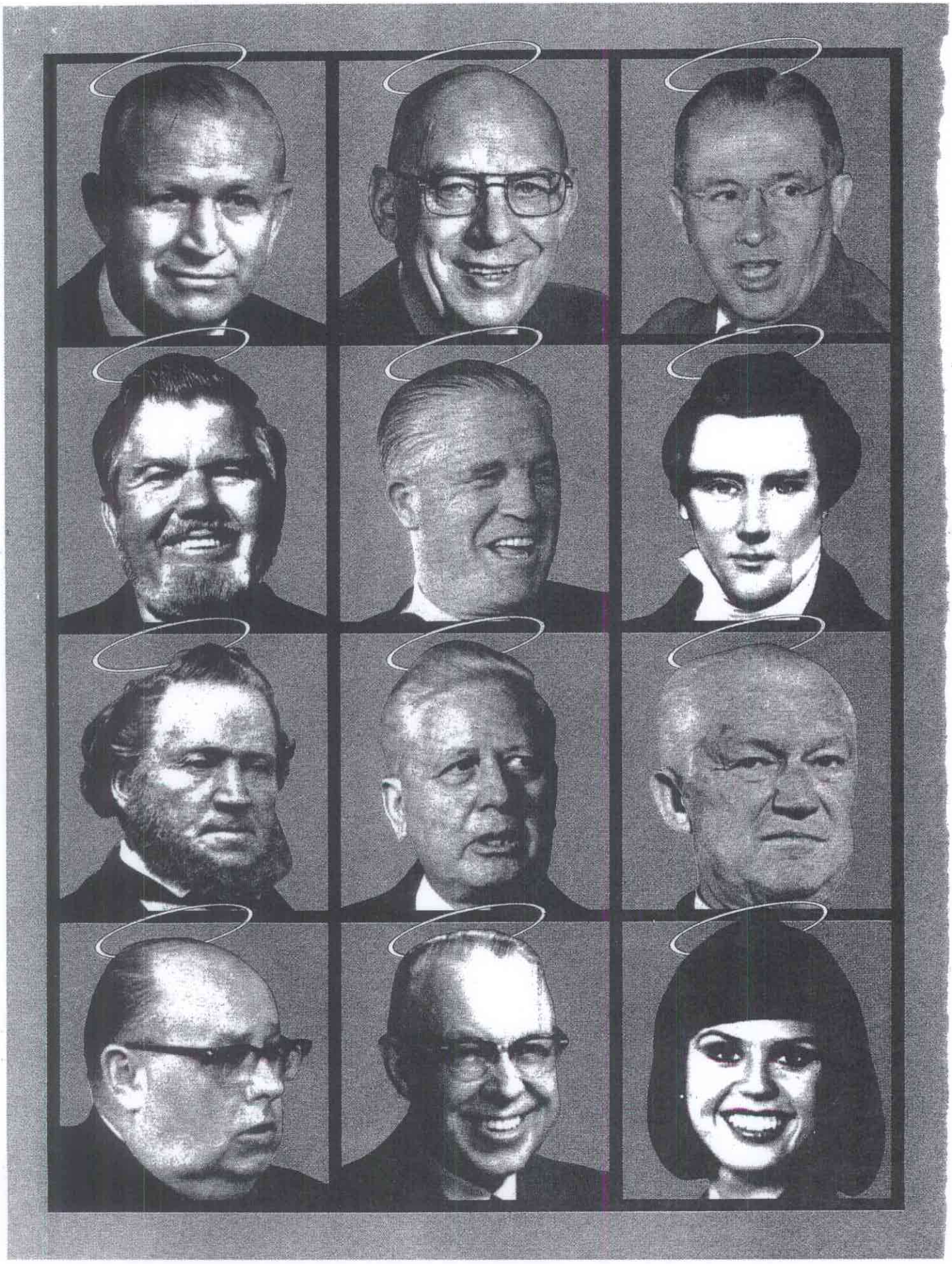

A OUI SPECIAL REPORT

THE LATTER-DAY INTRIGUES OF THE MORMON CHURCH

Watergate, CIA, Howard Hughes, Cuban exiles, big business, right-wing gun groups—and you thought it was just a big church with a nice choir

BY JIM KOSTMAN, J. C. LOUIS AND HARVEY YAZIJIAN

A former CIA officer tells this story: "When I took over a small office in the Agency, I reviewed an inventory of the equipment signed out to the office. Something—I don't remember what—called my attention to one item on the inventory, a piece of data-processing equipment. I asked a staff officer about it, and he answered that it was on loan to the Mormon Church for use in the Mormon genealogical library. Then he said, 'They do a lot for us.'

"This is hearsay," the source hastily added. "I never bothered to check the story out, but I was impressed by the implication that the CIA had an arrangement with a religious institution. That information would have been very explosive if it had gotten out."

The involvement of U. S.-based religious groups with the CIA was described as an "extremely sensitive" issue in the final report of the Senate committee that investigated intelligence activities in early 1976; however, the report (issued in May 1976) devoted fewer than two pages to the subject and said that the number of church-CIA collusion cases was small. Moreover, said the report, the CIA is now prohibited from using in its operations any American "following a religious vocation."

