

"... IT NEVER ENTERED MY MIND"

Writing about Nixon or The Watergate - and to write of one, inevitably, is to write of the other, is like trying to write about an enormous spider-web that is overlaid with myriads smaller webs. Following a spoke soon leads to coinciding spokes, that, though they come from different hubs, go the same way and serve the same purposes. They become indistinguishable.

This presents an organizational problem as the magnitude of the available material provides a problem of recall. There are as many ways to put a Watergate book together as there are spokes to the wheel of a spider's web.

The New Nixon is the Old Nixon who has profited from the workings of time, has learned the lessons time teaches, and has accumulated the connections and relationships required for the advancement of any politician and required more for a man such as Richard Nixon is.

The past ~~is~~ prologue with Richard Nixon, too.

He is not a John Kennedy, a charismatic man, a man of many and close friendships, a man whose devotees were not all his political friends. Nixon is an almost friendless man whose following, sometimes intensely loyal, is loyal and does follow not because of Richard Nixon the man but because of what they believe Richard Nixon stands for. This exotic fact is the single most common fact to emerge from the Ervin committee's ~~hearings~~ ^{his people who were} as it took testimony from ~~those~~ involved in The Watergate. Even those reputedly close to him were without a single warm mention of him. Without exception, all considered what each understands Nixon to stand for the object of his first loyalty.

The past that is ~~part of Richard~~ prologue with Richard Nixon is ~~also~~ sometimes ~~his~~ present, with him, sometimes part of The Watergate.

The people who are part of his past and part of The Watergate are too numerous to mention except where the relationship has most meaning in the present. It is not only people who are past and present, however. It is government agencies, like Congressional committees and their members, and the intelligence and police forces, mostly the CIA and

FBI, are past and present, as are many corporations and their heads. Nixon's close relations with the FBI began the day he became a freshman Congressman, taking the seat of Jerry Voorhis and his place on the UnAmerican Committee. He was intimately linked with the CIA not later than his vice-presidency.

FBI and CIA men of the past are also part of the story of The Watergate. One of the ~~men~~ ^{McCord,} caught burglars/was both FBI and CIA. Another of the convicted, Liddy, had been an FBI man. Hunt and all the Cubans had been CIA, one Martinez, as of the time of his arrest.

There is another almost mythical figure, French-Canadian son of a Maine grocer, who has an odd and titillating/^{indirect}relationships with the Watergate arrestees, Richard Nixon past and present, and the man so generous ~~with his money~~ to Nixon's brother, Howard Hughes. Hughes was much more generous with Nixon than with his brother.

It is not only Dietrick who saw Nixon for Hughes. This former FBI man Robert ~~M~~ Maheu (right) had access to Nixon for Hughes and serves Nixon well in the past in one of Nixon's less-remembered times of crisis.

Maheu is a living storybook. He is part of a book, Howard Hughes in Las Vegas, by Omar Garrison, who does not recount what follows. That comes from other sources none of which put it together in their Watergate reporting. These include The New York Times (Wallace Turner and Tom Buckley), The San Francisco Chronicle, United Press International (UPI), Jack Anderson, Newsweek, The Wall Street Journal, and The Washington Post's Sunday magazine, Potomac (written by Shelbery Coffee III, then assistant editor, later editor).

When World War II was about to explode, Maheu left Washington Georgetown law school to become an FBI agent. He left it in 1947 to get reich on the post-war boom. It didn't work out that way ^{so} ~~he~~ he went back to civilianized FBIing. The man from whom he cadged space, Carmine Bellino, was a Kennedy man and today is chief investigator of the Ervin committee.

^{from alimony to corporations.}
The detective business Maheu knew, /Gradually he established a solid business.
An early client satisfied with his services was Greek tycoon Stavros Niarchos, then

with his erstwhile brother-in-law, Aristotle Onassis, now the husband of the former Jacqueline Kennedy. Putting the hex on an Onassis-Saudi Arabian contract for Niarchos had Maheu on his way.

Closer to this than to FBI work is a deal Maheu pulled for Richard Nixon, in 1957, when Harold Stassen was running a "dump Nixon" movement in the Republican Party. The means he used has become popular with Nixon. It was a loaded poll designed to show Nixon was a popular figure. Stassen has his own poll which yielded an opposite result. Poll became very popular with Nixon. A big hunk of The Watergate money, ~~\$35,000~~ \$340,000 of it, had been stashed away in the White House for polling. It was actually used as Watergate hush-money.

