

White House Memos Listed

Introduced as exhibits at the Senate Watergate hearings yesterday were White House memoranda from a file that former White House counsel John W. Dean III said was entitled "Opponents List and Political Enemies Project."

In some instances, the writer of the memos, or who they were addressed to, was not made public.

Following are the texts of the memoranda.

According to John Dean's Senate testimony yesterday this first document is a list of "political opponents or enemies" compiled in the office of then special presidential counsel Charles Colson and sent to Dean in June, 1971:

POLITICOS SENATORS

Birch Bayh, J. W. Fulbright, Fred R. Harris, Harold Hughes, Edward M. Kennedy, George McGovern, Walter Mondale, Edmund Muskie, Gaylord Nelson, William Proxmire.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE

Bella Abzug, William R. Anderson, John Brademas, The Rev. Robert F. Drinan, Robert Kastenmeier, Wright Patman.

12 BLACK CONGRESS- MEN

Shirley Chisholm, William Clay, George Collins, John Conyers, Ronald Dellums, Charles Diggs, Augustus Hawkins, Ralph Metcalf, Robert N. C. Nix, Parren Mitchell, Charles Rangel, Louis Stokes.

MISSCELLANEOUS POLI- TICOS

John V. Lindsay, mayor, New York City; Eugene McCarthy, former U.S. senator; George Wallace, governor, Alabama.

MEDIA

Jack Anderson, columnist, "Washington Merry-go-round;" Jim Bishop, author, columnist, King Features Syndicate; Thomas Braden, columnist, Los Angeles Times Syndicate; D. J. R. Bruckner, Los Angeles Times Syndicate; Marquis

Childs, chief Washington correspondent, St. Louis Post Dispatch; James Deakin, White House correspondent, St. Louis Post Dispatch; James Doyle, Washington Star; Richard Dudman, St. Louis Post Dispatch; William Eaton, Chicago Daily News; Rowland Evans, Jr., syndicated columnist, Publishers Hall; Saul Friedmann, Knight Newspapers, syndicated columnist; Clayton Fritchey, Washington correspondent, Harpers; George Frazier, Boston Globe; Pete Hamill, New York Post; Michael Harrington, author and journalist; member, executive comm. Socialist Party; Sydney Harris, columnist; drama critic and writer of "Strictly Personal," syndicated Publishers Hall; Robert Healy, Boston Globe; William Hines, Jr., journalist; science and education, Chicago Times; Ted Knap, syndicated columnist, New York Daily News; Erwin Knoll, Progressive; Morton Kondracke, Chicago Sun Times;

Joseph Kraft, syndicated columnist, Publishers Hall; James Laird, Philadelphia Inquirer; Max Lerner, syndicated columnist, New York Post and author, lecturer, professor—Brandeis University; Stanley Levey, Scripps Howard; Flora Lewis, syndicated columnist on economics; Stuart Loory, Los Angeles Times; Mary McGrory, syndicated columnist on New Left; Frank Mankiewicz, syndicated columnist, Los Angeles Times; James Millstone, St. Louis Post Dispatch; Martin Nolan, Boston Globe; Ed Guthman, Los Angeles Times; Thomas O'Neill, Baltimore Sun; John Pierson, Wall Street Journal; William Prochnau, Seattle Times; James Reston, New York Times; Carl Rowan, syndicated columnist, Publishers Hall; Warren Unna, Washington Post, NET; Harriet Van Horne, columnist, New York Post; Milton Viorst, reporter, author, writer; James Wechsler, New York

Nixon Foes

Post; Tom Wicker, New York Times; Gary Wills, syndicated columnist, author of "Nixon-Agonistes."

The New York Times; Washington Post; St. Louis Post Dispatch; Jules Ducha, Washingtonian; Robert Maning (sic), editor, Atlantic; John Osborne, New Republic; Richard Rovere, New Yorker; Robert Sherrill, Nation; Paul Samuelson, Newsweek; Julian Goodman, chief executive officer, NBC; John Macy Jr., president, Public Broadcasting Corporation, former Civil Service Commission; Marvin Kalb, CBS; Daniel Schorr, CBS; Lem Tucker, NBC; Sander Vanocur, NBC.

