

Wide Political Spying

By Barry Sussman

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On June 17, when five men wearing surgical gloves were arrested inside Democratic headquarters at the Watergate, it was immediately clear that a political mystery story was unfolding.

Bugging equipment. Cameras. Walkie-talkies, taped door locks, hundred-dollar bills in sequence. Former CIA employees, Bay of Pigs veterans.

But there was not the slightest hint then that the incident would balloon to link two former cabinet officers, a former assistant attorney general and a host of present or former Nixon aides to a campaign of political spying and sabotage.

At the outset, there were two big questions about the Watergate:

- Who was behind it?
- What were they looking for in Democratic National Committee headquarters in the first place?

Early on, the Democrats, led by Lawrence F. O'Brien, who was then their national chairman, tried to link the incident to the White House. But despite occasional disclosures that investigators were uncovering damaging information about high-ranking Nixon aides, the charges by politicians seemed to be just that: political charges.

The bugging has been an apparent botch, and Republicans began saying it probably was arranged by Democrats in a futile attempt to make the Nixon forces look bad. Weeks passed. The incident became known as the Watergate Caper, a simple way of saying that it seemed at least as funny as it did mysterious.

It stayed that way until Aug. 1. That day it was revealed that a \$25,000 campaign contribution had gone through the Nixon re-election committee into the bank account of one of the men arrested inside the Watergate.

Democrats began calling for congressional hearings; for many the disclosure was sufficient evidence to answer the first question: the Nixon forces, as Democrats had charged earlier, were behind the bugging.

Allegations began to fly about former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and others close to the President. The bugging was called a caper less and less.

Charges Involve

GOP Figures

Then, Oct. 10, came another dramatic development: federal investigators, it was learned, had reason to believe that the Watergate incident was only one part of a campaign of political spying and sabotage undertaken by high Nixon aides against Democrat presidential candidates for more than a year.

One alleged paid saboteur, Donald H. Segretti, was named. He was linked to E. Howard Hunt Jr., a former White House aide who was indicted in the alleged bugging, and more seriously, to the President's appointments secretary, Dwight L. Chapin.

The men, so linked, and the allegations involving each of them, as compiled by Washington Post Staff Writers Stephen Green and Jon Katz:

JOHN N. MITCHELL—

One of President Nixon's most trusted advisers. On March 1, Mitchell resigned as Attorney General to become Nixon campaign manager. He left that post July 1, citing an ultimatum from his wife that he leave politics and his own desire to spend more time with his family.

According to sources close

to the Watergate investigation, Mitchell personally controlled a \$350,000-\$700,000 Nixon campaign fund that was used, in part, to gather information about Democrats and finance sabotage activities. His control over the fund allegedly began in the spring of 1971, nearly a year before he resigned from Justice to head the Nixon campaign. Mitchell has denied this.

Mitchell has also denied his resignation was connected with the Watergate incident or the resulting investigations, and a Justice Department spokesman has said there is no law prohibiting political activities by an attorney general.

MAURICE H. STANS—

Former secretary of Commerce and now finance chairman of the Nixon re-election campaign and the President's chief fund raiser. The secret cash fund for "sensitive" political purposes was kept in a safe in Stans' office.

Stans has said, and sources confirm, that he had no prior knowledge of the Watergate bugging. But the same sources say he was authorized to make payments from the secret fund. In August, the General Accounting Office said \$89,000 in campaign contributions deposited in the bank account of a Watergate suspect, Bernard L. Barker, had been funneled through a Mexico City lawyer from four anonymous Texas contributors to the re-election committee. The money was part of an estimated \$750,000 collected by GOP fund raisers from Southwestern Democrats.

Federal investigators say they were told these funds were raised during March by Stans, and others in Texas and the Southwest, and that Stan's knew of the arrangement to send the money through Mexico as a means of assuring the anonymity of the donors. Stans had urged Democrats to contribute to the GOP campaign before April 7, after which donors' names had to be listed publicly under federal law.

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN— President Nixon's appointments secretary. He has been linked to the activities of Donald Segretti, who federal investigators have said was one of more than 50 undercover agents engaged in attempts to disrupt and damage the campaigns of Democratic candidates.

