



REPORT TO THE CONGRESS





B-155950

To the President of the Senate and the C Speaker of the House of Representatives

This is our report on the protection of the President at Key Biscayne and San Clemente, with information on protection of past Presidents.

We made our review pursuant to the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (31 U.S.C. 53), and the Accounting and Auditing Act of 1950 (31 U.S.C. 67).

Comments have been obtained from the agencies concerned and given consideration.

We are sending copies of the report to the President of the United States; the Secretary of the Treasury; the Director, Office of Management and Budget; and the Administrator of General Services.

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Comptroller General of the United States

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COMPTROLLER GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE CONGRESS PROTECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AT KEY BISCAYNE AND SAN CLEMENTE (With Information on Protection of Past Presidents) B-155950

<u>DIGEST</u>

WHY THIS REVIEW WAS MADE

In May 1973 articles began to appear in the newspapers and magazines regarding Federal expenditures on President Nixon's residences at Key Biscayne, Florida, and San Clemente, California. Most of the expenditures were defended by the agencies responsible as being necessary for the protection of the President.

As a result of the publicity, GAO began to receive letters from Members of Congress, some asking for information and others calling for an investigation. They expressed a common concern about the magnitude of the total reported expenditures and, with respect to specific expenditures, questioned whether the work performed:

- --related to <u>protection of the</u> President
- --provided a nonprotective benefit to the President.

Many letters also expressed an interest in expenditures made at the residences of past Presidents.

To respond, GAO made a general review of the expenditures for protective purposes at Key Biscayne and San Clemente, noting expenditures for other purposes when appropriate.

Although public discussion has now

broadened to include such nonprotective activities as communications and office support and goes beyond the residence properties--thus raising the dollar amounts in question from about \$1.4 million to \$10 million--GAO believes there is value in dealing separately with the original issue, as this report seeks to do.

GAO also gathered information on expenditures at the residences of several past Presidents.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The Secret Service estimates that it has currently installed at the Key Biscayne and San Clemente residences (houses and grounds) protective devices costing about \$31,600 and \$63,600, respectively. The most recent General Services Administration (GSA) listing of expenditures incurred at the residences showed amounts of \$485,300 and \$701,000, respectively. The foregoing amounts, together with an adjustment to Key Biscayne costs (see p. 12), makes a total of about \$1.4 million in expenditures for consideration in this report.

Magnitude of the total expenditures

The assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 ushered in an era of

<u>Tear Sheet</u>. Upon removal, the report cover date should be noted hereon.

heightened concern for the safety of national leaders. The Warren Commission, which investigated the assassination, favored an enlarged and more up-to-date protective operation for the Secret Service.

The civil disorders that became commonplace in the 1960s did little to alleviate that concern, nor did the assassination of presidential candidate Senator Robert F. Kennedy in June 1968.

The Congress and the Secret Service responded to the events of the 1960s with additional funds, improved technology, and added manpower, increasing the protection furnished the President, as well as the other persons to whom protection is extended.

The Congress also dealt with the role of other Federal agencies in protective activities. On the same day as the death of <u>Senator Kennedy</u>,

C2 legislation was passed which, in addition to extending protection to presidential and vice presidential candidates, strengthened the hand of the Secret Service in obtaining protective assistance from other agencies by requiring them to provide such assistance.

The controversy and public attention which have been directed to expenditures at the residences of President Nixon is due, at least in part, to the fact that this is the first administration to take office since the enactment of this legislation.

The basic facilities

Nearly \$1 million in expenditures was for certain basic facilities installed wholly or in part on the residence properties at Key Biscayne and San Clemente.

Key Biscayne: Hedge and fence system Bullet-resistant glass Command post Electronic systems and lighting	\$ 71,100 128,700 129,900 <u>131,700</u> <u>461,400</u>
San Clemente: Wall and fence system	89,900
Gatehouse and guard- houses	26,700
Electronic systems and lighting	308,900
	425,500
Total	\$ <u>886,900</u>

GAO found that these facilities serve protective purposes. GAO concluded that on balance these facilities do not provide significant benefits to the President apart from protection. Key Biscayne facilities are discussed on pages 12 to 19 and San Clemente facilities are discussed on pages 28 to 34.

Landscaping and paving

Landscaping and paving at the residences were as follows:

Key Biscayne: Landscaping Paving	\$ 62,800 5,100
	67,900
San Clemente: Landscaping Paving	135,700 20,400
	156,100
Total	\$ <u>224,000</u>

GAO found that, as a whole, landscaping done during the construction periods at Key Biscayne (see pp. 20 to 24) and San Clemente (see pp. 35 to 37) either served a protective purpose or was incident to other protective work.

The problem of distinguishing between landscape maintenance which should be assumed by the Government and that which should be assumed by the President defied any clear solution. However, it appears that the Government did some landscape maintenance at both residences which should have been done at the President's expense. (See pp. 25, 26, and 42.)

GAO believes that current landscape maintenance arrangements at Key Biscayne (see p. 26) and San Clemente (see p. 42) are not unreasonable.

Paving done at Key Biscayne (see p. 26) and San Clemente (see pp. 43 and 44) either served a protective purpose or was incident to other protective work. At San Clemente, there appears to have been a nonprotective benefit to the President because the existing paving was old.

Other facilities and work

Other facilities and other work done at the residences reviewed by GAO included: Except for two of the flagpoles, all are at San Clemente.

GAO found that the electric heating system, fire protection, bulletresistant glass screen, railroad crossing and warning signal and cabana, point gazebo renovation, and property surveys all served protective purposes. (See pp. 46, 50, 52, 54, 55, and 58.) GAO also found that there were nonprotective benefits to the President associated with these items--which of itself is not a basis for criticism. However, in the case of the electric heating system (see pp. 32 to 34) and two of the three property surveys (see pp. 57 and 58) other circumstances led GAO to question whether the Government should have assumed the costs.

The remaining items, office furnishings and alterations, sewer, and flagpoles did not serve a protective purpose. (See pp. 81 to 83.) The office furnishings and alterations were provided by GSA under its au-11 thority to provide administrative support to the President whenever required. A share of the sewer cost was borne by GSA, the justification being that official visitors would be entertained at the residence. GAO believes that the Government should not have participated in the sewer cost. The flagpoles were provided by GSA at request of the military.

Electric heating system	\$ 13,500
Fire protection	33,300
Bullet-resistant glass screen	13,000
Railroad crossing and warning signal and cabana	19,300
<pre>Point gazebo renovation</pre>	6,600
Property surveys	8,400
Office furnishings and alterations	6,400
- Sewer	3,800
Flagpoles (3)	3,200
	\$ <u>107,500</u>

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Architectural considerations

Secret Service policy is to conform its facilities to the architecture of the property on which they are installed. Also, consideration is given to the views of the President or his representative on what is appropriate to the setting. Application of this policy was seen in the fence and command post at Key Biscayne; and in the wall, fence, guardposts, and light fixtures at San Clemente. (See pp. 59 to 62.)

Budgeting, accounting, and auditing

GAO reviewed the experience of 1968-1973 in terms of budgeting, accounting, and auditing with a view to identifying what has been done or still needs to be done to strengthen control by the Congress and promote understanding by the public.

Pursuant to 1968 legislation the

- on GSA appropriations made available for Secret Service protective functions with its requests for assistance. It is GSA policy not to question Secret Service requests. This arrangement has the following weaknesses
 - --GSA funds are not directly associated with Secret Service protective activities during the budget preparation and review process.
 - --A casual attitude in authorizing work is fostered. Because most requests during the construction period were verbal, who made requests or precisely what was requested could not be readily determined.

--GSA is invited to do more than simply execute Secret Service requests, particularly when requests are vague or general.

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GAO believes that these weaknesses call for the appropriation of funds directly to the Secret Service to finance reimbursements to other agencies for certain assistance. In this respect, changes being made in the financing of GSA public buildings activities will require that the Secret Service obtain appropriations and reimburse GSA for protective assistance beginning in fiscal year 1975. (See pp. 72 to 74.)

GAO believes that the Secret Service should take the steps necessary now to insure that its accounting system will accumulate and classify costs to properly meet the external as well as internal needs for cost data. (See pp. 75 to 77.)

 ϑ_s Secret Service began to draw heavily $/\vartheta_s$ Also, GAO believes that additional control of expenditures at private residences can be had through the use of independent audits. (See p. 78.)

Past Presidents

Expenditures for protection on the private properties of past Presidents are discussed on pages 84 to 98.

MATTERS FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE CONGRESS

In order that there may be control and accountability, as well as public disclosure, of Federal funds spent at private residences for the protection of Presidents, Vice Presidents, former Presidents, and others, GAO is recommending that Congress

enact legislation along the following lines:

- --Appropriations for expenditures at private residences for protective purposes should be made to the Secret Service and no other funds should be available for that purpose.
- --The accounting system of the Secret Service should require that expenditures at private residences for protective purposes be authorized by the Director or Deputy Director of the Service, and that all costs for this purpose be segregated and accumulated on a current basis.
- --The Secret Service should make an annual public report to the Congress showing in as much detail as security will allow expenditures made on private residences for protective purposes.
- --The report made by the Secret Service should be subject to audit by GAO and GAO should be given

complete access to all records, files, and documents supporting expenditures made by the Service.

--Appropriations for expenditures at private residences of the President, not of a protective nature, should be made to the White House. The White House should account for any 363 such expenditures and make an annual report to the Congress, subject to audit by the GAO in the same manner suggested above for expenditures by the Secret Service for protective purposes.

The Congress also may wish to give consideration to limiting the number of private residences at which permanent facilities will be provided for a President. There is no limit at the present time.

Similarly, Congress may wish to consider the desirability of establishing a Government-owned residence in Washington for the Vice President to reduce the cost of providing permanent protective facilities for successive Vice Presidents.

CHAPTER 1

PROTECTION OF THE PRESIDENTS

The Presidency of the United States hardly qualifies as a safe occupation. Since the founding of the Republic, four of the 37 Presidents have been assassinated in office (Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley, and Kennedy) and serious attempts have been made on the lives of three others (Jackson, Truman, and Roosevelt, the latter as President-elect).

No formal protection was provided the Presidents until after the third assassination, that of McKinley in 1901. Congress then informally asked the Secret Service, which had been established earlier to suppress counterfeiting, to provide such protection. Later, in 1903, Congress provided authority and funds for this duty in the Secret Service Appropriation Act.

Over the years, Secret Service protection has been extended to others in addition to the incumbent President. Protection was extended to the President-elect in 1913 and to members of the President's immediate family in 1917.

Regarding former Presidents, legislation enacted in 1962 provided for protection, if so requested. In 1965, protection was provided to a former President and his wife during his lifetime without a requirement that protection be requested. Legislation enacted in 1968 extended protection to the widow of a former President until her death or remarriage.¹

The assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 ushered in an era of heightened concern for the safety of national leaders. The Warren Commission, which was appointed to investigate the assassination, favored an enlarged and more up-to-date protective operation for the Secret Service.

The civil disorders that became commonplace in the 1960s did little to alleviate that concern, nor did the assassination of presidential candidate Senator Robert F. Kennedy in June 1968.

¹For a complete list of persons to whom protection is extended, see app. IV.

The Congress and the Secret Service responded to the events of the 1960s with additional funds, improved technology, and added manpower, increasing the protection furnished the President, as well as the other persons to whom protection is extended. One result was the formation of a Technical Security Division in Secret Service to provide expertise in the design, adaptation, and use of electronic systems for protective purposes. From its beginning in 1965, the Technical Security Division has grown to a staff of nearly 100 specialists.

The Congress also dealt with the role of other Federal agencies in protective activities. On the same day as the death of Senator Kennedy, legislation was passed which, in addition to extending Secret Service protection to presidential and vice presidential candidates, strengthened the hand of the Service in obtaining protective assistance from other agencies. It provided:

"Hereafter, when requested by the Director of the United States Secret Service, Federal Departments and Agencies, unless such authority is revoked by the President, <u>shall</u> assist the Secret Service in the performance of its protective duties * * *." (underscoring supplied)

A measure of the increased protection now provided can be seen in the case of former President Truman. Mr. Truman, at the time of his death, was 88 years of age, had been out of office for 20 years, and was no longer active in public life. Yet, according to the Deputy Director of the Secret Service, Mr. Truman was better protected at his residence in Independence, Missouri, during his last years as a former President than when he visited there as President.

PROTECTION IN A FREE SOCIETY

The United States is a free and open society with a tradition of peaceful political change and the main thrust of Secret Service efforts to protect the President has been toward identifying and intercepting mentally disturbed persons who may seek to harm him. Generally, the Secret Service avoids using the overt protective approaches seen in some other countries. Agents are stationed as unobtrusively as possible, weapons are kept out of sight, and protective facilities are concealed or made harmonious with their surroundings.

Consistent with this philosophy the Secret Service has made increasing use of electronic systems to provide the added protection sought after the assassinations of the 1960s. These systems may be portable for use at temporary locations or permanently installed for use at secured locations where repeated visits will be made. Permanently installed systems are more reliable and help keep an area secure between visits.

The increased protection provided by electronic systems is not without certain disadvantages such as high costs and damage to physical property. The cost of installing devices such as closed-circuit television and anti-intrusion alarms frequently equals or exceeds the cost of the equipment itself and may necessitate digging of trenches, placing of conduit, pulling of wiring, and restoring the area where the work was performed.

Protection of the President is not limited to preventing malicious harm. The Secret Service also takes precautions against hazards which may cause accidental harm. Agents watch while the President swims, install fire and smoke detectors in his house, and so forth. If the hazards cannot be countered, they are corrected.

There seems to be less public acceptance of protection against accidental harm than malicious harm. Presumably the reasoning is that the danger of malicious harm is especially associated with being President whereas the danger of accidental harm is faced by everyone, whether President or not.

There is a difference in the case of the President, of course. The President is the choice of 30 to 40 million Americans to occupy the Nation's highest office. The powers of the office are vested in him personally, making transitions of Presidential power a period of national vulnerability, even when planned as part of the electoral process. Accordingly, the prevailing view is that the Nation cannot afford to have its choice of a chief executive defeated by some chance event as preventable as drowning or fire. The result is that more money may be spent on safety than a President could, or would want to, spend on himself.

<u>FEDERAL EXPENDITURES FOR PROTECTION</u> AT PRESIDENTIAL RESIDENCES

Presidents, like many Americans, often travel because they feel need for a change.

Several Presidents, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, have made extensive use of Camp David (originally named Shangri-La), a retreat in the Catoctin Mountains near Washington operated by the Department of Defense.

Recent Presidents have also had privately owned retreats to which they made regular visits--the number and location varying widely.¹

President Nixon owns residences at Key Biscayne and San Clemente which he visits.² Substantial amounts of Federal funds have been spent at these residences by the Secret Service and GSA.

Federal expenditures on private property have always been a matter of public and congressional interest. The following circumstances, peculiar to the protection of the President, act to intensify that interest.

