

Strachan Memos Show Broad Role for Data From House Panel Tell of Political Moves

By JOHN M. CREWDSON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 11 — H. R. Haldeman, while chief of the White House staff, exercised authority over a broad range of matters related to President Nixon's 1972 campaign, according to two documents released today by the House Judiciary Committee.

The documents are so-called "action" memorandums to Mr. Haldeman from Gordon C. Strachan, his former aide and co-defendant in the Watergate cover-up case.

They provide an uncommon insight into Mr. Haldeman's concern with virtually every aspect of Mr. Nixon's re-election effort, though he has publicly asserted that he remained aloof from politics and that the Committee for the Re-Election of the President operated independently of the White House.

For example, in a memo of Feb. 16, 1972, Mr. Strachan notes that Jeb Stuart Magruder, then deputy director of the Nixon campaign, was "at odds" with Charles W. Colson over Mr. Colson's refusal to stop "programming hits" against Senator Edmund S. Muskie by Administration spokesman who criticized Mr. Muskie's stand on the Vietnam war.

Orders Being Followed

"Colson is acting under express instructions," Mr. Haldeman wrote in reply. "Tell Magruder to talk to me if he has a problem."

The two memos cast doubt on Mr. Haldeman's sworn statements, before the Senate Watergate committee and a Federal grand jury, about the purpose of the \$350,000 cash fund from which alleged "hush money" payments to the Watergate burglars were ultimately drawn.

Mr. Haldeman has maintained that the money, which was stored in a White House safe under his personal control, had been assembled to finance "special" private political polls.

However, Mr. Strachan, who was in the habit of dropping the last three zeroes when mentioning sums of money, suggested in a Feb. 1, 1972, memo that "230 green be held under [Herbert W.] Kalmbach's personal control; and that any polling be paid for by regular Nixon finance committees."

Mr. Haldeman initialed his approval, adding "make it 350 green and hold for us."

Mr. Strachan informed him in the second memo two weeks later that Mr. Kalmbach, at the time Mr. Nixon's personal lawyer and one of his principal fund-raisers, would provide "350 in green under your unquestioned personal control. A separate box of green is being developed for the campaign."

The two memos, provided to the Judiciary Committee by the White House and included in the eight-volume collection of impeachment-related evidence made public, show that Mr. Haldeman was kept apprised through Mr. Strachan, his liaison with the re-election organization, of even such minutiae as running campaign receipts and expenditures, political mailings, advertising and the results of special polls.

At one point, Mr. Strachan wrote of Mr. Magruder's agreement to "begin delivering" - from the re-election committee "the results and the projects you have requested."

Donation by Rockefeller

The memos also reveal a number of previously undisclosed aspects of the Nixon re-election operation, including these:

¶ Former Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York became a member of "Kalmbach's 100 club," an unofficial group by major Nixon contributors, when he pledged a donation of \$250,000 to the President's campaign.

¶ Harry Dent, a former Nixon political strategist, recommended that the Administration ignore President Nixon's promise of \$9-million worth of "make-work projects" to Whitney Young, director of the Urban League, because "there is no written record of this promise." According to Mr. Strachan, Mr. Dent recommended that "any available funds be channeled to blacks who can deliver for the President on Nov. 7, 1972."

¶ Participants at a meeting of Mr. Dent's political issues group "all strongly urged" Mr. Haldeman "to make sure no U.S.I.A. [United States Information Agency] prestige poll similar to the one that damaged Nixon in 1960 is conducted in 1972."

¶ Jack Gleason, who headed the White House's "townhouse project" to raise funds for Republican Congressional candidates, was "sick and fed up" with stories about him in the press and wanted to have "a quiet, off the record discussion" with selected reporters to demonstrate that he "is a 'nice' guy." Mr. Haldeman recommended that Mr. Gleason whose fund-raising activities have since come under scrutiny of the special Watergate prosecutor, "should continue to avoid reporters."

