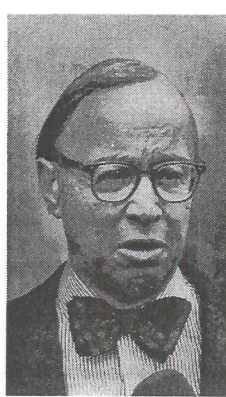




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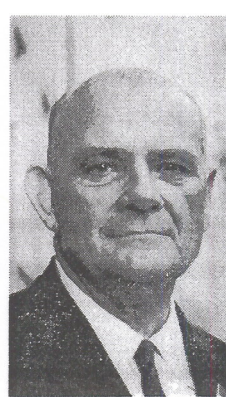
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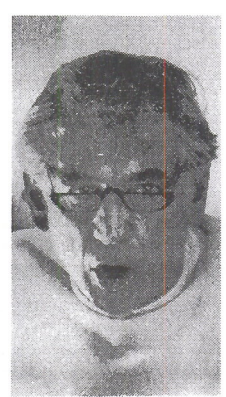
SCHLESINGER



NEWMAN



BLAKE



BERNSTEIN



BRADEMAS

Creating a New Who's Who

The most bizarrely captivating documents that John W. Dean III turned over to the Ervin committee last week were the ones he took from the White House file labeled "Opponents' List and Political Enemies Project." These lists of varying length, compiled in the summer of 1971, contained the names of as many as 200 politicians, journalists, labor officials, entertainers, scholars and businessmen and Democratic campaign contributors whom the White House staff considered to be the Administration's prime domestic enemies.

The project never seems to have got off the ground, but the idea, as Dean put it in a memorandum to Presidential Advisers H.R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman at the time, was to find ways in which "we can use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies." The lists, most of which apparently emanated from Charles W. Colson and his staff, included a bewildering jumble of names both famous and obscure.

Steve McQueen and Barbra Streisand were there, as were Eugene Carson Blake, former General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, and Composer-Conductor Leonard Bernstein. So were ten Democratic Senators and twelve black members of the House of Representatives, as well as the New York Times, the Washington Post and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and (would you believe?) Joe Namath.

Token Black. Most people who turned up on the lists were wryly amused and tended to wear their new status as badges of honor. "I prize it more highly than my Emmy award," declared CBS Newsman Daniel Schorr, whom the list described as "a real media enemy." Sidney Davidoff, former aide to New York's Mayor John V. Lindsay, was characterized as "a first-class s.o.b. wheeler-dealer." He was delighted. "The first thing I did was call my mother in Florida and assure her it was a good list," he said. "She wasn't sure if it was a good list or a bad list, and I assured her it was a good one." Comedian Bill Cosby quipped that he was merely a "token black on the list," and added of the President: "Anyone who would hug Sammy Davis can't be all bad." Paul Newman declared that he was "sending

Gordon Liddy to pick up my award."

Others were not so much amused as appalled. "I suppose Hitler and Stalin may have had such lists," said Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "but no American President. Nixon saw himself as being above the law, and those under him acted accordingly." Democratic Congressman John Brademas of Indiana agreed. "The secret plan to use federal money and federal power to harass critics is further evidence of the contempt for law and common decency that has characterized the Nixon White House. The real 'enemies' Americans must fear are those who would subvert the rule of law and the institutions of freedom." Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota—who, like a number of other people on the lists, has undergone an unusually thorough examination by the Internal Revenue Service in the last

two years—declared mildly: "It makes you wonder whether they were doing anything else over there."

It certainly does. On balance, the lists revealed not only paranoia but ludicrous judgment. As S. Sterling Munro Jr., chief aide to Senator Henry M. Jackson, put it: "Where do they get these clowns, anyway? They have absolutely no political judgment at all. My only problem now is that all my colleagues on the Senate staffs are envious."

One of the Administration's more bemused "enemies" was Sam M. Lambert, former executive secretary of the National Education Association, who voted for Nixon in 1968 and considered himself a presidential supporter. "Heaven help all of us," he said last week, "if this is the slipshod way they do their intelligence work." One example: the listing of Thomas O'Neill of the Baltimore Sun, who died in April 1971—at least three months before the lists were compiled.

