This clipping is from 2-star edition and began on page 1. in red In 3-star edition story was entirely on page 14, and did not include paragraphs marked here/

**SFExaminer** 

SEP 1 7 1972

# Watergate and the Chotiner Papers

By Thomas B. Ross

WASHINGTON — The McGovern organization has obtained what it believes to be a confidential strategy paper of President Nixon's original campaign manager and is pondering how to exploit it against Nixon.

Although the paper was written in 1955 and its author, Murray Chotiner, is no longer at the top of the Nixon organization, Sen. George McGovern's advisers think the American people would find it revealing as to the President's current political tactics.

McGovern is being urged by at least one adviser to purchase prime television time and link the Chotiner paper to the Watergate bugging incident.

"What do we do when the opposition smears us?" the Chotiner paper asks. "And, of course it is always a smear, naturally, when it is directed at our own candi-

"Well, you don't answer anything until you are convinced that the opposition has run its full course and has completely saturated the field on the subject regarding your own candi-

date..

"But if you find that the attack has reached such proportions that it can no longer be avoided, answer it; and when you do, do so with an attack of your own against the opposition for having launched it in the first place."

McGovern's advisers allege that Nixon's counter-accusation against Democratic fund-raising practices at his press conference in California late last month exactly follows Chotiner's advice.

Chotineracknowledged that he delivered a paper on campaign strategy to a group of Republican state chairmen in 1955 but questioned the authenticity of the McGovern document on several points.

"The fact that they are using a speech made in 1955," "demon-Chotiner said, strates how bankrupt Sen. McGovern and his advisers are for an issue in 1972."

He counterattacked by challenging McGovern to say "who is his spy in 1701 Pennsylvania Ave.," head-

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quarters of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

Several newspapers have reported that a member of the Nixon campaign organization has been providing the Democrats with information about the Watergate incident and McGovern, when questioned, has not denied it.

## Authenticity

Chotiner, in effect, confirmed the authenticity of the quote about campaign "smears," noting that his 1955 speech was accurately stated in a 1960 book called "Politics U.S.A."

He said the Republican National Committee taped his off-the-record speech and that the book reproduced a condensed version of the committee's transcript. He said he "stood on the transcript."

The McGovern version of "smear" quote was essentially the same as that in the book, but Chotiner insisted that his remark about all was made with smears "tongue in cheek" and was so recognized by his audi-

He refused to comment di- Mitchell, Nixon's principal rectly on the McGovern version, other than to declare that there were several distortions.

He denied having used the term "shackles" of organized labor, but the version of his speech in the book uses the exact word.

#### No Weaknesses

"Never show your weakness at any time," Chotiner said, according to both the McGovern and the book version. "We knew we could not get the leadership of organized labor ... We knew if we simply organized by using the rank and file members of organized labor that it would show up weak in comparison to their committees. "So what did we do? We

just abandoned labor committees as such . . . we could reach those voters far more effectively by appealing to them on the things in which they were interested than by appealing to them to unloosen the shackles of their leaders."

Chotiner said he has only a "part time" job with the campaign committee, mainly on "voting rights and ballot security.'

He served in the White House as special counsel to the President but left in March of last year to return to private law practice.

### Adviser

He first served as a political adviser to Nixon in his original race for Congress in 1948. Then he was Nixon's state campaign manager in his successful contest for the Senate in 1950 against the incumbent Helen Gahagan Douglas.

Chotiner was national campaign manager for Nixon's vice presidential campaign in 1956, but sat out the 1960 campaign against John F. Kennedy. In 1968 he was special assistant to John campaign manager.

Chotiner took sharp issue with the McGovern version of is remarks about the controversial tactics used in defeating Mrs. Douglas in 1950.

## Check Record

The McGovern version went as follows:

"Sometimes color has a lot to do with the campaign. I remember in the Douglas-Nixon campaign, we made a check of the record as to how many times Helen Gahagan Douglas voted the same way as Vito Marcantonio (a onetime left-wing congressman from New York), and we found that she had voted with him - and they were restricted to issues involving the national security of the country, because you can take any vote and you can find that a man as conservative as Bob Taft voted the same way as Marcantonio for different reasons.

"But we found that she had voted with Marcantonio more than any other member of Congress and I remember we wanted to make up the literature ... We asked to see the samples of stock that the printing company had and...

"We found a piece of paper that had pinkish tinge to it, and for some reason or other it just seemed to appeal to us for the moment and we printed this record on pink paper. It became known throughout California as the 'Pink Sheet' and we had more requests and demands for this literature than any other."

The version of Chotiner's speech in the book varies slightly in wording and makes no reference to the late Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio) and Marcantonio voting the same way.



MURRAY CHOTINER Questions authenticity