ORGANIZATIONS

Black Panthers—Hughie Newton; Brookings Institution—Lesley Gelb and others. Business Executives Move for VN Peace—Henry Niles, Nat. Chmn., Vincent McGee, Jr., Exec. Director;

Committee for an Effective Congress—Russell D. Hemenway; Common Cause—John Gardner, Morton Halperin, Charles Goodell, Walter Hickey; COPE—Alexander E. Barkan; Council for a Livable World—Bernard T. Feld, president, professor of physics, MIT; Farmers Union, NFO; Institute of Policy Study—Richard Barnet, Marcus Raskin; National Economic Council, Inc.; National Education Association—Sam M. Lambert, president; National Student Association—Charles Palmer, president; National Welfare Rights Organization—George Wiley; Potomac Associates—William Watts; SANE—Sanford Gottlieb; Southern Christian Leadership—The Rev. Ralph Abernathy; Third National Convocation on The Chal-

lence of Building Peace—
Robert V. Roosa, chairman;
Businessmen's Educational
Fund.

LABOR

Karl Feller, pres., Internat. Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers, Cincinnati; ~~Harold I. Gibbons~~, international vice pres., Teamsters; A. F. Grossiron, pres., Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union, Denver; Matthew Guinan, pres., Transport Workers Union of America, New York City; Paul Jennings, pres., Internat. Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, D.C.; Herman D. Kenin, vice pres., AFL-CIO, D.C.; Lane Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO (but we must deal with him); Frederick O'Neal, pres., Actors and Artists of America, New York City; William Pollock, pres., Textile Workers Union of America, New York City; Jacob Potofsky, general pres., Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York; Leonard Woodcock, president, United Auto Workers, Detroit; Jerry Wurf, Internat. president, American Federal, State, County and Municipal Employees, Washington, D.C.; Nathaniel Goldfinger, AFL-CIO; I. W. Abel, Steelworkers.

CELEBRITIES

Carol Channing, actress; Bill Cosby, actor; Jane Fonda, actress; Steve McQueen, actor; Joe Namath, New York Giants (sic), businessman, actor; Paul Newman, actor; Gregory Peck, actor; Tony Randall, actor; Barbra Streisand, actress; Dick Gregory.

ACADEMICS

Michael Ellis De Bakey, chairman, Dept. Surgery, Baylor University; surgeon-in-chief, Ben Taub General Hospital, Texas; Derek Curtis Bok, dean, Harvard Law School; Kingman Brewster Jr., president, Yale University; McGeorge Bundy, president, Ford Foundation; Avram Noam Chomsky, professor of modern languages, MIT; Daniel Ellsberg, professor, MIT; George Drennen Fischer, member, Executive Committee, National Education Assn.; J. Kenneth Galbraith, professor of economics,

Harvard; Patricia Harris, educator, lawyer, former U.S. ambassador, chairman, welfare committee, Urban League; Walter Heller, regents professor of economics, University of Minnesota; Edwin Land, professor of physics, MIT; Herbert Ley Jr., former FDA commissioner, professor of epidemiology, Harvard; Matthew Stanley Meselson, professor of biology, Harvard; Lloyd N. Morrisett, professor and associate director, education program, U. of Calif.; Joseph Rhodes Jr., fellow, Harvard, member, Scranton Comm. on Campus Unrest; Bayard Rustin, civil rights activist, director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York; David Selden, president, American Federation of Teachers; Arthur Schlesinger Jr., professor of humanities, City University of New York; Jeremy Stone, director, Federation of American Scientists; Jerome Wiesner, president, MIT; Samuel M. Lambert, president, National Education Assn.

