

MORMON SPIES, HUGHES and the C.I.A.



By Jerald and Sandra Tanner

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MORMON SPIES, HUGHES and the C.I.A.

During 1973, as the details of the Watergate cover-up began to unfold, we were struck with the many parallels to Mormon history. On November 11, 1973, the *Salt Lake Tribune* printed an article in the "Common Carrier" section which we listed some of these parallels. Since that time we have found more parallels between Mormonism and Watergate. Even more important, however, has been the discovery that Mormons were involved with Howard Hunt in his plans for wiretapping and burglary.

Nixon's Tapes Provide Clue

As the reader will remember, Richard Nixon fought desperately to keep his tapes from becoming public. When he was finally forced to yield them, transcripts were printed by the U.S. Government and then by the *New York Times*. These tapes not only proved embarrassing to Nixon, but to some prominent Mormons as well. On pages 292-293 of the *White House Transcripts*, Nixon, Haldeman and Ehrlichman discuss an alleged attempt to break into the safe of Hank Greenspun. During the course of the conversation, it was suggested that "Senator Bennett's son, for whom Hunt worked," may have been involved in the plan of the break-in.

Before reading the *White House Transcripts* we were unaware of the fact that Howard Hunt worked for "Senator Bennett's son," nor did we know that the two of them had been involved in planning a break-in at Mr. Greenspun's office. When we told Michael Marquardt about this, he did some research and found that Robert Bennett (son of the Mormon Senator Wallace F. Bennett) is the man spoken of in the *White House Transcripts*. Mr. Marquardt also learned that Robert Bennett worked for the Robert B. Mullen & Company. Later we discovered that Robert Bennett was the actual owner of the Mullen Co. and that this company handled international public relations for the Mormon Church. Howard Hunt, who was involved in the Ellsberg break-in and the Watergate affair, worked for Robert Bennett and was at one time Vice President of the Mullen Co. Further research led us to the discovery that plans for the Watergate break-in and other illegal activities were actually discussed in Bennett's company—i.e., in the Mullen Co. James McCord, who was involved in the Watergate break-in, gave this testimony at the Senate Watergate Hearings:

Mr. McCORD. The meetings, as best I recall, in which these references by Mr. Hunt took place, took place in Mr. Hunt's office, in the Robert F. Mullen Co. offices at 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue. They took place in April and May of 1972. To the best of my recollection, Mr. Liddy was present in all of the discussions.

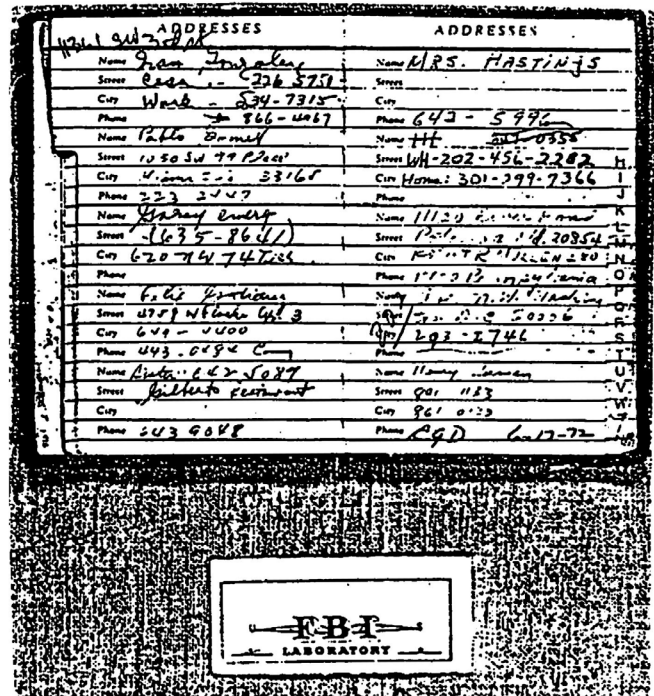
Mr. Liddy, during those discussions, as best I recall, would raise the topic that the planning and the progress of the operation itself was going forward, comments about what Mr. Mitchell was saying to him about what could be done in terms of the priorities of the operation; that is, which ones were to be done first and second.

Mr. Hunt's comments, . . . during that period of time, indicated to me that he had separate, independent knowledge, . . . that Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Dean and Mr. Magruder had planned the operations in the Attorney General's office to begin with . . .

Mr. THOMPSON. Do you recall anything that Mr. Hunt said to you about Mr. Colson's involvement or did you just get the general impression that Mr. Colson was involved in some way from what Mr. Hunt told you?

Mr. McCORD. I believe my previous testimony, which I will restate before this committee, was to the effect that when I had met Mr. Hunt in his offices at 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue with Mr. Liddy that he had referred to his previous work at the White House for Mr. Colson, referring to him as his superior; that during the session that Mr. Hunt, Mr. Liddy, and I had in Mr. Hunt's offices, **Mr. Hunt had a typed plan that he had typed himself, step-by-step, for the entry of the Democratic National Committee headquarters;** . . . (*Hearings Before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities of the United States Senate . . .*, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973, Book 1, pages 142-143)

It is interesting to note that two of the Watergate burglars, Bernard Barker and Eugenio Martinez, had the address of the Mullen Co. (1700 Pennsylvania Ave) in their address and telephone directories. Below is a photograph of Barker's address book.



In the investigation of Robert Bennett's company some very strange information concerning the CIA and Howard Hughes has also been uncovered. We will deal with these matters later in this book.

In our research for this book we have had access at the University of Utah to the many volumes of the *Senate Watergate Hearings* as well as the volumes concerning the attempt to impeach President Nixon by the Judiciary Committee. We have also obtained photocopies of some of the important testimony given in the cases *U.S. v LIDDY* and *DNC v McCORD*. The Senate Rules Committee provided us with the previously secret executive session testimony of Howard Hunt before the Senate Watergate Committee on December 18, 1973. Unfortunately, however, we ran into a real problem when we tried to obtain the executive session testimony of Robert Bennett. We first became aware of this testimony when we read the "Baker Report" in 1974. In January or February of 1975 we wrote to the Senate Rules Committee for information concerning it. The request was not answered. On April 6, 1975, we again requested information concerning Bennett's testimony. In a letter dated April 10, 1975, Senator Howard W. Cannon replied:

In response to your request for the testimony of Robert F. Bennett before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities please be advised that the Watergate Special Prosecutor, Mr. Henry S. Ruth, Jr., has embargoed this testimony from release until such time as the ongoing trials are completed.

If you wish to procure this testimony at a later date after the trials, please contact me and I will keep your request open.

We wrote to the Watergate Special Prosecutor about the "embargo" on Robert Bennett's testimony, and on September 11, 1975, we received a reply from Carl B. Feldbaum, Executive Assistant to the Special Prosecutor. In his reply he stated: "You may know, by this time, that our 'embargo' on certain Senate Select materials has been lifted. We appreciate your interest."

Now, since Senator Cannon had said that we could obtain this testimony as soon as the "embargo" was lifted, we wrote him another letter. On November 17, 1975, he replied:

In response to your request for testimony taken before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities please be advised that **Mr. Robert F. Bennett did not have executive session testimony** before the Select Committee.

In a letter dated November 23, 1975, we asked Senator Cannon this question: "Senator Baker mentions the 'Executive Session Testimony of Robert F. Bennett' many times in the 'Baker Report' (see photocopies enclosed). How can you say that it does not exist?" On December 5, 1975, Senator Cannon admitted that he had made a mistake. The testimony did exist, but we could not have it because of an agreement with the CIA:

The testimony of Robert F. Bennett on February 1, 1974 was classified *Secret* and access was limited by an agreement between Senator Baker and the Central Intelligence Agency on February 1, 1974. I have requested the Director of Central Intelligence Agency to declassify this material so I may make it available to you.

In my letter to you dated November 17, 1975, I state that Robert Bennett did not have executive session testimony. I now realize that I was in error. . . .

I believe that assistance provided you in selecting material from the massive E. Howard Hunt testimony should assure you that I am willing to assist in any way possible to make information collected by the Watergate Committee available to you.

I expect to receive a prompt reply from the CIA and will contact you immediately as to their decision concerning the Bennett material.

By February, 1976, we still had not received Bennett's testimony. We decided, therefore, to demand a copy under the Freedom of Information Act. On February 20, 1976, Senator Cannon replied as follows:

This will respond to your letter of February 9, 1976, wherein you seek to invoke provisions of the Freedom of Information Act as a basis for securing access to certain testimony of Mr. Robert F. Bennett before the Senate Watergate Committee on February 1, 1974.

Please be advised that the Legislative Branch is not covered by requirements of the Freedom of Information Act as is the Executive Branch. Therefore, files within the jurisdiction of the Congress are not accessible through provisions of that act.

However, if this Committee were bound by information release provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, we would conclude that the data you seek would not be properly reachable anyway because of the act's exemption provision, precluding release of classified information and particularly that guarded by the Central Intelligence Agency for the protection of intelligence sources and methods. . . . I must also inform you that **the Central Intelligence Agency advises me that the public release of the information you seek is precluded by national security considerations** which attach to the documents you seek.

This was certainly a disappointing answer after we had waited an entire year to obtain this important testimony. We wondered if the fact that Senator Howard Cannon is a Mormon could have had anything to do with his decision, but Michael J. Madigan, a member of the staff on the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, confirmed the fact that this testimony is "classified." As far as we can tell, the CIA is responsible for its suppression. A member of the staff of the Senate Rules Committee told us that a senator who had examined Robert Bennett's testimony felt that the CIA was making a mistake in trying to suppress it. Although we are disappointed that we have been denied access to this testimony, we have obtained photocopies of other testimony by Robert Bennett which throws important light on the matters which we will discuss in this book.

We have obtained about 250 pages of important testimony given by Mormons in the Watergate trial before Judge Sirica in Washington, D.C. We were somewhat reluctant to ask for this material when we heard that the Official Court Reporter, Nicholas Sokal, was a member of the Mormon Church. Fortunately, we found Mr. Sokal to be most cooperative. In fact, we could not possibly have asked for anyone more helpful than Mr. Sokal.

Before we deal with the information brought out in the Watergate investigation we want to take a look at some incidents in Mormon history that are not generally known.

The Prostitution Conspiracy

During the Watergate investigation it was discovered that there was a plan purposed to entrap political enemies by the use of call girls. In the "Final Report of the Senate Select Committee" we read as follows:

The first Gemstone plan was presented to Attorney General Mitchell by Liddy at a meeting in Mitchell's Justice Department office on January 27, 1972. . . . Liddy illustrated his presentation with six large posters. . . . The plan called for: (1) the use of mugging squads and kidnapping teams to deal with leaders of anti-Nixon demonstrations; (2) prostitutes stationed on a yacht, wired for sound, anchored offshore from Miami Beach during the Democratic Convention; . . . (*The Senate Watergate Report*, Dell Edition, vol. 1, page 75)

Jeb Stuart Magruder testified as follows:

Mr. DASH. With regard to the use of these women as agents, did this involve the use of a yacht at Miami?

Mr. MAGRUDER. He envisioned renting a yacht in Miami and having it set up for sound and photographs.

Mr. DASH. And what would the women be doing at that time?

Mr. MAGRUDER. I really could only estimate, but—

Mr. DASH. Based on his project, from your recollection. What did he indicate?

Mr. MAGRUDER. Well, they would have been, I think, you could consider them call girls. (*Hearings*, Book 2, page 788)

Howard Hunt testified that “Mr. Liddy told me that one of his superiors had suggested that the houseboat could be used as a rendezvous point and perhaps a place in which compromising photographs or tape recordings could be made” (*Ibid.*, Book 9, pages 3, 741).