¶ Mr. Kalmbach, operating out of his law office in Newport Beach, Calif., was "working

Haldeman in Activities Related to Campaign

NY TIMES, FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1974

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February 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
 FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G
 SUBJECT: Political Matters

Finances

1) Herb Kalmbach reviewed his current financial situation and related hard decisions with the Attorney General and Secretary Stans on January 28. Kalmbach asked that you consider:

a) Of the I.2 fund Kalmbach has a balance of 900 plus under his personal control. From the original 1.2, 100 went to Lee Nunn for the Kentucky Governorship Race, 50 went to Caulfield for Sandeager, and 70 has been disbursed to Derge for polling over the last six months. Of the 900, 230 is in "green" boxes, 570 is in a New York checking account and 120 is in a Newport checking account.

b) In light of the campaign spending legislation, Stans, Kalmbach, and Dean recommend that the 690 in accounts be spread back into legal committees and kept under Finance Chairman Stans' control. The 230 green would be put in a Riggs box with access by any combination of two of the following people: Tom Evans, New York; France Raine, Jr. (who Kalmbach wants to use generally in the finance area) — and Kalmbach. If this recommendation is not accepted Kalmbach is willing to retain personal control of the 900 and run the very high risk of violating the criminal provisions of the campaign spending legislation. Stans is opposed to paying for any polls other than through a correct committee; the risk from using green is just too high. OK

Recommendation:

That the advice of Stans, Kalmbach, and Dean be followed in that the 690 would be put in legal committees; that only the 230 green would be held under Kalmbach's personal control; and that any polling would be paid for by regular Nixon Finance Committees.

Approves _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

(78)



H. R. Haldeman



Gordon C. Strachan

with the milk people to increase the 233 currently banked to 1,000 by April 7." The Senate Watergate committee investigators have evidence that various dairy interests eventually gave the Nixon campaign about \$700,000 some \$300,000 short of Mr. Kalmbach's apparent target.

The extent of the White House's concern about the abortive attempt by Gov. Geor C. Wallace of Alabama to gain the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972 is also apparent from the Strachan-to-Haldeman memos.

On Feb. 16, three months before Mr. Wallace was crippled by an assassin's bullet, Mr. Strachan wrote that the Wallace effort was being monitored for Mr. Dent "through Tom Turnipseed, Wallace's former campaign manager." It had not been generally known that Mr. Turnipseed, who headed Mr. Wallace's unsuccessful third-party residential campaign in 1968, had watched his former candidate for the White House in 1972.

A.T.&T. Campaign Aid

The same document also reported that Charlie McWhorter, a New York Republican who has been associated politically with Mr. Nixon since 1960, would "continue to travel" during the 1972 campaign at the expense of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. However, Mr. Strachan noted that "he has terminated his formal ties with the Vice President's office to protect against any suggestion of impropriety."

Mr. Haldeman approved the paragraph on Mr. McWhorter's travel arrangements with a check mark.

The Feb. 1 memo opens with a discussion by Mr. Strachan of the option of placing several hundred thousand dollars in Nixon campaign contributions under Mr. Kalmbach's control "back into legal committees" before April 7, 1972, the date a strict campaign finance disclosure law took effect.

"If this recommendation is not accepted," Mr. Strachan told Mr. Haldeman, "Kalmbach is willing to retain personal control of the 900 and run the very high risk of violating the criminal provisions of the campaign spending legislation."

Although Mr. Haldeman approved the return of most of the Kalmbach money to the Nixon campaign's finance committee, Mr. Kalmbach pleaded guilty last February to a felony violation of the campaign finance provisions of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act in connection with his fundraising activities in 1970.

One of the "action" memorandums from Gordon C. Strachan to H. R. Haldeman, in which it was suggested that "230 green" (\$230,000) be held under Herbert W. Kalmbach's personal control. Mr. Haldeman (H) initialed his approval and added at the bottom "make it 350 green and hold for us." Mr. Haldeman had said under oath that the money was intended for political polling, but the memo suggests other purposes.