

## List of White House 'Enemies' and Memo Submitted by Dean to the Ervin Committee

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Among the documents Dean submitted in evidence June 27 were lists "several inches thick" of Nixon's "political enemies."

The "Opponents List and Political Enemies Project" turned over to the Senate committee, Dean said, was compiled beginning in 1971 by various Administration officials and was frequently updated.

In one of the documents, written by Dean Aug. 16, 1971, intended to accompany the undated master list of opponents, Dean suggested ways in which "we can use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies." Methods proposed included Administration manipulation of "grant availability, federal contracts, litigation, prosecution, etc."

Dean testified that the memo was sent to then-White House Chief of Staff H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, then the President's adviser for domestic affairs, for approval. Dean said he did not know if the plan became operational; however, subsequent memos, also submitted to the committee, indicated that the plan was adopted.

The master list of political enemies was prepared by the office of then- White House counsel Charles W. Colson, Dean said. A condensed list of 20 prime political enemies slated for reprisals was also produced by Colson's office, according to Dean. Others named by Dean who had direct input in the lists were former White House aide Lyn Nofziger and Haldeman aide Gordon Strachan.

The larger list, divided in categories, included 10 Democratic senators, all 12 black House members, more than 50 newspaper and television reporters, prominent businessmen and labor leaders and entertainers. Another list included large and small contributors to Sen. Edmund S. Muskie's (D, Me.) presidential campaign.

### Original List

*The original list of 20 names of White House "enemies" submitted with comments submitted with comments to Dean by the of office of Charles W. Colson.\**

**Boldface** type indicates a correction in erroneous White House identification of its political enemies. Material in brackets is additional information supplied by the editor.

Having studied the attached material and evaluated the recommendations for the discussed action, I believe you will find my list worthwhile for status. It is in priority order.

1. Arnold M. Picker, United Artists Corp., N.Y. Top Muskie fund raiser. Success here could be both debilitating and very embarrassing to the Muskie machine. If effort looks promising, both Ruth and David Picker should be programmed and then a follow through with United Artists.
2. Alexander E. Barkan, national director of A F.L.-C.I.O.'s committee on Political Education, Washington D.C.: Without a doubt the most powerful political force programmed against us in 1968 (\$10 million, 4.6 million votes, 115 million pamphlets, 176,000 workers--all programmed by Barkan's C.O.P.E.--so says Teddy White in "The Making of the President 1968"). We can expect the same effort this time. [See p. 468E3]
3. Ed Guthman, managing editor, Los Angeles Times [**national editor**]: Guthman, former Kennedy aide, was a highly sophisticated hatchetman against us in '68. It is obvious he is the prime mover behind the current Key Biscayne effort. It is time to give him the message.
4. Maxwell Dane, Doyle, Dane and Bernbach, N.Y.: The top Democratic advertising firm--they destroyed Goldwater in '64. They should be hit hard starting with Dane.
5. Charles Dyson, Dyson-Kissner Corp., N.Y.: Dyson and Larry O'Brien were close business associates after '68. Dyson has huge business holdings and is presently deeply involved in the Businessmen's Educational Fund which bankrolls a national radio network of five-minute programs--anti-Nixon in character.
6. Howard Stein, Dreyfus Corp., N.Y.: Heaviest contributor to McCarthy in '68. If McCarthy goes, will do the same in '72. If not, Lindsay or McGovern will receive the funds.
7. Allard Lowenstein, Long Island, N.Y.: Guiding force behind the 18-year-old "Dump Nixon" vote campaign.
8. Morton Halperin, leading executive at Common Cause: A scandal would be most helpful here. (**A consultant for Common Cause in February-March 1971**)[On staff of Brookings Institution]
9. Leonard Woodcock, UAW, Detroit, Mich.: No comments necessary.
10. S. Sterling Munro Jr., Sen. [Henry M.] Jackson's aide, Silver Spring, Md.: We should give him a try. Positive results would stick a pin in Jackson's white hat.