Other clients ranged from top Washington lawyers, like famed Edward Bennett Williams, to the late Dominican dictator, Rafael Trujillo.

For a while Maheu was the partner of another former FBI man, Robert ^{King}, who had been Nixon's administrative assistant as vice president. During this period Maheu got to know Nixon's successor administrative assistant, Robert ^{Finch}, later to hold important positions in Nixon's first term as President.

Before Maheu prospered, one of his associates ~~was~~ ^{was} the late Lou Russell, Congressional investigator and friend of McCord, for whom Russell also worked ~~was~~ occasionally. Russell also knew Nixon in his UnAmerican days, when Russell helped him on the Alger Hiss case on which Nixon built his own reputation. Russell, whose father was a long-time FBI agent, worked for Hoover for about 10 years. When McCord felt his first lawyer, Gerald Alch, F. Lee Bailey's partner, was not pursuing his interest with due diligence and suspect Nixon might be his secret client, Russell introduced McCord to a mutual friend, Bernard Fensterwald, Jr., who raised McCord high bail and thereafter represented him. McCord alone among that seven then ~~strated~~ ^{strated} out of jail.

Russell died of a heart attack ~~may~~ July 2, 1973. He came close to being more directly involved in The Watergate. He had been in McCord listening post in the Howard Johnson motel just before the break-in.

With his death, one of the questions to which Maheu will not give direct answer may never be answered. The rumor around Washington in those days was that he had some CIA money.

Not the first but an early job for Hughes had to do with the pretty movie star on whom Hughes' roving eye had settled, Jean Peters. She was then married to Stuart Cramer III. Maheu kept Cramer under surveillance, there was a divorce and Mrs. Cramer became Mrs. Howard Hughes.

By the time Maheu went to work for Hughes full time, and not as a flatfoot but as confidant and adviser, he had had some of the more famous corporations as clients.

It is Maheu who masterminded Hughes' Nevada operations// the estimated value of which was \$300,000,000. For ~~six~~ ^{four} years Hughes liked him well enough to pay him \$500,000 and build a house worth that much for him to live in. Jealous Hughes employees dubbed it "Little Caesar's Palace."

When Richard Nixon was in the White House, Maheu saw him for Hughes and was there socially, at prayer breakfasts. This end of the connection Maheu didn't mind talking about.

Whether or not the CIA had helped Maheu get his detective business started, he tried to do it a favor. In January and February 1971 Jack Anderson wrote three columns alleging a CIA attempt to kill Castro in which Maheu figured. Then CIA director John McCone vigorously denied any such plot but two CIA operatives confirmed knowing the man Maheu produced to pull the job, a former dashing Hollywood mob figure John Roselli. Roselli, born Filippo Sacco, had been a henchman of Willie Bioff, prominent gangland figure. He was also an aficionado of starlets. The Roselli plot, which didn't work, involved a slow-working and not easily detected that was to have been fed Castro by his chef.

There has been a rumor that has no substantiation to the effect that Robert Kennedy

was involved in such a plot that backfired and got John Kennedy assassinated. One consequence of the JFK assassination is that Richard Nixon's election became possible.

In the course of checking the Maheu-Roselli story out, Anderson spoke to former Florida Senator George ~~Smith~~ Smathers, friend of JFK, Richard Nixon and Bebe Rebozo, Nixon's closest chum. Just before he was killed, JFK ~~in~~ gave ~~Smith~~ Smathers to understand that he believed the CIA was behind the assassinations of two ~~Latin~~ dictators, Trujillo and South Viet Nam's Diem, and of Diem's secret-police chief brother, Nhu.

Hughes was always making business friends ~~and~~ ^{then} getting into fights with them. One of these former friends, now an enemy with a ~~\$50,000,000~~ ^{\$132,} suit filed against Hughes, is a lawyer turned publisher become millionaire, Hank Greenspun of the Las Vegas Sun. In their friendly days, Greenspun sold Hughes his Columbia Broadcasting System-affiliated KLAS-TV for \$4,000,000.

