

Wallace Primary Foe's Aides

By William Claiborne
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MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Several high-level strategists of former Gov. Albert P. Brewer's unsuccessful 1970 Democratic primary runoff race against Gov. George C. Wallace have acknowledged that Brewer's campaign organization received large contributions from state Republicans, including gifts of \$25,000.

They suggested the gifts could have been part of the \$400,000 of President Nixon's leftover 1968 campaign money that purportedly was sent here in 1970 in an attempt to knock Wallace out of presidential politics.

However, the Brewer supporters emphatically denied any knowledge of receiving \$400,000 directly from the Nixon re-election finance committee. They said there has been no evidence to prove that Brewer was the intended recipient of any committee money.

Former White House Chief of Staff H.R. (Bob) Haldeman testified July 30 that he authorized the transfer of campaign money left over from the 1968 primaries to support a candidate running against Wallace in 1970.

The purpose, Haldeman

said, was to help defeat Wallace in the primary and, thereby, avoid the eventuality of him running against Mr. Nixon in 1972 as a third party presidential candidate.

In mid-July, Herbert W. Kalmbach, the President's personal lawyer and trustee of the leftover Nixon funds, told the Senate select Watergate committee that in 1970 he was instructed by White House assistant Lawrence M. Higby to disburse \$400,000 in New York and California to people whom he did not know.

Kalmbach said that in late March, 1970, he handed \$100,000 in cash to a stranger in the lobby of the Sherry Netherlands Hotel in New York, and that later he gave \$100,000 to a man in the lobby of a Los Angeles bank.

He said he also instructed Haldeman's brother-in-law, France Rain, to deliver \$200,000 to a man in the Sherry Netherlands lobby.

Kalmbach said he subsequently heard that "part or all" of the \$400,000 went into the Alabama gubernatorial campaign, but that he "made the assumption that it was going into more than one campaign." He denied ever being told flatly by anyone in authority that the money was intended to be used to defeat Wallace.

Minimum Risk

If part or all of the \$400,000 disbursed by Kalmbach was siphoned into the Brewer campaign through individual contributors, Brewer supporters noted, the Nixon campaign backers could have managed to give a large gift to an opposition party with a minimum of risk of being publicly exposed.

The campaign aides, who asked that their names be withheld, also said that if such a financial ploy was used in 1970 by the Nixon committee, it could even have been accomplished without the personal knowledge of Brewer.

Alabama state Republican Chairman Richard Bennett said in a telephone interview from Greenville, Ala., that "large numbers of Alabama Republicans did contribute to the Brewer campaign, and some substantial contributions were made."

"As far as national money being used, I know nothing about that," said Bennett. He added, "I have very serious doubts that it was sent, and if it was sent that it found its way to anyone's campaign."

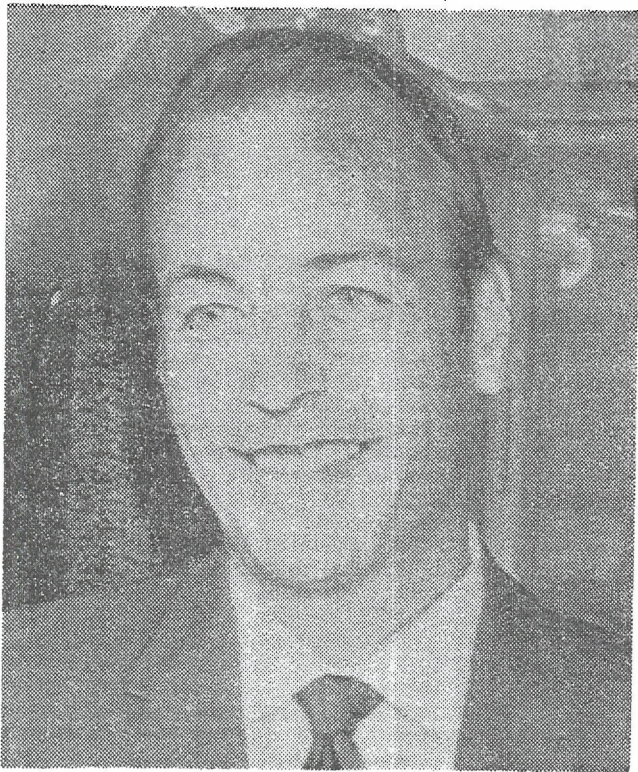
Bennett declined to name any state Republicans who contributed to Brewer's campaign, or the amounts involved, but he said, "Knowing the people involved, I'd expect there were substantial amounts, and \$25,000 (each) seems about in the right ballpark."