11. Bernard T. Feld, president, Council for a Livable World: Heavy far left funding. They will program an "all court press" against us in '72.
12. Sidney Davidoff, New York City, [New York City Mayor John V.] Lindsay's top personal aide: a first class S.O.B., wheeler-dealer and suspected bagman. Positive results would really shake the Lindsay camp and Lindsay's plans to capture youth vote. Davidoff in charge.
13. John Conyers, congressman, Detroit: Coming on fast. Emerging as a leading black anti-Nixon spokesman. Has known weakness for white females.
14. Samuel M. Lambert, president, National Education Association: Has taken us on vis-a-vis federal aid to parochial schools--a '72 issue.
15. Stewart Rawlings Mott, Mott Associates, N.Y.: Nothing but big money for radic-lib candidates.
16. Ronald Dellums, congressman, Calif.: Had extensive [Edward M. Kennedy] EMK-Tunney support in his election bid. Success might help in California next year.
17. Daniel Schorr, Columbia Broadcasting System, Washington: A real media enemy.
18. S. Harrison Dogole, Philadelphia, Pa.: President of Globe Security Systems--fourth largest private detective agency in U.S. Heavy Humphrey contributor. Could program his agency against us.
19. Paul Newman, Calif.: Radic-lib causes. Heavy McCarthy involvement '68. Used effectively in nation wide T.V. commercials.'72 involvement certain.
20. Mary McGrory, Washington columnist: Daily hate Nixon articles.

## 'Political Opponents'

*Dean provided this updated "master list" of political opponents to the committee. The list was prepared by Colson's office, Dean said.*

Senators--Birch Bayh, J. W. Fulbright, Fred R. Harris, Harold Hughes, Edward M. Kennedy, George McGovern, Walter Mondale, Edmund Muskie, Gaylord Nelson, William Proxmire.

Members of the House--Bella Abzug, William R. Anderson, John Brademas, Father Robert F. Drinan, Robert Kastenmeier, Wright Patman.

Black congressmen--Shirley Chisholm, William Clay, George Collins, John Conyers, Ronald Dellums, Charles Diggs, Augustus Hawkins, Ralph Metcalfe, Robert N.C. Nix, Parren Mitchell, Charles Rangel, Louis Stokes.

Miscellaneous politicians--John V. Lindsay, mayor, New York City; Eugene McCarthy, former U.S. senator; George Wallace, governor, Alabama.

### Organizations

Black Panthers, Hughie (**Huey**) Newton

Brookings Institution, Lesley Gelb and others

Business Executives Move for VN Peace. Herb Niles, national chairman, Vincent McGee. executive director

Committee for an Effective Congress. Russell Hemingway

Common Cause, John Gardner, Morton Halper, Charles Goodell, Walter Hickel

COPE, Alexander E Barkan

Council for a Livable World, Bernard T. Feld, pr idem: professor of physics. MIT

Farmers Union, NFO

Institute of (for) Policy study Richard Barn, Marcus Raskin

National Economic Council, Inc

National Education Association, Sam M. Lambe president

National Student Association, Charles Palm president

National Welfare Rights Organization, George Wiley

Potomac Associates, William Watts

SANE, Sanford Gottleib

Southern Christian Leadership, Ralph Abernathy;

Third National Convocation on the Challenge of Building Peace, Robert V Roosa, chairman

Businessmen's Educational Fund.

### Labor

Karl Feller president, International Union United Brewery. Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers, Cincinnati

Harold J. Gibbons, international vice preside Teamsters

A F Gropiron, president, Oil, Chemical Atomic Workers International Union, Denver

Matthew Guinan, president, Transport Work. Union of America, New York City

Paul Jennings, president, International Union Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, Washington D.C.  
 Herman D. Kenin, vice president, AFL-CIO. D  
 Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer. AFL-CIO (we must deal with him)  
 Frederick O'Neal, president. Actors and Artists America, New York City  
 William Pollock, president, Textile Workers Union of America, New York City  
 Jacob Potofsky general president, Amalgam. Clothing Workers of America, New York City  
 Leonard Woodcock, president, United Auto Workers, Detroit  
 Jerry Wurf, international president, American Federal, State, County and Municipal Employ Washington D.C.  
 Nathaniel Goldfinger, AFL-CIO  
 I. W. Abel, Steelworkers