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Hughes' name was brought into The Watergate story by McCord when he testified before the Ervin committee. In order to finish up with Hughes it is necessary to anticipate this part of the story, another Nixonian operation like The Watergate break-in, a burglarizing of Greenspun's four-foot by four-foot safe in his private office. Directly over this light-green safe hangs an autographed picture of Nixon. Greenspun supported Nixon. In 1972 he also made what he describes as "a substantial contribution" to Nixon's campaign.

~~Having bought almost everything he wanted, including women, Hughes apparently thought he could buy a president, too. Maheu was his man, Nixon the president.~~

Hunt and Liddy worked for Nixon. They were both part of his elaborate plan for domestic spying that later will interest us. From them McCord testified that he learned of their plan to steal from Greenspun's safe what he said he remembered as hot documents reflecting on several potential Democratic candidates. McCord quoted Liddy as saying that after the heist, those who pulled it "would go directly to an airport near Las Vegas, where a Howard Hughes plane would be standing by to fly the team directly ~~in~~ into a Central American country."

The committee seemed to show remarkably little interest in this disclosure. It was clearly within the purview of the committee's function, which included investigation of the entire ~~ix~~ election and particularly all the dirty-works of the special private spy outfit Nixon had set up within the White House. Checking it out would have been child's play, no real work for apprentice investigators. If these men went to Las Vegas, there would be airline records and there would be expenses accounts. Once McCord on May 22, 1973 said it, the committee dropped it.

As soon as McCord said it and the wire-services reported it, Hank Greenspun had his say.

~~EXPENSIVELY~~, He had no secret documents reflecting on Democratic candidates, nothing not public, nothing that had to be kept in so large a safe.

He did have hundreds of Howard Hughes' signed, personal memorandums.

Initially, he declined to give more than a general description of some. Before McCord's disclosure, in fact, before Liddy told McCord of the plan, Greenspun and Hughes had had a falling out and there had been an upheaval within the ~~ix~~ Hughes empire and the aging recluse had been spirited out of his secret hideaway ^{of a decade, the penthouse} ~~at the top of the Vegas~~ *of Vegas' Desert Inn.* ~~Hotel he had not left for years.~~ It was believed he was in Macaragua, which is a "Central American country." (Greenspun's large suit against Hughes had been filed, as had others totalling close to \$500,000,000. Mahou, ousted in that upheaval, had filed against Hughes jointly with Greenspun in one of these suits.)

Over the years as he has erected his vast empire, Hughes had been in trouble with the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice. The best known of these cases is the one in which he lost control of Trans-World Airlines.

In reaction to McCord's testimony, Greenspun let it be known that some of the Hughes memos dealt with Hughes' contacts with the anti-trust division. Greenspun then declined to go into details. "He did say, "it will come out ^{due} in/time" and "I'll go to the can [jail] for life rather than surrender those documents."

"Hughes," He added, "would give anything to get his hands on them. That's why a Hughes plane was involved and why McCord testified its destination was to be a Latin

American country. Hughes was in Nacaragua at the time of the attempted break-in."

Here Greenspun was confirming McCord, saying that there had been an attempt to burglarize his safe. Knowing this and that one of Hunt's Cubanos was a locksmith, the committee did not then pursue the matter. Nor was it prodded into an immediate reaction by the strength of Greenspun's reaction. He found it "catastrophically disturbing that "the forces of the federal government were employed to serve the private interests of Howard Hughes." To this the crusading published who had exposed much scandal added a provocative comment that seemed to be a challenge to the committee that was investigating the election and particularly the illegal use of vast sums of secret money in it, "I am completely disillusioned by the thought that they [his Hughes documents] may have been turned over to to a massive political contributor."

Greenspun did not let this new charge stand as a generality. He added specifics he attributed to "the highest authority", that Hughes' large contribution to the 1972 campaign had been handled by Robert ^FBennett, son of the former ultra-conservative Senator from Utah, Wallace F. Bennett.

Wheels within wheels again. Bennett was president of the Washington public relations agency, Robert R. Mullen & Co. Confronted with Greenspun's charge, Bennett had no choice but to confirm it and his relationship to Hughes. He represented Hughes in Washington and *handled* the contribution ~~was~~ of \$100,000.