From testimony given it would appear that this plan was never actually carried out.

When we look at Mormon history we find a similar conspiracy; a conspiracy which was not only planned but actually carried into effect. The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts frankly admitted that in 1885 the Mormons used “a system of secret espionage” to entrap federal officials who were trying to enforce the laws against polygamy:

Another regrettable thing done on the part of the Latter-day Saints, and growing out of the sense of unfairness attending upon the administration of the federal laws by the federal officials, led some overzealous men, officers of the city government, then **entirely in “Mormon” hands**, to arrange by **a system of secret espionage** on such characters in the city as resorted to places of prostitution, and by prosecution of them make, at least, public exposure of their crimes. It was believed that many prominent in prosecutions of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation cases would be entrapped.

Great consternation prevailed in certain quarters. It was rumored, and was matter of press comment, that “the anti-Mormon” element had become wild with excitement, and wondered where the lightning would strike next. Many vague rumors were afloat, as to a list of from four to six hundred offenders being in the hands of the city officers, and there were more blanched cheeks and shaking knee than Salt Lake has ever before contained, notwithstanding the assertion regarding the anti-“Mormon” purity. (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 158)

This conspiracy to entrap federal officials occurred while the Mormon leaders were still practicing polygamy.

C. S. Varian, who served as assistant United States attorney in Utah, made these comments about the prostitution conspiracy:

The thought seems to have been that if it should be ascertained that others of the non-Mormon population were found to be guilty of offenses against the law would be a sufficient answer to the prosecutions which were being brought by the government. In this view, certain prominent and influential Mormon citizens of Salt Lake City conceived the idea of opening houses of ill-fame in certain localities of the municipality for the purpose of enticing prominent government officials and others into the commission of offenses, in order that they might be detected and publicity be given to their crimes. (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, by R. N. Baskin, 1914, page 224)

It is very interesting to note that in December, 1885, the grand jury for the third judicial district of the Territory issued a very revealing report concerning the conspiracy. It was printed by the *Daily Tribune* in Salt Lake City on December 8, 1885, and finally by the *Deseret News* on December 23, 1885. Since the *Deseret News* is owned by the Mormon Church we cite the following from the grand jury report which appeared in its pages:

Your Grand Jury herewith returns two indictments for conspiracy, four indictments for keeping houses of illfame, under the Territorial laws, . . .

Some time in April or May last an officer of the city government, not connected with the police, with others unknown at present to the grand jury, entered into a conspiracy to open houses of assignation and ill-fame within the city limits, for the avowed purpose of entrapping weak and vicious persons into the commission of offenses against chastity and morality, in order that all such might be exposed and punished in the courts. This scheme involved the renting and fitting up of houses for the purpose, the employment of public and private prostitutes, the conversion of the police bureau into a nest of spotters and spies, and the expenditure of a large sum of money.

For years there have been well-known houses of prostitution in Salt Lake, which have been under police surveillance, . . . We do not understand that the scheme above mentioned contemplated the investigation of these places, nor the enforcement of the law against those who reside therein or resort thereto for purposes of prostitution or lewdness. On the contrary, as appears by the evidence before us, the plan was conceived and carried into effect without reference to the suppression of existing nuisances, but with the design of using the criminal law as a snare for the weak and immoral, and with the object in part, at least, of creating a great public scandal. In pursuance of this scheme, houses were rented and furnished on West Temple Street, and women placed in possession thereof. These houses were so altered and arranged in their interior that persons could be placed to observe all that transpired within, and **every member of the police force of Salt Lake City, with two honorable exceptions John Y. Smith and Wm. Calder**, volunteered his services as a spy and informer in all of the conspiracy. The women were **hired** to perform their parts, and their exertions stimulated by the promise of exorbitant sums for their success in entrapping high officials. **One of these creatures was promised \$1,000 in the event of her being able, to draw the Governor of the Territory into her tolls.** In the course of their operations, these women conveyed **notes of invitation to many prominent officials** and citizens, requesting interviews on business at the places designated. The following, leaving the names blank, is a sample of these notes, delivered by messenger boys:

Salt Lake City,
July 25, 1885.

Dear Sir—If convenient, I would be pleased to have you call and see me this afternoon or about dusk this evening. I want to see you on particular business. Please send answer by messenger boy when you will call.

Respectfully, _____

We are informed by persons engaged in this infamous plot, that from their secret posts of observation they, from time to time, personally witnessed all that took place in apartments in these houses visited by men and women, who were weak and depraved enough to respond to the opportunities presented to them. Their names were taken and the evidence noted for future reference and use.

When the exposure of this conspiracy was at hand the houses were closed. One woman was sent to California upon a ticket furnished her. Another was driven to Francklyn by a police officer who had previously purchased her a ticket, and then took the train for Denver under an assumed name.

One of these women was paid by the city official above referred to \$300 or \$400 and the other \$700 for her services. . . . The money employed in this scheme, we are told by its prime mover, was paid by one of the high officials of Salt Lake County. It is claimed that the money was raised by private subscription. We have been unable to ascertain that any part of it came from the public treasury. Neither the Mayor Chief of Police, nor other city official, except as herein stated, so far as we can learn, were advised of the proceeding until the plot was ripe. All of the

police officers engaged in it. It is claimed, performed the services required when off duty. One of them states that his services were rendered “for the good of the cause” a great crime has been perpetrated. . . . The law is humane and considerate, and has for its object the prevention of crime, and the reformation as well as the punishment of offenders. It does not, we think, contemplate the commission of crimes. In order that additional crimes may be committed, and the last offenders exposed and punished. . . .

MORRIS R. EVANS,
Foreman of the Grand Jury.

(*The Deseret News: Weekly*, December 23, 1885)

The publishers of the *Daily Tribune*, which was not controlled by the Mormon Church, were incensed by this conspiracy. On November 24, 1885, the *Tribune* reported:

Bishop Spiers’s court at the City Hall presented a scene of unusual activity yesterday morning. The announcement that the defenders of the holy church had prepared a long list of Gentiles and fallen Saints who were to be dragged into the court on charges of lascivious conduct and that Deputy Marshal Vandercook had been selected as the first victim, was sufficient to attract the riff raft of the streets, who crowded into the small court room, packing it almost to suffocation, the crowd extending out into the hallway. Among the first to arrive were Cut-throat Crow and a corps of church spotters who were given favored seats within the sacred precincts set apart for witnesses and attorneys. The official reporter of the church was also present for the purpose of recording, for the use of the church historian, all of the obscenity and filth, which it was expected the witnesses who had been detailed for the occasion would relate. . . . Marshal Phillips’s force, assisted by a dozen or so of special police, had been sent out over the city, with instructions to gather in as many victims as they could find. . . .

The complaints are sworn to by B. Y. Hampton and attested by Bishop Spiers. . . . The police and spotters propose to testify that they saw the alleged acts committed. . . . two houses were rented on West Temple street, and notes began to be sent to prominent officials and Gentiles. The following is about a sample:

A SAMPLE LETTER.

Judge McKay—Dear Sir: If convenient, I would be pleased to have you call to see me this afternoon or about dusk this evening. I want to see you on particular business. Please answer by messenger boy when you will call.

Respectfully,

MRS. FIELDS,

No. 250 West Temple Street, south, SALT LAKE, July 23, 1885.

Scores of similar notes were received by other gentlemen, and one of the women engaged in the business was free to inform her intended visitors that there was no danger of any arrests in her house—meaning that she had an understanding with the police that she should not be disturbed. . . .

Circumstances are rapidly coming to light which show conclusively that several assignation houses have been opened and conducted with the money of the church, or of the city. It is believed, with good reason, that the prostitutes of these houses, as well as Mormon girls of loose character, were in the employ of the police, who were either admitted to the houses and allowed to watch proceedings, or were given the dates upon which certain individuals visited them. (*Daily Tribune*, November 24, 1885)

The next day the *Daily Tribune* carried these statements:

Nothing shows the innate degradation of the Mormon Church more clearly than the present conspiracy and raid. Think of the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, the

Catholic or any other of the Christian churches bending to make an assignation with prostitutes for the sole purpose of proving that some outside men, in secret, practice a vice. . . . It is a church matter, every policeman who stands ready to swear, who has kept watch in secret with prostitutes, every man who has been engaged in the business in any way—except one Hebrew agent who acted under orders from a big Mormon—pays one-tenth of his salary to our “holy church.” . . . The final outcome will be a boomerang. The Saints believed that the lowering of the flag would awaken sympathy for them. They do not think so any more. So it will be with this. When the country understands that the emissaries of the church went to San Francisco and Denver and hired prostitutes to come here to decoy men, the fine point of the intention will be lost, and the question will be: “What kind of a thing is it which in the name of a church stoops to the use of such instruments as those?” (*Daily Tribune*, November 25, 1885)

The Mormon Church’s newspaper, the *Deseret News*, defended the “police” and launched an attack on the *Tribune*:

The organ of the prostitutes and apologist for lechery, as “one of the common vices of humanity,” is working hard to divert attention from the official and private persons who are charged with beastly crimes, by reckless and whole-cloth lying—its usual tactics. . . .

Its story is that the “Mormon” Church has hired prostitutes to lead away the poor, innocent deputy marshals, *Tribune* supporters, merchants, ex-U.S. Commissioners and other persons addicted to “one of the common vices of humanity.” . . .

Was ever a more senseless idea evolved from a softened brain, muddled with the fumes of cheap cigars and “forty-rod” whisky? Using its own elegant language, the *Tribune* must have “carried its folly to the point of putting a half idiot and half lunatic to the chair,” for the purpose of shielding its friends, the male prostitutes, and voiding more of its venom against the “Mormon” Church . . . to what desperate straits must the organ of the prostitutes be driven in defending its friends, to print such stuff as now occupies its columns! . . . The courts, the Federal officials, the anti-“Mormon” press and all their little echoes, have pretended that “sexual crimes should be punished by the local laws and authorities.” And now if they have any regard for consistency they ought to support the police in their enforcement of city ordinances, instead of rallying to the aid of the lecherous law-breakers, and raving like madmen against a Church that has no more to do with the matter than righteousness has with roguery or Truth has with the *Tribune*.

Let the light shine, even if it comes from the policeman’s lantern. Let the strokes fall where they belong, even if they come from the policeman’s club. Let the guilty be exposed, even though they be found in the ranks of those sacred officials whom courts appear bound to protect. Go on with the music. (*Deseret News*, November 25, 1885)

The following day the *Daily Tribune* printed the following:

Salt Lake now enjoys the distinction of being the only city in the world in which houses of prostitution were established by the city authorities; the only city that ever hired its official prostitutes and paid them a premium for every man they enticed. This city also has the only newspapers in the world that are vile enough to defend such infamy. (*Daily Tribune*, November 26, 1885)

On November 27, 1885, the *Tribune* made this statement about the conspiracy:

But Salt Lake is a peculiar place, and when the fact is made transparent that a certain course is being pursued, not with a view of arresting a wrong but to made a justification for committing

another wrong, and that to carry out a conspiracy a direct crime under the Territorial statutes and against this city's ordinance was committed, why, certainly, the facts should be as plainly stated as decency will permit. It has been made clear that to execute a revenge upon certain men, the Mormon Church—through the city authorities, who are but creatures of the church and who do nothing except through the advice and consent of the chiefs of the church—entered into contracts with common prostitutes, paying them large sums and furnishing them with means to rent houses, over which they further extended the protection of the police, and from which they withdrew all the restrictions which attach to ordinary houses of ill fame . . .

