

Members of 'Enemies List' Cover

By Edward Walsh
and Philip A. McCombs

The list, in John Dean's words, of "political opponents or enemies" of President Nixon stretched across a broad spectrum of American society. It included politicians, business and labor leaders, entertainers and organizations as diverse as the National Education Association and the Black Panthers.

Most individuals on the list are powerful or well-known, at least in their own fields, and most had been critical at one time or another of the President or had worked for his political opponents.

But many on the list said yesterday they had also supported the President and his policies on a number of occasions and they expressed surprise that they—and persons they know—should be considered enemies or opponents of the Nixon administration.

Many of those on the list reached yesterday said they had experienced nothing that they would describe as reprisals from the administration, although several noted that in recent years their income tax returns have been audited by the Internal Revenue Service. Several, also, remarked that they would have been insulted if left off such a list.

According to Dean, in June, 1971, a list of about 200 "political opponents and enemies" was sent to him by former White House special counsel Charles W. Colson. The list placed the so-called "enemies" in categories such as "Senators," "Black Congressmen," and "Miscellaneous Politicos," with the largest number—56 individuals and three newspapers—included under the heading "Media."

Dean testified that in September, 1971, he culled from the list of 200 the names of 20 persons who were recommended for "opponent priority activity." He said he chose the names on the suggestions of George Bell, who was then an aide to Colson. Bell, Colson said yesterday, died two months ago.

The priority list was then sent in a memo dated Sept. 14, 1971, to Larry Higby, an aide to former White House chief of staff H.R. (Bob) Haldeeman, Dean said.

The opponent priority activity list, drafted more than a year before President Nixon's re-election effort, focused on those individuals who had opposed the President's election in 1968 and could be expected to support Democratic candidates in 1972.

Colson's September memo makes no proposals on what actions, if any, should be taken against the 20 persons placed in the "opponent priority" category. But unlike the larger list of 200, the opponent priority list does contain brief descriptions of the individuals and sets out—often in biting language—the reasons why they should be considered "enemies" of the administration.

CBS News correspondent Daniel Schorr, for example, is called "a real media enemy," and Washington Star-News columnist Mary McGrory, the last on the list of 20, is included for "daily hate Nixon articles."

Others on the priority list were more clearly connected to possible opposition to the 1972 Nixon re-election campaign. Sidney Davidoff, an aide to New York Mayor John V. Lindsay, is

described as "a first class S.O.B., wheeler-dealer and suspected bagman." The memo says that "positive results" against Davidoff "would really shake the Lindsay camp and Lindsay's plans to capture (the) youth vote bloc" in the upcoming Democratic primary campaigns.

The priority list also includes S. Sterling Munro Jr., administrative assistant to Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), who at the time was considered a potentially powerful opponent in the 1972 race. "We should give him a try," the memo says of Munro. "Positive results would stick a pin in Jackson's white hat."

Like the larger list of 200 "political opponents or enemies," the priority list covers a broad spectrum of possible opponents. It includes Edwin Guthman, national editor of the Los Angeles Times and press secretary to Robert F. Kennedy when Kennedy was attorney general, who is described in the list as "a highly sophisticated hatchetman against us in '68."

Also cited were Maxwell Dane, retired chairman of the New York advertising firm that handled President Johnson's 1964 campaign; two black Democratic members of Congress, John Conyers of Michigan and Ronald Dellums of California; former New York Rep. Allard Lowenstein, who headed the "Dump Nixon" movement; United Automobile Workers President Leonard Woodcock; Charles Dyson, a business associate of former Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien, and actor Paul Newman.

The others on the priority list were Howard Stein of the Dreyfus Corporation in New York; Morton Halperin, a consultant to Common Cause; Bernard T. Feld, president of the Council for a Livable World; Samuel M. Lambert, president of the National Education Association; Stewart Mott, the General Motors heir and McGovern contributor; and S. Harrison Dogole, president of the Globe Security Systems in Philadelphia, who was described as a heavy

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contributor to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.)