He said the contributors to whom he was referring were longtime, state-oriented Republicans who had given to previous GOP campaigns in the state and would not likely know about the \$400,000. "There might be some other types of Republicans—obviously people who were close to the (Nixon) administration and more interested in that campaign for that reason—who could have known," Bennett said.

Not Involved

"I've always felt that Republicans should stay out of a campaign like that, but people are free to contribute to whom they please and there's noth-

Admit Getting GOP Funds



Albert P. Brewer: too busy to ask about campaign gifts.

ing wrong with it," said Bennett.

The state's leading Republican figure, former Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, said he had no knowledge of the \$400,000 and that he was not involved in any way in the Brewer-Wallace race.

"I was in Washington then. I didn't have anything to do with that campaign," Blount said. He declined comment on an allegation by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson that Higby had contacted Blount about channeling anti-Wallace money into the 1970 Democratic primary.

"I haven't seen the column. I don't know anything about it," Blount said.

In an interview here, Brewer said he didn't know anything about leftover Nixon campaign funds being pumped into his campaign, and that in 1970 he never was aware what his race was costing.

Brewer denied even knowing now what his total campaign bill was, although he said he was aware that he received some contributions from state Republicans.

Spent \$1 Million

It is virtually impossible to determine exactly how much Wallace and Brewer spent in the May 5, 1970, primary—in which Brewer ran first and Wallace second—and in the June 2 runoff, which Wallace won with 51.5 per cent of the vote.

However, sources on both sides said that each candidate spent between \$1 million and \$1.5 million, the bulk of which went for television, radio and newspaper advertising. Each side has claimed it was outspent by its opponent by at least \$500,000.

Frank Taylor, who heads a Birmingham advertising agency by the same name, said he handled all of Brewer's television, radio and newspaper expenditures and that the total spent was \$800,000.

Taylor said in a telephone interview that he began receiving money from Brewer March 1 and that the media expenses never fluctuated greatly between then and the runoff. He said he saw no sign that the Brewer organization may have come into a large sum of money at any point in the campaign.

"Brewer's fund-raising was like scratching for 10 tons of coal in an 18-inch seam," claimed Taylor.

The advertising agency that handled Wallace's media campaign reported disbursing approximately \$800,000 from the Wallace state campaign fund, plus some small amounts sup-

plied directly by county organizations.

To comply with a 1915 Alabama law, both Wallace and Brewer filed with the secretary of state an accounting of contributions and campaign expenses. However, each reported only a fraction of what they received and paid out.

Brewer filed two statements for the May 5 primary and one for the runoff, saying that he received \$46,856 in contributions and paid \$49,890 in expenses. Wallace said he received \$39,139 and spent \$39,427.

Over the years, the campaign law has been watered down by amendments and court rulings to the point where it is routinely ignored by candidates and openly ridiculed by campaign workers. The final emasculation occurred in 1953 when—with the support of newspapers and radio-television stations—the legislature exempted advertising from the reporting requirement.

Still, the law still requires gubernatorial candidates to limit campaign spending to \$50,000, and requires them to list all contributions of \$10 or more.

"You can't list \$50,000 in expenses and \$1 million in contributions. People would wonder where the rest of the money went if it wasn't into the campaign," said one Brewer campaign aide. Consequently, candidates routinely submit long lists of small contributors and a short, partial list of expenses for such items as postage, bumper stickers, telephone bills, secretarial fees and travel expenses.

