot water.

Donald Nixon has a weakness for fattening foods and easy money. He tried to satisfy both appetites in the 1950's by borrowing \$205,000 from billionaire Howard Hughes to operate a restaurant chain, the Home of the Nixonburger, in Southern California.

Two months after the loan was made, some of Hughes' top assistants sat down with Donald to survey the chaos of his accounts. Noah Dietrich, who then directed the day-to-day operations of Hughes' empire, complained that Donald had gone through the money without paying off important creditors.

But it was too late. Donald's restaurants went bankrupt, and the Nixonburger was lost to mankind.

The story of the \$205,000 loan leaked out during Richard Nixon's 1960 campaign for the Presidency, causing him political pain.

At one time, Donald incorporated himself and began selling shares to citizens who might have an interest in his blood line. Ehrlichman explained gently to Donald that such ventures could embarrass his brother and that, for his brother's sake, he should

avoid deals that might reflect unfavorably on the President.

Not long afterward, Donald began dickering with John Hill, a Boston manufacturer of playground equipment, who wanted the government to consider installing his products in urban riot areas. Hill told us Donald merely wanted to be the company's West Coast representative, and did not want to put in the fix for federal money. But Ehrlichman quietly vetoed the project, and the President's brother wrote to Hill saying he was no longer interested in the company.

No Longer Adviser

Donald also made contact with Elmer Stone a lawyer for the Ryan Aeronautical Company. But in deference to his brother, Donald took Stone through the guarded White House gates to see Ehrlichman. Afterward, a spokesman for Ryan Aeronautical explained that the pair had just dropped by to let it be known that Stone was no longer acting as Donald's legal adviser.

When Donald finally joined the Marriott Corporation in January, 1970, Ehrlichman summoned J. Willard Marriott and his son, Bill, to the White House for an audience with the President. Marriott had been chairman of the Nixon inaugural and is trusted by the President.

Delicately, the President asked the Marriotts to keep

his brother out of trouble. "I want to be sure that Don has no dealings with the federal government," said the President. "I want to be sure that Don is never asked to do anything that would embarrass this office."

Then the President added as an afterthought: "Don is the best salesman in the Nixon family."

The Marriotts agreed to watch over Donald, and they have scrupulously kept him away from Washington. There has been only one awkward incident. Donald flew to Greece as one of the three-man team that offered Marriott's airline-catering service to Aristotle Onassis' Olympic Airlines.

Greeks Bearing Gifts

The Greeks, whose military government is unpopular in the U.S., rolled out the red carpet for the President's brother. Tom Pappas, a big Republican money raiser with oil interests in Greece, threw a lavish dinner for Donald in Athens and invited members of the Greek military junta. And Onassis, the husband of the widow of the man who defeated Richard Nixon for President in 1960, sent long-stemmed roses to Donald's hotel room.

Washington whispers that Donald used his White House influence to get catering contracts for Marriott with American Airlines and TWA, we

have established, are strictly untrue.

Ehrlichman also gave Donald's son, Donald, Jr., a lecture before the boy went to Switzerland last summer to work for International Controls. The company has now transferred young Nixon to the Bahamas.

His father, talking to a few visitors, including my associate George Clifford, considered that Donald, Jr., was something of a disappointment to the family. He had been off in the mountains associating with hippies before the overseas job was arranged.

The boy had said he was going to work for Investors Overseas Service, which has been in financial difficulty.

"I told him not to say that," said Donald, a note of exasperation in his voice. "If that gets around, he's going to be in a lot of trouble. I told him he was to say he was going to work for International Controls. IOS and International Controls are allied companies but he's not supposed to say he's working for IOS. You know what would happen if that got around."

"That dumb so-and-so," Donald said of his son. "John Ehrlichman talked to him for a couple of hours and told him to behave himself over there. You know, he told him he was the President's nephew and couldn't do anything to embarrass the President."



Washington Post
Jack Anderson 3/5/72

The Hughes Loan To Nixon Brother

NEW FACTS KEEP bubbling up about Howard Hughes' strange loan of \$205,000 to President Nixon's amiable, wheeler-dealer brother 15 years ago. Some evidence now suggests a possible tax fraud.

Here is the background:

The federal grand jury in New York City which is investigating the Clifford Irving-Howard Hughes affair has an accountant named Phillip Reiner on standby. Reiner was used by Hughes as a "dummy" to conceal the source of the loan and swears he was told at the time to lie "if there is a stink about this."

Although Reiner's grand jury appearance keeps getting postponed, federal prosecutors in New York insist there is no truth to reports that Washington is calling the shots to keep from embarrassing President Nixon. Reiner told us he will testify, but reluctantly.

Reiner's lawyer is the urbane Californian, Melvin Belli, who years ago won Reiner a \$145,000 out-of-court settlement against Hughes in the controversial loan case.

"I hated to settle that one," the irrepressible Belli recalled in a talk with us from San Francisco. "I imagine Hughes got a call from Nixon to settle . . . because as soon as we started to dig, they settled at the top."

"Only Nixon (then vice president) could have generated that loan. It wasn't Nixon's brother. It wasn't Nixon's mother. It was Nixon."

Belli's file in the case, now in our possession, claims Vice President Nixon "importuned" a Hughes lawyer to "get some money for (Don) Nixon." Don's restaurants featuring the Nixonburgers, were failing and needed more than a dash of ketchup and mustard to survive.

The "loan" agreed on was \$205,000 secured by a vacant lot assessed at \$13,000.

After the loan was arranged, as the Belli file attests and as Reiner recalled, accountant Reiner was told by Hughes aides to rendezvous with a Hughes official on a Wilshire Blvd. corner.

The mystified Reiner obligated and, says the file, "was driven to Whittier by a Hughes official and the nature of the mission (examina-

tion of the books of Nixon's, Inc.) was not disclosed to him until the car was approaching Whittier."

Reiner was "instructed to say, 'if there is a stink about this,' that he made his examination 'before the loan was arranged and 'that he recommended the loan as a sound business investment.'"

Actually, this "sound business investment" of \$205,000 was secured by a lot assessed with only a fraction of the loan. And while Don and Richard Nixon tried to palm the deal off as a "loan," their Quaker mother who owned the lot honestly conceded it was a sale, the Belli file says.

As a sale, of course, the \$205,000 would have been subject to capital gain taxes of about \$50,000 which Don Nixon's own financial reports indicate were never paid to the Internal Revenue.

The criminal statute of limitation has long since run out. But in theory, at least, the IRS could try to collect the \$50,000 in a civil fraud suit against the brother of the President. Don refuses to talk with us.

However, shrewd old Noah Dietrich, the former Hughes chief-of-staffer who carried on some of the loan negotiations, told us from his home in Beverly Hills that he saw only the most remote chance of a civil fraud suit succeeding.

400,000 Addicts

DESPITE THE federal crackdown on narcotics traffic, the number of drug addicts in the United States is growing by leaps and bounds and has already surpassed the 400,000 mark.

This is one of the revelations contained in a still-secret congressional report prepared for the House Foreign Affairs Committee by Rep. Seymour Halpern (R-N.Y.)

The congressman's findings will supplement a voluminous report he turned in last year as the result of a 1971 narcotics investigation which took him to 11 countries.

On the domestic front, says Halpern, "there has been no let-up whatsoever in the quantity or quality of the heroin supply" despite "\$920,000,000 worth of narcotics having been seized by the U.S. government" in 1971.

Belli-McClure Syndicate

Kleindienst Aided Drug Firm Merger

By Jack Anderson

Richard Kleindienst has been sweating under the Senate spotlight while senators review his qualifications to be Attorney General.

When he was the Justice Department's No. 2 man, he acted for ex-Attorney General John Mitchell in two gigantic antitrust cases, because the Nixon-Mitchell law firm had represented International Telephone and Telegraph and Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical.

By his own sworn admission, Kleindienst "set in motion a series of events" that led the Justice Department to drop antitrust suits against ITT just eight days after ITT pledged up to \$400,000 to help finance the Republican convention. This story has been splashed across the nation's front pages.

Kleindienst also blocked the Justice Department from going to court to stop Warner-Lambert from merging with Parke, Davis and Company. The details of this case haven't been spelled out.

Elmer Bobst, the venerable old granddad of Warner-Lambert, was quoted at the Senate hearings as saying the company had gone through the White House to get the Justice Department's injunction called off.

Both Kleindienst and his former antitrust chief, Richard McLaren, disavowed any

knowledge of White House intervention. Disingenuously, they kept mispronouncing Bobst's name as if they had never heard of the man.

Nixon's Foster Father

Few names are better known in Nixon circles. It was Bobst who took Richard Nixon by the hand after his traumatic defeat for governor of California in 1962.

They discussed Nixon's future aboard the yacht Alisa, Bobst's 98-foot status symbol. The old Warner-Lambert tycoon suggested banking and offered to arrange a top position for Nixon with the Wall Street investment banking house of Eastman Dillon Union Securities.

Nixon said Wall Street was all right, but pointed out he was still a lawyer. As it happened, Bobst knew a Wall Street law firm quite well. It was Mudge, Stern, Baldwin and Todd, which happened to represent Warner-Lambert.

Almost magically, Nixon was installed as senior partner.

Bobst has said he has always regarded the President as a son. Nixon maintains that he has looked upon Bobst as a father. Bobst and his wife Mamdouah—Nixon and other friends call her Dodo—spend Christmases at the Nixon's home, wherever it happens to be.

After dinner, the family group—Dick, Pat, Elmer, Dodo, Ed, Tricia, David and

Julie—gather around the piano. No one laughs when Nixon sits down to play because he always rehearses. There are carols, and, invariably, "When Irish Eyes are Smiling."

In selecting a foster father, Nixon picked a veritable saint among the robber barons of the drug industry. Bobst steered his company clear of price fixing and other scandals that have characterized the industry.

He is, nevertheless, one of the industry's elder statesmen. And Nixon's subordinates in the White House and at the top levels of the Justice Department are keenly aware that the President wouldn't want them to take any action that might hurt Elmer.

\$25,000 Spree

The commander of the Texas National Guard recently outfitted one of his refueling planes with a stateroom for himself and his wife so they could fly off to Europe for a \$25,000 spree at the taxpayers' expense.

He is Maj. Gen. Ross Ayers, a crusty, cantankerous politician-general, who commandeered a KC-97 flying tanker from the Air National Guard and ordered enlisted men to refurbish the big, bare plane to his wife's specifications.

Under Air Force regulations, the KC-97 isn't supposed to be altered so some brass hat can fly in style around Europe.

Ayers' official excuse for the trip was to attend military ceremonies in West Germany. But the general and his lady spent most of their time in France visiting their daughter.

A few months earlier, the two-star Texan had been caught for ferrying politicians and businessmen to Las Vegas in an Air National Guard plane. He also flew reporters to Williamsburg, Va., to cover the activities of Texas Governor Preston Smith at the governors' conference. Ayers and Smith are old college chums.

Ayers received an Air Force reprimand for the Las Vegas and Williamsburg capers. But the ink was hardly dry on the reprimand before he was sprucing up the KC-97 for his European junket.

Footnote: Criticized along with Ayers for the misuse of Air Force planes was his gruff, cigar-chomping chief of staff, Col. Walter Staudt, who hopefully but illegally sports brigadier general's stars on his shoulders. His name was removed from the promotion list after Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.) protested over the Las Vegas and Williamsburg flights. In talks with my reporter Jeff Brundelle, both Ayers and Staudt denied any impropriety. Ayers admitted he draped off a stateroom in the tanker but said it was all done as part of "Air National Guard business." Staudt claimed he wore his illegal stars only when he was dealing with Texas matters.

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PRESERVATION COPY

NTA Scare Sends Harlow Back Home

By Jack Anderson

Procter & Gamble, the soap makers, have millions worth of nitrilotriacetic acid on their hands. This is the stuff—popularly known as NTA—which was supposed to replace phosphates in detergents until the Surgeon General discovered NTA might be even more harmful to health.

The soap firm's chief influence peddler, Bryce Harlow, has been working quietly to remove the medical curse from NTA. After Richard Nixon moved into the White House, Harlow put away the soft soap to sell the Republican legislative program on Capitol Hill. But he's back now at Procter & Gamble trying to unload all that NTA.

The Health, Education and Welfare Department, obligingly, has appointed an academic panel to review the risk of flushing NTA into the nation's sewage systems. Here's the inside story:

Procter & Gamble, like most other detergent manufacturers, is aware that phosphates are one of the more insidious byproducts of our spick-and-span culture. Dumped into rivers, lakes and streams, phosphates are a favorite food of algae. In the process, the algae consume the oxygen in the waterways.