- --The Secret Service, which is responsible for protective work on the President's property, and GSA, which executes much of that work, are both subordinate to the President.
- --Installations made for protective purposes may also provide some nonprotective benefit to him.
- --The Secret Service, as a matter of policy, takes greater precautions against harm to the President than an ordinary person would take on his own behalf.
- --The Secret Service, for security reasons, avoids public discussion of its protective measures.
- ¹The costs of protection at the private residences of Presidents Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman, and Roosevelt are discussed in Appendixes II and III.

²The residences are pictured on pages 63 and 64.

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CHAPTER 2

KEY BISCAYNE

On December 19, 1968, President Nixon purchased two houses on adjoining land in the residential community of Key Biscayne, Florida. One house, located at 516 Bay Lane, was acquired at a cost of \$127,928; the second, at 500 Bay Lane, was purchased for \$125,527.

A close friend of the President, Mr. C. G. Rebozo, owns and uses the house next door at 490 Bay Lane.

The Federal Government leases the next two houses at 478 and 468 Bay Lane. The house at 478 Bay Lane, which is owned by another close friend of the President, Mr. Robert H. Abplanalp, was leased in February 1969 and is used as an office for Secret Service and GSA personnel. Mr. Abplanalp purchased this residence after the original owners expressed a desire to sell because of the heavy traffic of Government personnel. The house at 468 Bay Land was leased in December 1968 and serves as the telecommunications facility for the White House Communications Agency and an office for military aides to the President.

The Presidential compound at Key Biscayne consists of the five houses and the Secret Service command post. It is bounded by Biscayne Bay on the west, West Matheson Drive on the south, Bay Lane on the east, and a fence on the north. The President's homes at 516 and 500 Bay Lane are the southernmost houses in the compound.

The principal construction work by the Government began about December 15, 1968, and was largely completed by September 1, 1969. During this period work was curtailed several times because of visits by the President. Persons there at the time said that, although there may never have been an inordinate number of workmen or amount of equipment on the property at one time, the compactness of the compound made it appear crowded. GSA has determined on the basis of an internal audit, that its expenditures at the residence at Key Biscayne through June 30, 1973, were \$485,300.¹ In developing this figure, GSA considered the Secret Service command post as part of the administrative complex even though it is on the residence grounds. On the other hand, the hedge and fence system was considered as entirely on the residence grounds even though only about one-half of it is. Reclassification of these items would increase the total expenditures at the residence by \$90,000 to \$100,000.

The Secret Service has prepared a list of the protective devices it has currently installed at the residence showing an estimated cost of \$31,600. Other agencies' expenditures were not significant.

We have selected for detailed discussion most of the protective facilities installed at the residence as well as other related construction and maintenance work.²

HEDGE AND FENCE SYSTEM (picture on p. 65)

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When the President acquired the properties at 516 and 500 Bay Lane there was a series of low masonry block walls along the property line on West Matheson Drive and Bay Lane. The walls were connected to a low wooden fence which continued along Bay Lane on the 490 Bay Lane property owned by Mr. Rebozo.

GSA published an unaudited list on August 6, 1973, showing \$1,180,500 in Key Biscayne expenditures, of which \$452,700 were for the residence. The revised figure is the result of various internal audit adjustments.

The costs cited for the Key Biscayne and San Clemente items hereinafter discussed are contract and purchase order costs. We have not made or included allocations of GSA overhead costs. Also, when construction or other work was done, both on and off the President's residence, we have generally cited total cost and described location rather than allocate those costs. An exception was made in the case of landscape maintenance at Key Biscayne.

On December 16, 1968, GSA contracted, at a cost of \$4,800, for removing the entire wall and fence at 516, 500, and 490 Bay Lane and replacing them with hedges 6 to 8 feet high.

On Febraury 26, 1969, GSA contracted, at a cost of \$49,400, for erecting a 600-foot fence, including gates, to be placed just inside the hedges on the 516, 500, and 490 Bay Lane properties--the combination providing security and privacy. GSA design specifications called for an anodized aluminum fence 8 feet high, four electric gates of matching design equipped with remote-control electric operators, and associated electrical wiring.

On June 16, 1969, a change order to the contract was issued providing for 194 additional feet of fencing and two additional gates, to extend the fence along Bay Lane on the leased properties at 478 Bay Lane and 468 Bay Lane. Upon completion, the fencing was nearly 800 feet long, including six gates at the driveways. After GSA and the contractor resolved a dispute regarding the precise scope of work to be done under the original contract, the completed contract, including change orders, totaled \$66,300. This amount and the \$4,800 for removing walls and fences and planting hedges brought the total for the hedge and fence system to \$71,100.

Construction of the hedge and fence system was discussed in a memorandum dated December 9, 1968, written by a Secret Service special agent-in-charge after an onsite meeting with representatives of GSA and the President's representative, Mr. Rebozo, as follows:

"All parties agreed that the initial situation is the construction of an appropriate fence with landscaping to inclose the security complex."

The memorandum also notes that Mr. Rebozo concurred in the idea of a security fence and that the President had expressed the view that the fence would be most desirable.

The original Secret Service request to GSA to remove existing walls and fencing and to install shrubbery, fencing, and gates was apparently verbal. These items were cited in an undated letter from the Secret Service to GSA confirming verbal requests to GSA for various equipment and facilities. The Secret Service request to GSA to extend the fence system was apparently also verbal.

To obtain a permit from the local government for construction of the hedge and fence system, it was necessary to first obtain a variance from local zoning requirements. A condition of the temporary variance granted by the local government in February 1969 was that it would remain in effect for 4 years, subject to extension thereafter for such fixed period as it may be shown that the property will be used by the President of the United States.

Secret Service officials stated that the wording of the condition to the variance is subject to interpretation; that is, it is unclear as to whether the variance would remain in effect only as long as the President remained in office or until he died or disposed of the property. In any event, the hedge and fence system cannot be considered a permanent addition to the President's properties.

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The hedge and fence system serves a protective purpose by preventing persons outside from viewing the Key Biscayne properties and by obstructing entry by unauthorized persons. The time limitation of the zoning variance under which the hedge and fence system was constructed overshadows consideration of it as a permanent improvement that would provide a nonprotective benefit to the President.

BULLET-RESISTANT GLASS

Both Key Biscayne properties directly face Biscayne Bay and persons on the Bay have an unobstructed view of the President's residence and adjoining property.

On February 7, 1969, GSA contracted for fabricating and installing bullet-resistant glass windows and doors at both Presidential houses at a cost of \$86,900. It was later found that the bullet-resistant glass made the doors so heavy that they were difficult to operate manually and a change order in the amount of \$32,400 was issued in June 1969 to provide for automatic door operators. The completed contract, including several additional minor changes, totaled \$128,700. The Secret Service request to GSA to initiate the fabrication and installation of bullet-resistant glass was apparently verbal. In a February 4, 1969, memorandum regarding a meeting with representatives of GSA, the glass contractor, and two architectural firms, a Secret Service security specialist noted that the bullet-resistant glass project had been initiated on January 23, 1969, and that the Secret Service was developing specifications for the glass to be used. The security specialist also noted in his memorandum that the President was not favorably disposed toward bullet-resistant glass.

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The bullet-resistant glass installed in the windows and doors of the President's houses serves a protective purpose.

The bullet-resistant glass does not provide a nonprotective benefit to the President and, if anything, detracts from the property because the windows cannot be opened and the weight of the glass doors presents problems.

COMMAND POST

The Secret Service command post at the Key Biscayne compound is a special-purpose building of concrete block with approximately 1,200square feet of floor space. The ground floor is T-shaped and includes an office, a lounge, two equipment rooms, a kitchenette, lavatory facilities, and certain emergency equipment. The second floor, connected to the lower level by a narrow spiral staircase, has large windows on all four sides for visibility and contains a considerable amount of electronic equipment.

The command post was originally located in the garage of one of the President's houses. Secret Service officials found that this location was unsatisfactory from a security standpoint and was annoying to the President and his family.

In a December 9, 1968, memorandum of a meeting with Mr. Rebozo and representatives of GSA, a Secret Service representative noted that Mr. Rebozo said that the President had given permission for constructing a permanent command post. It was also noted that there was general agreement that the command post should be near the residence. The Secret Service was to provide plans for the command post to Mr. Rebozo who, in turn, would forward them to the President for approval.

In a January 17, 1969, memorandum of a meeting with Mr. Rebozo and a military aide, a Secret Service representative noted that the President approved the location for a permanent command post.

The Secret Service requested GSA, apparently verbally, to construct a permanent command post and to provide a trailer for use until the command post was built.

GSA contracted with an architectural firm, at a cost of \$2,700, to design a permanent command post for the Secret Service. As the design proceeded, GSA initially estimated that, based on the cost of an average building of comparable size, the command post would cost between \$40,000 and \$60,000. However, with the development of detailed specifications, including controls for electronic equipment, GSA raised its estimate of cost to \$85,700 and later to \$109,000. In April 1969, GSA contracted for the construction of the command post and a concrete walkway to the nearby helicopter landing pad. The cost of the completed command post totaled \$122,700 including \$12,300 for the walkway. Shortly before the construction contract was awarded, a dispute arose between GSA and the architect regarding the scope of work to be performed under the design contract. The dispute was resolved by an increase in the architect's fee of \$4,500, bringing the total cost of the command post to \$129,900.

The location of the command post was dictated by the need for visibility of the President's residence and the desire of the President that the command post not be too close to his house. To obtain a permit from the local government for construction of the command post, it was necessary to first obtain a variance from local zoning requirements. A condition of the temporary variance granted by the local government in April 1969 was that it would remain in effect for 4 years, subject to extension thereafter for such fixed period as it may be shown that the property will be used by the President of the United States. A further condition was that, if at any time the properties concerned were to be no longer occupied by the President of the United States, the command post had to be made to conform to all applicable zoning regulations. It appears that this would require removal.

Secret Service officials stated that the wording of the condition to the variance is subject to interpretation; that is, it is unclear as to whether the variance would remain in effect only so long as the President remained in office or until he died or disposed of the property. In any event, the command post cannot be considered a permanent addition to the President's property.

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The command post serves a protective purpose because it is used exclusively by the Secret Service as the nerve center for its protective activities at Key Biscayne.

As in the case of the hedge and fence system discussed previously, the time limitation of the zoning variance under which the command post was constructed overshadows any consideration of it as a permanent improvement that could provide a nonprotective benefit to the President.

ELECTRONIC SYSTEMS AND LIGHTING

At Key Biscayne, the Secret Service relies heavily on electronic systems to detect entry of unauthorized persons or the introduction of materials and devices which could harm the President or endanger the security of the United States. These systems include closed-circuit television, various anti-intrusion alarms, and countermeasure devices. Also included are alarm systems used in the residences and elsewhere to detect fire and smoke. Secret Service policy is to avoid publication of further details on these systems.

In addition to electronic systems, outdoor lighting was installed to detect unauthorized persons after dark and to facilitate the movement of protective personnel.

The Secret Service estimated that its electronic equipment in place cost \$31,600. GSA purchased and installed additional electronic items costing \$21,800.

The lighting fixtures and the electrical interconnections necessary to operate the lighting, electronic, and emergency power systems were provided under GSA contracts. Two large general contracts included a significant amount of electrical work associated with these systems. Based on contractors' estimates, the cost of this electrical work was \$55,500. There were also 13 small electrical contracts amounting to \$22,800, bringing identifiable costs for all electronic systems and lighting work to \$131,700.

The trenching to place conduit and excavating to install other electronical facilities were destructive to the lawn and sprinkler system. An indeterminable but important part of the landscaping costs incurred under GSA contracts (see pp. 20 to 24) related to this work.

The Secret Service requests to GSA to do the necessary construction work for the electronic systems and lighting systems were apparently verbal. An internal GSA memorandum, dated January 2, 1969, noted that the Secret Service had requested GSA to immediately design and install a security lighting system. It was noted also that Secret Service wanted a system of (1) decorative lighting in keeping with the other residential site lighting systems in the area to facilitate surveillance of the compound and (2) floodlighting for use in case of emergencies. The installation of Secret Service electronic equipment and the security lighting system were cited in an undated letter from the Secret Service to GSA confirming verbal requests to GSA for various equipment and facilities.

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The electronic systems and lighting serve a protective purpose. Although there may be some nonprotective benefit to the President from such features as security lighting on the grounds and fire detection for the houses, it appears that such benefits are not significant.

LANDSCAPING--CONSTRUCTION PERIOD

The term "landscaping" is generally considered to include grading, sodding, and planting of flowers, shrubs, and trees with the objective of enhancing the attractiveness of a property. It is also thought of as increasing the value of the property.

However, landscaping by Secret Service and GSA has different objectives, namely to:

--Preclude surveillance by outsiders.

--Reduce the opportunities for concealment by intruders.

- --Hide protective devices and eliminate interference with their function.
- --Restore the grounds after other protective facilities have been installed. The damage that occurs when workmen, frequently using heavy equipment, must dig trenches for conduit and wiring needed to install protective devices can be very extensive.

The general effect of landscaping for protective purposes may be to fundamentally alter the characteristics of the original landscaping or to simply restore the property to its original condition.

If the landscaping is altered, there is, as a reasonable matter, an obligation on the part of the Government to see that the new landscaping is at least equal in quality to the original.

The first step in reviewing the landscaping work performed at Key Biscayne was, of necessity, determining the original appearance of the grounds. Through photographs and discussions with GSA and Secret Service officials we were able to determine the basic characteristics of the landscaping at the two Key Biscayne properties at the time of acquisition.

The 516 Bay Lane property had heavy vegetation in several areas, consisting primarily of palm trees, pines, and thick shrubbery. Most of this vegetation was located in the area adjacent to the 500 Bay Lane property and in the southwest corner near the seawall which extends along both properties. An unobstructed lawn extended from the house to a curbing approximately 12 feet from the seawall. The curbing began near the 500 Bay Lane property and extended parallel to the seawall to a point near the edge of the heavy vegetation in the southwest corner of the 516 Bay Lane property. The area between the seawall and the curbing was covered with sand. The sand extended beyond the end of the curbing and fanned into the area of heavy vegetation in the southwest corner.

Although there was heavy vegetation, the property appeared to be generally well maintained. The previous owner of the property employed a full-time gardener.

The 500 Bay Lane property had a lawn extending from the house to the seawall. There were a few trees in the lawn area and heavy vegetation screened the property from the adjacent properties on either side. In general, the property appeared to be well maintained.

GSA did not enter into any major contracts for landscaping per se, but, when contracting for the installation of certain security systems, it included related landscaping in the scope of the contractor's work.

Before any major landscaping was undertaken, GSA contracted with an architectural firm to design a security lighting system and related landscaping for the President's residence. The contract, executed on January 10, 1969, called for a system that would provide for both emergency highintensity illumination and low-intensity lighting of a decorative nature to accent trees and shrubs with a minimum requirement that light intensity be sufficient to shadow any movement but not enough to identify a person. With regard to landscaping, the architects were to develop a suitable design, considering the landscaping features that would remain after GSA contracted for removal of certain trees and shrubs.

The first contract involving landscaping called for removing a large number of trees, shrubs, and other plants in accordance with a sketch prepared by GSA and Secret Service officials. In broad terms, the sketch provided for a general thinning-out of vegetation. The plan called specifically for removing

--all trees and shrubs which might cause visual obstructions between the President's houses and --all shrubs which might cause visual obstructions between the President's houses and the hedge and fence system.

