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FOREWORD: THE PAST AS PROLOGUE

American fascism will have no gas chambers. It won't need them.

It did have concentration camps. They were the first legislative ~~achievement~~ achievement of that eminent liberal, Hubert Humphrey. The concentration camps were not needed, either. Not yet, anyway.

As I enter my seventieth decade I can look backward and see clearly the growth of American fascism, the vision is enhanced by my own painful experiences with it. I have been part of resisting it and thereby became one of its victims. In my youth it was an unlegislated crime to be a "premature anti-fascist".

In those lands in which fascism first appeared, Italy and Germany, it erupted violently, appearing suddenly, the false answer of the rich and the powerful to great distress. In the United States, it has been a ~~slowly~~ slowly but steadily growing malignancy. Thus it lacks the drama of Hitler's putsch. Because it has come so slowly, its coming is unrecognized. And because it has come upon us so slowly, there has been no need for the Hunnish murderousness Hitler visited upon the earth.

Fascism in the United States, a unique American form, has not, however, been without violence and murder. The two, fascism and ~~not~~ violence, as never separable.

Most Americans abhor the term. They love their country, think better of it, and consider their leaders, even those they did not want and do not like, incapable of such excess and so enormous a treachery to every decent and traditional principle.

Until a year after what became known as The Watergate, only the left used the word fascist. As the fullness of the deep subversion The Watergate repr became apparent - and I doubt we will ever know all of it - the more conservative and influential elements in society started to use the ugly word.

When those five agents of the special Republican political machine called The Committee for the Re-election of the President were apprehended inside Democratic National Committee headquarters, it was at first regarded as a cape, a kind of exotic political lark. Those five men were not regarded and did not regard themselves as storm-

2A (S.D.S is Students for a Democratic Society, a militant group from which a more militant faction split off, calling itself The Weathermen.)

Even earlier, similar language came from the Congress, astoundingly from the more conservative politicians. A Democratic Senator from the South actually accused the President of ~~him~~ "setting up of an American Gestapo."

Never in the history of the United States had such epithets come from prominent political or corporate leaders.

2B Here "enemy" is not a figure of speech. ~~It~~ ^{It} is the word actually used by the White House, As we shall see, it prepared formal lists of them. It then ~~connected~~ ^{subverted} the instruments of federal power ~~into~~ for retaliation against them.

toppers, but they were. They believed they were patriots. So did Hitler's murderers.

The very earliest reporting of what was involved in The Watergate should have told the press and those with political understand what it had to represent, but they refused to see. So completely did the press abdicate that had it not been for the perseverance of one newspaper, The Washington Post, it is probable that Nixon ~~and his fascist plans~~ ~~design~~ would have gotten away with his fascist design. Most of the media treated The Watergate as an incredible joke.

Those accidental arrests were made about 2 a.m. the weekend morning of June 17, 1972, almost five months before the presidential election. By the following May, Establishmentarians were calling this fascism. In its issue dated June 4, 1973, Time magazine reported a Chicago banquet "for top executives of companies listed in the Fortune 500" where "the talk about Watergate was reminiscent of an S.D.S. meeting, words like 'fascist'" being used "to describe the atmosphere in the Administration.X"

As has always been the case, those who lamented fascism were those who created it. These same top executives and their corporations nurtured Nixon and other fascists and fascist manifestations telling themselves they were serving the national interest. Nixon had so much corporate money he didn't know what to do with it and despite his best efforts couldn't spend all of it in his re-election campaign. He spent much of it in criminal activity, believing, with the arrogance of power, that he was above the law - that the law did not apply to him - and that when he committed crimes they were not crimes but dedication to a higher cause.

As did Hitler, Mussolini, Horthy and others today forgotten, Nixon equated his opposition with the enemy and considered them "red" and subversive. Making them "red" made him right. This was Nixon's political beginning. He has been true to it through his lifelong political career.

Most Americans were not alive during Hitler's day. The older ones prefer to forget it. Their forgetting is made easier by the increased comforts of life. The norm of an American life forty years after Hitler ~~was a luxurious life in the~~ was a luxurious life in the

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early 1970s. In 1973 it costs me as much to get my grass mowed by a high school boy as ^{made} I ~~made~~ in an entire week in 1933 was a newspaper reporter. Where the streetcar was often beyond my means, this boy has his own car.

When Hitler started bleeding his way through history's greatest blood-letting, most American's just refused to believe that what was happening could happen. Indeed, this refusal to ~~see~~ see and acknowledge reality was national policy in the United States as it was in every other major western country. Without these coinciding national attitudes toward Hitler, he would not have gotten far from that "unich beerhall. Hitler was the "answer" to "communism", the restorer of tranquility. The German/^{military}hero, then President Hindenburg, enthroned Hitler with the proclamation "ruhig muss sein!" There was turmoil in post World War Germany and an end to the protests, not an end to their cause, was Hindenburg's ~~his~~ ambition. Yet Hitler was before then a man dedicated to and practising murder and lesser violence, racism and other hatred. It was his political creed. His enemy, as Richard Nixon's has always been, was an imagined "red" threat.

If I was more sensitive to this than most Americans of that day it is probably from my background. I am a first-generation American whose parents fled an earlier, bloody, racist tyranny, a Jew whose parents ~~came~~ fled Russia. My father was just entering manhood, my mother was a nine-year old girl when they reached Philadelphia. They would never tell me of their lives in Russia, but I heard of ~~them~~ this and of the lives of other relatives and of the lives of friends who had suffered the same experiences from those who knew about them.

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It is the way of the 1970s. Despite seven bloody decades in/recent history of man alone, people opted euphemisms and fictions to the grim realities.

The Cossacks of the day of Molly Picon's parents and mine were no more unique than Hitler's stormtroopers. Neither were by nature murderers. They had to be motivated. Hitler ~~was~~ motivated by raising a false "red" devil and equating Jews with this devil. For this he penned a new bible, Mein Kampf, the insanity of which became the German faith. Mein Kampf is a Germanization of what had been done for the same purposes for the Russian Csars. Like Hitler's, their authoritarian system could not work without scapegoats. As happened with Hitler, the Jews was the symbolic scapegoat, the convenient and more numerous victim. But the Jew was not the only victim. All/authoritarians ^{anti-} became what the Csars, Hitler and now Nixon call "the enemy".

For the Csars there was manufactured a fake that is still credited and sold by native American fascists. It is titled The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion. The Protocols, as it is commonly called, is a monstrous fabrication that alleges all sorts of unspeakable evil to all Jews. As Hitler and his followers believed the horrible insanity of Mein Kampf, so also did the Csars and their minions. The Cossacks were the Csars stormtroopers. To the Cossacks, it thus became an act of faith and true patriotism to slaughter Jews. It is this slaughter that my forebearers fled.

My maternal grandmother never told me of almost killing my mother and her oldest brother by hiding one in an oven and the other under a feather ticking when, the ⁱⁿ Cossacks came/ ^{maurading} to her Bessarabian village, a village she never left until ^{she fled} ~~fleeing~~ to the United States. Nor do I to this day know how many of my father's family did not survive the pogroms in the Ukraine. No one in my immediately family ever talked of this in my presence, and I am the first to be American born on both sides.

Yet to her dying day well into her eighties my grandmother would brook no criticism of the Csars. She had a ready explanation: "The Csars did not know of these terrible things. They would not have approved."