### Media

Jack Anderson, columnist, "Washington Merry-Go-Round"  
 Jim Bishop, author, columnist, King Features Syndicate  
 Thomas Braden, columnist, Los Angeles Times Syndicate  
 D.J.R. Bruckner, Los Angeles Times Syndicate  
 Marquis Childs, chief Washington correspondent, St. Louis Post Dispatch  
 James Deakin, White House correspondent, St. Louis Post Dispatch  
 James Doyle, Washington Star  
 Richard Dudman, St. Louis Post Dispatch  
 William Eaton, Chicago Daily News  
 Rowland Evans Jr., syndicated columnist, Publishers Hall  
 Saul Friedmann, Knight Newspapers, syndicated columnist  
 Clayton Fritchey, syndicated columnist Washington correspondent. Harpers  
 George Frazier, Boston Globe  
 Pete Hamill, New York Post  
 Michael Harrington, author and journal member, executive committee Socialist party  
 Sydney Harris, columnist, drama critic and writer of 'Strictly Personal,' syndicated Publishers Hall Robert Healy, Boston Globe  
 William Hines, Jr., journalist. science education, Chicago Sun-Times  
 Stanley Karnow, foreign correspondent,  
 Washington Post  
 Ted Knap, syndicated columnist, New York Daily News  
 Edwin Knoll, Progressive  
 Morton Kondracke, Chicago Sun Times  
 Joseph Kraft, syndicated columnist, Publishers Hall  
 James Laird, Philadelphia Inquirer  
 Max Lerner, syndicated columnist, New York  
 Post: author, lecturer, professor (Brandeis University)  
 Stanley Levey, Scripps Howard  
 Flora Lewis syndicated columnist on economics  
 Stuart Loory, Los Angeles Times  
 Mary McGrory, syndicated columnist on New Left  
 Frank Mankiewicz, syndicated columnist Los Angeles Times  
 James Millstone, St. Louis Post Disptach  
 Martin Nolan, Boston Globe  
 Ed Guthman, Los Angeles Ttmes  
 Thomas O'Neill, Baltimore Sun [died in April 1971]  
 John Pierson, Wall Street Journal  
 William Prochnau, Seattle Times  
 James Reston, New York Times  
 Carl Rowan, syndicated columnist, Publishers Hall  
 Warren Unna, Washington Post, NET  
 Harriet Van Home, columnist, New York Post  
 Milton Viorst, reporter, author, writer  
 James Wechsler, New York Post  
 Tom Wicker, New York Times  
 Gary Wills. syndicated columnist, author of "Nixon-Agonistes"  
 The New York Times  
 Washington Post  
 St Louis Post Dispatch  
 Jules Duscha, Washingtonian  
 Robert Manning, editor, Atlantic  
 John Osborne, New Republic  
 Richard Rovere, New Yorker  
 Robert Sherrill, Nation  
 Paul Samuelson, Newsweek  
 Julian Goodman, chief executive officer, NBC  
 John Macy, Jr., president, Public Broadcasting Corp, former Civil Service Commission

Marvin Kalb, CBS  
 Daniel Schorr, CBS  
 Lem Tucker, NBC  
 Sander Vanocur, NBC

### **Celebrities**

Carol Channing, actress  
 Bill Cosby, actor  
 Jane Fonda, actress  
 Steve McQueen, actor  
 Joe Namath, New York Giants [**Jets**]; business; actor  
 Paul Newman, actor  
 Gregory Peck actor  
 Tony Randall actor  
 Barbra Streisand, actress  
 Dick Gregory [comedian]

