Fust name Stais Boyle, Sauso

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# Senate Spy Inquiry to Look for Hughes Links

The investigation by the Senate A. Maheu, in a trial last year, was to gain influence in the Government, a former F.B.I. agent who had ligence into the attempt by the Central Intelligence Agency to at the same time Mr. Hughes's interests. Mr. Maheu, testimony chairman of the Democratic

For some two decades Mr. Hughes and the vast complex involving the Hughes Tool Company, Hughes Aircraft and, Corporation, to handle the recovery operation.

And, indeed, Global Marine, Inc., a firm controlled by Mr. Hughes, constructed the Glomar Explorer that tried to raise the sub. The construction and billionaire may have even more planning for this mission and the vast complex said, awarded a \$350-million in the C.I.A., these accounts to have been involved in a 1960 plot, organized by the C.I.A. to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. When asked in court about the allegations, Mr. Maheu declined to discuss them, citing national security considerations.

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Material in Safe

Although the Vest Democratic Chairmen. Meanwhile, the Soviet submarine project was under way, presumably with the approval of Henry A. Kissinger, who was stone, citing national security considerations.

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of an intriguing chronology of

### Two Problems for Hughes

ing to court testimony, appeared to have two major problems with the Government. The lems with the Government. The large as a front for the C.I.A. Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice had warned him not to buy any further appeared to retire from the casinos in Las Vegas.
And, second, the Atomic En-

ergy Commission intended to conduct more nuclear tests in Nevada, Mr. Hughes, according to this testimony, wanted to change the Justice Depart-ment's mind and stop the A.E.C. tests.

He ordered a series of secret political contributions that culminated in the payment of \$100,000 to Charles G. Rebozo. the Florida banker and close friend of Richard M. Nixon, for the benefit of the then newly elected President. Mr.

Special to The New York Times

Hughes's intention, according C.I.A. and joined the Mullen Muskie, but the Hughes memos to the testimony of his former Company.

gate case, former Watergate in-vestigators say privately. submarine that had gone down publisher: some 700 miles off Hawaii. Mr. Mah

several Watergate commit-Hughes's largesse), joined a pub-

events that they encountered Wallace F. Bennett and Wash-during Watergate. ington representative for Summa Corporation, bought into In 1968 Mr. Hughes, accord- the Robert F. Mullen Company,

speculation that the reclusive the sub. The construction and billionaire may have even more covert. Contacts with the agency.

But it was not until 1973 and the Senate Watergate investigation that a pattern of evidence suggested that divisions of the Hughes empire might in deed have been linked with the C.I.A. and political machinations of the Nixon Administration, including Watergate.

Several Watergate committee investigators said that the sub. The construction and planning for this mission appears to have spanned the years between 1970 and 1973.

Other Hughes Links

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During this same period other figures were taking their places at the periphery of what became known as the Watergate said the periphery of what became known as the Watergate scandals. Lawrence F. O'Brien, fresh from the Presidential tration, including Watergate.

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CI.A. Concern

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CI.A. Concern

Bu Several Watergate committee investigators said that the said that the lic relations concern that had with Mr. Hughes to salvage the submarine might well be part of an intriguing characters.

Piperey (also a recipient of Mr. Were allegedly promised the assistance of officials of Summa Corporation. The burglary was not carried out, but Waterschaff and intriguing characters. Robert Bennett, son of Utable. of Utah's pected that the target was not to repair the tap and obtainmemorandums about Senator more documents. Five of the

hidden there by Mr. Maheu.

salvage a Soviet submarine \$100,000 was being delivered would later bring out, had put party with offices in the Water-will lead the committee into the relationships between Howard R. Hughes and the Water-was accounts have discovered by Herman M. Green a Washington lobbyist for the pany to recover a Soviet diesel spun, a Las Vegas newspaper Hughes organization, had an gate case, former Watergate in-submarine that had some down publisher. office in the complex as execu-Mr. Maheu was once alleged tive director for the Association

Robert Bennett, son of Utah's pected that the target was not to repair the tap and obtain

## to Watergate

burglars were arrested by the Washington Police early on the morning of June 17.

From the time of the breakin on, the C.I.A. appeared to show concern that the Watergate investigation might uncover its own secrets. It withheld vital evidence from the F.B.I., and in early 1973, Richard Helms, then the Director of Central Intelligence, ordered tape recordings of his calls over six years destroyed. The tapes included top-level conversations with the White House.

As the Watergate prosecutions bore in, several suspects insisted publicly and privately that the investigations could

compromise national security.

At least the Watergate defendants linked the national security concern to Mr. Hughes In June, 1974, the Glomar

Explorer, reliable sources have said, began its salvage opera-tion in the Pacific. At almost the same time, on June 5, 1974, four burglars entered the Los Angeles office of Summa Corporation and stole papers concerning the secret project.

On July 9, 1974, an official of the Summa Corporation received a call demanding a \$1million ransom, according to press accounts. This began an involved effort by the F.B.I. to get the materials back. By early 1975 facts about the se-cret attempt to salvage the submarine had begun to leak

of Hunt's Mysterine mm-disuppearance

When t'disappeared his and Bennett's pasts stood them in good stead.

Hunt did not disappear when and as Szulc reported, which adds interest to Szulc's reporting.

what Szulc did in that masked call to Hunt the day after the break-in, that Sunday
that was so essential in the subsequent history of the coverings up that are obstrictions
of justice and had then begun, was tip Hunt off that somebody knew what he and the other
six were trying to hide.

There never has been any explanation of the silence of the arrested five or of Hunt's disappearance that lasted only a fortnight. At the time and in reprospect it seems stwange that the press showed no interest in the reasons or in investigating what  $\frac{Gna/ysis}{s}$  could account for what without thought seems like plain foolishness.

Why, nobody asked, with proper and full identification inestiable almost in minutes—
and this is exactly what happened - were all silent, not even giving their names? Why
did all refused the right to call a lawyer?