A California attorney, Lawrence Young, has quoted Segretti as saying Chapin and E. Howard Hunt Jr. were his Washington contacts. Chapin and another White House aide hired Segretti, according to Time magazine. Chapin acknowledged knowing Segretti "since college days" at the University of Southern California. He described allegations that he was Segretti's contact as "hearsay" and "fundamentally inaccurate."

According to Young, Segretti told him he was concerned about protecting Chapin's name and would refer to him as "our friend" or as "D.C."

GORDON STRACHAN— A White House staff assistant. According to Time magazine, he helped hire Segretti. He attended the University of Southern California with Segretti and Chapin.

KEN W. CLAWSON— Deputy director of White House communications. Washington Post staff writer Marilyn Berger reported that Clawson told her he fabricated a letter to the editor of the Manchester

(N.H.) Union Leader contending that Sen. Edmund S. Muskie condoned a slur on Americans of French-Canadian descent in which they were called "canucks."

Muskie considers the letter one of a number of acts designed to sabotage his presidential campaign. The publication of the letter was one of the factors that led to Muskie's politically damaging "crying" speech outside the newspaper's offices. Clawson, a former Post reporter, has denied he told Miss Berger he was responsible for the letter.

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
—Assistant to the President for congressional relations and White House liaison with the re-election committee for matters relative to the GOP convention. Timmons received memos of wiretapped conversations of Democratic Party officials, according to Baldwin, the ex-FBI agent employed by the re-election committee.

Timmons has declined to discuss whether he received any memos of wiretapped conversations since The Post first asked him about the matter more than a month ago. A White House spokesman said Timmons denies that he ever received any such memos as asserted by Baldwin, who is expected to be a key government witness in the Watergate bugging trial.

ROBERT C. MARDIAN— Former assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division. Mardian is now political coordinator for the Nixon re-election campaign. Following the Watergate break-in, he and Frederick LaRue reportedly directed a massive "house-cleaning" in which financial and other records were destroyed and Nixon staff members were told to "close ranks" in preparing a public response to the incident.

According to The New York Times, Mardian sent G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt Jr. (both indicted in the Watergate bugging) to the Justice Department to obtain confidential information to be used by the Nixon re-election committee, and obtained information from departmental files himself, while working at campaign headquarters.

Mardian has said his role in the re-election committee was political, and that he was primarily involved with working in "difficult primary states."

JEB STUART MAGRUDER— Deputy director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President and a former White House aide. According to sources, he was one of five men who had access to the secret fund and withdrew about \$25,000 from it. Magruder has denied this.

Until April 1, when he was succeeded by Mitchell, Magruder was acting manager of Nixon's re-election campaign. Previously, he was a deputy to White House Communications Director Herbert G. Klein.

There is no indication that the money allegedly withdrawn by Magruder was used directly to finance the Watergate bugging. Magruder told The Washington Post that he received only his salary and expense funds. He acknowledged that government investigators had been told he received \$50,000 from the fund, but said the investigators had agreed that was incorrect.

FREDERICK LA RUE— A former White House counsel to the President, now spe-

cial assistant to the director of the Nixon campaign. He was a close associate of John Mitchell. Along with Mardian, he was directed by Mitchell, sources say, to prepare a response to the Watergate bugging.

The response reportedly included the destruction of financial records dealing with the intelligence-gathering operation, and memos describing the wiretapped telephone conversations of Democratic officials at the Watergate.

Baldwin, who has admitted his participation in the bugging operation, said his hiring by the Nixon committee's security staff was personally approved by La Rue. Baldwin has also said that La Rue supplied him with a gun and told him not to worry about not having a license.

HERBERT L. PORTER—Scheduling director of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, and a former staff assistant to President Nixon. He reportedly withdrew more than \$50,000 from the secret fund that the Nixon committee maintained to finance the spying and sabotage against the Democrats. There is no indication the money withdrawn by Porter was used to finance the Watergate bugging. He has not been available for comment.

ROBERT ODLE—A former White House press aide, now personnel director of the re-election campaign. He reportedly participated in the destruction of Nixon committee records following

the Watergate arrests. He was the liaison between the FBI and the re-election committee during the Watergate investigation and reportedly handled the agents' requests to see records.