### **Businessmen**

Charles B Beneson, president, Beneson Realty Co.  
 Nelson Bengston, president, Bengston & Co.  
 Holmes Brown, vice president, public relations, Continental Can Co.  
 Benjamin Bittenweiser, limited partner, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.  
 Lawrence G. Chait, chairman Lawrence G. Chait & Co., Inc.  
 Ernest R. Chanes, president, Consolidated Water Conditioning Co.  
 Maxwell Dane, chairman, executive committee, Doyle, Dane & Bernbach, Inc.  
 Charles H. Dyson, chairman, the Dyson-Kissner Corp.  
 Norman Eisner, president, Lincoln Graphic Arts.  
 Charles B. Finch, vice president, Alleghany Power System, Inc.  
 Frank Heineman, president, Men's Wear International.  
 George Hillman, president, Ellery Products Manufacturing Co.  
 Bertram Lichtenstein, president, Delton Ltd.  
 William Manealoff, president, Concord Steel Corp.  
 Gerald McKee, president, McKee, Berger, Mansueto.  
 Paul Milstein, president, Circle Industries Corp.  
 Stewart R. Mott, Stewart R. Mott, Associates.  
 Lawrence S. Phillips, president, Phillips-Van Heusen Corp.  
 David Rose chairman, Rose Associates.  
 Julian Roth senior partner, Emery Roth & Sons.  
 William Ruder, president, Ruder & Finn, Inc.  
 Si Scharer, president, Scharer Associates, Inc.  
 Alfred P. Slaner, president, Kayser-Roth Corp.  
 Roger Sonnabend, chairman, Sonesta International Hotels.

### **Business Additions**

Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace and New National Priorities  
 Morton Sweig, president, National Cleaning Contractors  
 Alan V. Tishman, executive vice president, Tishman Realty & Construction Co., Inc.  
 Ira D. Wallach, president, Gottesman & Co., Inc.  
 George Weissman, president, Philip Morris Corp.  
 Ralph Weller, president, Otis Elevator Company

### **Business**

Clifford Alexander, Jr., member, Equal Opportunity Commission; LBJ's special assistant  
 Hugh Calkins, Cleveland lawyer, member, Harvard Corp  
 Ramsey Clark, partner, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison; former attorney general  
 Lloyd Cutler, lawyer, Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, Washington, D.C.  
 Henry L. Kimelman, chief fund raiser for McGovern, president, Overview Group  
 Raymond Lapin, former president, FNMA; corporation executive  
 Hans F. Loeser, chairman, Boston Lawyers' Vietnam Committee  
 Robert McNamara, president, World Bank; former Secretary of Defense  
 Hans Morgenthau, former US. attorney in New York City (Robert Morgenthau).  
 Victor Palmieri, lawyer, business consultant, real estate executive, Los Angeles.  
 Arnold Picker, Muskie's chief fund raiser; chairman executive committee, United Artists  
 Robert S. Pirie, Harold Hughes' chief fund raiser: Boston lawyer.  
 Joseph Rosenfield, Harold Hughes' money man; retired Des Moines lawyer.  
 Henry Rowen, president, Rand Corp., former assistant director of budget (LBJ)  
 R Sargent Shriver, Jr., former US. ambassador to France; lawyer, Strasser, Spiefelberg, Fried, Frank & Kempelman, Washington, D.C.  
 [1972 Democratic vice presidential candidate]  
 Theodore Sorensen, lawyer, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, New York.

Ray Stark, Broadway producer.  
Howard Stein, president and director, Dreyfus Corporation.  
Milton Semer, chairman, Muskie Election Committee; lawyer, Semer and Jacobsen  
George H. Talbot, president, Charlotte Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. ; headed anti-Vietnam ad  
Arthur Taylor, vice president, International Paper Company [presently CBS president]  
Jack Valenti, president, Motion Picture Association.  
Paul Warnke, Muskie financial supporter, former assistant secretary of defense  
Thomas I. Watson, Jr., Muskie financial supporter; chairman, IBM

#### **Academics**

Michael Ellis De Bakey, chairman, department of surgery, Baylor University; surgeon-in-chief, Ben Taub General Hospital. Texas  
Derek Curtis Bok, dean, Harvard Law School [presently Harvard president]  
Kingman Brewster, Jr., president, Yale University.  
McGeorge Bundy, president, Ford Foundation.  
Avram Noam Chomsky, professor of modern languages, MIT  
Daniel Ellsberg, professor, MIT.  
George Drennen Fischer, member, executive committee. National Education Association  
J. Kenneth Galbraith, professor of economics, Harvard  
Patricia Harris, educator, lawyer, former US. ambassador; chairman welfare committee Urban League  
Walter Heller, regents professor of economics, University of Minnesota  
Edwin Land, professor of physics, MIT.  
Herbert Ley, Jr., former FDA commissioner; professor of epidemiology, Harvard.  
Matthew Stanley Meselson, professor of biology, Harvard  
Lloyd N. Morrisett, professor and associate director, education program, University of Calif  
Joseph Rhodes, Jr., fellow, Harvard; member, Scranton commission on Campus Unrest  
Bayard Rustin, civil rights activist; director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York.  
David Selden, president, American Federation of Teachers.  
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., professor of humanities, City University of New York  
Jeremy Stone, director, Federation of American Scienlists  
Jerome Wiesner, president, MIT.  
Samuel M. Lambert, president, National Education Association

