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Plot to Get Ellsberg Revealed

Memos Detail White House Smear Plan

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The White House charted a concerted effort in August, 1971, to discredit Daniel Ellsberg, the former government official who disclosed the top-secret Pentagon Papers, and to make political capital of that disclosure, according to documents released by the Senate select Watergate committee yesterday.

Based on promises of help from the Departments of State, Defense and Justice and the leadership of the House Armed Services Committee, the White House effort included "a covert operation" at the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist, "an all-out adversary interrogation" of those who prepared the Pentagon Papers and a proposed stage managed congressional investigation of the papers.

According to the documents, submitted to the Watergate committee by former White House staffer David R. Young, these people coordinated the effort:

- J. Fred Buzhardt, then general counsel at the Defense Department and now special counsel to President Nixon.

- Robert C. Mardian, then assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division and now in his family's Phoenix construction business and under investigation in connection with the Watergate affair.

- William B. Macomber Jr., a career State Department official who was then deputy under secretary of state for administration and is now U.S. ambassador to Turkey.

One memo, sent by Young to former presidential adviser John D. Ehrlichman on

Aug. 26, 1971, describes a meeting that Buzhardt, Mardian and Macomber held a month earlier with Rep. F. Edward Hebert (D-La.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R-Ill.), the House Republican Whip, in which the congressmen agreed to begin an investigation.

As explained in the Young memo, Hebert and Arends, then the ranking Republican on the House committee, "agreed that Mardian, Macomber and Buzhardt would set the format, supply the substantive data and develop the scenario."

"The plan then," as Young put it, "was to slowly de-

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develop a very negative picture around the whole pentagon study affair . . . and then to identify Ellsberg's associates and supporters on the new left with this negative image."

Ultimately, Young wrote to Ehrlichman, the intended result of the congressional investigation "would be to show (1) how they were intent on undermining the policy of the government they were supposedly serving, and (2) how they have sought to put themselves above the law."

Another part of the scheme, according to Young's memo, was to coordinate the congressional investigation with the "planting" of negative information about Ellsberg in the press, perhaps including material that was to be obtained from the psychiatrist's office in Los Angeles.

Reached by telephone last night, both Hebert and Arends said they could not recall the meeting, or any White House efforts to force an investigation and direct and control its development.

Hebert described the contents of the memorandum as "the most ridiculous thing I ever heard . . . sheer fantasy." He said there had never been the "faintest suggestion by the White

House that it wanted to write a scenario."

Another memo submitted to the committee by Young, dated Aug. 11, 1971, showed that Ehrlichman specifically approved a recommendation by Young and former White House aide Egil Krogh Jr. "that a covert operation be undertaken to examine all the medical files still held by Ellsberg's psychoanalyst covering the two-year period in which he was undergoing analysis."

Underneath his approval, Ehrlichman wrote in: "if done under your assurance that it is not traceable."

In testimony before the committee yesterday, Ehrlichman confirmed that the initial on the memo was his, but that he did not realize at the time that a burglary was contemplated. Nonetheless, he argued that such a burglary was within the President's powers to protect national security.

(Revelation of the burglary was one factor that led to the dismissal of all criminal charges against Ellsberg and his co-defendant, Anthony J. Russo Jr., in May. A Los Angeles County grand jury is now investigating the burglary.)

The documents submitted by Young, which show the extent of the White House's involvement and interest in the investigation and prose-

cution of Ellsberg, also included these disclosures:

- That a team directed by Buzhardt planned "an all-out adversary interrogation" of former Defense Department officials involved in preparation of the Pentagon Papers and of officials at the Rand Corp. in Santa Monica, where Ellsberg once worked.

- That the Nixon administration at one time contemplated indictments against others in connection with the leak of the top-secret study, including Leslie H. Gelb and Morton H. Halperin, who directed the task force that prepared it.

- That K. Dun Gifford, a former aide to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), was suspected of helping Ellsberg pass the Pentagon Papers to The New York Times and that Ellsberg was believed to have a "whole distribution network."

- That former White House aide Charles Colson was asked by Ehrlichman to develop "a game plan as to how and when" the materials obtained from Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office should be used by the White House.

- That Gifford and two officials of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, Richard Barnet and Marcus Raskin, had been "overheard"—apparently in government electronic surveillance.