The contractor removed many small plants on the properties, including all shrubs and other plantings up to 30 feet back from the beach. He also removed a number of large palm trees and other smaller trees of different varieties and either removed or trimmed to a height of 24 inches the existing hedges. Total contract cost was \$3,900.

Concurrently, the architects developed the final landscaping plan, recognizing the removal work being done by the contractor and providing for:

- --Relocating two large existing trees and planting 20 new trees, ranging in height from 14 to 22 feet, and a number of smaller trees.
- --Trimming and pruning all existing trees to remove all limbs to a minimum of 8 feet from the ground.
- --Planting small shrubs and groundcover as foundation plantings around the President's houses.
- --Planting groundcover along the hedge and fence system.
- --Installing keystone paving in the vicinity of both residences.
- --Widening and connecting the driveways in front of both residences.
- --Repairing and extending an existing underground sprinkler system to irrigate the groundcover along the hedge and fence system and around all sides of the President's houses except along the bay.

The second contract involving substantial landscaping called for installing a security lighting system and a sprinkler system, modifying the existing driveways, and landscaping--all in accordance with plans and specifications prepared by the architects. This contract was subsequently increased (1) by \$4,700 for changes in the landscaping design necessitated by the President's decision to enlarge his house at 516 Bay Lane, the unavailability of certain shrubbery specified in the contract, additional electrical work, and changes in the details of landscaping work to comply with the wishes of the President and (2) by \$11,900 for approximately 32,000 square feet of sod to replace that which had been damaged by excavation, construction, and landscaping and for relocating a shuffleboard court which was where the command post was to be built. The completed contract totaled \$93,200, of which \$29,100 represented the cost of landscaping.

A third contract involving landscaping called for installing a substantial amount of conduit and wiring for certain electronic devices, miscellaneous electrical work, and related landscaping.

The landscaping consisted primarily of

--relocating certain existing trees; --planting new shrubs, hedges, and trees; and --restoring lawn damaged during excavation.

As completed, the contract totaled \$42,300. According to contractor estimates, approximately \$10,000 of the contract represented landscaping on the President's properties.

We estimate that, with the addition of five small orders totaling about \$4,200 for limited landscaping, the total cost of landscaping at the President's residences during the construction period, excluding the hedge and fence system, was \$47,200.¹

Secret Service requests to GSA for landscaping apparently were verbal. An undated letter from the Secret Service to GSA confirming verbal requests for work at Key Biscayne referred to landscaping as follows:

"7. Remove existing shrubs and hedges as required for unobstructed surveillance of area.

*

* * * *

"12. Remove trees, shrubs, planters circles, gardener's shed etc., in order to give as much visual aid as possible for security posts.

* * * * *

¹The costs of landscaping after the construction period were \$15,600 and are discussed on pp. 24 to 26.

"16. Provide landscape services (low shrubs, etc.) to take place of (see Item 12 for detail)."

Reference to the Secret Service requests also appears in a memorandum to the file prepared by the regional director, Public Buildings Service (PBS), on January 2, 1969, which noted that Secret Service officials called to request immediate

--removal of shrubbery and trees as required to provide unobstructed surveillance of the complex and

--installation of security lighting.

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There has been a fundamental change in the characteristics of the landscaping at Key Biscayne. The properties originally had an open perimeter with heavy vegetation in clusters throughout the interior, especially in the 516 Bay Lane property, whereas the perimeter is now screened with tall trees and hedges and the interior is open with wide expanses of grass.

The landscaping work performed at the Key Biscayne properties serves a protective purpose. Because the grounds had been previously well-maintained, the landscaping appears to have provided no material nonprotective benefit to the President on this account. Whether the landscaping is more attractive than before is a matter of personal taste.

LANDSCAPING--MAINTENANCE

The question of how responsibility for the maintenance of landscaping at the President's residences should be divided is not easily answered. For example, who is responsible for

- --cutting, fertilizing, and generally maintaining lawns which have been torn up, sodded, and, in some locations, torn up and sodded again by the Government to install electronic devices?
- --trimming and pruning trees and shrubs, not only to maintain appearance but also to permit continued surveillance of the area by those who protect the President?
- --eliminating weed growth which is unsightly, but which could also be both a hiding place and a fire hazard?

By June 1969 most of the landscaping had been completed. To maintain the landscaping at the President's residence and at the two properties leased by the Government, GSA obtained maintenance services as needed at a fixed hourly rate and engaged a firm for periodic spraying to protect against insects and diseases.

GSA continued to obtain maintenance services on an as needed basis until November 1969. At that time, GSA employed a full-time gardener to do landscaping maintenance at the President's residence and the two properties leased by the Government. The maintenance at the residence consisted of landscaping around the Secret Service command post, trimming and pruning of vegetation to permit continued surveillance of the area, and routine upkeep of the grounds. Landscaping work to permit surveillance of the area was done at the request of the Secret Service. Also, immediately prior to visits by the President, GSA obtained additional help at an hourly rate for general clean-up and maintenance work. Similar work was done on the two leased properties.

GSA expended approximately \$15,600 for outside landscaping maintenance from June 1969 through June 1973.

GSA informed us that in June 1973 arrangements for landscaping maintenance changed and that(1) during duty hours the gardener confined his work to the two properties leased by the Government, to the area around the Secret Service command post, and to maintenance on the President's grounds necessary to permit surveillance by the Secret Service and (2) after duty hours the gardener was employed by the President part-time to perform routine maintenance. GSA also informed us that the practice of obtaining outside help for landscaping maintenance work was discontinued.

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As previously indicated, the problem of clearly distinguishing between maintenance which should be assumed by the Government and that which should be assumed by the President seems to defy any clear solution. However, we question the arrangements for landscaping maintenance at Key Biscayne during the period from November 1969 to June 1973 when GSA had one full-time gardener working on the compound, including the President's residence, while the President was employing no one. The arrangement provided a nonprotective benefit to the President, but of an indeterminable amount. The present arrangement whereby the President employs the GSA gardener to perform routine maintenance in his off-duty hours does not appear to be unreasonable.

PAVING

At the time of acquisition, the properties at 516 and 500 Bay Lane each had separate driveways which were apparently well maintained. The driveway at 516 Bay Lane formed a small circle, permitting entry to the property from either Bay Lane or West Matheson Drive, with a parking area extending along the house. At 500 Bay Lane the driveway was circular, permitting entry to the property from two points along Bay Lane.

During the construction period GSA modified both driveways. The paved area at 516 Bay Lane was expanded to provide parking area for First Family vehicles and Secret Service escort vehicles and was connected to the modified circular driveway at 500 Bay Lane to permit better ingress and egress. Other paving work was necessary to repair damage incurred during the installation of the hedge and fence system, security lighting, and electronic systems. The total cost of paving work at the President's residence was \$5,100.

The Secret Service request to GSA to do the paving was apparently verbal. According to Secret Service officials there may be as many as seven cars parked at the residence at one time. Parking space has to be sufficient to enable the proper arrangement of First Family and Secret Service escort vehicles so as to facilitate loading and movement of vehicles.

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The paving by GSA serves a protective purpose by facilitating the movement of Presidential and escort vehicles. Because the existing driveways were apparently well maintained and adequate for normal use, the paving does not appear to provide a benefit to the President apart from protection.

CHAPTER 3

SAN CLEMENTE

The acquisition of the San Clemente residence began on April 24, 1969, when a revocable trust was established to take title in behalf of President and Mrs. Nixon to real property in San Clemente, California. The trustee subsequently took title to two parcels of real property, as follows:

Land (approximately 26 acres) and buildings, including the President's residence, purchased July 15, 1969, for \$1,400,000. This is usually referred to as the Cotton parcel.

Land (approximately 2.9 acres adjoining the initial purchase) purchased October 13, 1969, for \$100,000. This is usually referred to as the Elmore parcel.

The combined properties, which front on the Pacific Ocean between Los Angeles and San Diego, total 28.9 acres and are hereinafter referred to as San Clemente.

A Coast Guard station which adjoins the south boundary is the site of the Western White House office complex, Secret Service command post, and White House Communications Agency facilities, as well as the original Coast Guard navigational facilities.

The major Government construction work at San Clemente began about July 1, 1969, and was largely completed by about August 8, 1969, in time for the President's first visit. Persons there at the time estimate that on a given day as many as 100 men were working, with perhaps 50 to 60 on an average day. Construction equipment being used included one or more of the following: backhoe, trenching machine, bulldozer, road grader, truck, and tractor. One observer summed up the situation by saying that he never believed that they would manage to get the place put together in time. Other construction and maintenance work has been performed since that time. GSA has determined that its expenditures at the residence at San Clemente through June 30, 1973, were \$701,000¹. The Secret Service has prepared a list of the protective devices it has currently installed at the residence showing an estimated cost of \$63,600. Other agencies' expenditures were not significant.

On December 15, 1970, President and Mrs. Nixon sold a portion of their interest in the trust, representing 23 acres, to Mr. Robert H. Abplanalp and Mr. C. G. Rebozo, copartners doing business under the firm name of B. & C. Investment Company. After the sale, President and Mrs. Nixon² retained their interest in the trust, representing about 5.9 acres and including the residence. However, the original 28.9 acres retains its significance because protective work by the Government extends over most of that area.

We have selected for detailed discussion most of the protective features installed at San Clemente and other related construction and maintenance work.

WALL AND FENCE SYSTEM (pictures on pp. 66 and 67)

When San Clemente was acquired it had only a short section of wall along the north side of the property facing Cyprus Shore, an adjoining residential community. On the south facing the Coast Guard station and on Coast Guard property, a concrete block wall extended along the common boundary.

The new wall and fence system joins the Coast Guard wall, uses the short section of old wall, and generally completes the encirclement of the Cotton parcel. A vehicular gate is located where the residence driveway enters the grounds at

¹GSA published an unaudited list on August 6, 1973, showing \$2,444,400 in San Clemente expenditures, of which \$703,400 were for the residence. The revised figure is the result of adding expenditures for June 1973 and of various internal audit adjustments.

²Hereinafter, we refer to this joint interest and all the property held in trust at one time or another as being the President's property.

Calle Isabella and Calle Ariana. Vehicular and pedestrian gates are located at an opening made in the Coast Guard wall for the new road running from the office complex to the residence. Also, architectural modifications were made to the Coast Guard wall.

The system is largely on land in which the President does not have an ownership interest. Part is on Coast Guard property. Another part was constructed under permit on railroad right-of-way. Most of the remainder was constructed on property in which, according to the GSA buildings manager, the President no longer has an ownership interest.

The costs of the block wall, redwood fence, chain link fence, and gate components of the system were about \$60,800, \$12,300, \$3,400, and \$13,400, respectively, or a total of \$89,900.

Construction of the wall and fence system was recommended by the initial Secret Service survey team. A May 20, 1969, memorandum reporting the results of the survey stated:

"It is recommended that a wall be constructed beginning with the northern-most point of the property, by the gazebo (poker house) and extend completely around the property line adjacent to the Cyprus Shores Community and the Elmore property, and connecting with the cinder block wall on the Coast Guard station. This wall will serve the dual purpose of providing privacy and security for the President. It is suggested that this wall be constructed of cinder block and faced with stucco, in keeping with the spanish motif."

The gates were also recommended in the memorandum.

That same day, the Secret Service sent a memorandum jointly to H. R. Haldeman, Assistant to the President, and John Ehrlichman, Counsel to the President, which proposed constructing the facilities recommended by the survey team, including the block wall. Installing a block wall along the ocean side of the property later proved infeasible, so the redwood and chain link fences were substituted. The Secret Service request to GSA to undertake the construction was apparently verbal. The block wall, redwood and chain link fences, gates, and modifications to the Coast Guard wall were cited in a September 19, 1969, letter from GSA to the Secret Service confirming the work that had been requested.

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The wall and fence system serves a protective purpose by preventing persons outside from scrutinizing the San Clemente grounds and by obstructing entry by unauthorized persons.

The system appears to provide no significant benefit to the President apart from protection. Most of the system is now on property in which the President does not have an ownership interest. He recently announced his intention to donate to the Government the part of San Clemente in which he still retains an interest.

GATEHOUSE AND GUARDHOUSES (guardhouse pictured on p. 68)

The gatehouse is a rectangular frame structure at the driveway entrance to the residence near the intersection of Calle Isabella and Calle Ariana. The three guardhouses, often referred to as gazebos, are six-sided frame structures near the residence. All four structures have stucco and redwood exteriors and tile roofs and are equipped with telephones and lighting controls. The gatehouse is also equipped with gate controls. The cost of the gatehouse and guardhouses was \$26,700.

Construction of these facilities was recommended by the initial Secret Service survey team. The May 20, 1969, survey memorandum stated:

"It is recommended that three attractive gazebos or gardenhouses to blend with existing architecture and landscaping, be constructed for agent posts at [certain locations]. The purpose of the gazebos or gardenhouses would be to remove the security personnel from being conspicuous and house them from inclement weather.

"It is further recommended that an attractive gatehouse be constructed at the vehicular entrance of the private road which would be the main checkpoint * * *."

The Secret Service memorandum sent jointly to Messrs. Haldeman and Ehrlichman the same day proposed construction of these facilities.

The Secret Service request to GSA to do the construction was apparently verbal. However, the gatehouse and the guardhouses were cited in a September 19, 1969, letter from GSA to the Secret Service confirming the work that had been requested.

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The gatehouse and guardhouses serve a protective purpose, since they are expressly provided for the use of security personnel. There appears to be no benefit to the President apart from protection. He has, for his own use, a gazebo near the residence which was there when he purchased San Clemente and has stated publicly that he considers the guardhouses a detriment to his property. Also, we understand that he has never used the gatehouse or guardhouses constructed by the Government.

As a result of the property transfer to the B&C Investment Company, the gatehouse is now on property in which the President no longer has an ownership interest.

ELECTRONIC SYSTEMS AND LIGHTING

At San Clemente, the Secret Service relies heavily on electronic systems to detect entry of unauthorized persons or the introduction of materials and devices which could harm the President or endanger the security of the United States. These systems include closed circuit television, various anti-intrusion alarms, and countermeasure devices. Also included are alarm systems used in the residence and elsewhere to detect fire and smoke. Secret Service policy is to avoid publication of further details on these systems.

Other systems at San Clemente that are primarily electrical include:

- --Outdoor lighting to detect unauthorized persons after dark and to facilitate the movement of security personnel.
- --Communications for use by the President and the Secret Service.

The Secret Service estimated that its electronic equipment in place cost \$63,600. GSA purchased and installed electronic items costing \$24,700 and lighting fixtures costing \$17,200. In addition, the White House Communications Agency installed communications equipment.

The electrical interconnections necessary to operate the electronic, lighting, and communication systems were provided under GSA contracts.¹ The two general electrical contracts

¹Also, two GSA electricians were used to make certain installations in the residence on different occasions.

amounted to \$130,500 and \$53,600 and most of these costs appear to be associated with the foregoing systems. The rest was for work at the Coast Guard Station, connection of the electric heating system in the residence, and so forth. GSA also (1) paid the telephone company \$10,700 to place a cable between the residence and the station and (2) constructed an underground concrete vault for electrical facilities near the residence at a cost of \$8,600.