The *Tribune* is called upon by the Mormon press to endorse this business as altogether praiseworthy and noble. It can not very well do that. (*Daily Tribune*, November 27, 1885)

The same evening the Church's *Deseret News* reported the following:

The truth is that some dirty men, among them persons who have been prominent in urging the persecution of "Mormons" for living with their wives, have been consorting with lewd women in violation of the city ordinances, the police have made some arrests, the whole crew who have been crying out against "Mormon" immorality have rushed to the rescue. . . .

The morning organ of the prostitutes raves through nearly another column of idiocy about the "Mormon" Church and thinks this will be a sufficient apology for the lecherous doings of the libertines whose cause it fights for. But all its romances and epithets amount to nothing on the main question; which is, shall those guilty of sexual crimes which the courts here say are left to the police to prosecute, be punished for their bestiality, which the *Tribune* apologizes for as "one of the common vices of humanity?" (*Deseret News*, November 27, 1885)

On November 30, 1885, the *Deseret News* printed an article entitled, "THE RULING IN FAVOR OF THE LECHEROUS." The following statements appear in this article:

The decision of Chief Justice Zane in the interest of the male prostitutes did not surprise the large majority of the public. It has become so evident that protection is to be afforded to the dirty doings of officers of the court, that few indulged the hope that a city ordinance which had been in successful operation against "lewd and lascivious conduct" both of males and females for over ten years, would be held as valid against the "sacred" person of a U.S. deputy marshal. . . . Truly, shame has fled from the faces of those who minister in the temple of justice, consistently hides itself from their presence, purity keeps afar off, and while sophistry and casuistry blunt the darts of the law, profligacy is encouraged, lechery is protected and Satan rejoices over the spectacle and his prospects! (*Deseret News*, November 30, 1885)

The *Deseret News* for December 1, 1885, published an article entitled, "PROSECUTE THE DEBAUCHEES":

The public are looking for some further action against the lecherous officials and others who have been guilty of sexual crimes and whose filthiness is known to the police. It is true that a barrier has been placed in the way of the officers by the ruling of Judge Zane. . . . It has become well-known that the police are in possession of evidence of a very damaging character against a number of persons who have broken the law and committed offenses against decency and good order of the most abominable character. And it is not expected that the municipal officers will be "bluffed" off by one failure of a technical character. The prosecution of these offenders is confidently looked for, and the community demand that the prosecutions shall go on. . . . If the police do not continue the work they have begun, because

they have met with a rebuff where they ought to have received assistance, they will become a public laughing stock and the municipal authorities will be subject to well-deserved reproach. *Prosecute the debauchees.* (*Deseret News*, December 1, 1885)

On December 2, 1885, the Church's *Deseret News* called the "police" conspiracy a "good work":

The arrest of Deputy Marshal Vandercook, U.S. Commissioner Pearson, Assistant U.S. Attorney S. H. Lewis and W. H. Yearian Esq., charged with lewd and lascivious conduct has caused quite a commotion in different circles of Utah society. The voice of the general public is, "Let the municipal ordinances be enforced, no matter whom they pinch; and if some persons who have been particularly active and venomous in spotting and arresting 'Mormon' polygamists, and others who have been very urgent for the enforcement of the Edmunds law, happen to be among the corrupt and lustful violators of the local laws, no good citizen will be sorry if they 'come to grief.' But the vile crew who endorse prostitution or wink at occasional vice and excuse 'sporadic cases,' while they are rampart against plural marriage, rally to the support of the accused and have no good word for the police in their endeavors to enforce the city ordinances.["]

As might be expected, the morning organ of the prostitutes, in its Sunday issue, cries out "A Church move!"—"Church Spotters!" "The ignominy will fall on themselves!" and hastens to acquit the accused before the evidence is heard. But this of course will make no difference as to the facts nor to the result. The local statutes and police regulations are of as much importance as other laws, and decent people will be just as anxious to have them enforced as the laws of the United States.

It has been argued and officially announced that Congress has left the passage and enforcement of laws against sexual sins to the local authorities, and that it is for the police to see to such ordinary and common vices. Well, the police it appears have been endeavoring to perform this duty, and have made a commencement **in a proper direction**. That is to say that instead of simply arresting and fining the unfortunate creatures who are ministers to masculine passion, they are carrying out the provisions of local law for the punishment of the active criminals, the male prostitutes, the really guilty principals in the degrading crime of which the culprits in charge are accused. **Let the work of cleansing go on and be made thorough. We want the help of the Lord and the power of His might. . . .**

We hope the police will go on with their good work, no matter where the fur flies. Never mind the curses of anti-"Mormons," the threatening of officials, the bluster of hired scribes or the consequences to pretended "Mormons." The corrupt cannot injure those who faithfully perform their duty, and **the Church will not flinch at the exposure of the hypocrites** who have made it a cloak for their infamy. . . .

The efforts of the police to enforce the city ordinances against sexual immorality, which ought to receive the support of all who desire social order and the public welfare, are denounced, defied and hindered by those who have figured for some time past as the champions of morality. The loudest clamorers against polygamy are the most vehement defenders of the parties charged with debauchery. It has been so from the beginning. The unvirtuous of both sexes are and have always been the bitterest enemies of plural marriage.

The local officers are in possession of certain facts; complaints against individuals who are known to have violated the principles of chastity have been duly made; the ordinances of the city in such cases made and provided have been broken; the police, whose duty it is to do so have made some arrests; and what is the consequence? Instead of receiving the support of officials and others, who have been posing as the upholders of law and the defenders of society, the police are maligned and the ordinance under which they are acting is sought to be made inoperative.

All the machinery that has been set in motion to persecute “Mormons” for living with their faithful wives and loving children, is turned for the protection of the libertines who have outraged decency and wallowed in bestiality. . . .

The honest performance of police duty is called “A Mormon Plot.” Without the shadow of a reason for the libel, police proceedings against reputed whoremongers are represented as “plans adopted by the Mormon Church.” The farfetched idea is put forth that this enforcement of local law was intended “to help the cause of the polygamists.” The measures taken to obtain proof of the guilt of notorious debauchees are denounced as “Infamous intrigues in the interest of the vile church,” and every effort is made to slander all who are engaged in the performance of a sworn duty by the prosecution of persons accused of debasing crime. . . .

The morning organ of the male and female prostitutes says: “Through what course of reasoning it was decided that such a course would help the cause of polygamists, it is difficult to understand.” Just so. If any such course of reasoning was adopted or any such conclusion was reached, there might be some difficulty in understanding it. But the “reasoning” and the conclusion are both the sole property of the organ of the prostitutes. . . . one thing is made more apparent than ever; that is, that the law-and-order shriekers who are seeking to bring the “Mormons” into bondage because of a distinctive feature or religion, care no more for law and order and decency than the most depraved of criminals, and that all their virtuous (?) declarations are but the shuffling pretenses of canting and lecherous hypocrites. (*Deseret News: Weekly*, December 2, 1885)

The following day the Church’s newspaper continued to defend the conspiracy:

Supposing the “traps” to have been laid. Why should those paragons of propriety, the Federal officials alluded to, walk into them? If lewd women “**hired**” or not, have been visited by those officials and others, and become the principal actors in scenes of debauchery, obscenity and filthiness too vile for description, **why lay all the blame upon the “traps” set to catch them in their lechery** and say not a word against the criminals?

We do not know which to denounce as the viler case of depravity, the low-lived, persecutors of decent men and women who have been overseen in their secret deeds of shame, or the scandalous journalists who strive to screen them from exposure and save them from punishment, by putting the blame on the police who detected their crimes, and by feeding the popular maw for the marvelous with the monstrous falsehood about the “Mormon hierarchy.” (*Deseret News*, December 3, 1885)

Although the Mormon police had sent the prostitutes away from Utah, their whereabouts was discovered and they were returned. The *Tribune* for December 4, 1885, indicates that this caused the conspirators a great deal of trouble:

The commotion that the return of Fanny Davenport and Mrs. Fields created in the prostitution circle at the City Hall, would be sufficient proof, if any were needed, that certain of the city officials had been in collusion with these females in corrupting the morals of the people. Their too apparent anxiety lest the women should tell all about their dealings with the city officials, was manifested in various ways. On the day that they returned a policeman was sent down the road as far as Provo to meet them, but was not given an opportunity to talk to them and “fix things.” . . .

In the meantime, Brig Hampton was doing some pretty tall rustling on the streets for bondsmen for the prostitutes. . . .

The examination of Fanny Davenport came up . . . THE COMPLAINT IN THE CASE . . . alleges that Fanny Davenport, whose other and true name to the complaint is unknown, at Salt Lake City, on May 1, 1885, and on divers other days and times until November 15th, did then and there unlawfully keep and maintain a certain house of ill fame, then and there resorted to for the purpose of prostitution and lewdness. . . .

Considerable curiosity was manifested on the part of the spectators to see whether the gang of Church conspirators would give themselves away by BRINGING THE BROTHERS IN as bondsmen. A good deal of surprise was created by the appearance of Alfred Soloman, a good saint, who offered himself as one of the sureties, and the astonishment was greater when Royal B. Young, the indicted polygamist, appeared as the other, Watson having backed out. The ready manner in which the brethren came to the front and helped their prostitute out was the subject of a good deal of comment, and was regarded as a complete “give away” of the infamous conspiracy. . . .

Brig. Hampton, wearing a wish-I-were-far-away expression on his countenance, came into the room, and the defendant greeted her old partner in corruption with a smile of recognition. The pair were soon afterward engaged in confidential chat. This mark of their acquaintance was witnessed with considerable amusement by the spectators. . . . Deputy Marshal Vandercook entered soon afterward, and drawing a paper from his pocket walked up to Hampton and said: “Here is a subpoena, summoning you to appear as a witness in this case.” . . .

It is pretty safe to say that Brig Hampton and his whole gang of prostitution agents are feeling very uneasy over the unexpected turn of events and are heartily sick of the scheme they entered into with these prostitutes. That they should be called on as witnesses against their own hired women was something in their stupidity they never dreamed of. (*Daily Tribune*, December 4, 1885)

The next day the *Tribune* reported the following:

By its own private underground wire the *Tribune* learns from a most reliable source that Fanny Davenport’s attorneys were engaged and employed by Policeman Andrew Burt, the same officer who went to Provo to meet her when she returned, and probably the same who, when she took her sudden departure from the city accompanied her as far as Francklyn . . . and gave her a ticket to Denver. Perhaps the taxpayers are interested in knowing whether her counsel fees are paid out of the city treasury or from the church tithing fund. . . .

It is reported on good authority that Fanny Davenport is an honored guest at the city jail boarding house, situated in the rear of the City Hall. A carriage is waiting whenever she wishes to go out, and anything she asks for is given. She fully realizes that she has the city ring under her thumb and is evidently making the most of her opportunities. (*Daily Tribune*, December 5, 1885)

After printing the report of the Grand Jury concerning the prostitution scandal, the *Tribune* made this statement:

As might readily be surmised from the tenor of the above report, Brig. Hampton was the city official referred to as one of the prime movers in this infamous intrigue and was one of the men indicted. The grand jury dealt very kindly with him, considering the outrageous nature of his offense, and only presented four indictments against him. Two of them charged him with keeping houses of ill fame, the houses designated being those in which he installed Mrs. Davenport and Mrs. Fields. The other two charge him with conspiracy, by entering into the disgraceful compact with these prostitutes. (*Daily Tribune*, December 8, 1885)

The Mormon leaders were very upset over the whole matter. The *Deseret News* for December 14, 1885, contained these statements:

Oscar Vandercook, charged with resorting to a house of ill-fame for lewdness, the charge backed by testimony conclusive and complete, is protected by Federal authority, turned loose without trial and immediately granted an appeal to the highest court, . . .