The answer is traditional in intelligence operations. First of all they provided these precious moments for covers to be built and strings to be pulled. If the whole story had blown up to begin with, Nixon would have been blown up and out of the White House with it. And strings were pulled. Regardless of the omissions in all official explanations and investigations, Hunt and Liddy went to work immediately. Counsel was arranged and at the very least the White House was informed less than two hours after the arrests. (Hunt on Bill Buckley's show broadcast Pay 12, 1974, where it was also

9

Hunt did say this, and with some contempt, in his second appearance on Bill Buckley's show, broadcast May 12, 1974. If it was not missed by the press, it was ignored.

24 John Mitchell, who had been Attorney General and was running the campaign, was informed breakfast-time that very morning, via Liddy's call, fick from california/where hie was went orders to the get Richard Kleindinest, the Attorney General, to the xxxx he could. (From that moment on Kleindienst obstructed justice because he did nothing and because he did nothing about Liddy's involvement when it is Liddy, personally, who sought may 16, 1974) him out on the Burning Tree Gol golf course and told him. Kleindinest latef copped a (May 18, 1974). The sentence could have been as little as a month, could have been suspended, Lus Sparel word alsory disbarrent as a full when perjury we whitewashed and welft. (1)

The traditional behavior of experienced spooks caught in the act did buy time for their principals. It did not help them. But this is not because they did not expect it. They did believe that the pulled strings would unlatch the jail doors. Hunt expressed this expectations in explaining the traditional workings of intelligence on that second and in his sun it I test immy. Buckley show. Again the press, then contorted with Nixon's transcripts and the questions My of his and others' knowledge and involvements, was without interest and did not

Nor did anyone ask why Hunt alone disappeared Liddy did not, yet he was supposedly

in charge of both the overall CREEP spy operation and the break-in itself. Why did to the beak in itself. Why did to the bea

Hunt did not expect to spend the rest of his life in hiding. He, too, was buying time and working on "arrangements." He, too, was giving others precious time. But why he and not Liddy? Of course one of them had to stay around and work on deals and be a communications center, which also entailed some flying. This does not explain why Liddy

Actually, he was never really out of touch with home base.

did that and Hunt for all practical purposes melted.

report it.

4

### Zhoxesutzdayxthexhurenuex

Much later in the day the bureaucracy worked as it is supposed to and the FBI and testified to suffering Secret Service notified Ehrlichman and Butterfield. Helms suffered a characteristic spook failure of memory about when the CIA was informed and about his being told, but it also was that day.

Liddy was anything but disassociation for Nixon and the White House. Liddy had been in charge of the White House's similar operation, the Special Investigations Unit, self-nicknamed The Plumbers, before he and that operation were shifted to CREEP.

This is pretty close Nixon/White House connection.

Cal.

One
The only answer is that Hunt's was even closer, and the other complications of
Hunt's activities - CIA.

Forgetting Then pasts,

Norm/

Despite all the lying about it, which worked, Hunt was a White House employee at the time of the break-in. He was Nixon's agent when he, personally, planned the details of the CREED operation for Liddy to present to Mitchell for afficial approval.

To the last minute of Hunt's testimony before the Watergate committee, it and the press kept describing Hunt as a "former" White House employeee at the time of the break-in, repeating faithfully and while knowing better what was the first keystone of the Nixon/White House defense, the Clawson caper. In that testimony he described how he had done Liddy's planning, but by that time it made no difference.

But not until the end, when it also then made no difference, was he asked, as what appeared to be an afterthough, by Chairman Sam Ervin if he had not been on the White House payroll on June 17, 1972. Bunt testified that he was. The White House actually fired him several days later. The press which reported this also reported that he had not Still and had to he disassociated from Hunt and he then been Nixon's spy in residence.

This was an early essential to Nixon's survival, to his man unimpeachment.

with the work of and so essential to the Mullen agency that he could not have had much characterization time for any of this "third-rate burglary," the immediate White House description that was designed to dissassociate it and did. In this and in other ways Bennett performed admirably as public relations man and as disassociator. To do this he had to cover himself and his business white by giving good information while practising the black art of disassociation. And Williams

He told The Washington Post June 21 that he knew nothing at all about the matter and "I take at face value" his "only comment" from Hunt, " a flat denial that he was anywhere the Watergate Saturday night," the night of the break-in.

He fold Doyle and Sarro of the Star on the 22nd. the bit about Hunt's indisepnsibility to the firm, and that the loss of this "closer Look" HEW contract, which "amounted to slightly over \$100,000 a year," was life or death because" the contract was so sensitive a matter...loss of it could mean the end of his firm."

When Hunt's salaray salary salary alone took a fifth of this, when he had expenses,

when Hunt's salary salary alone took a firth of this, when he had expenses, and, this, while not all, was immediately known, the press played it straight, "objectivity" for it and the accompanying lie.

There was the same objectivity with this one dealing with Huntiextering xgotten

Nixon

Julie/Eisenhower to do a 30-second TV spot for the Hill contract with HEW - in an election

year yet!

"We could not gotten Julie to do it if Howard hadn't been a White House consultant."

We thought it was quite a coup." (Star 6/22/72)

HEW couldn't do it? It wouldn't have been possible with the agency's long history

campaigns? Not because of really was a frame project?

of favors for and activities in Nixon's emprione, including the current that while reported

None of all Bennett's purjoid white House tone a? Not his Jennett's Not his

attracted no attention, Bennett's person setting up of a hundred fronts for the hiding

of Nixon re-election money? The White House wouldn't have grabbed at the exposure of the

President's daughter inxanxalastionxy of a guidtone public service, promoting good works,

with anxanxalastion pending? No guidtone is "objectivity?"

Nor did anybody gag on why the "resident's daughter of all people was selected by

the Whit President's consultant and the agency so long involved in his political life.