But, not only did Bennett and Mullen represent Hughes, he represented Nixon, too. Bennett had set up 150 secret fund-raising committees for handling Nixon's secret funds. Involved in all of this was the Mullen vice president, none other than Nixon's super-spook, E. Hoard Hunt!

If our wheels do not revolve slowly they will make tracks that can't be followed. On Mullen, Bennett Hunt and the secret committees, let them ^{now} turn enough to lay out the Hughes track. Later they will lead into the White House and to Nixon all over again, with tracks that are of other criminal activity. These tracks will also lead to the CIA.

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There was ~~misleadingly~~ error in McCord's testimony that "Gordon Liddy told me in February 1972 that he, too, had handled a Howard Hughes campaign check, a donation to [Nixon's] 1972 campaign." Hughes had, in fact, made numerous contributions of \$3,000 each, a figure commonly used to circumvent the law and brought all the fronts committees into existence. Each Nixon committee could get a \$3,000 contribution without breaching the law. We shall come to the case of a single man who gave a total of \$7,000,000 in both of Nixon's successful campaigns and got more than personal satisfaction from it.

Interviewed after Greenspun sounded off, Bennett said he had given the Republicans these checks totalling \$100,000 "in the first week of November." However, the books of the Republican fronts for the period ending January 31, 1973, show Hughes checks for \$3,000 each dated after the first week of November, from November 14 through November 28.

Had there been an attempt to break into Greenspun's safe at the time McCord indicated? According to Greenspun there had been. He could not give the exact date but he did provide the approximate time. It was while he was on vacation, ^{September. This} ~~which~~ would seem to indicate that Nixon's superspooks' information was better than their burglary.

Knowing Hughes and the value of his hoard of Hughes' files, Greenspun says, "I had stay to ~~be~~ prepare." He had had a heavy metal plate welded to his office door "and double locks." After this he did the wisest thing of all, he "moved the Hughes documents to another location."

Had ~~the~~ Hunt and Liddy and their boyos not left Washington, they would not have had to jimmy the window of Greenspun's office, leaving marks on the aluminum sill that is hidden by heavy curtains, and Greenspun's safe would not be marred by the mark of heavy tools.

Greenspun is a sharp character. Were he not, he'd not have parlayed a \$1,000 down payment on the strikebound Sun in 1950 into the fortune he now controls. He knew more than he said. He knew that Howard Hughes was not alone in wanting to retrieve those files.

Three weeks after McCord's testimony and Greenspun's response to it he was again locked in legal battle, this time with Nixon's Internal Revenue Service. UPI reported from Las Vegas on June 11, 1973, that Greenspun had that day "filed a motion with U.S.

District Court seeking to quash a subpoena served by the I.R.S. that ordered him to turn over to the government newspaper documents on Hughes.... Two agents of the IRS showed up at Greenspun's office May 23, the day after a select Senate & committee was told of a plot to break into the publisher's office safe."

To this UPI added what turns out to be an accurate description of those files but one not carried in any paper I saw:

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 "Greenspun told a news conference that same day [May 22] that he had documents that showed Hughes 'game plan' for electing the President, senators and other politicians."

White House concern over the Hughes affair did not become public until later. On Friday morning, August 10, 1973, the entire top of The Washington Post's front page carried the headline, "White House Had Agencies Spy on Political Rivals." This was another in the series of sensational stories for which Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein had already won the Pulitzer Prize. The agencies used, in addition to IRS, included the Secret Service and the FBI and the Departments of Commerce, Justice, Defense and Interior. The Post's source was "24 classified memos" an unidentified source had shown it.

Four of these "eyes only" White House secrets dealt with Nixon's attempt to discredit Lawrence O'Brien, the Democratic chairman. O'Brien had served in the Kennedy and Johnson cabinets. Thereafter he had had his own public-relations agency.

Charles Colson, as Nixon's "Special Counsel", was really his chief of the dirtiest dirty-works. John Wesley Dean III was "Counsel to the President. Haldeman was Nixon's chief of staff and closest counsellor. John J. Caulfield is a former New York detective who was a Nixon espionage operator with ambition that, as he pushed it, led him to a high Treasury post for which he was forced to resign during The Watergate exposures. Regardless of what high-sounding titles these and others held, their chief function during Nixon's first term seems not to have been to help him run the government. Rather ~~down~~ they appear to be part of the re-election campaign he began upon inauguration.