The larger list of 200 "political opponents or enemies" grouped people and organizations into 10 categories without specific comments about them. The list included 10 Democratic senators, seven Democratic House members, a separate category of 12 black House members, 14 labor leaders, and 10 celebrities, including New York Jets' quarterback Joe Namath, who was mistakenly listed as playing for the New York Giants.

Following are brief descriptions and reactions from some of the people on the lists, beginning with those included in the priority list:

Arnold M. Picker, chairman of United Artists Corporation, described as a fund-raiser for Sen. Muskie and ranked No. 1 on the priority list, said he knows of no audits of his income tax returns or other actions against him. "I don't want to make any comment," he said.

Alexander E. Barken, head of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education and the No. 2 person on the

priority list, would make no comment. When the list was compiled in September, 1972, the AFL-CIO was expected to provide powerful support for the Democratic nominee the next year. Following the 1972 nominating conventions, however, George Meany, AFL-CIO president, announced that the organization would remain neutral during the presidential campaign, a decision thought to have aided President Nixon's re-election bid.

Edwin Guthman, the national editor of the Los Angeles Times and former aide to Robert F. Kennedy, said he "did nothing political in 1968" despite the priority list's description of him as a "hatchetman" against the Nixon campaign. "Fortunately, I don't think anyone in the government tried to send me a message (as recommended in the priority list memo) and if they did I wasn't smart enough to understand it."

Washington Star-News columnist **Mary McGrory** said her income tax returns have been audited by the IRS for the last two years. "I also seem to get a lot of parking tickets, but I don't want to appear paranoid," she said. Miss McGrory said "I suppose my anti-war columns" led to inclusion of her name in the priority list.

Actor **Paul Newman**, cited in the priority list for "Radic-Lib causes," said: "I am sending Gordon Liddy (one of the convicted Watergate conspirators) to pick up my award and I would like to thank John Mitchell, Jeb Stuart Ma-gruder, John Dean and Maurice Stans for making this award possible."

CBS News correspondent **Daniel Schorr**, who could not be reached for comment yesterday, was the subject of an FBI investigation that occurred in August, 1971. The White House later said Schorr's friends and professional associates were interviewed by FBI agents because Schorr "was under consideration, among others, for a high position in the environmental field" in the Nixon administration. Administration officials have since conceded that the story that Schorr was being considered for a government post was untrue.

Maxwell Dane, the retired New York advertising executive, said through a spokesman that his firm has not handled political advertising since the primary campaigns of 1968. "I'm honored to be in such company," Dane said, "but it is rather horrible that anyone in a position of power would compile such a list for special investigation. This is how to begin to undermine a democracy."

The spokesman said Dane knows of no actions against himself or his firm because of inclusion of his name on the priority list.

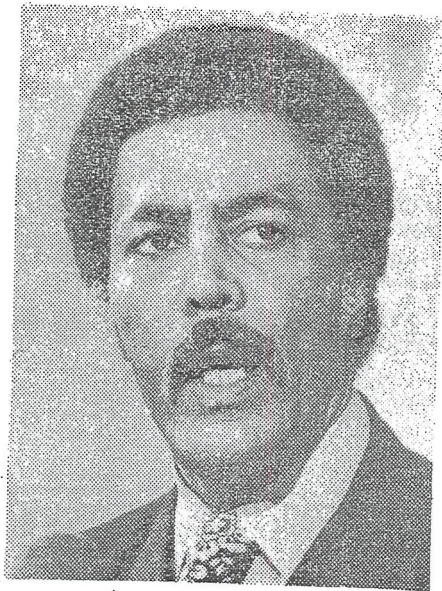
S. Harrison Dogole, president of the Globe Security Systems in Philadelphia, said by telephone yesterday that he is a close personal friend of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and was the major fund-raiser for Humphrey in 1972, when Humphrey entered the presidential primaries.

Globe Security Systems is the fourth largest uniform guard and investigative service in the country, according to Dogole. He said his firm has not engaged in wiretapping and that it never accepts or becomes involved in "any political type investigations."

