

Ten Donors Gave Nixon \$6 Million

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President Nixon got almost \$6 million for his re-election campaign from a mere 10 super-contributors, an unofficial new analysis showed yesterday. He got an additional \$4,256,000 from 18 more super-contributors—those who gave at least \$200,000 each.

Together, the 28 super-contributors alone gave \$10,255,867 and accounted for more than one-sixth of the grand total of \$60.2 million given by hundreds of thousands of donors.

The \$60.2 million total, which exceeds by more than \$8 million the total previously acknowledged by the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, was disclosed by the committee late Friday in a report filed under a court order.

The report revealed for the first time the names of contributors who, often in the belief they would never be identified, gave a total of \$19.9 million before a new election-financing disclosure law became effective on April 7, 1972.

The figures on super-contributors given above result from combining the new pre-April 7 data with contributions publicly reported under the new law to Congress' General Accounting Office.

Common Cause, the citizens' lobby that sued a year ago to compel the Nixon organization to disclose early financing of the President's re-election drive, said yesterday that the organization spent almost \$5 million in the final two days before the new law took effect. Less than that was spent in the preceding 15 months.

The spending surge reduced cash on hand as of April 7, 1972, to a little over \$10 million—a sum that under the law had to be disclosed a few weeks later.

In spending the \$5 million, especially the \$3.8 million that went out in a 24-hour burst on April 6, the committee apparently tried to "avoid disclosure under the new law,"

Common Cause said.

Except for a mere \$21,000, the \$5 million went to prepay business firms and others for services to be provided after April 6. On that day, for example, \$2.5 million was paid to

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Reuben Donnelly Corp. for "political mail."

On or before that day, said Common Cause, which identified pre-April 7 donors by business association, the chairman and vice chairman of the printing firm, Gaylord and Elliott Donnelly, together gave the finance committee \$30,883.

Also in the pre-April 7 period, Common Cause estimated, the following sums were given without disclosure by contributors in various categories:

Financial (banking, securities, insurance), \$4,470,000; oil and gas, \$1,410,000; pharmaceutical and health, \$1,120,000; U. S. government officials, \$1,011,000; real estate, \$1,005,000; chemicals, \$950,000; entertainment, \$580,000; \$501,000; transportation (airlines, railroads & shipping), \$425,000; construction, engineering and architects, \$370,000; textiles, \$312,000; auto and tire, \$307,000; food and food processing, \$295,000; dairy, \$232,000, and mining, \$125,000.

Pacing the 10 super-contributors who gave almost \$6 million was Chicago insurance tycoon W. Clement Stone, who

contributed \$2.1 million (he gave still more, \$2.8 million, for Mr. Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign). The others:

Richard Mellon Scaife, an heir to the Mellon industrial and banking fortune (Gulf Oil, Aluminum Co. of America, Mellon National Bank), \$1 million.

John A. Mulcahy, president of a firebrick subsidiary of the Pfizer pharmaceutical firm and Mr. Nixon's host during a presidential trip to Ireland, \$599,559.

Three dairy producers' groups called ADEPT, SPACE and TAPE, \$422,500. The contribution is claimed to be a payoff in exchange for higher milk-price supports in a pending lawsuit filed against the Agriculture Department; the

government and the dairy groups deny it.

Five members of the Rockefeller family, which derived its fortune from oil, banking and numerous other enterprises, \$310,310.

Numerous executives of about two dozen trucking firms, \$308,000.

Walter T. Duncan, a Texas entrepreneur who was later released from an IOU for a contribution of \$305,000.



W. CLEMENT STONE
... biggest contributor

John J. Louis Jr., chairman of Combined Communications Corp. and family members, \$303,760.

International Business Machines executive Arthur K. Watson, immediate past ambassador to France, \$300,000.

George and Ruth Farkas of the Alexander's Department Store chain, \$300,000. She is ambassador to Luxembourg. In this case as in all others, gifts of a husband and wife are treated as one.

The 18 super-contributors, each listed for sums between \$200,000 and \$300,000, were led by Cornelius V. Whitney, horse breeder and heir to a communications fortune. He gave and retrieved \$250,000 in the pre-April 7 period, for unexplained reasons. He later gave about \$50,000. Others:

E. I. du Pont de Nemours of officers, directors and family members, about \$268,000; Samuel Schulman, vice chairman of the National General conglomerate, owner, San Diego Chargers, \$262,574; John W. Rollins, president of a broadcasting, trucking conglomerate, \$260,524.

Also, Daniel J. Terra, chairman of Lawter Chemicals, and Ray A. Kroc, chief of the Mc-

Donald's hamburger empire, \$255,000 each; Ambassador to Britain Walter H. Annenberg, \$254,000; Kent H. Smith, Lubrizoil's honorary chairman, \$253,000.

Also, John H. Safer, Bethesda shopping center owner, \$250,000; Jack Massey, chairman, Hospital Corp. of America, \$250,000; Saul Steinberg, chairman, Leasco computer services, \$250,000; the chairman, retired chairman and the president of Firestone Tire & Rubber, three contributions totaling \$228,153.

Also, Milledge A. Hart III, president, and Thomas J. Marquez, vice president, Electronic Data Systems Corp., \$223,865; Roy C. Carver, chairman, Bandage (tread rubber), \$216,000; Francis L. Cappaert, oil, land and other interests, \$210,000.

Also, financier Robert L. Vesco, who gave \$200,000 in currency and is now under indictment for obstruction of justice—in a Securities and Exchange Commission case—with former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and former Commerce Secretary Maruice H. Stans, chairman of the finance committee.

Also, San Diego financier C.

Arnholt Smith, a friend of the President, \$200,000. The contribution was refunded to Smith without explanation, against whom the Internal Revenue Service has filed a \$22.8 million tax assessment.

Finally, Raymond R. Guest, Virginia horse breeder and former Ambassador to Ireland, \$200,000.

The finance committee, saying it never knowingly solicited or accepted illegal corporate contributions, has refunded or provided for refunds of almost \$500,000 to seven corporations whose executives made purportedly "personal" contributions.

Compiled with the aid of Washington Post researchers Patricia Davis and Bridget Gallagher.