The Senate report is misleading, especially regarding the Mormon Church. Our own investigation of the Mormons has disclosed some direct evidence that the church itself has done—and is doing—a lot for the CIA.

Not far from Salt Lake City, in an area called Little Cottonwood Canyon, there are several enormous caves hollowed out of a granite mountain that is strong enough to withstand a thermonuclear blast. The caves are the center of the best-known of the Mormon's intelligence-gathering facilities: the church's vast genealogical library. The library contains more than 30,000,000 volumes of genealogical data, including a microfilm collection that—with almost 100 crews working around the world—is currently growing at the rate of 4000 rolls a month.

Joseph Smith, Jr., the 19th Century prophet and founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (otherwise known as the Mormon Church), taught his followers that the Lord had prepared for the salvation of all who lived before the church was founded and instructed them to let "a record [be] made for out of the books will your dead be judged."

Mormon scripture is well-seasoned with promises of an immortality that will preserve one's own earthly identity. And Mormons today engage in the unique ritual of baptism and marriage for the dead, which they believe will bestow eternal life on their ancestors. It is this drive for eternity that underlies the Saints' vast genealogical effort.

The Mormon genealogical library also has obvious benefits for non–church members. The same former CIA officer who told us the story about the Agency's equipment loan to the church also explained that the CIA has a great need for "biographical intelligence" on people in the Soviet Union and East Europe, where the governments publish very little about officials' birth dates and family connections. The Mormons have gained entrance to city halls all over Europe in order to microfilm birth, death and marriage records, property deeds and other documents. The library's continental European collection includes materials from the U.S.S.R. (both European and Asian parts), Poland, East Germany, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania and Hungary.

This information, if recent enough, can be useful to the CIA in several ways. It helps in building covers for its own officers, and it also helps in counterintelligence work. The CIA might possess the medical records of a suspected K.G.B. agent, for example, but not know that he has a brother-in-law living in Los Angeles. In addition, genealogical information can be used by intelligence analysts to trace "elite class connections," or who-knows-whom relationships, among a nation's leadership ranks. It is also a fact that tracing people's roots—for hire or as a hobby—is a traditional cover for security investigators and other intelligence operatives.

If the Senate committee did have evidence that the Mormon Church is or was involved with the CIA, in biographical intelligence or any other field, it did not release the data; nevertheless, there are indications that Mormon / Government links have existed for some time.

Jerald Tanner, a Mormon apostate who has written several works refuting

MORMON MOVERS (from top, left to right): J. Willard Marriott, Wallace Bennett, Ezra Taft Benson, Richard J. Hanna, George Romney, Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, David Kennedy, Rosel Hyde, Robert W. Barker, Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson, Marie Osmond.

THE LATTER-DAY INTRIGUES OF THE MORMON CHURCH *Mormon history reveals a preoccupation with internal security that borders on obsession; church leaders spied on Mormons and non-Mormons.*

the theological and historical claims of Mormonism, is one who has recently turned his attention to the church's CIA connection. "There are definitely relationships between the church and the CIA," he says. "It's just difficult to get information on the subject." Nevertheless Tanner has gathered such new evidence as a letter from a current CIA employee who wrote that "the Agency has been very fruitful in hiring Mormons, especially former missionaries."

A former CIA officer told us that, in general, Mormon missionaries tend to be too young and too inexperienced to serve as officers; but this man had himself been recruited into the Agency after being educated at the church-run Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, and serving abroad as a missionary for the breakaway Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Moreover, former CIA officer Patrick McGarvey, in his book *CIA: The Myth and the Madness*, writes that the "CIA has a surprising number of Mormon Church members in its employ" and claims to know of one Agency man who posed, or doubled, as a Mormon missionary abroad. For its part, the church maintains—as it did in a 1976 statement—that "there is no knowledge that any of its missionaries have been involved in intelligence work or subversive political activities here or abroad."

The statement was in response to the increasing attention being paid by outsiders, such as Tanner and McGarvey, to the church's world-wide educational/missionary system. This system was launched more than a century ago, with ambitious conversion campaigns in England and Scandinavia. Today, the church has a total of 133 foreign missions, supplemented with a network of secondary schools, Sunday schools and colleges.

These installations are staffed by thousands of missionaries who have been trained at a center located on the campus of Brigham Young University, where it is said that they learn languages more thoroughly than scripture. Many missionary veterans have joined the CIA after prolonged field service, during which they developed contacts, skills and knowledge useful in intelligence work.

The educational/missionary system is the heart of the church's international network; between 1970 and 1976, the head of this network—the church's commissioner of education—was a former CIA employee, Dr. Neal A. Maxwell. Dr. Maxwell had worked for the CIA in the early Fifties in an undisclosed capacity—an associate speculates that it was in the field of geographic analysis—and, when his Agency ties were disclosed last year, he left his commissioner's position.