According to Baldwin, Odle was one of the persons to whom wiretapped conversations of the Democrats were sent. Odle's name has also figured in other aspects of the Watergate investigation. Odle, according to the Nixon re-election committee, is the man who hired McCord as security coordinator, although other persons participated in the decision, according to sources close to the Watergate investigation.

Odle reportedly participated in the destruction of Nixon committee records in the days following the arrest of five men inside the Democrats' Watergate headquarters on June 17. The re-election committee has denied that Odle received any wiretapped conversations.

J. GLENN SEDAM JR.—General council of the President's re-election committee. According to Baldwin, the ex-FBI agent who says he transcribed the wiretapped conversations of Democratic officials in the Watergate, memos summarizing some of the conversations were sent to Sedam, among others.

Until March 27, Sedam shared an office at the re-election committee with G. Barker, one of the other men indicted in the case, made at least seven long distance calls to an unlisted number shared by Sedam and Liddy until March 27.

HERBERT W. KALMBACH—The President's personal attorney. He handled the purchase of Mr. Nixon's San Clemente, Calif., estate. Kalmbach is singular in the list of well-connected men linked to political spying in that he is best known for his personal relationship with the President, not for his own political activities. Kalmbach has been involved in California politics.

According to investigative sources, he was one of five men authorized to make payments from the secret intelligence fund. Assistant chairman of the re-election finance committee until April 7, he reportedly authorized the payment to Segretti of thousands of dollars from the fund.

HUGH W. SLOAN JR.—A former White House aide and the treasurer of the Nixon campaign at the time of the Watergate break-in. According to investigators, Sloan was the person who disbursed the money in the secret fund. Sloan resigned July 14 as the campaign's treasurer "because he didn't like what he saw was going on," in the words of one source.

The Watergate break-in occurred on June 17. He resigned, said a source, "because he wanted no part in it." When Sloan resigned, Stans issued a statement saying Sloan was leaving for "personal reasons."

JAMES W. McCORD JR. the security coordinator for the Committee for the Re-election of the President until his arrest June 17 in-

side the Democratic headquarters. McCord, a former CIA official and FBI agent who also served as security chief for the Republican National Committee, was one of the five men wearing rubber gloves arrested inside the Watergate. He was indicted on charges of bugging Democratic headquarters, stealing documents there, and surveying the campaign headquarters of Sen. George S. McGovern for what investigators say were similar purposes.

Among the items allegedly stolen from the Watergate by McCord were documents intended for use in planting provocateurs inside the Democratic national convention, according to investigators.

While employed by the re-election committee, McCord also conducted an investigation of columnist Jack Anderson. Its apparent purpose was to determine where the columnist was obtaining "inside information damaging to the Nixon administration. McCord is believed to K Street building adjacent to Muskie headquarters last spring.

E. HOWARD HUNT JR.—A former White House commendation of Charles Colson, President Nixon's special counsel. Hunt was among the men indicted in the Watergate bugging and has been linked to other spying and sabotage against the Democrats.

Donald Segretti, reportedly one of a number of men recruited by re-election committee officials to organize spying and sabo-

tage operations against the Democrats, has been quoted as saying Hunt asked him to organize "an attack" on the Doral Beach Hotel, the GOP headquarters during the Republican national convention—in the name of supporters of the Democratic presidential nominee.

According to ex-FBI agent Baldwin, Hunt was inside the Watergate during the bugging incident, but left shortly before the others were arrested. A former CIA agent, Hunt reportedly gave Segretti spying and sabotage assignments. In fact, Segretti was first uncovered by investigators on the basis of records of long-distance telephone calls from Hunt while Hunt was still serving in the White House, according to law enforcement sources.

G. GORDON LIDDY—A White House presidential assistant who left the job to hold the high ranking positions of general counsel, then finance counsel of the re-election committee. Liddy was another of those indicted in the Watergate bugging.

At the White House, Liddy served on a special team assigned to investigate damaging leaks to the news media, according to investigators. Liddy was the last person at the re-election committee known to have handled \$114,000 in checks that were deposited in the bank account of one Watergate defendant, Bernard L. Barker. Liddy withdrew well in excess of \$50,000 in cash from the secret fund, sources said.