

Lists of White House 'Enemies' and

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 27—Following is the original list of 20 names of White House "enemies" submitted with comments to John W. Dean 3d, then counsel to the President, by the office of Charles W. Colson, then special White House counselor, and released today by the Senate Water-gate committee.

In addition there is another list submitted by Mr. Dean that he said was prepared by Mr. Colson's office that is apparently the master list of "political opponents" of the White House. No date is on that list.

Following this are two memorandums from Mr. Colson to Mr. Dean relating to such lists and a memorandum from Mr. Dean to John D. Ehrlichman, then White House adviser, and H. R. Haldeman, then White House chief of staff, that were all submitted to the committee today by Mr. Dean.

Following these is a memo from Mr. Dean to Larry Higby, former assistant to Mr. Haldeman, giving a list of names Mr. Dean prepared.

Last of 'Enemies'

Having studied the attached material and evaluated the recommendations for the discussed action, I believe you will find my list worthwhile for go status. It is in priority order.

1. Picker, Arnold M., United Artists Corporation, 929 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.: Top Muskie fund raiser. Success here could be both debilitating and very embarrassing to the Muskie machine. If effort looks promising, both Ruth and David Picker should be programmed and then a follow-through with United Artists.

2. Barkan, Alexander E., national director of A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s Committee on Political Education, Washington, D. C.: Without a doubt the most powerful political force programmed against us in 1968 (\$10-million, 4.6 million votes, 115 million pamphlets, 176,000 workers—all programmed by Barkan's C.O.P.E.—so says Teddy hWhite in The Making of the President '68). We can expect the same effort this time.

3. Guthman, Ed, managing editor, L.A. Times [actually Mr. Guthman is national editor]: Guthman, former Kennedy aide, was a highly against us in '68. It is obvious he is the prime mover behind the current Key Biscayne effort. It is time to give him the message.

4. Dane, Maxwell, Doyle, Dane and Bernbach, New York: The top Democratic advertising firm — they destroyed Goldwater in '64. They should be hit hard starting with Dane.

5. Charles Dyson, Dyson-Kissner Corporation, New York: Dyson has huge business holding and is presently deeply involved in the Businessmen's Educational which bankrolls a national radion network of 5 minute programs — anti-Nixon in character.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EYES ONLY

EYES ONLY June 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DEAN

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

I have received a well informed tip that there are income tax discrepancies involving the returns of Harold J. Gibbons, a Vice President of the Teamsters Union in St. Louis. This has come to me on very, very good authority.

Gibbons, you should know, is an all out enemy, a McGovernite, ardently anti-Nixon. He is one of the 3 labor leaders who were recently invited to Hanol.

Please see if this one can be started on at once and if there is an informer's fee, let me know. There is a good cause at which it can be donated.

An "eyes only" memo from Charles W. Colson, former special counsel to the President, to John W. Dean 3d. "Eyes only" indicates it is of highest confidentiality.

TIMES, THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1972

Memorandums Relating to

Those Named

6. Stein, Howard, Dreyfus Corporation, New York: heaviest contributor to McCarthy in '68. If McCarthy goes, will do the same in '72. If not, Lindsay or McGovern will receive the funds.

7. Lowenstein, Allard, Long Island, New York: Guiding force behind the 18 year old "Dump Nixon" 'vote drive.

8. Halperin, Morton, leading executive at Common

Cause: a scandal would be most helpful here.

9. Woodcock, Leonard, UAW, Detroit, Michigan: No comments necessary.

10. S. Sterling Munro Jr., Senator [Henry M.] Jackson's aide, 711 Lambert Drive, Silver Spring, Md.: We should give him a try. Positive results would stick a pin in Jackson's white hat.

11. Feld, Bernard T., President, Council for a Livable World: Heavy far left funding. They will program an "all court press" against us in '72.

12. Davidoff, Sidney, New York City, Lindsay's top personal aide: a first class S.O.B., wheeler-dealer and suggested bagman. Positive results would really shake the Lindsay camp and Lindsay's plans to capture youth vote. Davidoff in charge.

13. Conyers, John, Congressman, Detroit: Coming on fast. Emerging as a leading black anti-Nixon spokesman. Has known weakness for white females.

