



5/20/73

Dear Dick,

I've been Watergate working, catching up on filing (in such haste some may be beyond retrieval!) and writing. I took enough time off between rains to cut some grass, but if I loose ~~40~~ 50 strawberry plants, five raspberry bushes and a fig treat, it will be Nixon who did that, too. (By the way, I have a magnificent poster, a takeoff on a Nixon campaign slogan. It is a photograph of a very pregnant black woman holding her belly under the caption, "NIXON'S THE ONE!" If I can find someone who will copy photographically, I'll have copies small enough for people to have.)

Writing a book of this kind ^{without an outline} is not as difficult as it seems. I have found in the past under similar circumstances that it can help outline the overall in the mind. And it gets things done. You know what Che said, "The duty of the writer is to make with the writing".

Today I completed a chapter with a long title, "The New Nixon and the Old ~~NIXON~~ Nixon are One, the Watergating Nixon." I plan to follow it with "Clean As a Hound's Tooth", Ike's ecstatic excess when the Checkers speech worked. The New-Old chapter is his political history, which is all Watergating, except for the Checkers speech, which will begin the financial-irregularities chapter, "Clean As". (Did you know that the Original Nixon broke into the Dean's office in law school?)

I didn't quite finish this chapter. Almost. It necessarily deals with people I knew, like the first guy he beat, Jerry Voorhis, so I did use first-person stuff. But in a way that bluepencils out, without revision being required. My main purpose was to give and suggest authentication of fact and establishment of personal credentials. I guess I'll do this also in dealing with the FBI. (Did you know that I lived with a large crew of agents for four months on a major case of the day? and where it was so dangerous six of the defendants were assassinated beginning the day after the night I left. I could say ~~fed~~ but I won't say that or the rest in the book!). Also with the CIA, having been in OSS. In part the decision was because I can't avoid it with Hunt anyway, particularly if I sue over that, as I'm trying to do.

While I'd be reluctant to use an incomplete, unread rough draft as a specimen, more than most because of the terrible typing, I do have this now, too.

Now I've got to get time to write the Dell stuff out for you. Meaning for me.

There are other things I can't entirely ignore. I have reduced them to the degree possible. Pray that nothing happens to James Earl Ray, for I have "solved" that case and he is in danger. I'm still accumulating evidence on that and if he gets killed there will be a fast and very sensational book. I regret to say that he is in danger.

You will make your own judgement and any publisher will make his own, too. I told you I was enclosing the flattering comment of a mature and experienced friend who has been a courier with what I've been doing and who, with his wife, ~~has~~ been helping. This time I do. I sent him a copy of the long letter I wrote you as soon as I got home. He has made some comment that I repeat because of their experience all around the world as an AP correspondent: "Your book has the sound of great potential, especially if you write your own book from your own special material. There'll probably be dozens of them, but one of them can be written only by you... In any case, I think you are correct in choosing a broader approach, showing that the WG incident is merely one boil that burst [think I'll steal that for a chapter title!], not the basic sickness by any means. The inevitable result is authoritarianism, which is the real enemy. The CIA is merely one expression of this trend, and is a menace because it is not accountable and because it illegally engages in domestic operations. It will have to be a continuing part of your story, but need not assume such proportions that the result tends to exculpate our Glorious Leader... GL has no qualms about using it... And the CIA was only one among many of the tools he has used. ... You mention the horrible problem of writing a book about a breaking story. Actually, you've chosen the

only practical way of handling such a problem - subordinate the breaking story to a larger theme, which is better perspective anyway and should, in the end, carry far greater impact. You know that on one else can write the book you can write. Lay on, Mac Duff."

Some reporters can reach retirement and be the same dumdums they were as cubs. This man reported for AP all around the world, including Washington (and China, too). He and his wife are two of the wisest people I've ever known, including the countless politicians and government officials. Perhaps his independent expressions will have conveyed the concept and the problem better than I did. Certainly this is more succinct. It tells you why I'm reluctant to give a chapter outline or any to which I'd be firmly bound. I can't visualize anything that would make a major change in what I have in mind, including resignation. What I do not have in mind is organization and structure (final, that is, not general) and what I'll leave out. There is already much too much material, all relevant. Resignation, which still seems unlikely, will not surprize me. His resignation speech is in my notes, as were several of his others before he made them.