Like man, waterways need

oxygen to survive. Without it, they stagnate and die. Government scientists argued that a tattletale gray collar was less serious than atrophication of the streams. Between 50 and 75 per cent of the phosphates in our waters come from detergents.

Tattletale Gray

Harlow was still in the White House when he got wind that the government was about to crack down on the use of phosphates in laundry cleaners. He passed the word, say insiders, to his former bosses at Procter & Gamble.

The company had been experimenting with NTA which, like phosphates, pulls dirt out of laundry much like a magnet picks up iron filings.

The substitution of chemicals wasn't an easy matter for the soap suds king, whose formulas can't be changed without enormous cost. NTA also has an affinity for metals and, therefore, must be made with extreme care.

Special machinery had to be constructed, and precautions had to be taken to avoid spillage. For NTA has a corrosive effect on metal and concrete alike.

But it does get clothes clean. There would be no need to tell housewives about the impending damage to their

washing machines, basement floors and drain pipes.

Hocus pocus is the secret of the soap business. For most of this century, housewives have been hoodwinked into believing that suds have something to do with cleaning power. They don't. Chemicals that make soap bubbles are added as a sales gimmick.

Rather than undertake the production of NTA itself, Procter & Gamble made a deal with Monsanto Chemical. It was a big deal. Industry sources place the figure as high as \$100 million.

Phosphates were about to be phased out when scientists began reporting disturbing characteristics about NTA. Its affinity for metals has the effect of bonding together heavy metals in water.

NTA and Cancer

Shortly before Christmas, 1970, Surgeon General Jesse Steinfeld and environmental czar William Ruckelshaus politely asked the soap makers to keep NTA out of their detergents. From a growing mass of research data, government scientists had concluded that NTA could cause cancer and birth defects.

The suds men grudgingly agreed to keep using phosphates. It was a costly decision. The Procter & Gamble

contract with Monsanto had stiff penalty clauses. The soap makers were compelled to pay for NTA they couldn't use.

Bryce Harlow, who had agreed to become Republican National chairman, was summoned back to the mother ship. With Procter & Gamble in serious trouble, partly as a result of Harlow's inside advice, company officials thought he would be more valuable working for them full time.

We have obtained secret minutes, which show that Harlow pulled strings inside the White House to get relief for his company. The minutes mention the names of presidential aides Charles Colson, James Whitaker and Peter Flanigan.

We are convinced from our investigation, however, that no pressure was put on HEW's Assistant Secretary, Dr. Merlin DuVal, who formed an academic panel to review the research on NTA.

Meanwhile, we have seen confidential research prepared for Procter & Gamble on the NTA menace. An in-house study, prepared by three of the company's own scientists, warns cautiously: "An increased level of zinc was found in the bones" of test animals that had received small doses of NTA.

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PRESERVATION COPY

Dita Beard Listed as a GOP Donor

By Jack Anderson

From the confidential files of President Nixon's campaign finance committee, we have obtained a list of "major donors" with ITT lobbyist Dita Beard's name on it.

Down the list is also the name of ITT director Felix Rohatyn, who lobbied with the top brass at the Justice Department to drop three antitrust suits against ITT.

The ITT pair is listed with such multimillionaires as Robert O. Anderson, Henry Ford II, Helen Clay Frick, Richard M. Scaife and W. Clement Stone, who have contributed heavily to the Republican cause in the past.

Yet Mrs. Beard, who worked as a secretary before she became a \$29,000-a-year lobbyist, is clearly not in their financial class. It is doubtful that she, with five children to support and medical bills to pay, has ever made any "major" donations to the GOP out of her own pocketbook.

Her name, incidentally, is misspelled as "Deida Beard" on the GOP list of millionaire contributors. But her affiliation with International Telephone and Telegraph is spelled out quite accurately. Her address is given as 1707 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., which happens to be the location of ITT's Washington office.

The implications, since she has no money of her own, is that she can raise money through her ITT connections for President Nixon's campaign. It would be against the law for ITT to contribute directly to the campaign.

The confidential list was drawn up from "known major donors" to "Republican senatorial campaigns" in 1970. It was thought the same people would be good prospects to approach for contributions to the Nixon campaign this year.

This list doesn't give the amounts the "known major donors" passed out to GOP candidates in 1970, nor does it mention how much they may be willing to contribute in 1972. Insiders say, however, that the President's chief money grubber, Maurice Stans, has used the list to raise hundreds of thousands of dollars.

We asked Stans a series of questions about his major donors, but he refused all comment except to say that he had nothing to do with the 1970 campaign.

In fairness, it should be mentioned that the Democrats use the same techniques to raise campaign funds. Indeed, some of the big-money men, listed as major GOP donors, have also made substantial contributions to Democratic candidates.

ITT's Felix Rohatyn, for example, has managed to find funds for Republican and Democratic candidates alike. He made a \$2,500 donation, for example, to the presidential campaign of Sen. Ed Muskie.

It was Rohatyn who dropped by the Justice Department last April 29 to discuss ITT's antitrust problems with Richard Kleindienst, then the Deputy Attorney General. The same day, Rohatyn had two meetings with then-Attorney General John Mitchell, who had disassociated himself from the ITT suit because of a conflict of interest.

Mitchell's Meeting

Everyone involved swore under oath that the ITT cases never came up when Rohatyn and Mitchell met. The senators were asked to believe that an ITT director, in town to discuss the most crucial lawsuit in the company's history, would float freely from floor to floor in the Justice Department never telling one official the subject of his meeting with another.

ITT President Harold Geneen, himself, also called upon Mitchell. Both men testified that they didn't mention the ITT cases but merely discussed antitrust philosophy.

The senators were expected to believe these two unlikely philosophers, both brusque,

busy men, got together for no useful purpose. For, taken at their word, they didn't talk about ITT and, in any event, Mitchell could have done nothing to help ITT since he had disqualified himself.

As ITT's high muck-a-muck, Geneen is paid more than three times President Nixon's salary. He isn't the sort who would make a special trip to discuss antitrust philosophy, without mentioning his own cases, with a man he knew would do nothing to help him.

In May, Geneen also pledged to Republican officials in San Diego that ITT would put up \$400,000—or whatever portion of this amount was needed—to bring the Republican convention to San Diego. A check for \$100,000 subsequently was made out to the convention bureau.

This would appear to be a violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, which states categorically: "It is unlawful . . . for any corporation whatever, or any labor organization, to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any . . . political convention."

It will be interesting to see what President Nixon's law-and-order administration does about this violation.

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PRESERVATION COPY

Harlow's Role on Detergents Cited

By Jack Anderson

Confidential minutes, kept under wraps for a year, reveal how the soap suds crowd used the White House to try to prevent the banning of phosphates from laundry detergents.

The backstage operator who pulled the right wires inside the White House, the minutes indicate, was Procter & Gamble's Bryce Harlow. He knew the way around the White House, having spent two years there as President Nixon's chief lobbyist on Capitol Hill.

Harlow was called back to his soap factory in December of 1970 to bolster the defense against the environmentalists, who were up in arms over the phosphate menace to the nation's waterways. The phosphate detergents that housewives flush down their laundry drains, say the environmentalists, stimulate the growth of algae. The algae consume oxygen in the water, thus literally choking lakes and streams.

The soap makers, fearing a complete ban on phosphates, wanted the White House to push for federal regulation of phosphate content of detergents. It would be better to let the federal government set phosphate limits, they felt, than to risk a complete ban or a deal with varied local regulations.

The lobbyists and lawyers

for the detergent industry, soft soap artists all, held a secret strategy session last April 22 in the Washington law offices of Pierson, Ball and Dowd. The firm represents the Soap and Detergent Association.

"It was initially suggested that Bryce Harlow act as chairman for the group," begins the long-suppressed minutes, "but Harlow himself suggested that he should maintain a low-profile visibility."

White House Contacts

He told the group that he was working inside the White House with presidential aides Peter Flanigan, John Whiteaker and Charles Colson. Harlow had also consulted, he said, with Tim Atkeson, general counsel for the President's Environmental Quality Council, and Jim Lynn, then general counsel for the Commerce Department.

Harlow quoted Atkeson as saying "the last thing in the world would be for industry to propose" that federal limits be set on the phosphate content of detergents. This "automatically would be suspect," Harlow said Atkeson had told him.

Harlow also reported that Lynn was already at work preparing an administration proposal for special legislation to give the federal government control over the ingredients in detergents. According to Har-

low, Lynn suggested "that the general hysteria on the subject of phosphate detergents would be slowed down if the federal position were announced."

Harlow cheerfully acknowledged to us that he had spread the soap industry's story to anyone who would listen in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

As he told it, the government had pressured the soap makers to stop using phosphates and to substitute a chemical called NTA, then had abruptly changed signals and had called upon them not to use NTA either. This was forcing them to use caustics which are even more harmful, Harlow said.

All the soap people want, he said, is for the government to make up its mind what should be put into laundry cleaners.

Harlow also denied our report, printed in an earlier column, that he had passed on inside information to Procter & Gamble while he was a White House aide. We had been unable to reach him during the Easter holiday, so we went ahead with a detergents story without talking to him. The story mentioned that he had tipped off Procter & Gamble about a government crackdown on phosphates.

He returned our call after Easter and told us emphatically: "I never talked to any

Procter & Gamble people, except to discuss my return to the company, while I was in the White House. I also flatly instructed White House aides not to discuss anything with me that affected Procter & Gamble. I am proud of my conduct."

Harlow's Lobbying

Once he got back into the soap business, however, the able, articulate Harlow lobbied vigorously with his former associates inside the Nixon administration and his contacts on Capitol Hill.

The big pitch was to get federal control over the content of laundry detergents. The soap industry was willing to accept a limit of 35 per cent phosphates in their products. But they wanted it left open in the legislation, for fear Congress would write in a lower percentage.

President Nixon's environmental czar, William Ruckelshaus, would have authority to set the limits on phosphates under the White House bill. He would set it at 35 per cent, they were promised.

The soap men were assured their bill would come out the way they wanted it. "All of us agreed," noted the minutes, "to try and see an advance copy of the White House material if at all possible so we might make comments before it is firmed up."

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Holifield Took a \$500 ITT Payoff

By Jack Anderson

Rep. Chet Holifield, one of the grand old Democratic powers of the House, took a \$500 payoff from ITT about the same time that he wrote the Defense Department on behalf of a multimillion-dollar ITT contract proposal.

Holifield, of California, got the \$500 in hundred-dollar bills from ITT's Robert Schmidt, the same man who helped him draft the letter to the Defense Department.

The likable Schmidt is ITT's ambassador to the Democrats, just as ITT lobbyist Dita Beard handled Republican contacts and contributions. Unlike Mrs. Beard, Schmidt is not registered as a lobbyist for ITT.

Our sources inside ITT say the corporate brass, fearful that the Democrats might learn about the ITT pledge to help finance the Republican convention, discussed offering a similar commitment to the Democrats. In both cases a commitment up to \$400,000 was mentioned.

We could find no evidence that the offer was actually made to the Democrats. However, ITT and two of its subsidiaries, Florida Palm Coast and the Sheraton hotel chain, bought \$30,000 worth of advertising in the Democratic convention program.

Robert Strauss, party treasurer, also acknowledged that he had spoken to Schmidt about lining up ITT executives to become '72 sponsors. The sponsors pledge to contribute \$72 a month for 12 months to the Democratic campaign chest.

Payoff Scenario

The scenario of the ITT payoff to Holifield, who ironically is a member of the House Ethics Committee, began in mid-1968.

At that time, ITT was eagerly seeking a contract with the Defense Department for electronic airfield equipment that was certain to bring ITT tens of millions. The equipment was to be preconstructed and portable so it could be set up swiftly on Vietnam air strips.

With competition at fever heat, ITT went all out for the contract. It prepared detailed charts and diagrams for congressional and military leaders. In one case, ITT held a briefing for congressmen in a House dining room.

Other charts were not meant for the public's eyes. These showed the key procurement men at the Defense Department, who would be handling the award and when it would come into their jurisdiction.

As the ITT campaign geared

up, Schmidt called Holifield's office to let it be known how interested ITT was in the contract. As chairman of the House Government Operations Military subcommittee, Holifield had vast watchdog powers over all defense contracts.

