

White House Maintained List Of Political Enemies in '71-'72

By Bob Woodward
and Carl Bernstein

Washington Post Staff Writers

The White House maintained a list of its political enemies in 1971 and 1972 and devised a formal plan to take action against them through use of "the available federal machinery," according to a memorandum that former presidential counsel John W. Dean III prepared for President Nixon's principal deputies.

The memorandum, dated Aug. 16, 1971, and submitted to the Senate's Watergate investigating committee yesterday by Dean, is entitled "Dealing with our Political Enemies" and states:

"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."

The project, as described in the memorandum, entailed receiving information from members of the White House staff "as to who they feel we should be giving a hard time," and then determining "how we can best screw them (e.g., grant availability, federal contracts, litigation, prosecution, etc.)."

Dean told the Senate Watergate Committee yesterday that the memo was sent to President Nixon's principal deputies, former White House chief of staff H. R. (Bob) Haldeman and former domestic affairs adviser John D. Ehrlichman, for their approval, and that he did not know the disposition of the project.

However, Dean submitted other documents to the committee—dated after the Aug. 16, 1971, memo—that indicate the self-described "Enemies Project," became operational.

One phase of the project, the documents indicate, was the use of federal income tax audits against persons whose names appear in lists of "political enemies" prepared by

members of the President's staff.

On Monday, Dean testified that the President himself had told him last year to maintain one such list—of persons in the press "giving us trouble" on the Watergate issue—and said that he and Mr. Nixon had discussed "the use of the Internal Revenue Service to attack our enemies."

Thirteen separate exhibits, which Dean turned over to the Senate committee yesterday, actually seem to outline two separate White House projects: a formal "enemies project" involving secret reprisals against a small list of perhaps only 20 persons; and a second listing of hundreds if not thousands of political opponents who would

be automatically excluded from receiving government jobs, appointments and invitations to the White House.

Included in the lists submitted by Dean are names of Democratic political leaders, fund-raisers, members of the media, businessmen, antiwar leaders, movie and TV celebrities, labor leaders and several persons targeted because they were mentioned as opponents of the Nixon administration in daily news summaries which go to the President.

Dean's testimony and several lists introduced as exhibits left it unclear in many cases whether the persons named were targeted for reprisals or just exclu-

See ENEMIES, A10, Col. 1

ENEMIES, From A1

sion from White House favors.

Patrick J. Buchanan, a top White House aide, said yesterday that he was regularly routed a list of political opponents who would be denied White House favors and his current files included listings of 1,000 to 1,500 people. Reading from his files, he said the lists included Democratic campaign contributors and names taken from antiwar newspaper ads.

"The idea that this is some hit list is ridiculous," Buchanan said. "I would differentiate between that list and what Dean is talking about."

Some of the documents show that the White House attempted to initiate Internal Revenue Service audits against its political enemies and that the following presidential aides were involved in the attempt: Dean, Haldeman, Lawrence Higby (an aide to Haldeman), John J. Caulfield (a former White House intelligence operative), and former presidential special counsel Charles W. Colson.

In a memorandum to Dean labeled "Eyes Only" and dated June 12, 1972, Colson wrote:

"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 . . . Gibbons, you should know, is an all-out enemy, a McGovernite, ardently anti-Nixon . . .

"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."

(Roger Barth, general counsel of IRS, said yesterday that informers who supply the IRS with information can receive up to 10 per cent of the recovered tax and fines as a reward. "However," Barth said, "I don't know of any audits instigated by the White House.")

Colson last night acknowledged requesting a tax audit on Gibbons. "You're damn right," Colson said in his breezy style, "I'm going to call for an audit . . . when I receive information from a responsible source that someone has filed a fraudulent tax return."

Despite the reference to Gibbons' political associations, Colson said: "It was not politically motivated." He said he could recall no other case in which he had suggested an audit.

Gibbons said yesterday that he was audited last year. "They gave me a real going over . . . it lasted for eight months and (they) interviewed my secretary and everybody else." As a result of the audit, he said that he had to pay additional tax on some items involving expenses while traveling.

"I think it was totally politically inspired because

I'm anti-Nixon and pro-McGovern . . . It reflects total lack of morality in this administration." Gibbons added however, that he has been regularly audited over the last 15 or 20 years.

In another memo, which Dean testified that he prepared for a Haldeman meeting with the head of the IRS, Johnnie Walters, Dean discusses how to make the IRS "politically responsive."

The one-page, undated memo continues:

"The problem: Lack of guts and effort. The Republican appointees appear afraid and unwilling to do anything with IRS that could be politically helpful. For example: We have been unable to crack down on the multitude of tax exempt foundations that feed left wing political causes.