The Man Who Keeps Asking Why

With a courtly yet uncompromising style, Senator Howard Henry Baker Jr., 47, has emerged as one of the Watergate committee's toughest examiners. Sometimes the Tennessee Republican belabors witnesses with rapid-fire questions. More often, however, the Senator cajoles the witnesses with sympathy and understanding, as he did last week to elicit more details about John W. Dean III's meetings with President Nixon. Indeed, Baker's style as committee vice chairman has so impressed his colleagues that he has become one of the Republicans' new luminaries looking to 1976—and one of the few to benefit from the Watergate scandal.

More than any other committee member, Baker has probed for the motives of those involved in Watergate. Of Convicted Conspirator Bernard Barker, the Senator demanded: "What on earth would motivate you at your station in life to do something that surely you knew was illegal?" Then, as Barker cited his own brand of blind patriotism as explanation, Baker exclaimed before the hushed committee: "Why? ... Why? ... Why?" Later Baker said: "I'm not trying to establish

the moral culpability but trying to find out what causes a man to do this, so that we can write legislation to keep it from happening again."

Much to nearly everyone's surprise, Baker himself became a figure in the testimony last week. Dean recalled that White House staffers looked on the Senator as a potential friend. They asked him for a voice in the selection of the committee's minority counsel but were rebuffed. Later, on Feb. 22, he advised Nixon privately to abandon his stand on Executive privilege, at least for the Watergate hearings. On several occasions, Baker had flatly denied that there were any Watergate-related contacts between himself and the President since Feb. 7, when the committee was formed. Later he admitted that he had indeed met with the President and explained that he had kept it secret for fear that publicity might diminish the chances of getting the President to change his stand on Executive privilege. Asked how it felt to be described by White House operatives as a man who could be influenced, the Senator replied: "It doesn't bother me one damn bit because it didn't happen."

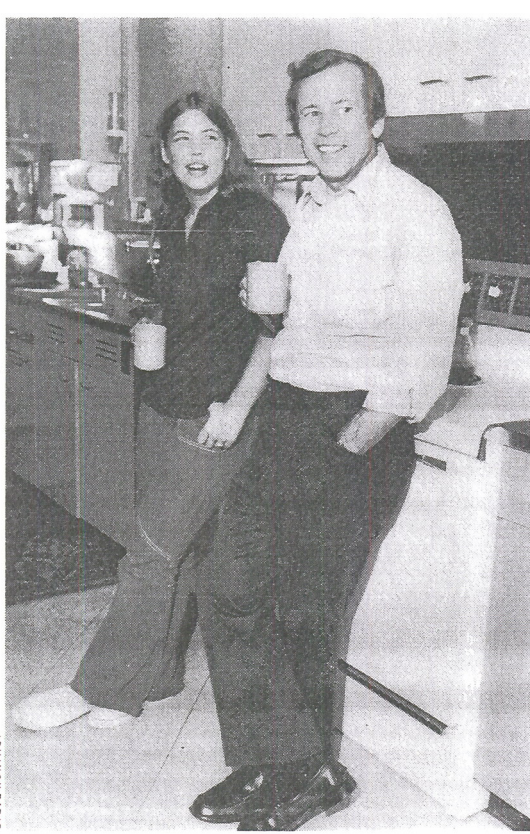
That incident aside, Baker's performance has drawn praise from Democrats as well as Republicans. He has been careful not to leak any secret testimony, and has stoutly maintained the rights of the three-man Republican minority. He comes to each session thoroughly briefed—by two of his own staff whom he assigned to the Watergate affair and by the committee's minority counsel, Fred Thompson. Explains Baker: "I try to get a picture of who the man is, how he relates and what I'd like to inquire about."

In the wooded hills of eastern Tennessee, Baker is known to friends and kinfolk as Howard Henry, to distinguish him from his father, who was simply called Howard. The elder Baker served 13 years in Congress until his death in 1964. Since the early 1820s there have been Bakers in that part of Appalachia, where coal mining, lumbering, dairy farming—and poverty—are a way of life. Young Baker was strongly influenced by his maternal grandmother, known as Mother Ladd, who succeeded her late husband in 1927 as sheriff of Roane County. She gained notoriety for capturing two armed bootleggers single-handed. Now 93, she boasts: "Howard Henry is just like me."

Sweet Smell. A schoolmate recollects: "At eight or nine, when most boys were talkin' fishin', huntin' and playin' hooky, Howard Henry was talkin' jurisprudence and double jeopardy." He graduated from the University of Tennessee College of Law in 1949, then joined the law firm founded by his paternal grandfather in 1885. Young Baker quickly earned a reputation as a shrewd cross-examiner in courtroom exchanges. His natural proclivities for politics were cemented by his marriage to Joy Dirksen, only child of the late, grandiloquent Senator from Illinois. They have two children—Darek, 20, and Cynthia, 17.

