

# Explanation: Impeachment and National Security

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WASHINGTON, June 6—Early in President Nixon's first term, he and his aides became concerned that investigative agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency were incapable of coping with what were perceived as internal threats to the national security.

At first, the White House concern was directed at radical organizations, especially those that protested, sometimes violently, against the war in Vietnam.

Soon the anxiety turned to news leaks of classified information, and extraordinary steps were taken to find the sources of the leaks and to prevent further ones.

The House Judiciary Committee began today a two-day exploration of these steps in an effort to determine if impeachable offenses were committed by Mr. Nixon in the field of domestic security.

The Judiciary Committee's staff has listed six areas that are under investigation: the activities of John J. Caulfield and Anthony T. Ulasewicz; the wiretaps installed at White House direction on the telephones of reporters and Government officials; the intelligence plan drafted by Tom Charles Huston and at first approved by the President; the formation and activities of the "plumbers," including the burglary of the office of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg's former psychiatrist; the relationship of the "plumbers" to Dita D. Beard, and the alleged efforts to exert improper influence on Judge W. Matthew Byrne Jr., the judge in the Ellsberg trial.

What follows, based on public testimony and other records, is an explanation of the allegations in each of these areas:

## Caulfield—Ulasewicz

Mr. Caulfield testified that, three months after Mr. Nixon's inauguration in 1969, he was hired by John D. Ehrlichman, then counsel to the President, "for the purposes of providing investigative support for the White House."

To conduct his actual investigations, Mr. Caulfield brought aboard a friend, Mr. Ulasewicz. Mr. Ulasewicz, however, did not go on the White House payroll. He was paid secretly by Herbert W. Kalmbach, Mr. Nixon's personal lawyer and fundraiser.

From then until late 1971, the two men conducted political intelligence operations, spying, for instance, on Senator Edward M. Kennedy and other politicians, and, in at least one case, installing a wiretap.

Mr. Caulfield and Mr. Ulasewicz were active again after the Watergate burglary in June, 1972. Mr. Caulfield, acting under instructions from John W. Dean 3d discussed payments of hush money with James W. McCord Jr., one of the Watergate burglars. Mr. Ulasewicz was the courier who delivered some of the White House payments to the burglars.

There has been no public testimony that the President knew of the activities of Mr. Caulfield and Mr. Ulasewicz, although it has appeared that Mr. Nixon's top aides were aware of what the two men were doing.

## Wiretaps

The White House has acknowledged that in 1969 and 1970, wiretaps were installed on the home telephones of 13 Government officials and four newsmen, allegedly in an effort to determine the source of leaks of classified information.

While most of the officials dealt in national security matters, those whose phones were tapped included, Jamie W. McLane, who worked in the White House on Problems of the Aging; John P. Sears, a White House lawyer, and William Safire, a Presidential speech-writer.

Secretary of State Kissinger, then the President's national security adviser, has said that he proposed some names of persons to be investigated but never suggested wiretaps. There have been repeated news reports, however, that Mr. Kissinger played an active role in having the taps set in place.

Whoever initiated the request, Mr. Nixon has defended authorizing the taps, saying that they were essential to protect national security.

In addition to these wiretaps, there have been reports of taps on the telephones of a number of other newsmen after continued news leaks in 1971.

## Huston Plan

In early 1970, President Nixon and his foremost advisers became convinced that domestic disorders were being fomented from abroad and that lack of coordination between the F.B.I. and the C.I.A. meant that these agencies were ineffective in dealing with the problem.

In June, 1970, the President called a meeting of officials from the various intelligence

agencies and instructed a committee headed by J. Edgar Hoover, then director of the F.B.I., to develop a plan to strengthen the Government's domestic intelligence-gathering.

Within three weeks, a staff aide named Tom Charles Huston had drafted and the committee had approved a report calling for, among other things, increased electronic surveillance, lifting of restrictions on "surreptitious entry," and increased opening and reading of mail of those being investigated.

The report warned that "surreptitious entry," or burglary, was "clearly illegal" and "highly risky" but "also the most fruitful tool" for obtaining information.

President Nixon has said that he approved the plan on June 23, 1970, but rescinded his approval five days later because Mr. Hoover would not go along with the plan. There have been reports that Mr. Hoover refused to violate the law unless the President gave him written instructions and that the President refused to do so.

## Plumbers

On June 13, 1971, The New York Times began publication of the Pentagon papers, a secret, classified history of the war in Southeast Asia. Within a week, the President established within the White House a special unit to stop security leaks. The unit called itself the plumbers.

The plumbers were directed by Egil Krogh Jr. and reported to Mr. Ehrlichman. Among those assigned to the team were E. Howard Hunt Jr. and G. Gordon Liddy, who later directed the Watergate burglary.

Immediately after the unit was formed, it began an intensive investigation of Dr. Ellsberg, who admitted having made the Pentagon papers available to the press.

On Sept. 3, 1971, a team led by Mr. Hunt and Mr. Liddy broke into the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, who had been Dr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist, in search of Dr. Ellsberg's medical records.

Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr. Colson and Mr. Krogh, among others, were indicted for the Federal offense of violating Dr. Ellsberg's civil rights. Mr. Krogh pleaded guilty to the offense, and Mr. Colson pleaded guilty last week to an obstruction of justice charge. Mr. Ehrlichman is scheduled to stand trial later this month.

President Nixon has said that he set up the plumbers because security leaks were "a

threat so grave as to require extraordinary action." The President has said that he did not know of the burglary in advance, and there is no public evidence to the contrary. But Mr. Nixon, has conceded that he impressed on Mr. Krogh, in tough language, the importance of discovering information about Dr. Ellsberg.

The President waited weeks and perhaps months after learning of the burglary before he agreed that the Justice Department should report the matter to the court in Dr. Ellsberg's trial on charges of espionage, theft and conspiracy. Once the matter was disclosed, the charges against Dr. Ellsberg were dismissed.

Federal investigators are known to have explored the theory that the principal reason for the cover-up of the Watergate burglary was to prevent this earlier burglary, in which some of the same persons were involved, from being exposed.

## Dita Beard

In February, 1972, Jack Anderson, the columnist, published a memorandum written by Mrs. Beard, a lobbyist for the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, alleging that the Government had permitted a favorable settlement of anti-trust suits against I.T.T. in return for a campaign pledge from the corporation.

Before Mrs. Beard could testify before a Senate committee, she supposedly became ill and went to a Denver hospital. There have been allegations that Mr. Liddy was instrumental in getting Mrs. Beard out of Washington. And Mr. Hunt, wearing an "ill-fitting red wig," went to Denver and interviewed Mrs. Beard in her hospital bed.

There is no public evidence that Mr. Nixon knew of these activities, although Mr. Colson is said to have sent Mr. Hunt to Denver.

## Judge Byrne

In the midst of Dr. Ellsberg's trial in Los Angeles, Mr. Ehrlichman met twice with Judge Byrne and sounded him out about whether he would be interested in becoming director of the F.B.I. During one of those meetings, Mr. Nixon poked with Judge Byrne briefly. Judge Byrne said that he could not discuss the matter until the trial was over.

The President has said that he was not attempting to influence Judge Byrne but that the judge was the "best man" for the F.B.I. directorship.