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By JACK ANDERSON

WASHINGTON — In addition to the lists of "enemies," the White House also kept a secret blacklist of Republican senators who displeased President Nixon.

This was no mere informational list, according to White House sources, but an "action" list of Republican recalcitrants to be punished. Those on the list were subject to retaliation, which ranged from petty humiliations to political reprisals.

"We called it the s-- list," said one source. "I knew sooner or later somebody was going to find out about it. Some of us privately opposed it."

The list was drawn up by staff chief Bob Haldeman who circulated it by hand to his top aides, with orders that they copy it in their own handwriting, not Xerox it.

On the list at various times since 1969 were Sens. Jacob Javits, N.Y., Mark Hatfield, Ore., Clifford Case, N.J., Charles "Mac" Mathias, Md., Richard Schweiker, Pa., Charles Percy, Ill., Lowell Weicker, Conn., and former Sen. Charles Goodell, N.Y.

In trying to recall the names, our sources said they thought they also remembered Sens. William Packwood, Ore., William Saxbe, Ohio, and James Pearson, Kans. The sources were struck that Massachusetts' Sen. Edward Brooke, who often strayed from the Nixon line, was never put on the list.

"He never made it for the obvious reason," said our sources. Brooke is the Senate's only black member and the White House didn't want to alienate him.

The senators who were listed were supposed to be denied all the White House perquisites, or "perks" as they were called by the President's aides. For example, those on the list were generally barred from White House dinners and other state functions. They were cut off from campaign assistance and patronage jobs. They couldn't even always arrange special White House tours for their constituents, a traditional White House courtesy extended to

members of Congress.

The blacklist was updated every three to five months. Names were added and removed, depending upon the political behavior of the senators on the GOP side. But usually, the list contained from six to 12 names.

On the days the list was updated, it stirred whispered

gossip among the insiders who knew about it. "We compared notes on what one another were doing to people on the list," said a source.

While none of the senators apparently was aware of the formal list, which was sent around without even a heading on it, some felt its whiplash effect.

Former Sen. Charles Goodell, for example, told my associate Les Whitten that he was systematically snubbed, and was denied White House invitations and patronage after he began taking exception to White House policies. "I couldn't even get decent communication with them," he said.

Asked why no similar list was kept of House members, our sources said: "There were just too many of them to keep track of their voting. We had to play the House by ear."

Footnote: Efforts to reach Haldeman for comment through his lawyers were unsuccessful.

ITT'S RESPONSE: We recently reported that an ITT subsidiary, Scott Lawn Products, helped to install a free golf course for President Nixon at San Clemente. Before we published the story, we contacted the company with a series of questions, which the spokesman refused to answer. ITT waited until after the story was published to issue an indignant denial, claiming ITT didn't acquire Scott Lawn Company until after the golf course was completed. Although this is technically true, our sources swear that the acquisition was in the works and that ITT made the request for the free work on the President's golf course. We'll be happy to submit our evidence to any of the several official bodies now investigating ITT.

HOW TO SUCCEED: A retired New York City cop named Arthur Kelly has had a spectacular career in Internal Revenue's alcohol, tobacco and firearms division. He started at the low rank of GS-5 on August 11, 1969. He received promotions so fast that he wound up as grade GS-12 on April 11, 1973. It was almost as if someone was watching over him. Someone was. Kelly's guardian angel was his brother-in-law, John J. Caulfield, the same man who carried promises of executive clemency to convicted Watergate conspirator James McCord. Caulfield, a White House favorite, was the division's assistant director.