All of the foregoing items for electronic systems and lighting total \$308,900.

The trenching to place conduit and excavating to install other electrical facilities was destructive to the lawn, sprinkler system, shrubbery, and gardens. An indeterminable but important part of the landscaping costs incurred by GSA was for this work.

Installing electronic systems and lighting was recommended by the initial Secret Service survey team and discussed in the May 20, 1969, survey memorandum. Communications, primarily the concern of the White House Communications Agency, were not discussed. That agency supports both the President and the Secret Service in carrying out its protective mission.

The Secret Service memorandum which was sent jointly to Messrs. Haldeman and Ehrlichman the same day proposed installing closed-circuit television, anti-intrusion devices, lighting and a fire alarm system.

The Secret Service request to GSA to do the necessary construction was apparently verbal. However, the September 19, 1969, letter from GSA to the Secret Service confirming the work that had been requested, described the electrical work as follows:

"Provide underground conduit, manholes, wiring and enclosure on the residence grounds to provide the [various] system installations determined by Secret Service to be necessary for proper surveillance of the grounds. Connect these systems to Command post on the station. Install * * * lighting as directed by Secret Service.
"Install fire alarm and intrusion systems * * *. Install secured steel conduit for signal systems."

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The electronic systems and lighting serve a protective purpose, as do communications supporting the Secret Service protective functions. Although there may be some nonprotective benefits to the President from facilities such as security lighting in the pool area, and fire protection for the house, it appears that such benefits would not be significant.

LANDSCAPING--CONSTRUCTION PERIOD

As discussed in the chapter on Key Biscayne, landscaping for protective purposes includes the addition, removal, pruning, and rearrangement of plant growth--as appropriate-to preclude surveillance by outsiders, to reduce the opportunities for concealment by intruders, to hide protective devices and eliminate interference with their function and to restore the grounds after other work is completed.

The total costs for landscaping at San Clemente, including the costs of maintenance as discussed in the next section, were \$135,700 and involved 17 contractors and suppliers. The principal contractor during the construction period accounted for \$76,000 of this amount.

Unlike at Key Biscayne, the landscaping was done without first preparing contract drawings showing existing trees, shrubs, flowerbeds, and so forth, or the work to be done. Also, the Secret Service and GSA were unable to provide us with pictures showing, in any detail, the property as it was before and during construction.

To obtain such information, we asked the principal landscaping contractor about the condition of the grounds before Government work was begun. He stated that, when he toured the grounds in late June 1969, the existing plant growth was quite impressive and the grounds were in good condition. It was his view that the pruning of some shrubs and trees was all that was really needed. He noted that many of the plants and shrubs were old and well established and replacements of equal value were not available. In his opinion, the landscaping, as restored, was not equal in value to the original landscaping.

We also asked him about the sprinkler system around the residence which he restored under his contract. He stated that:

- --The galvanized pipe sprinkler system was operative when construction began.
- --At first an attempt was made to repair the system, but difficulties in locating all the breaks caused by heavy equipment led to the conclusion that replacing

parts of the system would be less expensive than repairing them.

--An estimated 10 percent of his \$76,000 initial contract was for the sprinkler system.

He noted that the undisturbed portion of the existing system for the lawn area was operative.

Secret Service, GSA, and contractor officials present during the construction period all stated that existing landscaping was damaged extensively as a result of trenching and excavating to install electronic, lighting, and communications equipment. They noted that the heavy equipment being used inflicted damage beyond the excavation itself. Our tour of the grounds and examination of contract drawings confirmed that extensive trenching and excavating had been done. Such work as tree relocations and thinning and pruning of plant growth was pointed out to us, but, as noted earlier, there was no way to compare current with preconstruction conditions. Shrubbery planted to conceal security devices was, of course, obvious.

The Secret Service requests to GSA to do landscaping work were apparently verbal or, in the case of restoration work, were perhaps not made at all because such work was considered incident to the other security work requested. A September 19, 1969, letter from GSA to the Secret Service confirming the work that had been requested referred to landscaping as follows:

"Trim, prune, and remove overgrown plants and trees to eliminate potential hiding places for unauthorized persons.

"Purchase, install, and relocate several large trees adjacent to the President's den.

"Restore and replace all of the landscaping damaged during the construction period by the trenches, machinery, and equipment especially the trees, shrubs, flowers, and the sprinkler system. "Maintain the landscaping for a 30 day period following its installation to insure the continued growth of the plant material and to be assured of a guarantee by the installer for dead or dying material."

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As a whole, the landscaping during the construction period was either incident to, or served, a protective purpose.

Detailed information on preconstruction conditions was not available. However, the statements made by the principal landscape contractor indicate that there was no overall benefit to the President apart from protection.

LANDSCAPING--MAINTENANCE

When the basic construction work had been completed, GSA entered into a contract with the principal landscaping contractor to furnish maintenance, landscaping, and gardening services from September 22, 1969, through October 17, 1969. The contract was made to insure the continued growth of the plant material and to be assured of a guarantee by the contractor regarding dead and dying material. The cost of this work was \$6,400.

About this time, John Ehrlichman, Counsel to the President, made three requests of GSA. They were: arrange for the employment of a Mr. Montez, one of two caretakers on the President's grounds; maintain the swimming pool; and continue the landscape maintenance. Although GSA did not employ Mr. Montez or maintain the swimming pool, it did agree to maintain the residence grounds.

A September 12, 1969, memorandum to the file prepared by the PBS regional commissioner indicates that this agreement was reached between the Administrator of GSA and Mr. Ehrlichman. The memorandum noted that the requirement for this maintenance "* * * will be discussed with Secret Service and a request for this service obtained from them." The Secret Service wrote GSA on September 25, 1969, and stated that

"* * * it is necessary that the shrubbery and grounds be maintained in such a manner as to permit us to provide maximum security.

"It is requested that the General Services Administration assist the Secret Service in this respect by entering into a contract for such maintenance."

On October 17, 1969, GSA contracted with a landscaping firm to obtain maintenance, landscaping, and gardening service from October 20, 1969, through October 31, 1970. The contract called for a working foreman, three full-time gardeners, and the necessary equipment and material to maintain all contract areas by means of continuous watering, weeding, rolling, mowing, reseeding, cultivating, spraying, mulching, trimming, edging, and fertilizing.

Meanwhile, the two gardeners who had worked for the previous owners of the property had continued to work on the grounds. One, a Mr. Garcia, had been placed under contract by the Secret Service for 1 year beginning July 1, 1969. The other, the aforementioned Mr. Montez, was apparently released. The Secret Service reason for obtaining the services of Mr. Garcia was

"* * * his knowledge of the residence and his ability to perform many of the tasks inherent in its maintenance. Having him in our employ would preclude the necessity to call in outside help to perform minor duties within the compound."

Reconstructing then, as work by the principal landscape contractor phased out in October 1969 and the post construction period began, there were five full-time landscape maintenance men working on the residence property, four under GSA contract and one under Secret Service contract.

Coordination of the landscaping maintenance work was by a landscape architect who was awarded a contract by GSA for (1) designing the flowerbed at the west face of the residence to replace the former high shrubbery with seasonal annuals and providing new designs quarterly, and (2) supervising the landscaping maintenance.

The cost of the GSA contract with the landscaping firm was \$3,352 a month, except that downward adjustments were made in some months because the total hours worked were less than specified. The cost of the Secret Service contract for Mr. Garcia's services was \$514 per month. The cost of the GSA contract with the landscape architect for maintenance coordination worked out to about \$285 per month.

These arrangements continued until April 1970, when, at the request of Herbert Kalmbach, the President's representative at San Clemente, the Secret Service terminated its contract with Mr. Garcia and GSA terminated its contracts with the landscape maintenance firm and landscape architect. At Mr. Kalmbach's instigation, the Secret Service then contracted with the landscape maintenance firm, which had held the terminated GSA contract, to obtain:

"* * * landscaping, planting, pruning, and the general care of the lawns, flowers, shrubbery, fruit trees, beach, roadways, and walkways of the Presidential residence located at San Clemente, California, so they will not interfere with the operation of security devices, and do not present a safety hazard."

The contract specified one full-time gardener, naming a Mr. Romero who had been one of the four men working under the terminated contract. The contract cost was \$1,093 a month. Mr. Garcia went on the President's payroll and is working under Mr. Romero's supervision. We understand that the President also has a landscaping firm do maintenance work occasionally.

As indicated in the discussion of landscaping at Key Biscayne, the problem of distinguishing between maintenance which should be assumed by the Government and that which should be assumed by the President seems to defy any clear solution. However, we question the arrangements for landscape maintenance at San Clemente during the period October 1969 to April 1970. The Government had five full-time gardeners working on the residential property under supervision of a part-time landscape architect while the President, to the best of our knowledge, had no one.

More disturbing was the indication that the basic decision on landscape maintenance during this period emanated from a meeting between Mr. Ehrlichman and GSA and that the Secret Service was subsequently asked to request such maintenance. The effective functioning of the Service rests in good part on the prevailing belief that its protective measures are taken in good faith. Only if this remains so will it remain free to take whatever steps it thinks reasonably necessary to furnish protection--steps which may sometimes seem extreme to the uninformed and which, for security reasons, cannot always be explained.

If the Secret Service believed that protection-related maintenance beyond that supplied by the gardener under Service contract was needed, it should have made and documented its own determination of the work to be performed, the manpower, the duration, and other details.

We noted another instance where GSA received a Secret Service request to do landscaping after a similar request to GSA by non-Service personnel. The GSA buildings manager stated in an August 2, 1970, memorandum to the PBS regional commissioner that

"Major Brennan [White House Military Aide] has requested that I secure two bids to improve the landscaping along the north side of the President's property on Calle Ariana. The work would encompass removing all weeds and debris, planting ice plant and installing a sprinkler system from the guard house to the beginning of the drainage channel."

Following Major Brennan's request, the Secret Service, by letter dated August 12, 1970, requested that GSA

"* * * engage in landscaping that area west of the wall on the President's residence parallel and adjacent to Calle Ariana Street in view of the fact that the present ground cover is a fire hazard. It is requested that the appropriate ground cover be provided in order to minimize the fire hazard."

GSA awarded a contract on November 3, 1970, for \$8,800 to landscape the area along Calle Ariana with ivy geranium and bougainvillea plants and to install an irrigation system. This area, however, apparently was not subsequently maintained. There is evidence that residents of the neighboring Cyprus Shore community were complaining about the weed grown condition and the deterioration of the geranium plantings. By letter dated January 11, 1971, the Secret Service requested that GSA, to provide maximum security for the President,

"Weed the area west of the wall on the President's residence which parallels Calle Ariana Street and reduce the weed problem in this area with the use of an appropriate weeding chemical."

According to a memorandum to the file written by the PBS regional commissioner on January 26, 1971, John Galuardi, then Regional Administrator, Region 3, had questioned whether GSA should pay for it. The memorandum states that Mr. Galuardi had contacted the GSA General Counsel and was advised that GSA:

"* * * should not look behind any Secret Service request for work which was justified on the basis of providing protection for the President."

GSA issued a purchase order for \$1,100 on February 10, 1971, for the weeding.

Because of the circumstances surrounding the work along Calle Ariana, we questioned the Secret Service about its protection requirements for the area. The Secret Service special agent-in-charge at San Clemente advised us that he was independently concerned about the fire hazard along Calle Ariana, that a fire hazard anywhere on the grounds was his responsibility to correct, and that setting fires could be a diversionary tactic during a disturbance.

Although we are willing to give Secret Service the benefit of the doubt, the actions of the military aide were inappropriate and introduce doubt where none should exist.

Although landscape maintenance is needed for protective purposes, it appears that maintenance in excess of protective needs was done by GSA from October 1969 to April 1970. It appears also that a non-protective benefit was realized by the President from the landscaping done by GSA along Calle Ariana.

The present arrangement whereby the Secret Service and the President each provide one man for routine landscape maintenance--with the President also employing a landscaping firm occasionally--does not appear to be unreasonable.

PAVING

The residence driveway existing at the time of acquisition entered the property near the intersection of Calle Isabella and Calle Ariana, proceeded to the residence area, and formed a circle on which the residence, garages, and guesthouse fronted. Midway between the entrance and the residence, the driveway branched to the caretaker's house. The driveway was constructed of rock and oil (macadam) paving.

During the construction period GSA built a new asphalt road connecting the office complex with the residence driveway and resurfaced the driveway. The resurfacing was done because the extensive installation of underground conduit and wire for security equipment and the construction of the block wall resulted in damage to the driveway. The costs of the new road to the office complex and resurfacing of the driveway were \$1,500 and \$10,600, respectively.

The Secret Service requests to GSA to do paving work during the construction period were apparently verbal or, in the case of restoration work, were perhaps not made at all because such work was considered incident to other security work requested. A September 19, 1969, letter from GSA to the Secret Service confirming work that had been requested referred to paving work as follows: "Repave all areas previously paved due to the damage by the heavy trucks, equipment, and trenches."

The driveway was repaired in December 1969 because of settlement caused by poor compaction of the trenches. The driveway repairs were done in conjunction with new work requiring trenches. Additional repairs were made to the driveway in March 1970. The total cost of these repairs was \$2,000.

The Secret Service special-agent-in-charge notified the GSA buildings manager by letter dated August 25, 1971, that the driveway adjacent to the President's residence had caved in again in the area of the trenches. The agent requested that GSA repair the driveway to minimize the settlement problem. The circle was removed and completely rebuilt in September and October 1971. The cost of this work was \$6,300, making the total cost for all paving \$20,400. Some paving costs were borne by the President. A June 18, 1969, letter from Hal Lynch, the President's architect, to John Ehrlichman, Counsel to the President, listed work to be performed by the Sturtevant Corporation "acting under our direction." It stated, among other things, that there would be repaving of the driveway and patching of the walks and noted that the cost would be shared equally by the contractor, GSA, and the Secret Service. An amount of \$1,000 was billed to the President and the balance, \$3,100, was billed to GSA. The GSA amount is included in the amounts previously discussed.

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As a whole the GSA paving work either served a protective purpose or was incident to other protective work. The new road to the Coast Guard station is an essential link between the command post and the residence. Repair and restoration of the existing driveway was generally incident to other protective work. Government personnel are the predominant users of the driveway and the new road because protective activities, such as patrol and relief of special agents and officers, continue 24 hours a day and 7 days a week.

There appears to have been a nonprotective benefit to the President. The contractor performing the original resurfacing work described the existing paving as looking about 30 years old. In addition, the contractor stated that the existing paving caused water to run off the driveway and collect in front of the residence door.

ELECTRIC FORCED-AIR HEATING SYSTEM

The electric forced-air heating system installed in the residence and guesthouse consisted of 3 electric furnaces, 4 duct heaters, various wall heaters, and the required grill work. The contract cost was \$13,500. The electrical connections were made by the interior electrical contractor as part of another contract.