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My grandmother was a simple, uneducated woman. She ~~simply~~^{just} refused to believe that the Csars who kept authoritarian power by murder were murderers.

Those who refuse to believe the obvious today are not simple and uneducated, like my grandmother. They know better, but they find their own excuses for the authoritarianism they refuse to see.

I am more aware of authoritarianism because of my ~~past~~^{heritage}, from the culture from which I spring. In whatever way I could, whenever I could, I have opposed it. Nixon did not invent it in the United States. In one form or another it has been here, from the days when so many of the original colonists supported the tyrannical foreign king, the king who was a foreigner even in his own England. After the successful American revolution, which gave modern man his first real charter of individual freedom, native American authoritarianism had the power to withhold from the Constitution ~~what was~~^{those rights that were} later incorporated/as The Bill of Rights. In all of American history since then, this authoritarian belief has lingered. With industrialization, it adopted new forms and manifested itself in new ways. Each time working people attempted to improve the conditions of their lives, authoritarianism resisted, almost always with violence.

Unions were equated with subversion. The working man's desire to provide his family with a better life and to educate his children was actually regarded as revolutionary and a danger to the state. The unsuccessful effort to prevent working people from getting a fair share of the fruit of their labor created new forms of authoritarianism in the United States, forms that, as always, required violence.

With the Great Depression of the decade before World War II, with the unprecedented ~~brought~~^{brought} personal suffering it ~~brought~~ to so many, the fight for a better life and the fight to prevent it ~~brought~~ generated an unofficial authoritarianism that became an early form of American fascism. It posed a serious threat to society and the stability of society. When the Senate of the United States decided to investigate this, I was part of that investigation. It taught me what ~~is~~^{was} not taught in schools and colleges.

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Prior to becoming part of this Senate investigation, I had been a newspaperman. It was in the Senate that I learned about spies, even private armies. And how corporate wealth, inspired by corporate greed and corporate paranoia, paid for both and then had to pay politicians to make both possible. With the corrupting of the politicians the law was corrupted. With the corrupting of the law, ~~murder became~~ ^{murder became} "legal" and murderers became the ~~agents~~ ^{agents} of the "law." In investigating these murderers and the spies, I got to know some, to understand the thinking of those who ~~were~~ thought of more than having a job, regardless of what kind of job or what it ~~must~~ required. For most, the unthinking majority of those who did this frightful work, it was the only way they could get to eat. For others, there was what they regarded as "principle". They believed the terrible things they did were right and proper, a dedication to patriotism.

Most of the thugs were criminals to begin with. It was a simple matter to organize ~~the~~ and direct them. This became a profitable business. When they were sent out to maim and kill, they were generally under the ~~watch~~ ^{protection} of the law.

An exaggerated example of this is Harlan County, Kentucky, an area so isolated by ~~mountain~~ coal-rich mountains that when I was there in the 1930s, almost pure Elizabethan English was still spoken. The thugs who ~~fight~~ fought union organization there were all deputy sheriffs. In that county of about 50,000 people in 1936 there were more homicides than in all of New York state.

When John Lewis and his United ^{"Peggy" Dwyer,} Mine Workers had the temerity to send an octogenarian organizer to Harlan to organize the miners, the chief thug of the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, a man with the improbable name of Ben ^Wnthank, was given \$400 with which to get this organizer killed and the dynamite with which to accomplish it. Beginning with Wnthank, the job was subcontracted. ^{He} kept \$200 and gave \$200 to the man he hired. In turn, each hired another for half of what he had gotten until Chris Patterson gave R.C. Tackett \$10 and the explosives. Tackett placed the dynamite under ^{bed} Dwyer's hotel room. When it exploded, Dwyer and the ~~man~~ ^{man} in which he was sleeping

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turned upside down. The wing of the hotel was demolished, but not even the wooden leg that gave Wyer his name was hurt. We called all of these men as witnesses in the Senate's hearing. Later there was an indictment by the Department of Justice, which borrowed me from the Senate for the trial and the preparations for it. I lived with the lawyers of the Criminal Division and the numerous agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the police arm of that Department, for four months in that remote part of Southeastern Kentucky.

It was a strange kind of education that, with my experiences with the Senate and later in war-time intelligence, gave me the background ~~from~~ and training for most of my more recent writing, for this book and for the series I wrote on political assassination, especially the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

The agents of the FBI, then called "G-men", were competent. They were professionals. Their performances, especially in such things as the jury investigation, were spectacular. We got to be friends. I drank and got drunk with them. In fact, because that was a "dry" area in which whiskey could not be sold legally, I was their run-runner. The chief of the Criminal Division, Brian McMahon, loaned me his armored ~~Buick~~ Buick for trips to Lexington, Kentucky or Jellico, Tennessee, from which I would return with whiskey for the entire crew of us. Brian was later a Senator. He was the father of the Atomic Energy Act.

James H. McInerney was the Special Agent in Charge of the FBI men on that job. He was a wonderful Irishman, a real human being. Because there were times when he had all his agents assigned, he sometimes took me with him on his own investigations, to "ride shotgun", so to speak. So that I might do this safely, if outside FBI regulations, he taught me how to disassemble and assemble his second weapon, an automatic pistol, with my eyes closed. McInerney was later chief of two Department of Justice divisions, first Lands, then Criminal.

A number of the agents drew me aside to warn me that the late J. Edgar Hoover, their boss, required ~~paying~~ ^{5/4/49} on all others of each of them. I was told that nothing I did would

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remain secret.

The violence against those "Marlan miners, the denial of their rights, were a kind of American fascism. So was Hoover's authoritarianism, of which the ~~spying~~ ^{spying} on each other he required of his agents was but a minor manifestation.

This violence, these murders and denials of elemental rights, were paid for by American corporations, all supported by government on all levels. The larger and wealthier the corporation, generally speaking, the larger its expenditures to deny its workers their rights.

More sinister than the violence was the spying. In almost all cases this was done by commercial agencies, often named deceptively.

I was called back from an investigation of the "Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company in Akron, Ohio to write the first "brief" for my committee's first public hearings. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ It was an intimidating assignment because I was the youngest investigator and had never prepared a "brief" before. One particular detail has Watergate relevance. The process will help the reader understand how Senate investigations work.

There was a labor-spy outfit that called itself The Railway Audit and Inspection Company. Really! Its real business was infiltrating spies into factories or corrupting men already employed in them to learn if there was union organizational efforts and to report on and interfere with it if there was union activity. The spymaster of special interest to me was one W.H.Gray, a semi-literate but a very successful operator. He worked out of the Atlanta, Georgia, office. The main office was in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Copies of all reports went there.

We correctly anticipated that once Raily "Railway Audit", of RA & I, as it was called, learned it was being investigated, it would destroy its files. So, prior to serving a subpoena on it we served one on the janitor of the building, requiring him to save all its waste paper. We got nothing from the RA & I offices, but the wastebaskets yielded most of the tiny scraps into which the incriminating files had been torn. The committee's lawyers, investigators and secretaries spent hot summer days - this was before air conditioning - tediously reconstructing these scraps of paper.

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From these reconstructed scraps, pieced together with transparent tape, I prepared the questions the Senators would ask of Gray and his ~~superiors~~ superiors.

Watergate investigators could not do this, thanks to modern technology and the invention of machines for shredding paper.