The tenacious Schmidt suggested that a letter to the Defense Department would be helpful to ITT. When Holifield agreed to write it, Schmidt said he would have the letter ready for the congressman when the time was precisely ripe for ITT contract bid.

Some weeks later Schmidt brought a draft of the letter to Holifield's office, where it was retyped substantially as Schmidt prepared it. The congressman sent it on to the Defense Department. The efficient Schmidt even requested a copy for his files.

Hundred-Dollar Bills

At about this time, Schmidt made another visit to Holifield's congressional office on Capitol Hill. The California Democrat was not present, so Schmidt left \$500 in one-hundred-dollar bills with an aide, Eliot Stanley, who routinely accepted it on Holifield's behalf.

From sources with ties deep inside ITT, we have learned the money ostensibly was supposed to be a "campaign con-

tribution." But we have not yet been able to turn up any such "campaign contribution" in available public campaign records.

Open contributions normally are made in checks; hidden offerings are delivered in cash. Either kind of contribution by a corporation is a federal crime.

Meanwhile, ITT continued its campaign for the contract, with the support of Holifield and other ITT backers. But in the end, ITT failed to get what it wanted.

We spoke with Holifield at his home in California about the case, but he was noncommittal. "I have no recollection of any such contribution," he said.

As for the letter to the Defense Department, he said: "I write hundreds of letters every year." Pressed about the letter, he said, "I have no answer," then amended this reply to say he could not recall the letter.

The Holifield aide, Stanley, has now left Capitol Hill and declined any public comment about his duties there.

As for Schmidt, although we left repeated calls with his secretary stressing our desire to reach him, he did not return the calls. He is now ITT's Washington public affairs director.

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Nixon War Move May Have Backfired

By Jack Anderson

President Nixon's strategy for settling the Vietnam War before the November election may have backfired on the battlefield.

In his secret approaches to Hanoi, the President has pressed for an early peace. He has tried to convey the idea that he will be much tougher to deal with after the election.

As the White House views it, Hanoi hopes to use the anti-war ferment in the U.S. as political leverage to gain a peace settlement on Communist terms. Mr. Nixon, therefore, has emphasized American politics in his secret soundings.

He has tried to impress Hanoi that he is favored to win reelection, that he cannot run for another term and, therefore, that he will be free of political pressure after the election. Hints have been dropped in both Paris and Peking that Mr. Nixon may be willing to take bolder action against North Vietnam after the election.

The powerful North Vietnam drive across the demilitarized zone may have been a direct response to the President's arguments. Here's the picture as it has been pieced together in the White House:

The North Vietnam forces

had been deployed along the demilitarized zone for years in a position for a direct invasion of the South. The U.S. intelligence community, however, never anticipated that Hanoi would gamble this home force in an open invasion.

The Communist buildup had been detected in the central highlands and along the Ho Chi-minh trail complex. But the worst that was expected was a limited offensive against a few psychological points.

The secret intelligence estimates suggested that the North Vietnamese might score a few spectacular victories but couldn't keep up a protracted war in the South. In the end, the South Vietnamese were expected to hold.

Now, Gen. Creighton Abrams, American commander in Vietnam, has warned Washington that the Communist offensive can be sustained for months. Apparently a decision was made in Hanoi to commit the home forces to an open invasion of South Vietnam.

There is a suspicion in the White House that Hanoi took the President at his word that he would be tougher after the election. With this in mind, the North Vietnamese may have launched the invasion to strengthen their hand before sitting down to serious, pre-election bargaining.

One thing is certain. Hanoi is throwing into the invasion troops, tanks, artillery and aircraft guns that previously

had been held in reserve for the protection of North Vietnam. This unexpected assault across the demilitarized zone has completely upset our military calculations.

Footnote: The timing of the invasion also caught the American high command by surprise. General Abrams was expecting a limited offensive in July or August. He was in Bangkok visiting his family when the North Vietnamese struck. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker was also out of the country visiting his wife, Carol Laise, in Kathmandu, where she is the U.S. Ambassador to Nepal.

Mortgage Mess

So worried is the Department of Housing and Urban Development over congressional investigation of the housing mortgage scandal that it has warned its regional officers to report all signs of the probbers.

"Alert Notice," begins a wire to HUD's Reno office telling of the probe by Rep. John Monagan (D-Conn.). "The Monagan group might be in your area in the near future. It is essential that any word of the group activity be reported directly" to HUD in Washington.

A HUD memo to Seattle regional staffers says: "Please notify me personally by telephone if you receive any contact from these people or any information about their visit-

ing your area." It is signed by Regional Administrator Oscar Pederson.

At the heart of this panic over Monagan's probe are reports from city after city that federal mortgages have been used as milch cows for greedy real estate men, sometimes with the collusion of HUD employees. Monagan plans hearings shortly on reports of bribes, kickbacks and payoffs in the housing mortgage industry.

Buckley Bid

Sen. Jim Buckley, the New York conservative, has family holdings potentially worth millions which ride on swift development of the far northern oil fields of Alaska and Canada.

As a member of the powerful Senate Interior Committee, the New Yorker wields a club over the Interior Department, which is now deciding whether to approve a Trans Alaska pipeline. Last week, Buckley swung the club, but not on behalf of his oil interests.

Instead, in a private letter to Interior Secretary Rogers Morton, Buckley eloquently pleaded for delay in the name of Alaska's "untouched wilderness." Buckley asked for additional hearings on whether Canada and the U.S. cannot get together on a pipeline that will carry oil but not damage the environment.

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Viet Bombing Is Message for Moscow

By Jack Anderson

President Nixon ordered the bombing of the North Vietnamese heart and as much to impress Moscow as to deter Hanoi.

He wanted the Kremlin to understand his quest for peace doesn't mean he can be pushed around."

In his private conversations, he has declared fiercely that he wants to lower tensions around the world and win reelection in November, but that he won't abandon America's commitments to achieve these goals.

Nixon has expressed admiration for the late President John F. Kennedy for facing down the Russians during the Cuban missile crisis, and he is prepared to do it again if another confrontation should develop.

Secret intelligence reports suggest that Hanoi expected no anti-war pressures in the United States to keep American air power at bay after the assault across the Demilitarized Zone. But Hanoi underestimated Richard Nixon, who never hesitated to strike massive air blows against North Vietnam.

Earlier, he had made secret overtures through both Moscow and Peking to bring pressure on the North Vietnamese to call off the offensive. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai reportedly tried to persuade the North Vietnamese not to risk a military showdown, but

they went ahead with the offensive in spite of the advice from Peking.

Soviet Rule

The Russians, on the other hand, refused to discourage the attack. Intelligence reports claim that the Kremlin, while it didn't go so far as to encourage Hanoi to invade South Vietnam, had advance knowledge of the invasion plans. The attackers also used Soviet-made tanks, artillery and anti-aircraft missiles.

The President believes the Kremlin could have prevented the invasion by threatening to cut off military supplies. He intends to demonstrate his resolve, therefore, by shutting off the supplies himself, if possible, with a blizzard of bombs.

The Central Intelligence Agency has warned all along that bombing will never stop the needed supplies from reaching Communist forces in South Vietnam. Gen. Creighton Abrams the U.S. commander in Vietnam, has agreed that the supplies for the present offensive were stockpiled in advance.

But he has warned that Hanoi has the power to continue a prolonged offensive. Twelve of North Vietnam's regular divisions are now fighting in the south. Another division is reported on the way to the front. This leaves only two training divisions at home.

Once the lines become stabilized, Abrams has suggested,

the Vietnam war may become a protracted, Korea-style conflict. He recommended the bombing of supply depots around Hanoi and Haiphong, therefore, to disrupt enemy logistics and to reduce the supplies that will reach front-line troops in the months ahead.

Massive Air Support

When President Nixon first took over as commander-in-chief, the Joint Chiefs advised him that the South Vietnamese army by itself would be unable to withstand an all-out North Vietnamese assault "in the foreseeable future." This assessment has now been changed, but the Joint Chiefs have warned it will take massive American air support to blunt the North Vietnamese offensive.

In private, meanwhile, the President has repeated again and again that he doesn't intend to be "pushed around"—not in Vietnam, the Middle East or anywhere else.

Once, when Jewish leaders were questioning his willingness to support Israel, Nixon asked an aide incredulously: "Can these people really believe that I could sit in this chair and let anything happen to Israel?"

The most competent White House sources tell us emphatically that Richard Nixon would like to avoid a confrontation with the Kremlin but that he won't back down from one.

Jumping Joe

We tried unsuccessfully to reach our columnist colleague, Joe Alsop, prior to our recent report that he was among the bigshot passengers chauffeured around Washington by Pentagon cars in apparent violation of military regulations.

Alsop, who is in Southeast Asia, has now wired us the following response: "I have never used military transport that was not equally available to other reporters of comparable decrepitude."

"In Vietnam," the telegram adds, "I have also followed the strict rule of refusing any assistance going beyond what was given Scotty Reston when he made his trip there."

Reston is the distinguished columnist and vice president of The New York Times, whose views on the war have contrasted with Alsop's hawkish stance.

FOOTNOTE: We also reported that during a recent NATO military junket in the United States, cars rented by the Pentagon for the visitors' use in Washington were to be kept on rental while they spent five days traveling elsewhere. After we began looking into the matter and had sent out our column for publication, the plans were abruptly changed and the cars were returned to the rental agency. They were then rented again when the visitors returned to Washington.

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Admen Drop Sen. Eastland Rival

By Jack Anderson

A prominent ad agency broke off its campaign to help Sen. Jim Eastland's rival in Mississippi's Democratic primary after the agency was promised it might get a cut of President Nixon's lucrative campaign advertising.

Eastland, of course, in the Senate Judiciary chairman who bailed out Richard Kleindienst, the President's choice for Attorney General, during the ITT hearings. Before the first witness was heard, Eastland declared his faith in Kleindienst and, thereafter, steered him helpfully through the stormy hearings.

Eastland was also the lone Democrat who voted with the Republicans, in the end, to shut off the hearings to avoid any more embarrassing testimony.

Yet, despite the appearance of a blatant political deal, the parties to it insist it can all be explained away as fast as you can say ITT.

Here are the facts:

Taylor Webb, a moderate Leland, Miss., lawyer, decided early this year to run against the owlish Eastland, whose power in the Senate is based on 30 years' seniority.

Webb resisted pressure to keep out of the race and announced his candidacy. He then sought an advertising agency to handle his cam-

paign, but four in a row turned him down.

He was compelled, finally, to go out of the state for help, and he signed up the respected Houston firm of Culberson, Heller and Norton.

"Before I signed with these people, I asked if they knew what they were getting into," Webb told my associate Les Whitten. "Bob Heller and Jim Culberson both said they did."

Webb advanced the agency \$7,500. The Houston firm cashed the check and started producing TV spots. On April 15, they were still working loyally for Webb against Eastland when peppery Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.), one of their key clients, flew into Houston.

It's an open secret in Washington that Tower is an errand boy for the White House. He notified the Houston ad agency that if they wanted to stay in his good graces, they would have to drop Webb.

Earlier, Tower had promised the agency to seek the Texas contract for President Nixon's campaign with its millions in billings. This, too, was in the balance.

As one of the partners, Ed Norton, explained to us: "Tower told us months earlier he would try to get us the presidential business. We felt that before, during and after (the meeting with Tower), he intended to help us."

Tower told us that he had reaffirmed his commitment to

the young agency at the meeting. "I said I would try to get some of the Nixon business for them but I'd have done that for them anyway," he advised us.

Within 24 hours of Tower's warning to the agency, another partner, Bob Heller, was on the phone with an outraged Taylor Webb. Recalls Webb: "Heller told me he was going to withdraw from my campaign at the direction of Senator John Tower. Heller said that Tower did not want them involved in Mississippi in a campaign against Senator Eastland." Heller denied to us that he had mentioned Eastland's name.

What makes this all the more curious is that Tower is a Republican and Eastland a Democrat. Normally, Republicans don't help Democrats to win re-election to the Senate.

The ad agency put out the story that they had dropped the Webb account solely because they were too busy with the Tower campaign. But the agency knew how busy they would be before they signed on with Webb.

We have now discovered that agency partner Norton, after begging off Webb's campaign allegedly because of too much work, flew secretly to Washington on April 27 to seek Nixon's political advertising. In short, Norton went to Washington to see that Nixon's advertising team delivered on Tower's promise.

Norton talked to the "November Group," as the Nixon advertising team is called. He spoke to the group's executive vice president, Phil Joanou, who works under the direction of former Attorney General John Mitchell.

