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The Analysts' Desk

Scant and skimpy as they were, it is certain that the first reports of this political exotica, Republicans caught inside Democratic headquarters triggered instantaneous reaction in every intelligency agency in the world, without doubt, even those of the United States. The extent of reaction would vary from nation to nation, depending on such factors as/its the nature of relations with the United States (and here the changed character of US relations with the USSR and China were a factor), its size and the extent of paranoia in each agency. Spooks tend to be paranoid, from the nature of the beast as well as that of the work.

In each agency, without the orders that soon would issue, whoever sat on the United States desk would immediately interest himself in this story. If the United States desk, in a large intelligence agency, was broken down into sections, like economic, political and military, each section, at least at the beginning and until policy was set, would follow the story as best he could, no matter how meager the initial information.

This, too, is the character of the analyst's job. Often major developments are signalled by the slightest clues, and he must anticipate major developments. An extreme example is an atomic bomb. Once the thing explodes, it is known that it exists. However, knowing before the explosion that a country is developing atomic capability is a necessary intelligence function. The indications may be almost invisible. And they may be public and not noticed.

From my own experience, I recall a minor illustration, of an event that was less than world-shaking.

For a short while, despite lack of fluency in Spanish, I sat on a Paraguay desk. Paraguay is a place of beauty that escaped being a paradise by the quality of its political life and ~~the~~ ^{its} primitive ~~and~~ economic development, complicated by a senseless war against a number of its neighbors, all larger and more powerful. Most ~~of~~ able-bodied Paraguayan men were killed in pointless personal and national bravery. Thereafter it was without a stable government or any semblance of political freedom. When there was stability there was dictatorship. Revolutions were not uncommon. Minor as Paraguay was in any

minor scale of ~~value~~ international values, it was necessary for the United States government to be aware of all developments, especially revolutions. Also unusual in those days was the fact that the rank and file of the Army was a major force for democracy within the country.

During one of these revolutions, when things were not going well for the dictatorship, the same one that lingers about four decades, with different dictators only and few of them, I noticed an obscure item in an Asuncion newspaper. Communication was nothing like what it is today in that era. The newspapers were flown up to Washington, in time-taking stages, the longest of which was getting the papers out of that landlocked country with limited internal and international communications.

That little news report set me to thinking. I turned in an analysis that had not been asked of me the conclusion of which was that there would be a change in command of the army loyal to the dictatorship and who the new military chief would be.

Within a short interval, it happened.

(As a side note on the CIA, then just established, its knowledge of Paraguay was so primitive its analysts couldn't identify the two major political parties. I recount this unimportant history for an important point: while it is sometimes necessary for an analyst to jump to conclusions, he must have a basis for them and if his judgement is less than it should be he can easily be quite wrong. In the midst of this revolution the CIA distributed a report on it and the two major parties, known as Colorado and Blanco, red and white. It identified the Colorado party, apparently based on no more than its color symbol, as the liberal one. It was, in fact, the party behind the military dictatorship, a native fascist party.)

So, the intelligence analyst is faced with instantaneous needs and inadequate information at the outset of almost any crisis. From less than complete data he must evolve a dependable analysis. It may change with the acquisition of additional data. Generally, it is updated, as need dictates.

As the essence of intelligence is analysis, not clandestine dirty tricks, so is the essence of analysis the extraction of meaning.

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The process within the ~~xxx~~ analyst's mind can be roughly compared with that of the newspaper reporter whose story must tell who, what where, when, why ^{sometimes} and how and whose ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "lead", or story opening, usually summarizes this information.

In order to extract the meaning of the event or development that takes his attention, the analyst seeks the answers to all possible questions ^{In doing this he /} and then asks himself questions. It is by this simple process that in practice can be enormously complicated that the analyst evolves and analysis.

When each learned ~~that~~ that the Republicans had been caught with their hands in Democratic pockets, so to speak, the end product of an instantaneous thought process was the question, "What does it mean?". The end product of the analysis would be the analyst's statement of the meaning he attributed to this act.

foreign intelligence analyst specializing in the United States
In virtually every case, because every ~~analyst~~ analyst can be assumed to be better informed than almost anyone in the United States, it can also be assumed that with incredulousness he immediately asked himself "why?", ~~that~~ knowing the political situation within the United States, each analyst, unless blinded by his own prejudices, knew that Nixon was the odds-on favorite. Each therefore also knew that in normal terms, in normal politics and situations, there was no need for such a crime. A superior analyst may well have been baffled by an utterly needless crime that could have had such seriously counter-productive consequences.