Reluctance to present an outline that might well require changing and before it is clear enough to me is one of the reasons I said I'd take a gamble if you recommend it. One of the minor costs we can't bear is Lil's having to give up her summer's work to retype in a rush. She is one of two people keeping the Block office open during the off season. It ruins three days, but the guarantee is only about \$50. Without a fat advance we could not afford even this small loss. She would have some time for which she is not now paid on other days, when she does some bookkeeping, but by the time there would be enough to retype, she'll have the several messes under control. Of course, time for which she is not now being paid represents no cash loss if she spends it on the book. As a matter of fact, although she has not been able to keep up with either the story or what I've been doing with it, she'd make a valuable research assistant and I'll miss those services very much. They will cost time.

I've decided to eliminate footnotes. Instead, where necessary, I'll have the sources in the draft and eliminate them in retyping.

On any event, until there is a firm negative, I'll plug away whenever I can find any time at all. In part this is because I do believe the book I write will be the one that will be different, the one with a context and the right context, the one that will be other than a rewrite of what has been well publicized. To this I add the one that has the capability of being the deciding thing with resignation or impeachment or worse.

Initially it will have to be longer than optimum. You know from our common past that I'll raise no cutting problems. (God, what awful judgement Ann used in cutting out all that beautiful and then and now significant FBI stuff on those Cuban camps! But I didn't make noises.)

If you do get a publisher and he does go for my way of almost overnighting a hardback, remember it will save him much money and is not patentable, so think of how there can be something in that for you and me.

In the usual rush, let me not forget to remember Jill and the boys,

with best,



5/24/73

Dear Dick,

A hasty note before having to leave for a day in Washington to let you know that I am nibbling away at a Watergate book. I hope that by now it is as clear to you as it is to me that, except in generalities, it is not possible to outline a book that can't be completely written for a short period. Instead, I have been writing pieces of what I believe should be the content, regardless of what eventuates. In some cases it has been the beginnings of chapters, in some cases just a few pages of what should appear in some chapter.

If you have been able to follow developments with all the things you must do, then I think you realize some of my forecasts are accurate and that the book rushed too much will be dated and dead before it appears. In what thinking about formulation I've been able to do I have become convinced that the basic doctrine of what I have in mind is not only the only safe formulation but it is the only correct one, historically, politically, however considered.

You will recall that I said the Senate committee would not keep, would not be able to keep, the schedule it set for itself. By tonight, as I recall, it was to have heard all but a couple of the 20 witnesses it had scheduled. It has heard about 5. And it recesses tonight.

The President's "unexpected" admissions are not unexpected to me and to date he has done exactly as my analyses predicted he would. He has given a few details I did not anticipate, but that is the only departure. So, I feel confident about my understanding.

One of the things that changes this, one I did not anticipate, one I am not certain I understand except in its intent, is the unconscionable thing Alch did yesterday. From the immediate coverage, he is getting away with it. If he does not, it can backfire. If you paid close attention to it, you are sharp enough to know that he was not out to exculpate himself and that his intent was to give Nixon a base for counterattack that would be sieged for him by the media. I am not confident that "ensterwald has the wit, on his own, to do with this what can be done. I am confident that it can be done. Alch went too far, which tells me that he is uptight but is not conclusive on why.

If you have followed the story, you know the validation of what I was driving at in my Dean correspondence that is supposed to be disclosed in a statement promised for tomorrow.

So, there is no need for you to write. My purpose is merely to keep you up to date on what I am attempting. Even the domestic-intelligence part of what I told you is now a matter of admission by the chief paranoid, Herr Nixon. (I would hope this admission would encourage the ACLU to take a case for me. If they do I'd be more inclined to make this a more personal writing, to be tempted to include the analyses I made as the story developed, going back to and quoting from the 1968 writing, for part of the story is the failure of the media to understand and report what was happening in the country.) I have some tentative chapter titles and I have seen what is unreported in the stories that have appeared. For example, in his yesterday's testimony what Ulasewicz really said is that for three years he had been spying for Nixon on all other politicians. He gave the lie to the obviously fraudulent "national security" justification, to the President himself all over again, and gave all the pols something to worry about.