"We have been unable to obtain information on the possession of IRS regarding our political enemies. We have been unable to stimulate audits of persons who should be audited.

"Walters should be told that discreet political action and investigations are a firm requirement and responsibility on his part."

Included in the lists submitted by Dean—many of which he said were prepared by the office of former presidential special counsel Colson—was a roster of about 200 names, apparently part of the "Opponents" project, under the following headings:

"Politics" (including "senators . . . members of the House . . . 12 black congressmen"); "Media" (listing 56 individual reporters, columnists and editors, plus separate entries for The New York Times, The Washington Post and The St. Louis Post Dispatch); "Organizations" (including the Black Panthers, the Brookings Institution and the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education); "Labor" (listing a dozen union leaders); "Celebrities" (among them Carol Channing, Gregory Peck, Dick Gregory and Barbra Streisand) "Academics" (two full pages of them, from Pentagon Papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg to McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation and former national security adviser to President Kennedy) "Business" (24 names, including Jack Valenti, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara); and a separate listing of members of the Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace and New National Priorities.

Colson acknowledged last night that the list of 200 persons was drafted by a member of his staff, George Bell, who dies about two months ago. However, Colson denied that the smaller list of 20 people that which makes specific criticisms of them was drafted by his office.

According to one of the memos, the following per-

sons were apparently on the high-priority "enemy" list of about 20 persons targeted for action or investigation by federal agencies:

- Arnold M. Picker of United Artists Corp. in New York. He was described as "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."

- Edward Guthman, national editor of The Los Angeles Times, described as a "former Kennedy aide . . . highly sophisticated hatchetman against us in 1968 . . . It is time to give him the message." (Guthman was wrongly identified on the list as managing editor of The Times.)

- Morton Halperin, a former aide to Dr. Henry A. Kissinger and one of the 17 people whose telephones were tapped by the FBI on orders from the White House. The memo says, "A scandal would be most helpful here."

- Sidney Davidoff, a top personal aide to New York Mayor John V. Lindsay. Davidoff is "a first class S.O.B., wheeler-dealer and suspected bagman. Positive results would really shake the Lindsay camp and Lindsay's plans to capture youth vote."

- Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), a black from Detroit, who "has known weakness for white females," the memo says.

- Daniel Schorr of CBS who is described as "a real media enemy." Dean has testified that the White House ordered an FBI investigation of Schorr in hopes of turning up damaging information on him.

- Mary McGrory, columnist for The Washington Star-News, who is described as writing "daily hate Nixon articles."

Three of the memos, all dated in late 1971, are from Haldeman's top political aide, Gordon Strachan who provided a list of "fat cats" attending a weekend in Maine with Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me.) who then was the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination. Strachan told Dean that the list might be useful in "political enemies project."

Another Strachan memo forwards some information on former TV commentator Chet Huntley and asks if he should not be put on the enemy list. It could not be learned whether he was ever placed on the list.

The basic Dean memo outlining the program of dealing with political enemies says: "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 dis-

cussed this matter with, Lyn Nofziger (a California Republican leader) 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 success in the field . . ."

Reached in California yesterday Nofziger said: "First of all, an 'enemies project' is something that I'm just not aware of . . . On the individual things that come up, I've just decided that all this stuff goes clear back to 1970, 1971 (and) had nothing to do with the campaign (or) with the Watergate break-in or cover-up (and) I just don't think I'm going to try to go back and search my memory . . ."

Specifically, Nofziger said that "I don't recall talking to John Dean at all about such a thing. All I could have done was to do ordinary political research on people."

In a Nov. 17, 1972, memo to Dean, Colson said that syndicated columnist Jack Anderson purportedly received \$100,000 in 1958 to write favorable articles about former Cuban dictator Batista.

"You know my personal feelings about Jack Anderson," Colson said. "After his incredibly sloppy and malicious reporting on (Sen. Thomas) 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 actively?"

Anderson issued the following statement:

"Charles Colson's informer must have been on dope. The information he provided could only have come from psychedelic delusion .

"My columns are a matter of record. I wrote no favorable columns about Batista in 1958 nor Castro in 1961. I am opposed to dictatorships of the right and left. To clear any doubt that may linger from this malicious memo, I will pay \$100,000 to anyone who can prove the charges."

"On Monday, Dean testified that on Sept. 15, 1972, 'I recall the President telling me to keep a good list of the press people giving us trouble (on the Watergate issue), because we will make life difficult for them after the election.' Dean then added:

"The conversation then turned to the use of the Internal Revenue Service to attack our enemies. I recall telling the President that we had not made much use of this because the White House didn't have the clout to have it done, that the Internal Revenue Service was a rather democratically oriented bureaucracy and it would be very dangerous to try any such activities.