"Why" is always an important question. In this case, because the event seemed so completely senseless, it is more than usually important.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Assuming he is adequately prepared for his job, a country analyst has studied the country. He knows its history, customs, culture, pre-dominating attitudes, national trends in thought, in an academic sense knows the political parties better than most of that country's reporters, has a good grasp of its economy and the state of the economy, its military strength and the attitudes and conflicts within the military command. Because he will draw much of his information from the press, he will know its ownership, the political orientation of the ownership and how accurate its reporting has been. About the press it is likely that he will learn more on the job

than he did in college. His concerns will include the influence and the sources to which he can attribute what popular and widely-distributed write. A man like Jack Anderson would probably be a major study for a United States specialist, less because of the wide readership he has than because of the nature of his column and the inevitable truth that his sources are largely, if clandestinely official. But above all, the analyst will be expert in the political parties, concentrating more on the one in power.

And he will make a virtual career of knowing all there is to know about the leader of each country and the party in power.

All this knowledge will be in the mind of the analyst when any news about his country of specialty reaches him. This news will be like the input of a programmed computer when it reaches him.

Prior to the arrests of that early morning of June 17, 1972, the United States analyst will have learned that the Republican Party and the presidency had both changed radically under Richard Nixon. He will also know that the institution of the presidency had changed radically beginning with Franklin Delano Roosevelt, largely attributable to the fantastic growth of the country in all dimensions and the dramatically altered world situation.

As an example of the kind of factor that will figure in the analysis of a foreign analyst in assessing this ~~fix~~ crime as first report there is what is generally not in the minds of most Americans, that it is virtually automatic that an incumbent president is re-elected. Especially because none of the ~~XXXXXX~~ Democratic candidates for president had any mass base plus wide appeal will any dangerous act by or on behalf of Nixon capture the analyst's attention. It is foolhardy to jeopardize a sure thing.

In and of itself, this one factor would have startled every/intelligence analyst in ever country. That any Republicans ~~would~~ were caught in Democratic ~~head~~ national headquarters would titillate his antennae. That they were ~~the~~ a "Republican security chief, an unusual factor, plus four anti-Castro Cubans, another unusual factor, and that this is a truly strange combination, still, another and even more unusual factor, would electrify those antennae and I am sure it did.

By and large Castro-haters are Democrat haters. An immediate question would be had the Republicans mobilized this internal, dissident forces? A team of four anti-Castroites led, as would be presumed, whether or not accurately, by a Republican official?

Upon thought ~~inconsiderate~~ the analyst would immediately wonder if, despite the capture of the official, this was some kind of unofficial excess. It is the improbability of this crime having any official auspices that was first seized upon by all Republican spokesmen as their excuse. These men, the proclaimed, were "self-starters." For a long time this excuse had some credibility within the United States, witness the election results. It did not last long in foreign intelligence circles, for within a matter of days evidence of almost positive disproof was incontrovertible, evidence provided by the stupidity, arrogance and carelessness of the Vubans ~~in~~ and their mentor, indeed, their ~~god~~, Hunt.

Hunt, in my view, is a much more significant figure in the crime and that of which a catalogue of crimes~~x~~ not duplicated in our two centuries of national life. it was a minor part, /As analysts could have undertaken to do as soon as his name surfaced, particularly because of how it surfaced, we shall examine him separately and at length.

But primarily and early in ~~his~~ analysis, the past and the character of Richard Nixon would be recalled and reassessed. Had he gone crazy? Had the party and its control fallen into insane hands? If this crime was connected with the party leadership or with Nixon, what in the world could they be up to? What could they possibly expect to find of value in Democrat files, what could they possibly hope to overhear that could begin to justify the great risks involved in what was at first called a "caper" like this really farout one?

The answer, obviously, is nothing in the context of the political realities, that Nixon was a probable shoo-in.

And here what connects the crime to the White House also focuses attention even more on Nixon. In any close following of factual developments, the immediate lies about what connected the crime to the White House, even in the absence of other proofs that

were available soon enough, tended to bind the crime and the White House even closer. Why should it lie? Why should it continue to lie, to evade, never to stop either dishonesty?

What was permitted to be known in the first few days after the capture was controlled by the police. In every capital city, the police have special political problems. They learn to live with and to survive these problems, to cope with the special situations. What can be kept secret in a country supposedly open is astounding. From my youth I have never forgotten the exposure of ~~xxxxx~~ an investigative reporter of that day, William Hard, that as a United States Senator the man who was later President Warren G. Harding was caught in a New York City whorehouse. His plea of Senatorial immunity was honored, he was let go, and there was no publicity. Otherwise there would never have been a Republican candidate Harding, a Republican President Harding, and no Capitol Dome scandal that, for the first time, put a member of a president's cabinet in jail. (A second escaped conviction by the skin of his teeth. He was guilty as a common grafter in a case of bribery involving a valuable, nationally-owned oil deposit.)