In order to put into effect the local laws against sexual crimes, noted frequenters of houses of ill-fame who had been seen to enter those haunts of iniquity, were watched at their lewd and lascivious practices, in order that they might be prosecuted. It was the only way by which their guilt could be proven beyond question. It was disgusting business, no doubt. But which was the most disgusting, the detection of their bestiality or the acts which were witnessed? But mark the course of those who are waging the moral crusade against the "Mormons." In order to cripple the prosecution of those lechers by the local laws, the machinery of the Federal court is set at work to punish the detector of crime so that the criminal may go free? The men who planned to expose and punish by local law the supporters of prostitution are indicted for "conspiracy," while the befouled cohabiters with harlots, the polluted divers into the slime of base lust are shielded from the penalty of their guilt.

Say, priests and editors who are urging this crusade against the "Mormons" on moral grounds, what do you think of this kind of morality? Stamp out polygamy, cherish prostitution! No mercy for a "Mormon" who conscientiously marries and supports two or three wives and their children, but protection and relief and freedom for the libertine and the lecher. . . . The public prosecutor refuses to prosecute. Why? Is the evidence faulty? Cannot the facts be proved? Is there any doubt at all of the guilt of the accused? No. But **a man who set himself to work to expose and bring to punishment the bestial debauchees of this city is indicted by the grand jury for doing that detective work**, and the attorney prefers to prosecute him rather than the persons detected and proven guilty on testimony direct and unimpeachable enough to convict beyond question. . . .

The facts in these cases, barring the indecent details, should be telegraphed all over the country. It ought to be known how debauchery is protected and vice is encouraged. . . .

The organ of the lechers, like the counsel for Vandercook, wants to intimidate the officers who are engaged in the prosecution of the male prostitutes. . . .

No man who has "never done anything he is willing all the world should know," is in any danger from the police prosecutions. It is only those who have been frequenting houses of ill fame and have been seen in their vile deeds who have occasion to fear. . . . for the beasts who have been detected we want no concealment. The proceedings to stop their exposure ought not to prevail. They should be prosecuted as the law requires, in the Justice's Court; and if the Federal courts like to set them free, and **would rather punish the detectives than the detected**, let the responsibility lie with them. . . . Let the lechers be exposed and let all those who threaten and bluster understand that no one cares a cent for all they can say or do. The arrests should go on. (*Deseret News*, December 14, 1885)

Judge Powers made these statements concerning the prostitution conspiracy:

"A peculiar state of facts is shown by the record in this case. It would seem that lewd women were employed to open houses of ill-fame in the city of Salt Lake. It is claimed that men who had not sufficient self-respect or morality to resist such allurement were beguiled therein, and that the unholy practices with the women were **watched from adjoining rooms through peep-holes** by members of the police force. It is insisted that this is not done in the interest of virtue and morality. The defendant, Brigham Y. Hampton, is a prominent member of the Church

of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly known as the Mormon church, and this fact becomes material in considering the objection to the panel of jurors hereafter referred to. He has held many positions of trust in Salt Lake City, and at the time of his conviction he was the collector of license of that city, and was also a member of the police force. In the spring of 1885 he, or some one connected with him, conceived the idea of employing prostitutes to do what he in his testimony, terms 'detective work.' . . . He seems to have consecrated himself to a great work. He proposed to put an end to houses of ill-fame and prostitution, and **he went about this work by immediately opening more houses**. He hired his own prostitutes, he opened his own houses, and from points of vantage he and his collaborators began a study of the bestial practices that occurred within the dens of infamy which he had established. He does not appear to have been the only one concerned in this transaction, but he and a man named Salmon seem to have been the moving spirits. We shall not deal with any more of the details than we are compelled to do in determining the case; but this does not and should not prevent us from expressing our disapproval of the conduct of the defendant, or from condemning, as the highest court of this Territory, the wicked and disgraceful conspiracy disclosed" (4 Utah Reports, 259). (*Reminiscences of Early Utah*, pages 228-229)

Andrew Jenson, who was Assistant Church Historian, says that Brigham Y. Hampton was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for his part in the conspiracy:

Thurs. 24.—After three days' trial the jury in the Third District Court brought in a verdict of guilty against Brigham Y. Hampton for conspiracy.

Wed. 30.—In the Third District Court, Judge Zane sentenced Brigham Y. Hampton to one year's imprisonment in the Salt Lake County jail. (*Church Chronology*, page 127)

It is very difficult to determine how many Mormons were involved in this conspiracy. The Grand Jury report said that "every member of the police force of Salt Lake City, with two honorable exceptions, John Y. Smith and Wm. Calder, volunteered his services as a spy and informer in aid of the conspiracy" (*Deseret News: Weekly*, December 23, 1885, page 3). The Mormon historian B. H. Roberts says that at this time the "city government" was "entirely in 'Mormon' hands" (*Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 158). Roberts also rankly admits that this was a "regrettable thing done on the part of the Latter-day Saints" (*Ibid.*). How much the Mormon leaders knew about the conspiracy before it came to light is difficult to say, but **they certainly gave full support to it when it was revealed**. As we have shown, **the Church's own *Deseret News* claimed that the conspiracy was a "good work"** (*Deseret News*, December 2, 1885).

Church Spies on Polygamists

During the period when the Mormons practiced polygamy there was a great deal of spying by both sides. The Mormon leaders found that it was necessary to have an "Underground" to keep from being arrested by federal officers. Kimball Young gives this interesting information:

In addition to false names, disguises, and ruses, a whole system of information gathering, signaling, and spotting informers was developed. For example, the church authorities would pass the word down to the smaller communities of movements of federal deputies out of Salt Lake City in the direction of any particular town. There are a variety of stories about the lookouts and warning systems. John Read tells that elaborate systems had been established along the border of Idaho

and Utah and relates one instance. There was but one possible approach which the marshals could use to a certain town. A watch would be stationed on the road with a shotgun which he was to fire three times when he saw the officers coming. After a long period of waiting, strangers appeared whom he thought to be deputies. He fired the gun and shortly the church bells started to ring. The alarm was successful and the police returned empty-handed. . . .

The *Salt Lake Tribune* . . . in a story of April 16, 1885 . . . stated that:

“The Mormon priesthood has organized a ‘Bureau of Information’ and it has been in operation some six weeks. The objects of the concern are manifold. One is to collect information and report the same to the church authorities touching on the prosecution of polygamists, and to enter the names of all informers on polygamists in a black book, to spot such grand jurors and witnesses as in any way aid in the prosecution of saints, that they may be tabooed and boycotted . . .”

Just how well organized any central intelligence service might have been, we do not know. . . .

Some political corruption was bound to occur in the course of trying to enforce the anti-polygamy laws. Our record of Aaron Montgomery tells how his Stake president told him that arrangements could be made to buy off a number of the polygamists who were in hiding if they would surrender. After some negotiations as to how much the bribe should be, Montgomery gave the arresting officer \$200.00. He relates that “They took my first wife, and son, and a couple of other witnesses down to Ogden and had a mock trial. I wasn’t even there, and the witnesses told a couple of white lies and the case against me was dismissed.” Our materials cite **a number of instances of bribing officers to avoid arrest.**

On the other side, the federals made use of paid informers and only complained that they had insufficient funds for such operations. . . . in the middle 1880’s some funds were secured from the federal government for detective work. On November 2, 1885, Marshal Edwin Ireland wrote to the Attorney General in Washington calling attention to the Mormon system of counterintelligence and the difficulties in making arrests and in securing convictions. He complained among other things, “. . . People along the road [railroad] are advised of the presence of a deputy marshal on board any train always in advance, the county sheriffs and deputies and entire police of the towns are employed to watch the movements of officers and to secretly aid the criminal witnesses to escape.” He reports that his deputies were dogged by spies, . . .

The local police—two constables, marshals, and deputy marshals—sometimes acted as informers for the Saints . . . being Mormons and often closely tied up with polygamous families, these men were not averse to double-crossing their federal colleagues. . . .

At very early ages children were introduced into conspiratorial operations. Not talking to strangers, being part of a warning system, and being taught outright falsification were all elements in their training during those years which would certainly not be considered normal today. (*Isn’t One Wife Enough*, by Kimball Young, New York, 1954, pages 396, 398, 400-402)

The Mormon Apostle Abraham H. Cannon frankly admitted that the federal officers were “bought” off. Under the dates of October 17 and 18, 1890, the Apostle Cannon recorded the following in his journal:

Uncle David came in about noon and told me that he had a conversation with Lindsey Sprague, a deputy marshal who told him that there were papers out for my arrest, . . . I got Chas H. Wilcken to investigate the matter for me . . .

Saturday, Oct. 18th, 1890. . . . Bro. Wilcken came and informed me that he had **bought Doyle off**, and had got his promise that I should not be molested, nor should any other

person without sufficient notice being given for them to escape, and to get witnesses out of the way. He gave Bro. Wilcken the names of some 51 persons whose arrest he intended to try and effect on a trip . . . through Utah and Emery counties. A messenger was therefore despatched to give these people warning. Thus **with a little money a channel of communication is kept open between the government offices** and the suffering and persecuted Church members. (“Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon,” October 17 and 18, 1890; original at Brigham Young University Library)

After the Mormon leaders began to obey the law, the relationship with federal authorities began to normalize. The church which had previously encouraged disobedience to the law against polygamy began to demand that its members obey it. Heber J. Grant, the seventh President of the Church, who had himself been convicted of unlawful cohabitation in 1899 (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 241), announced in 1931 that the Church would give legal assistance so that polygamists could be prosecuted by the law:

. . . there are still a number, . . . who persist in teaching the doctrine and maligning the leaders of the Church. . . .

Wherever the Authorities of the Church have been able to locate such persons and secure sufficient definite evidence to warrant their conviction, they have, without fear or favor, been dealt with and excommunicated from the Church. . . . we are entirely willing and anxious too that such offenders against the law of the State should be **dealt with and punished as the law provides.** We have been and we are willing **to give such legal assistance** as we legitimately can in the **criminal prosecution** of such cases. . . . we regard it as our duty as citizens of the country to assist in the enforcement of the law and the suppression of pretended “plural marriages.” (*Conference Report*, April 4, 1931, pages 5-6)

The Mormon leaders had previously made scathing denunciations against those who had spied on them when they were practicing polygamy. Now the situation was reversed: the Mormon leaders were using spies against members of the Church who continued to advocate plural marriage. Those who continued to believe in the practice were known as “Fundamentalists.” In 1939 the Fundamentalists accused the Church of using spies against them:

These “SNEAKING SLEUTHS” acting the part of “PEEPING-TOMS” have, of late become most obnoxious and brazen and are guilty of acts that no gentleman, let alone Saint, would indulge in. . . .

For some weeks past, Bishops and their appointed spies—from two to four of them—have insolently and obnoxiously posted themselves, in their cars, in front of one of the homes where these good people [the Fundamentalists] are occasionally gathering. These “window-peepers” have busied themselves taking the license numbers of cars, the names of the occupants and, during the meetings have engaged in “peeping” through the windows, listening to the discussions from such vantage points as they can find, plying the Saints with insolent questions as they emerge from the house. Nor are the women free from this unholy invasion of common decency. The “peeping-Toms” have spied on them as they have met in a separate room to discuss matters especially pertaining to their responsibilities as wives and mothers. . . . On several occasions they were given an invitation to come into the gatherings . . . but they were rejected with the statement that they (the spies) were ordered to remain on the outside and could not enter without permission from their superiors. . . .

In the early days when the federal agents acted in the role of persecutors of the Saints, like scenes were enacted by the “spying” mischief-makers. They were referred to in that day as “cowardly jackalls,” “slinking cayotes” and “skunks”, . . .