Defeated for the U.S. Senate in 1964, Baker was elected in 1966—with campaigning help from President Nixon—and re-elected with 63% of the vote last year. Although eastern Tennessee is traditionally Republican, he is the state's first popularly elected Republican Senator. In the Senate he is counted as a moderate and thoroughly pragmatic conservative. He supported the 18-year-old vote and the civil rights bill of 1968, but strongly opposed forced busing to desegregate schools and reduction of the oil-depletion allowance.

The temperate Baker drinks only an occasional gin and tonic and tolerates neither profanity nor off-color



BAKER WITH HIS DAUGHTER AT HOME
Solitude is a good antidote.

humor. During the hearings he has dieted off 25 lbs. and now weighs a trim 155. He plays golf and tennis avidly and frequently canoes on the Little Tennessee River or hikes in the nearby hills. His favorite pastime, however, is photography, and both his \$150,000 rambling home in tiny Huntsville, Tenn. (pop. 375), and the handsome stone house he rents in Northwest Washington have darkrooms where he develops his own film. Says Baker: "He who retreats to the darkroom knows himself darn well. The solitude is good for you; it's a good antidote to public life."

In that solitude, Baker probably also contemplates his future as a politician. In public he turns aside questions about it by recalling the day during his freshman year in the Senate when New Hampshire's crusty Norris Cotton asked: "Can you smell the sweet smell of white marble?" No, said Baker, chuckling at the quaint image. Replied Cotton: "When you're here long enough, you will and you'll like it. From that moment on, you won't be worth a damn."

Baker now admits: "I could detect a faint trace of that smell three or four years ago—but I don't now." In 1969 and 1971 he brashly challenged Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania for the Republican Senate leadership and lost; now he cautiously shrugs aside pointed teasing by colleagues in the Senate cloakroom that his work on the Watergate committee is a prelude to a bigger role. Nonetheless—as he is well aware—it was just such investigating committees that helped launch the national careers of Estes Kefauver, Harry Truman and Richard Nixon.

PUBLIC OPINION

The Reselling
Of the President?

No presidential candidate ever made more use of advertising skills and techniques than Richard Nixon—or employed more former admen as top assistants after attaining office. H.R. Haldeman, Ronald Ziegler and Dwight Chapin, among others in the White House, all came from the advertising industry. Nixon's 1968 campaign script even led to a successful book, *The Selling of the President 1968*, by Joe McGinniss. It chronicled how Nixon's media men skillfully packaged his assets—and disguised his weaknesses—to present him to the American public.

Last week, as John W. Dean fired away at the President and his former top assistants, McGinniss expressed doubts that any conceivable advertising campaign could resell the President. "It's a lost cause," the writer said. "They seem to have finally p.r.'d themselves into a corner that they can't p.r. themselves out of. Given his personality and given the amount of evidence that ties him to what's been going on, it seems to me that it's too late for any reselling. The pit is too deep."

McGinniss's pessimism is not shared by all advertising and public relations experts. TIME asked a number of them how they would handle the President's account today if they had it, and what advice they would give Nixon about rebuilding his image. Excerpts from their suggestions:

► Marion Conrad, who heads her own public relations and communications firm in San Francisco: "People forget details, but they remember a flavor. This Watergate flavor will be around a long time. Nixon has so few favorable areas left, but one of them is foreign relations. He is running out of countries to visit, but he could get involved in making the U.N. truly effective. Pat is another asset. He could send her off on a trip around the country with a new cause—for example, equal opportunity for women, or for black women."

► Stuart Spencer, president of Spencer-Roberts & Associates, Inc., a Los Angeles public relations and advertising firm: "He has to go on the offensive with a dramatic move. Of course, he could start another war, but I wouldn't recommend it. I would have saved the trip to China, if I knew last year about Watergate, but he still has a couple of areas left for dramatic moves, like the Midwest or inflation."

► Robert Pritikin, president of Pritikin & Gibbons Communications, an advertising agency in San Francisco: "Image-wise he is terribly stiff. I'd tell him to stop walking down the beach in San Clemente in a necktie and vest. My God, doesn't he ever wear a sweatshirt?"

► Ward Stevenson, a senior vice president of Hill & Knowlton Inc., pub-