Washington's police have a special, extra problem. There is no local self-government. The administration is appointed by the president, in this case, Nixon's appointees ran the city.

However, the press, particularly The Washington Post, was persistent. And the police and the city's administration have to live with the press, too. The press can make their lives miserable. Besides, by law, even though the law is bent and broken, some evidence of crimes is required to be available.

The link that was to be a lock to the White House, that arrogance and stupidity of the Cubans and Hunt, was known to the police, who kept it secret, from the moment of the arrest. The Cubans had room keys. All hotels are identified on the tabs to which the keys are attached. The persons and the rooms of the Cubans were overloaded with the most incriminating evidence.

Hunt

~~Hunt~~ did escape, if his escape was unmanly and undignified, not in the manner of an experienced spymaster but in the abject terror of the coward. But he was linked to the crime more positively than fingerprints and other evidence could have. If he, like those caught in the act, wore surgical gloves, he left no prints. Prints would have meant further investigation only. The captured evidence eliminated all the early stages of investigation. They placed Hunt right smack in the White House.

In that whole motley crew that is known - there are others still unknown - McCord is the one thoroughly professional operative. That he was captured is because he was too authoritarian minded, too accustomed to the unquestioning discipline of the chain of command. In all of this he is guilty of but a single departure from sound intelligence practise, an error his FBI training and experience and his longer and successful career in the CIA should have warned him against.

He was the electronics expert, the tapper and the bugger. That should have been a separate operation. He should never have permitted himself to be part of a virtual invasion Army, lest of all of such undependable types as recanched Cubans.

McCord, the solid, unflamboyant pro, did take the necessary precautions. He divested himself of all identifications, leaving all personal property and all that could identify him with Baldwin. It is the accident of recognition by a policeman that knew him that led to his immediate identification. In the end, because this was a case that couldn't be fixed, it made no difference, but his procedure were professional.

It is a little-known reality of intelligence that the flamboyant and attention-getting aspects of intelligence are rarely the productive ones. Hunt is the self-conceived dashing type. His successes of the past were disasters. The ~~max~~ foundation of successful intelligence service is the stolid types like McCord, those who do things with care and by the book.

The Hunts are the storybook types. He, in fact, lived ~~at~~ a special/false and artificial James Bondery of his own in four scores of spy thrillers he wrote during his two decades of spooking. These fictions made him the hero in his own mind, in his secret inner life that did not exist.

(This fairly large sum is exclusive of about \$1,700,000 that was contributed to the Committee to Re-elect the President in cash prior to the April 7, 1973 date on which a new election law became effective. More than a third of the approximately \$550,000,000 collected for Nixon's re-election or about \$19,000,000 was in hand by April 7 in an effort to frustrate the public-disclosure provisions of both law, the old and the new, the Nixon scheme to keep the sources of his war-chest secret. On July 24, 1973 the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, which is Washington, held that full disclosure had to be made, that the secrecy was outside the law. As will become apparent, these large sums in cash as well as what remained from Nixon's 1968 campaign, in itself a King's ransom, were available for and were used for illicit purposes.)

What is called "cut-offs" is standard operating procedure in intelligence operations. The Republicans sought to cut themselves off, to isolate themselves, from this tainted \$114,000. While it is a large sum, it is peanuts compared to the total of \$50,000,000 in Republican campaign funding a rather large percentage of which was tainted. Of ~~this~~ this \$114,000, \$89,000 had been passed ~~thru~~ through a Mexican bank, another cut-off that was called "laundering." When this had already been done, it ~~was~~ is beyond belief that this and an additional \$25,000, all in checks, was then passed through Barker's account. The patriots, as they called themselves, were not above skimming. For this passage of funds ~~they~~ they took \$2,500, and nobody asked any questions.

"Patriotism", too, has its price.

The Cubans were Hunt's men, his contribution to the operation, still another in

his long career of disasters.

Where McCard did not, save against leaving

fingerprints. Their carelessness, never excusable and less excusable given their long

training and experience in dirty-tricks operations and Hunt's leadership, made finger-

prints de trop.

In any rational operation they would have done as McCard did, leave all identifications

in a safe place. Even labels would have been removed from clothing if labels could have

led to correct identifications. Their rooms were not secure. An acceptable place was

the car they had rented on arriving at Washington National Airport the preceding

afternoon. (For these characters only an expensive and eye-catching Chrysler would do.)