Such institutional links between Mormon Church officials and the CIA are only part of the Mormon/Government picture. Prominent churchmen have also turned up in several other recent political scandals, and some of them have found their religious status to be of help in avoiding exposure. Perhaps the most glaring examples can be found in the nexus of Mormons who are presently battling to maintain their control over that intersection of the CIA, the military-industrial complex and organized crime known as the Howard Hughes empire; one of these men is Robert Bennett, who was a major though little-known participant in the Watergate scandal and whose Washington public-relations company had extensive ties to both the Mormon Church and the CIA.

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DIVINE THROAT'S HEAVENLY LEAKS

Mormon history reveals a preoccupation with clandestine activity and internal security that borders on obsession. For the most part, this involved only the church leadership, which has always thought itself to be locked in a titanic struggle for survival and control; in order to feel secure, church leaders spied on Mormons and non-Mormons alike. This habit of spying, moreover, was not the result of personality quirks or specific situations, but sprang in large part from Mormon doctrines and practices.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was founded in the early 19th Century—a period of tumultuous religious upheaval in western New York state. In 1823, Joseph Smith, Jr., the unlettered son of a poor family, withdrew to the woods one day for divine guidance; what he received was the first in a series of revelations, ultimately including the miraculous discovery of a buried set of inscribed gold plates. Smith later claimed to have translated these plates into The Book of Mormon, a new holy scripture that told of the pre-Columbian settlement of America by Hebrews—the so-called lost tribes of Israel—from whom sprang the American Indians.

Smith also contended that the new scripture came to him by divine revelation from an angel named Moroni, but many scholars contend that Smith plagiarized his "translation" by rewriting contemporary religious works; they also note that Smith was employed at the time as a "money digger"—one who, with the help of a cultic device called a "peepstone," hunted after buried treasure. Court documents have surfaced that appear to confirm the long-standing charge that in 1826 Smith was arrested, tried and convicted of fraud in connection with money digging.

But none of this was known to the faithful in 1830. With gospel in hand and the prophet at the helm, the Mormons set out from New York in pursuit of their promised land. They set out to build Zion; and this, of course, meant planning, immigrating, consecrating, financing, promoting, politicking. Smith himself became a land speculator, an entrepreneur and a business executive. The Mormons established their first bank in 1836, only six years after the founding of the church. A Unitarian writer of the day observed that the Saints had "too much worldly wisdom connected with their religion, too great a desire for the perishable riches of this world—holding out the idea that the kingdom of Christ is to be composed of real estate, herds, flocks, silver, gold, etc., as well as of human beings."

It was clear to the non-Mormons (called gentiles by church members) of Ohio, Missouri and Illinois that this strange new theology embodied a kind of nationalism and, exacerbated by Mormon claims to own land by divine right, non-Mormon fears often turned to violence.

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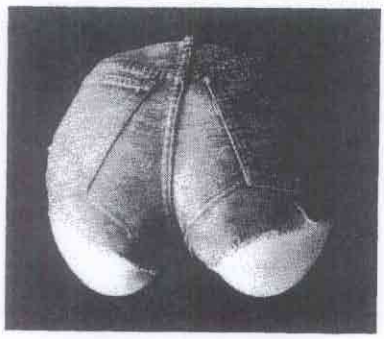
YE ARE MY CONSTITUTION

Shortly before his death in 1844, Smith organized the Council of Fifty, the Mormon governing body that would possess all legislative, executive and judicial powers. Despite explicit warnings in The Book of Mormon against secret societies and cabals, it appears that the only way the political kingdom of God could be established in the United States was by conspiratorial means; for, as Smith told the council at its founding meeting: "Ye are my Constitution, I am your God, and ye are my spokesman."

The council was founded at a time when the Mormons faced great political pressure from outside society, and Smith's covert attempts to establish an independent government could well have exposed him to charges of treason. Thus secrecy was vital, and entire meetings were devoted to stopping leaks; council *(Continued on page 120)*



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THE LATTER-DAY INTRIGUES OF THE MORMON CHURCH

The Mormon idea of utopia was that of an independent nation.

(Continued from page 46) records were often burned, and members referred to the council in code in their letters and diaries.

In 1838, the Mormons first entered the world of covert operations, with the founding of a secret military organization bound together by oaths and secret passwords. Known variously as the Avenging Angels, the Sons of Dan and the Danites, members of this order—according to one who was also on the Council of Fifty—were "placed under the most sacred obligations that language could invent. They were sworn to stand by and sustain each other; sustain, protect, defend and obey the leaders of the church unto death." Allegedly established in self-defense against persecutors, the Danites were also linked to the brutal deaths of Mormon dissenters and of those Saints who concealed property from Church authorities.

And then, in 1839, Smith urged the Saints to engage in simple intelligence gathering as a way of dealing with their persecutors. "We would suggest all the Saints gathering up the names of all persons who have had a hand in their oppressions," he wrote. "And perhaps a committee can be appointed to find out these things, and to take statements and affidavits and also to gather up the libelous publications that are afloat."

