

Key Nixon Aide Named As 'Sabotage' Contact

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By Carl Bernstein
and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Nixon's appointments secretary and an ex-White House aide indicted in the Watergate bugging case both served as "contacts" in a spying and sabotage operation against the Democrats, The Washington Post has been told.

The appointments secretary, Dwight L. Chapin, 31, meets almost daily with the President. As the person in charge of Mr. Nixon's schedule and appointments, including overall coordination of trips, Chapin is one of a handful of White House staff members with easy access to the President.

In a sworn statement,* Lawrence Young, 32, a California attorney, said he had been told by Donald H. Segretti that "Dwight Chapin was a person I reported to in Washington."

Segretti, 31, a lawyer and a close friend of Young, has been identified by federal investigators as one of the 50 undercover operatives engaged since 1971 in an apparently unprecedented spying and sabotage effort staged by Nixon aides against Democratic presidential candidates.

Federal law enforcement officials have said that much of this spying and sabotage is probably illegal but that any unlawful activities connected to the undercover campaign would be difficult or impossible to prove in court. However, the same officials regularly used words like "despicable" and "vicious" when describing the activities.

In a statement issued through the White House press office Friday night, Chapin acknowledged knowing Segretti "since college days." While declining to discuss the allegation that he was one of Segretti's "contacts," Chapin said:

"As The Washington Post reporter has described it, the story is based on hearsay and is fundamentally inaccurate."

In three separate interviews, Young, who attended the University of Southern California with both Chapin and



DWIGHT L. CHAPIN
... just "hearsay"

Segretti, said that Segretti told him—among other things—that:

- On Aug. 19, two days before the Republican National Convention, Segretti went to Miami Beach where presidential aides showed him copies of two interviews he had with the FBI, including one that was not yet 24 hours old.
- The aides briefed him on what to say when testifying the following Tuesday before a federal grand jury investigating the Watergate bugging here in Washington.
- The money for Segretti's activities, including a \$20,000 annual salary, was

paid from a "trust account in a lawyer's name ... a high-placed friend of the President, and he was instructed to guard that name zealously."

Federal law enforcement sources, apprised of what Young told The Post, said Segretti had told essentially the same story to investigators.

According to Young, Segretti also told him that he received political sabotage and spying assignments from E. Howard Hunt Jr., the ex-CIA agent and White House aide who was among seven men indicted on charges of conspiring to eavesdrop on the Democrats' headquarters in the Watergate.

Young, who describes himself as a liberal Democrat, made his statements in separate interviews with two Washington Post reporters and a special correspondent of the newspaper, Robert Meyers. Young has signed a sworn affidavit to the accuracy of his accounts of conversations with Segretti.

In five or six conversations with him, Young said, Segretti detailed widespread undercover activities undertaken on behalf of President Nixon's re-election and mentioned Chapin's name in connection with them many times.

Segretti was first linked by investigators to the sabotage and spying activities 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 and Young's account.

According to Young, Segretti said that he reported frequently to Chapin on the progress of his sabotage activities.

Young said that when the FBI first interviewed Segretti about his undercover activities, Segretti immediately sought—and received—assurances from Chapin that he would not be abandoned as a "sacrificial lamb" by the Nixon forces.

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Sen. Edward M. Kennedy is considering holding hearings into alleged political espionage by Republicans. Details, Page A18.

* "In his statement to the Federal agents, [Kalmbach] is known to have contended that all payments to Mr. Segretti were made before April 7, 1972, the date a Federal law requiring detailed reporting of campaign receipts and expenditures went into effect." Seymour M. Hersh, NYTimes 8 Feb 73.

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Ten days before the Republican National Convention, Young said, Segretti telephoned him in "an absolute panic" because FBI agents had come to question him about telephone calls from Hunt.

"He was worried because there was no prior warning that he would be contacted by the FBI," said Young. "He felt he would be given prior warning, that he would be briefed as to what to say. . . by the people he was working for. He was afraid of being left out on a limb, sacrificed without any protection or coverage. He wanted some advice as to what he should do."

On that occasion, Young said, Segretti told him that he had met with Hunt several months earlier and had been asked by Hunt to organize "an attack" by demonstrators on the Doral Beach Hotel GOP Headquarters, during the Republican convention in the name of supporters of the Democratic nominee for President. Segretti refused Young said.

According to Young, Segretti was upset by the possibility of testifying before the Watergate grand jury and told him he knew nothing about the bugging of Democratic headquarters. Segretti's dealings with Hunt concerned only "legal" sabotage and spying activities against the Democrats, Young said he was told.