The trunk of that car was a fairly safe place, with the keys hidden outside the rooms,

not on their persons, another simple matter. If ~~keys~~ caught, confederates not caught

could have removed the car and the evidence. Three were available for this simple task,

Hunt, Liddy and Bal dwln.

But no, not for Macho, the Cuban leader, Bernard L. Barker, whose real-life

nickname he wears proudly. It translates from the Spanish as he-man. This concept of

manhood comes from the Hitler era. Swashbuckling, arrogance and dependence upon raw

power are not authentic manhood.

in \$100 bills/
Those \$5,300/with which Macho's pockets were stuffed were more than enough to

link the crime and the Republican hierarchy. To make it inevitable, this animated

stupidity and his stupid bosses had passed \$114,000 in secret Republican campaign

funds through Barker's bank account in Miami's

did

The tracing, a simple and unavoidable police chore, ~~was~~ not ~~taken~~ taken long.

insert 84

Of all the redundant and incriminating identifications the Cubans carried into

the hands of the police, all but one can be ignored. This one is addressbooks in the

possession of two. Both had Hunt's name, his locate at the White House, even his

secret telephone number.

6

One was enough.

Under the XXX Hs there are four listing fors Hunt, three properly identified. The ~~fourth~~first, "Howard Hunt" says after it "W - House" (sic) and after that, beginning with the area code, 202, the White House number.

Under the "W - House" is "HOME", and the Maryland area code and Hunt's home phone in suburban Potomac, a home he calls "Wirch's Island.").

Next is "1700 Penn Ave Suite 770, followed by the special Hunt phone in that suite in the offices that shall occupy our attention later.

Indented under this is "GEORGE", which turned out to be the name by which Liddy was known. He is George Gordon Liddy, but he prefers to be known as Gordon. His personal number in the CREEP offices, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, accross from Hunt's 1700 business office.

It took several months before another Hunt phone was detected, not necessary in connecting him and the spy apparatus to the White House. However, because of the unusual nature of the precautions against detection and the futility of it, what he did is worth noting.

Beginning August 1971

He arranged for the only one in the entire complex of White House offices for which there was private, clandestine billing. Yet he did that in a way that led to him. and Liddy's

He had the phone billed to the home of his secretary, Kathleen Chenow. Long-distance calls to that number, 202/347-0355 led to Miss Chenow. She had no reluctance in talking. That phone in the secret basement suite in the Executive Office Building, on the third corner of the same intersection, "was Dr. Hunt's phone. It was out in for me to answer and take messages for him...an average of three times a week" from a caller identifying himself as Bernard Barker." Porr security, that!

She

She remembers Hunt using that phone to call "Barker and his wife - nobodt else."

She did not pay the bills herself. She forwarded them to "John Campbell of the Domestic Council...so the White House would pay them."

Carl Bernstein and Vob Woodward devoted more than two full columns to details of the use of this secret Hunt-Liddy phone in the issue of December 8, 1972. In it they tied

many others in the White House to participation in and knowledge of the Hunt operation. Two of the more interesting are David ~~XXXXX~~ Young, of Henry Kissinger's National Security staff, and Charles Colson, special counsel to the President, Hunt's long-time friend and the man who pressed him upon the White House.

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Although what people read need not indicate their beliefs, often what they do read can be taken as an accurate guide to their interests. On their safari, these four Cubans and others who may have eluded the police had ~~the~~ bits of reading matter that are reasonably subject to evaluation and interpretation.

For what reason they carried newspaper clippings on an operation of this delicate nature can only be conjectured, but ~~maxifcthraxxxx~~ Room 214 yielded a story headed, "The Russians May Be Spying", from National News. Doesn't every country, including the United States? Hadn't and weren't these Cubans, at that very moment?

Or, an advance clue that on the subject of the USSR they were turned on, it not paranoid.

Lamia, titled in the French manuscript Le Reseau Topaz, was there, too.

The author is a real g bug on Russians. Aside from reasonable apprehensions, he sees them under beds and in clouds. *"Lamia" was his code name*

He is Phillippe ^YThraud de Vosjoli, a jazzed-up version of the name to which he was born designed to give him aristocratic class, according to mutual friends in Washington's French colony. I had met him casually and accidentally in his semi-secret office building near Dupont Circle, in Washington, toward the end of the 1950s when I was there to see others in French intelligence. I did not know him. I do know his book, written earlier and published in 1970. It was not a current book at the time of The Watergate break-in, having been "remaindered" or closed out long before then.