The June 28, 1971 memo to Haldeman, written before the attempt to steal the

contents of Greenspun's safe, ignored the wise counsel of an earlier one, written to Dean by Caulfield February 1. ¹Dean told Haldeman, "You and Chuck Colson should get together and come up with a way to leak the appropriate information" about O'Brien having an annual retainer from Hughes. Haldeman attributed the information to "ebozo and Bennett. He cautioned, "We should keep Bob Bennett and Bebe out of it at all costs."

With Nixon's closeness to and indebtedness to Hughes and with the \$205,000 deal long since public, how remarkable it is that Haldeman and others close to Nixon regarded and expected the press and the people to regard O'Brien's legitimate working for Hughes as reprehensible, as something that would smear him!

Spy Caulfield's warning to Dean was, "Forced embarrassment of O'Brien in this matter might well shake loose republican skeletons from the closet. Among those he mentioned none indicate that the contents of the Greenspun safe ~~was~~ known to the Nixon's personal spies on the public payroll?"

"Iⁱⁿ this connection, it should be remembered that Don Nixon visited the Dominican Republic with a group of wheeler dealers in September 1969 who assertedly were connected with"

Hughes, and,

"Former ~~Representative~~ Rep. Pat Hillings has long been on the payroll of Hughes in a public relations capacity."

Hillings had been a Republican Congressman from California.

(These Nixon operatives did not deceive themselves, not did they avoid blunt and colorful self-description when they never expected their language or their operations to be known. In an April 6, 1972 memo to Colson, Dean recommended that an effort to smear O'Brien over an allegation that O'Brien has some involvement in the leasing arrangements for the then new Department of Transportation building be scratched. His counterpart to Caulfield's "skeletons from the closet" was, "raising the issue might open Pandora's box." O'Brien labelled these allegations of some unspecified impropriety "pure garbage". He also said that when he took the Hughes account, he announced it publicly."

Maheu was a much better operator than Nixon's publicly-paid mixture of professional spooks and political arrangers and re-arrangers. When he was forced out of his key

spot in Hughes' Nevada fiefdom of the empire and his "Little Caesar's Palace", this former FBI man, former private detective and international manipulator was well prepared. Indeed, he had to be, for aligned against him were the executives of the foundation of the empire, Houston, Texas based Hughes Tool Company and ~~xxxxxxx~~ an army of lawyers ~~xxxxxxx~~ headed by Maxwell Cox, partner in Davis and Cox, of New York City.

There ensued a bizarre struggle. Hughes was a billionaire. The word was spread that Hughes had been bilked in real-estate and other deals and by "skimming" and "scamming." ("Skimming" is raking off gaming-table profits to avoid paying taxes on them. Hughes' political contributions is believed to have come from the skim of which he was not robbed. "Scamming" is employee dishonesty, embezzlement and theft by casino and hotel employees.)

When the Hughes Tool side had to produce authentication of an order or directive from Hughes, it never produced him in person. The rumor that he was dead was not dispelled until Clifford Irving counterfeited an "autobiography". Then Hughes' voice was produced on tape and identified as his voice by those who knew him. On nationwide TV, a new kind of spectacular. The lawyers and managers used as proof of Hughes wishes anything from telephone calls to his fingerprints on paper.

On Maheu side, he seems to have been prepared for anything. He once caught Hughes' agents with his garbage! They arranged for the garbage collectors to keep it separate. They then bought it from the garbagemen in search of evidence against Maheu.

Maheu's son Peter is one of the sources of the report that Hughes had stopped cutting his hair and finger-and toenails.

At one point Peter, another of the many FBI men who had worked for Maheu, Dean Elson, and Doug Priest, captain of Maheu's yacht, Alouette II planned to ~~xx~~ "rescue" Hughes, by sea, from alleged Bahamian captivity. Provocatively if perhaps meaninglessly, Maheu had the yacht based at Newport Beach, California, which is the home port of Herbert Kalmbach. He is the man who for years - until he was caught up in the payment of Watergate hushmoney- was Nixon's personal lawyer.

Of all of Maheu's ^hforfeight, nothing seems to have been as providential as his holding on to what Newsweek in its issue of August 14, 1972, without any reference to The Watergate, describes as "a sheaf of 100 memos from Hughes to Maheu."

