

Panel Says 17 Phone Taps Found No Security Leaks

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U.S. Urges Soviet to Join In a Missiles Moratorium

Would Halt Construction of Land and Sea Arms and Allow Each Nation Up to 300 Antimissile Weapons

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WASHINGTON, July 22 — American negotiators have proposed to the Soviet Union an arms control agreement that would halt construction of both land-based missiles and missile submarines.

A companion proposal that they have put forward would allow as many as 300 antimissile missiles in each country to protect offensive missiles.

Administration officials noted that the American proposals

then of what the United States would propose. But senior officials suggested privately that the United States was then thinking in terms of proposing a halt on construction only of new land-based missiles, with a ceiling of only about 100 antiballistic missiles in each country.

According to Administration officials, the more ambitious American proposals have been made orally at the strategic arms limitation talks, which re-

Beginning of New York Times article that apparently was responsible for authorization of the newly formed "plumbers" unit to begin active investigations into national security leaks.

WASHINGTON, July 18—None of the telephone taps placed by the Nixon Administration on 13 Government officials and four newsmen ever disclosed any leaks of classified information to the press, according to evidence made public today by the House Judiciary Committee.

The committee released an extensive collection of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other documents relating to the 21-month-long wiretap program that it had compiled in its inquiry into the possible impeachment of President Nixon.

The President has said that he authorized all 17 wiretaps to protect the national security from damage by unauthorized disclosures about some of his "highly sensitive foreign policy initiatives."

The home—and on occasion the office—telephones of the 17 individual who were targets of the highly secret effort were monitored at various times between May, 1969, and February, 1971.

Summaries of what was overheard by agents of the F.B.I. were sent to Mr. Nixon, secretary of State Kissinger and the President's two top aides, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, according to the committee.

Summaries Analyzed

The Judiciary Committee's staff analyzed, but did not release, some of the F.B.I. summaries furnished to it by the White House. In several cases, they said, the documents contained details of the subjects' personal lives and political activities.

Morton H. Halperin, a former National Security Council staff member whom the committee identified as "Mr. N"—code letters were used to safeguard the individuals' privacy—was kept under surveillance longer than any of the 16 others, from May 12, 1969, the day the program began, until its termination on Feb. 10, 1971.

Despite the 21-month duration of the Halperin wiretap, the committee said, nothing was overheard that involved "discussions of classified material" or that supported the White House's suspicion, reflected in other documents released today, that Mr. Halperin was a primary source of unauthorized disclosures to the press.

The committee included in its report an F.B.I. memo dated July 8, 1969—less than two months after the Halperin tap was installed—noting that the surveillance on him had produced nothing of any intelligence value and recommending that it be removed.

The tap was left in place, however, and what was subsequently overheard and passed on to the White House

by the F.B.I. was Mr. Halperin's conversations about "the activities of a Democratic candidate for the Presidency by whom Mr. N was employed in the latter part of the time covered by the wiretap."

After leaving the White House, Mr. Halperin, a Republican, joined the unsuccessful campaign of Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Joined Muskie Campaign

A wiretap on Anthony Lake, a former colleague of Mr. Halperin's at the National Security Council, who also joined the Muskie campaign, produced similar reports to the White House of "the activities of certain potential Democratic candidates for national office," according to the judiciary committee.

Mr. Lake and Mr. Halperin are separately suing Mr. Kissinger and other Government officials, contending that the wiretaps on their telephones were installed and continued in the absence of evidence that either man was a security risk, were eventually used to gather political intelligence on Mr. Nixon's potential Democratic opponents in 1972 and were therefore illegal.

Other newsmen and officials were also kept under surveillance for extensive periods, despite a lack of evidence that they had either provided or received leaked information on national security matters, the committee said.

Henry Brandon, the Washington-based correspondent for The Sunday Times of London, was tapped for only 17 fewer days than Mr. Halperin, from May 29, 1969, until Feb. 10, 1971.

The F.B.I. summaries sent to the White House reported only "on the personal life" of Mr. Brandon and others "and on the activities, personal and political, of persons in Congress."

Mr. Brandon was also placed under physical surveillance by the F.B.I. One document provided to the committee indicates that he was observed and photographed while lunching with Mr. Halperin at a Washington restaurant.

Talked on Tapped Phone

The F.B.I. apparently spied on other individuals who were targets of the wiretaps. In one case, William H. Sullivan, while Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, talked on his tapped telephone about arrangements for a meeting of "individuals opposing the present Administration's policy" on the war in Cambodia.

One of the F.B.I. summaries on Mr. Sullivan, now ambassador to the Philippines, "apparently reflected physical sur-

veillance of this meeting. . . and identified a number of those in attendance," the committee said.

The "Kissinger wiretap program" so-called because the Secretary of State is cited in a number of F.B.I. documents as having requested installation of several of the taps, ended in early 1971.

But the White House's efforts to halt leaks continued, and the evidence assembled by the committee indicates that similar wiretaps were later employed by the "plumbers" in their attempts to determine who had made available the Pentagon papers to the press.

The committee said that, in July, 1971, Mr. Ehrlichman, while President Nixon's chief domestic affairs adviser, authorized G. Gordon Liddy "to conduct an unspecified number of wiretaps on persons whose names have not been disclosed."

Mr. Liddy at the time was a member of the plumbers, who reportedly were provided with wiretap-related information on newsmen involved in the Pentagon papers affair.

Whatever Mr. Kissinger's role may have been in the placing of taps on officials of the National Security Council and the State and Defense Departments—the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is holding hearings to resolve the question of whether he initiated or simply went along with them—the F.B.I. documents make clear that he played no role in the surveillance of three White House aides.

None of the three held a post that involved access to national security information of the

sort being leaked to the press. That information concerned the air war in Cambodia in 1969, the strategic arms limitation talks and Soviet military developments. The committee records showed the following:

William Safire, while a Nixon speechwriter, was wiretapped at the request of Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr., then Mr. Kissinger's military assistant and now Mr. Haldeman's successor as White House chief of staff. Mr. Safire is now a columnist for The New York Times.

John P. Sears, while deputy White House counsel in charge of political patronage, was tapped on orders of former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who told the F.B.I. that Mr. Nixon had asked for the surveillance. The wiretap reports on Mr. Sears were directed to Mr. Ehrlichman and not, like the others, to Mr. Kissinger's office.

James W. McLane, a White House expert on problems of the aging and son-in-law of Francis W. Sargent, the Republican Governor of Massachusetts, was tapped on orders of Mr. Haldeman.

"The material compiled on these staff members as a result of the wiretaps related primarily to their personal lives and their politics," the committee said.

Informed sources have said that the Watergate special prosecutor's investigation of possible illegality in the 17 wiretaps is focusing on the surveillance of Mr. Safire, Mr. Sears and Mr. McLane, and also of Mr. Lake and Mr. Halperin following their departure from the National Security Council.

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