Mitchell also was handled with great gentleness by Senator Eastland during the ITT hearings.

Joanou promised to consider the Houston agency when it comes time to dish out the advertising accounts.

Footnote: Joanou, Norton, Heller, Tower and Eastland all insist they were not party to any deal. Norton specifically denied persistent reports that Fred LaRue, a former White House aide and now special assistant to Mitchell, had joined Tower in putting heat on the Houston agency to drop the Webb account. LaRue, an old friend of Eastland, couldn't be reached. Tower, in a chat with us from Texas, stoutly denied that the White House had asked him to act in Eastland's behalf. Tower said that when Webb threatened to sue the ad agency, he told them to go along and take Webb's account. Eastland, himself, cautious as an old bear, commented: "Hell, I don't know a thing about it. If John Tower was doing something for me, I think he would have talked to me about it."

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J. Edgar Hoover—An Assessment

By Jack Anderson

J. Edgar Hoover died, as he would have wished, in harness.

When he took over the FBI 48 years ago, it was loaded with hacks, misfits, drunks and courthouse hangers-on. In a remarkably brief time, he transformed it into a close-knit, effective organization with an *esprit de corps* exceeding that of the Marines.

Under Hoover's reign, agents were fired for drunkenness, for insubordination, even a few for homosexual behavior. But not a single FBI man ever tried to fix a case, defraud the taxpayers or sell out his country.

This amazing, scandal-free record was accomplished by hiring the best men available, training them well, convincing them they were the best, paying them top salaries, and then selling the public on the idea that the FBI is ready to protect the nation from internal emergency.

Above all, Hoover insisted upon discipline. FBI men, who were able to face down armed criminals, couldn't escape the gaze of Hoover. Small disciplinary infractions brought heavy punishment—transfers to unpleasant posts, suspension without pay, or outright dismissal.

For his giant accomplishments, the nation should pay homage to the Old Bulldog whose grim visage, gruff man-

ner and steel-trap mind won't soon be forgotten.

But we would be hypocritical if we didn't also make note of the FBI's excesses under Hoover. Before he took over the bureau in 1924, it was used openly for political purposes. He largely halted this abuse.

With characteristic discretion, however, he made information from FBI files available to the right people. And from time to time, the FBI acted as a political police force.

From the FBI's confidential files, we have obtained dozens of dossiers that have been kept on prominent Americans. It is clear from these documents that FBI agents have spent an extraordinary amount of their time snooping into the private lives of movie stars, sports heroes, political figures and other public personalities.

Hoover also used the FBI to investigate the slightest criticism. For example, the main entry in the secret FBI dossier on the Rev. Walter Fauntroy, the non-voting Representative for the District of Columbia in Congress is an account of a press conference he called to criticize Hoover.

Fauntroy met the press on January 6, 1971, at the site of the new FBI building. Declares a confidential report in Fauntroy's file:

"At 1:10 p.m., Reverend Fauntroy was observed by Special Agents of the Federal

Bureau of Investigation exiting from a car bearing a 'Fauntroy For Congress' poster on the left front door.

"Reverend Fauntroy approached the construction site and after greeting newsmen began to read from a prepared statement, the opening paragraph of which inferred that the new (building) was being constructed as a shrine for Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI."

"In his statement, Reverend Fauntroy was critical of Attorney General John N. Mitchell and J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, both of whom were described by Reverend Fauntroy as discriminating against minority groups in hiring employees."

It is questionable whether FBI agents, in these days of rising crime, should be spared to investigate public figures and to monitor the press conferences of Congressmen.

Nevertheless, J. Edgar Hoover, now beyond the judgments of those of us who sometimes criticized him, is entitled to the final measure of praise now being paid to him.

But it should not be forgotten, amid all the tributes, that the FBI has been guilty of excesses. These abuses of power should occupy President Nixon in his search for Hoover's successor.

Intelligence Briefs

• South Vietnamese planes have been dumping leaflets

like autumn leaves on the attacking North Vietnamese troops. The leaflets show President Nixon posing happily with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. The message claims that the Chinese have already sold out Hanoi, that the terms have already been agreed upon in Peking and, therefore, that the North Vietnamese are risking their lives for nothing.

• The prospects of a joint Soviet-American space flight have improved. Russian and American space scientists, conferring in Moscow, agreed to try to persuade their governments to approve a joint expedition into space.

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CIA Gets New Deputy Director

Associated Press

Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters was sworn in as deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency in private ceremonies yesterday in President Nixon's Oval Office.

Walters, who was a military aide in the Paris embassy and has served as translator for presidents since the Eisenhower administration, received the oath of office from U.S. Circuit Judge Edward Allen Tamm.

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[illegible]

"Have you the know?" is
a word used in the past. For
the sake of the world to keep its
secret from the world.

The Presidential found Brody not to be a friendly host but a hard negotiator. In the end, however, Mr. Nixon concluded that "the man can be trusted."

Mr. McQuinn himself reported, by questionnaire, averaging only three to five hours of sleep the first six nights, as he

Footnote: Even Andrei Grechko, the dour Soviet defense minister who reportedly had opposed the Nixon visit, warmed up to the President. While Mr. Nixon was standing at attention for the Soviet honor guard, he felt a tap on his shoulder. It was Grechko, who made a good humored crack about the marching soldiers.

Headlines and Footnotes—

President Nixon's fund raisers have drafted a blacklist whose campaign contributions will be turned down. The list includes shady operators and former donors who demanded too much for their money . . . The President's foreign policy czar, Henry Kissinger, is quietly promoting New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller for Secretary of State . . . Admiral Hiram Rickover, the crusty father of the nuclear submarine, has never given a hangar naval starch and dress. The other day, he wore civilian clothes ventilated by a sweating tear in his pants.

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WASHINGTON, (UPI) —
(Chaotic Policy) President
Nixon has told subordinates

Nixon's Tacit Understanding in Russia

By Jack Anderson

Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev reached a "tacit understanding" during their secret Kremlin conversations that the two superpowers will start to disengage from Vietnam.

The President came home from Moscow convinced that the Russians want to end the Vietnam war but don't want to appear less stalwart in their support of Hanoi than the Chinese.

The war has been a drain on the Russians who have been supplying North Vietnam with expensive military hardware. Out of the Moscow meeting, therefore, may come a reduction in both Soviet and American arms shipments to the rival Vietnams.

Both Mr. Nixon and Brezhnev expressed a willingness, if they didn't reach a precise agreement, to phase down military aid to the opposing sides. The subject is so delicate inside the Kremlin, however, that the President carefully refrained from discussing Vietnam in his TV report to the Soviet people.

He brought to Moscow with ten background papers, which portray the Kremlin leaders as almost paranoiac about the Chinese. In the early war years, the Soviets would have nothing to do with peace efforts, lest it confirm Chinese

charges that they were soft on the war.

The secret papers prepared for Mr. Nixon tell how the Soviet government, in May, 1965, refused even to deliver a peace message to the North Vietnamese. Lyndon Johnson merely wanted to notify Hanoi that he was ordering a bombing pause.

"I am not a postman," grumped Nikolai Firyubin, the deputy foreign minister, when he was asked to relay the message. He suggested that the Americans find their "own ways of transmitting messages."

American Ambassador Foy Kohler, in a report to the State Department, blamed the incident upon "Soviet sensitivity" toward the Chinese Communists.

Kosygin's Phone Tapped

Washington was surprised, therefore, to find Soviet Premier Alexsei Kosygin eager two years later to serve as an intermediary between the United States and North Vietnam. He made the offer in February, 1967, during talks with British leaders in London.

His phone calls were intercepted and he was overheard reporting jubilantly to Brezhnev in Moscow: "There's a great possibility of achieving the aim, if the Vietnamese will understand the present situa-

tion that we have passed to them. They will have to decide."

The North Vietnamese, however, rejected the overtures. Afterward, Kosygin ruefully told American Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson in Moscow that the role of the mediator was uncomfortable.

"They either complicated the problem," he said, "or pretended they were doing something when in fact they were not."

Kosygin said his intervention in London had provoked "fury" in Peking but that the Chinese had been the winners in the end when his efforts failed.

Then he asked Thompson suspiciously whether "the Chinese had approached the U.S. (about the) possibility of negotiations of Vietnam." The ambassador conjectured afterward that Kosygin may have thought the Chinese encouraged the United States to start negotiations, knowing they would fail and thus embarrass the Soviet Union.

Kosygin in Hanoi

Yet in a fascinating aside, Kosygin recalled that he personally had been in Hanoi when the United States began bombing North Vietnam.

"Why did not the U.S. turn to him at that time and explain to him its problems?" he asked the American ambassa-

dor. Kosygin didn't say, however, what he would have done.

In view of this background, Mr. Nixon handled the Chinese angle delicately in his talks with Brezhnev. No transcript was made except for the President's personal notes. However, he told aides afterward that the Vietnam discussions had been "intent" but "productive." Both the United States and Russia, he said, will begin backing away from the war.

Nader's Premonition

Only hours before an Air Force precision flyer died in a crash at the Transpo 72 show, consumer advocate Ralph Nader had begged Transportation Secretary John Volpe to call off the midair stunts.

At 7 p.m., he reached Volpe's special assistant, Joe Bosco, who was impressed with Nader's urgent tone. Bosco located Volpe and passed on to him the consumer advocate's strange premonition.

Volpe told Bosco to get in touch with Transpo's general director, William Bird, and to advise him to weigh Nader's warning but to make up his own mind. Bird quickly decided the show must go on -- and 21 hours after Nader's warning, the Air Force flyer plunged to his death.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

President's Men Campaigning in Style

By Jack Anderson

President Nixon's political operators, as befitting politicians with a multimillion-dollar kitty, are campaigning in style.

They travel first class, stay at the most fashionable hotels, dine at the most elegant restaurants and smoke the finest cigars.

Their expense accounts for April and May show they spent \$34,631 on commercial flights, \$6,318 for chartered planes and another \$3,714 for the use of government planes.

In New York City, of course, they stayed at the Waldorf-Astoria. The bill for only three visits was \$2,983. Their favorite spot in Florida was the Boca Raton Club, a watering hole for millionaires.

Bills were also submitted from the Bay Hill Club and Lodge, Orlando, Fla.; Canyon Hotel, Palm Springs, Calif.; Century Plaza, Los Angeles; Del Webb Townhouse, Phoenix, Ariz., and Four Ambassadors Hotel, Miami.

The President's fund raisers winned and dined prospective contributors at Washington's fanciest eateries. One luncheon tab at the Gramercy Inn came to \$1,300. They also downed \$983 worth of French cuisine prepared by the fashionable Avignone Freres.

And on a trip to New Orleans, they feasted at La Ruth's and charged the \$245 check to the campaign.

White House Parties

The cheapest place to entertain wealthy backers, apparently, is the White House. However, for their April 19 reception, the Republican Finance Committee fully reimbursed the White House guest fund with \$159.

This wasn't the first time the President has used the White House to fatten the Republican campaign chest. On an earlier occasion, several Illinois millionaires were invited to the White House for dinner with the President. He made a few pleasant remarks, then discreetly disappeared while they had their arms twisted over after-dinner drinks and cigars.

The President's fund raisers, incidentally, collected over \$10 million from unidentified contributors before a new law went into effect on April 7 requiring that all political donors be named.

Phony campaign committees were set up in Washington to receive the donations, and more than 200 bank accounts were opened to hold all the cash.

Meanwhile, the Democrats are strapped for cash. Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) has gone \$1 million in debt, and Sen. George McGovern

(D-S.D.) has also spent more than he has managed to take in.

O'Brien's Expense

Democratic National Chairman Larry O'Brien, as a gesture to the bankrupt Democrats, is serving without a salary. His sacrifice is more apparent, however, than real.

Virtually all of his personal expenses are paid by the party. He is provided with a chauffeur-driven car, his rent at the plush Sheraton Park apartments is paid, and he also eats at the best restaurants in town—all courtesy of the Democratic National Committee.

His air travel bills are charged to the party, often including tickets for his wife. Not long ago, O'Brien, his wife and two aides, one of them a secretary, flew first-class from New York to San Juan, Puerto Rico.

After several days in the sun, they caught a plane to Chicago. But Mrs. O'Brien continued on to Aspen, Colo., for some time on the ski slopes.

Democratic officials insist that Mrs. O'Brien's fare to Colorado will be paid by her husband personally. She only travels with her husband at party expense, they say, when her presence is needed for official functions.

Republican officials say only that their expenses are all "legitimate," and that they "have reported them in detail as required by law."