"Don said he knew Hunt by a different name, an assumed name," said Young, "but that he knew he was Hunt. Hunt would always talk in a very whispery, conspiratorial voice, he said. . . and seemed to add even more intrigue than was already there."

A week after that first visit from the FBI, Young said, Segretti was questioned again by federal agents, who at the same time subpoenaed him to appear before the Watergate grand jury.

"He was extremely worried," Young recalled, "and I suggested he put in an immediate call to the people he had been working for; but he said all of his contacts were already in Miami Beach for the convention. So he made further calls. He was trying to call Chapin." Young added:

"Then I got a call from Don around midnight saying he was on his way to Miami, that he had made contact—he wouldn't say with whom—and they had told him to come to Miami. . . When he informed me he was going to Miami, he wasn't in a panic any more because he had been told not to worry about it."

In Miami Beach, according to Young's account, presidential aides briefed Segretti on what to tell the grand jury. They assured Segretti that prosecutors would ask "easy questions" in front of the grand jury, and rehearsed Segretti on his testimony.

The Nixon aides in Miami Beach assured Segretti he would not be asked about specific sabotage activities by the grand jury, or about his contacts with Chapin, Young said.

That relieved Segretti, especially because of his long-term friendship with Chapin, Young said. "He was concerned with Dwight's name. Quite often he would say, 'I talked to our

friend'—meaning Chapin—or he would use the initials 'D.C.,' when discussing covert activities.

The presidential aides, according to Young's account, instructed Segretti to tell the grand jury "just what he had told the FBI, which was not any damaging material; it was just about the phone calls from Hunt and some small activities he (Segretti) was doing, some innocuous thing about being involved in some campaign activities."

Young added: "He was told to tell the truth, not to perjure himself and not to worry about it. He was to stick to just what he had said to the FBI."

Three days after the Miami Beach meeting, Young said, Segretti flew to Washington for his appearance before the grand jury. Upon arrival, said Young, "the U.S. attorney interrogated him ahead of time in an office and thoroughly went into everything"—including Chapin's alleged role in the sabotage campaign; where Segretti was getting his money from, and the names of such other persons involved in acts against the Democrats. Such an interrogation is customary.

However, the prosecutor told Segretti "not to worry, that those weren't the questions that would be asked," according to Young's account.

(Assistant U.S. Attorney Earl J. Silbert was in charge of the grand jury investigation. He has repeatedly refused to comment on the Watergate case and related matters. Reliable federal law enforcement sources have praised the thoroughness of investigation at Silbert's level, while emphasizing that the U.S. attorney's office focused almost exclusively on the Watergate bugging and a related attempt to eavesdrop on the campaign headquarters of Sen. George McGovern. One highly placed source observed that the grand jury's investigation had to be narrow. Had the inquiry gone into more than the Watergate incident, it "never would have finished, believe me.")

Inside the grand jury room, "the questions went along on a very easy scale," Young said he was told by Segretti. The inquiries were made by a prosecuto whose name Segretti did not mention, Young said, adding: "It was just innocent stuff and nothing about . . . whom he was working for."

A woman on the grand jury, however, began asking leading questions on her own accord, said Young, "including who paid Don" and questions about whom he worked with "on the White House staff."

"Then he (Segretti) said the names came out," Young recalled, "especially Dwight Chapin's . . . and the name of the lawyer who paid him." Young said Segretti had not told him the other names—except Hunt's—that were mentioned in the grand jury proceedings.

According to Young, Segretti told him that "I'm just a small fish; there are many others" in the sabotage campaign that federal investigators say was conducted on behalf of President Nixon's re-election and directed by White House aides and officials at the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

Young emphasized that Segretti repeatedly maintained that he was re-

cruited for the work by the Nixon forces and he did no volunteer.

Segretti could not be reached for direct comment, and is reported by associates to be in hiding.

The money that Segretti received for his undercover activities, it was reported last week, came from a fluctuating, secret cash fund of \$350,000 to \$700,000, which was kept in the office safe of former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, finance chairman of the Nixon campaign.

The fund was allegedly controlled in 1971 by John N. Mitchell while he was still Attorney General of the United States. By the time Mitchell had left the Justice Department to become President Nixon's campaign manager last April 1, several White House and campaign aides to the President were also authorized to make disbursements from the fund, according to sources close to the Watergate investigation.