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## **First Colson Memo to Dean**

(June 12, 1972)

I have received a well-informed tip that there are income tax discrepancies involving the returns of Harold J. Gibbons, a vice president of the teamsters union in St. Louis. This has come to me on very, very good authority.

Gibbons, you should know, is an all out enemy, a McGovernite, ardently anti-Nixon. He is one of the three labor leaders who were recently invited to Hanoi.

Please tell me if this one can be started on at once and if there is an informer's fee, let me know. There is a good cause at which it can be donated.

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## **Second Colson Memo to Dean**

(Nov. 17, 1972)

I have received from an informer some interesting information on Jack Anderson, including a report that Jack Anderson was found in a room with wiretap equipment and a private investigator in connection with the Dodd investigation. Anderson, according to my source, had the wiretap equipment supplied to him by a Washington, D.C., man.

According to the same source, Anderson and Drew Pearson were paid \$100,000 in 1958 by Batista to write favorable articles about the former Cuban dictator. In 1961 Anderson wrote several very favorable articles on Fidel Castro. Fredo de la Campo, Batista's Under Secretary of State, sent Anderson a telegram saying "I hope you were paid well, as well for the Castro articles as you were for the Batista articles." My source has a copy of the telegram.

You know my personal feelings about Jack Anderson. After his incredibly sloppy and malicious reporting on Eagleton, his credibility has diminished. It now appears as if we have the opportunity to destroy it. Do you agree that we should pursue this activity?

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## Dean Memo on 'Enemies'

*Memorandum from Dean to Lawrence Higby, former assistant to Haldeman, dated Aug. 16, 1971 and entitled "Dealing with our political enemies."*

This memorandum addresses the matter of how we can maximize the fact of our incumbency in dealing with persons known to be active in their opposition to our Administration, Stated a bit more bluntly--how we can use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies.

After reviewing this matter with a number of persons possessed of experience in the field, I have concluded that we do not need an elaborate mechanism or game plan, rather we need a good project coordinator and full support for the project. In brief, the system would work as follows:

--Key members of the staff (e.g., Colson, Dent, Flanigan, Buchanan) could be requested to inform us as to who they feel we should be giving a hard time.

--The project coordinator should then determine what sorts of dealings these individuals have with the Federal Government and how we can best screw them (e.g., grant availability, federal contracts, litigation prosecution, etc.)

--The project coordinator then should have access to and the full support of the top officials of the agency or departments in proceeding to deal with the individual.

I have learned that there have been many efforts in the past to take such actions, but they have ultimately failed--in most cases because of lack of support at the top. Of all those I have discussed this matter with, Lyn Nofziger [President's California manager] appears the most knowledgeable and most interested. If Lyn had support he would enjoy undertaking this activity as the project coordinator. You are aware of some of Lyn's successes in the field, but he feels that he can employ limited efforts because there is a lack of support.

As a next step. I would recommend that we develop a small list of names--not more than ten--as our targets for concentration. Request that Lyn "do a job" on them and if he finds he is getting cut off by a department agency, that he inform us and we evaluate what is necessary to proceed. I feel it is important that we keep our targets limited for several reasons: (1) a low visibility of the project is imperative; (2) it will be easier to accomplish something real if we don't over expand our efforts; and (3) we can learn more about how to operate such an activity if we start small and build.

Approve--Disapprove--Comment--

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\* A memo dated Sept. 14, 1971 from Dean to Haldeman aide Lawrence Higby, submitted to the Committee, included three persons not shown on either list of 20 or the larger master list. Those selected by Dean for inclusion were:

Eugen Carson Blake (per request) [General Secretary World Council of Churches

Leonard Bernstein (per request) [ Conductor/ Composer ]

Tom Wicker (New York Times)

Clark Clifford (Clifford) [former Secretary of Defense]