Business

Clifford Alexander Jr., member, Equal Opportunity Comm.; LBJ's spec. assistant; Hugh Calkins, Cleveland lawyer, member, Harvard Corporation; Ramsey Clark, partner, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison; former Attorney General; Lloyd Cutler, lawyer, Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, Washington, D.C.; Henry L. Kimelman, chief fund raiser for McGovern; pres., Overview Group; Raymond Lapin, former pres., FNMA; corporation executive; Hans F. Loeser, chairman, Boston Lawyers' Vietnam Committee; Robert McNamara, president, World Bank; former Secretary of Defense; Hans Morgenthau, former U.S. attorney in New York City; Victor Palmieri, lawyer, business consultant, real estate exec., Los Angeles; Arnold

Picker, Muskie's chief fund raiser; chmn. exec. comm., United Artists; Robert S. Pirie, Harold Hughes' chief fund raiser; Boston lawyer; Joseph Rosenfield, Harold Hughes' money man, retired Des Moines lawyer; Henry Rowen, pres., Rand Corp.; former asst. director of budget (LBJ); R. Sargent Shriver Jr., former U.S. ambassador to France; lawyer, Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, Washington, D.C.; Theodore Sorensen, lawyer, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, New York; Ray Stark, Broadway producer; Howard Stein, president and director, Dreyfus Corporation; Milton Semer, chairman, Muskie Election Committee; lawyer, Semer and Jacobsen; George H. Talbot, Pres., Charlotte Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. headed anti VN ad; Arthur Taylor, Vice President, International Paper Company; Jack Valenti, President, Motion Picture Association; Paul Warnke, Muskie financial supporter, former asst. secy. of defense; Thomas J. Watson, Jr., Muskie financial supporter; chmn., IBM.

Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace and New National Priorities:

Charles B. Beneson, president, Beneson Realty Co.; Nelson Bengston, president, Bengston & Co.; Holmes Brown, vice president, public relations, Continental Can Co.; Benjamin Buttenweiser, limited partner, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Lawrence G. Chait, chairman, Lawrence G. Chait & Co., Inc.; Ernest R. Chanes, president, Consolidated Water Conditioning Co.; Maxwell Dane, chairman, exec. committee, Doyle, Dane & Bernbach, Inc.; Charles H. Dyson, chairman, The Dyson-Kissner Corp.; Norman Eisner, president, Lincoln Graphic Arts; Charles B. Finch, vice president, Alleghany Power System, Inc.; Frank Heineman, president, Men's Wear International; George Hillman, president, Ellery Products Manufacturing Co.; Bertram Lichtenstein, president, Delton Ltd.; William Manealoff, president, Concord Steel Corp.; Gerald McKee, president, McKee, Berger, Mansueto; Paul Milstein, president, Circle Industries Corp.; Stewart R. Mott, Stewart R.

Mott, Associates; Lawrence S. Phillips, president, Phillips-Van Heusen Corp.; David Rose, chairman, Rose Associates; Julian Roth, senior partner, Emery Roth & Sons; William Ruder, president, Ruder & Finn, Inc.; Si Scharer, president, Scharer Associates, Inc; Alfred P. Slaner, president, Kayser-Roth Corp.; Roger Sonnabend, chairman, Sonesta International Hotels; Morton Sweig, president, National Cleaning Contractors; Alan V. Tishman, exec. vp, Tishman Realty & Construction Co., Inc.; Ira D. Wallach, president, Gottesman & Co., Inc.; George Weissman, president, Philip Morris Corp.; Ralph Weller, president, Otis Elevator Company.

This memorandum is a briefing paper prepared for H. R. Haldeman, based on material given Dean by John Caulfield, who, Dean said, got information from "friends of his within the Internal Revenue Service."

(A) To accomplish: Make IRS politically responsive. Democrat Administrations have discreetly used IRS most effectively. We have been unable.

(B) The Problem: Lack of guts and effort. The Republican appointees appear afraid and unwilling to do anything with IRS that could be politically helpful. For example:

—We have been unable to crack down on the multitude of tax exempt foundations that feed left wing political causes.

—We have been unable to obtain information in the possession of IRS regarding our political enemies.

—We have been unable to stimulate audits of persons who should be audited.

—We have been unsuccessful in placing RN supporters in the IRS bureaucracy.

(C) HRH should tell the Sec.

