



By JACK ANDERSON



WASHINGTON — The discovery of a White House "enemies list" last June brought denials that the catalogued "enemies" had been marked for government harassment. The list was intended merely as a social guide, it was said, for issuing White House invitations.

The tut tuts from the White House, however, have now been exploded by the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been investigating what happened to those on the famous list. Probing questionnaires were sent to 189 "enemies" and answered by 95.

Although the final findings are still under lock and key in the office of project director Doug Leas, we have obtained a preliminary report:

The Internal Revenue Service, despite all its denials, has pursued an unusual number of President Nixon's "enemies." Some 28 per cent of the replies reported tax audits, a far higher percentage than the national average for similar time periods and income brackets.

The tax victims included Sen. Walter Mondale, D-Minn., a potential Democratic presidential contender; Common Cause Chairman John Gardner; New York Post editor James Wechsler; and United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock; to name a few. Noted Mondale: "I have no knowledge, of course, whether the IRS audit was related to the fact that I was on that list." Gardner took the same attitude. "We are so completely open in operations," he said, "we have not given the matter further thought."

Some 19 per cent reported their phones had been tapped, and another 12 per cent thought it likely. Among those who felt they were under electronic surveillance were Rep. Don Dellums, D-Calif., and Rep. Bella Abzug, D-N.Y., both vigorous Nixon critics. Ms. Abzug, for example, heard a third voice cut in on a telephone conversation she was having with Assemblyman Al Blumenthal in 1972. She "called in a private

investigator who conformed that my phone was being tapped," she reported.

A full 23 per cent were subjected to federal investigations, other than tax probes, by the FBI or other agencies. Former Ambassador to India John Kenneth Galbraith reported one of his speeches had been monitored by "Army intelligence agents." Rep. Parren Mitchell, D-Md., was investigated by the FBI after he got copies of the Media, Pa., FBI files.

Smaller percentages reported burglaries (though unsure whether the government committed them), "punitive enforcement actions," mail interception, corporate contract problems and (in the case of some groups) infiltration by Nixon agents.

Some of the harassment was more unique. For example, Walter Heller, a former economic adviser to President Kennedy, was supposed to be re-elected to the board of the Federal National Mortgage Association. Heller learned that the White House requested he be asked to "step down." Heller, burdened with the job anyway, happily complied.

Heller suggested there was a "remote possibility" that his son, also named Walter Heller, had been turned down for a National Science Foundation grant renewal because "the sins of the father were being visited on the son." He noted: "It's the kind of thing one can't help thinking, given the mentality that lies behind the list."

Former Los Angeles Times reporter Stuart Loory told how he had written a personality sketch which irritated Dr. Henry Kissinger. The annoyed Kissinger called in Loory's boss and told him, so Loory reported: "I don't care who you send to cover the White House, but I never want to see Stuart Loory again."

Educator George Fischer, of Chicago, reported his astonishment at finding one of his letters to a relative had been opened and stamped: "Opened by Mistake by the Treasury Department." Fischer also complained that he had been audited every year since 1969 and he suspected his phone is tapped.

"I feel," he replied to the ACLU questionnaire, "that the Administration has no doubt violated the Bill of Rights on many counts. My own personal rights, if not violated, have been abused."

The ACLU tallies show the government came down hardest on blacks, newsmen, academic types and, more particularly, on "enemies" living in or near New York City, Washington and Boston — in other words, the "Eastern Establishment."

FOOTNOTE: I was one of the 95 "enemies" who answered the ACLU query. In my case, federal agents have followed me, a federal grand jury has investigated my sources, my long-distance phone records have been seized, my reporters have been harassed and, in one case, arrested.