An April 30, 1969, Secret Service memorandum making a preliminary report on the security condition of the Cotton parcel discussed the heating system at some length. The author was a special agent who had accompanied the President when he visited there the month before. The memorandum stated: "There is a major fire hazard in this residence. Virtually every bedroom in the house is equipped with a space heater built into the wall directly under the window. The windows are equipped with floor length curtains. If the curtains are drawn at night when the wall heaters are on, the curtains fall against the heater and a fire appears inevitable * * *"

"An immediate improvement in this condition could be effected by cutting the curtains off at window sill length and treating them with some fireproofing chemical. The final solution will be to provide some system of heating the rooms without use of these wall heaters."

Although a May 20, 1969, Secret Service survey memorandum did not mention the residence heating system a memorandum dated June 23, 1969, making recommendations on the basis of a later on-site evaluation indirectly expressed concern over the heating system as follows:

"Due to the existing heating system, the age of the residence, and the limited number of entrances; [a certain number of] fire detection units, providing [a certain number of] alarm zones, are required to minimize response time."

The Secret Service request to GSA to do the construction was apparently verbal. However, the electric forced-air heating system was cited in a September 19, 1969, letter from GSA to the Secret Service confirming the work that had been requested.

The Deputy Director of the Secret Service told us that he had made the decision to replace the heating system and that open heaters placed directly under the windows and beneath the curtains and draperies was a major consideration. He said that, to his recollection, permission to replace the system was not requested. He thought it more likely that he had simply mentioned to Mr. Haldeman that the replacement was going to be made.

We interviewed an electrical contractor who had done work for the previous owners. He told us that part of this work consisted of maintenance of two electric floor furnaces in the living room, and that he considered these floor furnaces to be in very poor condition and to be fire hazards.

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The electric forced-air heating system serves a protective purpose because it removes a potential hazard to the President. It also appears to have been a direct and substantial benefit to the President. Although we are satisfied that the work was initiated by the Secret Service, we noted other information in the files which led us to broaden our inquiry.

A letter dated June 18, 1969, from Hal Lynch, the President's architect, to John Ehrlichman, Counsel to the President, listed work to be performed by The Sturtevant Corporation "acting under our direction." It stated, among other things, that a heating system would be installed and showed an estimated cost of \$11,800. The system was to consist of three forced-air units outside the residence in underground vaults.

Documents in the GSA files trace the history of the heating system installation. Handwritten notes of John Galuardi, PBS regional commissioner dated June 27, 1969, stated:

"Originally Mr. Lynch was to install a gas-fired hot air heating system to replace present haphazard system of gas and electrical wall units. Secret Service denied gas installation and requested GSA to install electrical heating. Later request from Secret Service stated baseboard electrical heaters. Mr. Lynch appealing this in favor of hot air system with electrical heaters."

A July 2, 1969, memorandum to the file signed by Mr. Galuardi reiterated this information. Another handwritten note of Mr. Galuardi dated July 9, 1969, stated that the Secret Service "requested change from electric baseboard heating to electric forced hot air ductwork."

It appears from the foregoing that the Secret Service and the President's architect were both bent on replacing the heating system, the former to remove a safety hazard and the latter to carry out a general reconditioning of the residence. It appears further that because the Secret Service insisted on an electric system, the cost was borne by the Government.

There is a reasonable question, we think, as to whether it would be altogether fair for a President to bear the cost of a system different from what he prefers, and perhaps higher operating costs, to meet a Secret Service requirement. There is also, however, the more insistent question as to whether the Government should pay the entire cost of the new system when the President intended to install one anyway.

Although arguments can be made either way, we question whether the Government should have assumed the cost of the new heating system.

FIRE PROTECTION

Fire protection devices at San Clemente include 6-inch and 4-inch waterlines and fire hydrants on the residence grounds and a water sprinkler system, fire standpipe system, and firehose cabinets inside the residence.

The Secret Service survey memorandum dated May 20, 1969, recommended that fire extinguishers be strategically located in the house. The Secret Service memorandum sent jointly to Messrs. Haldeman and Erlichman the same day proposed the installation of the fire extinguishers.

GSA awarded a contract on July 15, 1969, to The Sturtevant Corporation:

"* * * to construct a 6" transite water line for fire protection. This line to be located in existing trench is approx. 350-foot long. Work includes furnishing necessary hydrant at a location to be directed, tie-in to existing water main in Calle Ariana, and furnishing and installing required meter and meter box, all in accordance with local regulations."

The line was installed at a cost of \$6,300. We found no indication in the GSA files that the Secret Service requested this work. However, the Deputy Director of Secret Service advised us that a verbal request for the water main must have been made and that the failure to include it in GSA's September 19, 1969, letter requesting confirmation of such requests must have been inadvertant.

The Secret Service requested GSA in a December 11, 1969, letter to install a fire standpipe system off the existing water main to a closet in the President's residence and a box with 100 feet of hose in the area of the existing hydrant at the northeast corner of the garages. No costs were available.

According to a Secret Service official, the requested standpipe system was installed and was used to fight a fire which occurred in the President's office in the residence on October 29, 1970. The Secret Service advised us that the fire alarms sounded at the command post and, about the same time, a maid reported the fire to Secret Service agents nearby. The fire, which began to spread rapidly within the hollow walls, was put out by the agents.

In January 1971 the Secret Service verbally requested GSA to install two firehose cabinets and rebuild two firehose racks to upgrade the fire protection equipment at the President's residence. The cost was \$400.

The Secret Service stated, by letter dated March 26, 1971, that:

"In order to provide fire protection at the residence of President Nixon, it is requested that the General Services Administration have a water sprinkler head system installed in the President's residence. It will be necessary to install this system between the existing walls and at this time I believe a manually controlled system will be required."

When GSA and Secret Service personnel met on April 8, 1971, the Secret Service established specific requirements for the system. GSA, in awarding the contract on April 28, 1971, for installing of the system, noted that:

- "1. Certain concealed portions of the residence are of combustible construction."
- "2. Concealed combustible construction must have fire sprinkler protection to eliminate the fire hazard."

The contract cost was \$23,800. Three additional inspector test valves were added to the sprinkler system in August 1972 at a cost of \$900.

On June 15, 1971, the Secret Service requested that GSA install a chimney exhaust fan in the President's office in the residence. The fan was installed at a cost of about \$400. Because the contractor's invoice indicated that this installation was based on instructions by Mr. Kalmbach, we questioned the Secret Service on the purpose of the fan. The Service said that, although the fan does not have an inherent security relationship, it pulls smoke from the fireplace out of the room so that the fire and smoke detection system is not set off. The problem of the fireplace smoking in the den was cited in a March 2, 1971, letter from The Sturtevant Corporation to Mr. Kalmbach. Two possible solutions were proposed:

- "(1) raise the chimney two or three feet. I don't think this would be architecturally acceptable.
- "(2) install some kind of an exhaust fan with the motor in the chimney housing and the blades in the flue."

The Sturtevant Corporation suggested that the fan was probably the best solution.

We believe that correcting the smoking fireplace was primarily the responsibility of the President and that the effect on the Secret Service fire detection system was incidental.

By letter dated October 1, 1971, the Secret Service special agent-in-charge advised the GSA buildings manager that:

"* * * the driveway at the President's residence is presently under repair and it has just come to my attention that the four inch water main located under the asphalt is leaking in two locations. A visual inspection of this water line has determined that the pipe has deteriorated to the extent it can no longer be considered reliable."

"In view of the fact this water line services the recently installed fire protection stand-pipe system, it is requested that GSA replace this water line at this time, as the line is now exposed, in furtherance of the protection of the President."

The pipe was removed and a new 4-inch transite pipe installed at a cost of \$1,500. The cost of the pipe and the costs of the previously discussed facilities totaled \$33,300.

The fire protection equipment serves a protective purpose by safeguarding the President from death or injury by

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fire. The 1970 fire in the President's office confirms the danger. However, there is a nonprotective benefit to the President in that the equipment also serves to protect his property.

BULLET-RESISTANT GLASS SCREEN (picture on p. 69)

The clear bullet-resistant glass screen is about 30 yards long and stands about 6 feet above grade. It consists of bullet-resistant glass panels supported by metal uprights and intercepts the direct line of sight from the ocean to the swimming pool area. The cost was \$13,000.

The Deputy Director of the Secret Service (Assistant Director, Office of Protective Forces at the time) told us that the screen was not mentioned in the initial survey report because the pool had not yet been installed. He also told us that he had probably discussed the proposed screen with Mr. Haldeman.

The Secret Service request to GSA to install the screen was verbal. A memorandum in the GSA files indicates that the request was made on June 24 or 25, 1969. The screen was cited in the September 19, 1969, letter from GSA to the Secret Service confirming the work that had been requested.

An August 1, 1969, memorandum to the Technical Security Division special agent-in-charge prepared about the time the screen was completed, commented:

"At the time of the initial survey heavy shrubbery along the ocean side of this area provided a partial line of sight masking of the pool and patio area. Under the master development plan, this shrubbery is being removed and its protective benefit lost."

We asked the Secret Service whether it had considered screening the pool and patio area with a board fence or new shrubbery, or by retaining the old shrubbery. We were told that the idea of installing a screen was to secure the area without the use of agents, thus maintaining privacy at the pool. Glass was used to preserve the view of the ocean.

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The screen serves a protective purpose and the greater part of the cost appears to be associated with the bulletresistant glass and the heavy supports necessary for the glass installation. The screen, however, could act as a windscreen and therefore may provide a nonprotective benefit to the President.

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RAILROAD CROSSING AND WARNING SIGNAL AND THE BEACH CABANA (pictures on pp. 70 and 71)

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To reach the beach from the residence it is necessary to cross the right-of-way and track of the Santa Fe Railroad. The railroad crossing is a wooden structure consisting of an enclosure on the residence side of the redwood fence, a walkway, a platform-type crossing at the tracks, and steps on the beach side. A signal at the crossing warns of approaching trains.

The beach cabana, which was damaged in a storm and removed, was an open, shed-like structure with a wooden floor. An electrical cabinet was built across the back to house communications equipment. There was also an unenclosed shower.

The cost of the crossing and beach cabana and incidental work, such as a handrail leading down to the crossing, was \$13,200. The cost of the signal was \$6,100.

An April 30, 1969, Secret Service memorandum, making a preliminary report on the security condition of the Cotton parcel stated:

"The presence of a railroad track between the house and the beach also constitutes a hazard. It is possible that the unexpected arrival of a train in the area could create a hazardous condition. An employee of the A.T. and S.F. Railroad showed me a device which * * * will indicate when a train is within one mile in either direction from the device."

* * * * *

"The main house of the Cotton estate is located on a bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean. The hillside leading down to the ocean is quite steep. There is no good pathway leading down to the beach. A stairway with a handrail would be desirable."

The May 20, 1969, Secret Service survey memorandum did not mention the railroad crossing warning signal or beach cabana. Service officials said that the railroad crossing and beach cabana were the results of a subsequent survey of security requirements not put into writing. A June 23, 1969, Secret Service memorandum making security recommendations on the basis of a later onsite evaluation recommended installing a warning signal.

The Deputy Director of the Secret Service stated that, although he did not remember doing so, he thought he would have obtained permission from Mr. Haldeman to construct the crossing, but that the cabana may have been discussed at the site with Mr. Kalmbach by the special agent-in-charge.

The railroad crossing and warning signal provide a greater degree of safety to the President and Government personnel than would exist without it. A slight curve in the track at the residence limits the ability to see oncoming trains, and the sound of the ocean makes them harder to hear. Also, the chance of injury from a fall while crossing the tracks and rock ballast would seem to be reduced.

The Secret Service said that it would also allow the beach to be cleared more quickly in an emergency.

We understand that, when Government construction of the cabana was decided on, the Service anticipated that the public might be allowed use of the beach. The cabana would have been used as a security post in those circumstances. However, when a decision was made to close the beach during Presidential visits, a new pattern of security posts was established and the cabana was no longer needed.

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The foregoing considerations indicate that the railroad crossing and warning signal and the beach cabana serve, or served, a protective purpose.

At the same time there are nonprotective benefits to the President. The railroad crossing makes access to the beach more convenient, and the beach cabana was intended for use by the First Family as well as being a guardpost.

With respect to the beach cabana, we note that a beach cabana was included in a letter dated June 18, 1969, from Hal Lynch, the President's architect, to John Ehrlichman counsel to the President, which listed work to be performed by The Sturtevant Corporation "acting under our direction." The proposed cabana consisted of a floorless structure with a palm roof supported by poles. The cost was estimated at \$1,000. The Government-constructed cabana, although simple, was a much more substantial structure and included a wooden floor, electrical cabinet, and showers.

POINT GAZEBO RENOVATION

When the San Clemente parcel was acquired, two gazebos were on the property. One, a redwood structure with a tile roof, was near where the new swimming pool was installed. The second, a circular-shaped structure of redwood and stucco construction with a tile roof, overlooked the beach. Commonly referred to as the "point" gazebo, it was renovated in April 1971 at a cost of \$6,600.

A July 2, 1969, memorandum to the file by John Galuardi, PBS regional commissioner, concerning discussions with the Secret Service on June 24 and 25, 1969, states that the Secret Service requested that GSA repair the existing gazebo for use by the Secret Service as a security outpost. A September 19, 1969, letter from GSA to the Secret Service confirming work that had been requested noted, however, that the renovation of the point gazebo had been deferred.

In a January 18, 1971, letter to the GSA buildings manager, the Secret Service stated that:

"It has been determined that the U.S. Secret Service will utilize the Gazebo * * * to provide security for the President. The Gazebo is several years old and in need of repair; therefore, it is requested that the Gazebo be reconditioned in order that it can be utilized by our security personnel."

We discussed the renovation with the contractor who stated that he almost entirely rebuilt the gazebo due to its poor condition.

The Secret Service has advised us that it has equipment installed in the gazebo and that Service personnel occasionally occupy it. - - - -

The renovated point gazebo serves a protective purpose.

Because the gazebo was in poor condition it appears that the reconditioning provided a nonprotective benefit to the President.

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PROPERTY SURVEYS

Three different types of surveys--boundary, structural, and topographic--were performed by the South Coast Engineering Service at San Clemente. The total cost to the Government of these surveys and related services was \$8,400. Although our review did not originally cover these surveys, we are including them in this report because of questions raised in hearings held by the Subcommittee on Government Activities, House Committee on Government Operations.

The topographic surveys were obtained by GSA in June 1969 at a cost of \$2,900 and were used by GSA in planning the construction work at the site. They present no problem. The boundary survey and structural survey are another matter, having been ordered by Mr. Herbert Kalmbach, the President's representative at San Clemente.

The boundary survey was ordered by Mr. Kalmbach before the initial security survey was made by the Secret Service on May 20, 1969. It appears that this was also the case with the structural survey. The cost of the boundary and structural surveys, including related meetings and extra blueprints, was \$5,300. A later boundary survey of the Elmore parcel ordered by Hal Lynch, the President's architect, brought the total work ordered by Presidential representatives to about \$5,500. This amount was billed by South Coast to Mr. Kalmbach.