Walters *must* be more responsive, in two key areas: personnel and political actions.

First, Walters should make personnel changes to make IRS responsive to the President. Walters should work with Fred Malek immediately to accomplish this goal. (NOTE: There will be an opening for a General

Counsel of IRS in the near future—this should be a first test of Walters' cooperation).

Second, Walters should be told that discreet political action and investigations are a firm requirement and responsibility on his part. John Dean should have direct access to Walters, without Treasury clearance, for purposes of the White House. Walters should understand that when a re-

quest comes to him, it is his responsibility to accomplish it—without the White House having to tell him how to do it

The following memorandum, as given to the committee by Dean, is dated June 12, 1972, and was written on White House letterhead. It has Charles Colson's initials written in next to his name.

EYES ONLY
MEMORANDUM FOR:
JOHN DEAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON

I have received a well informed tip that there are income tax discrepancies involving the returns of Harold J. Gibbons, a Vice President of the Teamsters Union in St. Louis. This has come to me on very, very good authority.

Gibbons, you should know, is an all out enemy, a McGovernite, ardently anti-Nixon. He is one of the 3 labor leaders who were recently invited to Hanoi.

Please see if this one can be started on at once and if there is an informer's fee, let me know. There is a good cause at which it can be donated.

This memorandum, according to Dean, was one that he prepared "for Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman, and others at the White House."

August 16, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL
MEMORANDUM
SUBJECT:
Dealing with our Political Enemies

This memorandum addresses the matter of how we can maximize the fact of our incumbency in dealing with persons known to be active in their opposition to our Administration. Stated a bit more bluntly — how we can use the available federal machinery to screw our po-

litical enemies.

After reviewing this matter with a number of persons possessed of expertise in the field, I have concluded that we do not need an elaborate mechanism or game plan, rather we need a good project coordinator and full support for the project. In brief, the system would work as follows:

—Key members of the staff (e.g., Colson, Dent, Flanagan, Buchanan) should be requested to inform us as to who they feel we should be giving a hard time.

—The project coordinator should then determine what sorts of dealings these individuals have with the federal government and how we can best screw them (e.g., grant availability, federal contracts, litigation, prosecution, etc.).

—The project coordinator then should have access to and the full support of the top officials of the agency or department in proceeding to deal with the individual.

I have learned that there have been many efforts in the past to take such actions but they have ultimately failed — in most cases — because of lack of support at the top. Of all those I have discussed this matter with, Lyn Nofziger appears the most knowledgeable and most interested. If Lyn had support he would enjoy undertaking this activity as the project coordinator. You are aware of some of Lyn's successes in the field, but he feels that he can only employ limited efforts because there is a lack of support.

As a next step, I would recommend that we develop a small list of names — not more than ten — as our targets for concentration. Request that Lyn "do a job" on them and if he finds he is getting cut off by a department or agency, that he inform us and we evaluate what is necessary to proceed, I feel it is important that we keep our targets limited for several reasons: (1) a low visibility of the project is imperative; (2) it will be easier to accomplish something real if we don't over expand our efforts; and (3) we can learn more about how to operate such an activity if we start small and

build.
Approve
Disapprove
Comment

This memorandum, also on White House letterhead, is dated Nov. 17, 1972 and has Colson's initials on it. In the top right hand corner is a handwritten note: file/no comment.

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN DEAN

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

I have received from an informer some interesting information on Jack Anderson, including a report that Jack Anderson was found in a room with wiretap equipment and a private investigator in connection with the Dodd investigation. Anderson, according to my source, had the wiretap equipment supplied to him by a Washington, D.C. man.

According to the same source, Anderson and Drew Pearson were paid \$100,000 in 1958 by Batista to write favorable articles about the

former Cuban dictator. In 1961 Anderson wrote several very favorable articles on Fidel Castro. Fredo de La Campo, Batista's Under Secretary of State, sent Anderson a telegram saying "I hope you were paid well, as well for the Castro articles as you were for the Batista articles". My source has a copy of the telegram.