But contributors, who are being asked to pony up for the candidate of their choice, might wonder.

But contributors, who are being asked to pony up for the candidate of their choice, might wonder.

Washington Whirl

Shaffer's \$13 Claim—John Shaffer, the gallivanting administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, logs 150,000 miles a year in the skies he polices. He has never suffered injuries or accidents as a result of official air travel. But he stepped into his chauffeur-driven government car some months ago, bumped his shoulder on the edge of the door, and tore a two-inch gash in his coat. Shaffer, who makes \$42,500 a year, had his coat reweaved and applied for a \$13 damage claim against the government.

Headlines and Footnotes—The word from Moscow is that the Kremlin considers President Nixon a sure bet to win re-election in November. This is one reason Leonid Brezhnev, the party chief, laid out the Red carpet for him in Moscow . . . The President has cautioned Henry Kissinger and other aides, who may be dealing with both the Soviets and Chinese, to keep their stories straight. The President doesn't want them saying one thing to Moscow, another to Peking.

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Light Shed on Nixon Nephew's Job

By Jack Anderson

The employment of President Nixon's 26-year-old nephew, Donald Nixon Jr., was the subject last year of a "Personal and Confidential" memo between two top aides of international financier Robert L. Vesco.

The memo, dated Aug. 10, 1971, was written by Vesco's right-hand man in America, Gilbert R. J. Straub, to the right-hand man in Europe, Norman LeBlanc. Copies were sent to other top Vesco executives.

"With the agreement of Robert L. Vesco," wrote Straub, "I have secured the services of Don Nixon Jr. . . . Per our recent conversation, we have agreed to compensate him monthly as a 'consultant,' the mechanics to be determined by your good offices.

"It is thoroughly understood that Don is to be treated without preferential consideration, and I have assumed the responsibility for his actions and activities within the framework of his employment. Accordingly, any extraordinary or restrictive disciplinary actions, should they be required, should come through me."

In other words, the Nixon nephew wasn't supposed to receive special treatment, but no underlings had better try to discipline him. A source inside the Vesco operation tells us Donald not only was treated with deference but he also capitalized on his relationship to the President.

White House Conditions

Our sources say the White House was apprehensive when

Donald went to work for Vesco and stipulated that he should go on the payroll of International Controls Corp. rather than Investors Overseas Service. Although both companies are part of Vesco's financial empire, IOS had received bad publicity over some alleged stock manipulations. ICC, therefore, was more acceptable. Not wishing to antagonize the White House, Vesco worked out the details of Donald's employment with Straub. As stipulated by Straub in his confidential memo, young Nixon "is to be an employee of mine acting within my corporate identity of ICC; . . . he is not in any way to be considered or reached the status of an IOC employee."

Vesco was anxious, according to our source, to prevent any embarrassment to the President. Donald, therefore, was assigned inconspicuous duties at first in Europe. But as Vesco got into increasingly hot water with the Securities and Exchange Commission, the temptation was irresistible to associate himself with the Nixons.

This culminated in the recent news reports that the President's nephew is now employed in the Bahamas as a personal aide to Vesco himself, who has been accused of diverting \$224 million in mutual funds into companies he controls.

Footnote: When Donald first joined the Vesco organization, White House aide John Ehrlichman gave him a stern lecture, reminding him that he was the President's nephew and should do nothing to em-

barrass the President. Our repeated calls to young Nixon, Straub and LeBlanc were not returned.

Washington Whirl

COST OF MILK—Milk prices are expected to soar, thanks indirectly to the Russian wheat deal. Dairy farmers are bitterly complaining that the wheat shipments to Russia have them short of feed grain. This has pushed the cost of feeding their herds to exorbitant levels. Many dairymen have also been hurt by heavy rains, which have washed out attempts to grow their own feed. The farmers were promised emergency feed grain from the Agriculture Department, but it has been slow in coming. Reason: Transportation facilities have been tied up moving the Russian wheat to the coast for shipment.

POLITICAL ACTION—Joseph Blatchford, the director of Action, which has taken over the Peace Corps, has been spending an inordinate amount of time on "agency business" in the Los Angeles area. He keeps flying out to the West Coast to make speeches and deliver announcements. Last fall, he campaigned in the L.A. area for President Nixon. The reason for Blatchford's intense interest in Los Angeles, say associates, is a burning desire to be mayor. They recall that senators, before confirming him as Action's director in 1969, questioned whether he would use the office for political purposes. He solemnly denied any such roguish intention.

WASHINGTON WINDS—Hurricane Agnes victims are

now trying to cope with the changing winds out of Washington. At first, they were allowed emergency money for temporary repairs on their homes. The contract stipulated that the temporary repairs "should be replaced by permanent repairs at the earliest opportunity." Many victims, in an attempt to honor their contracts, took out SBA loans to make the repairs permanent. Now they have been notified that "SBA funds disbursed for such work already performed must be returned to SBA." This has produced such a controversy that the SBA again is reviewing its policy. As with most government indecision, the situation is now under "study." The study, of course, is expected to cost the taxpayers another estimated \$500,000.

DOUBLE DIPPING—We have told about the habit of retired officers to take a second government job and double-dip from the Treasury, collecting both their military pension and government pay at the same time. But of all the double-dippers we have encountered, the prize goes to retired Maj. Gen. John Freund, who has turned up as head of Connecticut's National Guard. He now collects \$25,000 a year from the state and another \$22,000 in military retirement benefits. He also has two sedans at his disposal, one a state car, the other a military sedan. He makes free use, too, of the Guard's small air fleet. "I very frequently take a helicopter to work from my home," he acknowledged candidly. "It takes only 18 minutes." The pilots, he explained, need the flight time.

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Why Martha's Phone Was Ripped Out

By Jack Anderson

A lot has happened since Martha Mitchell complained last June 23 that a security guard had ripped her telephone out of the wall and inculcated her indelicately in the derriere.

For close to a year, witnesses have kept silent about the incident. But in the wake of the Watergate revelations, the new spirit of confession has now loosened their tongues. We have learned, at last, the details that housewives have been hounding us for.

The implication of their inquiries has been that poor Martha knew too much and was shut up by Republican security guards. The truth is less sinister. Martha Mitchell is a delightful, if loquacious lady. She has color and sparkle and a sense of humor. But she sometimes becomes volatile when she drinks too much.

This was her condition on June 23 in Newport Beach's Newporter Hotel on the California coast. As she became more shrill, her security guard, Steve King, tried to

calm her. She screamed that he was holding her prisoner, and she lunged for the telephone to call for help.

King was worried that, in her condition, she might reach a reporter and say something that would embarrass her later. So he yanked the telephone cord out of the wall while she was talking to UPI reporter Helen Thomas.

Martha became violent, assaulting the furnishings. Once she slashed the air with a karate swing, and her hand crashed through a window pane. The broken glass cut her hand deeply, increasing her hysteria.

Getting The Needle

King summoned the hotel doctor, but Martha refused to let him look at her hurt hand. To quiet her, King pinned her down while the doctor gave her a tranquilizer shot. It had little immediate effect on the agitated Martha, who continued to rave. At one point, she wrapped a washrag around her hand to stop the bleeding but still wouldn't let the doctor treat it.

The harassed security guard, meanwhile, decided

Martha Mitchell was more than he could handle. So he phoned her husband, ex-Attorney General John N. Mitchell, in Washington and gave him a blow-by-blow account of the altercation.

Immediately, Mitchell placed an urgent call to President Nixon's personal attorney, Herb Kalmbach, who happens to live in Newport Beach. Mitchell asked Kalmbach, as a personal favor, to hurry to the hotel and take charge of the situation.

When Kalmbach arrived, he found Martha still at full lung power, a blood-soaked washrag around her hand, protesting that she was being held prisoner. He finally got her calmed and brought in his own doctor to examine her hand.

Martha Mitchell got her hand stitched, spent the next day with the Kalmbachs and then flew to New York for a few days of seclusion at the plush Westchester Country Club.

John Mitchell, meanwhile, discussed the incident with the President, who was under-

standing and agreed Mitchell should leave the campaign to straighten out his marital problems. The former Attorney General may also have felt the Watergate developments closing in on him. But Watergate was not mentioned, according to knowledgeable sources, as his reason for resigning.

Washington Whirl

Indian Medicine: Two militant Indian leaders appeared the other day at the Interior Department, the citadel of the white bureaucracy they have been warring against. They had been invited by Interior Secretary Rogers Morton to present their views. The conscientious Morton, who is slowly recovering from cancer, impressed the Indians with his sincerity. At the end of the interview, LaNada Boyer, a Bannock-Shoshone, quietly pulled from her purse twigs of cedar. Burning cedar is the age-old Indian ritual for good health. As Morton nodded appreciatively, the Indian woman fanned the fragrant smoke toward him, saying softly, "This is for your health."

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Kalmbach Recounts Ehrlichman Talk

By Jack Anderson

By President Nixon's account, aide John Ehrlichman wasn't supposed to impede the Watergate investigation but merely to make sure it didn't impinge upon national security. Yet Ehrlichman spoke only about political security when he asked Herbert Kalmbach to participate in the Watergate cover-up.

As Kalmbach has recounted the conversation to investigators, Ehrlichman warned that the investigation could "jeopardize" the election campaign. In a reference to the Democrats, he snorted: "They'll have our heads in their laps."

Kalmbach had agreed to raise money to pay the living and legal expenses of the Watergate defendants. He was never told the money would be offered as a bribe to buy their silence, but the James Bond intrigue made him suspicious.

He sought reassurance from Ehrlichman, whom he confronted in the White House in late July. Kalmbach told investigators that he put the question on a personal basis. "John," he said, "we've been friends for 10 years. You know my family, and I know your family. I want you to tell me whether this assignment is proper and must be carried out."

He quoted Ehrlichman as reassuring him that the payoffs

were entirely proper but that the secrecy was necessary for political reasons.

The last approach to Kalmbach for payoff money was made as late as Jan. 18, 1973, at a meeting in ex-Attorney General John Mitchell's office. Kalmbach recalled that John Dean, then White House counsel, had accompanied him to the meeting. But by this time, Kalmbach had decided he wanted nothing more to do with the project, so he quietly excused himself after ten minutes.

As the President's personal attorney, Kalmbach has been one of the most silent men in the Watergate mystery. He has told his story to investigators, however, with quiet candor.

A few days after the Waterbuggers were caught, he was summoned to Washington by John Dean who arranged to meet him on the street in front of the Hay-Adams Hotel. Dean carefully stressed the necessity for secrecy, and then asked him to underwrite the Watergate defendants' expenses.

Dean suggested that the hush money, as it was later used, should be channeled through a burly New York private detective named Anthony Ulasewicz. The undercover man was known to Kalmbach who, in 1969, had set up a special bank account to pay him \$22,000 a year, plus expenses, for investigative work. Ula-

sewicz's main assignment, though Kalmbach was never told this, was to dig up dirt on Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.).

Kalmbach told investigators he collected between \$210,000 and \$230,000, which was distributed to the Watergate defendants. He picked up \$75,000 from Maurice Stans, the Republican finance chairman; another \$75,000 from Thomas Jones, president of Northrop Corp.; and the balance from campaign bag man Fred LaRue.

The arrangements were handled with elaborate secrecy. Kalmbach and Ulasewicz placed calls to one another through pay phones and used verbal shorthand to identify the people involved in their conversation.

Watergate ringleader Howard Hunt, for example, was referred to as "the writer," and his wife Dorothy as "the writer's wife." Ulasewicz used several aliases, his favorite being "Mr. Rivers."

Some of the money was directed to Dorothy Hunt who used the code name "Chris" in her own pay-phone calls to the other Watergate defendants. It was this James Bond business, Kalmbach told investigators, that finally persuaded him to end his role in the Watergate conspiracy.

Greek Justice—Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) has triggered an unprecedented State Department protest to the Greek junta over the arrest of six

lawyers in Athens. Their only crime, Bayh charged, was defending young college students who had demonstrated against the regime.

It was his understanding, he advised Secretary of State William Rogers privately, that the six were "being held incommunicado and subjected to torture by the special interrogation branch of the Greek military police in a building opposite our own embassy in Athens."

Rogers ordered aides to investigate the charges. He was sufficiently disturbed over their report to authorize a formal protest both to the Greek Embassy in Washington and to the Greek government in Athens by way of the U.S. Embassy.

The protest was diplomatically phrased as an expression of serious concern. Yet it was a significant departure for the State Department, since it touched on the internal affairs of Greece.