"In the public's mind she's a schoolteacher," Bennett actually said. (Star 6/23/72)

Julie, who had been able to teach only two days in Jacksonville, For, Florida mefore

she broke a foot and had to stop, "was the most prominent teacher we could find." (Star 6/23/72)

When this kind of transparent lying didne't stop the presses in spontaneous protest, spokesmen

Bennett was and the White House/and others leaking behind the scenes could get away with anything. But they dared not take that chances, so they put some truth out with the fiction, always downplayed.

What - fiction or truth

Hunt was hired by Mullen on May 1970 retirement from CIA because kexweexexwriter of the "endorsement" of Richard Helms, then Director, "entral Intelligence, "unt gave him and Bill Buckley as references, I'm stray want

(There are many proofs of the Bennett-White House intimacy and that he dealt directly with those at the top, not through Hunt, when he did not want to go through Hunt. One is a azważdowaniemental July 29,1971/ franktal memo from Haldeman to Colson, which limns
White House special interests and the intrusion of the FBI into political matters. It reads, in part, "According to Bob Bennett, his father remarked that when Pierre Salinger was a candidate for the U.S.Senate, the FBI ran a check on him.o.I'm broadminded [sic] enough to want to read it. This would be very useful in complementing the investigating tion De Motte is pursuing.o. "Salinger had been press secretary to Democratic Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.) (Port 427/73)

During the preceeding days a little more had come out from official sources and from Bennett, who fed the press with skill and care.

On Monday the 19th Hunt's name and numbers in the Cubans' addressbooks was disoclosed, which led to Bennett. Hunt was still in Washington, although the press and the FBI managed not to catch up with him. Despite all the talk about his disappearing he hadn't.

Confronted with the connection and pretending ignorance of it all, Bennett told the press Tuesday the 20th that "he had been unable to reach Hunt since his name became entangled in the mystery offer who tried to bug the Democrats and why." that as that day's Star's fifth-run story put it, "Today his present employer, a Washington public relations firm that has specialized in work for Republicans, anhounced that Hunt would be suspended tomorrow morning unless he has shown up."

(The "specialized in work for Republicans" part is a more credible explanation of Bennett's concern for the future of his firm that possible loss of the HEW contract.)

"It is a safe assumption he knows he is in the news stories" Bennett continued before asking, "What the hell is going on?"

He also teld the Star that Hunt had been scheduled to go to New York on company work, which amounts to another kind of covering Hunt because Bennett knew that in fact Hunt was in New York. Accidentally the Star helped the disassociation out by describing Bennett as Hunt's "present employer," which simplies further that Hunt ne longer was at the White House.

"Maybe I'm being paranoid," Bennett told the Star, "but I felt I had to act."

He was indeed being something, but it was not paranoid.

What he feared admitting he downplayed in explaining how Mullen hired Hunt to begin with:

"I think I'm right in recalling that Mrs Helms and Mr. Mullen knew each other, and Mr. Mullen was looking for a writer about that time...Mr. Hunt has a long background of writing ability. That's what he did for Mr the CIA."

Novel thought that Hunt's key political spy trash was what he did for the CIA. Or that this is the kind of "writing ability" required by a public relations agency. Or the reality, that a life-long black-arts operator with a side-line in propaganda novels is the ideal man to handle the an account the purpose of which is to attract the interest of the

inform the handicapped of the federal programs that could help them.

And that Hunt had been recommended by the CIA's Director? \*\*Nelexztustifiedzuthers\*\*z before the Watergate committee. He said that wise. ztist the personel office of CIA helped place Hunt. (

And had the first address this before the Senate Watergate committee August 2, 1973 (8H3232ff)

The gave the impression that the CIA's personnel office helped place Hunt. The import is similar, that Hunt had to be placed with Mullen, that he had had no previous connection.

Only Helms was disassication himself from the record Bennett had made of his personal

connection.

The fact is that both neither Mullen nor Helms was truthful.

Matter was working on his own disassociation. Having said that if Hunt did not show up on the 20th he would "suspend" him, on the 21st he announced the suspension.

Thereafter he gradually disappeared from the news, as did mention of his agency's name.

Piasas Disassociation was everybody's phoblem because everyone connected with Hunt's could be project was connected with the crimes and was criminally liable on han The fromble

Hunt knew it and this was his trump.

Everybody else knew that Hunt knew it and this was their worry.

If Hunt talked they were all done in.

But nobody knew if Hunt would talk, so everybody had to be careful until he was no longer a question mark.

So, everybody was careful and hedged every statement, not to get caught in a lie if
Hunt did talk and not to offend him to provoke him into talking.

Thus while's statement beginning with, "I think I'm right..." and the Clawson scheme broken which with the last date of his employement we to make it appear he was without White House connection while he still had an office there and in fact was still on the payroll At Mayrel was without with the last date of his employement we are in fact was still on the payroll At Mayrel was without white House connection while he still had an office there

Then press secretary now promoted to close Mixon confidant Ron Ziegler followed Clawson with one that is an example of Nixonian cuteness with semantics, a hedged statement with which he got away:

"I don't know where Mr. Hant has been. He's not been in a consulting role with the

the White House for months."/SFExam 6/20/72)

Throwing in the verbiage "consulting role" is the key. The enabled Ziegler to lie

White House office

while seeming not to lie. Hunt had been in his office the day before this story appeared,

the very day of Clawson's deception. And if Ziegler and Clawson didn't know it is only

because they didn't ask. Bunt left a time bomb behind and a warning as wer shall see.

These official lies are the Nixonian practise and with The Watergate the only means of his survival. They are not haphazard. They are practised, with full dress rehearsals before performance. The bunch most involved gets together, including Nixon, and they run through all the questions that can come up and how they can lie their way around them.

They try to avoid overt lying but when there is no alternative, they lied. But their preference is for semantics, seeming not to lie while having kath the intent and the need and any while having the form additions.