•

HOW THE WEST WAS CONVERTED

When they were pressured out of western Illinois and Missouri in 1846, the Saints, whose enthusiasm for territorial separatism and economic independence was prodigious, began an epic trek across the frontier to the land that later was to become Utah. The journey amounted to a reliving of the Exodus. For more than a year, the Council of Fifty was the Mormons' only government. It ordered roads built, levied taxes and allocated vital resources in the new Utah settlements. And as the Mormons straggled into the Great Salt Lake basin, the council—now led by Brigham Young, Smith's successor—planned the formal establishment of the state of Deseret as an autonomous territory.

Deseret (a Mormon term for honeybee, a symbol of industriousness) was a vast tract worthy of Mormon national ambitions. As claimed by the Mormons, it encompassed all of present-day Utah, most of Nevada and Arizona, substantial portions of Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico, sections of Idaho and Oregon and almost half of California. The Mormons eventually settled for a much-reduced area, and the Utah Territory was born on September 9, 1850. Forty-six years later, the territory was admitted to the Union.

Prior to statehood, the Mormon idea of utopia was that of an independent nation, founded on such unique institutions as polygamy, theocracy and economic communitarianism. When Utah joined the Union, these pillars of Mormon separatism receded in importance, as the Saints came to stress—even to exaggerate—their belief in America as the chosen nation. The acceptance of statehood was in no way an abandonment of the kingdom of God; instead, it was a strategic compromise that ended Federal harassment. The Saints continued their quest for a worldly empire and spiritual conformity.

Church leaders have often gone to great lengths to ensure conformity and obedience. During the Mormon Reformation of 1854–1855, Brigham Young sent missionaries to every Mormon settlement to question each church member about his sins; today, all Mormon boys enter the priesthood at the age of 12 and are interrogated as to their living habits before they can rise in the ranks.

The most serious Mormon sin of all is apostasy. As early as 1832, Joseph Smith had ordered that a record of all apostates be kept, while Brigham Young preached the doctrine of "blood atonement," or capital punishment, for apostasy. Young apparently practiced the doctrine as well, according to Council of Fifty member John D. Lee: "It has always been a well-understood doctrine of the church that it was right and praiseworthy to kill every person who spoke evil of the prophet. No year passes without one or more of those who have spoken evil of Brigham Young being killed in a secret manner."

The centralized hierarchy of the church and the extreme measures undertaken to preserve it have both been retained to the present day. Power is still concentrated in the First Presidency and extends downward to the many stakes and wards; both the religious instruction and the social activities of young Mormons are tightly controlled by central church authorities. The favorite way of ensuring conformity still appears to be espionage—a fact that was recently in evidence at Brigham Young University in Provo.

BYU is owned and operated by the

church; an estimated 95 percent of its 25,000 students are Mormons. It is not officially designated a religious institution, even though, in 1966, the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools reported that there were heavy curriculum restrictions at BYU in the fields of economics, politics and Mormon history. In 1967, the university's administration recruited 15 students to spy on eight liberal faculty members; six of the eight professors were subsequently forced to resign.

•

ZIONISM IS A FORM OF CAPITALISM

Under Mormon theocracy, social control is achieved as much by economic dependency as by religious conformity. Through its various holding companies, especially the Corporation of the First Presidency, the church operates a vast business empire that affects many aspects of daily life in every Mormon ward.

Mormons pride themselves on being able to take care of their own and have devised an elaborate welfare system to provide for Saints in need. Welfare recipients are required to work for extremely low wages in church-owned canneries, mills, farm and factories, and are provided with food and other essentials. Mormons prefer church welfare to state welfare; their system tends to keep vulnerable Mormons within the church's orbit.

The Saints can well afford their munificence. Church income, according to the best estimates, totals about $3,000,000 a day. The wealth comes from church-owned businesses, church-held investments and the tithes that every Mormon is obliged to donate to the church. Most of this income is tax-free. Viewed as a business, the Mormon Church ranks as one of America's 50 largest corporations; as a religious institution, it is the fourth-wealthiest church in the U. S. and, with only 4,000,000 members world-wide, the richest per capita.

The Mormon economic empire includes a conglomerate that owns finance companies, real estate and Zions First National Bank, which was founded by Brigham Young. The church also has a controlling interest in the Utah and Idaho Sugar Company, a major producer of beet sugar. It owns insurance companies (including Beneficial Life), several hotels and motels, a 700,000-acre farm in Florida, an 80,000-acre ranch in Canada, a village in Hawaii, the Salt Lake City daily *Deseret News* and various radio and TV stations around the country.

Among the church's other assets is a $20,000,000 investment—only recently come to light—in The Times Mirror Company, which owns, among other things, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Dallas Times-Herald* and Long Island's daily *Newsday*. According to reliable reports, the church also has a substantial interest in the Safeway Stores supermarket chain.

All of this wealth is administered by high-level church officials, who constitute a majority on the boards of church companies; the other directors are usually Mormon businessmen of no high church rank. Together, these men form a network that extends into many non-Mormon areas of the economy and that occasionally leads to close ties between the church and private corporations.

For example, the board of directors of the mammoth Kennecott Copper Corporation interlocks with the church hierarchy and with Zions Utah Bancorporation; Kennecott's headquarters used to be located in downtown Salt Lake City in a building owned and built by the Mormon Church. In recent years, Mormons have also been directors of the Union Pacific Railroad, Phillips Petroleum, Anaconda, Pet Incorporated, Nabisco, Bankers Trust and American National Insurance.