Dogole said he has undergone "routine examinations" by the IRS every year or two but that there has been nothing extraordinary about these examinations.

Morton Halperin, a Vietnam war critic and one of 17 government officials and newsmen whose phones were bugged between 1969 and 1971 in an administration attempt to pinpoint leaks of classified material, is a former National Security Council staff member. He went to work at the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank, after leaving the NSC in 1969. Halperin supervised compilation of the Pentagon Papers and was a defense witness at the Ellsberg trial. Investigators are looking into allegations that Colson suggested fire-bombing Halperin's Brookings office and then retrieving documents during the confusion that would ensue.

Yesterday Halperin said he worked at Common Cause, the national public interest activist group, for a month. He said he does not know of ever having been investigated by the IRS and if they looked at his tax return "they would find nothing in it to investigate."



RONALD V. DELLUMS
... opposed to the war

Rep. **Ron Dellums** (D-Calif.) said yesterday he wasn't surprised to be on the Nixon target list because he voted against the President more times than any other congressman in the 92d Congress.

"I have been opposed to the insanity and cruelty and insensitivity of the war in Indochina (and of Nixon policies) in this country," said Dellums.

He said that keeping such lists shows a "dangerous mentality" that could lead people to think they should "harm or even kill" people on such lists. He spoke of "the fascist nature of the people who are presently running this country."

Dellums said he is sure his offices in California and his home have been broken into and that his phones have been tapped by the Nixon administration.

Stewart R. Mott, grandson of the late C. S. Mott, the largest stockholder in the General Motors Corp. said, "It's sort of an honor roll of decent Americans. I'd be insulted if I weren't on it, being the largest donor to McGovern and a regular supporter of liberal causes."

Mott, who last year set up a fund-raising organization called People Politics to raise money for liberal causes and candidates, said he does not think he has been wiretapped or investigated by the IRS.

He said his tax attorneys are the New York law firm of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander—Nixon and former Attorney General John N. Mitchell's old law firm.

Sidney Davidoff, now co-owner of a posh New York restaurant called Jimmy's, said yesterday, "I admit to being a first-class SOB... I enjoy the action of politics. The bagman charge is ridiculous."

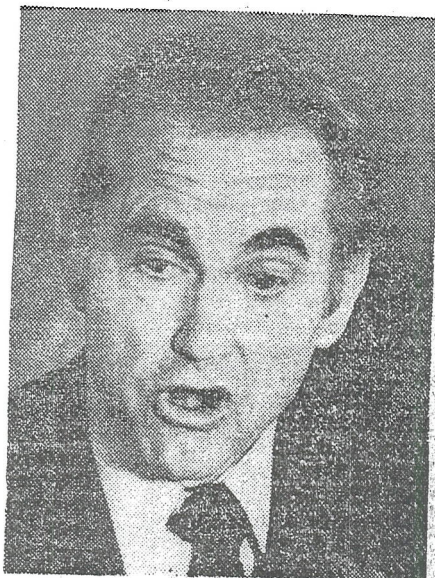
Davidoff said he has been told that his bank records have been subpoenaed, but he is not clear for what purpose or by whom.

Sterling Munro, administrative assistant to Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), said yesterday that he was on the main target list because "the White House and those that passed for politicians there felt that Jackson would be a dangerous Democratic opponent for Nixon" in the 1972 election.

"Apparently they were trying to tear down any conceivable opposition," Munro said. "It was kind of pathetic, actually. Really ludicrous."

Munro said he has seen no evidence that anything was actually done to him by way of reprisal or in an attempt to discredit Jackson.

The following persons were among those on the list of 200 "political opponents or enemies" but were not included in the priority list of 20 names:



GEORGE C. WALLACE
... had no comment

Alabama Gov. **George C. Wallace**, who made the list under the heading "Miscellaneous politicians," had no comment.

But an aide to the governor who insisted on remaining anonymous noted that "there was a fairly extensive investigation by the Internal Revenue Service of political associates of the governor during the 1971 time frame." The investigation included the governor's brother, Gerald.