Senators are busy men. They have many obligations. Either they are conscientious and work hard and can't do all the work required of them or they are less than conscientious and can't get all the enjoyment/^{from life} their ~~position~~ station and its benefits permit. In either case, they require staffs, the size of which has increased enormously over the years. The staffs do all the work the Senators want done. In hearings, this means all the preliminary work, the drafting of the reports, and usually the preparations of the evidence and the questions to be asked of the witnesses.

The brief I prepared for the RA & I hearing had these questions, typed out in triple spacing, stapled to one side of a file folder, and the evidence, this reconstructed wastepaper, clipped in sequence to the other. The right questions were asked. They were supported by evidence.

There was a personal exploit of which I was then proud that I now see differently.

W.H.Gray, this mousy little man of evil who made his living in so rotten a way, was needed for the next day's hearings which I had not prepared. He had skipped. The committee wanted to retrieve him, but the older investigators could not find him. By accident, the Senator had excused him from subpoena. Gray was within his rights in running away. The senior investigator who had conducted that investigation asked me if I could find him.

An hour later I had him by the collar, pulling him forcibly from the toilet of the train to Atlanta as it started out of Union Station in Washington.

As what Gray, the RA & I and other such outfits did was a form of American authoritarianism, so do I now regard this detective-story thing I had done in taking him by force and without authority. If I had had a subpoena, which I did not, it would still have been wrong. I did not then so conceive it. I considered I was doing my duty, meeting my responsibilities. Gray was a rascal, but I was wrong. I denied him

his rights and I did it by force.

Not all the people in Gray's nefarious business were rascals. I remember well one J.H. Smith, of Cleveland, Ohio. Smith was a patron of the arts, sponsor of the symphony, a director of a university - a real community leader. He was a wealthy, dignified-looking man of many business interests one of which he called The Corporations Auxiliary Company. In plain language this was another spy outfit. One of its larger clients was the Chrysler Corporation, the third largest auto manufacturer. When my investigations in Smith's coded books were obviously successful, he started making hints that I could have a fine future ~~xxxx~~ with Chrysler from the skills he saw me display.

This, I suppose, was a turning point in my life. My weekly salary then would not pay for two days of a household worker's work today. I rejected the bribe. Within days, in some mysterious way, I had been reassigned to the Akron investigation.

In Akron I served the Senate's subpoena on Paul Litchfield, then Goodyear's president. While his lawyers were deliberating their course of action, I was free. On my own I decided to investigate one of the early corrupters of public opinion then beginning to spider out in most large American cities. There is called itself The Greater Akron Association. It was run by a prominent local lawyer, Edgar A. Browse. I had touched base with my Washington superior, but I did not have a subpoena.

This Greater Akron Association was no more than another anti-labor outfit ~~that~~ determined to keep wages down and unions out. It was linked on one extreme with the National Association of Manufacturers and on the other with one of the sleazier spy and strikebreaking outfits.

When I walked in and asked Browse for access to the association's files for a Senate investigation, he protested, "Ehy that's the Russian way!"

"If you prefer the American way to the Russian way," I told him, "I'll come back with a subpoena and you can truck all your files to Washington. But if you'd rather not, you can do the Russian thing and give me copies of those documents I select."

Browse opted for what he called the Russian way. This led to one of the more sensational and informative parts of our hearings. It left no doubt that public

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opinion was manipulated and corrupted by wealth and against the interests and needs of the majority of the people. To this end the large corporations anted up. With their money almost anything could be bought. This included large public-relations and advertising agencies. One of the more successful syndicated columnists of that day, the former Communist turned anti-Communist, the late George Sokolsky, was one ~~of the~~ ^{of the} workhorses in the stable of the Greater Akron Association and similar groups.

There is no doubt that this kind of corruption of public attitudes and control over governmental policies is anti-democratic. It is, I believe, authoritarian, another manifestation of Ameriform fascism.

Browse was still copying incriminating files for me ~~had~~ when I was yanked to prepare the RA & I hearing. I was a bewildered young man who could not understand the official unpopularity of success.

But I was getting an education. And I was learning how government works.

Less than a year after my return from Kentucky, it became apparent that the Senator who was the committee's chairman, Robert M. LaFollete, Jr., son of a great father but not his father's son, had decided he had gotten all the political benefit from his investigation. He saw clearly and correctly that pursuing it further would be a political liability. (The late Joe McCarthy, of the infamous Senate investigation that bears his name, a fascist exploit that added a phrase to the language, followed LaFollete.) We had by then investigated and exposed the authoritarian practises of the auto, steel, metal-trades and other industries. LaFollete wanted the committee to die a natural death for lack of an appropriation.

Gardner Jackson, then the legislative representative of Labor's Non-Partisan League, John Lewis' first attempt at labor's political activity, had been responsible for the La Follette investigation. It had been called the Senate Civil Liberties Committee. It had, however, gone into more than what is generally called civil liberties. It had exposed the wealthiest and most powerful corporations and their political allies. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was also uneasy about its continuance. As a man

only a little older than I then was, Jackson had been the publicist for the Sacco-Vanzetti committee, a band of Americans who had vainly sought to save the lives of those radicals of the 1920s who had been murdered legally by framed evidence contrived by fearing and fearsome public authority. Jackson, who came from wealth, was attracted to me, a brash and imaginative young man. We became friends and worked together on several projects, of which getting the Civil Liberties Committee of the Senate continued was only one.

Jackson knew everyone, from Roosevelt down. Through him I met such people as Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, and Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, who had also been a member of the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee.

Jackson had a consuming concern for the plight of migrant agricultural workers. They were the greatest sufferers, the most denied victims of American authoritarianism. He and I wanted the Senate to investigate their plight in California, where so many of the farmers who had lost their lands in the Southwest to the dust storms had gone in search of a meager livelihood only to become the most exploited and lowest-paid Americans. Their lives were more bleak than those of the share-croppers of the South.

Over Roosevelt's and LaFollette's opposition, Jackson and I lobbied through an additional appropriation for an investigation of that horror later so graphically reproduced in John Steinbeck's monumental work, *The Grapes of Wrath*. One of the many devices we used may help explain Richard Nixon's aversion of press conferences. We got the late, great Paul Y. Anderson, Washington correspondent of *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, to ask Roosevelt right out if he would support an investigation of the deplorable conditions of the Okies and Arkies in California. To oppose this was to oppose motherhood and endorse sin. Roosevelt had no choice.

Anderson, it is not irrelevant to note here, played a major role in exposing that earlier great political and financial American scandal that also reached into the White House of Warren G. Harding, "Capitol Dome."

Success with Jackson in getting the investigation continued cost me my job.

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I decided to return to writing.

Martin Dies was a Texas Congressman with a genuine belief in fascism. To him it was the only patriotism. He was Richard Nixon's forerunner in his "investigating" what he, Nixon, Joe McCarthy and others called "Un-American." ~~With Dies~~ This meant Jews, Catholics, labor leaders, consumer-interest advocates, the child movie star, later an ultra-conservative Shirley Temple - anyone to the left of ^{Adolph} ~~Benito~~ Hitler, who was then already ^{storming} ~~storming~~ across Europe.

My first book was to have been on Dies and his committee.

To Dies, all these were "Communists."

It was thoroughly researched. It included investigations of those who might really have been a danger to the country, those of the right extreme who were Dies' supporters and of no interest in his "investigation".