On some occasions these dress rehearsals for seeming not to lie were tape recorded. John Dean delivered one that survived to the Senate committee, which publised it in facsimile. (3 H 945, nur g)

Without Hunt's disappearance none of this would have been possible. He knew it and white with they knew it and he and they were never out of contact, despite what appeared in the media. Hunt's moves were not only know, there is substantial reason to believe they were directed. Only because there never was any real investigation can there be any uncertainty. In reality I believe there is none.

These are all tough characters. At that moment they were also desperate.

Somehow Nixon had gotten away with the first and vital step move in disassociating himself, but that meant obstructing justice, a crime for him and all involved in it.

The first step is like something from a fable. It is the pretense that the caught crime was not Nixon's because Nixon had nothing at all to do with his personal re-election machine, the one he personally established outside the regular, traditional party machine, the Republican National Committee. CREEP was Nixon's baby but he actually got away with pretending they were strangers. So, with this, that caught frime was pinned on CREEP, not him, and the press and politicians stood still for it, actually helping it alone with this sacis acceptance.

191

indirect

Once the Nixon got away with indicet lying about Hunt, when the time came the lie

Fred Nach was unequivocal. It was also under eath by his man in charge of converting the machinery,

power and money of government and government contract into the his re-election feet to

red Malek. The initial leak of the Watergate committee's belief Malek had crossed over

into crime wid not come until the waskendard beginning Saturday, June 8, 1974, long after

that committee's last hearing and without its ever having head held a public hearing on

any aspect of that criminality. So, Malek was protected and Nixon was again. Malek was

an important figure in The Watergate crimes but remarkably fittle in the papers, even after

Nixon shifted him from personal staff to be assistant director of the Office of Management

and Budget, after the re-election.

On July 25,1973,
The House Appropriations committee was hold hearings on giving Nixon the traditional

\$1.5 \text{iii} 1,500,000 for the presidents' "special projects" fund. (Congress finally backed down after initial rejection and gave it to Nixon again.) Hut was apid from this fund.

Asked during the hearing by Democrat Edward R. Roybed (right), "Was Mr. Howard that Hunt paid out of this fund for special projects on the day of the so-called burglary occurred?" Malek said he'd have to check the records and would file a written statement. In it he began with a lie, went to an avoidance, and was allowed to get away with it:

"Mr. E. Howard Hunt was employed by the White House as a consultant from June 6, 1971 to April 1, 1972. In regard to the alleged burglary, this matter is currently under investigation by the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities [The Watergate Committee] and we would prefer not to get into these matters concerning the ongoing Watergate investigation."

Perhaps "June" is an error by UPI, from whose July 25, 1972 story this is quoted.

April 1, which is close enought to Clawson's March 29 and far enough from June 2 17, is a lie if not perjury.

But nobody, even at that late date, really cared, so the Congress let Nixon get away with it, park still another part of his unimpeachment.

8

But the ineptness that characterizes everything these revanchist Cubans do made

it impossible to hide Hunt. Szulc's part it in succeeded during the most ciritcal period

of the improvising of the cover and the disassociation but Hunt's name and White House

connection, as all involved knew was inevitable, did come out on the 19th, two days after

connection, as all involved knew was inevitable, did come out on the 19th, two days after

the crime. By then there had been these dress rehearsals for the cover stories.

The

stories were put out and were accepted. This "objectivity" that is anything but objective

because it means publishing lies wothout calling them lies made acceptance possible. It

provided adequate cover for all the silent politicians.

After all the deals were set, behind the scenes these tough character, were cutting each other's throats. That also became their survival needs.

Bennett provides a suitable illustration. An illustration can help understand what forces were at work in these critical first days of Hunt's disappearance so he could be disassociated and so he could look out for himself.

In documents Dean froduced for his Senate Watergate committee testimony there is a memo from Haldeman to him dated January 18, 1972-1971 asking for "an inquiry into the relationship between Larry O'Brien and Howard Hughes." O'Brien then had a public relations firm. He was to become Democratic chairman for the campaign. When he took the Hughes retainer he announced it publicly, so it was no secret. The to pretended secret that was not secret was from Nixon's bosom pal Rebozo, who attributed it to Maheu. "Bebe further indicated that he felt he could acquire some documentation of given a little time."

"Documentation" can't refer to the public announcement O'Brien had made.

Dean spoke to Bennett, who "felt confident that if it was necessary to document the retainer with O'Brien he could get the documents."

Ta If this is not ludicrous, it is sinister. In the Nixon White House the two were INDISTIMENISHABLE, often inseparable.

Haldeman's instructions were, "You should keep in touch with Bob Bennett as well as looking for other sources of information...Once Bennett gets back to you with his final report, you and Chuck Colson should get together and come up with a way to leak the appropriate information....However, we should keep Bob Bennett and Bebe out of it at all costs."

Whether or not this was the beginning of that wild scheme to burgle Greenspun's safe, it shows the real relationship between Bennett and all Nixon's closest and provides a means of evaluating whatever Bennett says. It also shows Bennett's morals and ethics. It was somehow sixis evil, if this White House business of O'Brien and Hughes means no more than is on the surface, wi for O'Brien and Hughes to have any relationship, no matter how open and normal. But at the same time it is perfectly proper for Bennett to be laundering Hughes secret contributions to Nixon.

With Hunt ext of out of the way, not available for interviewing or questioning, he was sanitized by the White House, whose real purpose was cleansing itself.

Hunt's initial emplyment date was shifted from July 6 to August, the apparent reason being to hide the fact that he was rushed onto the payrool, before the FBI compared completed its security check. His job was "to help declassify the Pentagon papers," in the words of one syndicated account. It continues, "Clawson said Hunt later contributed intelligence on drug smuggling in the Far East and evaluated other narcotics information for the White House Domestic Council." (CDN 6/21/72)

The papers were entirely uncritical. Thus this and the Mullen story about Hunt's work for the CIA having been restricted to writing were never compared and questions were never asked about their incompatibility.

