

"... It Never Entered
my mind" copy to
Gordon

Mr. Shepherd, in sending you the first chapter I wrote after writing you I have a number of things in mind. This is, please remember, what came out of the typewriter last night and this morning, before and after breakfast. It is unread. While I did not write it to have it thrown away, it can be removed in its entirety without disturbing the flow of the book. That would, however, diminish the content in more than volume. Hunks of it, I feel without having read it, can come out with a scissors and a blue pencil. I believe it shows how much information was available and was ignored, how there is really no instrument of society that can or does put things all together for the people when it is essential for the people to know if representative society is to function. And in the early part of the book give indications that the investigations may be another whitewash, despite the sensational coverage and disclosures. Apologies for the typos and any unclarity.

Harold Weisberg 8/11/73

Rt. 8, Frederick, Md. 21701
8/10/73

Dear Mr. Shepherd,

After speaking to you on my behalf our mutual friend Dick Gallen suggested that I send you "a copy of the material to date and a summary of your conclusions."

Ordinarily that would be easy. In this case it would be abusive of you. I am one of the world's worst typists and except for the Foreword, I haven't even looked at what I've written. My wife does my typing, it has not been possible for her to do any of it, so I've been concentrating on writing because I believe it is possible for me to complete a really definitive book and for it to be published before the Ervin committee completes and publishes its report.

Dick probably told you that I try to be honest and informative and that no matter how long a day I work, when I write a letter I try to make it informative.

My wife is a good and a fast typist. She hasn't much done typing lately because our financial condition is rather bad and she has taken part-time work in the city near which we live. Had I had a contract and an advance, I could have had a book almost completed by now, a short one completed. Without the means of her helping me as a research assistant and when she couldn't do the typing as I complete chapters, I decided to do a longer and more definitive work, putting it together in a manner to facilitate cutting. Once I decided to do a Watergate book, I immediately also started making notes and writing snatches. In addition to these, to which I add when the material is fresh in mind, I have started at the beginning and drafted 30,000 word or more. Hopefully, my wife will begin retyping from the beginning this weekend. Within a short time, I should be able to send you a pretty good chunk and you won't have to wonder about my types.

To give you the feel of what my rough rough draft is like, I'll enclose carbons of the last two snatches I wrote. I did them after getting Dick's note, so I made extra carbons. They won't make as much sense as they will incorporated into the book but they will give you a notion of some of the things I'll be saying and how I'm saying them. They may be cut and they may be slightly expanded. Ix won't know until I reach the point of incorporation. The reason for this is the complexity of the material, its superabundance, and the need to keep it as simple and as comprehensible as possible.

I am not rehashing what the Ervin committee is doing. Nor am I rewriting what the papers have carried. Rather am I culling the essence from both sources, adding fresh material of my own, using what both have not, and putting it all together in a context that makes sense of it, to explain how and why what happened and to say what it means.

I am 60, began newspaper work so young that I was a syndicated, by-line writer before I was 20. I became a Senate investigator and editor before the birthday that enabled me to vote. Then I returned to writing, magazine work, almost all investigative reporting. In World War II I was in OSS. I have been an investigator and an intelligence analyst, as I think my books reflect. With this experience, my mind works in its own, often unique way and often I can anticipate developments, as these small bit of writing show, in advance. I am writing the book as an intelligence analyst would do a definitive report from which the whole bit can become clear.

The tentative title may tell you what the book is saying. It is Watergate: Fascism's Floodgate. The ambiguity is intended. It is not yet clear that we have or that we will stop an overt authoritarianism. The single caught crime is less than the visible part of an iceberg compared with the totality of which it is this small part. This authoritarianism is no more all Nixon than Nazism was Hitler only. However, ~~z~~ a Hitler, a Mussolini and a Nixon are indispensable in any authoritarianism. After

a whole new generation that knows nothing of the past. My generation has forgotten most of the little it knew. He is, to use strong language that in the writing I have not used, a man who throughout his entire adult life has been a fascist-mind crook with an eye for a buck like no President ever had. I have known for a long time about his plundering the Treasury on his personal property. If Dick didn't tell you, I was working on this a year ago, long, long before any of it came out. I knew some of the fact and had no doubt at all about the rest. The \$10,000,000 admitted is still not all. And to give you an idea of how inadequate the reporting is, none of the major papers I tried to interest in this stuff, neither of the two TV nets, would even make inquiry to see if they could develop what has emerged by accident only.

Nor would the papers follow what I gave them on that imitation of a story-book character, E. Howard Hunt, Nixon's inept superspy of the far right. I have much on him and on him and Nixon that has never been published. It was easy to pick up his trail in prohibited domestic intelligence for the CIA and to get confirmation of his cover addresses and working cover connections. I offered The Washington Post, in Hunt's own voice, his account of how he wanted to assassinate the head of another State. The Post wouldn't touch it. I gave it to NBC, which also didn't use it. The Times of London did, page 1, and no U.S. paper picked it up. It is in the galleys of his coming Give Us This Day, his twisted, politicized account of the Bay of Pigs. In it he was the CIA's chief political operative. I have the galleys. The Ervin committee managed to avoid it, but the General Cushman, Marine Corp Commandant who recently testified, as a colonel attached to CIA shared an office with Hunt. When Nixon was Eisenhower's action officer on the Bay of Pigs project, Cushman was Nixon's military aide. When Hunt got illegal help from the CIA for his illegal White House projects and he met with Cushman, then Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, it was not two strangers coming together for the first time. Cushman lied in saying why he taped the conversation with Hunt and the tape proves the lie, which might be perjury. He also lied about the extent of CIA's willingness to help with such projects. I have the tape transcript and a number of Cushman's self-serving and White House-serving memos. One of the excerpts deals with some of this. I have also written the part about the tape. Knowing of this previous relationship, I know the story about why the tape was false before I got the transcript.