The best-known—and still the most mysterious—concentration of Mormons in the business world is that within the Howard Hughes empire. Beginning in the early Fifties, perhaps earlier, Hughes began hiring Mormons in substantial numbers, first as chauffeurs and couriers, and eventually as executives and security men. It was said that Hughes considered Mormons to be reliable because they abstained from tobacco and alcohol and were patriotic, loyal and self-reliant. Whatever his reasons, we know that Hughes spent his last 15 years seeing practically no one but Mormons.

Known as the Mormon Mafia, the group around Hughes included such obscure figures as Levar Myler, recently fired as a director of the Summa Corporation, Hughes's personal holding company; Howard Eckersley, a prominent church member who helped manage Hughes's Las Vegas interests; and personal aides Johnny Holmes and George Francom. Frank W. "Bill" Gay, current president of Summa and the man responsible for hiring most of the Mormon Mafia, is a devout Mormon, active in such church projects as the Polynesian Culture Center in Hawaii. Gay's top assistant, Summa vice-president Kay Glenn, is also a Mormon.

In light of this group's presence, it is important to note that a large part of the Hughes connection to Watergate was

"My Leo holds the Guinness world record for owning the most copies of the 'Guinness Book of World Records.' "

a Mormon connection, and that Hughes's tremendous financial power depended on his ability to control politicians, especially those in Washington. The members of the Mormon Mafia, who have been in almost total control of Hughes's fortune from late 1970 to the present day, also have their own powerful connections in the Federal Government.

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CHURCH AND STATE

Over the years, a number of Mormon legislators have gone to Washington. Perhaps the most notable of these is Wallace Bennett, who served Utah in the Senate for 24 years beginning in 1951. Bennett was a leader of the Mormon community in Washington and the author of *Why I Am a Mormon*, a tract popular with church proselytizers. Bennett was an important Washington political figure as well, serving for several years as chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and as an influential voice in the Senate Republican minority.

Mormons have also held top positions in the Executive branch: Ezra Taft Benson, now next in line for the church presidency, was Secretary of Agriculture in the Eisenhower Administration; John Kennedy picked Mormon Stewart Udall as Secretary of the Interior; and Nixon appointed Mormons David Kennedy as Secretary of the Treasury and George Romney as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Other agencies where Mormons are or have been employed in key positions include the Bureau of Indian Affairs (the church runs several schools on Indian reservations), the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (director James Fletcher), the Securities and Exchange Commission (where Hamer Budge was appointed chairman by Nixon in 1970), the Federal Communications Commission (where Rosel Hyde was chairman during the Nixon Administration), the Departments of HEW, Transportation, Labor, Commerce and Treasury, the President's Council of Economic Advisers and the Office of Management and Budget. Two Mormons have served as U. S. Commissioner of Education, and another, Ivy Baker Priest, has been U. S. Treasurer.

Mormons were found in abundance in Richard Nixon's inner circle. One of Nixon's closest friends and most loyal supporters was J. Willard Marriott, the hotel-and-restaurant tycoon who employed Nixon's brother, Donald, for many years and who headed Nixon's Inauguration committees in both 1969 and 1973. Marriott has been president of the Washington Mormon Church and has donated more than $1,000,000 to BYU. Nixon seemed to have a deep appreciation for Marriott's business successes: "They don't drink the stuff," he is heard to remark on the White House tapes, "but they sure make a lot of money selling it."

Joining Marriott on the 1973 Inauguration committee—as general counsel—was Robert W. Barker, an active and high-ranking churchman whose Washington law firm of Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker is dominated by Mormons. One of Barker's law partners is Ernest L. Wilkinson, the longtime president of BYU who took full responsibility for the infamous spy ring operating there in the Sixties.

•

DIAL M FOR MORMON

In the summer of 1972, a young Mormon, Howard Berry Godfrey, blew the whistle on an organization that he had led on a right-wing terrorist campaign in San Diego. Earlier that year, members of this organization had fired into the home of a local antiwar activist and helped blow up a pornographic movie theater.

When Godfrey turned state's evidence, he disclosed that these acts were part of a grand antileft strategy on the part of the Secret Army Organization, a paramilitary group that had evolved in early 1970 from remnants of Southern California chapters of the Minutemen. Godfrey also revealed that the S.A.O. was a participant in a five-year-old street war against San Diego's New Left, which had been supported and partly financed by the local office of the FBI.

The man ultimately responsible for Godfrey's role in the S.A.O. was a prominent Mormon attorney, J. Clifford Wallace. According to Wallace (who was named to the Federal bench by Nixon in 1970), Godfrey came to him in 1967 seeking "religious counsel" after having been invited to join the Minutemen. Wallace's "counseling" included putting Godfrey in touch with two Mormon agents in the San Diego FBI office, who subsequently recruited Godfrey as an FBI informant and *agent provocateur*. Godfrey's case officer was a third Mormon, agent Steve Christiansen, to whom Godfrey reported daily for five years.

