



Marshall Artzman

and United States strategic findings raise serious doubts of rampant triangularity in the relations among China, the United States and the Soviet Union. I have accepted the view that Peking and Washington and Moscow have approved. Indeed, the Chinese position suggests very much the conclusion that there are paths to great gains that do not depend upon massive expenditures for armaments. The United States, then, has done more than its share to gain acceptance of the premise of nuclear deterrence. Unlike the Soviet American élites, its leaders have not departed from the strategic course that now prevails. How well?

Pollock is a research fellow at Harvard University program for international affairs.

By William Safire

Whoever, having the custody of any such record . . . willfully and unlawfully . . . removes . . . the same, shall be fined not more than \$2,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both; and shall forfeit his office. . . .
—18 U.S. Code 2071 (B)

When J. Edgar Hoover ran the F.B.I., he withheld certain highly sensitive files from the bureau's filing system; upon his death, those files were destroyed, frustrating law enforcement officials and historians.

When Henry Kissinger ran the National Security Council, he, too, withheld certain records from the council's computerized retrieval system. Some months ago, I reported that these "dead key scrolls"—typed transcripts of all his telephone conversations, taken down secretly by a secretary on a dead, or silent, extension—were no longer in the National Security Council, where they belonged, but had been taken over to the State Department.

Messrs. Woodward and Bernstein have added another wrinkle to that story: It seems that when these sensitive records were removed from the White House, they were first sent to the private vault of Nelson Rockefeller at his Pocantico, N.Y., estate. After a Federal attorney warned that boxes of top-secret documents could not lawfully be kept in a private home, the Secretary brought them back onto Federal property.

Here is some more information, which the White House refuses to direct the National Security Council or the State Department to confirm or deny:

1. Dr. Kissinger's "inner file," as Security Council staffers refer to the records withheld from the system, is not limited to telephone transcripts. Memoranda of conversations with the President and foreign officials like Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin are included, and in many cases, no other copies of the memos exist.

2. The assignment to withhold material from proper Security Council classification and filing was once one of David Young's functions; when that Kissinger aide went off to head the "plumbers," aides Jonathan Howe and Peter Rodman took over.

3. Individual briefcase-loads of this secret material were taken out of the White House to the Rockefeller estate in the early seventies, culminating in a big move of the remaining files in April, 1973. The Kissinger men will claim they were "protecting" the files from the Nixon men, but the files began disappearing from the White

House long before Watergate, and they have not yet been restored.

How come? The reason, I think, is that there is material in that "inner file" that Secretary Kissinger does not want anybody in the White House, the Department of Defense, the C.I.A. or certainly the Congress to see. There are certain meetings, particularly with Ambassador Dobrynin, that he wants to be able to expunge from the record. If he can control the "memcons," he can rewrite history.

How does Nelson Rockefeller feel about his complicity in all this? "Henry's a friend," the Vice President told me. "I told him he could have the use of the vault." When? "I don't remember when." Did he just volunteer his vault, or did Henry ask? "I don't remember." Were six filing cabinets filled with secret records stored there? "There's been a small volume of papers stored there." Did he realize his personal vault was being used improperly to store official secrets? "Henry's a friend. I think he said something about papers from Harvard, I don't know anything about classified documents."

Could I see the man who runs his Pocantico vault, to see what was checked in and out, and who was permitted access to the documents? "No, you can't, that's private." And what of his taxpayer-paid aide, a young naval officer named—you guessed it—Jonathan Howe, the same Kissinger hand who operated the Pocantico underground railroad? "No, he's unavailable."

Here is the second highest ranking official in our Government, who was chosen by President Ford to head the commission to restore respect for law in our intelligence community. His home was used as the safe-house for the illegal concealment of the nation's secrets. His stonewalling answer to legitimate inquiry is that he cannot be held responsible because he did not want to know what was going on in his own home.

Behind the stone wall, I suspect, there is an important story—of conversations the public or at least key Government officials are entitled to know, and perhaps of records that have mysteriously disappeared.

President Ford, who ostentatiously offers F.B.I. help to Congress for plugging its leaks, has assigned nobody to look into this major breach of security. But it is Gerald Ford's Vice President who winks at the rule of law in handling intelligence; it is Gerald Ford's National Security Adviser who refuses all comment at an abuse of power he was surely aware of; it is Gerald Ford's Secretary of State who treats the nation's secrets as his personal secrets, and it is Gerald Ford's cover-up that must be exposed.

NYT
4/12/74

29

City
ove

350,000
ts who
every
that
Is it
obby-
who
t? Is
pub-
liti-
the

is
is
le-
en-
b-
n