You know my personal feelings about Jack Anderson. After his incredibly sloppy and malicious reporting on Eagleton, his credibility has diminished. It now appears as if we have the opportunity to destroy it. Do you agree that we should pursue this actively?

EYES ONLY

This list, apparently, is one that Dean says was provided him by Colson on Sept. 9, 1971. Dean said that Colson made a check mark next to "those that he would give top priority on the enemies' list." The first 12 names on the list have check marks next to them. Dean also said he had forwarded a memorandum based on Colson's suggestions to Larry Higby, an assistant of H. R. Haldeman, at Higby's request.

SUBJECT:

OPPONENT PRIORITY ACTIVITY

Having studied the atta-

child material and evaluated the recommendations for the discussed action, I believe you will find my list worthwhile for go status. It is in priority order.

1 PICKER, ARNOLD M.

United Artists Corporation
929 7th Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Top Muskie fundraiser. Success here could be both debilitating and very embarrassing to the Muskie machine. If effort looks promising, both Ruth and David Picker should be programmed and then a follow-through with United Artists.

2 BARKAN, ALEXANDER

E.
National Director of
AFL-CIO's Committee on
Political Education
Washington, D.C.

Without a doubt the most powerful political force programmed against us in 1968. (\$10 million dollars, 4.6 million votes, 115 million pamphlets, 176,000 workers—all programmed by Barkan's C.O.P.E.—So says Teddy White in *The Making of the President '68*.) We can expect the same effort this time.

3 GUTHMAN, ED

Managing Editor L. A. Times

Guthman, former Kennedy aide, was a highly sophisticated hatchetman against us in '68. It is obvious he is the prime mover behind the current Key Biscayne effort. It is time to give him the message.

4 DANE, MAXWELL

Doyle, Dant and Bernbach
New York

The top Democratic advertising firm—They destroyed Goldwater in '64. They should be hit hard starting with Dane.

5 CHARLES DYSON

Dyson-Kissner Corporation
New York

Dyson and Larry O'Brien were close business associates after '68. Dyson has huge business holdings and is presently deeply involved in the Businessmen's Educational Fund which bankrolls a national radio network of 5 minute programs—Anti-Nixon in character.

6 STEIN, HOWARD

Dreyfus Corporation
New York

Heaviest contributor to McCarthy in '68. If McCarthy goes, will do the same in '72. If not, Lindsay or McGovern will receive the funds.

7 LOWENSTEIN, AL-
LARD

Long Island, New York
Guiding force behind the 18-year-old "dump Nixon" vote drive.

8 HALPERIN, MORTON

Leading executive at Common Cause.
A scandal would be most helpful here.

9 WOODCOCK, LEONARD

NARD
UAW
Detroit, Michigan
No comments necessary.

10 S. STERLING MUNRO,
JR.

Senator Jackson's AA
711 Lambertton Drive, Silver Spring, Md.
We should give him a try. Positive results would stick a pin in Jackson's white hat.

11 FELD, BERNARD T.

President
Council for a Livable World
Heavy far left funding
They will program an "all court press" against us in '72.

12 DAVIDOFF, SIDNEY

New York City
Lindsay's top personal aide
A first class S.O.B.,

wheeler-dealer and suspected bagman. Positive results would really shake the Lindsay camp and Lindsay's plans to capture youth vote. Davidoff in charge.

13 CONYERS, JOHN

Congressman, Detroit
Coming on fast. Emerging as a leading black anti-Nixon spokesman. Has known weakness for white females.

14 LAMBERT, SAMUEL M.

President
National Education Association
Has taken us on vis a vis federal aid to parochial schools—a '72 issue.

15 MOTT, STEWART

RAWLINGS
Mott Associates
New York
Nothing but big money

for radic-lib candidates.

16 DELLUMS, RONALD
Congressman, California
Had extensive EMK-Tunney support in his election bid. Success might help in California next year.

17 SCHORR, DANIEL
Columbia Broadcasting System
Washington
A real media enemy.

18 S. HARRISON DOGOLE
2011 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
President of Globe Security Systems—Fourth largest private detective agency in U.S. Heavy Humphrey contributor. Could program his agency against us.