14. Lambert, Samuel M., President, National Education Association: Has taken us on vis a vis Federal aid to parochial schools—a '72 issue.

15. Mott, Stewart Rawlings, Mott Associates, New York: Nothing but big money for radic-lib candidates.

16. Dellums, Ronald, Congressman, California: Had extensive [Edward M. Kennedy] EMK-Tunney support in his election bid. Success might help in California next year.

17. Schorr, Daniel, Columbia Broadcasting System, Washington: A real media enemy.

18. S. Harrison Dogole, 2011 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.: President of Globe Security Systems — fourth largest private detective agency in U. S. Heavy Humphrey contributor. Could program his agency against us.

19. Paul Newman, California: Radic-lib causes. Heavy McCarthy involvement '68. Used effectively in nationwide T.V. commercials. '72 involvement certain.

20. McCrory, Mary, 2710 Macomb Street, Washington columnist: Daily hate Nixon articles.

Senators—Birch Bayh, J. W. Fulbright, Fred R. Harris, Harold Hughes, Edward M. Kennedy, George McGovern, Walter Mondale, Edmund

Matthew Guinan, Pres.,
Transport Workers Union of
America, New York City

Paul Jennings, Pres. Inter-
national Union of Electrical,
Radio & Machine Workers,
D. C.

Herman D. Kenin, Vice
Pres., AFL-CIO, D. C.

Lane Kirkland, Secretary-
Treasurer, AFL-CIO (but we
must deal with him)

Frederick O'Neal, Pres.,
Actors and Artists of Amer-
ica, New York City

William Pollock, Pres.,
Textile Workers Union of
America, New York City

Jacob Potofsky, General
Pres., Amalgamated Clothing
Workers of America, New
York City

Leonard Woodcock, Presi-
dent, United Auto Workers,
Detroit

Jerry Wurf, International
President, American Federal,
State, County and Municipal
Employees, Washington, D. C.

Nathaniel Goldfinger, AFL-
CIO

I. W. Abel, Steelworkers

Media

Jack Anderson, columnist,
"Washington Merry-Go-
Round"

Jim Bishop, author, col-
umnist, King Features Syn-
dicate

Thomas Braden, columnist,
Los Angeles Times Syndicate

D.J.R. Bruckner, Los Angeles
Times Syndicate

Marquis Childs, chief Wash-
ington correspondent, St.
Louis Post Dispatch

James Deakin, White House
correspondent, St. Louis Post
Dispatch

James Doyle, Washington
Star

Richard Dudman, St. Louis
Post Dispatch

William Eaton, Chicago Daily
News

Rowland Evans, Jr., syndi-
cated columnist, Publishers
Hall

Saul Friedmann, Knight News-
papers, syndicated columnist

Clayton Fritchey, syndi-
cated columnist, Washing-
ton correspondent, Harpers
Globe

George Frazier, Boston
Globe

Pete Hamill, New York Post

Michael Harrington, author
and journalist; Member,
Executive Comm. Socialist
party

Stanley Harris, columnist,
drama critic and writer of
'Strictly Personal,' syndicated
columnist Publishers Hall

Robert Healy, Boston Globe

William Hines, Jr., journal-
ist; science and education,
Chicago (Sun.) Times

Stanley Karnow, foreign
correspondent, Washington
Post

Ted Knap, syndicated col-
umnist, New York Daily
News

Edwin Knoll, Progressive
Morton Kondracke, Chicago
Sun Times

Joseph Kraft, syndicated
columnist, Publishers Hall

James Laird, Philadelphia
Inquirer

Max Lerner, syndicated
columnist, New York Post;
author, lecturer, professor.

Stanley Levey, Scripps
Howard

Flora Lewis, syndicated
columnist on economics

Stuart Loory, Los Angeles
Times

Mary McGrory, syndicated
columnist on New Left

Frank Mankiewicz, syndi-
cated columnist, Los Angeles
Times

James Millstone, St. Louis
Post Dispatch

Martin Nolan, Boston Globe

Ed Guthman, L. A. Times

Thomas O'Neill, Baltimore
Sun

John Pierson, Wall Street
Journal

William Prochnau, Seattle
Times

James Reston, New York
Times

Carl Rowan, syndicated
columnist, Publishers Hall

Warren Unna, Washington
Post NET

Harriet Van Horne, colum-
nist, New York Post

Milton Viorst, reporter, au-
thor, writer

James Wechsler, New York
Post

Tom Wicker, New York
Times

Gary Wills, syndicated col-
umnist, author of "Nixon-
Agonistes."