Federal investigators said that Segretti, and many other operatives involved in sabotage activities by the Nixon forces, were paid from the fund indirectly, through middlemen.

The purposes of the undercover effort, according to federal investigators and persons whom Segretti attempted to recruit as *agents provocateurs*, were to discredit individual Democratic presidential candidates; create confusion in their campaigns, and disrupt the Democratic primaries to the extent that the Democratic Party could not reunite after choosing its presidential nominee.

The covert activities, according to information in FBI and Justice Department files, represented a basic strategy of the Nixon re-election effort and included:

Following members of Democratic candidates' families and assembling dossiers on personal details of their lives; forging letters and distributing them under the candidates' letterheads; investigating potential donors to the Nixon campaign before their contributions were solicited; leading false and manufactured items to the press about the candidates; throwing their campaign schedules into disarray; investigating the lives of dozens of Democratic campaign workers, and planting provocateurs in the ranks of organizations expected to demonstrate at the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

Segretti, according to Young, told him that his sabotage and spying activities were conducted across the country, particularly in the states with important Democratic primaries, and included the following examples:

In the Midwest, said Young, Segretti went to work at local Republican headquarters, training Nixon workers to infiltrate Democratic campaign organizations. Inside the camp of a Democratic candidate, according to Young's account, the Nixon workers were to urge the Democrats' followers to conduct sabotage against their Democratic presidential opponents. Among the tactics recommended was planting stink bombs in the opponents' headquarters to keep volunteers and information seekers away. If anyone was caught in the act, the plan insured that blame would be placed on followers of

a Democratic candidate—not the Nixon forces.

• In Florida, said Young, Segretti organized Democratic clubs to work against Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, who federal investigators have said, was the victim of extensive sabotage by the Nixon forces.

• Frequently, said Young, Segretti distributed fabricated campaign literature under the letterhead of individual Democratic candidates. These were intended to embarrass both the purported sender's campaign and—through scurrilous or false attacks on other Democratic presidential candidates—weaken his opponents as well.

According to Young, Segretti said that Nixon campaign leaders in some states complained to Segretti about his activities, but were told "to call Washington to check him out. After an interval of time, word came back that he was ok."

Three attorneys who served in the Army with Segretti have told The Washington Post that Segretti asked them to disrupt the campaign schedules of Democratic candidates, plant spies inside the various Democratic presidential camps and "be imaginative" in devising their own schemes to confuse and divide the Democrats.

The three lawyers, including an assistant attorney general of the state of Tennessee, all refused Segretti's recruitment offers, in which he purport-

edly promised them "big jobs" in Washington after President Nixon's re-election.

At the University of Southern California, where young Segretti and Chapin all graduated in 1963, Segretti and Chapin lived in fraternity houses that were next door to each other, and both were involved in an organization called Trojans for Representative Government, Young said.

The group, organized to reform USC campus politics, included other members who later went on to the White House staff, according to Young and others. They reportedly included Ronald Ziegler (Class of '61), President Nixon's press secretary; Tim Elbourne ('62), a presidential assistant; Mike Guhin ('61), a member of Dr. Henry Kissinger's staff; and Herbert L. Porter ('60), a White House advance man now working at the Committee for the Re-election of the President. Porter, according to sources close to the Watergate investigation, was among the persons who directly received large amounts of money from the secret fund that financed the Nixon forces' undercover activities.

Chapin has been associated with the President since 1964, when he worked for Mr. Nixon at the Republican convention against Sen. Barry Goldwater, the GOP's nominee for president that year. In 1966, when Mr. Nixon campaigned across the country on behalf

of GOP congressional candidates, Chapin was often seen at his side.

Chapin did advance work for those trips and, upon Mr. Nixon's election as President in 1968, was named appointments secretary at the White House, with the title "deputy assistant to the President."

Chapin is known as Mr. Nixon's premier advance man, the person in charge of making sure that schedules are perfectly timed and executed.

Chapin was one of four White House staff members—with Ziegler, presidential domestic counsel John Ehrlichman and assistant to the president H. R. Haldeman—to leave the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency to work in the White House.

Chapin issued the following statement Friday night through the White House press office:

"As The Washington Post reporter has described it, the story is based entirely on hearsay and is fundamentally inaccurate.

"For example, I do not know, have never met, seen or talked to E. Howard Hunt. I have known Donald Segretti since college days, but I did not meet with him in Florida as the story suggests, and I certainly have never discussed with him any phase of the grand jury proceedings in the Watergate case."

"Beyond that, I don't propose to have any further comment."