De Vosjoli spent a life-time as a French spook, ~~antizhazwaschastigandxtuzhashington,~~ ~~antizhazwaschastigandxtuzhashington,~~ ~~antizhazwaschastigandxtuzhashington,~~ beginning in World War II in what finally grew into the Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionage. Like its United States counterpart, CIA, it is known by its ~~xxxx~~ initials, SDECE, pronounced s-dick-ih. After he was assigned to Washington as United States station chief, which made him chief of

for 12 years.

French intelligence in the United States. His career is that of a double-agent, working for the CIA also. He claims to be the hero who uncovered Russian missiles in Cuba, a claim disproved by the official United States account but enough to make the book and movie Topaz, which made him rich when he got half the royalties from its author, Leon Uris. De Vosjoli, a far-right in his views, was strongly anti-Castro, perhaps enough to interest violently anti-Castro Cubans in it if not enough to account for carrying it so long after its appearance and on such a mission, when the work was night work, leaving little or no time for reading.

Aside from the anti-Castro content, for which the book is best known, and its accounts of Russian spying in France, real or fancied or both, also extensive and emphatic, it has much on the inner workings and personality and political conflicts within SDECE, to which he made major contributions. One of these inner workings may have been relevant to the Cuban's interest as it may also be to the overall story of The Watergate. SDECE's patriots, not above side-deals for their own benefit, also engaged in smuggling to help finance espionage activities. Especially did they smuggle from Southeast Asia, whose "Golden Triangle" is the source of about 75% of the heroin shot by United States addicts.

Between the time of the writing of the book and the finding of the Cuban's copy in The Watergate, at least one such smuggling operation, involving a French intelligence man, was intercepted in New York, resulting in one of the larger captures of heroin. In turn, that led to chaos among users, for the supply was suddenly diminished.

Meanwhile, soon after the United States accepted all the anti-Castro who ~~wanted~~ ~~known~~ left Cuba, these anti-Castro Cubans moved into the east coast heroin business. Today they are a major factor in it, no secret.

The inference that these Cubans were part of The Watergate and later became incontrovertible, other domestic-intelligence operations, all involving criminality, inside the United States, for ulterior purposes, is the actuality. On May 24, 1973, Bernard Barker, their leader, swore it was for "Cuban freedom." During the trial that, belatedly, followed capture, the United States Attorney for Washington alleged what was irrelevant to his

and in context a gross and deliberate deception, a calculated misrepresentation on motive, that they had been engaged in blackmail.

(Intercepted phone conversations in one case was susceptible of use in blackmailing.)

As could be safely assumed, the covering-up began with the arrests. Hunt's identity and White House connection was discovered with the first glance at the address book. Washington's police immediately informed the Secret Service. Secret Service agent _____ Boggs immediately informed Nixon's assistant for domestic affairs John Ehrlichman, who might be described as Nixon's second right-hand man, second to H.R. "Bob" Haldeman. Ehrlichman can hardly be called a left hand or anything else other than right, far right. Ehrlichman, it also later turned out, was a sort of spy-master within the White House. One of the hidden secrets is that he was in actuality boss of this operation's, ~~whifex~~ Hunt and Liddy, whose function as spy-master for The Committee to Re-Elect the President as of the time of his arrest was public knowledge within days of the arrest, both worked under Ehrlichman. Ehrlichman authorized criminal activity, such as second-story jobs, on behalf of the President. The justification was "national security."

The attempt to cover up covered everything and never ended. It involved everybody, including Nixon, who also never ceased his efforts. One of the first and most successful was the pretense that Hunt was not a White House employee at the time of this caught criminal activity. It was ~~misrepresented~~ so successful that more than a year later the press and some of the members of a special Senate investigation were still referring to Hunt as an agent of the re-election committee, something he never was. He was working for the White House in two capacities and had been for several years.

No competent analyst would have been deceived by the thin cover, as I had not been.

There is a good law that I have used often in efforts to obtain suppressed information from the government. It is known as the "Freedom of Information Law," in the law books 5 U.S.C. 552. From use and from acting as my own attorney in one case, I knew the precedents. When the White House had taken the step necessary for me to invoke this law, I made formal request for the records of Hunt employment.