The New York Times

Washington Post

St. Louis Post Dispatch

Jules Duscha, Washing-
tonian

Robert Manning, Editor At-
lantic

John Osborne, New Repub-
lic

Richard Rovere, New York-
er

Robert Sherrill, Nation

Paul Sarnuelson, News-
Julian Goodman, Chief Ex-
ecutive Officer, NBC

John Macy, Jr., Pres., Pub-
lic Broadcasting Corporation;
former Civil Service Comm.

Marvin Kalb, CBS

Daniel Schorr, CBS

Lem Tucker, NBC

Sander Vanocur, NBC
Celebrities

Carol Channing, actress.

Bill Cosby, actor.

Jane Fonda, actress.

Steve McQueen, actor.

Joe Namath, New York
Giants; businessman; actor.

Paul Newman, actor.

Gregory Peck, actor.

Tony Randall, actor.

Barbra Streisand, actress.

Dick Gregory [comedian].

Business Additions

Business Executives Move
for Vietnam Peace and New
National Priorities Cont:

Morton Sweig, President,
National Cleaning Contrac-
tors

Alan V. Tishman, Exec.
VP, Tishman Realty & Con-
struction Co., Inc.

Ira D. Wallach, President,
Gottesman & Co., Inc.

George Weissman, Presi-
dent, Philip Morris Corp.

Ralph Weller, President,
Otis Elevator Company

Business

Clifford Alexander, Jr.,
Member, Equal Opportunity
Comm., LBJ's Spec. Assistant.

Hugh Calkins, Cleveland
lawyer, member, Harvard
Corporation.

Ramsey Clark, partner,
Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind,
Wharton & Garrison; former
Attorney General.

Lloyd Cutler, lawyer, Wil-
mer, Cutler & Pickering,
Washington, D.C.

Henry L. Kimelman, chief
fund raiser for McGovern;
Pres., Overview Group.

Raymond Lapin, former
Pres., FNMA; corporation ex-
ecutive.

Hans F. Loeser, Chairman,
Boston Lawyers' Vietnam
Committee.

Robert McNamara, Presi-
dent, World Bank; former Se-
cretary of Defense.

Hans Morgenthau, former
U.S. Attorney in New York
City [Robert Morgenthau].

Victor Palmieri, lawyer,
business consultant, real es-
tate exec., Los Angeles.

Arnold Picker, Muskie's
chief fund raiser; Chmn. Ex-
ec. Comm., United Artists.

Robert S. Pirie, Harold
Hughes' chief fund raiser;
Boston lawyer.

Joseph Rosenfield, Harold
Hughes' money man; retired
Des Moines lawyer.

Henry Rowan, Pres., Rand
Corp., former Asst. Director
of Budget (N.J.)

Muskie, Gaylord Nelson, Wil-
liam Proxmire.

Members of the House—
Bella Abzug, William R. An-
derson, John Brademas,
Father Robert F. Drinan,
Robert Kastenmeier, Wright
Patman.

Black Congressmen—Shir-
ley Chisholm, William Clay,
George Collins, John Con-
yers, Ronald Dellums, Charles
Diggs, Augustus Hawkins,
Ralph Metcalfe, Robert N. C.
Nix, Parren Mitchell, Charles
Rangel, Louis Stokes.

Miscellaneous politicians—
John V. Lindsay, Mayor, New
York City; Eugene McCarthy,
former U. S. Senator; George
Wallace, Governor, Alabama.

ORGANIZATIONS

Black Panthers, Hughie
Newton

Brookings, Institution, Les-
ley Gelb and others

Business Executives Move
for VN Peace Henry Niles,
Nat. Chmn, Vincent McGee
Exec. Director

Committee for an Effective
Congress, Russell D. Hemen-
way

Common Cause, John Gard-
ner, Morton Halperin, Charles
Goodell, Walter Hickel

COPE Alexander E. Barkan
Council for a Livable
World, Bernard T. Feld,
President; Prof. Physics,
MIT

Farmers Union, NFO
Institute of Policy Study,
Richard Barnett, Marcus Ras-
kin

National Economic Council,
Inc.