JANE FONDA
... FBI got bank statements

Actress **Jane Fonda**, reached in Los Angeles, said that about a year ago columnist Jack Anderson turned over to her copies of her bank statements which the FBI had obtained from her bank, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., in New York.

"The FBI came to them and intimidated them to turn over the bank statements to them," said Miss Fonda. "It included every check I'd written and all financial records. My Lawyer, Richard Rosenthal, went to the bank and they admitted it and justified it by saying the FBI would have been able to get it anyway." She added that Anderson had revealed this in his column and had included the charge that there was a \$1 million fund set up "to get me."

Sen. Edmund Muskie could not be reached for comment. But in an interview with The Washington Post several months ago, he said that during his unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, "we were aware of unexplained incidents, but we could not track down the source."

Muskie staffers have privately voiced suspicions that a mysterious letter from Florida charging Muskie had condoned a slur on Americans of French-Canadian descent was really a White House hoax.

Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) said he was not aware of any surveillance. "I have to assume I'm on the list because of my opposition to Nixon policies, primarily the Vietnam war, though I was not aware that opposition like that necessarily makes you an enemy." Fulbright called the other senators on the list "a good group of men."

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) has no knowledge of any audit or bugging or surveillance, said his press secretary Richard C. Drayne.

Kennedy "was not surprised at being on the list," Drayne said. "He thought he was in good company."



EUGENE MCCARTHY

... puzzled by listing

Former Sen. Eugene McCarthy seemed almost puzzled by the whole affair. "I don't really know why they would have carried me on such a list," he said, noting that "I was out of the Senate then," in 1971.

On the other hand, McCarthy said, "I've never said anything very nice about him," meaning Mr. Nixon.

McCarthy, after his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1968, did not seek re-election to the Senate in 1970. He is now an editor with Simon & Schuster in New York. He said he has "used a CPA (certified public accountant) to do my income tax for years," and cannot remember being audited.

Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.), the Democratic presidential nominee last year, would say only, "My feelings would have been hurt if I hadn't been on this list."

An aide said the senator had no evidence of being under surveillance but added that he and his wife Eleanor had noted many telephone trucks in their neighborhood during his campaign. "They thought nothing about it then but now they think it's curious," the aide said.

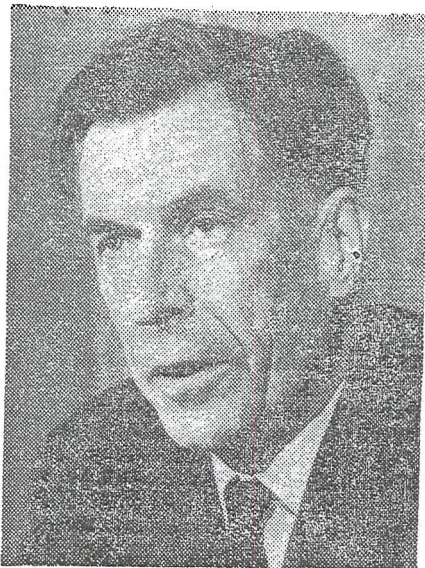
"Well, I'll be damned," said AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland, whose reaction to being on the list followed a typical pattern: amusement at first, then indignation.

Kirkland's name was one of 14 on the labor page of the list. He is the No. 2 man in the AFL-CIO, after president George Meany, whose name did not appear. After Kirkland's name appeared the notation, in parenthesis, "but we must deal with him." Presumably the list was drawn up before the AFL-CIO declared itself neutral in last year's presidential race.

"This is strange," said Kirkland. "It's so outlandish it's hard to fathom, this type of approach to public affairs. It's outlandish."

He said that, as far as he knows, the IRS did not audit his income tax return, nor was he subjected to any other such investigation.

"We're hoping a plaque comes with it," said former Sen. Fred R. Harris, Oklahoma Democrat, of his listing. He is now head of a group called New Populist Action here.



JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

not neglected

John Kenneth Galbraith, the economist, former U.S. ambassador to India, confidant of President Kennedy, said yesterday, "I was just listening to the TV and hoping I wouldn't be neglected."