Dies, like Nixon who followed him, was a copier. Dies took up where an earlier and more responsible investigation by the House of Representatives had left off. That one had been chaired by Massachusetts Congressman ^J John McCormack, later Democratic leader of the House. His associate and the ^Congressman who really ran the investigation was the New York Democrat Samuel Dickstein. I knew both. Dickstein was a Jew.

As Dies canvassed the House corridors in support of his project, he openly promised "There will not be any Jews on my committee." There weren't either. Dies was openly anti-Semitic, covertly fascist.

In a futile effort to ~~keep~~ impose some restraints on Dies, the liberal California Congressman Jerry Voorhis, was put on his committee. Voorhis, who had inherited wealth, has the co-operative movement as his prime interest. He, like his friend Jackson through whom I had earlier met him, was anti-Communist to the point of phobia. Nixon succeeded to Voorhis's seat in a way we shall address. Voorhis was an ineffectual agonizer.

My investigation of Dies led to the files of the Clerk of the House of Representatives. The Clerk was also custodian of the records required by the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925. This Act ~~is~~ also figures in The Watergate story. Some of what I resurrected from the official

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oblivion of those unused files was too "hot" for the commercial press. When it was not directly related to Dies I gave it to other writers. Father Coughlin was a fascist priest and a political priest of that era. He had to file under the Act. I gave all this data to an expert in exposing fascism, Jack Spivack. He used it in his book, The Shrine of the Silver Dollar. Coughlin, like other fascists, had "respectable" support.

The Republican National Committee also filed under this same Act. ~~XXX~~ Its records of that anti-Roosevelt day abound in the kind of incredible connection lack of knowledge of which made Nixon's connections with all the dubious characters of The Watergate hard to credit. Of the man fascists who helped it and got paid by it, from my old files of these many, I refer to one, a count in Czarist Russia an officer in the imperial army, "Vojd" or leader of a world-wide fascist group called the "International Russian Fascist Party" Count Anastase A. Vonsiatsky.

Before emigrating to the United States, Vonsiatsky had been elected head of this fascist party in Harbin, Manchuria, after which he emigrated to Paris. There he met and married an American heiress, Marion Ream Stephens, daughter of a Chicago financier. (Estimated fortune, \$40,000,000.00, a considerable sum for the time of the estimate, 1922.)

After his first formal connection with the Republican National Committee, Vonsiatsky's palatial estate in the northeast corner of Connecticut was raided by the FBI. This followed complaints to the Attorney General, later Supreme Court Justice and Nazi War Crimes Prosecutor Robert Jackson.

Whether or not he was a bona fide Russian count, Vonsiatsky was a fascist. He wore ~~swastika-adorned~~ a/brown uniform, has a personal arsenal known to include 36 Army rifles, two cases of tear gas, tear-gas guns, innumerable pistols, daggers, knives and steel helmets.

The raid was on May 9, 1942. After confession to being a Japanese and German spy, Vonsiatsky was sentenced on June 21 to a five-year term for conspiring to commit espionage. All of this, together with pictures of the Nazi-outfitted Vonsiatsky and his arsenal was published in the papers of that day.

So the ~~strangest~~ strange Nixon Watergate characters are not all that new to

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formal, official Republican political operations, if they do not represent majority Republican Party beliefs. It is that most people are like my grandmother, they prefer to forget, there is much they do not know, or they just do not understand.

The country crawled with would-be fushrers in those days of hate-Roosevelt, those days of Hitler's successes. Dies and those who followed him, including Nixon, preferred to ignore them, while persecuting those they called red, their "enemies".

After I gave the late Drew Pearson a collection of material like this, including the connections of these fascists with Dies himself, and Pearson wrote an expose for Look, Dies decided he had to do something about me before I completed my book and investigations. As a primer for what follows in this book an encapsulation of that story is relevant, as it is also part of my credentials for this work.

It was seen to that one David Dubois Mayne was fed to Jackson by way of Pearson. Jackson directed Mayne to me. Mayne was then the Washington representative of The Silver Shirts, a native fascist organization headed by William Dudley Pelley.

(Among the filth he peddled, Pelley had his own edition of The Protocols.)

From Mayne I obtained the Silver Shirts' Washington files. Only a few of the papers in it, those linking Dies and Pelley, were photostats. To be certain of their authenticity and that of everything Mayne told me, I took a deposition from him. He swore to it before a notary public, by coincidence the man who was the office manager of the court reporting firm with which I had been associated when I had worked for the Senate and the same firm that provided the same services to the Senate's 1973 Watergate investigation.

Later, when a Congressman from Michigan, Frank Hook, referred to these Pelley papers in a speech against Dies, Dies launched an investigation of Jackson and me. Immediately I engaged three typists and returned to the files of the Clerk of the House. We spent three weeks copying the records of every public penny Dies and his committee and staff has spent, some of it personally and criminally, accounted for fraudulently. Sure enough, there was Mayne in Dies' pay!

Dies was not happy with his inability to get nothing from me. I had done nothing wrong, had done what is right, and despite his own dirty tricks, he had been unable to

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trap me into a single careless error in ~~three~~^{two} different hearings.

So, he took a different tack. He had a law passed to get Jackson and me. That law figured in The Watergate hearings of June 28, 1973. It makes a crime of interfering with the proper processes of a Congressional committee.

Because I had done nothing illegal or improper, Dies used his influence to delay David Pine, the confirmation of/the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia as a federal Judge. Pine was a fine man I knew from having helped him in a prosecution of one of the Harlan County gunthugs. Pine's nickname for me was "Affidavit Face." The man in actual charge of the grand jury was Pine's then assistant, later successor and still later himself a federal judge, then chief judge, Edward Curran. By another coincidence, just before he retired, Judge Curran awarded me an almost unheard of "summary judgement" against the Department of Justice in one of my "freedom of information" law suits for evidence officially suppressed. A number of official figures in The Watergate story were involved in this litigation. It told me much about them I shall report.

Curran did not handle most of my many and ~~was~~ nerve-racking appearances before the grand jury. Still another assistant United States Attorney, later war-crimes prosecutor in Tokyo, was assigned that task. He and I fought hard for that grand jury. Had I not taken it away from him, no simple accomplishment, I would have been indicted. Instead Mayne was and the assistant United States Attorney was so persuaded of my innocence and of the evil Dies created that he gave me what he considered I might later need for my protection should another effort be made.

Dies was forced into the unhappy position of having to intercede publicly for his puppet Mayne, to keep him out of jail. There was a deal for a two year suspended sentence. First in the Alger Hiss case and later in The Watergate, Nixon found himself in a position not unlike that of his predecessor Dies.

The effort of the fascist Dies to get Jackson and me, beginning with entrapment and phoney "hearings" and lying press-releases - Dies didn't dare hold these hearings in public - was a manifestation of American fascism. The passing of the law to attempt to

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legitimatize the patently illegal was also fascist.

So was what the FBI tried to do to me. The two agents who then interviewed me showed a different face of the Bureau than the one I had seen on those fine men who only a few years earlier had been my friends in Kentucky. They actually refused ~~me~~ to permit me to leave the office in the Justice Department building in which, in effect, they held me prisoner, until I signed a false statement that would have incriminated me. When after hours they could not get my signature, they had little choice but to let me call a lawyer. That ended this second attempt at entrapment, an evil not uncommon in "law enforcement" in the United States.