President John Taylor referred to this particular animal in the following forceful language:

“. . . Some people, some poor, miserable—I don’t care to say a hard word—I will call them SNEAKS, they will try, because a man has married a wife according to the laws of God, to bring an accusation against him. Such men will be damned and such women will be damned. Do you know that when these MISERABLE SNEAKS come in to your house on every kind of pretense . . . they are known to ask such questions, as “How many wives has your husband got?” POOR, LOW, MISERABLE SNEAKS, KICK THEM OUT OF YOUR HOUSE, have nothing to do with such LOW, INFERNAL TRASH. . . . Tell them to go back where they came from, we do not want them among decent people. . . . THERE IS NO DECENT WORD that’s appropriate for SUCH CONTEMPTIBLE BEINGS.—Spoken November 22, 1879, at American Fork: *Des. News*, June 5, 1880. (*Truth*, vol. 5, pages 35-37)

On page 55 of the same volume we find the following:

In the trial before his Bishopric, Elder Cleveland brought out the fact that two such “peepers”—George Lund and David F. Frederick—had “snooped” about his premises for some six months, looking in through window openings, peering through open doors, and questioning the guests of Elder Cleveland as they emerged from the home. The Bishop admitted appointing these sleuths to that task. . . . For several months past from two to six of the “snoopers” mentioned have planted themselves in front of this residence, busied themselves in taking license numbers on cars of guests and have peeped through the windows and open doors. We are informed they have even ventured to raise windows the better to hear and see.

In 1944 a number of “Fundamentalists” were brought to trial for their belief in plural marriage. There is evidence that the Mormon Church gave a great deal of support to the idea of putting them in prison. Hugh B. Brown, who later became a member of the First Presidency, made this statement:

Much publicity has been given to the prosecution recently of certain members of a group of apostates who are alleged to be practicing polygamy. . . . **The Church has in fact assisted in obtaining the information leading to the indictments**, and a “Mormon Elder” is the prosecuting attorney. (*Millennial Star*, vol. 106, page 795, as cited in *Truth*, vol. 10, page 144)

During the court proceedings it became known that a man by the name of Casper J. Fetzer had received a special call from Church leaders to work against the Fundamentalists. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, for October 3, 1944, reported that Fetzer claimed “he was a special LDS missionary assigned to save ‘young people from the clutches of the cult.’” The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* revealed the following:

Russell Kunz . . . said he had been told by Casper J. Fetzer, a retired Mormon church bishop, that the latter had “been set apart to investigate people suspicious of plural marriage.”

Kunz, a brother of a defendant, Morris Quincy Kunz, said Fetzer told him “there was a big surprise in store for the polygamists. I asked him who was pushing this and he said the leaders of the church.”

Fetzer as a witness for the state testified he was a “missionary” instructed by Mormon church officials “to try to save young people from the clutches of the cult.”

He denied . . . that he had been instructed to supply evidence to civil prosecuting authorities. (*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, October 3, 1944)

The *Salt Lake Tribune*, reported that it was David O. McKay, who later became President of the Mormon Church, who appointed Fetzer to work against the Fundamentalists:

Mr. Fetzer’s reappearance on the witness stand was asked by the defense so that it could “further explore and show the nature of the special mission and the special call of the witness by the first presidency of the Mormon church and to show his intense adverse interest and to challenge the credibility of the witness.”

Mr. Fetzer previously testified that David O. McKay, LDS church first presidency’s second counselor, had assigned him to investigate the cult. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, October 4, 1944)

Since the Fundamentalists claimed to be following the original teachings of the Mormon Church, the Mormon leaders wanted to discredit them as well as put them in prison. The courtroom therefore was used to attempt to show that the Fundamentalists were not true Mormons. This is evident from a statement which appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on September 28, 1944: “Fundamentalists smoked and drank liquor and coffee, although they advocated observance of the Word of Wisdom, a witness told the jury in the polygamy conspiracy trial. . . .”

Carl Jentzsch, a Fundamentalist who went to prison because of his belief in plural marriage, claimed that “it was the church that put me there. And after I got out, it was the Church gestapo that followed me for two years, night and day, until I couldn’t even breathe. They’re the ones after me, I know this, because I have a relative on the detective force and I took the license numbers of their cars, and I said, ‘Who are these people?’ And he said, ‘They are Church detectives and they carry guns; be careful.’ They have a right to shoot you and to make an arrest” (*Reminiscences of John W. Woolley and Lorin C. Woolley*, by Mark J. and Rhea A. Baird, vol. 1, pages 30-31).

Although it seems very unlikely that a “Church detective” would actually try to arrest a Fundamentalist, there is definite evidence to show that the Mormon Church did appoint investigators to obtain evidence against them. The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for October 7, 1944, reported the following:

Meanwhile, the Mormon Church, which has been excommunicating polygamists ever since the 1890 manifesto, revealed that it had appointed investigators to “search out the cultists, turning over such information as they gather to the prosecution.”

The statement cited by the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* is a direct quote from a letter written by the Mormon Apostle Mark E. Petersen. It was sent to Murray Moler, Bureau Manager United Press, later became part of the Court files, and was finally printed in *Truth*, vol. 10, pages 207-208. We cite the following from this remarkable letter by the Apostle Mark E. Petersen:

3—The Church has actively assisted federal and state authorities in obtaining evidence against the cultists and helping to prosecute them, under the law.

4—Among witnesses for the prosecution are men who have been appointed by the Church to search out the cultists turning over such information as they gather to the prosecution for their use; these men have also been appointed by the Church to do all they can to fight the spread of polygamy.

5—The Church has opposed the practice and teaching of plural marriage since the adoption of a Manifesto in an official conference of the Church held in Salt Lake City October 6, 1890, and has excommunicated members since that time who have either taught or practiced it.

At the present time there seems to be very little interest in prosecuting the Fundamentalists. The Church, however, is interested in gaining information so that those who advocate the practice of plural marriage might be excommunicated. The Apostle Mark E. Petersen, the man who admitted the Church had appointed

investigators, seems to be in charge of polygamy investigations at the present time. In his book, *Complaint Against Ogden Kraut* published in 1972, Ogden Kraut sated:

After considerable investigation into this matter, I am, informed that Brother Mark E. Petersen has—for many months—been making long distance telephone calls, writing letters, and conducting interviews in an effort to obtain some kind of complaint, statement or a witness against me. (*Complaint Against Ogden Kraut*, copy of letter dated August 28, 1972)

In a letter dated September 18, 1972, printed in the same book, Mr. Kraut alleges:

I had heard rumors, but now have received confirmation, that Mark E. Petersen has, with his own money, hired private detectives to gather information and evidence against members who might attend a Fundamentalist meeting, associate with a polygamist, or harbor any Fundamentalist ideology so that he could have them excommunicated from the Church.

The Fundamentalists seem to be very reluctant to discuss these matters with us. There are probably two reasons for this: One, they know that we do not approve of the practice of polygamy. Two, they are still afraid that the Mormon leaders might retaliate.

BYU Spy Ring

In February, 1967, about five years before the Watergate affair, it was revealed that a “spy ring” had been operating at the Brigham Young University, a school which is “owned and operated” by the Mormon Church. The following appeared in the *Daily Utah Chronicle*, published by the Associated Students of the University of Utah:

Brigham Young University is in the calm of a hurricane’s eye after being rocked with student charges of an administration-instigated spy ring and before the Board of Trustees acts on a request for a joint faculty-administration-board investigation on the charges.

Two political science students Ronald Hankin and Colleen Stone described the “spy ring” to BYU student body Tuesday during a “free forum” speech. Hankin claims to have been asked by Steven Russell, senior political scientist, to “check up on a reaction to Pres. Ernest Wilkinson’s April 21 speech” before the student body. The speech was a “conservative view of totalitarianism, federal aid, capitalism and socialism.” . . .

In a *Chronicle* interview, Hankin said 15 students were offered the “spy task” authorized by Vice President Joseph T. Bentley. “We were to check up on eight teachers.” . . .

Meanwhile, the campus chapter of American Association of University Professors (ASUP) called a sudden meeting Thursday to discuss “secrecy, tenure and academic freedom.” After a two-hour meeting, the group issued a detailed resolution requesting a joint investigation on the allegations. The 100 faculty representatives issued the request to the BYU Board of Trustees, the Quorum of Twelve of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but did not expect a reply for “several days.” . . .

Chapter Pres. Briant S. Jacobs said in a statement Thursday, “Serious student allegations recently reflected upon the atmospheric freedom at Brigham Young University.” . . .

Hankin said six of the eight professors on the list “had been forced to resign for political reasons.” . . .

A former John Birch Society member, Hankin said during the summer he “had recriminations and realized what was wrong.” At that time he began “passing information from both sides around.” Finally, “I was contacted by BYU vice presidents Lewis and Crockett about the leftist leanings of Dr. Hillam.”

The spy charges were hurled during a “free forum” session Tuesday. Sponsored by the Issues and Controversies Committee, the “forum” gives any student five minutes “on a soap box” to speak on any topic. After the speech, the student must answer questions from the student body for five minutes. (*Daily Utah Chronicle*, March 6, 1967)

At first Ernest L. Wilkinson, who was President of the BYU, evidently tried to deny the charges:

According to an Associated Press story, Wilkinson said the students were “misinformed” and that he had no knowledge of the alleged spy ring. School spokesmen Friday said Wilkinson was out of town on business until Monday. (*Daily Utah Chronicle*, March 6, 1967)

The following appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, on March 13, 1967:

PROVO (AP) — Investigation has been completed into student charges of a “spy ring” at Brigham Young University, sources close to the school said Sunday.

A statement from university P[r]esident Ernest L. Wilkinson is expected sometime this week, possibly as early as Wednesday, the sources said.

A campus chapter of the American Association of University Professors requested a three-sided investigation into the student allegations which were brought out nearly two weeks ago in a student forum.

The AAUP, headed by Dr. Briant Jacobs on campus, asked for a faculty-administration-board of trustees probe into charges that an administration-endorsed “spy ring” was operating for the purpose of checking on so-called “liberal” professors.

The students’ charges brought quick denials from the university, which said the students who made them—Ronald Hankin and Colleen Stone—were “misinformed.”

Public release of results of the investigation must be cleared by the school’s board of trustees, which is the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Even though the BYU officials denied the existence of the spy ring, the investigation showed that such a ring did exist and President Wilkinson was forced to admit the truth of the accusation. In a statement which reminds one of Richard Nixon’s famous statement on Watergate, President Wilkinson finally agreed to “accept responsibility”:

PROVO (AP) — Brigham Young University President Ernest L. Wilkinson acknowledged Tuesday that a student investigation team had existed on campus to check on so-called liberal professors.

And Dr. Wilkinson pledged “my sincerest efforts to see that such a situation does not occur again in the future.”

The comments were in a letter to the faculty, which was read to about 10,000 students at an assembly. . . .

The professors’ organization accepted Wilkinson’s letter Tuesday and said the issue was “completely and satisfactorily resolved.” . . .

In his letter, Dr. Wilkinson said:

“Although there is misinformation in the charges, **there was such a group**, reports were made and students were under the impression they were acting with the sanction of the administration.”

He did not say who the students were reporting to, but added:

“**As president, I must accept responsibility**, and I regret the misunderstanding and uneasiness which has been engendered.”

Brigham Young University is owned and operated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly known as the Mormon Church. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 15, 1987)

Under the caption, “Wilkinson Confirms ‘Spy Ring’ Charges,” the following appeared in the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* on March 14, 1967:

The existence of a student “spying” last spring at Brigham Young University was confirmed today by Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson, school president.