These circumstances indicate that the boundary and structural surveys were ordered in conjunction with the acquisition of San Clemente. An April 28, 1969, letter to South Coast from Mr. Kalmbach supports this view:

"It is my understanding that you will be checking with * * * [an official of Title Insurance and Trust Company] as you proceed with your survey of the property [Cotton Estate]. Also, it is understood that you will be surveying the perimeters of the property, including all private roads, and that for the time being, you will not be surveying parcels within the overall property description. We understand that in your survey you will be giving us a survey of the beach property itself to the mean high tide line and that you will be conforming with the survey requirements that TI [Title Insurance and Trust Company] would have if we should decide to go forward on extended title coverage."

The report on the structural survey submitted by South Coast also supports this view. The report recommendations concentrated on the general condition of the house and the work that would be required during renovation.

On September 2, 1969, Mr. Kalmbach's secretary sent the \$5.500 bill he had received from South Coast to the GSA buildings manager at San Clemente, stating that:

"Mr. Kalmbach requested that I send you the attached billing by South Coast Engineering Service for payment by GSA per agreement with Mr. Hal Lynch."

GSA issued purchase orders totaling \$5,500 to South Coast on September 19, October 17, and October 21, 1969, for the boundary and structural surveys and related services. Also, on October 16, 1969, GSA returned to South Coast the invoices which had been addressed to Mr. Kalmbach and requested new invoices addressed to GSA. After receiving the new invoices, GSA paid for the surveys.

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GSA has stated that it used these surveys in connection with protective work done at San Clemente. The use of South Coast drawings in various GSA contracts confirms this.

However, the congressional hearings brought out that GSA could have obtained the blueprints for the cost of reproduction by obtaining a release from Mr. Kalmbach.

Because the boundary and structural surveys appear to have been made in connection with the acquisition of San Clemente by the President, we think it was inappropriate for the Government to assume the cost. GSA should have obtained a release from the President's representative, obtained copies of the surveys from South Coast, and paid only the cost of reproduction.

CHAPTER 4

ARCHITECTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

Until this point we have been concerned with whether the facilities at Key Biscayne and San Clemente served a protective purpose and whether there was a nonprotective benefit to the President. There is an additional question: does the design of a facility go beyond what is functionally necessary for security?

The answer, in some cases, is yes. Secret Service policy is to conform its facilities to the architecture of the property on which they are installed. Also, consideration is given to the views of the President or his representatives on what is appropriate to the setting.

The wall and fence system at San Clemente is a case in point. From a purely functional point of view, a plain unfinished concrete block wall would have been sufficient to meet protective needs. The residence structure, however, is stuccoed to simulate adobe construction and has a tile roof. In short the architecture is Spanish.

Consistent with that architecture, the Secret Service made an artist's rendering of the proposed wall which provided for a stucco finish and a mission tile cap. The rendering was submitted to H. R. Haldeman for approval. Later, during construction, problems with the mission tile cap were encountered and the President's architect played a role in substituting an adobe block cap.

Similarly, the use of redwood for fencing along part of the western boundary instead of using chain link all the way appears to have been based on architectural considerations. Handwritten notes of John Galuardi, PBS regional commissioner, state:

"Chain link fence satisfactory to [the Secret Service]. Redwood fence preferred by [the President's architect] and satisfactory to Secret Service."

Other documents in the GSA files refer to changes made in the fence during construction. For example, on July 31, 1969, the GSA contracting officer noted that

"* * * work was increased due to requests by the resident architect who insisted on still another contract change to the existing redwood fence (fifth in one week)--a final decision by the resident architect to paint all redwood [and other changes required by Secret Service and GSA]."

The use of redwood instead of chain link increased the cost of the fencing.

The design of the hedge and fence system at Key Biscayne also recognized appearance. When the decision was made that a perimeter fence 8 feet in height was needed for security at Key Biscayne, a chain link fence was considered but quickly dismissed because of poor appearance, as well as maintenance costs. The fence, as built, is anodized aluminum with a bronze tint and bears a resemblance to the fence surrounding the White House, including the ornamentation on the top of each picket and post. GSA officials stated that anodized aluminum was chosen as the fence material because it had greater resistance to corrosion from salt spray than did other materials, such as wrought iron or galvanized steel.

An earlier design, which met Secret Service security requirements and which GSA officials in Atlanta believed to be attractive and economical, was not used. Apparently that design was unsatisfactory to the President or his representatives, as the GSA staff in Atlanta was subsequently furnished with a photograph of the fence surrounding the White House and requested to design a similar fence for the Key Biscayne complex.

No estimates of the cost of the fence designed earlier by GSA are available. Regarding the fence that was built, features such as the specially cast ornamentation served to increase the cost.

Conformity with existing architecture and the existing setting were also considered in the design of buildings to be erected on the President's properties. An internal GSA memorandum, dated December 27, 1968, noted that a Secret Service official had telephoned to advise that GSA's drawings of the proposed command post at Key Biscayne had been reviewed by the President and rejected. The Secret Service official further advised that the President had stated that he would not have such a building on his property and that he wanted the command post to be in the shape of a lighthouse. The Secret Service official requested that GSA contract with an architect to design the command post.

A subsequent memorandum, dated January 10, 1969, noted that the President's representative had approved the preliminary drawings prepared by the architect and that the Secret Service also was reviewing the drawings in light of their requirements. The command post could be considered reasonably similar to a lighthouse. Built of concrete block the construction is similar to that commonly found in the area. Although by no means inconspicuous, the command post does not clash with the architecture of the nearby residences.

Then there are the guardposts. At San Clemente the guardposts are six-sided gazebos such as one might expect to find on large residential grounds. The stucco on the sides and the tile roofs correspond with the same features of the residence. Also, the guardposts resemble the gazebo near the residence which was there when the President purchased the property. The gazebo design was one of several alternative designs submitted to H. R. Haldeman by the Secret Service in the form of artist's renderings.

A comparison with the guardposts at Key Biscayne is instructive. There, the guardposts supplement the main guard location in the command post which is on the residence grounds. They are small, portable, frame structures obviously conceived without architectural assistance. (See picture on p. 65.)

Allowing for the wide differences of opinion on architecture, we think most people would agree that (1) the guardhouses at San Clemente would be too large for the Key Biscayne grounds and would clash with the architecture of the residences and (2) the Key Biscayne guardhouses, standing alone out on the San Clemente grounds, would give the impression of outdoor plumbing. These differences are reflected in the relative costs. A Key Biscayne guardpost costs only one-tenth as much as one at San Clemente. Finally, some fixtures of the security lighting system at San Clemente were clearly intended to be decorative in nature as contrasted with other fixtures of the system. Ornamental lanterns hung from lighting standards were installed along the road between the residence and the Coast Guard station and around the swimming pool. The lanterns, which appear to be of the same basic type, were all ordered by the President's architect and a representative of his office. GSA subsequently issued a confirming purchase order and paid for the lanterns and lighting standards installed along the road. However, we found no evidence that GSA paid for the 5 lanterns at the pool although GSA paid for the standards. (See picture on page 69 showing a lantern and light standard at the pool.)



RESIDENCE AT KEY BISCAYNE--TWO HOUSES



RESIDENCE AT SAN CLEMENTE



KEY BISCAYNE GUARDPOSTS(2)





KEY BISCAYNE HEDGE AND FENCE SYSTEM

KEY BISCAYNE GATE



SAN CLEMENTE CONCRETE BLOCK WALL



SAN CLEMENTE REDWOOD FENCE



SAN CLEMENTE GUARDPOST



SAN CLEMENTE BULLET-RESISTANT GLASS SCREEN


SAN CLEMENTE RAILROAD CROSSING AND WARNING SIGNAL





CHAPTER 5

BUDGETING, ACCOUNTING, AND AUDITING

Although the public questioning of expenditures at Key Biscayne and San Clemente has been a healthy thing, it should not be necessary to undergo the same ordeal every 4 or 8 years. It is time, therefore, to look ahead to the 1976 election of a new President who, if past experience is any indicator, will have one or more residences at which the Secret Service will install protective facilities. This chapter reviews the experience of 1968 - 1973 in terms of budgeting, accounting, and auditing with a view to identifying what has been done or still needs to be done to strengthen control by the Congress and promote understanding by the public.

BUDGETING--RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTIVE WORK RESTED WITH SECRET SERVICE WHILE MOST OF THE FUNDS EXPENDED AT KEY BISCAYNE AND SAN CLEMENTE WERE APPROPRIATED TO GSA

The Secret Service has a longstanding practice of requesting assistance from other agencies in carrying out its protective functions. For Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy, these requests were made of the military services. During President Johnson's years in office, the requests of the military services declined and increasing use was made of GSA resources.

In the latter part of 1968, requests to GSA for assistance in protecting President Johnson escalated rapidly and continued to increase as President Nixon took office. The abrupt change is accounted for by the joint resolution of the Congress passed and signed into law on June 6, 1968, the same day as the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. In addition to authorizing protection of major Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, it provided:

"Sec. 2. Hereafter, when requested by the Director of the United States Secret Service, Federal Departments and agencies, unless such authority is revoked by the President, <u>shall</u> assist the Secret Service in the performance of its protective duties * * *." (Underscoring supplied.)

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SAN CLEMENTE BEACH CABANA

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does not indicate an effort by Secret Service or GSA to deal in terms of a well-defined scope of work.

Third, the arrangement invites GSA to do more than simply execute Secret Service requests, particularly when these requests are vague or general. The meeting between John Ehrlichman, Counsel to the President, and the Administrator of GSA, on the maintenance of the San Clemente grounds is a case in point. (See pp. 37 and 40.)

We believe these weaknesses are reason to consider the making of appropriations directly to the Secret Service to finance, in addition to its own protective measures, reimbursements to other agencies that purchase or install equipment or construct facilities, solely for protective assistance. Such assistance as assigning Coast Guard vessels to patrol duty or transferring surplus equipment would not be subject to reimbursement.

Beginning in fiscal year 1975, the GSA Operating Expenses, Public Buildings Service appropriations will be discontinued and related activities will be financed from the Federal Building Fund which will be reimbursed for costs incurred by the benefiting agencies. One such agency will be the Secret Service which will need to obtain its own appropriated funds to reimburse GSA for office space and other services provided through the Fund.

In taking this step the Secret Service and the Congress will need to consider the contingencies inherent in budgeting for protective measures. Significant and unexpected expenditures may be occasioned by the advent of a new President or by a change in the property holdings of an incumbent. In these circumstances the Secret Service should have, perhaps, emergency authority to proceed with necessary work. Financing of such authority could be accomplished by establishment of an emergency fund to be used only in case of emergency with appropriate notification of the appropriation committees of the Congress. Appropriations to GSA for "Operating Expenses, Public Buildings Service" were already available for such purposes, because of the following provision:

"* * * Provided, That this appropriation shall be available to provide such fencing, lighting, guard booths, and other facilities on private or other property not in Government ownership or control as may be appropriate to enable the United States Secret Service to perform its protective functions * * *."

The result was, then, that in 1968 the Secret Service began to draw heavily on GSA appropriations made available for Secret Service protective functions. It is GSA policy not to question Secret Service requests.

The first weakness in this arrangement is that a significant portion of the funds for protective functions is requested in GSA's budget rather than Secret Service's budget. As a result these funds (1) are not directly linked to the Secret Service's protective activities during budget preparation and review and (2) are not likely to receive much attention in the GSA budget because they are included in the Operating Expenses, Public Buildings Service appropriation (currently about \$500 million) and are not separately identified in supporting schedules submitted for congressional review. Under these circumstances neither the Secret Service nor GSA need be greatly concerned with these expenditures-the Secret Service because it does not have the responsibility for financing and GSA because the amounts are relatively small.

Second, the arrangement can foster a more casual attitude in authorizing work. Because GSA does not question Secret Service requests, such requests are the next thing to obligation of funds. We noted that, although the law states that requests for assistance will be by the Director of the Secret Service, there was no letter by him to GSA making requests or delegating the authority to anyone else. And, because most of the requests during the period of major construction were verbal it cannot readily be determined who made the requests or precisely what they requested. After the major construction period, requests began to be made in writing by the special agents-in-charge. However, the record

ACCOUNTING--THE SECRET SERVICE SHOULD PROFIT FROM THE GSA EXPERIENCE

On May 26, 1973, in answer to a reporter's question, the deputy White House press secretary listed Government expenditures at San Clemente of \$39,525 for the electric heating system, bullet-resistant glass screen, redwood fence, and road between the residence and the office complex. In the next 2-1/2 months the press announced a series of ever increasing dollar figures, finally reaching \$10 million.

What began as a discussion about GSA expenditures on the President's property for protective purposes eventually grew to include expenditures by the Department of Defense and the Secret Service, Government owned and leased property and private property of others, and office and communications support. About \$8.4 million in reported expenditures related to work on property other than that of the President. A summary of some of the accounts in one newspaper after publication of the \$39,325 amount follows:

May 29:

Examination of city building permit records and interviews with Government officials disclosed that there were expenditures in excess of \$100,000 at San Clemente. (Reference was made to the following items not previously cited: concrete block wall, railroad crossing and warning signal, beach cabana, gatehouse, and guardpost.)

June 12:

GSA spent \$185,000 at San Clemente in addition to the previously reported amount. (Reference was made to the following items not previously cited: the principal landscaping contract, waterline, and sewerline.)

June 15:

GSA released a tentative figure of \$423,000 for expenditures at San Clemente. (Reference was made to the following items not previously cited: the electrical work, additional paving, and renovation of Secret Service ready room.)

June 22: GSA stated that it had spent nearly \$2 million on President Nixon's homes at Key Biscayne and San Clemente. Expenditures at Key Biscayne were \$1,180,553 and at San Clemente were \$703,367. (The expenditures on the President's property at Key Biscayne were actually less than half the amount cited, the rest was on other property within the Presidential compound. The way GSA listed these expenditures encouraged the error.) July 29: Reliable sources reported that GSA will disclose a spending of considerably more than the \$2 million already reported on the President's properties. Government officials looking into public spending by all Federal agencies on all facilities for the security of the President estimate that the funds may add up to \$10 million or more. August 7: The Nixon Administration announced that they had spent about \$10 million for Presidential security at San Clemente; Key Biscayne; Grand Cay, Bahamas; and at places where the Nixon daughters have lived. (Actually included was office and communications support, most of which was not on the residential properties at Key Biscayne, San Clemente. and elsewhere.) As it stands now, the figures reported by GSA and the Secret Service for work on Presidential property at Key Biscayne and San Clemente are as follows: Key Biscayne San Clemente GSA, through June 30, 1973 \$485,300 \$701,000

Secret Service	
(estimated current	
value of equipment	
in place)	

31,600

\$516,900

63,600

\$764,600

Determination of protective and other costs by GSA has been a costly and time consuming process, culminating only recently with the completion of an internal audit of amounts previously reported. Some of the problems were:

- --The GSA accounting system is designed to accumulate all expenditures for protective services in a region in a single account. Protective services are extended to persons other than the President and at locations other than San Clemente and Key Biscayne. Analysis was used to separate such expenditures.
- --The costs classified as President's Home, President's Grounds (added together in the above tabulation), and Office Complex (at San Clemente) or Administrative Support Complex (at Key Biscayne) were not derived from the accounting records; they were determined on the basis of the best information available at the time the list was prepared.
- --At the time the list was prepared, the vouchers and other documents supporting entries in the accounts were still in the Archives except for those relating to fiscal year 1973. Accordingly, the documents used in preparing the list were those available in the project and contract files. The total of these documents fell short of the total costs as determined by analysis of the accounts; the difference was netted into Office Complex Operating and Maintenance Expenses in the list.