Without doubt it is copies of these, not dirt on Democrats, that the Hunt-Liddy bagmen were after in their September 1971 assault on the aluminum windowsill and heavy drapes before they got to Greenspun's ~~gross~~ light green safe.

Had that stuff been used in the campaign, where The Watergate seems to have made no difference, this could have.

Having bought almost everything else he ever wanted, including beautiful women, Hughes thought he could buy the president. There was little in his longtime experiences on many lower levels to discourage belief or chill hope. Hughes had plundered the federal treasury (the best-known case is of the World's Largest Airplane of World War II, a hugh wooden plying boat) and ~~and~~ a virtual mortgage on Nevada's government, by controlling important politicians, as great wealth facilitates and limitless gall enables.

Nixon was the President Hughes thought he could buy. Maheu was his agent.

Had the White House bagmen stayed in Washington, as Jack Anderson did, they'd have ~~xxx~~ captured some ~~exotic~~ ~~handwritten~~ ~~Hughes~~ ~~memorabilia~~ that Nixon would have preferred not get into court or any other public use before the election.

Hughes sent Maheu to Nixon "as my special confidential emissary" with a "arch 14, 1968 scrawling - this was long before Nixon's first election - with an offer to help him run "under our sponsorship and supervision." He followed this up with \$100,000 from the skim of which he had not been robbed, delivered by casino operator Richard Danner. In cash, naturally.

It didn't make much difference to Hughes who was president ^{owned} as long as he ~~owned~~ him. ^{secretly} Fixer Maheu was directed to "get the word" to Nixon's rival, Humphrey, "that we will give him immediately full, unlimited support for his campaign" if Humphrey would use his influence as vice president to get nuclear testing in Nevada stopped. (Emphasis ~~Hughes~~. Hughes worried about the adverse effect on Nevada's major industry, tourism, of these nuclear explosions. Discouraging tourism cost Hughes money from his casino and

hotel operations.)

Hughes looked ahead. He had Nevada's Governor Paul Laxalt in mind to be President after Nixon. He said this in the same memo,

"I feel there is a really valid possibility of a Republican victory this year. If it could be realized under our sponsorship and supervision every inch of the way, then we would be able to follow with Laxalt as our next candidate."

Laxalt had other ideas. He retired from politics. Hughes believed that Laxalt radiated a Kennedy-like charisma with which he could have ridden to that Great White Corral in Washington.

His Maheu-Greenspun treasure in Hughes paper also disclosed Hughes belief that he controlled other politicians and influenced others beginning with both Nevada senators, Howard Cannon and Alan Bible (right). In his June 28, 1968 report to Hughes Maheu wrote,

"Howard Cannon called me this afternoon to inform that he and Senator Bible have been told all day long - by fellow senators - that they can depend on full support and assistance in sustaining their position that we obtain the Stardust...George Frankling (right) and Laxalt...are both ready to challenge the Justice Department single-handedly."

Frankling was ~~xxxxxx~~ district attorney of Las Vegas.

In playing the other side of ~~xxxxxx~~ his behind-the-scenes road to the White House, via Humphrey, Hughes wrote Maheu that

"...if he will just take this one on for us...I leave this whole campaign in your hands. I am sure you should personally go to the White House after we have obtained the 90-day delay [in nuclear detonations] and endeavor to sell the President [LBJ] on a permanent policy [against further explosions]. I am sure H.H.H. would be glad to go with you and set up this appointment."

He got
More than the \$100,000/in skim from the Silver Slipper, a personal property rather than a Hughes corporation, so there was no incriminating corporate record, troubled Nixon. More than Don Nixon's junket with those "wheeler-dealers". More than that \$205,000 for one big Nixonburger bite, too.

McCord's reference to Hughes and Greenspun opened up another can of worms.