At the moment my major problem is mechanical, keeping up and writing simultaneously. It would take much less time later, when transcripts will be available. Now I must be glued to the tube. In fact, I'm taking a radio to Washington with me today so that, when I am out of the car and not otherwise occupied, I can listen.

Best

6/3/73

Dear Dick,

I celebrate going back to bed when I got up at 3 a.m. by bringing you up to date. I have 30-45 minutes before the paper will be here, and that isn't enough time for any writing. What I've been doing with odds and ends of time is putting some order into my Watergate files, now more than a file drawer in extent.

It is my view that they will be much, much more extensive before the first solid book is out. I do anticipate these kinds of developments. A book keyed to the breaking story has simple alternatives: incompleteness or delay. Even if, as I imagine, any book will be rushed. The Post reporters' was due in November. I think it will be sooner. They have not been writing news stories much for almost a month. They have written a few. Obviously, Bantam's special is less of a special. If I had had a deal, I could have completed a book that will not be dated, for I'd have been able to lay everything else aside. How strange it is to me that the only kind of book that can avoid being dated is the kind that couldn't be written about the JFK assassination when it was then wanted!

Anyway, I'm nibbling away at it and will for a while longer. It is getting clearer in my mind. The sequences are still uncertain.

It is about time for new and sensational developments, aside from what can come out at the hearings this week. These make new problems for other books, other concepts, everything rigidly retelling what has been told. I still can't imagine the Post boys or Hollenhoff doing much else.

The pressure to speed the hearings is a GOP effort to get everything over with as fast and as skimpily as possible. The organization announced for the hearings is proper and should not be altered. The faster it goes, the less can emerge before court, and I don't have to tell you the limitations there. This would diminish other possibilities. One of those I anticipate is Dean Mitchell or both singing and naming the Glorious Leader at least as part of the obstruction of justice. His own anticipation of this is clear in the switch to "national security" as his explanation. The federal refusal to give Dean use immunity only can have no other reasonable explanation. This would enable them, if you are familiar with the kinds of immunity, to prosecute him still. If they haven't indicted him by now it can't be because they did a good investigation and don't have enough. Only transactional immunity is complete immunity. So, in his trying to make a deal, he'll have to be sounding off to bring greater pressure to bear. One possible explanation is that they'd rather have Mitchell sing in public. In an ordinary and vigorous prosecution combined with a thorough investigation they'd need neither. But in this case they are crazy not to go for both. Makes me wonder if the fix is on, to the degree possible, justified by the liberal ploy of protecting the institution of the presidency. Anyway, we'll be hearing the Nuremburg chorus often enough, whatever happens.

On the book The Informers (which needs something about domestic intelligence in the subtitle now), there are two developments. My young lawyer friend was here Wednesday and got the research for it. As I remember it, I had perhaps three chapters written. I think these new developments guarantee at least minimal success for it if it can be done fairly soon. He will begin writing as soon as he completes the papers for the 6th circuit in the Ray case. I think I once told you I had a source inside the fascist stormtroopers The Minutemen. Another federal fink has just surfaced. His name is Grantwohl. He perfectly fits the description of a man in these Minuteman files. If that is the case, then the FBI is really responsible for the Wilkerson explosion in Greenwich Village, the one involving Boudin's daughter and others. We plan for ~~xxxxx~~ Jim, my friend, to do this chapter first, perhaps for magazine use to attract interest in the book.

The Tackwood book, The Glass House tapes, from what I've just heard, is worse crap than I'd expected. He was a minor informant on the west coast. A bunch of nonsense that has nothing to do with him has been worked in, rehashing what he had nothing to do with, to make it what it isn't. Pub date advanced. Best,

Harold

June 8, 1973

Mr. Harold Weisberg
Coq d'Or Press
Route 8
Frederick, Maryland 21701

Dear Harold:

Thank you for keeping me up to date with your thoughts on your Watergate book. It is still my thinking that the public is getting enough of the Watergate information from the media and that publishers who have not already committed for a Watergate book will not be deeply interested in contracting for one now.

Manny has not as yet delivered the file. The Dell information which you have given me is not complete enough to permit me to evaluate possibility of a recovery.

Hope all is going well..

Best regards.

Cordially yours,

Richard T. Gallen

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