

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

telltale \$100 bills that the burglars were carrying at the break-in. Walters said he delivered the White House message to Gray—who promised to honor the CIA's territorial priorities—and returned to CIA headquarters, where he discovered that the CIA had no covert activities going in Mexico that might be upset by the FBI investigation.

Walters protested as much when he was called to John Dean's White House office three days later, according to the general's Senate testimony, and Dean responded with two not terribly delicate prods. "Dean asked whether the CIA

might have taken part in the Watergate episode without my knowing it," Walters told the senators. The general said he replied that this "was not possible," but Dean, persisting, "asked whether there was not some way in which the agency might have been involved." If these were attempts to remind Walters of the CIA's earlier involvement in the Ellsberg raids, however, they fell on stony ground, because Walters had not joined the agency at the time and apparently had been told nothing about them. Dean finally asked "whether I had any idea what might be done," Walters said, "and

I replied that those responsible ought to be fired. He seemed disappointed."

Dean tried again the next day, Walters testified, this time making a more direct proposal. "He asked if the CIA could not furnish bail and pay the suspects' salaries while they were in jail, using covert-action funds for this purpose," Walters said. The general refused "to be a party to any such action," he said, and threatened instead to resign and to take his reasons to the President or, failing that, to the CIA "oversight committees" in Congress—which would be interested in knowing that the White

## A SECRET AGENT NAMED 'TONY'

His code name was "Tony." A retired New York City cop with twenty years' experience in security and intelligence operations, he found a second career as a political undercover agent for the White House—strictly off the record. Beginning in 1969, government investigators told NEWSWEEK last week, Tony was part of a super-secret police operation: tracking a string of prominent politicians and their relatives, following up tips about their drinking problems, finances and sexual improprieties.

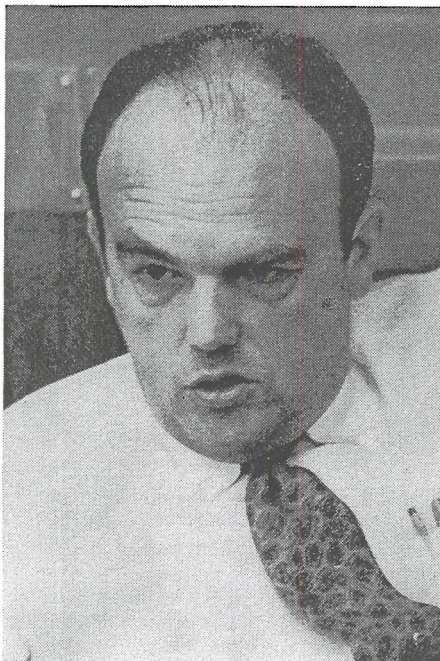
According to NEWSWEEK's sources, Tony—whose real name is Anthony T. Ulasewicz—was hired by Presidential Assistant John Ehrlichman and paid by President Nixon's personal attorney, Herbert Kalmbach, on orders from White House chief of staff H.R. (Bob) Haldeman. What's more, the sources suggested that Tony's operations—of a piece with the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office and the Watergate break-in—were only parts of a larger pattern of secret police activity under President Nixon. "Some of it was conducted under the guise of national security by established agencies," one investigator told NEWSWEEK's Nicholas Horrock. "Other phases were handled strictly free-lance. There is an absolute pattern of this activity throughout the Administration."

**Mystery Voice:** Tony's link to the White House was none other than John J. Caulfield, another former New York cop, who was named by convicted Watergate burglar James McCord last week as the man who tried to buy McCord's silence with an offer of "executive clemency." Indeed, Senate sources identified Ulasewicz as the "mystery" voice who called McCord several times to repeat the offer. In March of 1969, Ehrlichman brought Caulfield into his office to serve as liaison with various law-enforcement agencies and handle "certain discreet investigations" for him, investigators said.

Soon after, Ehrlichman reportedly ordered Caulfield to find a veteran investigator to help with the field work and Caulfield chose Ulasewicz—a buddy from the NYPD's elite Bureau of Special Services (once known as BOSSy), which pro-

ducts foreign embassies and VIP's and carries out intelligence and undercover operations throughout the city. Ulasewicz, 54, a trolley-car operator before becoming a cop in 1943, had also worked a beat in Harlem and collected nine commendations.

Ehrlichman, Caulfield and Ulasewicz first met in May or June of 1969 at the



Ehrlichman: 'Discreet investigations'

American Airlines terminal of New York's La Guardia Airport, the sources said, and Ehrlichman hired Tony on the spot—on a code-name-only basis. His first assignment was reportedly a thorough investigation of Sen. Edward Kennedy's involvement in Mary Jo Kopechne's death on Chappaquiddick in 1969, with the report to be forwarded to the White House. Over the next two years, he reportedly conducted more than half a dozen field probes into all sorts of allegations, among them:

■ An incident in Washington's Georgetown section that might have proved em-

barrassing to House Speaker Carl Albert.

■ Possible financial links between Maine Sen. Edmund Muskie and corporations with significant pollution problems.

■ Hubert Humphrey's campaign funds.

■ Rumors that a brother of one Democratic hopeful might have been involved in a homosexual incident.

■ The alleged harassment of Julie Nixon Eisenhower by a Florida schoolteacher.

In every case, said the sources, Tony's assignments came down from Ehrlichman. And in the summer of 1971, the veteran agent was ordered to begin coordinating his activities with the White House "plumbers" team then trying to plug security leaks. More political assignments followed. Ironically, one involved the suspicious activities of a man who turned out to be Donald Segretti, assigned to carry out political espionage and sabotage in Mr. Nixon's behalf, and also paid by Kalmbach.

NEWSWEEK has also learned that at least two other Nixon dirty-tricksters were imitating Segretti's tactics around that time. Government sources report that former White House aide Herbert L. (Bart) Porter has told investigators that he and Jeb S. Magruder, deputy director of the Nixon campaign, recruited operators who were code-named "Sedan Chair I" and "Sedan Chair II" and paid them thousands of dollars to disrupt Democratic primary campaigns.

But Tony's assignments were more sinister—and he was paid for them, NEWSWEEK's Stephan Leshner learned, through two bank accounts started by Kalmbach with approximately \$1 million ostensibly left over from Mr. Nixon's 1968 Presidential campaign. The agent's salary and expenses continued until the fall of 1971, the sources said, and "another \$30,000" was given him in March 1972 by Caulfield (who had just received some \$50,000 in cash from Kalmbach). Ulasewicz and Ehrlichman were not immediately available for comment. Haldeman denied the story ("I had absolutely nothing to do with this guy"), but Kalmbach has testified that Haldeman told him to funnel money to Ulasewicz. Kalmbach insisted, however, that he did not know Tony's real mission. "Mr. Kalmbach," said his lawyer, "had no idea of the purpose at this early stage."