Footnote: Elias Demetriopoulos, the exile leader who first tipped Bayh to the torture of the lawyers, has told us that an American-trained sociologist, Virginia Tsouderos, and a university professor, Demetrios Tstasos, both Greek citizens, have also been arrested in the case. Their crime, allegedly, was to protest the arrest of the six lawyers.

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Haldeman Ran San Clemente Work

By Jack Anderson

The \$700,000 renovation of President Nixon's San Clemente estate was directed by former White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman who, in the name of presidential security, sought the replacement of rundown equipment, restoration of crumbling walls, purchase of new fixtures and landscaping of the grounds — most of it at the taxpayers' expense.

Our investigation of the grand renovation has pinpointed Haldeman as the expeditor. He operated through an "architectural coordinator" who was supposed to harmonize the security requirements with the private improvements. But many of the improvements somehow wound up on the taxpayers' bills.

The interior of the San Clemente home was designed by Channel & Chaffin, a Los Angeles firm, working closely with Pat Nixon. The First Lady helped choose the fabrics and furnishings, including \$4,834.50 worth of rich furniture which Channel & Chaffin purchased for the President's den. But the bill for the den furniture, including a \$472 leather top desk with brass

desk lamps, club chair, lounge chair and "decorative" pillows, was paid by the taxpayers.

Competent sources have told us that Secret Service chief James J. Rowley was so appalled at the misuse of the taxpayers' money that he tried for three years to bring congressional investigators to San Clemente to see what was going on.

Rep. Tom Steed (D-Okla.), who oversees the Secret Service budget, acknowledged to us that Rowley had "begged" him to visit the Nixon home, even if it was for only a weekend. Because of "the pressure of time," Steed's subcommittee never made the trip.

Steed now feels that Rowley was torn between his loyalty to the President and his obligation to the taxpayers. "I think what he was trying to tell me," Steed said, "was that the White House hot shots were trying to get him to take the rap for a whole lot of imprudent spending. They were trying to put the rat on poor old Rowley's back."

Deputy Director Lilburn Boggs confirmed that the Secret Service had dealt with Haldeman on the San Clemente improvements. Another

spokesman insisted, however, that the Secret Service initiated all the improvements. "I'm unaware of anything that the White House requested," said the spokesman.

He wouldn't confirm our report about Rowley's misgivings. "The director's only reason for inviting the Steed subcommittee to San Clemente," said the spokesman, "was to show them how the Secret Service sets up security at a presidential residence."

A spokesman for the General Services Administration, which paid for the President's den furniture, called it a "perfectly legitimate" expense.

Watergate Whispers

When John Dean first came to the Watergate prosecutors with his confession, they wanted to wire him for sound and send him back to the White House to record his conversations with H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman. Dean refused. . . .

The White House conspirators, however, began taping their own telephone conversations with one another. These tapes are now in the hands of the prosecutors. . . . On one tape, Ehrlichman chortled

over reports that Dean had made a bad impression on the prosecutors. Apparently Dean had told a rambling, disjointed, almost incoherent story during his first session with the prosecutors. . . .

On another tape Ehrlichman told President Nixon's personal attorney, Herbert Kalmbach, that Dean had misled them both. Kalmbach asked whether Dean, in his confession, had given a way "the whole enchilada." Watergate ringleader E. Howard Hunt, in a taped phone conversation with White House aide Charles Colson, suggested that Watergate was really an asset to the Nixon campaign, since it was diverting the Democrats from the "real issues" . . .

Investigators say Hunt kept most of the hush money intended to buy the silence of the Watergate defendants. The investigators estimate that Hunt has sopped away more than \$100,000, which never reached his fellow defendants. . . . The investigators are eager to examine the papers of Hunt's late wife, Dorothy, who is supposed to have said her notes "would impeach the President 10 times over" . . .

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parade

cover story:

My Journal on V

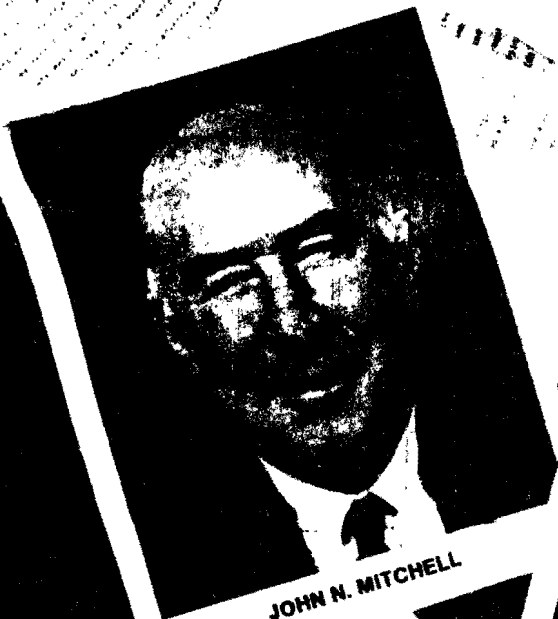
by Jack Anderson



E. HOWARD HUNT



G. GORDON LIDDY



JOHN N. MITCHELL



FRANK STURGIS



ROBERT C. MARDIAN



JAMES W. McCORD

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cover story:

My Journal on Watergate

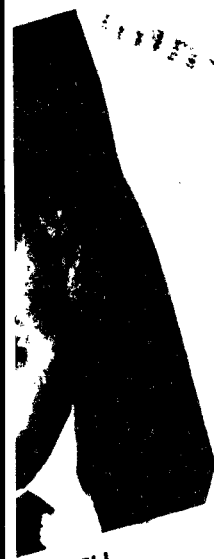
by Jack Anderson



EDWARD HUNT



G. GORDON LIDDY



MITCHELL



FRANK STURGIS



H. R. HALDEMAN



ROBERT C. MARDIAN



JAMES W. McCORD



On a wooded knoll near their home, author Jack Anderson and seven of his children inspect the spot from which Justice Department agents kept

him under surveillance, hoping to discover his youths retaliated by keeping a careful watch on t

My Journal on Watergate

by Jack Anderson

WASHINGTON, D.C.

If I had been a better reporter, I might have prevented the break-in at Washington's Watergate on June 17, 1972, and changed the course of history. Two months before the Water-buggers were captured, I was told about their plan to eavesdrop on the Democrats. With a little more diligent digging, I might have uncovered enough details to print the story. This would have broken up the plot and spared President Nixon his current humiliation.

Or I might have altered history more to George McGovern's liking. I learned last August that E. Howard Hunt, the

romantic spy, had packed his Watergate papers in eight cardboard boxes, smuggled them out of the White House and hidden them away in an associate's basement in Alexandria, Va. I almost gained access to Hunt's hidden papers, but he reclaimed them just ahead of me. These contained dramatic documentation that would have bared the whole Watergate skulduggery in time for the voters to act.

Investigating each other

My own Watergate story began long before the name became a household word. Shortly after President Nixon moved into the White House, he and I

began to investigate one another. I became aware in 1970 that he was using lie detectors and grand jury subpoenas in an effort to find out who my sources were.

Inside the Pentagon, suspected sources were grilled behind the forbidding doors of Room 3E993. Some were followed and their neighbors were questioned. Once, the gumshoes zeroed in on the wrong man, a mild, bespectacled Pentagon aide named Gene Smith, who was badgered, threatened and finally subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury in Norfolk, Va. Smith denied under oath that he had ever talked to me. U.S. Attorney Brian

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near their home, author Jack Anderson and seven of the youths retaliated by keeping a careful watch on the government agents.

him under surveillance, hoping to discover his sources. The Anderson youths retaliated by keeping a careful watch on the government agents.

My Journal on Watergate

by Jack Anderson

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Gettings admitted afterward that it had been "suggested" he go after Smith. "We probably did have the wrong man," acknowledged the prosecutor.

In 1971, the President formed his private Plumbers Squad, including G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt, to plug news leaks, among them my India-Pakistan columns. They concluded mistakenly that the source was located on Henry Kissinger's staff. Innocent staffers were yanked from behind their desks and dragged to polygraph machines, although it was the White House, not my sources, doing the lying about Pakistan. Eventually an entire section of Kissinger's staff was scattered around the world, and Adm. Robert Welander who headed it was exiled to the Atlantic fleet.

The Plumbers start working

The Plumbers really went to work on me in March, 1972, after I published a memo from Dita Beard to her ITT superiors linking an antitrust settlement with a \$400,000 pledge to help finance the Republican Convention. The Washington Post reported that the White House was "directing a major effort to discredit columnist Jack Anderson and the ITT memorandum he published . . . the effort includes feeding negative

material about Anderson . . . to Republican members of the Senate and to the press."

At one point, Hunt tried to persuade Dita Beard to repudiate her memo. He turned up in Denver at Dita's hospital bedside under the name of Edward Hamilton, an alias he would also use at various stages of the Watergate incident. He had donned makeup and a cheap red wig for the occasion, a wig which was askew, giving him the appearance of a French mime. Dita's son, Bull, later described Hunt's appearance as "very eerie; he had a red wig on cockeyed, like he put it on in a dark car."

As *The Washington Post* reported it, the White House was "coordinating a continuous effort to discredit Anderson." The Plumbers were assisted in this effort by another Watergate figure, Robert Mardian, who then headed the Justice Department's Internal Security Division. He ordered my house staked out, but I learned the makes and license numbers of three autos used by Mardian's men. With nine children, I was able to command a far more reliable counter-espionage squad than Mardian's. My kids had a lot of fun spotting the cars. They reported back that they could see men with binoculars, bringing to our neighborhood an exhilarating air of intrigue. They located the main lookout atop a knoll near a church about a mile from my door.

'They're after me now'

I retaliated by also sending members of my staff to watch Mardian's house and to tail him wherever he went. When the investigator thus became the investigated, he had conniptions. A source in his office told us he kept wailing: "They're after me now!"

I also suspected, but could never prove, that the Nixon crowd tapped my telephones. I was only slightly surprised, therefore, by a letter mailed to me on April 15, 1972. It was written by William Haddad, a New York entrepreneur who, until a dozen years ago, had been a prize-winning investigative reporter. Haddad told me he had learned from a private investigator of plans to tap the telephones of the Democratic National Committee. Haddad understood the plot had been hatched by a group of advertising men, known as the November Group, who had been recruited for the Nixon campaign.

As it turned out, I was personally acquainted with some of the Waterbuggers. Frank Sturgis, an incurable soldier of fortune who had roamed the world in search of danger, excitement and fighting, had been a friend of mine for many years. I had written in *PARADE* about his exploits fighting for and then

against Fidel Castro.

He introduced me in Miami to Bernard Barker, short and swarthy, who was known to his associates as "Macho" (he-man). They spoke of Eduardo, their CIA superior during the Bay of Pigs, who I only recently realized was E. Howard Hunt. They were a collection of romantics, forever seeking adventure, forever finding misadventure.

On April 17, 1971, exactly 10 years after the Bay of Pigs, Barker found a note pinned to his door: "If you are the same Barker I once knew, contact me [at a Miami hotel]." The note was signed by Eduardo. Thus the Waterbuggers, recruited from the Bay of Pigs bunglers, were assembled for their biggest caper.

A familiar face

I had everything but a road sign pointing to the story. My press notices claimed I was an investigative reporter; I had been alerted to the Watergate plot two months in advance; and I had personal ties with the Waterbuggers. Yet I was quite oblivious of the conspiracy when on June 16, 1972, I was making my way through Washington's National Airport to catch a plane to Cleveland. I recognized a familiar face and stopped to chat. It was Frank Sturgis.

~~I asked what he was doing in Washington.~~ "Private business," he said, with a conspiratorial smile. He introduced me to Eugenio Martinez, the CIA-affiliated locksmith who was to pick the Watergate locks that night.

I made a mental note to find out what Sturgis was up to, then I hurried on to Cleveland. Next day, I read on Page 1 what Sturgis had been up to. He had been captured, with the rest of the Cuban "Mission Impossible" team, inside the Watergate.

'Fighting Castro'

I looked him up immediately in the old red brick building that houses the District of Columbia jail. He would say only that the Watergate project was part of their fight against Castro. In return for their services, they had also been promised, said Sturgis, that some Cuban refugees suffering from the fog and distance of London would be allowed to come to Miami.

Sturgis told me he'd been paid only expense money and didn't know what legal assistance he would get. With his assent, I went to court and asked that he be paroled in my custody. The Justice Department, distrusting my charitable intentions, suspected I might pump him for more answers and vigorously objected to releasing Sturgis in my care. He was remanded, therefore, to his cell block.