While Hunt was with CIA he had cover addresses in New York with a man in your line and with a public-relations agency the head of which is a friend of Nixon's. The public-relations agency, in fact, also had a cover address and Hunt also used that cover. This same agency had CIA contracts. It also had and still has ~~has~~ dubious government contracts on which Hunt worked and simultaneously set up some 40 of the Nixon phoney committees for the handling of unaccounted campaign money. Hunt, personally, was part of this, too, while he was on the federal payroll as Nixon's superspook. One at least of these contracts was both non-competitive and was renewed after the Watergate arrests and publicity. The front Nixon committees were set up in the bank of the man who leaked the Eagleton story.

I hasten to try and give you an idea of some of the fresh content. Day is beginning to break and I want to mail this when I take my wife into town, so that you may have it by Monday morning. I will also be exposing for the first time one of the means of CIA domestic intelligence, first person, with the front through which they conduct it and with reference to some of the carbons I have of some of the surveillance of me. This is the kind of thing I will be incorporating in a manner that will permit editing out with no work for the editor. (I am, by the way, described as "that old nemesis of the CIA" and as the man who "holds the all-time track record" for their interest in my field, political assassination. The first is an exaggeration. I find the second provocative.)

Domestic-intelligence operations were central in Nixon's design. It will be possible to reproduce the plans themselves in facsimile, or excerpts because it is pretty extensive. Hunt was the honcho in one of the stages of development, when J. Edgar Hoover got his back up over Nixon's notion that he and the CIA were not efficient enough in spying on Americans. Actually, Hoover was pretty good at it. He was also smart enough to keep what

he was doing secret. Because Nixon made a big deal of this and of all the violence, I'll be incorporating a few of the cases where Hoover caused this violence, through some of his subagents. One of these should solve that famous Greenwich Village explosion. Again, so it can be lifted out without editing. I have enough of these cases for a separate book (tentative title, The Informers).

It is not my purpose to frighten you, but this has been going on for years, proliferating in silence and ~~in~~ involving more than Nixon, who extended and sought to systematize it more. Hubert Humphrey, whose CIA connections (continuing) go back to his local-politician days, was responsible for setting up concentration camps and the legislation authorizing the incarceration of Americans in them. Ironically, Richard Kleinienst ended them. The law, however, is still on the books. The camps were built. In fairness to Nixon and to the reader, I begin by showing that Nixon, whose slogan was Nixon's the One, was not the only one.

What was emerging is an American equivalent of the Japanese "thought police" on which I was working when I was switched to another part of OSS. In turn, this was part of a larger, authoritarian design.

This may sound complicated. It can be. It will not be when I have completed the draft. To keep it from being complicated I am taking the time and the space. However, this is also the reason I haven't tried to do an outline to which I can assure that I will stick. And there are too many places such things as the enclosures can be incorporated. I'll work these things out as I write.

Hunt is scheduled to be one of the committee's witnesses when it resumes hearings next month. He has deteriorated so much in jail I will not be surprised if he is not really competent to testify by then. He has suffered something like a stroke (which can be induced by an excess of Vitamin E) and has been the victim of at least one nocturnal attack since jailed. Perhaps you can now understand why he could blackmail almost \$450,000 from Nixon and why Dean quotes Nixon as saying \$1,000,000 is no problem (confirmed by the tapes and Haldeman).

If you want more information for talking, let me know what and I'll try to provide it. I expect to have the draft done, barring emergencies, about the time Hunt appears. I can then make any changes or additions necessary. It will, however, be a retyped draft, for I also want to speed, feeling that the faster the book is done the better the market prospects. No two publishers will agree on editing anyway.

Should a publisher want one, I can have a large, relevant appendix. In addition to the things I've indicated, from my extensive file of FBI reports, so extensive I have about 2,000 pages I've not yet read, I can take up to about a dozen pages on The Watergate Cubans, JFK assassination material. I have about 50 pages indirectly relevant to Hunt's counterfeiting of cables to pin the Diem assassination on JFK.

I have tried to keep up with the planned books, all but one not really Watergate books, and can let you know, if this interests you. That one, by the two Post reporters (I know both), won't be done until after the hearings and has been delayed to next year. S&S contracted it. It will be a rewrite of what has been published. I imagine a very good one. It and mine will be entirely different books. If there is another that is really serious and really Watergate, I am not aware of it.

I do hope something can work out and that at some time we can get together because I believe I am loaded with viable books, many already completely researched.

Sincerely,

Harold Weisberg