Mormon ties to the far right may go well beyond the S.A.O. episode. Minutemen leader Robert DePugh has said that one of the group's mysterious "founding fathers" was a Mormon Church official.

Prominent Mormons have been involved in other scandalous intrigues, and there is even a church connection to the South Korean lobby, now under Justice Department and Congressional investigation for having bribed U. S.

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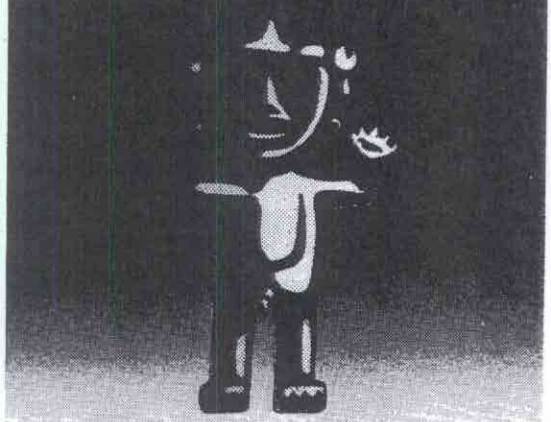

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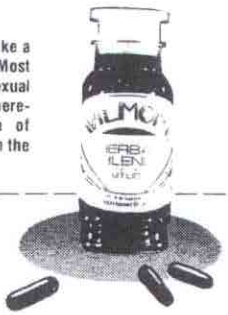

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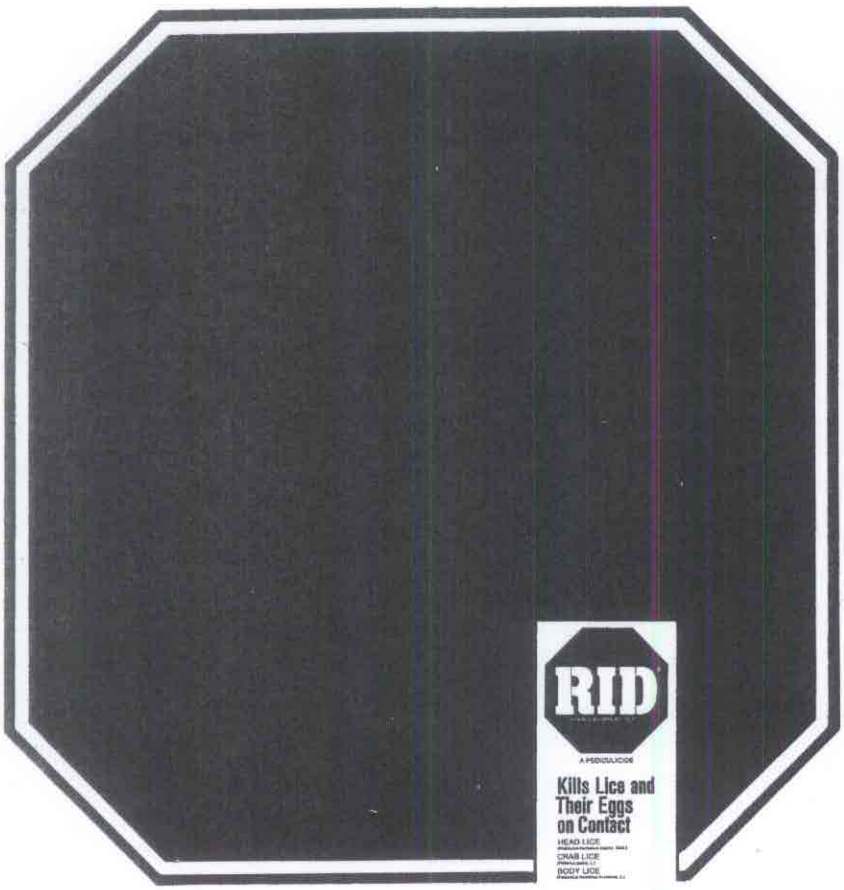

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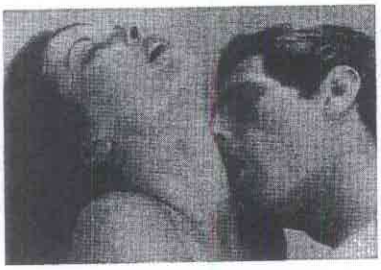

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LATTER-DAY INTRIGUES *Deeply involved in the CIA.*

Congressmen. One of the first names to surface in the scandal was that of former Congressman Richard T. Hanna, a Mormon who was allegedly responsible for having introduced Korean businessman Tongsun Park, a central figure in the bribery scandal, to House Democratic leaders. Moreover, in 1975, the public-relations firm headed by former Nixon Congressional liaison William Timmons received $60,000 from Tongsun Park for consultant services at the same time it was doing PR for the Mormon Church; the firm employs several Mormons who worked with Timmons on the White House staff, some of whom had also previously worked for Senator Wallace Bennett.