But had I not had the foresight to get Mayne to execute an affidavit and had I not had the courage to hold out against official pressures and wrongdoing, I'd have been the victim of the crime of which I had already been Dies' victim. I'd have been unjustly indicted, perhaps ~~convicted~~ convicted, of a non-existent crime. Instead Mayne was convicted and Dies was further exposed.

All of this put me deep in debt, forcing me to lay the book on Dies aside for writing from which I could exist. It was investigative reporting that exposed other aspects of American fascism. I became an expert on Hitler's cartels and their American partners. The result was a definitive series of articles that won praises from the White House, the cabinet, the Congress, even from J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief.

I gave the documentation of all my work to the Department of Justice, to the division then headed by Thurman Arnold. A number of indictments and the taking over of Nazi industrial "fronts" in the United States followed. I also became an unpaid agent of British intelligence. The United States was not then at war.

One of these came to involve a Congressman later an early and continuing Nixon apologist after The Watergate became the great sensation.

The company I exposed, Rohm & Haas, of Philadelphia, and its subsidiary, Resinous Products, controlled the rights to the patents for Plexiglas in the United States. My investigations yielded all the assignments of these patents from the German principal, all the conditions of those assignments, and the uses and misuses to which they were

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put, to the detriment of preparedness and Hitler's benefit - and for considerable profit. I also had what amounted to a confession from one of the board of directors. Prior to publication of the story, I offered a chance to disprove the evidence to the secretary of the corporation, a native-born Yankee. He gave me a few plexiglas trinkets but no disproof.

Owner of the magazine, later Nixon's Ambassador to the Court of St. James, was Walter Annenberg. He immediately felt financial pressures. Coinciding with this the editor, later organizer of what was known as Eggheads for Eisenhower, still later manager of the National Symphony Orchestra, received an "invitation" to appear with me before the Patents Committee of the House of Representatives. I knew too much about politics and about that particular Congressman to walk into this unprepared. Another member of that committee was a friend of mine, John Coffee, of the State of Washington. I asked John to attend that also-secret session and he did.

Also there was the man who today and for some years had been the Republican leader in the Senate, Hugh Scott. Scott had been, he said, district attorney. He was then a Congressman from Philadelphia. He was not long in disclosing, by the most prejudicial kind of questioning, that his interest was in shielding the Philadelphia corporations.

However, once again the nature of my testimony was such that this committee did not dare print it. There was no possible doubt about the fact. It was not long before the government took the corporation over, for the duration of the war. But it is corporations, then as now, that finance campaigns and election, not writers.

Here there was another coincidence in this secret hearing that was never published, a hearing rather transparently contrived to help the corporation I had exposed. Brian McMahon had gone into private practice. He represented ^{of Attorney General Homer Stille Cummings,} Mohm & Haas. This was before he ran for the Senate from Connecticut as the protege of a man who will also figure in the story that will follow, a man who ^{with his wife} later became a friend of mine. Walter Gallagher, who had been one of the Justice Department lawyers in the Kentucky case and was in Brian's firm, represented the corporation at the hearing.

While the testimony was never made public, carefully-selected excerpts that tended

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to exculpate the company, were made into a special printing by the company that then, according to those in the Department of Justice with whom I was associated, was mailed to those with whom the company did business.

This, not what is taught in school, is the way government really works. And this is what political pressures can accomplish. It is also another face of ~~Russian~~ American Authoritarianism. Imagine something like this just before Pearl Harbor, when there were no longer any secrets about Hitler, when he had made so large a start in his unprecedented slaughtering -- after he had ^{butchered} ~~taken over~~ the low countries, France and much of Scandinavia and Central Europe!

This part and the servants of Ameriform fascism were not to leave me alone. After Pearl Harbor I became a soldier and was assigned to the Office of Strategic Service, forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency of today.

Awaiting me there after security investigation "cleared" me was an unusual assignment. In the shop it was known as "The Paris case." Four brave enlisted men, volunteers for OSS and for an almost certain-death, behind-Nazi-lines parachute drop, had been in a brawl with the Washington military police, on whom they had inflicted severe physical damage. Our four had been convicted and that conviction had been sustained through all the channels of military justice. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ "Wild Bill" Donovan, the "Republican lawyer turned general and OSS commander, believed justice had not been done. He wanted me, his greenest hand, to prove his belief.

In six weeks, six weeks in which I went nowhere except inside OSS, the job was done and those four men walked free. It was a simple job I recall here because it shows that the law and justice can fail and do when there is animus and when the best lawyers fail, as they also do. (One of OSS' lawyers then is ~~XXXXXXXX~~ another Donovan, the man who negotiated the swap with the Russians, their spy Colonel Abel for our U-2 jockey, Francis Gary Powers, and who negotiated with Castro for the release of the Bay of Pigs captives.)

in parens?

Lawyers have their professional equivalents of the doctors' syndrome, protecting each other. As it is almost impossible to get one doctor to testify against another in a medical malpractice suit, so also is exceptional when a lawyer alleges professional failings to another lawyer. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ It is a means of sheltering professional shortcomings that are alleged to be in the interest of the profession and public confidence in it but in fact keeps the bell from tolling for any lawyer or doctor who has failed in his trust and further victimizes the already victimized. Had it not been for this a lawyers' syndrome at every stage of this "Paris case", a different assignment would have awaited me for that miscarriage of justice would not have been committed, that frame-up would not have succeeded. There is pertinence in this in all aspects of The Watergate case, from its outset. To a lesser degree, the press suffers a similar malady. When it finds in looking backward that it failed in its professional obligations, did not report what it should have or as it should have, it tends to down-play subsequent developments.

And the professional policeman and commissioned Army officer who was responsible for the framing and other wrongful acts would not have felt he had no choice but suicide.

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The most famous of OSS' lawyers was not working as a lawyer. Arthur Goldberg, later to be President Kennedy's Secretary of Labor, ~~was~~ became first a Supreme Court Justice and then ambassador to the United Nations under Lyndon Johnson.)

The Paris case teaches that the evidence must be out together correctly and used correctly. All of it was in the files. I added nothing new. All I did was reassemble it. To me this was a very simple thing, but none of the able lawyers for the defense had done it and, if the flaws were detected by those handling the appeals, they were not corrected. Misused by the prosecution, the truth was made to lie. A good clerk could have made truth prevail, but there was no good clerk. Only overly-busy good lawyers.

21A- This opening, unpublicized spectacular seems to have given me a reputation that led to all sorts of odd assignments being bounced to me, including from the boys of the black arts. Memory dims after 30 years, but I can't remember one of these many that was at all difficult. In each case the problem existed because analysis of the problem failed. In most instances that happened because the thinking was too complicated. One example, a job that came originally from the White House with a deadline that gave me 48 hours only, was child's play. Nobody had thought of the simple answer. There were about a dozen merchant ships that our government had taken over in American ports believing their "neutral" owner was a covert Nazi. His demand for their return or for payment for them became a political issue.

Well, he was a Nazi. It required of me one phone call, a walk of eight blocks and about two hours pouring over the records nobody had thought of in the one source that above all should have been consulted and ~~wasn't~~ wasn't.

People, including the very brightest, tend to ignore the simple and the obvious. It is the essence of good analysis not to ignore the obvious, not to complicate a problem needlessly.