National Education Asso-
ciation, Sam M. Lambert,
President

National Student Associa-
tion, Charles Palmer, Presi-
dent

National Welfare Rights
Organization, George Wiley
Potomac Associates, Wil-
liam Watts

SANE, Sanford Gottlieb
Southern Christian Leader-
ship, Ralph Abernathy

Third National Convoca-
tion on the Challenge of
Building Peace, Robert V.
Roosa, Chairman

Businessmen's Educational
Fund.

LABOR

Karl Feller, Pres. Internat.
Union of United Brewery,
Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and
Distillery Workers, Cincin-
nati

Harold J. Gibbons, Internat-
ional Vice Pres., Teamsters

A. F. Grospiron, Pres., Oil,
Chemical & Atomic Workers
International Union, Denver

R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., former U.S. Ambassador to France; lawyer, Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kempelman, Washington, D.C. Theodore Sorensen, lawyer, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, New York.

Ray Stark, Broadway producer.

Howard Stein, President and Director, Dreyfus Corporation.

Milton Somer, Chairman, Muskie Election Committee; lawyer, Somer and Jacobsen George H. Talbot, Pres., Charlotte Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. headed anti-VN ad.

Arthur Taylor, Vice President, International Paper Company.

Jack Valenti, President, Motion Picture Association.

Paul Warnke, Muskie financial supporter, former Asst. Secy. of Defense.

Thomas J. Watson, Jr., Muskie financial supporter; Chmn., IBM.

Academies

Michael Ellis De Bakey, Chmn., Dept. Surgery, Baylor University; Surgeon-in-chief, Ben Taub General Hospital, Texas.

Derek Curtis Bok, Dean, Harvard Law School.

Kingman Brewster, Jr., President Yale University.

McGeorge Bundy, President, Ford Foundation.

Avram Noam Chomsky, Professor of Modern Languages, MIT.

Daniel Ellsberg, Professor, MIT.

George Drennen Fischer, Member, Executive Committee, National Education Assn.

J. Kenneth Galbraith, Professor of Economics, Harvard.

Patricia Harris, educator, lawyer, former U.S. Ambassador; Chmn Welfare Committee Urban League.

Walter Heller, Regents Professor of Economics.

Edwin Land, Professor of Physics, MIT.

Herbert Ley, Jr., former FDA Commissioner; Professor of Epidemiology, Harvard.

Matthew Stanley Meselson, Professor of Biology, Harvard.

Lloyd N. Morrisett, Professor and Associate Dir., Education Program, U. of Calif.

Joseph Rhodes, Jr., Fellow, Harvard; Member, Scranton Comm. on Campus Unrest.

Bayard Rustin, civil rights activists; Dir., A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York.

David Selden, President, American Federation of Teachers.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Professor of Humanities, City University of New York.

Jeremy Stone, Director, Federation of American Scientists.

Jerome Wiesner, President, MIT.

Samuel M. Lambert, Pres. National Education Assn.

FIRST COLSON MEMO

June 12, 1972

I have received a well-informed tip that there are income tax discrepancies involving the returns of Harold J. Gibbons, a vice president of the teamsters union in St. Louis. This has come to me on very, very good authority.

Gibbons, you should know, is an all out enemy, a McGovernite, ardently anti-Nixon. He is one of the three labor leaders who were recently invited to Hanoi.

Please see if this one can be started on at once and if there is an informer's fee, let me know. There is a good cause at which it can be donated.

SECOND COLSON MEMO

(Nov. 17, 1972)

I have received from an informer some interesting information on Jack Anderson, including a report that Jack Anderson was found in a room with wiretap equipment and a private investigator in connection with the Dodd investigation. Anderson, according to my source, had the wiretap equipment supplied to him by a Washington, D. C., man.

According to the same source, Anderson and Drew Pearson were paid \$100,000 in 1958 by Batista to write favorable articles about the former Cuban dictator. In 1961 Anderson wrote several very favorable articles on Fidel Castro. Fredo de la Campo, Batista's Under Secretary of State, sent Anderson a telegram saying "I hope you were paid well, as well for the Castro articles as you were for the Batista articles." My source has a copy of the telegram.