Brewer, for example, filed a half-page expense statement for the May 5 primary, listing only \$2,298 for airplane and automobile rentals, gasoline, meals and lodging for his campaign entourage. Similarly, Wallace filed abbreviated statements listing only part of his expenses.

'Full of Loopholes'

Three candidates who finished low in the primary—J. E. (Big Jim) Folsom, Ralph (Shorty) Price and Asa Carter—didn't even bother to file financial statements.

Alabama Secretary of State Mabel Amos said in an interview, "They didn't win anything, so what can you do to them? You can't take the elec-

tion away from them." The campaign reporting law, which she described as "full of loopholes," has never been the object of any serious reform movement, and the legislature still does not appear to want to change it.

Another candidate in the primary, Charles Woods, listed \$635 in contributions and \$23,448 in expenses and then wrote in a footnote, "This amount does not include television and radio advertising. In my opinion, the campaign law is a farce and is but another way our legislature tries to fool the people of Alabama." Woods, a millionaire businessman from Dothan, ran third in the primary, far behind Wallace.

It was against this background of laxity in the campaign financial reporting procedure that Brewer and Wallace began their bitter contest in March, 1970.

Brewer, the youthful protégé of Wallace whose political career originally began to skyrocket in 1963 when Wallace handpicked him to be speaker of the state House of Representatives, opened his campaign early and had large amounts of television and radio air time steadily throughout the contest, observers said.

Wallace apparently realized that there would be a runoff, so he conserved much of his money for a television blitz toward the end.

Brewer Critical

Behind the scenes, according to campaign aides on both sides, lower echelon workers dealt in questionable tactics, swapping handbills hinting at corruption and sexual immorality and trading blatantly on racism. One faked photograph portrayed a black man making advances to Brewer's wife, while another handbill depicted black youths surrounding a young white girl, with a caption denigrating the "black vote bloc."

Brewer is critical of the Senate Watergate committee for its investigation of the funding of his campaign, while ignoring other aspects of the 1970 Alabama campaign. "If they want to investigate something, why don't they come down here and look at the real dirty tricks that year?" he said.

Brewer said that since he

has seen no evidence of \$400,000 in leftover Republican campaign funds being put into his former campaign organization, he would not publicly debate the issue or comment further.

"Some people say, why don't you get everyone in the campaign together and ask them about it. I could do that. It would take about a week, but I've got a (law) practice, and other people are busy, too," Brewer said.

The highest-ranking former Brewer aides all insisted that if the \$400,000 mentioned by Kalmbach went into their treasury, they didn't know about it. But, some said they wouldn't have had any qualms about taking it.

Cleanest Money

"If it had been offered to me, I'd have taken it on the spot," said Alton Turner, a Lurverne, Ala., lawyer who was one of two top aides in Brewer's state campaign headquarters in Montgomery.

"It would have been the cleanest money that ever went into a campaign—absolutely no strings attached. It would have meant that all they wanted to do was whip George Wallace, which is sure what we were trying to do," said Turner.

Turner said, however, that there was never a time in the campaign when it appeared that an unusually large lump sum had been received. "I didn't notice it if it came. Nobody ever told me to go ahead and spend more money," Turner said.

Drexell Cook, an Elba, Ala., automobile dealer who headed Brewer's state headquarters with Turner, said, "I never heard of any money like that. We heard of Republicans contributing to the campaign, and I'm sure there were, but I never heard about what he (Kalmbach) was talking about."

Robert Ingram, who was Brewer's state finance director in the governor's office and then an active fund-raiser in the campaign, said, "If there was any \$400,000, I never saw it."

However, Alabama Attorney General Bill Baxley said he remains convinced that the money from the Nixon re-election committee was used in the campaign. He said he was waiting for some information to be developed by Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox before deciding whether to present the matter to a grand jury.

However, a source in the state government said Baxley has collected very little evidence in the case. In July, Baxley spent two days in Washington on the matter and was unable to get a meeting with Cox.

A spokesman for Cox said the investigation of the Alabama primary money has not been completed, and that it had not been determined whether federal election laws were violated. Cox did not see Baxley because he did not have anything substantive to report, the spokesman said.