The war was not yet over when, in the materials that passed through my hands, it became obvious that the military and the diplomats ~~were~~ were looking past victory in ~~victory in~~ Europe. The "red" scare that has dominated every act of every government

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since then, the policy that has ~~insured~~ guaranteed indebtedness of unborn generations far into the future and made enormous fortunes for a few at the cost of the many, was well started before VE day. Redundant evidence of it passed through my hands, so there must have been an inconceivable amount about which so many of us were silent. (We were subject to severe penalties if we disclosed any secrets.) This began while the Russians were bearing the brunt of the fighting, sustaining the heaviest casualties.

That the German armies held out as long as they did still seems impossible. When the destruction of Germany became a possibility, Hitler's bureaucrats began to hide their more delicate files in all kinds of out-of-the-way places. One I remember is a salt mine at Marburg. These files were prime intelligence targets. Many, after capture, passed through my hands. This included reports and memos about them.

Fear of the Russians by the United States military was so great, desire to use Nazis against the Russians after the Nazis were defeated was so strong, that our army actually destroyed sensitive German files captured in territory that was slated to be under Russian occupation if it was not possible to remove those files before Russians arrived. Through this one military policy countless Nazi criminals escaped retribution.

Then the military started lying about what had been captured to keep civilians in government from using this intelligence. Or, to protect Nazis, protect the enemies the military planned to use, with blackmail if necessary.

Once when my aging grandmother was ill I had a few days off to visit her. I had hardly gotten then when I received a call telling me that the Director of Intelligence for the State Department wanted to see me. So, I returned to Washington almost immediately. His office was in the building that figures much in the story of The Watergate. It is of Civil War vintage, now more than a century old. Today it is the Executive Office Building, there those of the President's personal staff not in the White House have their offices. (And directly across the street are new commercial office buildings that also are part of The Watergate ~~story~~ story.)

The director of intelligence for United States diplomacy simply could not get

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from the military this captured intelligence so essential for all State Department functioning, for policy decisions, for action. The military blandly denied to him that what he sought had been captured. In those days I had an almost photographic memory. I gave him the proofs he wanted and needed. I do not know what ensued. There is little reason to believe the military did not thereafter withhold from the civilians in government whatever the military wanted to withhold.

This is not to say that the civilians were uniformly pure, only dedicated. They were not. Most hewed the red-scare policy line.

One example that comes to mind is from captured Italian documents that also crossed my desk. The Nicaraguan dictator, General Somoza - his son succeeded him as dictator and he, too, figures in The Watergate's periphery - had called in the Italian ambassador and asked that Il Duce tell Somoza how to follow the ways of the Italian fascist tyrant. One would have thought that this could have been used to restore democracy to Nicaragua. But no, support of the tyrant against the red demons was more important to United States policy than freedom or a decent life for Nicaraguans.

Other essential captured Italian intelligence materials suffered the same fate as did the German materials. With Italy, there seems to have been an added purpose, to help facilitate the penetration of Italian industry for American ownership.

As with The Watergate, where government withheld so much vital information, there is an Italian parallel here recalled to help the reader's evaluation of the way in which government works.

When Italian partisans captured Mussolini and his mistress, both soon strung by their toes, they also captured ~~many of his personal effects~~ numerous suitcases including that held Mussolini's personal records, stockholdings, things like that. Trusting Americans, they turned this prime intelligence over to our forces. I was not alone in tracing the microfilms of Mussolini's records to the Pentagon. An economist of French birth, in economic-warfare intelligence, duplicated it. Neither he nor I were ever able to examine this intelligence. We could not, in fact, get an admission of what

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we knew, that the microfilm had reached military headquarters in Washington.

To United States policy-makers, it was more important to protect the fascists of all nations so they could be used in the struggle against Russia than being prepared for. That the Soviet Union had been devastated to the point where it could not dream of launching any kind of war was immaterial. Vast areas of the Soviet heartland were wasteland. Estimates of human losses of that time were about 20,000,000. But despite what had been Roosevelt's policy, once he was dead an anti-Soviet policy had been secretly arrived at and whatever seemed expedient to foster it was done. If it is meant protecting the enemy, the enemy was protected.

It happened outside Europe, too, with more than Nicaragua. Argentina is another case.

Peron, today the hero of those he ~~is~~ called "the shirtless ones", began as a military dictator during World War II. He was helped to a great extent by Nazis, who dominated Argentine industry and exerted considerable influence in military and political circles. We had two different projects to prepare studies of Nazi influence in Argentina and on Peron. I was part of both. The first was before the end of hostilities in Europe, the second just before the organizational meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco.

For the first study, because of my experiences investigating Nazi cartels, the economic part of the study was mine. The complete study was prepared for a Western Hemisphere conference in Chapultepec, Mexico, in advance of the coming establishing of the United Nations. Between the time the study was started and the time it was completed, The Soviet Union policy had changed. ~~Russia~~ became the secret enemy. We were, however, still at war. Germany was still an enemy when the project began. A really definitive study of a Nazi Argentine was prepared for Chapultepec, where the United States delegation was headed by New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, then an Undersecretary of State.

The study was never used. Argentina's dictatorship was suddenly in favor again, to become part of the anti-Soviet bloc being built.

With the end of the war in Europe, when the study was redone, I was initially in

charge of the military aspects. As I had time to think it over, I came to believe that with the altered world situation, use of such a study was bad United States policy. I believed that public use would result in a ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Latin American clamor about Yankee Imperialism. So, when my view was not accepted, ~~ix~~ in the ancient tradition of public service, I asked to be relieved of the assignment and I was. Had I not been, it would have been incumbent upon me to resign.

The second study was released as a "Blue Book." It was, indeed, greeted with cries of "Yankee Imperialism", most of all by the Communist Parties in Latin America. The criticism was correct. United States policy was self-destructive.

This national policy aimed internationally against the Soviet Union had domestic concomitants. President Harry Truman started a "loyalty" program, an official ^{Republican} domestic intelligence operation aimed at government employees. When in 1969, Richard Nixon secretly started his own domestic intelligence, spying against Americans, he was not the initiator. He copied on a larger scale what the Democrat, Truman, had begun before World War II had come to an end. And when Richard Nixon built a political career on nothing but red phobia, he was not only parroting Martin Dies. He was exploiting for personal gain and for domestic purposes exactly what national policy was doing internationally.

Even the FBI was part of it. Among the first Nazi archives captured, before military interception of them began, there was much incriminating information about native American Nazis. This included hundreds of their letters to Germany. When I received these things, I phoned the FBI, to give it copies. It could not have been more indifferent. It worried about "reds" mostly ~~ix~~ imagined, not Nazis. Hoover was perhaps the first important man in the United States government to be controlled by fear of what he regarded as "Communist."

Most FBI agents at the time of The Watergate were Hoover's selectees, those Hoover trained and indoctrinated. The stamp of his red-tinged mind is on everything FBI I have ever seen, thousands upon thousands of pages of FBI reports and other documents.

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Shakespeare's words in the fourth act of All's Well That Ends Well are appropriate:

'Tis not the many oaths that makes the truth,
But the plain, simple vow that is vow'd true.

It is not the statistics that establish truth, or even establish that the FBI conducted what can honestly be called an investigation, in the JFK assassination or in The Watergate investigation.

With Nixon's troubles, his attorney general resorted to the Hooverian device, citing the alleged number of agents on the case and the alleged numbers of reports and interviews.