In a statement addressed to the BYU faculty, Wilkinson admitted the basic truth on the charges leveled by two students.

They said a group of students had been instructed to report the reaction of certain so-called “liberal” faculty-members to a speech given last April by Dr. Wilkinson on free enterprise and the American way of life.

Wilkinson said that as BYU president he “must accept responsibility” for the incident . . .

When the charges were first made, the BYU administration said the students were “misinformed.” This triggered a request from the BYU chapter of the American Association of University Professors for an investigation of the allegations “by the faculty, the administration and the board of trustees.”

In an interview with the *Daily Utah Chronicle*, Colleen Stone, one of the students who exposed the spy ring, made some very serious charges against the BYU and even claimed that the school was looking for an excuse to “oust us”:

In the same *Chronicle* interview, Miss Stone said she and Hankin could not be “ousted” from school for the speech because the activity was authorized by the administration since it was sponsored by the student government committee. However, she said, “I have been tailed since 1 p.m. Wednesday and they’re trying to find us doing something wrong so they can oust us.” . . .

Also in her “forum” speech, Miss Stone told the campus “We go to a university to pursue truth without limitations, yet we don’t have such an environment here; the passage of knowledge is suppressed.” She quoted a recent faculty meeting of the religion department as saying the position of the university was: (1) for young LDS girls to meet young LDS boys; (2) to train seminary teachers; and, (3) to provide a place where the ideas of the world can be tried by the doctrines of the Church. (*Daily Utah Chronicle*, March 6, 1967, page 5)

On March 28, 1987, “two of the BYU spies,” Mr. Hankin and Mr. Sisin, were guests in the Caucus Room at the University of Utah. They stated that they “had been subjected to a good deal of harassment. BYU people seemed to resent them as ‘squealers.’” They also stated that one of the administrators at the BYU “told them he wished he had had their telephones bugged.” Two weeks later Ronald Hankin was “dismissed from school.” The *Deseret News* (the Mormon newspaper) claimed that there was no connection between his dismissal and his part in exposing the spy ring:

PROVO—Student Ronald Hankin, 24, was dismissed from school for multiple violations of BYU standards all separate from his part in disclosing a student “spy” ring, a statement, printed in the university’s weekly *Faculty Bulletin*, said Thursday.

I emphasized there was no connection with the fact that Mr. Hankin was the student who charged that classmates were being used to spy on so-called “liberal” professors.

Mr. Hankin also wrote Thursday in a letter to the *BYU Daily Universe* that his dismissal was unrelated to his allegations regarding the spy ring.

A BYU spokesman said the school normally does not announce or comment on student suspensions and that Mr. Hankin made his own suspension public.

The *Faculty Bulletin* statement said Mr. Hankin of Hialeah, Fla., was suspended April 10 by the University Standards Office

on recommendation of the standards committee, composed of members of the faculty and administrative staff.

“Most of the infractions occurred and investigation was being made prior to the Feb. 28 student forum when Mr. Hankin made allegations regarding the ‘spy ring.’

“Mr. Hankin’s violations and the decision to suspend him were completely unrelated . . .

“In fact, the standards committee made its decision only after unusually careful investigation . . . because the committee realized there might be misunderstanding and misinterpretation . . .”

Dr. Ernest Wilkinson, BYU president, acknowledged the existence of the spy ring and said that the administration would not permit such conditions in the future. (*Deseret News*, April 13, 1967, page 14B)

Ronald Hankin has admitted that the BYU did obtain evidence against him, but he has not indicated the nature of his crime or crimes.

It is interesting to note that at the time the “spy ring” came to light a young student by the name of Thomas Gregory was attending Brigham Young University. Although we have no reason to believe that Gregory was involved in the BYU “spy ring,” it may have made a real impression on his mind. Gregory later went on a mission for the Church, and upon his return he registered again at BYU. While he was still a student at BYU it was disclosed that he had been involved with Howard Hunt and James McCord in their attempt to wiretap Senator McGovern’s headquarters. We will have much more to say about this later.

In a letter dated October 2, 1974, a former student of the Brigham Young University made these comments concerning conditions he encountered at the school:

I do remember attending some of my classes where the more liberal economic, sociology and political science teachers had to watch every word they said because anything unorthodox to a Conservative approach to educating our minds was immediately reported to the University President. Having been away from BYU for 3 years now I am convinced that what I received at the Y was not an education but an indoctrination. . . . Loosing contact with BYU and the Church could turn out to be the best thing in my entire life.

Dallin Oaks is now President of BYU, but Ernest L. Wilkinson is still honored by the Mormon leaders. In the *Deseret News 1974 Church Almanac*, page 53, we read: “President Lee also lauded Dr. Ernest Wilkinson, former president of the BYU for his untiring work in building up the campus and institution.” *The Church in Action*, 1971, page 55, says that “President Lee also announced plans or the creation of a new College of Law at the university. He said Dr. Wilkinson will assume a major role in its establishment.”

While we were going through the volumes of the Senate Investigation of the Watergate break-in and cover-up we were rather surprised to learn that Ernest L. Wilkinson belongs to the law firm that represented Maurice H. Stans during the hearings. This firm is known as “Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker.” Robert W. Barker of “Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker” is the attorney who served as “counsel for Mr. Stans,” . . . (*Hearings*, Book 2, page 625). On March 13, 1975, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

Former Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans pleaded guilty Wednesday to five misdemeanor counts in his handling of secret cash donations to the 1972 Nixon campaign.

Stans admitted that he unwittingly accepted illegal corporate money from two firms and that he failed to report three other cash matters as the finance chairman for Richard M. Nixon’s reelection campaign.

One of those counts involved \$81,000 in cash turned over to a campaign aide who became the paymaster for the Watergate coverup.

Stans, . . . entered his plea before U. S. District Judge John Lewis Smith Jr. after a half-year of compromise talks with the Watergate Special Prosecutor's office. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 13, 1975)

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for September 10, 1974, informs us that Robert W. Barker is "eastern regional representative of the Council of Twelve Apostles" in the Mormon Church. The Church Section of *Deseret News*, for October 7, 1967, says that Mr. Barker was "first counselor in the Washington Stake presidency." Barker is also listed among the officers and directors of the Mormon Church's Bonneville International Corporation (see *Deseret News*, September 28, 1964). The *Deseret News*, Church Section, for September 28, 1974, reprints an article from *The Sentinel* which says that Robert Barker "is credited with originally suggesting a Washington Temple in the first place.

"Barker, a Kensington resident whose property line coincidentally abuts the Temple property, is a Washington lawyer who served as J. W. Marriott's general counsel for his two inaugural committees."

At any rate, Ernest L. Wilkinson, the man who took responsibility for the "spy ring" at BYU, seemed to feel that President Ford should have pardoned all of the Watergate conspirators:

Ernest L. Wilkinson, Republican national committeeman for Utah: "I can understand why President Ford, appointed as vice president by Mr. Nixon and who, by Nixon's resignation is now President, may have felt some reciprocal moral obligation to pardon Nixon.

"But I cannot understand his inconsistent action in pardoning Nixon and at the same time announcing Nixon's lieutenants will not be pardoned. That makes a mockery of justice and amounts to one rule for those of political prestige." (*Salt Lake Tribune*, September 9, 1974)

Mullen and Mormons

As we indicated earlier, after we read the transcripts of Richard Nixon's tapes, we were led to believe that Senator Bennett's son, Robert Bennett, was involved in planning a burglary. Michael Marquardt then found that Robert Bennett worked for the Robert Mullen Co. From that point it did not take us long to discover that the Mullen Co. was the same company that handled public relations for the Mormon Church and that Robert Mullen was, in fact, the same man who had written the book *The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today*. This book seems to have been written to bring converts into the Mormon Church and to cover up the truth about Mormon history. In the *Salt Lake City Messenger* for February 1967, we made this comment about Mr. Mullen's book: "Although Mr. Mullen claims to be a non-Mormon, the book is obviously written in defense of the Mormon Church." Actually, the book itself bears witness to the fact that Mr. Mullen had been paid to do public relations work for the Church. On the jacket of Mr. Mullen's book we read as follows:

Robert Mullen's association with the Mormons began when his public relations firm was hired to publicize the first European tour of the famous Mormon Tabernacle Choir. A former editor of *Life Magazine*, he now runs a world-wide public relations agency with headquarters in Washington D. C.

On page 7 of his book, Mr. Mullen stated:

. . . one weekend in 1955 the writer received a telephone call. The Tabernacle Choir was about to embark on a European

tour and the Church authorities were apprehensive that they might sing to half-empty halls because the choir was unknown in Europe. They needed publicity and advertising. Since I had been active in overseas work for some years, the finger had pointed to me.

The next day I was flying to Salt Lake City to meet for the first time with the highest officials of the Church—and to begin pleasant associations and an experience that would prove memorable. (*The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today*, page 7)

According to a brochure published by the Mullen Co., they have offices in Washington, D.C., New York, Paris, and Tokyo. A letter dated January 20, 1965, also listed an office in Sweden and said that the Mullen Co. has "Offices and Representatives in Principal Cities Throughout the World." The Mullen Co. also has "A wholly owned subsidiary, the Intercontinental Research Company."

At any rate, when Mullen's book came out the Mormon Church's *Deseret News* printed these statements:

A great new book about the Mormons will be in the bookstores of the nation beginning Oct. 1.

The book is entitled *The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today*, and the author is Robert P. Mullen of Washington, D.C. . . .

Mr. Mullen is not a member of the Church . . .

The new book is one of the most complete, objective and friendly treatments of the Mormon story ever done by an "outsider." (*Deseret News*, Church Section, September 24, 1966)

In Salt Lake City during the Conference weekend Robert R. Mullen autographed copies of the book at Deseret Book Co. . . .

Mr. Mullen, not a member of the Church, . . . has directed his own public relations business in Washington, D.C. since 1953. He was engaged to publicize the first European tour of the famous Tabernacle Choir and through his world-wide public relations agency visited many areas where the Church is organized. . . .

Mr. Mullen expressed high acclaim for the Hill Cumorah Pageant at Palmyra, N. Y., which he has seen each year. (*Deseret News*, Church Section, October 8, 1966)

John Cogley of the *New York Times* did not seem to agree with the *Deseret News* opinion of Mullen's book. In a review of both Mullen's book and a book by Wallace Turner, Mr. Cogley stated:

The Mullen book smacks of the "authorized" account, with just enough mildly unfavorable material to make it credible to modern critical readers. Not surprising, Mr. Mullen, a Washington public relations professional, **has been retained by the Church of Latter-day Saints**. Mr. Turner is a *New York Times* correspondent, who has made a study of the church's teachings and regards the Mormons as a "fine people" but finds some of their doctrines repellent . . .

Forty-eight pages of the Turner book, for example, are devoted to what the author terms the Mormons' "anti-Negro doctrine." Mr. Mullen glides past the same doctrine in **one-half of a compound sentence**: . . . Mr. Mullen is too obvious about avoiding the "back corners" of Mormonism to put the Gentile reader wholly at ease. His swift passing over of issues that might possibly embarrass the church is all too evident all too frequently. . . .

Mr. Turner filled in what Mr. Mullen avoided, but at times perhaps a bit too eagerly. Mr. Turner is a skilled, experienced reporter. . . . It is known that Mr. Turner's earlier newspaper accounts of the Mormon dilemmas upset some in the Church's hierarchy. It does seem not altogether coincidental, then, that these two books should be turning up at the same time. (*New York Times*, Book Review Section, October 23, 1966)

Leonard J. Arrington, who later became Mormon Church Historian, had to admit that Mullen's book contained some "myths":

... Robert Mullen directs the world-wide public relations firm which was employed to publicize the 1955 European tour of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. He presents an undeviatingly favorable image of twentieth-century Mormonism. . . . **Some of his history is not very sophisticated.** . . . Several other myths which sometimes find their way into Sunday School and seminary classes also find expression in *The Latter-day Saints*. . . .