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(My court appearance in Sturgis' behalf also disturbed the Democrats. After I printed details of Larry O'Brien's expense accounts, the Democrats issued a statement suggesting I had received information stolen from their offices by the Waterbuggers. I had managed, as usual, to gain the enmity of both political parties.)

Continuing my pursuit of the Watergate story, I learned from FBI sources the gist of the preliminary findings. It was necessary, however, to document the details. I asked my sources to bring me the FBI investigative reports. It is much easier to quote a confidential FBI report than it is to pry the details from a long list of people associated with the story.

But while I was trying to pry the documentation loose from FBI files, two young reporters from *The Washington*

Post, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, got the story by hard leg work. They printed the startling details of the spying-sabotage operation behind the Watergate break-in.

My search for documentation, meanwhile, led me to the Hunt papers. While the melodramatic G. Gordon Liddy had shredded his Watergate documents, Hunt, the author of 46 obscure novels, apparently recognized the literary value of this hush-hush material. He packed his documents into eight cardboard boxes, obtained clearances to move the sealed boxes out of the White House, then arranged for a trusted associate, Roy Sheppard, a federal employee, to pick them up and stash them in his basement.

I dealt with Sheppard through his lawyer, Peter Wolfe, who was deeply

continued



Robert Mardian, then the head of the Justice Department's Internal Security unit, ordered Anderson tailed, only to find himself being followed.



E. Howard Hunt stashed eight boxes of Watergate evidence in a friend's home. Anderson nearly intercepted it, but Hunt reclaimed it just in time.



In 1961 Frank Sturgis, using the name Fiorini, co-authored a *PARADE* article with Anderson on Cuban freedom fighters, posing for this stony-faced cover photograph (left). After Watergate capture, Sturgis looked even grimmer (right).

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WATERGATE CONTINUED

troubled about the secrets hidden in his client's basement. I pursued Wolfe, pleaded with him and, I felt sure, persuaded him to acquire the documents from his client. I was so sure of gaining access to the documents that I alerted my associate Les Whitten to be ready to help read the contents of the boxes. But suddenly, in August, Hunt contacted Sheppard who returned the incriminating boxes. That chance to blow the Watergate scandal wide open was lost.

By this time, I was convinced that the President's chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, had directed the dirty tricks operation. My White House sources told me he controlled the political campaign so tightly that no important decision could be made without his approval. I couldn't get positive proof, however, that he had okayed the spying and sabotage.

Powerful but invisible

The most I could say, as I reported on Aug. 22, was that Haldeman was "the most powerful man in the 1972 campaign" except for the President himself. "Operating out of the White House on government salary," I wrote, "Haldeman has tried to remain the invisible man of the campaign . . . Haldeman issues political directives, approves campaign contracts, receives political reports and coordinates campaign activities."

By Feb. 25, 1973, I was able to implicate Haldeman a bit more. "Senate investigators and FBI agents," I reported, "have followed the Watergate tracks right up to Haldeman's door but can't get past his bright young assistants. The FBI men, for example, were forbidden from questioning him. Yet they were able to trace Watergate clues to Haldeman aides who never make a move without asking Haldeman."

I was also the first to link former Attorney General John Mitchell to the Watergate plot in a column published last Sept. 23. But the most important story, I felt, was the cover-up. The day after Christmas, I reported that the Justice Department had sounded out Watergate defendants "about entering guilty pleas" and thus keep the details of their operation off the court records.

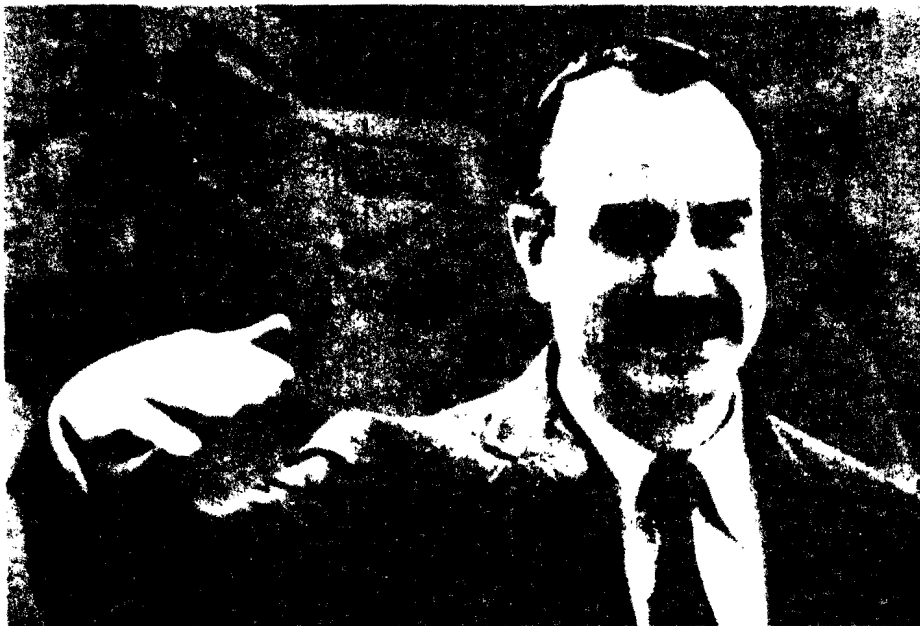
Late night meeting

All the defendants, nevertheless, went ahead with their court preparations. On the eve of the trial last January, Hunt pressured the four Miami members of the bugging crew to plead guilty. He brought up former CIA comrades from Miami to join in the appeal. On Jan. 11, he met late into the night with them at the Arlington Towers, just across the Potomac River from the Watergate. I waited in a nearby room for a report from one of the participants.

He told me how Hunt, invoking CIA discipline, had asked the four to keep silent and take their medicine. He spoke of "all for one and one for all," and he had a charismatic effect. They also felt sympathy over the loss of his wife in an airliner crash. At first, they asked him to arrange with the White House to soften the charges from burglary to illegal entry. This would have made their offense a simple misdemeanor. Hunt promised to seek eventual executive clemency and to arrange \$1000-a-month payments to their families. After some heated conversation, they agreed to stand together, mute, and accept the sentence of the court.

A rising public clamor

Only G. Gordon Liddy and James McCord went to trial. But the public clamor over Watergate was rising. The White House tried to placate the public by continuing the investigation but confining it behind grand jury doors. President Nixon invoked a most unusual interpretation of executive privilege to



Just before his conviction as a conspirator in the Watergate case, a jaunty G. Gordon Liddy salutes the press. He has since maintained the stoic silence of a spy.

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prevent past and present White House aides from appearing before the Senate.

It seemed to me the Nixon Administration intended to use grand jury secrecy to protect the guilty and keep the embarrassing facts from reaching the public. I sought access, therefore, to the grand jury findings, and on April 16, I began printing verbatim excerpts.

This apparently helped to persuade the President to change his strategy. He announced at a secret Cabinet meeting that he would support a full investigation by both the grand jury and the Senate. He mentioned, with obvious irritation, my verbatim reports of the grand jury proceedings. Richard Kleindienst, then the Attorney General, protested that the leak must have come from the court reporting firm or one of the grand jurors. "Cut the crap," said the President. "We both know it came out of the Justice Department."

Trouble with transcripts

The Watergate prosecutors, meanwhile, complained that my publication of the transcripts was hampering their investigation. I immediately called on them to listen to their objections. They demanded to know how I got the transcripts since the only copies were locked in their safes. I told them I couldn't divulge my source, not even



The first major witness at Senate committee hearings, co-conspirator James McCord, holds device he says was used to bug Democratic phones

if I had to go to jail. For two hours, however, they pleaded with me to stop the direct quotes. Anonymous tipsters were refusing to appear as witnesses, they said, for fear of being identified in my column.

I told the prosecutors that I felt they had held back during the Watergate trial but that I believed they were now seeking the full truth. Therefore, I announced on April 25: "I have agreed not to print further verbatim excerpts from the Watergate grand jury hearings. I do so because I have become

convinced that further verbatim disclosures would not be in the best interests of the investigation. However, as a journalist, I have an obligation and a right to continue to report any and all pertinent information on this sordid scandal that so many people in high places have worked so hard to keep from the public."

There were a few close calls. My source of the grand jury testimony was almost revealed to the world through an accident of timing. He walked into my office while a TV crew was setting

up to interview me. He discreetly retreated before his face could be captured on film for the evening news.

James McCord's sensational testimony was summarized in advance in a detailed memorandum, which he submitted to the Senate committee. At a closed-door session, copies were distributed to each Senator to read and return. One copy, however, was never returned. Later, we published the newsworthy memo. The committee was never able to discover, however, which Senator had kept his copy.

Another source for memos

My associate Les Whitten arranged a midnight meeting to get more memos from another source. The committee began a quiet investigation of us which, at times, seemed almost as intensive as its investigation of Watergate.

But without the press, the Watergate scandal would have been hushed and hidden. There are always the ostriches, of course, who prefer to keep their heads in the sand. But our Founding Fathers intended that government misconduct should be exposed. The press in this case, particularly *The Washington Post*, served as the watchdog our forefathers would have wished. The Watergate story, for all its ugliness, is proof that the American system works.

Hill to Be Told of More Falsified Data

By Jack Anderson

The Pentagon has now admitted falsifying reports to cover up the bombing of Cambodia before the 1970 invasion. Senate witnesses are prepared to testify, however, that both the bombing and the falsifying continued after the invasion.

The Pentagon has also admitted falsifying the casualty reports to cover up the deaths of 102 Americans in Cambodia and Laos on secret intelligence-gathering missions.

It has taken the Pentagon more than two years to get around to admitting the truth about these missions. We reported on March 30, 1971, that MACSOG teams, composed of U.S. special forces and South Vietnamese rangers, have made several raids into both countries. The secret messages referred to the Cambodian raids by the code name 'Salem House' and identified the Laos incursions as 'Prairie Fire'...

"A secret summary of the MACSOG casualties alone, dated March 6, 1970, listed 77 Americans killed and 37 missing in Laos," our story continued. "Scores more were lost on clandestine missions after March, but we have been unable to get the secret figures."

We were assailed by the Pentagon for this report at the same time that the Justice De-

partment conducted a grand jury investigation to discover our Pentagon sources. Now the Pentagon has admitted its spokesman lied, and we told the truth.

The Senate Armed Services Committee, meanwhile, will receive sworn testimony that a hush-hush "Special Operations Group" directed the reconnaissance missions into Cambodia, Laos and North Vietnam.

SOG operated out of an old office building in Saigon. The entrance was marked by a skull topped with a green beret. The group, which was run by the Central Intelligence Agency, maintained three "command and control" centers in Vietnam.

Senate witnesses will also tell about the secret operations in Cambodia and Laos of the "Blackbirds," as the air squadrons were known because of their lack of identifying markings. The National Security Council ordered the secrecy cloak on the raids for diplomatic reasons.

Senate sources tell us that upcoming testimony will also focus on the "phantom command" which operated outside of normal military channels. These same sources report that bases are now being set up in Thailand and the Philippines to train Cambodian forces under U.S. auspices.

Presidential Spending: The nearly \$2 million in federal funds which was squandered on President Nixon's homes in San Clemente and Key Biscayne represents only a portion of the public's contribution. When all the moneys are counted, the total is likely to climb over \$3 million.

Despite an intense cover-up effort on the part of the White House, for example, we have uncovered several major expenditures which are yet unreported. They include:

- A \$129,000 instrument landing system which the Navy purchased for the El Toro Marine base, located 30 miles north of San Clemente, to enable the presidential jet to land there in inclement weather. The system was installed and is maintained by the Federal Aviation Administration.

- A \$400,000 helipad which was built at Key Biscayne by the Army engineers. The helipad is a standard item, but it was installed in such a way that it juts into the waters of Biscayne Bay. A special foundation, therefore, had to be built.

- A \$100,000 special study, financed by the taxpayers of California, to determine the

feasibility of relocating the Santa Fe railroad tracks that run between the President's home and the Pacific Ocean. Although he has pared the state welfare budget to the bone, Gov. Ronald Reagan apparently had no qualms about charging the study to the California Department of Parks and Recreation. State officials subsequently learned that the Santa Fe railroad had already conducted a similar study and had concluded that the project would be too expensive. The \$100,000, therefore, was never spent.