John ~~W.~~ W. Dean III, then Counsel to the President and later a sensational witness.

beginning on May 25, 1973 a sensational witness in marathon testimony before this same Senate committee, in refusing me this information, actually confirmed that Hunt was on the White staff and in its pay. *Extra Space*

Use and attempted use of this law had given me extensive contact with and personal insight into the minds and characters of a number of official principals in The Watergate affair, including two former Attorneys General and ~~two~~ ^{two} acting heads of the FBI. It has also left no ~~doubt~~ ^{doubt} that mendacity is the official way of life, that contempt for the law is official policy and that these are men who do not and cannot feel shame. ~~It is apparent that nothing matters to them except~~ This personal and official arrogance is so insensitive that in one of my freedom of information suits, where I sought what the law describes as public information and letting me have it would prove the dishonesty of the FBI, Department of Justice lawyers maneuvered themselves into the position where they had to certify to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia that the then Attorney General was a liar and a repetitive liar.

This seemed to embarrass nobody. The press ignored it for it then also had an official position, that this law, enacted for its benefit, primarily, by the Congress, was too cumbersome.

These four top Nixon law-enforcement officials all committed or tolerated and condoned perjury and the subornation of perjury in these suits alone, matters of official record in the federal courts. All were participants as defendants or as counsel to the defendant. The names of all are signed to official papers also part of the court records. ^{Three} ~~The~~ were forced into unintended retirement by The Watergate. These are Attorneys General John Newton Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst, the officially-certified liar; and Acting Directors of the Federal Bureau of Investigation L. Patrick Gray. The fourth, ^{is} Nixon's "Mr. Clean and house "liberal" William Ruckelshaus, acting chief of the ~~nation's top~~ "law and order" Nixon Administration from the time Gray's own criminal activity forced abandonment of the effort to have him confirmed into permanent appointment, until a new permanent head/^{Clarence M. Kelley,} could meet with the approval of the Senate, as the law requires.

What forced Gray's abandonment by Nixon is his personal destruction of incriminating

This case, which will be precedent under the new law, is on its way to the Supreme Court.)

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Long before deciding to write this book, because I had knowledge of some of the principals, I provided information to reporters and to political figures whose responsibilities at various stages required them to have knowledge of the case. One of these correspondents, when Gray's nomination ran into serious trouble in the Senate, phoned to credit the copies I provided with the ultimate Gray exposure, his confession on the witness stand that he had destroyed evidence in Nixon's interest. If this evidence might have helped the Senators in other way, it was not responsible for the end of the career of L. Patrick Gray as head of the FBI.

What actually happened is that on April 15, Gray had confessed ^{in full,} to Nixon and ^{John} Ehrlichman, his domestic-affairs adviser. Neither did anything, preferring, in Ehrlichman's brutal metaphor, to let Gray "turn slowly, slowly, slowly into the wind." Gray had wanted his nomination withdrawn. If he did it himself, it would be an affront to the President. Nixon would not do it. He preferred that ^{punishment} Gray take the ~~next~~ for him and to seem to be separated from the terrible thing Gray had done for him. So, for ten more days he kept Gray dangling from the yardarm, turning ^{and painfully} painfully and slowly/in the winds of obloquy, an embarrassment to him and his family and friends, as it was an agony.

So, Gray phoned his friend, the junior Senator from his home state, Connecticut, Lowell Weicher. Weicher was a Republican member of the Senate Select Committee to Investigate the Election of 1972. When Gray confessed all to him, Weicher was confronted with a conflict of interest, between his feelings for his friend Gray and his duty as a Senator, a citizen and a member of this committee. Weicher would not follow Nixon's course of silence and covering-up, however. It took him about 36 hours to resolve the conflict and end Gray's torture. Gray confessed to him on April 25. Two days later it all came out, when Gray was a witness before the Judiciary committee, under questioning by Democratic Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia, the assistant Democratic leader in the Senate. Gray's candidacy ended officially the next day.

This was deliberate on Nixon's part, as became known because Ehrlichman was in the self-bugging business, tapping his own phone. He tapped a conversation he had with Dean the end of the first week of March, 1973. It is he reported how Gray was doing a job for Nixon, by suppressing, in his testimony at the confirmation hearing. This is Dean's description:

"Yes, ~~he's~~ he's really hanging tough. You ought to read the transcript. He makes me gag."

Ehrlichman. Really?

Dean. Oh, it's awful, John.

Dean concluded this report by telling Ehrlichman he had discussed this with Nixon:

"..I was in with the boss this morning and that is exactly where he was coming out. He said, 'I'm not sure Gray is smart enough to run the Bureau the way he is handling himself.'"

"The way he is handling himself" was doing his loyal best for Nixon, taking the heat for him. The servile Gray had held the FBI in check, prevented investigations, delayed them, leaked them to the White House so they could be countered. There was nothing too dangerous to his confirmation, no risk to his personal reputation he would not run for Nixon, for whom he had been covering.