It should be observed that, although missionary work is his principal theme, Mullen reports only the successes. He has not analyzed the degree of effectiveness, the occurrence of "paper converts," the considerable number of lapsed conversions, and the quality of the converts. . . .

Of a far different order is *The Mormon Establishment* by Wallace Turner. Authored by an Alabama-born *New York Times* correspondent in San Francisco, *The Mormon Establishment* is far more critical—though not always adversely critical—whereas *The Latter-day Saints*, as befits a work by a public relations expert, views church affairs in terms of sweetness and light. *The Mormon Establishment*, in the journalistic tradition, finds more news value in clash and conflict than in quiet progress and consensus. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Winter, 1966, pages 118-120)

To any reader who is well informed on Mormon history, it is plain that Robert Mullen's book is a cover-up of the true facts.

The Church Section of the *Deseret News* for March 9, 1968, reported the following concerning Mullen's book:

College and public libraries across the United States are to be presented with a copy of Robert Mullen's book, . . . according to a report of the Church Information Committee.

The book . . . will be mailed by Doubleday. It will provide each prominent public and college library with an up-to-date and **accurate account** of the Church. About **5,000 copies** will be so distributed.

The Mullen book has also been published in England under the more striking title, "The Mormons," where it has had an unusual success. . . . Recently Mr. Mullen visited in Germany to arrange for publication of the book in the German language.

Mullen and the CIA

Newsweek for July 15, 1974, reported the following about the Mullen Company:

Washington was buzzing again last week with talk that the Central Intelligence Agency was involved in the scandals of the Nixon Administration—and this time the source was a 43-page report prepared by Howard Baker, the GOP vice-chairman of the Senate Watergate committee. . . .

The report had further questions about Robert R. Mullen & Co., the Washington public-relations firm that Hunt joined after he left the White House. According to the report, the firm had been used as an overseas cover for CIA activities from 1959 to mid-1972. Then, subsequent reports revealed, a drunk and despondent CIA man in Latin America blew the company's role to a Soviet KGB agent. That endangered CIA operations all over the Western Hemisphere, and is now referred to in the agency as "the W. H. flap." (*Newsweek*, July 15, 1974, page 29)

Senator Baker has provided us with a copy of his report. It has also been printed in the back of the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1. On page 7 of "The Baker Report" we find this statement: "The Mullen and Company has maintained a relationship with the Central Intelligence Agency since its incorporation in 1959. It provided cover for an agent in Europe and an agent in the Far East at the time of the Watergate break-in."

In his testimony given before the Senate Watergate Committee, Howard Hunt admitted that the Mullen Co. was connected with the CIA:

Senator BAKER. At the time you went to work with Mullen & Co., were you aware of or is it a fact the Mullen & Co. had ever been cooperative with or had any connection with the CIA?
Mr. HUNT. Yes, sir. (*Hearings*, Book 9, page 3726)

In his book, *Undercover*, Hunt gives additional information concerning this matter:

I was soon made aware that there were other links between the Mullen firm and the Central Intelligence Agency: The accountant was a CIA retiree, as was his eventual replacement. Moreover, **a Mullen office in Europe was staffed, run and paid for by CIA.** (*Undercover*, page 142)

In the *Las Vegas Sun* for May 18, 1975, we find the following:

Bennett also admits awareness of the CIA connection. He testified before the Special Subcommittee on Intelligence that founder Robert Mullen "told me that the Mullen Company had a contract with the CIA under which the CIA would place their employees on our payroll at selected cities abroad. They would use our name as a cover for their CIA activities."

On June 21, 1972, Howard J. Osborn, Director of Security at the CIA, sent a secret memo to the FBI in which he stated:

1. Reference is made to the verbal request of 20 June 1972 for any available information concerning the Robert R. Mullen Company and Interprogress.

2. The utilization of Robert R. Mullen and Company dates back to June 1963, and grew out of the recommendation of a long time cooperative CIA asset. Mr. Mullen has provided certain sensitive cover support overseas for Agency employees.

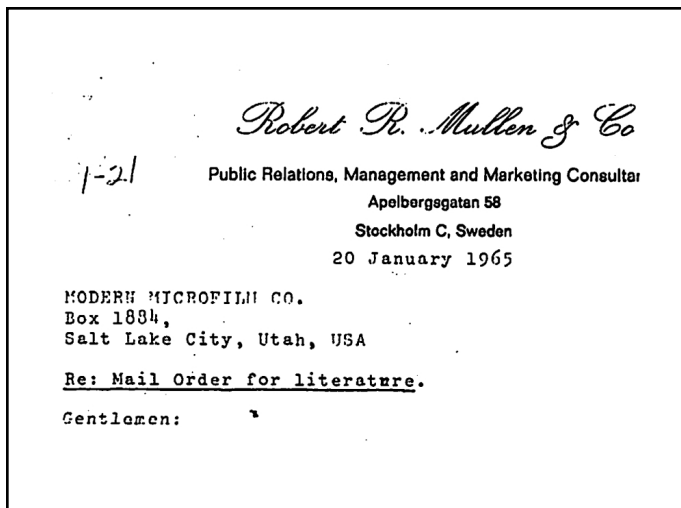
5 Since 1963, a total of eight people of the Mullen Company have been cleared and made witting of Agency ties, mainly in providing CIA cover overseas. It is to be noted that Mr. Edward Nacher, Mullen's bookkeeper and accountant, is a retired CIA Finance Officer.

7. In view of the extreme sensitivity of this information concerning the current use of the Robert R. Mullen Company, it is requested that this report be tightly controlled and not be disseminated outside your Bureau. Please transmit any information on this matter to the attention of the Director of Security. (Memo from the CIA, as reproduced in *Committee on the Judiciary*, Testimony of Witnesses, Book 3, pages 11-12)

A Surprising Discovery

After we learned of the involvement of Robert Bennett and the Mormon Church with the Mullen Company, we tried to find more material about the matter. Progress was very slow until September, 1974, when we made a most interesting discovery. We felt that there may be something in our files showing that the Mullen Co. had contacted us several years ago. After a long and diligent search, we found a letter from James A. Everett who was an employee of the Mullen Company in Sweden. This letter was dated January 20, 1965, and contains a request for books. The reader will find a photograph of the top of this letter on the next page.

Since the letter seemed to be written in a friendly spirit, we decided to try to locate Mr. Everett. We found that he had returned to Washington, D.C., and then moved to Missouri. On October 7,



1974, we were able to have a long telephone conversation with him, and on October 15, 1974, Mr. Everett sent us a letter in which he answered many questions we had about the relationship between the Mormon Church and the Mullen Co. We found Mr. Everett to be very open and willing to discuss this matter. The information which he has provided has really increased our knowledge of this relationship.

According to Mr. Everett, he worked for the Mullen Co. in different countries for a number of years. During this time Robert Mullen's book was translated into about ten different languages. Part of Mr. Everett's work had to do with these translations. In a letter dated October 11, 1974, we asked Mr. Everett the following questions:

5. I believe that you said the Mormons helped subsidize the translation of Mullen's book into about 10 different languages. Is this correct?

6. Did the Church pay Mullen to write the book in the first place?

In his reply, dated October 15, 1974, Mr. Everett stated:

5. The Mormon Church helped with the publication of Mr. Mullen's book to the extent that sufficient advance orders would be guaranteed in order to cover the publisher's out-of-pocket expenses. In some instances translation work was done by the Mormon Church but, in most instances, it was a part of the total professional costs involved in getting the work ready for a particular market.

6. I don't know the details. I assume the work was a part of the total P.R. effort on behalf of the client. That is indicated in the author's words in the book itself.

At any rate, Mr. Everett worked in Europe with the Mullen Co. for a number of years, and, as incredible as it may seem, he returned to America to work at the offices in Washington, D.C. on the night of the Watergate break-in. In his letter, Mr. Everett stated:

14. I returned from Europe on the night of the break-in, i.e. 17th June 1972. I went to the office on Monday the 19th and for the first time met Howard Hunt who had been hired during my absence in Europe.

We will have more to say about Mr. Everett's first meeting with Howard Hunt later in this book.

In our telephone conversation with Mr. Everett, he told us that the Mullen Co. handled public relations for the Mormon Church from 1957 to 1973. Robert Mullen says that he began handling

public relations for the Mormon Tabernacle Choir "in 1955" (*The Latter-day Saints*, page 7). One of the most important projects which the Mullen Co. worked on was the Church's Hill Cumorah pageant. Mr. Everett said that the Mullen Co. handled this from 1957 to 1973, and he felt that they had done a great deal toward making it the tremendous success it is today. In the telephone conversation, Mr. Everett told us that the Mullen Co. handled a good deal of work for the Church. In a letter dated October 11, 1974, we asked Mr. Everett if he could remember some of the projects which were handled by the Mullen Co.:

4. You mentioned the book by Mullens and the Cumorah Pageant as projects the Mullen Co. handled for the Church. Are there any others that come to your mind?

In his reply, Mr. Everett stated:

4. Earl Minderman of Robert R. Mullen & Co. has through the years done a most commendable job for the Mormon Church, including the publicity for the Cumorah Pageant. There have been many many others such as answering critical media reports, placing of radio programs on Radio Free Europe, Armed Forces Radio, etc.

Referring to our phone call of October 7, 1974, we asked Mr. Everett this question:

2. As I recall you stated that the Mullen Co. did quite a bit of work for the Mormon Church and that this began in 1957 and lasted until 1973. I believe that you said the Mormon Church withdrew its account in 1973 because of the bad publicity caused by Watergate. Is this correct?

In his reply, Mr. Everett stated:

2. Robert R. Mullen & Co. had a public relations consultant contract with the Mormon Church extending from 1957 to 1973. The official reason given for their transfer or cancellation of the contract was to combine the P.R. efforts for the Church and for B.Y.U. An office has been established in N.Y.C. according to my understanding but I've never had any occasion to verify this. There undoubtedly was concern on the behalf of the Church when it became apparent that Mullen & Co. would be under scrutiny for the Watergate affair. You will recall that a young Mormon boy was recruited by Howard Hunt to serve as spotter and informant in the Democratic Party Headquarters. This was probably an understandable irritant to good client relationships.

Mr. Everett continued to work with the Mullen Co. until sometime in 1974, but because of the startling revelations concerning the Watergate affair it has ceased its operations.

Bennett Buys Mullen Co.

As we indicated earlier, Robert Bennett is the son of Wallace Bennett. Wallace F. Bennett served for twenty-four years as a Senator from Utah. On June 3, 1975, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that "The White House sent to the Senate Monday the nomination of former Sen. Wallace F. Bennett, R-Utah, to be a member of the board of directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corp.

"Last week the White House press office announced the President's intentions to pick Mr. Bennett for the position which requires Senate confirmation."

Wallace Bennett is considered one of the real "pillars" of the Mormon Church and his book *Why I Am A Mormon*, published in 1958, has been widely used to bring converts into the Mormon Church. On page 53 of his book, Wallace Bennett speaks of his "faith that Joseph's story is true." He claims to have an "unshakeable assurance" that Mormonism is the true church. In relation to politics,

he had a very strong faith in Richard Nixon. When we informed him that we had become disillusioned with Nixon, he replied: "I do not agree with your assessment of the current situation regarding the Watergate incident and the Presidential tapes" (Letter dated August 9, 1973). Even after the firing of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, Bennett still expressed his faith in Nixon:

Thank you for your letter regarding recent developments relating to the "Watergate" affair. I still have complete faith in the President. . . . I would hope that we will not have to go through too many more weeks of useless partisan political bickering before we can once again get on with the business of solving our nation's problems.

