

Data on Politicians Traced To Wiretaps for 'Security'

Members of Judiciary Panel Disclose White House Gained Information About Opponents of President

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By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

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WASHINGTON, June 6—The White House obtained some political information about President Nixon's opponents but no evidence of "national security" leaks from 17 wiretaps secretly undertaken in 1969 of Government officials and reporters, members of the House Judiciary Committee disclosed today.

The committee members said that electronic surveillance of one former White House aide, who became an adviser to a Democratic Presidential contender, continued for 19 months after the Federal Bureau of Investigation concluded that the wiretap had "produced nothing from the standpoint of discovering leaks."

In addition, the President was said by several committee members to have passed on to subordinates the discovery, from wiretap information supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that former Secretary of Defense Clark M. Clifford was preparing in 1970 to criticize the Nixon policies on Vietnam.

Secretary of State Kissinger, meanwhile, under repeated questioning at a news conference, denied again that he had played a direct role in wiretapping his aides and insisted anew that he had had no knowledge of the White House "plumbers," a group set up to stop leaks of security information. [Page 17.]

The disclosure from within the Judiciary Committee emerged from a closed day-long impeachment hearing centered on the issue of whether clandestine domestic surveillance activities of the Nixon Administration had been legitimate national security operations or illegal violations of the rights of citizens to be protected from government eavesdropping.

Mr. Nixon has asserted on a number of occasions that the surveillance efforts were designed solely to prevent the illegal dissemination of security information.

Some committee members de-

scribed the evidence presented to them as a combination of national security ventures and efforts that had produced political intelligence.

The panel heard a 12-minute segment of a volunteered White House tape recording of a July 24, 1971, meeting at which Mr. Nixon voiced alarm to aides that The New York Times had published details of the United States' plans for talks with the Soviet Union on limiting strategic arms.

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Mr. Nixon reportedly proposed at the meeting with his aides that lie-detector tests be given to as many as 400 employees of the State and Defense Departments. The President was quoted as saying, "We want to scare hell out of these people."

Representative Walter Flowers, Democrat of Alabama, said that this matter seemed to him to have been a cause of legitimate concern about security. But Mr. Flowers also said that the Administration had obtained some information from domestic wiretaps "that apparently was used in connection with political activity."

In addition to information about the 13 wiretaps on Government officials and four on newsmen, the Judiciary Committee examined today evidence dealing with the following clandestine activities:

Undercover investigations conducted on behalf of the White House beginning in 1970 by two former New York City policemen, John J. Caulfield and Anthony T. Ulasewicz. Committee sources said the evidence indicated that H. R. Haldeman, then the White House chief of staff, had proposed 24-hour-a-day surveillance of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, but that Mr. Caulfield rejected the idea because of the risks of detection.

The development in 1970 of the so-called "Huston plan" to spy on suspected domestic radicals by using such means as burglary and wiretapping, which were specified in the plan as "clearly illegal." Committee members said that they had no evidence to support the White House contention that

the plan was abandoned after five days. The plan had been drawn up by Tom Charles Huston, then a White House aide.

The formation in 1971 of the White House special investigations unit, called "the plumbers" because of its mission to plug security leaks. It was the "plumbers" unit that allegedly broke into the office of a California psychiatrist in September, 1971, in search of files on Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, a former patient who says he gave the press the secret Pentagon papers on the history of the Vietnam War.

Pan Still Under Study

Several members of the committee "arised the possibility that the 'plumbers' had been, in effect, reincarnation of the Huston plan.

Albert E. Jenner Jr., the committee's senior Republican counsel, seemed to support that suggestion in a conversation with reporters this afternoon, after the committee heard evidence bearing on the Huston plan and begun examining the "plumbers" activities.

Referring to the discussion of the "plumbers," Mr. Jenner said, "We are in the middle of the Huston Plan."

Some Republicans on the panel asserted that the key question was not whether the surveillance had borne political fruits for the White House, but whether the eavesdropping was legal when undertaken. They added that the answer was unclear.

Democrats were considerably more caustic, however.

Representative Robert F. Drinan, Democrat of Massachusetts, called the White House surveillance activities invidious.

Representative Barbara Jordan, Democrat of Texas, recalled that she said in a speech last month that Mr. Nixon had "cavalierly" used national security to justify "violations of civil liberties."

"Have not changed my view," she said after the hearing today.

Evidence presented to the committee on the 17 wiretaps, initiated in May, 1969, and continued, in some instances, to Feb. 10, 1971, was based in large part on summaries of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's transcripts of recorded conversations.

The summaries were obtained by the impeachment inquiry on condition that the names of many individuals whose telephones were tapped would be vacy. Members of the panel said that much of the evidence referred, accordingly, to "Mr. A" or "Mr. B" and so on, in alphabetical codes.

Data From Lawsuit

Additional material came to the committee lawyers only yesterday from sealed court papers involved in the civil lawsuit filed by Morton H. Halperin against Secretary of State Kissinger. Mr. Halperin, whose

phone was tapped, had been an assistant to Mr. Kissinger, then the assistant to the President for national security.

One issue in Mr. Halperin's lawsuit is that the tap on his phone remained in place for nine months after he left the White House staff. For the last four months of that period, in 1969 and 1970, Mr. Halperin was a foreign policy adviser to Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, then the leading contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

According to the committee officials, subordinates reported to J. Edgar Hoover, who then was director of the F.B.I., on July 8, 1969, that the wiretap on Mr. Halperin's phone had been unproductive. But the phone was said to have been tapped until Feb. 10, 1971—19 more months.

The phone of another aide to Mr. Kissinger, Anthony Lake, was also tapped both while he was at the White House and when he became a private citizen and an adviser to Senator Muskie.

The committee members said that the information about Mr. Clifford's being prepared to attack the President's Vietnam policy presumably came from the surveillance on either Mr. Lake or Mr. Halperin. Mr. Clifford, who was Secretary of Defense under President Johnson, also served as a consultant to Senator Muskie.

The sources said that one of three letters Mr. Hoover sent to the President in 1969 about the wiretaps cited the forthcoming criticism from Mr. Clifford.

According to the informants, the letter was forwarded to Jeb Stuart Magruder, an aide to Mr. Haldeman and, later, the deputy director of the President's 1972 re-election campaign. Mr. Magruder was one of the acknowledged architects of the political intelligence plan that led to the Watergate burglary.

One source said that Mr. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, then the President's adviser on domestic matters, had discussed how, in the source's words, "to combat" Mr. Clifford.

Article in Magazine

On May 22, 1970, an article by Mr. Clifford was published in Life magazine, assailing the Administration's conduct of the Vietnam war and urging that a fixed date be set for withdrawing all United States military forces from the war.

Committee officials said that much of the information produced by the wiretaps appeared to have been personal and potentially embarrassing.

For example, Representative Wayne Owens, Democrat of Utah, said that "Mr. E" had been described as a customer at a store selling pornographic material.

Another Democratic member said the wiretap files contained who had been "seen" with another woman while his wife was out of town.

According to the members, none of the fruits of the wiretaps appeared to bear out suspicion that the 13 Government officials had passed confidential material to the four reporters, or that the reporters had received national security secrets.