Gray could not be confirmed.

Long before this Nixon knew there was no chance for confirmation. ~~XX~~ He did nothing to replace Gray, nothing to relieve the pain Gray was bearing for him and for him alone. ^{Gray was taking the heat for him;} The replacement, Ruckelshaus, was at hand. It was not that there was need to decide upon and check a replacement out.

Gray's performance as Watergate chief investigator and as self-sacrificing Senate witness inevitably suggests he was made FBI director so Ehrlichman, who dominated him, would become Nixon's secret national chief of police, with the national police becoming more a secret political police.

66A Watergate evidence, incriminating to the White House. The true nature of some of what Gray destroyed and that of which it was part will here be discussed for the first time as the story develops. If it is true, as it is true, that Gray's predecessor as FBI chief, J. Edgar Hoover, was responsible for the destruction of evidence - and my investigations into the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy proves this - he did not, personally, destroy that evidence. (It was destroyed because had it not been and had it been made available, the purposes of one of my suits, it would have destroyed the official solution that that crime, properly called "the crime of the century.") In a system of law-enforcement and of justice that through the years has often enough been tainted by official corruption, financial as well as political, Gray's crime is without precedent. Richard Nixon was its beneficiary.

Gray's sole qualification for this important post, one through which the country can be largely controlled because it is the equivalent of police chief for the nation, is that he was completely ~~the~~ ^{Nixon's} lackey, ~~and~~ ^{and} a man without question or doubts, capable of anything he was told by anything ~~that~~ ^{served} the President's personal interest, even whim, of the moment. He was without law-enforcement experience of any kind, had been a professional military man, and had established himself as a loyal sycophant in Nixon's political service and in the post that was his reward, Deputy Attorney General, the position he held when he was signatory to some of the papers in my suits.

66B If I am by no means certain it is the fact, one of the correspondents to whom, along with a number of Senators, I supplied copies of my correspondence in the steps preliminary to going to court for the information the White House was suppressing believes it was instrumental in encouraging the Senate to persevere in close examination of Gray that resulted, ultimately, in his confession on the witness stand, before the Senate committee considering his nomination.

What is also surprising is the large number of ~~my~~ correspondents who did nothing when I supplied them with the leads that led to three other sensations in The ~~the~~ Watergate mess, each of which we shall consider. One became a major sensation in a story unequalled in its sensations. It deals with Nixon's personal gain from public moneys.

(Sadistic thoughts and their expression preceded practise by Nixon and in Nixon's White House when they were never expected to become public knowledge. The/way of political life was not limited to Ehrlichman and Dean, either. Nor was Pat Gray its only victim. savage, vindictive

(A. Ernest Fitzgerald is an honest man who had brought to the attention of another Senate Committee the wholesale, multimillion dollar plumering of the public treasury by military contractors, presented and approved as "cost overruns." Neither the military nor Nixon liked this. Both were seriously embarrassed by it, most of all because it was irrefutably true. It is to highly-paid jobs ~~that the military's top brass retires~~ with these corporations that the military's top brass retires. The militarists thus enjoy great wealth, first from the munificence of the tax-payers directly, from generous retirement pay and benefits, then from the tax-payers all over again as executives of the corporations, generally dealing with those who had been their subordinates in the military. And these are the corporations from which come the most generous political contributions, again, the money initiating in the public till.

(If this kind of dishonesty embarrasses any administrations, and there is some of it in all. it reach a new high under Nixon and no administration had ever made the public protestions of probity he and his did.

(Before Alexander P. Butterfield distinguished himself in a separate Nixonian scandal, that of the secret tapes, he had been a Deputy Assistant to the President. From there he was one of many spidered into the operating branches of government to exercise more dictatorial control for Nixon, as Federal Aviation Administrator, another post of importance to large corporations, which are much influenced by the FAA's decisions, in which what the public pays and how safely it flies is juxtaposed against corporate profits.

(On January 20, 1970, as Nixon's deputy assistant, Butterfield wrote the man who was actually ~~an~~ Assistant President, staff director H.R. Haldeman, about Fitzgerald. He began by paying tribute to Fitzgerald's professional competence, calling him a "top" man in his field, as indeed he was. But in the light of Fitzgerald's vain attempt to

impede this plundering of the Treasury, as Butterfield put it, he must be given very low marks on loyalty. And loyalty is the name of the game [meaning in the White House and the executive branches and to Nixon]. So, "We should let him bleed a while at least."