Galbraith said that he couldn't think of any special reason that he would be on a target list of Nixon's enemies other than that, "I have been actively opposing Richard Nixon in whatever role since the Stevenson election."

Galbraith said he had never been audited by the IRS and that he didn't know of any other reprisals the government might have taken against him.



ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

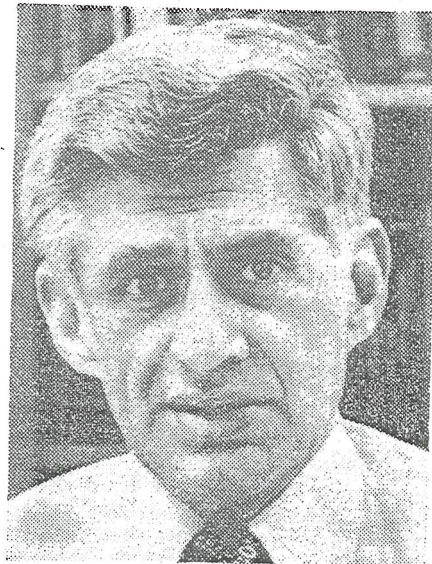
... would have been disappointed

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the historian and confidante of President Kennedy, said yesterday that he would have

been disappointed not to have been on the list of Nixon's enemies. He said he has not been audited by the Internal Revenue Service, nor could he think of any other form of government reprisal that might have been practiced against him.

"I suppose I'm on the list because my enthusiasm for the Nixon administration has long been under control," said Schlesinger, who has been a vociferous and bitter Nixon critic for years.

In his 1960 book, "Kennedy or Nixon: Does it Make Any Difference?" Schlesinger wrote, "He (Nixon) is the only major American politician in our history who came to prominence by techniques which, if generally adopted, would destroy the whole fabric of mutual confidence on which democracy rests."



JERRY WURF

... said he was pleased

Jerry Wurf, president of the State, County and Municipal Employees, a pro-McGovern union last year, was having lunch "at Sans Souci, no less, and some guy tells me I didn't make the list." He was disappointed.

Then more names came in, his was among them, and he was "pleased," Wurf said, that the White House "had taken note of our efforts." He called the collection of names "absolutely incredible" and "inept," noting that "some of these people are utterly lacking in influence, others were totally neutral last year, still others were quietly pro-Nixon."



ROBERT S. STRAUSS

... wants to see the list

Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss was traveling in Arizona and unavailable for comment, but he told his secretary yesterday morning, "I want to wait and see the list before I decide if it is helpful or harmful to me socially, politically, or economically."

Sen. Harold E. Hughes (D-Iowa) said he knows of no IRS audit of his tax returns or of any attempt to buy or wiretap his home or office.

But the senator, who sought briefly in 1971 to run for President and who directed the latter part of Sen. Edmund S. Muskie's drive, said he "would have been embarrassed not to have been included. In this case, non-mention, like faint praise, might be considered damnation."

Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), who waged an abortive presidential campaign in 1970 and 1971, said he assumes he is on the list because he led the successful fight against Mr. Nixon's Supreme Court nominees Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. and G. Harrold Carswell.

Though he said he knows of no administration harassment directed at him personally, he remarked, "I was a little surprised to learn that the President is keeping an enemies list or a hate list. I'd like to believe that in this country you could have legitimate differences of opinion without ending up on somebody's list."

Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), said his 1970 income tax return was audited during the summer of 1971. It was the first audit Mondale had undergone since he came to the Senate in 1964.

He said he was unaware of any administration attempts at wiretapping or bugging. The senator said he was "flattered but not very surprised" to learn his name was on the White House "enemies list."

Sen. Gaylord A. Nelson (D-Wis.), told by an aide that he had made the "10 most wanted list," replied, "I'm a little disappointed. I thought I'd be on the 10 most desired list."

Nelson, a long-time, militant antiwar critic, said he did not know of any surveillance or tax audit, and his administrative assistant, William Cherkasky, commented, "I'm surprised he's even known to the White House."

