Watergate: Dean's Honor Roll of Enemies Includes Scientists

Former presidential counsel John W. Dean, III, testified on 27 June before Senate Watergate investigators that, like W. S. Gilbert's lord high executioner in the Mikado, the Nixon henchmen had a little list of so-called "enemies" of the White House, and that Dean himself participated in considering ways, as he wrote, to "use the available Federal machinery to screw" them.

The Dean's list of 200 names included prominent show business figures, labor leaders, journalists, academics, people in the field of education, a sprinkling of Harvard professors, two distinguished economists, and at least one scientist who aided the scientists committee to help reelect the President.

There was some serious reaction to the list afterwards—a number of those contacted for comment said it confirmed their fears that liberally oriented academic people were just not welcome in the White House. Bernard Field of the Council for a Livable World and M.I.T., who was cited, stated, "There has been pretty much a feeling that coming from M.I.T. was not exactly the best credential to get something in Washington"; and with a touch of vengeance, Noam Chomsky, asked for his reaction to being on the President's list by a Boston newspaper, retorted, "Nixon's on my list." One not on the list, William O. Baker, who is believed to be close to the President, denied he has heard of or seen a list but added: "One was conscious of a considerable political sensitivity about how these issues were received by certain political elements." But he called the published list "absolute trash" and "pure illusion."

There are several education figures: Samuel M. Lambert, former executive secretary of the National Education Association; and George Fischer, also of the NEA; Charles Palmer, former president of the National Student Association; Lloyd N. Morissett, associate director of the University of California's education program; and David Selden, president of the American Federation of Teachers.

More cloak-and-dagger tragicomedy was provided by Dean's revelation of White House plans to obtain files from the Brookings Institution by infiltrating the security force there. When aid Charles Colson learned that it would be difficult, he ordered a fire-bombing of Brookings to get the files "during the commotion," according to Dean. Brookings, along with the Black Panthers, is on the list of enemy organizations, and scholars Leslie Gelb and Morton Halperin are singled out for special mention.

Besides Bok, Harvard has three other associates listed: John Kenneth Galbraith, professor of economics; and Matthew Meselson, professor of biology, as well as former junior fellow Joseph Rhodes, who was attacked by Vice President Agnew when on the Seranton Commission on Student Unrest.

Galbraith, asked if he thought his phone was bugged, replied, "I've assumed that, if the FBI were listening in, and had to make their way through the social and amorous conversations of my offspring to wait for me to come on the line and say something sensitive, they've earned their keep." Meselson, asked if he suspected his phone was bugged, said, "The telephone service in Lexington is terrible. We have atrocious telephone service. But I, like everybody else, have thought of it." Rhodes could not be reached for comment.

M.I.T. fared better—or worse—than Harvard. Its Nobel economist, Institute Professor Paul Samuelson, who also writes a column for Newsweek, was listed under the White House's heading of "media" enemies. Samuelson reacted, "I was hurt that I wasn't included among the academics." Daniel Ellsberg, who formerly was in the political science department, Chomsky, Feld, Wiesner, and Edwin Land, who has an M.I.T. professorship as well as being president of Polaroid Corporation, were also listed from M.I.T.

Other journalists besides Samuelson—include Robert Manning, editor of the Atlantic Monthly, who said that he had had income tax audits for 3 of the last 4 years. Many political writers and news broadcasters were listed, but only one science writer, William Hines, of the Chicago Sun-Times, who has written columns of opinion which, he said, were critical of the President on health policy, population, and marijuana issues. Asked why in his view there was only one science writer, Hines said, "... Maybe the science press is less important... by and large the science writers fall wide of the mark." Hines added, "maybe it'll make us dig in and try harder."

Other prominent academic figures, such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., of City University of New York; Walter Heller, of the University of Minnesota; Herbert Ley, Jr., former commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration; and Henry Rowan, former president of the Rand Corporation, now at Stanford University, were listed, as well as two executive directors of public interest groups associated with arms issues, Sandy Gottlieb of SANE and Jeremy Stone of the Federation of American Scientists. Besides Brookings and the Rand Corporation, a smaller think tank, the Institute for Policy Studies, in Washington, D.C., was mentioned.

Ironically, one of the White House "enemies," the famous heart surgeon Michael de Bakey gave advice to the scientists and engineers committee to reelect Nixon in 1972. And two others—McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation and Thomas J. Watson, of IBM—are about as far away from the antiestablishment as anyone on the planet. The fact that people like Land and Watson were evidently being fingered by the White House provoked this comment from Chomsky: "Suppose the list had had me, David Dellinger, Howard Zinn, and Angela Davis on it—do you think that it would have made the New York Times? That's what people expect to happen to dissidents. My reaction to the list is the same as my reaction to Watergate. The kinds of tactics that have been reserved for dissidents in this country were contemplated for use against people close to the center of power. Those aren't the rules."—D.S.