(It happened, too. Fitzgerald's bleeding was very public and not for a little while only. Finally, the ax fell. Fitzgerald was one a series of dedicated public servants who were "bled" by Nixon for exposing official corruption. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~)

(This case was one too much for Clark Mollenhoff, another Special Assistant to the President. Mollenhoff, ^{a conservative by belief,} a lawyer by training and a deservedly honored reporter who had spent much of his career exposing graft and corruption, had been hired by Nixon with a great show and given the duty of the public's ombudsman. In practise he was often a Nixon ax-man when it came to ~~defeating~~ performance of his unannounced role as Nixon's ombudsman, when Nixon's incredibly unsuited nominations for high office ran into opposition. Mollenhoff tried and tried to effectuate justice in the Fitzgerald case. Although "Special Counsel to the President", he was unable to get even a slip of paper to him. Haldeman et al., keeper of the portal to the inner sanctum, cut them all off. In the end Mollenhoff cut his stomach back where it belonged and took himself back to where he belonged, quitting the White House in disgust and resuming his career as Washington correspondent ~~journalist~~ for the Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Tribune and author of a syndicated column.)

Perhaps part of the explanation lies in the growing American trend to regard the President, whoever he may be, as our own special kind of royalty. The American Revolution of two centuries earlier was an anti-monarchical, anti-authoritarian revolution, one of man's major forward steps in his ageless quest for personal freedom. It was the intent of that revolution, its leaders and those who established the republican form of government it made possible that this be a non-authoritarian society. The tendency to revere the ~~present~~ president much as though he were some special kind of royalty coincides with the growth of advertising into the major industry it has become.

There is no country in that part of the world calling itself free other than the United States in which the government could have survived the initial Watergate scandals, small a part as they are of the entire deep subversion known by this generic.

extra space.

The Freedom of Information law has specific exemptions to the democratic intent records of the that ~~the~~ actions ~~and~~ of the government be accessible to the people. One of these, properly in my view, assures the right of personal privacy. However, if the government, for any reason, waives any of the nine exemptions, the citizen is then entitled to that otherwise exempt information. The decision of the federal court in a suit against the government, known as American Mail Lines v. Gulick, holds that any use waives the exemptions.

Through one of its official spokesmen, Ken Clawson, earlier a reporter for The Washington Post, the White House lied about its employment of E. Howard Hunt. I knew this was a lie because I understood the traditional official semantics. Clawson, while falling just short of saying precisely this, deceived the press into believing that Hunt was not an employee of the White House at the time of the caught criminal ~~at~~ act. This is a distinction without a real meaning that the White House has consistently exploited.

The logic the situation was and I was certain that ^{the} Hunt was working for the White House at the time his men were caught in The Watergate. However, until the White House made reference to ^{the} Hunt's employment, the effort to get the records of

the record of post-March 29, 1972 employment only. Dean confirmed this post-arch employment in citing his reason for refusing to supply copies of the records:

The information which you seek has been turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is a part of its investigatory files."

Without so intending, Dean involved the Justice Department in the covering-up and seemed to say that either "White House employment was a crime or that there was a case against the White House;

Since any of the material provided to the FNI could be used as evidence in the criminal prosecution of charges against Mr. Hunt, the Department of Justice has requested that none of it be publicly disclosed prior to completion of that prosecution."

L. Patrick Gray was doing his duty to Nixon. ~~Hunt's White House employment~~
The duration - even the fact - of Hunt's White House employment was irrelevant in the prosecution. Dutiful Richard Kleindienst and those subordinate to him, to a man, had seen to it that this was all omitted from the indictment of the previous month.

Thus the involvement of the White House in The Watergate crimes, if in no other way through the act of its agent, ^{Hunt,} was exculpated by ~~the~~ Nixon's henchmen who control the processes of government who simply ignored it.

The ploy worked in other ways, too, for the lies, deceptions and misrepresentations that merely began with this and never ended, took hold. Another of the distinctions without meaning is the pretense that Hunt worked for the Committee to Re-elect the President, not the White House. That committee was the President's personal creature. He ~~was~~ created it and used it instead of the Republican National Committee. It meant that Hunt was Nixon's agent during his crimes anyway. But the pretense of White House separation from the crimes begun by Clawson (soon enough rewarded by promotion) took hold so well that more than a year later, well-informed reporters and even Senators on the investigating committee were referring to Hunt as a Committee to Re-elect the President employee rather than Nixon's personal agent, part of his White House personal staff.

One of the few things appropriate in all of this is the acronym by which some of the employees of this Committee to Re-elect the President called it, CREEP. In American slang, creep is an uncouth, undesirable, loathsome person.