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GOD WAS MY UNINDICTED CO-CONSPIRATOR

Robert Foster Bennett is best-known to Watergate buffs for three things: He is the son of that pillar of the Mormon Church, former Utah Senator Wallace Bennett; he was president of Robert R. Mullen & Company, the Washington-based public-relations firm that employed E. Howard Hunt at the time of the Watergate break-in; and, since the release of a CIA document confirming that Bennett was an unacknowledged source for *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward, he has become the popular choice for the role of Woodward's unidentified "Deep Throat" source.

In his 1973–1974 investigation of the CIA's role in Watergate, Senator Howard Baker uncovered the extent of Bennett's involvement in the pre-Watergate activities of Hunt and Liddy. Much of the Watergate planning took place at Hunt's Mullen & Company office. Bennett participated in several of the projects Hunt undertook for the White House, including the release of a statement by I.T.T. lobbyist Dita Beard from her Denver hospital room. Also, according to Baker's report, "Bennett asked for and received from Hunt a price estimate for bugging Clifford Irving for Hughes." Finally Bennett was an intermediary between Hunt and Liddy in the frantic days following the break-in.

The most plausible explanation for Bennett's success in avoiding prosecution in the Watergate affair (he never even testified in public after the original trial of the burglars in early 1973) is the fact that Mullen & Company was deeply involved in the CIA. The CIA had had officers posing as employees in Mullen's foreign offices since the Fifties, and in

the early Sixties, two CIA officers who regularly debriefed Soviet and Chinese defectors opened a Mullen office in Stockholm. When the Stockholm office was closed a few years later, one of the officers set up a Mullen office in Amsterdam and the other did the same in Mexico City. Yet another CIA officer was Mullen's representative in Singapore.

Following the disclosure of Howard Hunt's role in the Watergate break-in, the CIA seems to have decided to close all of the overseas Mullen offices. Although there were hints in the press immediately after the break-in of an even deeper Mullen-CIA relationship, the secret of the overseas cover arrangement was not publicly disclosed until the release of the Baker report in 1974. On the instructions of his case officer, Bennett concealed his CIA ties from the Watergate grand jury; he was protecting not only the Agency but also the interests of his firm, hoping that the CIA would agree to allow his foreign offices to remain open.

Our investigation of Mullen & Company, including interviews with Bennett and several other employees, has disclosed several new details regarding Bennett's far-flung connections. We learned, for example, that the relationship between the CIA and Mullen & Company went far beyond the overseas cover arrangement. We also discovered that Bennett's ties to the Mormons working for Hughes went back further in time than he had previously revealed. But perhaps the most startling discovery we made was that for 16 years Mullen & Company had been the chief Washington public-relations representative for the Mormon Church.

Robert R. Mullen, who founded his public-relations firm in 1953, is not a Mormon but a Christian Scientist. His original list of clients included the tourist bureaus of the governments of Mexico and Yugoslavia, the U.S. Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, the General Foods Corporation, the Ford Foundation and the American Bar Association. Two years after his office opened, Mullen was approached by the Mormon Church to promote the first European tour of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, and this led to a contract to represent the church in Washington.

When Robert Bennett came to Mullen in 1971, he was continuing a career saturated with Mormon connections. While on his mission to England in 1954 and 1955, Bennett says, he met Robert Mullen for the first time and participated in the local arrangements for a Tabernacle Choir concert in Glasgow. Later, in 1968, Bennett served under Mullen as vice-chairman of public relations for Nixon and Agnew, and through this connection landed a job in the new Administration as Congressional liaison for the Transportation Department.

While Bennett was at Mullen & Company, the firm maintained an extensive relationship with the CIA both abroad and at home. In 1971, a Mullen subsidiary called Interprogres was formed to promote East-West trade; according to reliable reports, the CIA used Interprogres on at least one occasion to arrange a transaction in Yugoslavia. After telling us at first that he knew nothing about Interprogres, Bennett admitted that, along with several former CIA employees, he is a director of the company. He denied the Yugoslavia story, however, and said that Interprogres had no ties to the CIA.

The Mormon Church, however, continued to be a client of Mullen & Company under Bennett's ownership until Watergate sufficiently embarrassed the Saints into canceling the contract. Bennett is now public-relations director for the Summa Corporation, and he is still active in the Mormon Church.

By skillfully and selectively leaking information to the press and Government investigators, Bennett was able to further implicate the Nixon White

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LATTER-DAY INTRIGUES *Hired to spy on Democrats.*

House in Watergate while at the same time distracting attention from the connections to his company, to the CIA, to Hughes and to his fellow Mormons.

Several days before the Watergate break-in, for example, Bennett learned that Howard Hunt had hired a young Mormon and BYU student named Thomas Gregory to spy on the Democrats while posing as a campaign worker for Senator George McGovern. Gregory regularly reported campaign intelligence to Hunt and was paid handsomely for it.

After a close call during a burglary attempt at McGovern headquarters, Gregory got cold feet; he told Bennett about Hunt's activities and went home to Utah. Less than a week later, the Watergate arrests took place. While FBI agents were scouring the country looking for Hunt, Bennett was telling everyone that he had no idea whether or not Hunt had been involved in the break-in. Bennett says he told the prosecutors everything he knew about Watergate in July 1972. In fact, he withheld his knowledge of the Gregory-McGovern episode for another six months. When asked why he kept silent about Gregory, Bennett said, "I didn't want to ruin the kid's life." He added that he and Gregory had consulted a lawyer after the break-in and were told they had no legal responsibility to discuss the Mormon student's work for Hunt with Government investigators.