It had been too risky for Bennett to try to limit the Mullen-CIA relationship to personal acquaintance between Mullen and Helms, so he had let it drop that wears ago for the CIA, Mullen had done a small public relations job/for Radio Free Cuba. Mobody cared about something of which they had never heard, Radio Free Cuba. But if the newspaper libraries had been check what I quoted from the papers in Oswald in New Orleans would have been apparent, that Radio Free Cuba was part of the CIA Free Cuba Committee and that funding was a secret half-million dollars a year.

Here again is the imprtance of Tad Szulc's ploy in suppressing what he learned immediately about Hunt, assuming he had no prior knowledge, his dishonest reporting the day after the break-in at Democratic headquarters.

Another journalistic failure encouraged the White House, Bennett, the CIA and all others

CAA

These characters are not only tought and desparate, they are totally unscrupulous.

When it became obvious that it was a question of time only before there was some public exposure of the whole Nixon-Hughes stink, Bennett practised "public relations" again. He gave Anthony Ripley of its Washington bureau an interview The New York Times published April 28, 1973. The Senate investigation was then certain, as was further prosecution.

Ripley's story begins with the flat assertion that the Greenspun gurglary was "never carried out." But the Times had printed an account of it several years earlier, which embarrassed nobody.

[A]

In this interview Bennett said the whole idea was Hunt's and that he had not suggested

"Hunt told him he had heard through underground channels that Hank Greenspun, publisher of the Las Vegas Sun, had papers in his safe that would be very damaging to Senator Muskie," Righty Wrote.

Ripley put it.

"You have to know about Hunt, "Bennett told him. "He made things up...led me to believe he had instructions he didn't have..."

Ripley lacked curiosity about why White House instruction to Hunt, real or facnied, should have any meaning to Bennett, who supposedly was not connected with anything.

Now this is diametrically opposite Hunt's quoted sworn testimony given after this.

It does relate to a crime and it was within the purview, indeed, the charge, of the Senate's Watergate committee. Why it didn't put Bennett under oath and thenhave a court testing of whether he or Hunt swore falsely and committed perjury - or having one back down and tell the truth - only that committee can - but won't - explain.

Bennett, knowing this, apparently was unworried. Or worried enough to risk it. Or certain of protection.

Extra space

This was false. On May 23 the <u>Times</u> headline read "Greenspun Says Hughes File Was Sought." And the lead, the opening paragraph, has Greenspun "charging" that "a burglary attempt was made."..."

However, Bennett accomplished his purposes. He got the story out that it was all Hunt's silliness and that he had not suggested it:

involved in the assorted crimes and with Hunt to risk the danger of being caught in covering up.No reporter ever put the available facts together and pursued them or questioned the right people.

All those immediately identified were connected with CIA and the Bay of Pigs. All were also connected with the Nixon campaign organization. Hath Hunt was connected with hath the Cubans, the White House and with Mullen/Bennett.

No questions? None about Bennett's connections with the White House? None about whether he or Mullen had any older, more recent, current or any kind of CIA connection?

None. Not even when what Szulc suppressed did come out, that Hunt was the CIA's top political operative on the Bay of Pigs.

Hunt really is not that good a spook. He did not hide himself that well. And he left more scent for trailing bloodhounds than a bitch in heat. The tragedy is that there were no bloodhounds.

Still further is this tragedy compounded by the character of the Senate investigation. It could not hold the lid on everything, but it did hide as much as it dered. The actual excite mout record is quite the opposite of the drama of seeing all this incredible stuff on live TV. What came out is little that had not already come out. etails were added but not

Inherent in this is a covering of the CIA. Congress always does that. There hadn't

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\int\_{\text{p}}^{n} \text{if'} \]

been a meeting of the misnamed "oversight" committee in years. So, there was, and the

CIA and Nixon, naturally, knew there had not been any "oversight" of the CIA for this

long period of time. One published account had it from the resignation of the late

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Senator Richard B. Russell, which was in the late 60s. These committees of both houses beginning

held secret hearings on the CIA's Watergate involvement before the special Watergate

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committee, early in 1973. But not until Friday, June 7, 1974 did the "enate vote to

approve giving the special prosecutor the transcripts of these hearings and related

materials - and then under classified procedures, meaning continuing secrecy. (Post 6/8/74)

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\text{Whet this really ears is that all the protections, all the institutions of society}
\]

What this really says is that all the protections, all the institutions of society failed. In their failure lay Nixon's success in being unimpeached.

been covered by everyone, beginning with Hunt, Bennett, the CIA, the White House, the FBI and police and later the Congress, cannot be done with assurance of completeness; But to the degree it can be done it should be because it his disappearance was vital to the central new crime of obstructing justice involving so many from beginning with Nixon and descending through the chain of command that initially did only as expected or ordered.

Hunt gave one version to the uncourious Watergate committee in public. It opted not to go into all he told it in secret. Bennett was questioned about it by Dunie.

The limited retracing now possible serves to illustrate the deliberate avoidance of any full investigation, particularly by the Watergate committee, and

It is perhaps best begun not at the beginning, but by a duplication of the initial services to hiding Hunt performed by Tad Szulc in suppressing what he was told the day after the caught crime.

Hunt, he wrote July 2 in a story published by the Times July 3, "now being sought by the Federal Bureau of Investigation...was reliably reported today to have fled to Europe and possibly to Spain. This report came from persons close to Mr. Hunt."

"Persons close to Munt" can be anyone, from Szulc's imagination to officials. Whoever

When there had been it was a meaningless formality because and real oversight of a vast intelligence system that is semi-autonomous can't be anything else, because Congess is obcessed with "national security" and keeps the CIA's nasty secrets and because everything is "national security" to the CIA and its semi-captive, overhurdeded Congressional supposed watchdogs.

of after the seemal were a stench in the national more

Szulc was quoting was a late liar with a purpose.