19 PAUL NEWMAN
California
Radic-Lib causes. Heavy McCarthy involvement '68. Used effectively in nationwide T.V. commercials. '72 involvement certain.

20 McGROBY, MARY
2710 Macomb Street,
Washington
Columnist
Daily hate Nixon articles.

This memorandum was introduced without identification as an exhibit accompanying Dean's testimony.

I.R.S. TALKING PAPER BACKGROUND

A) THE BUREAUCRACY
I.R.S. is a monstrous bureaucracy, which is dominated and controlled by the Democrats. The I.R.S. bureaucracy has been unresponsive and insensitive to both the White House and Treasury in many areas.

In brief, the lack of key Republican bureaucrats at high levels precludes the initiation of policies which would be proper and politically advantageous. Practically every effort to proceed in sensitive areas is met with resistance, delay and the threat of derogatory exposure.

B) ADMINISTRATION APPOINTEES

Randolph Thrower became a total captive of the democratic assistant commissioners. In the end, he was actively fighting both Treasury and the White House.

Johnnie Walters has not yet exercised leadership. Unevaluated reports assert he has been either reluctant

or unwilling to do so.

Walters has appointed as his deputy, William Loeb, career democrat from Georgia. Loeb has asserted his Democratic credentials in staff meetings according to reliable sources.

Walters appears oversensitive in his concern that I.R.S. might be labelled "political" if he moves in sensitive areas (e.g. audits, tax exemptions).

During the Democrat Administrators, I.R.S. was used discreetly for political purposes, but this has been unavailable during this Administration.

SUGGESTIONS

Walters should be told to make the changes in personnel and policy which will give the Administration semblance of control over the hostile bureaucracy of I.R.S. Malek should supply recommendations.

Walters must be made to know that discreet political actions and investigations on behalf of the Administration are a firm requirement and responsibility on his part.

We should have direct access to Walters for action in the sensitive areas and should not have to clear them with Treasury.

Dean should have access and assurance that Walters will get the job done—properly!

This memorandum also was introduced without identification.

A knowledgeable source at IRS was contacted and given a hypothetical situation in which the White House made a request for an IRS audit of a group of specific individuals having the same occupation. This source advised that IRS procedures would require that such request be handled by Assistant Commissioner Donald Bacon.

It is known that Bacon is a liberal Democrat holdover who has been continually identified with anti-Nixon



Photos by James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

Maureen Dean sits quietly as her husband testifies.

intrigues at IRS within the past two years.

The source suggested that a priority target be established within the group with preference given to one residing in the New York area. He further stated such target could discreetly be made subject to IRS audit without the clear hazard for a leak traceable to the White House as postured above.

This memorandum, on White House letterhead, was initialed "JLG" above the name Joanne L. Gordon, who served as a White House aide to Charles Colson. At the bottom, in handwriting, was written: "John—This is your list, but I alphabetized it." The list of Muskie contributors referred to was not among the documents released yesterday.

June 25, 1971

EYES ONLY
MEMORANDUM FOR:
MARGE ACKER
PAT BUCHANAN
JOHN DEAN
DAN KINGSLEY
VAN SHUMWAY
JERRY WARREN

LUC WINCHESTER
SUBJECT:
OPPONENTS LIST
ADDITIONS

Please added the attached list of Muskie contributors to your opponents list which George Bell sent to you yesterday.

Joanne L. Gordon,

This memorandum, also on White House letterhead, is initialed JLG above the name Joanne L. Gordon.

CONFIDENTIAL

July 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:
MARGE ACKER
PAT BUCHANAN
JOHN DEAN
DAN KINGSLEY
GORDON STRACHEN
VAN SHUMWAY
JERRY WARREN
LUCY WINCHESTER
LARRY HIGBY

SUBJECT:
OPPONENTS LIST
Please remove Raymond Gurs from your copy of the Opponents List. He appears on the page entitled, "Democrat Contributors of \$25,000 or More in 1968 Campaigns."
Joanne L. Gordon