But he did not vow the plain, simple ~~truth~~ truth. He could not. Instead he quit.

This was his one honorable act, as we shall see.

so also are other writers of the past,
As Shakespeare's wisdom is revelant to understanding, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~,
particularly those I found ~~xxxxxx~~ pretinent in the JFK work. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~xxxxxxxx~~ In Alice in Wonderland, things are other than they are said to be.

In The Purloined Letter, the missing letter can't be found because it is out in the open, unhidden.

And in George Orwell, especially 1984 and The Animal Farm, Lee Harvey Oswald's favorite book, there is understand of governments and of Authoritarianism, wherever it appears. Orwell meant to include more than fascism. In practise, his 1984 seems to even be ~~xxxxxx~~ more the Nixonian bible than it had been that of the assassination investigators.

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The FBI has ~~xxxxxx~~ simple ways of controlling what investigations produce. They don't ask the right and necessary questions so they don't get the right and necessary answers. They don't interview the right witnesses, so they avoid unwanted evidence. They don't report what is inconsistent with predetermined conclusions, so nobody else in the bureaucracy know it. And if for their own purposes the "raw" reports must include unwanted evidence, they then "summarize" the reports for distribution, omitting what they want to keep secret.

All these things were done in the investigation of the JFK assassination and were faithfully duplicated in The Watergate.

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Most of my work in recent years has been a study of the assassination of President Kennedy. This means I studied the FBI, for it did most of the investigating. That investigating was dominated by two things: supporting the preconception of the singular guilt of the accused Lee Harvey Oswald; and protecting the FBI and Hoover against criticism. ^{Truth} ~~Truth~~ was the first casualty. Policy - that a lone, alienated "red" had done the impossible - was the central consideration.

As an investigator I have interviewed witness after witness who had been interviewed by the FBI and not asked the right and obvious questions, or whose statements are not fully or fairly represented in the FBI reports. I have so many thousands of pages of these reports there are about 2,000 I have not yet had time to read. Witnesses do not see what the FBI reports, so they are unaware of how their information or they themselves are represented. Some ~~individuals~~ to whom I have given copies were astounded.

Despite some 25,000 FBI ~~interviews~~ interviews (averaging only a single page in length, ~~as reported!~~), many of the essential witnesses were never interviewed. Those ignored by the FBI include the Chief Criminal Deputy Sheriff of Dallas County, Texas, where the crime was committed. Yet he is the man who, among many other duties, immediately took control of all the known photographs of the assassination and the scene of the crime, of which there were thousands.

26A

When the FBI and its parent, the Department of Justice, suppressed what the law describes as "public information", information that cannot legally be withheld from the people, I began a series of suits under the law to obtain this suppressed information. Neither the FBI nor the Department of Justice nor, in fact, the entire executive branch of the government, really believes in the fundamental principle of a free society, the right of the people to know how the government operates. As that is clear ^{with} ~~in~~ the political assassinations, so also is it clear with The Watergate. Those who suppressed this public information when I sought it figure in some instances prominently in The Watergate, as shall become clear. The same ^{officials} people engaged in criminal activity in both cases.

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At there is no doubt about the professional competence of the FBI, there is no doubt that policy is the first consideration. There is also no doubt that politics, in the broad, non-party sense, dominates what the FBI does and does not do in what it regards as political cases. If this requires perjury, which is a crime, then perjury is committed. One of a number of instances in my lawsuits is before the federal courts as of the day of this writing. It will go to the Supreme Court, Nixon's Supreme Court, for he appointed enough members, including the Chief Justice, to control it in most decisions.

Federal criminality is not the invention of Richard Nixon. It is and has been the federal way when federal secrecy could hide federal criminality. As I wrote John Mitchell, an important Watergate personality, when he was still the Attorney General of the United States, "Who prosecutes the prosecutor" when the prosecutor commits crimes? Mitchell did not answer. Instead, he went on to commit the Watergate crimes then secretly begun. His protected prosecutors followed suit, committing more crimes, secure in the belief they would not be punished and knowing they served anti-democratic purposes, that they were, in fact, deeply subversive.

And, whatever had to be done and could be done to hide these crimes was done, as long as it could be done. ~~Even~~ Official lying, official hiding, official misrepresentation, never ended with The Watergate. It was not Richard Nixon's future alone that depended upon these things being done. Those of all involved in any way in the crimes or in the ~~murk~~ covering-up depended on there being no end to covering-up.

It is so clear that these federal crimes and dishonesties are not ~~the~~ invention that, when Lyndon Johnson was President, I titled the series of book on the ~~Kennedy~~ JFK assassination Whitewash. The second of the series, completed almost five years before The Watergate arrests, charged in the subtitle that the FBI had covered up.

Rather is Nixon the beneficiary of these crimes and dishonesties as well as the President who participated in them personally and developed them as all his predecessors had not been able to.

This Foreword, which is longer than I would prefer, is intended to serve a number of purposes. It is not designed as the rambling recollections of an aging man as he looks backward. Its purpose also is not merely to accredit me from the recalled experiences, although I believe these experiences meld into acceptable credentials.

There is the ~~Hebrew~~ Ecclesiastes intent in the title, The Past IS Prologue. ("...and there is nothing new under the sun.")

And there is the hope to prepare the reader for the totally incredible. The story of The Watergate and more, what it represents, is, to most minds, beyond belief. ^{Words} Adequate to describe it ~~words~~ are not in the dictionary. There has never been anything like it in the long and often glorious history of the United States.

The ~~average~~ average American trusts his government, reverses and trust his president, whoever he may be. All Americans should be able to. Richard Nixon, ~~was~~ re-elected with the largest vote any American had ever received, leaves no doubt that trust is not warranted. If this can be alleged against most ~~Presidents~~ Presidents, the difference in degree of justification is beyond measuring.

When all the institutions of government fail in time of crisis, ^{free} society's last hopes are the press and the people.

The press includes all writers, individuals without influence and power, or whom I am one, and such major institutions as The Washington Post. Without the dedication and perseverance of the Post against the most vicious Nixonian attacks, it is doubtful that what has become known would or could have been known -- ever.

But as there are limitations upon the individual writer, so also are there limitations upon major newspapers, limitations wealth and power cannot overcome. One is the tradition of newspapering, which requires the reporting of official lies without ~~and~~ calling them ~~and~~ what they are, lies. Another is the pressing, daily need to meet deadlines. Each edition must go to press at a predetermined time. Still another is indebtedness to sources, those who from principle or, as seems pertinent, lack of principle, supply that which newspapers report. Biting the feeding hand is never easy. ^{It} it is often unwise.

newspapers, by their nature and from tradition, cannot give context to stories of the complexity of The Watergate. Context, without which there cannot be full understanding, requires the length and unitary nature of a book.

More than a year after The Watergate had become daily front-page news, no single book - not even an irresponsible book- has appeared. This is easily understood, for after a year, it was still what in journalism is known as a "breaking story." The end was far in the future, not even within sight or estimation.

Contracts were made for "instant books" and soon broken when the "breaking story" problem seemed insurmountable.

Yet the working of representative societies requires that the people be informed, informed in a way that makes understanding possible. Without this there can be no true freedom and there is, inevitably, authoritarianism.