Of the few things not in question about Hunt's hegira one is where he was July 3. It was not Spain, not Europe. It was Washington, the city from which Szulcwrote and quoted his anonymous sources.

The only people not deceived by this falsehood are those who really were "close to" Hunt and the FBI and prosecution. The press, whose traditional pursuit of its traditional function here was essential if any of the truth was to come out in time, was the ahief victim of the deception. It would not look for Hunt, especially not in Washington. It would seem to be a fair inference that this was the intent of the deception because officialdom was not deceived.

In this story Szulc managed to cover for the FBI again, saying Hunt "spoke" to its "agents three days after the Watergate raid" but "refused to answer any questions." This on the 1754 also coversthe FBI's failure to charge him as an accessory and keep him on tap. It has a long record of doing this with the politically unpopular, jointly with the Department of Justice, which then calls the witness endlessly before a grand jury, (Trial magazine, Department's 1/72 72) The/specialists in this were culpable in The Watergate. They were in the Internal Security Division.

So, Szulc, an informed and competent reporter, whether or not he had the deliberate intent, was here covering a failure of officialdom, a lack of diligence and a departure from practise that enabled Hunt's flight and all the subsequent obstructions of justice.

lie, covering the involvement of the White House in hiding the presence of a wanted man:

11 The White House has not said whether Hunt had access to his office there after he ceased to be a part-time White House consultant."

Lie White House in hiding the presence of a wanted man:

nas not said whether Hunt had access to his office there after he

to be a part-time White House consultant."

In repetation of the official lie, that Hunt had ended White House employment 10

Squit made it feem i Hiddle that Hunt had lift Muchia Hung permanently a earlier, is not as significant as the hiding of the fact that Hunt had been back

office more than once, that there is a signOin procedure and thus

had spoken to a number of White House employment. weeks earlier, is not as significant as the hiding of the fact that Hunt had been back to his office more than once, that there is a sign@in procedure and thus a record, and that he had spoken to a number of White House employees and left imperative messages.

How Szulc alone among all the hundreds of reporters all around the country managed to play these key roles for the Department of Disinformation (one of Hunt's reported)

CIA functions and one of his unquentionable ones for Nixon) is as mysterious as it is feet.

Compared with the best reporting - and all of it was exceptionally accurate - his becomes more conspicuous. Once the <u>Times</u> decided to pay attention to Thw Watergate its work was excellent if incomplete. And the <u>Post's</u> was so exceptionally good and accurate that it deserved the 'ulitzer it got. But like the <u>Times</u>, its reporting also was incomplete, largely restricted to a second agreement with what some involved official leaked to it.

Conflicts in accounts of where Hunt was and what he did during this disappearance are in themselves important because of the quintessential urgency that he be unavailable.

Therefore, the conflicting accounts are presented.

Hunt's Watergate testimony of September 24 and 25, 1973 (9H3662 ff) begins with a prepared statement from which he read as faithfully as the court reporter transcribed the stenographic notes. (I have compared both.) Indirectly, in his prepared statement, he specified that as of the time of the raid he was working for Nixon. However, the point in quoting him directly is to describe his functions as he described them. (p3, 9H3663)

"From the time I began working at the White House until June 17, 1972, the day of the second Watergate entry, I engaged in essentially the same kind of work I had performed for the CIA." (Myhesis clld.)

The first Watergate entry was on May 27, or after the false White House statements about Munt's separation from it, M. Sewed June 17.

physical and

"I was trained in the techniques of/electronic surveillance, photography, document forgery, and surreptitious entry into granded premises for photography, and installation of electronic devices. I participated in and and responsibility for a number of such entries and I had knowledge of many others. To put it unmistakably, I was an intelligence officer - a spy- for the Government of the United States." (p. 2; (h3662).

To put this "unmistakably," Hunt was taking nomchances on any other misrepresentations of his White House or Mullen careers. His most probable motive was to keep the pressure on the deals he had long since made and he was living up to. It was part of his continuing enforcement of these deals.

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He followed this immediately with an explanation at and justification of the deals, not leaving that to chance questioning, either:

"When covert operations have by the United States or other nations have been exposed ...not...uncommon... it has been universally the practise for the operation to be disavowed and covered up. Usually, this has been done by official intervention with law enforcement authorities. In addition, the employing governments have paid legal frees defense fees. Salaries and family living expenses have been continued. Former CIA Director Helms has testified before this committee in regard to some aspects of this practise."

Hunt's testimony is truthful and without exaggeration. With the CIA it extends to contract rather than regular, full-time employees. The most convenient illustration, which at flugurary has been well reported is the paying continuing support of the families of those aviators used and lost in the Bay of Pigs. It is done indirectly, but is not secrete through the CIA's cover on that operation, the Doubl-Chek corporation. Hunt's claim is legitimate and traditional, with all countries.

When his entire opening statement was less than six pages of double-spaced, wide-margined typing, it is apparent that his emphasis on these matters he wanted to be certain were in the official record represents their importance to him. In them aside from his own defense then and in further trials and hearings to come he was reding and many false cover stories. He was not a writer with CIA but "a spy." His work for the White House was not consulting" by spying and other dirty tricks. It had not have stories and he made explicit his other oriminal acts were all when he was officially Nixon's agent.

He was correct in assuming official lack of interest in large areas of his record.

The questioning did not go into in fact skipped his disappearance as such. Counsel

Samuel Dash's relevant questioning began with Hunt's last visit to his White House office,
in the open flaylight of Monday, June 19 (9H3698) then skips to, "Now, did you
hear from Mr. Liddy during this period of time?"

