

Haldeman Calls Shots for Nixon

By Jack Anderson

MIAMI BEACH — The man who calls the political shots for President Nixon isn't his campaign manager, Clark MacGregor, but his chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman.

Operating out of the White House on government salary, Haldeman has tried to remain the invisible man of the campaign. But we have established that most of the important campaign decisions have come through him.

The assumption is, of course, that he's acting for the President.

Haldeman issues political directives, approves campaign contracts, receives political reports and coordinates campaign activities.

It was Haldeman, for example, who proposed that a special advertising agency be established to handle the President's campaign advertising.

This unique outfit, known as the November Group, was created for the sole purpose of re-electing Nixon. It is staffed with GOP-minded hucksters carefully recruited from ad agencies all over the country.

Harry Robbins Haldeman, who prefers to be called "Bob," has been an advertising man since he was 23. He has used his quick mind to sell bug killer, floor wax, Disneyland, Seven-up — and, more recently, Richard Nixon.

Political Leave

In election years, Haldeman

was able to take time off as vice president and Los Angeles manager of the giant J. Walter Thompson advertising agency to plump for Mr. Nixon.

Haldeman toured the country in 1956 as an advance man for the then Vice President, became chief advance man in 1960 when Mr. Nixon first sought the presidency, returned to the campaign trail in 1962 to help Mr. Nixon lose the governorship of California and, finally, coordinated his successful campaign for the White House in 1968.

Mr. Nixon probably relied more heavily on Haldeman than on any other campaign technician during the 1968 race. After the election, Haldeman largely recruited the inner staff that would be around the President.

Briefing the press, Haldeman said there would not be a press secretary, no appointments secretary and no chief of staff. The man who helped merchandise Seven-Up as the "Un-cola" had invented the un-assistants.

Then he filled the jobs with his own people. Dwight Chapin, one of his J. Walter Thompson underlings, became appointments secretary; Ron Ziegler another hand from the Los Angeles shop, was named press secretary; and John Erlichman, an old UCLA chum, moved in as another presidential assistant. Haldeman him-

self became the un-chief of staff.

Having the President's complete trust, Haldeman largely decides who the President will see, who on the staff will be heard, what memorandum will make its way into the President's in-basket and who will be promoted.

Big "L"

Haldeman's own schedule has become so tight that he has acquired his own Haldeman to do for him what he does for Mr. Nixon. Haldeman's Haldeman is bright, young Lawrence Higby, who prefers to be called "Larry." Among other White House aides, he is known even less formally as "Big L."

Haldeman likes to operate behind a screen. But on occasion, he has ventured forth into political combat. In the turbulent days following the death of Mary Jo Kopechne in Senator Ted Kennedy's automobile, Haldeman was on the telephone to key reporters, urging them to keep the pressure on Kennedy.

At the time, Kennedy appeared to be the most likely Democrat to challenge President Nixon in 1972.

Haldeman is now back behind the screen. But those on the inside say he is the most powerful man in the 1972 campaign, second only to the President himself.

Footnote: The President and the huckster have found that

they think alike. As with Mr. Nixon, Haldeman grew up in California when it was still the Golden State, with orange groves, relatively clean air, and a feeling that it was, indeed, the land of promise. His grandfather migrated to California early in the century, made his money as a building supply dealer and started the Better America Foundation in 1922. Haldeman's father, echoing the religious fundamentalism of Mr. Nixon's Quaker mother, devoted considerable energy to the Salvation Army. Haldeman, however, is a Christian Scientist, who has become the President's own Christian Science monitor.

Uncle Tom

Lifelong Democrat Thomas Watson's emergence as a Nixon supporter this year may be more business than politics.

Watson is chairman of IBM, which presently has a major antitrust case before the courts. The case was filed as the Democrats were leaving town in 1968 but has failed to come to trial under the Nixon administration.

Watson's conversion to the Nixon cause has prompted speculation that settlement terms have been reached but that the announcement is being put off until after the election. The administration obviously doesn't want to cave in publicly on another antitrust case in mid-campaign.