The use of the plural, "societies", is not accidental. With the power and influence of the United States, particularly with a Richard Nixon fingering the triggers of more than nuclear extermination, all the people of all countries should know and understand what has happened in the United States and what it can mean to them as well as to the people of the United States.

Richard Nixon became a besieged and desperate man, yet a man in a position to unleash the most awesome powers, literally and figuratively, militarily and politically.

There can be no doubt that every intelligence agency of every country in the world began the most comprehensive estimates and studies of what The Watergate represents and what its potential is and can be. This is the true function of intelligence, an essential function of all governments.

Each government, regardless of its form and policies, must first understand and then decide these meanings for itself. Each made initial determinations, each is constantly updating them, and each will continue to. None will or can ignore this, historically, journalistically and politically the greatest story in United States history.

It all begins with the intelligence analyst.

From spy thrillers and from the sensations of the daily press, there has come a

popular misconception, that spies are the essence of intelligence. Spies, one of whom is central in The Watergate, foster this fiction. In so doing they justify themselves and caress their egos. But it is fiction.

The heart and soul of intelligence is analysis, not spooking. And analysis is, or at least in my day was, at least 90% based on readily-available information that was properly collated and then properly interpreted.

Many if not most of the world's current troubles, for the western nations from the Soviet Union all the way around to Southeast Asia, can be laid directly at the feet of the spooks and their departments of dirty tricks. As this relates to the CIA, one of the best exposes is by two eminent United States reporters, David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, titled The Invisible Government.

From individual assassinations to the overthrow of undesired governments and including raising, equipping, paying and directing private armies, there is no limit on the department of dirty tricks. The CIA is so structured that it is impossible.

Do not believe the lies. Assassinations are committed. Agents are trained for this. Primitive as was OSS compared to the CIA, we had printed texts showing how to commit assassinations. We taught it, sometimes calling it "self defense," and we had crooks and murders as teacher of these black arts.

A planned assassination of a head of state is part of The Watergate story. The would-be assassin was in the White House. It will be told in what follows.

Government overthrows, ~~is~~ also part of The Watergate story, ~~they~~ will be recounted.

So, it seems that the best if not the only way to tell the story of The Watergate and to give the mind-boggling meaning and understanding is to do it as an intelligence analyst would, in the form of a book but in the manner of the analyst.

Often, almost invariably to begin with, the analyst must make tentative conclusions based on limited and inadequate information. This neither validates nor invalidates his tentative conclusions. He has no choice until all the facts are available.

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In doing his work, the analyst must discard what seems not to be essential when there is a plethora of information. He must also evaluate, deciding what is ~~gt~~ or appears to be true or false and what is or appears to be relevant or irrelevant.

Because The Watergate is the largest and the most complex story in the peacetime history of the world, there is more to evaluate, more to ~~reject~~ discard. And, of course, more chance for error.

The less his error, the better the analyst. But perfection is not a state of man. The analyst can only strive and hope to avoid error.

The end product of his work is what it means to those above him.

With the writer of non-fiction, the ~~extra~~ end is the meaning his work gives to his fellows.

It is for this that the writer labors.

And hopes.

3 (A+B)
extra space

~~Pick up with doctrine.~~

The writer owes self-disclosure to his readers. In order to evaluate his work, the reader must be able to evaluate the writer, to have some ^{conception} ~~understanding~~ of his beliefs. Only an intellectual eunuch can hold no beliefs. Some of mine are already disclosed. In advance of the main text, the reader is entitled to know the doctrine with which I begin.

My belief can be encapsulated as devotion to representative society and to individual freedom that is limited by the rights of others only.

The sensational crime of the Nixonian burgling of Democratic headquarters was neatly and succinctly described by a retired newspaperman friend, Jim White, as the single boil that burst.

(~~is~~ Jim and Jennifer Whitek have been helpful ~~knowxy~~ in many ways.)

The break-in is not the infection. Rather was it the disgusting ooze of corruption most of which remained hidden, spreading the infection, the infection that could be fatal.

The Nixonian apologist, Columnist Joe Alsop, calls The Wysergate "the horror." I like

31A

The fact is that in preparing to write this book, I ~~did~~ not once leave my home, as for personal investigations, an intelligence analyst would not be leaving his office. Personal investigations could have added more undisclosed fact. ~~Neither~~ the official investigations, of which there were many, nor the unofficial ones of the press, were in any sense thorough and complete. With the press this can be justified because of the extraordinary extra drain on staffs a story of this magnitude and complexity imposed. ~~For~~ the official investigations, I neither find nor offer excuses.

To give meaning and context to that long series of crimes against society and any rational concept of freedom that have come to be known as The Watergate, it is not necessary for a writer to dig up new fact. His task is too great with the existing and available fact. What is publicly available is too extensive for any single work, no matter how it might ~~stretch~~ stretch covers.

It was not at all difficult to anticipate developments, positions the principals would take, even the words the President would speak before he uttered them. Before I decided to write this book my notes ~~did~~ did these things with regularity and high accuracy. While I was writing it, as the Senate's hearings were held and as Nixon reacted to them, it was possible to read his mind, his tactics and his grand strategy with ease. Some passages were actually written in advance of the fact. This was not an idle vanity or an intellectual indulgence. Writers make notes for their own use and a careful analyst checks his own work, which is analysis. One way of doing this is to record the anticipation. If it does not come to pass, or if when it does he was in error, he knows his thinking was faulty.

For an old Nixon watcher, one with analytical experience, especially one who had studied official dishonesty and the unwritten dictionary, official semantics, this part was in no sense difficult. To record a high degree of accuracy is not to boast. It is, rather, another way of saying how tragic it is that after a year, no real effort was made to put it all together. This was not done in any book, magazine, newspaper or radio or TV show or series of shows of which I know. The people need help in putting

31B

it all together, ^{esle} representative society cannot ~~not~~ function and freedom as we have known it cannot endure. Putting it all together and doing what he can to help freedom endure are both obligations of the writer.

certainly forecast the end.

been reached, and there is no doctor who case be certain of cure or who can with
old ones. At this writing the fever has not broken, the height of the crisis has not
infection. The carrier is the main threat. The disease is a new one, a mutation of many
to the rest of the world. This single burst will threaten all of mankind with its
Since influenza, no infection in the United States does not threaten epidemic
Do we have the surgeons and the skills? The question is unanswered.

and healthier for its

grow slowly. If they are exposed in time, the body may heal and survive, sometimes stronger
cancers are like this. Some come undetected, grow fast and kill rapidly. Others
with great power, violence and virulence.

that single burst will. In those other lands, the native variants erupted like volcanoes,
Here the ~~infection~~ first sign of infection was the small proportion of pus from
was called Neisseria, in Italy fascism.

This infection is an uniquely American variant of the disease that in Germany

by and for the Executive.

totality of the corruption of the Constitution, the law and the machinery of government,
The greatest danger, the infection from which there was this slight ooze, is the
which this breach is only a small, if negligible part.

infection for which there is no readily-available political wonder drug is that of
However, the unequalled crime and the unequalled danger, the permanent, deadly
in our minds.

about 2 a.m. June 17, 1972, it would still be one of the most genuinely subversive crimes
Horror the Watergate certainly is. Were this no more than what was detected at
blinding of which the President himself is the victim.

and the consequent covering-up are all there really is, a combination of stupidity and
so many others, including "liberal" Establishmentarians, he pretends the caught crime
regrettable