"Toward midday on the 19th I got atelephone call from him at my Mullen Co, office saying that he needed urgently to meet me. We met" on Pennsylvania Avenue and "walked

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(In passing, particularly because Hunt is articulate and is a life-long wordsmith, his careful choice of works in, "From the time I began working at the White House" should be noted. Actually, he worked in two offices not "at the White House" but in the Executive Office Building. He never worked at the White House. If this is not dismissed as a careless error, which is even less likely when he prepared it in advance and his lawyer went over it in advance, it suggests a distinction between his work for the White House and his work when he was an official White House employee. It is a strong if exceedingly subtle hint that his White House work was not limited to him the time he was officially on its payroll.)

around the block. ...he told me that it was necessary for me to get out of town, that 'they' wanted me to get out of town."

When Dask asked if Liddy identified "they" he dropped it with Hunt's answer, an 
tell Hunt' invitation pursue it, "Not at that time." This says Liddy did at another time.

In his bobtailing Dask asked, "in fact, you did leave Washington... and did you ultimately go to California?" Hunt agreed.

Instead of asking for explanations Dash testifies for Hunt, At that time, did you make arrangements to obtain counsel?" Hunt's response is "I obtained local counsel in California, but not Washington counsel."

Nobody seemed interested in asking what Hunt went all the way out to California to California get local counsel only when he would have had no need to have local counsel in alifornia had he not gone there to begin with. He could have gone anywhere, could have hidden himself well in or near Washington.

"I was staying at the home of an attorney, an old friend named Morton B. Jackson,"
Hunt then testified. "Mr. Liddy appeared there unannounced on June 21. I reiterated my
request that to him that he or somebody obtain counsel for me in the Washington area.

Mr. Liddy gave \$1,000 to me and said, this will help with Jackson."

I believe, either Mr. Jackson or myself."

And thus we engaged William William Bittman, who he first met the night of 'uly 3 in Washington."

Dash, a law professor and former Mr. District Attorney in Philadelphia, was without much interest in too much. How did Liddy know where Hunt was to "appear out there unannounced?"

Why go to California to get a Washington lawyer? Why ask a man who didn't know one he could recommend? How did Jackson learn about two he also didn't know? Whyd did Liddy go all the way accross the country? All Hunt describes, all he was asked about, could have been done by phone and mail, safely. (9H3690)

Here a series of interrelated facts should ne noted. Hunt did not leave Washington for two days. Had he wanted to on his own, he could have. He is well-connected in Washington. He could have obtained a lawyer to his satisfaction during these two days if he believed he would need one - or that one would not be supplied. But he did not leave and he did not engage counsel. This has to mean that he felt no need to leave or for counsel or that counsel would be supplied automatically, the point he included in his opening statement. It also suggests that if he had not been ordered to leave failure to provide counsel made him apprehensive so he left not on the lam but to be unavailable until arrangements that satisfied him were made and he received adequate assurances.

All of this and the reasons should have interested Dash. It didn't. In avoiding it when his professional training and experience should have dictated that he explore it fully and when investigatory curiosity should have prompted diligent questioning

Dash avoided the beginnings of the obstructing of justice. It is difficult not to believe political that this was a legal rather than a legal or investigative decision.

in a day and accross the continent, in person.

are going to be taken care of by saying "don't worry about that, it; all going to be taken care of just like the company, or the Agency. To me that meant in the traditional CIA or clandestine service fashion." (3694 9H3691)

Dash wanted to cut him off here and did, but Hunt persisted in volunteering more, he asked Liddy, "who is the action officer now? And he said it is [Robert] Mardian...And I found that encouraging news." Mardian was close to Mitchell and had been Assistant Attorney General in charge of internal security under him. Dask skipped back to Hunt in Washington, ignoring all else about his "disappearance." he avoided even why of all the people he knew Hunt went to Jackson, who could not do what Hunt needed on his own, or even who Jackson is. It is not because Dash didn't know. He could not have conducted even a perfunctory investigation without learning and he ran the committee. The lengthy staff "Witness Summary" prepared for the committee's members statems guidance and information has no breakdown covering Hunt's disappearance and says as little about Jackson as Dash would have let the record A show had Hunt not insisted and volunteered.

Under "Post Break-In" on pages 21-2 there is mention of the visit to Jackson and

the account of only some of less than full stery Hunt insisted on getting on

the record. But no real identification of Jackson. Avoidance must be regarded as deliberate,

not only because the investigation required it but because of the unusual account of why

flew 2,500 m.l.s.

Hunt went to him and how he provided the names of lawyers he did not know.

There are three further references to ackson in the Hunt testimony, two just casual, in-passing mentions (9H3698; 9H3783.) But that he was not just another friend Senator Howard Baker brought out, (9H3754).

When he asked, "Did Mr. Jackson have any contact with the CIA?" Hunt told him, "At one time he did have asked, "What was his contact" and Hunt said "He was an undercover agent in Southeast Asia for 2 or 3 years."

And there it dropped. Dead.

Established lawyers do not act as plain "undercover agents" in remote areas. 't

would seem that this had to be part of Jackson's past, probably remote past. And any

nomal
erdinary contact with any agents from that area, when Hunt was a "atin American and Europe
specialist, also would seem to be in his remote past. Maybe not, but it seems logical,

Even though Dash knew from the testimony of many witnesses that "ardian had arrangedimproperly - for FBI reports to be given to Nixon's campaign spies and that he was part commend
of the immediate covering up, he again lacked interest and again avoided asking the obvious
questions about this covering up. He knew that prior to the time about which Hunt was
testifying Liddy had nemaxim seen Mardian in utter desparation, paranoidally fearful of
what could happen at any minute. Mardian himself had testified to this July 19 and 20, 1973
(6H2345ff). And in his volunteered opening statement he said exactly what Liddy told
Hunt, only in lawyer-like language he preferred to that of the spooks; M

"I would like it in the record that as of the morning of June 17) I was relieved of my political responsibilities to the extent possible and charged with the responsibility of acting as counsel to the committee [CREEP], at least as far as Watergate was concerned."

(6H2347)

"The monfring of June 17" is the first possible moment, the monent of the arrests.
Uninterested,

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and of news of 'e watergate break-in and he spoke to his wife, who said ashe wanted to return from London. He said no, "it will all blow over."