The problems of GSA's accounting for protective expenditures are moot because the Secret Service has stated it will request funds for such expenditures beginning in fiscal year 1975. At that time the basic responsibility to account for and report on expenditures made to install and maintain facilities intended for protective purposes will shift to the Secret Service.

We believe the Service should take the steps necessary now to insure that its accounting system will accumulate and classify costs so that it can properly meet external as well as internal needs for cost data. We also believe that the system should provide that the expenditures on private residences for protective purposes must be authorized by the Director or Deputy Director of the Service.

AUDITING--A MEANS OF INSURING CONTROL OVER FUTURE EXPENDITURES

The responsibility for protecting the President is vested by law solely in the Secret Service. The Service has been, and should continue to be, given wide latitude in deciding what measures should be taken to provide that protection. Given that sole responsibility and the necessity for wide latitude of decision, what means of control may be exercised without interfering with either?

Basic controls already exist. The Congress, through the appropriation process, sets the general level and quality of protection. Review by congressional committees of protection measures taken gives the Service guidance on future protective work. The Congress, however, is not in a position to make item-by-item decisions on expenditures of funds already appropriated. Neither is it in a good position to make detailed prescriptions in advance on what or what should not be done when technology is constantly changing and the person to be protected may not yet be known.

We believe that additional control can be had through an independent audit by the GAO of expenditures made on private residences for protective purposes. The President is accountable to the public and, if it is understood in advance that such an audit and a public report will be made describing the work performed on Presidential property, there will be a strong incentive to resolve all doubts in favor of the Government.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order that there may be control and accountability, as well as public disclosure, of Federal funds spent at private residences for the protection of Presidents, Vice Presidents, former Presidents, and others, GAO is recommending that Congress enact legislation along the following lines:

--Appropriations for expenditures at private residences for protective purposes should be made to the Secret Service and no other funds should be available for that purpose.

- --The accounting system of the Secret Service should require that expenditures at private residences for protective purposes be authorized by the Director or Deputy Director of the Service, and that all costs for this purpose be segregated and accumulated on a current basis.
- --The Secret Service should make an annual public report to the Congress showing in as much detail as security will allow expenditures made on private residences for protective purposes.
- --The report made by the Secret Service should be subject to audit by GAO and GAO should be given complete access to all records, files, and documents supporting expenditures made by the Service.
- --Appropriations for expenditures at private residences of the President, not of a protective nature, should be made to the White House. The White House should account for any such expenditures and make an annual report to the Congress, subject to audit by the GAO in the same manner suggested above for expenditures by the Secret Service for protective purposes.

The Congress also may wish to give consideration to limiting the number of private residences at which permanent facilities will be provided for a President. There is no limit at the present time.

Similarly, Congress may wish to consider the desirability of establishing a Government-owned residence in Washington for the Vice President to reduce the cost of providing permanent protective facilities for successive Vice Presidents.

CHAPTER 6

SCOPE OF REVIEW

To determine the work done by the Government at the Presidential residences at Key Biscayne and San Clemente, we:

- --Inspected the Presidential compounds at Key Biscayne and San Clemente.
- --Examined protective surveys, correspondence, contract documents, financial records, and other pertinent data.
- --Held discussions with officials of the Secret Service, GSA, and various components of the Department of Defense, and with certain contractors.
- --Reviewed the August 6, 1973, GSA list of its expenditures for protection of the President and his family and for administrative support of the President and his staff.
- --Reviewed and test checked the work performed by the GSA internal audit staff regarding GSA expenditures for the protection of the President.

Concurrently, we evaluated the work done to determine (1) whether it related to the protection of the President and (2) whether it provided a nonprotective benefit to the President.

We also reviewed protective work done on the private properties of past Presidents Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman, and Roosevelt and visited the homes of past Presidents whose widows are still protected by the Secret Service.

We did not review expenditures incurred by GSA and others for the administrative support complex at Key Biscayne or the office complex at San Clemente.

NONPROTECTIVE ITEMS AT KEY BISCAYNE AND SAN CLEMENTE

We noted several items provided by the Government at San Clemente and Key Biscayne which did not serve a protective purpose. These items, not requested by the Secret Service, were converting a den at San Clemente into an office, constructing a sewerline at San Clemente, and erecting flagpoles at Key Biscayne and San Clemente.

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE IN THE RESIDENCE

During the construction period GSA converted the den in the residence at San Clemente into an office. A contractor enlarged the windows at a cost of \$1,600. Also, GSA provided furnishings, such as a desk, lamps, tables, and chairs, costing a total of \$4,800.

This work was not requested by the Secret Service. During congressional testimony, a GSA Assistant General Counsel stated that GSA's authority for this work was a logical extension of GSA's authority to provide administrative support to the Executive Office of the President.

SEWER SYSTEM

A sewer consisting of approximately 630 feet of 6-inch line and approximately 400 feet of 4-inch line was constructed and connected to the city sewer system by the President's contractor in July 1969 as part of the work performed for the President. The total cost of about \$9,800 was shared between the President and the Government; the Government contributed \$3,800.

A June 18, 1969, letter from Hal Lynch, the President's architect, to John Ehrlichman, Counsel to the President, listed work to be performed by The Sturtevant Corporation "acting under our direction." It stated, among other things, that a sewer would be installed at a cost of \$10,200 and would include:

"* * * a 6" line from the sewer main to the main residence and continuing on with a 4" line to pick up the guest house, laundry room, two out rooms, pool drain and future bath house, also includes pumping, filling, and crushing of existing septic tanks." The letter did not refer to sharing the cost of the sewer as it did with respect to the paving of the circular driveway.

On August 6, 1969, the contractor submitted a partial bill to Mr. Kalmbach's law firm for work completed, including installation of the sewer. Mr. Kalmbach wrote Mr. Ehrlichman on September 6, 1969, stating that:

"When we talked in your office in San Clemente on Wednesday last, I mentioned the dead end I had reached on getting GSA to pick up the cost of the sewer line installation on the property (excluding the cost allocable to the swimming pool). You asked that I send you some backup should you wish to talk to someone in Washington."

Mr. Kalmbach attached a letter from Mr. Lynch addressed to Mr. Erhlichman which stated that the septic tank system would not adequately serve the increase in sanitary requirements brought about by frequent gatherings of large numbers of visitors, particularly with the loss of one septic tank because of the construction of the swimming pool. Mr. Lynch stated that \$2,800 for sewer expenses allocable to the swimming pool should be paid by the owner and the balance should be paid by GSA.

In a memorandum to the file dated September 12, 1969, John Galuardi, PBS regional director (now PBS deputy commissioner) stated that he was called by the PBS Commissioner had requested assistance. The commissioner had attended a meeting with the GSA Administrator who had discussed these items with Mr. Ehrlichman. The memo states that the commissioner advised Mr. Galuardi that the cost of the sewer "should be prorated" and that Mr. Galuardi was to discuss the item further with Mr. Lynch to arrive at the proper cost. An October 13, 1969, justification for modifying a GSA contract with The Sturtevant Corporation stated that GSA's share of \$3,800 was computed by Mr. Lynch and agreed to by Mr. Galuardi.

Because the Secret Service did not request the sewer, we asked Mr. Galuardi for the rationale for allocating the cost. He said that Mr. Lynch's position was that the Government should pick up two-thirds of the sewer line cost because the residence would be used for official Government functions and by official visitors. He said also that he did not think the Government should bear any of the cost but he was instructed to negotiate with Mr. Lynch the amount to be paid by the Government.

A GSA Assistant General Counsel, in congressional testimony, stated that GSA's authority to pay a portion of the sewer costs was a logical extension of the authority to provide administrative support to the Executive Office of the President.

* * * * *

It appears that the sewer was installed to replace the septic tank system and to drain the pool. Although the line may be useful in meeting the additional sanitary requirements resulting from official visitors, any such benefit appears to be incidental. On this basis, we believe that the Government should not have shared the cost.

FLAGPOLES

The flagpole installed at San Clemente is a 44-foot aluminum pole which cost \$1,800. The pole was treated and painted at a cost of \$500 to protect it from the elements. GSA stated that it provided this type of flagpole because it matched one on the Coast Guard loran station and that it is a two standard pole enabling two flags to be flown together.

Two flagpoles were installed at Key Biscayne. A white 40-foot fiberglass pole was installed in front of the 516 Bay Lane property at a cost of \$600. A 25-foot fiberglass pole was installed on the bay side of the 500 Bay Lane property at a cost of \$300. Both poles are single standard poles.

According to GSA officials the White House military aide requested the flagpoles. They stated that it was a military custom for the flag to be flown at the homes of Presidents when they were in residence.

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COSTS OF PROTECTION AT THE PRIVATE RESIDENCES OF

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AS PRESIDENT AND FORMER PRESIDENT

As in the case of costs incurred by the Government at Key Biscayne and San Clemente, a series of ever increasing dollar figures for Government costs relating to President Johnson were announced.

What began as a discussion about GSA costs for protective work performed on President Johnson's property quickly grew to include costs incurred by the Department of the Defense and the Secret Service; Government-owned property, such as the Federal office building in Austin, Texas; the private property of others, such as the Lyndon B. Johnson Library; and office and communications support. However, we limited our review to the costs of protection at the private residences of President Johnson, noting where appropriate, expenditures for other purposes.

When Lyndon B. Johnson became President in 1963 after the assassination of President Kennedy, he owned several properties in Texas. In his periodic visits to Texas while in office, he customarily resided at his 400-acre ranch near Johnson City, Texas, commonly known as the LBJ Ranch, and occasionally traveled to go boating at his Haywood Ranch in Llano County, about 50 miles away. President Johnson owned several other properties in Texas, including a broadcasting station, but apparently did not visit them frequently. The LBJ Ranch became President Johnson's permanent residence after he left office.

On December 2, 1969, the Congress designated about 241 acres of the LBJ Ranch as the Lyndon B. Johnson National Historic Site. The National Park Service has assumed responsibility for operating, maintaining, and protecting the land and buildings at the LBJ Ranch.

Mrs. Johnson continues to use the ranch residence under a special-use permit and is protected there by the Secret Service. Some of the Secret Service and GSA costs discussed below relate to the protection of Mrs. Johnson after the death of the President. Data prepared by GSA on the costs incurred at the LBJ and the Haywood Ranches for fiscal years 1964-73 shows that total costs were \$328,000. Our analysis of these costs follows.

Total costs reported by GSA Lessoffice expenses, administrative support, and expenses incident to	\$328,000
funeral of President Johnson	34,000
Costs reported by GSA as relating to protec- tion	294,000
Lesscosts reported by GSA for which detailed records were not available	136,000
Costs reported by GSA supported by documents showing that the work was performed at the	.
LBJ and Haywood Ranches	\$158,000

Regarding the unsupported costs of \$136,000 above: this figure includes amounts for equipment and maintenance for fiscal years 1966 and 1967, but sufficient documentation to determine what type of work was performed and at what location was no longer available. We doubt whether all these costs relate to protection inasmuch as the accounts from which the totals were drawn have been often used to record the costs of nonprotective activities.

On the other hand, GSA reported costs do not include figures for equipment and maintenance during fiscal years 1964 and 1965. Based on discussions with GSA officials and our analysis of costs incurred by GSA in subsequent periods, we think it likely that GSA incurred some costs for equipment and maintenance related to protection at the LBJ Ranch and the Haywood Ranch during these years.

Therefore, as a practical matter, a firm figure regarding protection at the LBJ Ranch and the Haywood Ranch is unavailable.

However, we were able to obtain detailed information regarding GSA costs of \$158,000, including amounts for construction, equipment, and maintenance. Of this amount, costs totaling about \$120,000 were incurred while President Johnson was in office. We identified Secret Service costs of about \$61,000 relating primarily to protective devices currently installed at the LBJ Ranch. Generally, we could not determine Secret Service costs for protective devices installed and later removed.

AS PRESIDENT

In December 1963 the Secret Service requested GSA to install a security lighting system on the outer security perimeter at the LBJ Ranch and to furnish and install guardhouses and trailers in various locations. Although data supporting total GSA costs incurred for the period is incomplete, we were able to identify the costs of installing some of these protective measures. About \$29,200 was for installing security lighting, guardhouses, and trailers. In addition, GSA constructed stone walls and fences at a cost of about \$3,400 and installed strobe and beacon lights to facilitate helicopter landings at a cost of \$4,300.

At various times GSA altered the above trailers and ranch buildings. Trailers were used as communications buildings, housing for military and other personnel, and offices for the Secret Service. The Secret Service informed us that its command post was moved three times during this period-from an equipment shed, to a trailer, and to a small building near the ranch residence, where it is still located. The cost of this work was about \$34,000. Also, we understand that the Secret Service rented the building used as a command post at the LBJ Ranch for \$65 a month, thereby incurring estimated costs of about \$5,000 from 1966 to June 1973.

The Haywood Ranch included a house, storage barn, a barn, a double garage for the President's amphibious car, and three boathouses--all property of the President. Two boathouses were used for the President's boats and one was used for the Secret Service escort boats. GSA costs for altering the boathouse used by the Secret Service and for equipment on the escort boats amounted to about \$1,400. Secret Service costs for protective devices installed at the ranch are estimated to have been about \$2,600. All protective devices were removed after the death of President Johnson. Regarding other properties owned by President Johnson, a limited amount of electronic equipment was installed by the Secret Service in a private apartment used by President and Mrs. Johnson at the broadcasting station in Austin, Texas.

GSA maintained and repaired the facilities and equipment such as the trailers, command post, and the Secret Service boathouse and boats. Maintenance and repair costs we could identify amounted to \$13,700.

AS FORMER PRESIDENT

Shortly after President Johnson left office, the Secret Service updated its protective systems at the LBJ Ranch by adding new fire detectors, anti-intrusion alarms, and closed-circuit television systems. We identified GSA costs of about \$6,300 incurred subsequently for installing protective systems, including the purchase and installation of electric gates. The Secret Service informed us at the time of our review that the cost of electric systems installed at the LBJ Ranch is about \$53,600.

At the Haywood Ranch GSA built two additional boathouses and, at various times, altered and installed equipment in the boathouses and docks used by the Secret Service. The cost of this work was about \$4,400.

After President Johnson died, the Secret Service installed a limited amount of additional protective equipment in the apartment area used by Mrs. Johnson at the broadcasting station.

GSA performed maintenance and repair work at the two ranches, as it had while President Johnson was in office. The cost of this work through June 1973 amounted to \$27,300.