Footnote: The official portion of the Western White House is located at the Coast Guard's Loran station, which is adjacent to the San Clemente residence. According to our sources, the Coast Guard "went broke" in support of the West Coast operation, but the White House has refused to release the exact figures. The taxpayers also footed the bill for a shark net and underwater sensor devices around Key Biscayne, but the costs of these, too, have apparently been declared state secrets.

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Movie Industry Tax Breaks Hinted

By Jack Anderson

President Nixon apparently arranged special tax breaks for the movie industry, and his campaign aides used these to squeeze political support from Hollywood stars in 1972.

This is strongly suggested in confidential campaign memos, which we have just uncovered.

The memos also speak of using actress Ali MacGraw to lure Henry Kissinger to Hollywood, where he might be persuaded to whisper pro-Nixon sentiments into the ears of film celebrities.

"We should ask Henry," suggested one memo, "to say something like, 'It would make me very happy if you could see your way clear to help re-elect President Nixon. I have great faith in Richard Nixon and I know you do, too.'"

As it happened, Kissinger flew off to Peking instead of Hollywood, and at the last minute Pat Nixon was rushed in to woo the film folks. But the tax benefits, apparently, had the best effect.

The scenario that the Nixon forces wrote for the political conquest of Hollywood is revealed in confidential memos that were shuffled between then-Attorney General John Mitchell, former White House staff chief H. R. Haldeman and campaign aides Jeb Magruder, Herbert Porter and Fred LaRue.

The memos begin on Oct. 18, 1971, with a complaint from Porter to Mitchell that the campaign was "short on lists of ce-

lebrities." Porter suggested seeking celebrities from the movie industry, which, he confided, was deeply in Mr. Nixon's debt.

He explained that the President had met in San Clemente with the industry's top brass on April 5, 1971. They had "pleaded . . . for some sort of tax relief," related Porter. The President obligingly had promised "he would take a look at the possibilities."

"Shortly thereafter," Porter reported triumphantly, "the IRS issued a statement dramatically changing the amortization schedules allowed for film production. In addition, there have been other changes regarding tax deferrals."

"And finally, the administration's Investment Credit Bill will be of significant benefit to the film production industry," Porter added that Export-Import Bank loans were also going to the movie industry.

Some benefits for movieland, according to Porter's memos, were obtained personally by the President. Our own sources say that Nixon Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans also pushed through a tax concession for Hollywood. Stans was the chief campaign fund-raiser for Mr. Nixon in 1972.

To make sure the movie moguls understood where their blessings were coming from, Porter brought them together with Mitchell. The purpose of the meeting, Porter declared, was to "give a short memory course on . . . what the President

has done for the film industry."

Then Mitchell was supposed to ask the movie producers, as a quid pro quo, how to "maximize celebrity participation in the 1972 campaign."

Every precaution was taken to keep the meeting secret. Porter said the movie men had assured him that Mitchell "should not fear any unfavorable publicity from such a gathering."

Attending were Warner Brothers' Dick Zanuck, MCA's Mike Maitland, Universal's Taft Schreiber, Universal Television's Frank Price and Columbia's Peter Guber and Stu Irwin. Mr. Zanuck was named chairman of the group.

It was agreed that Henry Kissinger would be the best drawing card to attract movie stars to a political affair. Because Kissinger had once dated Ali MacGraw and was still close to the actress and her husband, Paramount's Bob Evans, Porter suggested using "Evans' and MacGraw's friendship with Henry Kissinger" to bring the Secretary of State to Hollywood.

But there was one problem. "Teddy Kennedy asked (Evans) at a cocktail party recently if he could count on Evans' support if Teddy made a run for the presidency," Porter wrote to Haldeman and Magruder. "Evans committed his support to Kennedy." Nevertheless, Porter thought the Hollywood moguls might bring Evans "into our camp."

Kissinger finally agreed to put in an appearance in Hollywood on June 17, 1972. Porter

wrote Mitchell enthusiastically, "If Kissinger could be persuaded to stay an extra day, it would be additional icing on the cake."

The grand soiree was held at Taft Schreiber's luxurious Beverly Hills home. Among the 150 guests, one of those present told us, were 130 major celebrities. They included John Wayne, Art Linkletter, Jack Benny, Charlton Heston, Ronald Reagan, Fred MacMurray, Irene Dunne, Jimmy Stewart, Edgar Bergen and Clint Eastwood, to name a few.

But the guest of honor begged off and was next heard from in Peking. The respected Schreiber was beginning to get edgy over the manipulation of Porter and Magruder. After Kissinger reneged, Schreiber told us: "I tried to cancel the affair." The White House sent Pat Nixon to substitute for Kissinger, however, and the party was held. It was, Schreiber insisted, "a fun party . . . no politics."

But fun or not, the message of the memos is unmistakable: Mr. Nixon gave windfalls to the movie industry, and the movie industry gave him political support.

Footnote: Schreiber told my associate Les Whitten there was no quid pro quo, particularly on taxes. The only help Mr. Nixon personally gave the industry, said Schreiber, was a new regulation against film and record pirating. He also said Porter's suggestion that Ali MacGraw was used to lure Kissinger to Hollywood was a "pipedream."

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Nixon Urges Hill Guests to Take Stand

By Jack Anderson

Over brandy and a cigar aboard the presidential yacht Sequoia, President Nixon appealed to a dozen conservative congressmen the other evening to take a stand on impeachment.

"If you believe I am innocent," he urged, "vote against impeachment in the House. Don't pass the buck to the Senate."

He reportedly fears many congressmen may try to get off the hook by casting a procedural vote for impeachment. They could explain they didn't mean to judge the President but merely wanted to bring the case before the Senate for a decision.

This rationale could produce an overwhelming House vote in favor of impeachment. The psychological impact, he is said to feel, could influence senators to vote to remove him from office.

So as the Sequoia cruised down the rain-swept Potomac, the President asked his conservative House friends to settle the impeachment issue in the House.

He assured them that he has cooperated as far as he could with the House Judiciary Committee, which is inquiring into impeachment. He couldn't release tapes and documents, which might damage U.S. rela-

tions with other nations, he said.

He explained that he had had a number of private conversations with other heads of state. It would seriously violate international protocol, he said, if these conversations should be divulged.

The President's shipboard dinner companions were too polite to ask how these conversations could be compromised by release of the Watergate tapes. Presumably, he didn't discuss his Watergate woes with other world leaders.

The President, obviously cheered by the success of peace negotiations in the Middle East, was in a bantering, buoyant mood throughout the three-hour dinner cruise.

He joked with his guests about running Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for the Senate. Kissinger could be groomed for the seat of retiring Sen. Norris Cotton (R-N.H.), and a bipartisan campaign could be organized to make Kissinger chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the President speculated gleefully.

He suggested that the resourceful Kissinger, as a Senate chairman, might even be able to negotiate peaceful relations between the Senate and the White House.

The President gloated over the defeat of Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), which will remove him as Foreign Relations chairman. As next in line, Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.) would have to give up the Senate Banking Committee chairmanship to take over Fulbright's chair.

The President said he hoped Sparkman will choose the Foreign Relations chairmanship, which he has now said he will do. And this would make Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) the new Senate Banking chairman.

"Those bankers are beside themselves," chortled Mr. Nixon. "The bankers don't want Proxmire."

Speaking seriously, Mr. Nixon told his dinner guests that two days before the Syrian-Israeli truce, "I wouldn't have given a 50-50 chance of an agreement."

He told of the dramatic cables Kissinger had sent from the Middle East.

Turning to his staff chief, Alexander Haig, the President cracked: "If those cables could be published, they would make quite a book, wouldn't they?"

He was optimistic about his forthcoming summit meeting with Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow. The President said he would have more flexibility to negotiate than would Brezhnev. The Soviet leader is far more

subservient to the Politburo, said Mr. Nixon, and most Americans realize it.

On the other hand, he said, the Founding Fathers had given the American President more "maneuvering room" than other leaders possess.

Earlier in the evening, Rep. Gillespie Montgomery (D-Miss.) asked Mr. Nixon magnanimously, "Mr. President, what can we do for you?"

The President responded to this offer by urging his conservative guests to support his veto of "irresponsible" spending bills. Government spending was spurring inflation, he said, which could become the nation's biggest headache.

He also admonished them not to let the Pentagon sell them a military force superior to that of the Soviets. "All we need is to be equal," said the President. "Don't you guys let the military push you into superiority."

Footnote: The President served chateauband, with mushrooms, peas and a spaghetti dish. He also passed out Sequoia matchbooks, which he autographed. This was the second time in two weeks that he has taken conservative congressmen on a dinner cruise as part of his effort to gain support against impeachment.

THE WASHINGTON POST

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Nixon Woos Conservative Legislators

Jack Anderson

White House aides have taken pains to remind members of Congress that they are sitting on the impeachment jury and, therefore, that it is improper for them to discuss the case against President Nixon.

It would seem to be even more improper, however, for Mr. Nixon as the defendant to court members of the jury. Yet he has taken key senators and representatives on dinner cruises down the Potomac. He has made White House planes, limousines and other privileges available to them. He has pampered them with sudden attention.

The President is even tailoring his legislative program, at least in part, to appeal to the conservatives whose votes he is counting upon to keep him in office. The politics of impeachment, rather than the merits of the legislation, now seem to determine what bills he will support.

For example, the President had halted the construction of a cross-Florida barge canal to preserve the beauty of northern Florida's Oklawaha River. As recently as six weeks ago, the White House reassured Florida conservationists of the President's support.

But the promises are forgotten after a contingent of conservative congressmen called upon the White House to go ahead with the barge canal. The President hastily withdrew his opposition.

The same thing happened to a federal land-use bill, which the President had described as his "No. 1 environmental priority" in his State of the Union message last January. Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.) working closely with the Interior Department, drew up a bill to accomplish the President's objective.

But conservatives were afraid the bill would allow the federal government, for the sake of the environment, to infringe on private ownership. House Republican leader John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.) and Rep. Sam Steiger (R-Ariz.) arranged a private visit with the President and urged him to abandon the Udall Bill.

Although the bill simply codified his own proposals, Mr. Nixon accepted the suggestion of the two powerful conservatives. Steiger helpfully provided a weakened substitute bill, which the President quickly endorsed.

This killed the Udall bill. It was a victim, snorted Udall, of "Watergate politics." Agreed a staff member privy to the backstage maneuvering: "This was clearly a case of Nixon trying to shore up his conservative support."

The President has also shifted his stand against other consumer, environmental and social programs, which the conservatives despise. And he has showered them with other White House blessings.

When Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.) called from Paris to complain about a second-rate Air

Force plane that had been provided to fly a congressional contingent home from Europe, the White House hastily dispatched Vice President Ford's plane across the Atlantic to pick up the Sparkman group.

Another time, the President gave Sparkman and Sen. James Allen (R-Ala.) a lift home from Alabama and provided them with limousines at the airport. And Vice President Ford gave Sen. Hiram Fong (R-Hawaii) a ride to Hawaii last month.

Few members of Congress used to get in to see the President when the German shepherd dogs, H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, were guarding the door. Liberals are still excluded except on ceremonial occasions.

For example, Sen. Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) hasn't been inside the White House since the late President Lyndon Johnson occupied the place, and Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) couldn't even get an official list of Cabinet members from the White House for an inquiring student.

But the doors have been thrown open to the conservatives, such as Sens. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), Robert Dole (R-Kans.), Peter Domenici (R-N.Mex.), James Eastland (D-Miss.), and Walter Huddleston (D-Ky.), whose names are on a list of 34 to 39 hard-core conservatives whose vote the President needs to save himself from removal.

Sens. Wallace Bennett (R-Utah) and Russell Long (D-La.) were invited to a private breakfast ostensibly to discuss trade with the President a couple of weeks ago. Earlier, the President played the piano at a birthday party for Bennett, and Long was granted a 90-minute audience with the President.

Sen. James Buckley, the New York conservative, had dinner at the White House 10 days before he asked Mr. Nixon to resign. He hasn't been invited back.

Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), admitted to us that his requests "were put on the back burner" in the Haldeman-Ehrlichman days. But this year "things have opened up," he said, and White House aides "are more receptive to my inquiries."

A spokesman for conservative Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.) put it even more candidly. "The White House is wooing Johnston. Nixon has been doing favors for Southern senators (for) anyone who's a swing vote on impeachment."

Footnote: A White House spokesman denied that the President's environmental shift had anything to do with impeachment politics. The President simply is trying to safeguard the environment and, at the same time, to provide an adequate energy supply, said the spokesman. He claimed that the President accepted the substitute land-use bill "because it was a better bill."

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