As The Watergate story dribbled out, it involved all the higher echelons of official justice, including the Attorney General, Richard Kleindienst, L. Patrick Gray, acting director of the FBI and a number subordinate to them. They both resigned under

pressure and as embarrassed as public officials capable of the emotion can be. Although he resisted it until the last minute, in order to get the Senate's agreement to his next nominee as Attorney General, Elliott Richardson, Nison finally had to agree to appointment of a special prosecutor to handle The Watergate cases at least theoretically free of Richardson's control. After much agonizing and a flood of leaks relating to candidates under consideration, Richardson appointed Harvard law professor Archibald Cox. Cox had been Solicitor General in the Department of Justice in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Archibald is Maxwell's brother. In his May 22 press conference, Greenspun ~~was~~ did what the press had not, noted that Davis and Cox represent Hughes. ~~and that~~ Archibald of the Coxes thus was in the position of investigating Hughes while brother Max defended Hughes against that investigation, perhaps against criminal charges it could produce.

~~and Cox's~~

~~THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON MAY 21 1974~~

Archibald Cox's acceptance of this unprecedented responsibility was announced by Richardson May 18, four days before McCord was responsible for the obvious question of conflicting interests Greenspun raised. ~~THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON MAY 21 1974~~ Cox spent the entire day before McCord's testimony, May 21, testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee. He assured the Senators he would be fiercely independent and would take charge of the entire, enormous and wide-spread investigation "30 seconds" after confirmation.

"You will not have any compunctions in pursuing the trail of any federal crime?... if that trail should lead, heaven forbid, to the oval office of the White House itself?" Senator Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia Democrat and his party's assistant leader in the Senate asked.

"I can promise," Cox assured the Senate and the country, "Wherever that trail may lead."

The trail had the possibility of leading to Richardson, too, because by then it was known that only 11 days earlier he had been consulted by another of Nixon's spymaster

It was White House staffers who thereupon executed an affidavit. ~~taxes~~ filed with the court in the Ellsberg case in which he assumed full responsibility for that series of crimes and totally exculpated Nixon and others next to him in the White House.

The Ellsberg fiasco will tax our nostrils later. Cox's assurances to the Senate breezed the confirmations through.

The Los Angeles Times asked Cox about Greenspun's imputation of conflict of interest the afternoon Greenspun made it. Cox scoffed at the notion while conceding that developments could compel him to "isolate" himself from some parts of the investigation ~~make~~ because of Max's connections with Hughes.

In 1965, when Archibald Cox was solicitor general, he had to disqualify himself from the supercolossal anti-trust case over Trans-World Airlines because Max was on that case. Despite this he said, "Max's activities [sic] never entered my head." He added, "I don't ~~xxx~~ offhand see any problem. If there was any question, I'd have to think of how to deal with it so people know it's being handled right down the middle."

The Nixon-Hughes connection was well known, apparently to everyone except the special prosecutor. ~~max~~ If had hadn't read the papers ~~max~~ he also had to have been utterly oblivious of all fact about Nixon the year JMK beat him and Cox was on Kennedy's ^{campaign} staff.

Victor Navasky, biographer of Robert Kennedy, who had been John's Attorney General when Cox was his subordinate, intimates that when they had the need the Kennedy brothers could get Cox to argue himself into positions he really disagreed with. And in The Making of the President, 1960, Theodore White notes that John "Kennedy had one failure in organizing the intellectual 'feed' to his campaign, his academic team of speech writers headed by Professor Archibald Cox, proved unable to establish authority over the hurly-burley of the/campaign..."

Cox's academic and legal credentials are impeccable. But when so gross and well-publicized a conflict of interest "never entered" his "head", not even after he had had to disqualify himself in one of the largest anti-trust suits in a/long catalogue of legal enormities; when he could be talked into talking himself into what he really opposed; and when he "proved unable to establish authority" over a much smaller staff in an

incomparably smaller endeavor, on without an approximation to the historically and legal unprecedented responsibilities he assumed as special Watergate prosecutor; should one not precisely-accurate Nixon wonder if the ~~great~~ intelligence operation that yielded knowledge of the secret contents of Hank Greenspun's safe had not in some way found and planted the idea of selecting Archibald Cox.

Much
~~of~~ of the foregoing ~~except the Post story of August 10, 1973,~~ was public knowledge before Cox was selected. It didn't encourage him to decline, or to let the Senators and the country know? It "never entered my head"?

Can one return to the Old Nixon without wondering what else might "never enter" Cox's head? Or without qualms about how and why he got the job? If he assumed it with the acknowledgement that he might have to "isolate" himself from major parts of it?