Later, the Special Prosecutor's office told Bennett that Gregory's actions were part of the over-all criminal conspiracy that had led to the Watergate break-in. We asked Bennett whether, in view of his own pre-Watergate knowledge of Gregory's activities, his own actions were part of the same conspiracy. "Not as the prosecutors interpreted them," he replied.

THE SAINTS' BLACK RADIO

A few days after the Watergate break-in, information surfaced in the press that linked Robert Mullen to an organization formed in 1960 called the Cuban Freedom Committee, and a CIA memo released in 1975 confirmed that Mullen was "instrumental in the formation" of the Cuban Freedom Committee. According to Watergate authority J. Anthony Lukas, the committee was "financed by $2,000,000 in CIA money funneled through various foundations."

Among other things, the Cuban Freedom Committee produced radio programs for broadcast over several stations in the early Sixties. *Time* magazine has reported that the Mullen company assisted in the preparation of these

broadcasts, some of which were part of the propaganda offensive during the Bay of Pigs. Thus, the Mullen company's hiring of Howard Hunt after his retirement from the CIA in 1970 takes on added interest: Hunt had played a key role ten years earlier in the propaganda and political aspects of the Bay of Pigs planning and had known Robert Mullen since 1949, when Mullen served as head of public relations for the Marshall Plan and Hunt used the cover of the Marshall Plan's Paris office as a young CIA officer.

One station carrying the committee's programs was WRUL in New York, a unique short-wave station with commercial programing beamed to Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. The C.F.C.-WRUL deal was signed on September 30, 1960, at about the time the CIA began active planning of the April 1961 Cuban invasion. About two years later, WRUL was bought by the Mormon Church. We have learned that the Saints had a strong influence at the station before this time, and that the Cuban Freedom Committee's broadcasts over WRUL continued after the Mormons acquired the station.

We have also learned from interviews with several people directly involved with WRUL's operations that the CIA has had a long and close relationship with the station. Despite the fact that WRUL shared some of its programing with Radio Swan, the CIA-owned-and-operated station in the Caribbean that played a key role in the Bay of Pigs invasion, WRUL officials denied having any knowledge at the time that the CIA was in any way involved in its broadcasts. Nevertheless, a former WRUL news director told us that the CIA regularly monitored WRUL's mail during the Bay of Pigs period.

We also uncovered at least one instance where an exile group's use of the station created an international incident. For three years, beginning in 1965, a program called *United Haitienne Internationale* was broadcast six mornings a week over the Mormon-owned WRUL; it was produced by the Haitian Coalition, a loose grouping of exiles opposed to the repressive regime of Haitian dictator François "Papa Doc" Duvalier. The group had access to information about Duvalier's daily movements from agents planted in the presidential palace, and they incorporated this information into their broadcasts—to the great embarrassment of Duvalier. Reliable reports that the Coalition's programs were CIA-backed met with a firm denial from Raymond Joseph, a former secretary-general of the Haitian Coalition who now works for the *Wall Street Journal*. "*We* did the programs," he told us, "and those were *our* spies in the palace."

Duvalier protested in vain to the State Department. "We offered Duvalier equal time," says Rolf Brent, former president of WRUL. Brent also claimed that the Haitian program was a purely commercial transaction, despite the fact that the $200-an-hour rate charged the Coalition was well below WRUL's standard rate. Coalition leader Joseph said that, following Duvalier's protest, his group was asked by the State Department to submit transcripts of its programs. They were otherwise left alone, he added, because everyone at that time was against Papa Doc, American aid to Haiti had been cut off for years, and the U. S. was officially in favor of ousting Duvalier.

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Mormon historian Klaus Hansen has said of the Mormon Church that it was America's religious declaration of independence. Mormons like to say that violent separatism and belief in divine guidance are hallmarks of both the church's founders and America's founding fathers.

The analogy may go further than that: While many historians insist that the radical impulses of the Declaration of Independence had a conservative counterpart in the Constitution, the Mormons, despite separatist impulses even stronger than those of 1776, repeated the conservative reaction of the colonists—and in a most extraordinary fashion. What had been a gathering community of Saints dedicated to a strict separation of church and federal state today has institutional links with Government departments, bureaus and agencies. There is a high degree of individual participation in Government by Mormons, as well as in the legal and illegal operations of the intelligence community. Individual initiative and institutional alliance should not be confused, but the weight of history cannot be ignored.

Once Utah was a state, Mormon nationalism was wed to American nationalism. Certain separatist aspects of the religion were dropped and the institutions of the church came to support and depend upon the dominant economic forces and social ideology of America. The conservative emphasis on preserving Zion has doctrinal counterparts promising some form of physical survival after death. These beliefs are based on persistent fears of social decay. By no means exclusive to the Mormons, such fears have always fueled the zealots of church and nation alike. ■

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