Faith Evans, associate executive director of the National Welfare Rights Organization, said he could understand why the group was on the White House target list because, "Over the years NWRO has opposed the Nixon administration in its biggest domestic program, which was the family assistance plan, and we led the fight that actually defeated the plan two years in a

row in Congress (the House) and the Senate."

The organization held the controversial Children's March for Survival in Washington in March of last year—a march in the streets of Washington which reportedly aroused the anger of members of the administration.

As part of the preparations for that march, a cartoon of Nixon appearing with hungry children and captioned "Nixon Dosen't (sic) Care" was distributed by teachers in Washington elementary schools.

Evans said yesterday that the IRS is "pestering on our back," that meetings of organization members across the country have been disrupted and that someone broke into the main office and disrupted files recently. He said he thinks all this may be government reprisal but has no direct proof.

Patricia Harris, Washington lawyer, former U.S. ambassador to Luxembourg, said, "So far as I know, I have not had any consequences personally."

Jeremy Stone, director of the Federation of American Scientists, said: "Inasmuch as the list contains the presidents of Yale, Harvard and M.I.T., I think it is one of the most distinguished lists on which my name has ever appeared."

Syndicated columnist Carl Rowan, who was among 56 journalists and broadcasters on the "political enemies" list, said his income tax has been audited every year during the Nixon administration and at least once under the Johnson presidency.

"They never gave any reason for auditing my tax," said Rowan, "and they always wound up with compliments. I was ready to assume that I was in an income bracket that was always audited, but when I mentioned it to a conservative columnist friend, he said, 'Baloney! I've never been audited in my life; they're harassing you.'"

"I think I'm on their list because I've given him (President Nixon) some pretty good kicks in my columns. I've written that the administration is hostile to black Americans."

Tom Wicker, columnist and associate editor of the New York Times, said yesterday, "I wouldn't have expected the White House to list me as a friend."

"I've been critical of the President, but I've also supported many things President Nixon stood for," Wicker said. "It strikes me as a pretty silly piece of business for high officials who supposedly have the country's affairs to manage to be sitting around keeping lists of people supposedly against them."

Wicker said he knows of no actions taken against him.

Columnist Jack Anderson frequently has written columns that were damaging to the Nixon administration. Anderson said yesterday that his income tax returns have not been audited but that for a brief period in 1972 agents under the direction of former Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Mardian "were tailing me."

The practice stopped, Anderson said, after he dispatched some of his nine children to roam the neighborhood around his Bethesda home and take photographs of the agents in their automobiles.

"It's paranoid," Anderson said, "We've written many favorable pieces on him (President Nixon)."



SEN. FRED R. HARRIS

... 'hoping a plaque comes with it'

It was not clear when the list was drawn up, but some of those on it were dead by 1971. One was Herman D. Ke-nin, president of the Musicians union, who died at age 68 in July of 1970.

Columnist Rowland Evans, along with his columnist partner, Robert Novak, were described in earlier testimony at the Watergate hearings as being the recipients of deliberate leaks from officials of the Committee to Re-elect the President.

"I'm just as surprised to find myself on the most wanted list as on the most loved list," Evans said of his inclusion among the listed "political enemies" of the administration. "I have no idea why I would be listed, except that during the Kennedy administration I was reputed to be an acquaintance of the President. Knowing the pathological paranoia in the Nixon White House over anything connected with the Kennedys, conceivably I could have made the list on that basis."

Evans said his income tax returns have been audited by the IRS during three or four of the last six years, stretching back into the Johnson administration. The latest audit began two months ago, he said.

Tom Braden, another political columnist on the list, like Evans, is a longtime friend of the Kennedy family. Braden worked in John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign against Richard Nixon and in Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's 1968 campaign in the California Democratic primary.

Braden said yesterday that his income tax returns have been audited by the IRS during each of the last four years and that prior to 1969, the first year of the Nixon administration, his tax returns had never been audited. "I thought it odd," Braden said.

Contributing to this story were Washington Post Staff Writers Ted Frederickson, Robert G. Kaiser, Susanna McBee, and Peter Milius.