Hum them called either fidely or Cachy and said he was leaving for Caldelited. So the called a friend in California, Morton Jackson, and asked if humor lid say with lam for a few days. Hunt left Washington and went is Name Little to the backed on Mellen and Co. husiness during the fourth of July 20, more New York he departed for California.

The second of the second of the 20. Liddy arrived on June 21, came and the second of t

## Bittman Retained

Hunt stayed in California about ten days, then went to Chicago and stayed with his wife's cousin. A day or two later Mrs. Hunt came to Chicago and stayed overnight, leaving the next day. While in Chicago Hunt called William Bittman, an attorney in Washington whose name had been given to Hunt by Morton Jackson, and asked Bittman whether he would consider representing him in the matter. A meeting was arranged and July 3 Hunt flew to Dulles Airport, met his wife, and they both went to Bittman's home to discuss his legal problems. Bittman was retained and given a \$1,000 retainer by Hunt and Bittman thereupon notified Earl Silbert, the assistant U.S. attorney, of his representation of Hunt

On July 4 Mrs. Hunt informed Hunt of several conversations she had had with Caddy, who had refused to give her a referral for an attorney to represent him, how she went to CRP and demanded to see Paul O'Brien, with whom she had had sharp words and from whom she demanded prompt action on Hunt's behalf.

it was ignored, and it can't be if only because this is the one man in the whole country with whom Hunt hid and consulted. There had to be some reason for Jackson to the exclusion of all others and the distance between Washington and California does not who with the country account for it.

This is not the kind of investigation to warrant wearing those "Uncle Sam" T-shirts that became the rage after the elderly respected constitutional expert who was committee chairman became such a hit on TV. It is the kind of non-investigation that was conducted.

Until this was clear beyond question, Nixon first hid himself from the people and the cameras then, when he did appear, was nervous, sweated and misspoke himself often. He was scared until he received this kind of reassurance about his unimpeachment.

It took months for what Baker was up to to become obvious. He overplayed his hand later and it then became clear that he was playing Nixon's quarterback in a game that began immediately, to blame the break-in on the CIA.

In preparing the members for the public hearing and after extensive secret questioning thus It ng hy statement with the state of Hunt and other witnesses, the staff, under Dash's direction, typed up about 600 words to explain all of Hunt's "post break-in" activities and connections. In the penultimate paragrpah there was a line and part of a line, beginning after the word "Hunt", that was masked by putting a piece of paper over what it was the desired to hide. Whether the hiding was from the official source from which I obtained it or by it to hide from me I do not know. In context the one thing that seems entirely impossible is the committee's hang=up on Nixon's faires oft-repeated false pretense of "national security." In a sentence Bitmin Bitmin! Contact with the prosecutor, this has to be impossible.

Lil- facsimile fols., attached. (1/1)

This is a remarakbly elliptical presentation for/United States Senators to use as the basis of their work in one of history's most important investigations. It hardly prepared them for so historic a task that was so fundamental to any serious inquiry and to any kind of decent society under representative government.

overly-budy

In time, all the ellipsis will become clear.

Caddy is Michael Douglas Caddy. Rafferty is Max Rafferty, another lawyer Caddy phoned.

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Caddy was Hunt's friend, emergency counsel and not a criminal lawyer. O'Brien was counsel to CREED. Why would neither help Hunt get the best criminal lawyer available? Surely not because they wanted to critically-important a figure not to be adequately represented, or because they wanted to run any unnecessary risks for Nixon and the CREEP.

The only reasonable answer is that they knew the arrangements had been made From any available of the many accounting, they did not know from Hunt's end. If this is the explanation, their knowledge

had to come from another source.

He hadn't even told his wife!

This statement and Hunt's testimony where they duplicate makes one wonder about some of what Bennett told reporters about being out of contact with Hunt. It repeats that

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Hunt did not hide immediately. The didn't even leave for New York for two days.

He was in his waxiouxxofficenxximeladin White House and Mullen offices, publicly,

on Monday the 19th, the day he walked on busy Pennsylvania Avenue quite openly with Liddy.

He may or may not have done any actual work for Mullen in New York on the 20th, but

He may or may not have done any actual work for Mullen in New York on the 20th, but did qualte if he also arrived in Los Angeles the same day, it was close to might of he did very little Mullen "work."

Liddy could not have guessed where of the millions of homes in the United States

Their witness statement has the way not of interest to this committee of knowing.

If the staff and ash knew, they kept it secret from the Senators.

Whether or not Hunt actually went to Miami comfort Mrs. Barker we will never know, he had to have known the pure would be an arrunk to but he could have done it easier and safer by phone and with an alias he might not remember that the impossible to check out. It does, howevery provide an excellent cover for other travel, and there is reason to believe there was another trip and that it should have been of utmost interest to any real investigation.

This staff memo was prepared long after the unnamed "wife's countsin" was a public the new of grains and figures. Not mentioning it and not putting it in context is also not consistent with fully informing the Senators for their historic and flifficult task. It is consistent with the intent to suppress, as also will become clear.

Adding all this up is simple arithmetic. Nobody wanted the truth to come out and Bennett Bennett alm est everybody didn't. The White House and the various investiga ors didn't. Mullen and the White House lied repeatedly and deceived endlessly about an event that was indispensible to obstructing justice, which resulted in Nizon's unimpeachment. The press and the Congress and the prosecutors and the rest of the executive branch branch outside the White House was part of covering up for Nixon are failed in its obligations.

The immediate purpose was hiding Howard Hunt. The end product was protecting Nixon at the cost of the rest of the country.

But is is not the full story, notis it the full story of the still-mysterious

Robert Foster Bennett, son of the ultra-conservative Senator who was Nixon's friend and who

himself had to have been well known to Nixon from Nixon's Senate days if not worker

otherwise. In blackmailing the White House, Hunt used the right word. It is "Seamy."