You know my personal feelings about Jack Anderson. After his incredibly sloppy and malicious reporting on Eagleton, his credibility has diminished. It now appears as if we have the opportunity to destroy it. Do you agree that we should pursue this activity?

DEAN MEMO

This memorandum addresses the matter of how we can maximize the fact of our incumbency in dealing with persons known to be active in their opposition to our Administration. Stated a bit more bluntly—how we can use the available Federal machinery to screw our political enemies.

After reviewing this matter with a number of persons possessed of expertise in the field, I have concluded that we do not need an elaborate mechanism or game plan, rather we need a good project coordinator and full support for the project. In brief, the system would work as follows:

—Key members of the staff (e.g., Colson, Dent, Flanigan, Buchanan) could be requested to inform us as to who they feel we should be giving a hard time.

—The project coordinator should then determine what sorts of dealings these individuals have with the Federal Government and how we can best screw them (e.g., grant availability, Federal contracts, litigation prosecution, etc.).

—The project coordinator then should have access to and the full support of the top officials of the agency or departments in proceeding to deal with the individual.

I have learned that there have been many efforts in the past to take such actions, but they have ultimately failed—in most cases —because of lack of support at the top. Of all those I have discussed this matter with, Lyn Nofziger [President CLIERNIA CAMPAIGN MANAGER] APPEARS THE MOST

knowledgeable and most interested. If Lyn had support he would enjoy undertaking this activity as the project coordinator. You are aware of some of Lyn's successes in the field, but he feels that he can employ limited efforts because there is a lack of support.

As a next step, I would recommend that we develop a small list of names—not more than ten—as our targets for concentration. Re-

quest that Lyn "do a job" on them and if he finds he is getting cut off by a department agency, that he inform us and we evaluate what is necessary to proceed. I feel it is important that we keep our targets limited for several reasons: (1) a low visibility of the project is imperative; (2) it will be easier to accomplish something real if we don't over expand our efforts; and (3) we can learn more about how to operate such an activity if we start small and build.

Approve—

Disapprove—

DEAN LIST OF NAMES

SEPT. 14, 1971

Attached is the list of names you requested, as well as additional materials containing other names.

The list I have prepared is merely suggestive; it is based on conversations I have had with others regarding persons who have both the desire and a capability of harming us.

The list is limited to less than twenty persons, as it would be most difficult to proceed with more at this time. I would hope that we would continue to fee additional names into the process every few months, but we must keep this project within reasonable bounds.

I will await the review of these names—as I feel certain there will probably be additions and deletions from the list—before I take any action. Please keep the list at twenty or less.

Eugene Carson Blake (per request) [General Secretary World Council of Churches]

Leonard Bernstein (per request) [Conductor/Composer]

Arnold Picker (United Artists Corp. Top Muskie fund raiser)

Ed Guthman (managing editor L.A. Times)

Maxwell Dane, (Doyle Dane & Bernbach)

Charles Dyson (associate of Larry O'Brien bankrolls anti-RN radio programs)

Howard Stein (Dreyfus Corp.—big Demo contributor)

Allard Lowenstein (pushing the dump RN [Richard Nixon] move with young people)

Morton Halperin (top executive Leonard Woodcock (UAW)

Dan Schorr (CBS)

Mary McGrory

Lloyd Cutler (principal force behind Common Cause law suit against RNC, DNC, et al)

Thomas Watson (Muskie backer - IBM)

Tom Wicker (N.Y. Times)

Clark Gifford (former Secretary of Defense)

Bill to Make Election Day A Holiday Voted by Senate

WASHINGTON, June 27 (Reuters) — The Senate approved a bill making the biennial Federal Election Day a national holiday, effective in 1976.

It would also limit the time for Congressional primaries.

The bill leaves the national Election Day as the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

Under the bill, primaries for Senator or Representative must be held between the first Tuesday in June and the first Tuesday in August. It does not affect Presidential primaries or nominating conventions.

The aim of the bill is to shorten political campaigns, which supporters of reform legislation have said are too long and cost too much.