COSTS NOT RELATING TO PROTECTION

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We inquired about the often-discussed airstrip at the LBJ Ranch, and learned that it was constructed in 1959 by a private construction firm in Johnson City. An official of the firm told us that his firm constructed and subsequently expanded and improved the airstrip; no Federal funds were involved. APPENDIX II

In 1961 the Federal Aviation Administration installed air navigation equipment at the airstrip. Airstrip end identifiers and a generator were installed on the LBJ Ranch at a cost of \$7,100. A homing beacon and a generator were installed on nearby property at a cost of \$16,200. The property is leased by the Federal Aviation Administration at an annual cost of \$250 per year. The equipment was installed as a result of an accident involving a plane enroute to the LBJ Ranch to pick up then Vice President Johnson. The Federal Aviation Administration does not consider this equipment to be permanently installed and has said that it will be removed when no longer needed.

The Corps of Engineers evaluated the airstrip in 1965 to determine its load-carrying capacities for specific types of aircraft. The evaluation cost about \$6,000 and was paid by the Air Force using military construction funds.

While President Johnson was in office, the Air Force incurred costs of about \$253,000 in providing air traffic control capability, including air-to-ground radio support, at the runway. Most of these costs involved Air Force manpower.

GSA also altered and installed equipment in the President's airplane hangar. Initial work included installing of microwave equipment and converting part of the facility into a crew readyroom and storage area. Later work included installing central air-conditioning, special lighting, and a suspended ceiling to convert part of the hangar to accommodate press conferences, television broadcasts, and the entertainment of foreign dignitaries. The total cost of work on the hangar was \$34,000.

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COSTS OF PROTECTION AT THE PRIVATE RESIDENCES OF PRESIDENTS KENNEDY, EISENHOWER, TRUMAN, AND ROOSEVELT

AS PRESIDENTS AND FORMER PRESIDENTS

Cost records for protective measures at the private residences of Presidents Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman, and Roosevelt when they were in office were generally unavailable because of the lapse of time and because assistance was often provided to the Secret Service by other Federal agencies on an informal basis. The situation is somewhat better with respect to protective measures taken at the private residences of former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman after their Secret Service protection resumed in 1965.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY

: } When President Kennedy took office in January 1961, he owned homes in Hyannisport, Massachusetts, and Washington, D.C. Not long after, he sold the Washington home and leased an estate known as Glen Ora, in Middleburg, Virginia, approximately 40 miles from Washington. In addition to these residences, President Kennedy frequently visited Palm Beach, Florida, staying either at the home of his father or at the home of a personal acquaintance. During one summer, President Kennedy spent weekends at Squaw Island, Massachusetts, at the home of a family friend. At the time of President Kennedy's death, a home was being constructed at Rattlesnake Mountain near Atoka, Virginia.

In Hyannisport the Kennedy Compound was surrounded by walls and fencing which had been installed at private expense some time before President Kennedy took office. The military services, through the Office of the Naval Aide in the White House, provided the Secret Service with six guardhouses and a trailer for use as a command post. To make the trailer less conspicuous, the Naval Aide arranged for landscaping that provided some measure of screening. The only other protective facility on President Kennedy's property was security lighting installed at no charge by a local electrical firm.

Glen Ora was located on approximately 400 acres of land and was reached from the public highway by a single access

APPENDIX III

road. A gate was installed at the highway end of the access road and four guardhouses were placed on the property. Initially, two trailers were located on the grounds as a temporary command post. Later, an existing building was remodeled for use by the Secret Service as a command post. Security lighting was installed near the principal buildings on the estate, and a communications system was installed to link the command post to various posts manned by Secret Service personnel. The remaining protective facilities consisted of fire and smoke detectors and anti-intrusion alarm systems. It appears likely that the Naval Aide provided the necessary material and manpower for the Glen Ora protective facilities.

At Palm Beach, protective facilities on the property of President Kennedy's father consisted of a trailer which was used as a command post (rendered less conspicuous by the addition of shrubbery and trees) and several anti-intrusion alarm systems. A fallout shelter was built by the Navy at a cost of approximately \$97,000; however, the shelter was built on Federal property on nearby Peanut Island. We could find no record showing whether protective facilities had been installed on the Palm Beach property of a personal acquaintance where President Kennedy occasionally was a guest.

Squaw Island was a relatively secure location because land access from the mainland was limited to a single causeway. Protective facilities consisted of a command post located in a trailer, four guardhouses, and security lighting. As at Palm Beach, these facilities were provided by the Naval Aide at the request of the Secret Service.

In February 1963 the White House announced that President Kennedy had begun constructing a new home on approximately 40 acres of land at Rattlesnake Mountain in Virginia. This home was to replace Glen Ora which President Kennedy had been leasing since early 1961. The construction of a home by a President while in office gave the Secret Service an opportunity to incorporate protective facilities while the building was being constructed, thereby eliminating the effort and cost associated with modifying an existing structure. Accordingly, as the house was being built, the Secret Service included anti-intrusion alarms and fire and smoke alarms at appropriate stages of construction. The house was still under construction when President Kennedy

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was assassinated, but was later occupied by his widow and family who continued to be protected by the Secret Service. A small building, which was already on the grounds when construction of the house began, was used as a command post. Anti-intrusion alarms were installed on the grounds of the estate. Presumably, maintenance and repair costs were incurred by the military services.

Except for certain protective devices installed at the house at Rattlesnake Mountain when it was under construction, protective facilities at the aforementioned properties were removed with the cessation of Secret Service activities.

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APPENDIX III

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

Soon after taking office, President Eisenhower purchased a farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, for his personal use. In addition to periodically visiting the farm, President Eisenhower continued to occasionally visit the Augusta National Golf Club, as he had done before taking office, and frequently spent weekends at Shangri-La in the Maryland mountains which he renamed Camp David.

The Gettysburg property was designated as the Eisenhower National Historic Site on November 27, 1967. The National Park Service has assumed responsibility for operating, maintaining, and protecting the land and buildings at the Gettysburg farm. Mrs. Eisenhower currently resides there under a special-use permit and is afforded protection by the Secret Service. Some Secret Service and GSA costs discussed below relate to the protection of Mrs. Eisenhower after the death of the President.

When President Eisenhower visited the Augusta National Golf Club, he resided at a cottage known as the "little White House" on the club grounds. The cottage was built by a group of club officials for his use a few months after he took office. Also, the club erected a hurricane fence around the golf course customarily used by the President.

As President

When President Eisenhower purchased the Gettysburg farm, the Secret Service requested the military services to provide certain protective facilities on the property. A milkhouse was remodeled to serve as the command post and the guardhouses were merely telephone booths obtained, apparently without charge, from a telephone company. Later, one of the guardhouses was replaced by a larger structure, again by the military. Protective devices acquired and installed by the military services included security lighting, fire alarms, and anti-intrusion alarm systems. Cost records associated with acquiring, installing, and maintaining these protective devices were not available.

At the "little White House", protective facilities were limited to electrical wiring for portable protective devices. When President Eisenhower left office in January 1961, protection by Secret Service was terminated and most of the protective facilities and devices at Gettysburg were either abandoned or removed.

As former President

When Public Law 89-186 was passed in September 1965, protection of President Eisenhower was immediately resumed by Secret Service. Subsequently, the Secret Service requested GSA to renovate the former command post and the guardhouses at Gettysburg which were in a state of disrepair. The cost of this work was approximately \$7,870. Portions of the protective systems which had been used while President Eisenhower was in office were still in place, but technological obsolescence and physical deterioration necessitated modification and replacement. The Secret Service installed additional security lighting, closed-circuit television equipment, antiintrusion alarms and other security devices.

The cost of Secret Service protective devices currently installed at Gettysburg is \$12,700. GSA incurred expenses of approximately \$7,860 for excavation, electrical wiring, and other work necessary to install Secret Service devices.

In 1969, a new guardhouse was built and the Secret Service command post was moved to a larger building on the farm which afforded a better view of the home and surrounding grounds. GSA incurred costs of approximately \$6,170 in building the new guardhouse and modifying the new command post to meet the needs of the Secret Service.

Maintenance and repair costs incurred by GSA amounted to \$2,600.

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APPENDIX III

PRESIDENT TRUMAN

During and after his years in office, President Truman maintained one private residence, the family home in Independence, Missouri, where Mrs. Truman still resides and is afforded protection by the Secret Service. Some of the Secret Service and GSA costs discussed below relate to the protection of Mrs. Truman after the death of the President. While in office, President Truman visited either his home in Independence or Key West, Florida. At Key West he stayed at the Navy facility there, residing at the quarters of the base commander. He used the facilities at Shangri-La infrequently.

As President

Only limited protective facilities were provided at Independence when President Truman was in office. In 1945, a portion of the garage was converted into a command post and a guardhouse was built in the backyard near the command post. An old memorandum showed that the guardhouse cost approximately \$1,200.

In 1949 a wrought-iron fence was erected around the Truman property at the request of the Secret Service to limit the entry of tourists and sightseers. The exact cost of the fence is unknown, but officials of the firm that installed the fence estimated that it would have cost approximately \$5,400. At about the same time, the military installed a simple anti-intrusion alarm system on the Truman property. We were unable to determine the cost of the alarm system. Secret Service officials said it was likely that the military had paid for the guardhouse, the fence, and the security system.

Protection of President Truman by the Secret Service terminated when he left office in January 1953. The guardhouse was dismantled and the alarm system removed, presumably by the military. The fence surrounding the Truman property was left intact and is still used to insure a degree of privacy for Mrs. Truman.

As former President

Protection of President Truman resumed in September 1965. Because he was initially adamant in his opposition to any expenditure of Federal funds for his protection, especially where his home or surrounding property would be affected, the Secret Service was denied permission to set up a command post or guardhouses on the grounds of the Truman home. The Secret Service established a command post at the Harry S. Truman Library, approximately one mile from the Truman residence, and used the facility as a base for providing protection.

Because of the inherent problems associated with providing protection to President Truman at a distance, Secret Service officials saw the opportunity to improve protection by using several types of electronic systems to supplement their protective personnel. Over a period of time, Secret Service officials were able to persuade President Truman to permit the installation of certain electronic systems on the grounds of his home, provided there were no modifications of a substantive nature to his residence or surrounding property. After the protective devices were installed, the Secret Service continued to maintain its command post at the Truman Library.

Secret Service officials informed us that they were still not satisfied with this situation because of the time needed to respond to possible incidents. When a private residence which permitted direct observation of the Truman residence became available, Secret Service requested GSA to lease the house for use as a command post. Since November 15, 1970, when the lease began, GSA has spent about \$28,000 for rent, renovations, and repairs.

Secret Service officials informed us that the cost of electronic systems (anti-intrusion alarms, closed-circuit television, and a fire alarm) currently installed on the Truman property is about \$22,000. Secret Service personnel installed this equipment; payments of approximately \$1,200 were made to utility companies for the installation of related cable and wiring.

Costs incurred by GSA at the Truman residence were very limited. For safety, GSA was requested to do concrete work on one step near the front entrance of the Truman home and to shore up the south porch of the residence because of wood deterioration. The entrance from this porch was used by Navy medical personnel attending President Truman and occasionally by the President. GSA also painted the iron fence erected by the Government around the Truman property. GSA officials estimated that the cost of the foregoing work was about \$1,250.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

When Franklin D. Roosevelt became President in 1933, he maintained three residences--the family estate in New York State known as Hyde Park; a cottage in Warm Springs, Georgia; and a summer retreat in New Brunswick, Canada, on Campobello Island. Besides periodically visiting Hyde Park and Warm Springs, President Roosevelt frequently spent weekends at Shangri-La. Although Campobello was a favorite summer vacation spot of the President early in his career, he rarely visited Campobello while in office.

Hyde Park was built in 1826 and purchased by President Roosevelt's father in 1867. Located on the Hudson River between the Village of Hyde Park and Poughkeepsie, the estate remained in the Roosevelt family until it was donated by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to the Federal Government. Hyde Park was designated a National Historic Site on January 15, 1944, and is maintained and operated by the National Park Service.

In 1924 President Roosevelt visited Warm Springs to ascertain whether the rumored curative properties of the water at a small resort would ameliorate his paralysis. At the time of his visit, the resort consisted of a dilapidated hotel with an adjacent pool fed by an underground spring of high mineral content with a constant temperature of 88 degrees. President Roosevelt was pleased with the therapeutic effects of the water at Warm Springs and, after renting a cottage for several visits, built a house. In 1926 he purchased the entire Warm Springs property including hotel, cottages, and 1,200 acres of land for use as a hydrotherapeutic center; the institution was incorporated as a nonprofit enterprise known as the Warm Springs Foundation.

Through interviews and research of biographies of the President and those closely associated with him, we learned that protection was afforded to President Roosevelt essentially through the use of Secret Service manpower. During World War II, military personnel assisted Secret Service agents in protecting the President.

Secret Service personnel maintained security on inner perimeters while military guards provided security on the outer perimeters of Hyde Park. A simple anti-intrusion alarm system owned and installed by the military was also used to secure the outer perimeters. At this time, electronic equipment that could be used for security purposes had not been perfected or, in many cases, developed.

Officials recalled that several guardbooths for Secret Service personnel were built at Hyde Park by the Navy Department and that a small building on the estate was used as a Secret Service command post. One official recalled that an organization, most likely the military, furnished space heaters for the comfort of agents manning the guardbooths. Off-duty agents were quartered at the Vanderbilt Mansion which, like Hyde Park, is now a National Historic Site.

Regarding Warm Springs, little is known of protective measures there except that Secret Service agents used a small cottage nearby the President's equally small "little White House" as a command post.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SECRET SERVICE

PROTECTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES

Date	Authority	Protection responsibility
1901	The Congress informally requested the Secret Service to protect the President as a result of the as- sassination of President William McKinley. (Sundry Civil Expenses Act of 1907 provided legislative authority)	President of the United States
1913	Treasury Department Appropriations Act of 1913	President-elect
1917	Treasury Department Appropriations Act of 1917	President's immediate family
1951	Public Law 82-79 July 16, 1951	Provides permanent authority for the Secret Service to perform certain functions and activities which had previously been carried out through authority contained in the Depart- ment of the Treasury's annual appropriations acts; also au- thority to protect the Vice-President (at his request)
1962	Public Law 87-829 October 15, 1962	Eliminates the requirement that the Vice-President request protection
		Extends protection to: Vice-President Elect Former President at his request for a reasonable period of time after he leaves office (estimated to be 6 months) Officers next in order to succession to the President if there is no Vice-President (Speaker of the House and then the President pro-tempore of the Senate)
1963	Public Law 88-195 December 11, 1963	Mrs. John F. Kennedy and her minor children for 2 years
1965	Public Law 89-186 September 15, 1965	Former President and his wife during his lifetime
		Widow and minor children of a former President for 4 years after the President leaves office or dies in office, unless such protection is declined
1967	Public Law 90-145 November 17, 1967	Widow and minor children of a former President until March 1, 1969, for those persons currently receiving such protection (Mrs. Kennedy and children)
1968	Public Law 90-331 June 6, 1968	Persons determined to be major Presidential or Vice- Presidential candidates unless protection is declined
1968	Public Law 90-608 October 21, 1968	Widow of a former President until her death or remarriage
		Minor children of a former President until they reach 16 years of age unless such protection 1s declined
1971	Public Law 91-651 January 5, 1971	Visiting heads of a foreign State or government
		Other distinguished foreign visitors to the United States (at the direction of the President)
		Official United States Representatives performing special

Official United States Representatives performing special missions abroad (at the direction of the President)

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