Wallace Bennett's performance with regard to Nixon appears even more reprehensible when we learn that his son Robert had informed him about the White House roll in Watergate. In an article published in the *Las Vegas Sun* we read as follows:

Bennett met with his father, staunch Republican Senator Wallace Bennett, and told him of the White House role in Watergate. The elder Bennett was so shocked that he apparently exclaimed, "If the Republicans are established, as part of the conspiracy, I would not vote for Nixon." The statement is punctuated by three exclamation marks in CIA agent Lukasky's report, which indicates that the CIA was fully aware that Bennett's knowledge could be extremely dangerous to Richard Nixon's future. (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 19, 1975)

In spite of this inside knowledge, Wallace Bennett went right on blindly defending Nixon. The *Salt Lake Tribune* for January 13, 1975, reported the following:

—On President Nixon: "My best relationship was with Nixon." An intrepid defender of President Nixon as Watergate events unraveled, Sen. Bennett said he still believes he was right to defend the President "on the presumption of innocence just like anyone else." There was a lot of "underground political pressure" against the President, and actions were not solely motivated toward justice, the senator claimed.

"When history is written, this (Watergate) will shrink back in perspective. I think it's been blown up out of all proportion to the seriousness of the crime, and I'm not talking about Nixon. I'm talking about the men who broke into the Democratic headquarters. It supplied a foundation on which a great structure was built and a good part of the motivation was political," Sen. Bennett said.

At any rate, Senator Bennett's strong faith in Mormonism and Richard Nixon was shared by his son Robert. On page 7 of his book *Why I Am A Mormon*, Wallace Bennett indicated that Robert Bennett and his other sons have served on missions for the Church. According to James A. Everett, Robert Bennett served his "mission in England" (Letter dated October 15, 1974). Mr. Everett also stated that "Mr. Bennett has maintained a most respected position in the Mormon Church and I believe has been a Stake President. I know he was active as Counselor to the Stake President and has served in setting up the P.R. activity in the Eastern States" (Ibid.).

If Robert Bennett was a Stake President, it would have been some time before 1973, because Michael Marquardt found him listed as 1st Counselor in the Bishopric of the Arlington Ward, Oakton Virginia Stake, in 1973-74 (see *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Directory, General Authorities and Officers 1973-74*, page 225).

We do not know exactly when Robert Bennett first met Robert Mullen, but we do know that they worked together in Nixon's 1968 campaign. *Who's Who In America, 1972-73*, vol. 2, page 2273, informs us that Robert Mullen served as "Chmn Pub. relations Nixon-Agnew, 1968." The *New York Times* for June 20, 1972, gives this information:

After resigning from the C.I.A., Mr. Hunt . . . joined the Robert R. Mullen Company, a . . . concern that during the 1968 campaign, had the publicity account of the Committee for the Election of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew.

In the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 2, page 251, we read as follows:

Robert Bennett has served as Vice Chairman for Public Relations (under Robert Mullen) in the 1968 campaign (when he met Colson and Evans), and then became Congressional liaison in the Department of Transportation, where he was Colson's "political contact." When he left the Department in 1970, he joined Mullen's Washington public relations firm.

On March 14, 1969, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported the following concerning Robert Bennett:

WASHINGTON—Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe has picked Robert Bennett as director of his office of Congressional Relations. . . .

Mr. Bennett, a 1957 graduate of the University of Utah, has been the Washington representative for the J. C. Penney Co. since 1964.

He served as legislative assistant for Rep. Sherman P. Lloyd, R-Utah, the first year Rep. Lloyd was in Washington. Later he was administrative assistant for his father . . .

On December 23, 1970, the *Salt Lake Tribune* announced that "Robert F. Bennett, director of congressional relations for the U.S. Department of Transportation, has resigned to enter a private public relations firm in Washington, D.C." Although the name of the company is not mentioned, it must have been the Mullen Co. In "The Baker Report," page 8, we learn that Robert Bennett became President of the Mullen Co. in 1971:

Robert Bennett, . . . joined Mullen and Company and became its President in 1971. He was introduced to the Mullen CIA case officer in April of that year. Bennett brought the Hughes Tool account with him to Mullen.

Because of the close relationship of the Mormon Church and the Mullen Co. some people were led to speculate that the Church had purchased the Mullen Company. In the phone conversation of October 7, 1974, Mr. Everett said that this was not the case, but that Robert Bennett had bought the company from Mr. Mullen. In our letter, dated October 11, 1974, we asked Mr. Everett this question:

1. In our phone conversation you stated that the Mormon Church does not own any of the Mullen Co., but that Robert Bennett is the sole owner. I wonder if you could tell me when he bought the company?

Mr. Everett answered as follows:

1. Robert Bennett purchased Robert R. Mullen & Co. in 1971 as near as I can recall. I was in Amsterdam at the time. Mr. Mullen remained on as Chairman of the Board and Bob Bennett took the position of President. The purchase agreement went over an extended period of time.

Jack Anderson seems to have been aware of the fact that Bennett actually owned the Mullen Co. He stated:

The CIA used Bennett's public relations firm, Mullen and Company, as a spy front. On its payroll was none other than Howard Hunt, the Watergate conspirator, who came to the firm from the CIA and later moved over to the White House. (*Deseret News*, June 25, 1974)

The following information appears in the Rockefeller Report:

Eight months after Hunt was hired by the Mullen Company, Robert Bennett joined the company. Bennett, the son of Senator Wallace Bennett (R-Utah), had been active in Republican Party affairs and served as Congressional relations officer of the Department of Transportation until January 1971 when he came to the Mullen firm. **His political connections led him to be involved in some of Hunt's later activities**, discussed below.

Mullen, who was planning to retire, had invited Bennett to become president of the firm and purchase it. This was a disappointment to Hunt who had himself expected to become president and owner of the business. Attempts by Hunt to negotiate a joint ownership arrangement with Bennett failed and Hunt began to think of leaving the firm.

There is no evidence of Bennett's having had prior CIA contacts. He stated that he learned of the Mullen-CIA arrangement in February 1971 when he was examining Mullen's books preliminary to negotiating a purchase price for the company. At that time, he first met the CIA case officer and was briefed; occasional meetings followed from time to time to discuss the cover arrangements.

Bennett brought Hughes Tool Company (now Summa Corporation) as a client to Mullen. He had met Hughes representatives while at the Department of Transportation. Later in 1971, he introduced Hunt to representatives of Hughes and various contacts occurred which are discussed further below. (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States*, June 1975, pages 175-176)

In his book *Compulsive Spy*, Tad Szulc gives the following information:

As for the Mullen firm, it was extremely close to Republican power in Washington. The firm's president—and the man who really ran it—was Robert F. Bennett, the son of the Republican Senator from Utah. Bob Bennett, an affable but strict Mormon, came to the firm from the Department of Transportation . . .

Bennett was very well acquainted around Washington, and the firm held some valuable accounts. One of them was to represent in Washington the interests of Howard Hughes. . . . Another important account was General Foods. Then there was the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—an account that Bennett assigned to Hunt when he joined the firm. . . .

Hunt also turned out to be something of a social climber. . . . he was anxious to be a member of the very prestigious Metropolitan Club in Washington, and he kept pressing Bennett and other friends, who belonged to it, to put him up for membership. . . .

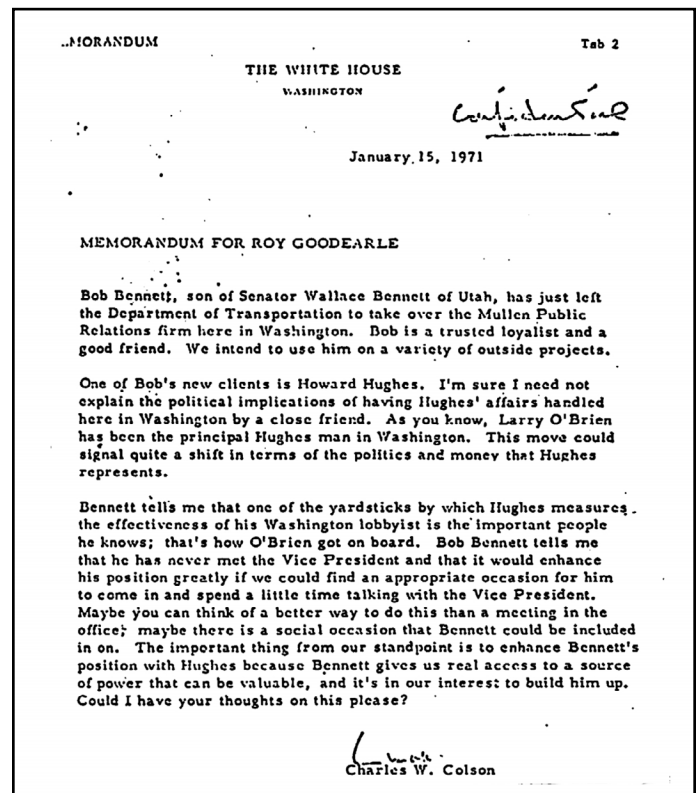
While Hunt was occupied during the spring and summer of 1970 with his profession and personal frustrations, President Nixon was increasingly concerned with political "law and order" . . . it was to become enormously relevant before too long that one of the White House inner sanctum planners was a cordial friend of the embittered former intelligence operative.

This friend was Charles W. Colson, Special Counsel to the President, and one of the most powerful (some people said one of the most ruthless) men in Nixon's White House. . . . after Hunt left the CIA he began to court Colson with considerable assiduity. Hunt understood power, and he knew where it was centered in Washington. . . . Bob Bennett was also acquainted with Colson, and the three men met to chat about Republican politics. . . .

Even before Hunt joined the White House staff in mid-July 1971, he and the public-relations firm where he worked were already well involved with the Presidential offices. For one thing, there was the relationship among Hunt, Colson, and Bob Bennett. Business was of course discussed when the three met, and the fact that the Mullen company held a Howard Hughes account turned out to be of intense interest to the White House.

On January 5, 1971, for example, Colson wrote a confidential memorandum to Roy Goodearle, then an aide to Vice President Agnew, recommending that Bennett be introduced to Agnew in order to "enhance" his influence in Washington. (*Compulsive Spy*, by Tad Szulc, pages 105-109 and 113)

Below is a photograph of the Colson memo concerning Robert Bennett.



In his testimony given before the Judiciary Committee, Charles Colson stated:

I saw him [Hunt] from time to time when he did accept a position at the Mullen Co., . . . once he was employed there he and Mr. Bennett, who was the chief executive of that company, would occasionally drop by my office and offer their assistance on any matters that they could be helpful with outside of the White House. (*Committee on the Judiciary—Testimony of Witnesses*, Book 3, page 99)

In a "CONFIDENTIAL" memo from John Dean to H. R. Haldeman, we find the following:

Pursuant to your memorandum of January 18, 1971, I have conducted an inquiry into the relationship between Larry O'Brien and Howard Hughes. My preliminary findings are set forth below. . . . Bob Bennett, son of Wallace Bennett of Utah, has recently left the Department of Transportation to take over the Mullen Public Relations firm here in Washington. Chuck Colson informs me that **Bob Bennett is a trusted and good friend of the Administration**. One of Bob's new clients is Howard Hughes. Bennett informs me that there is no doubt about the fact that Larry O'Brien was retained by Howard Hughes and the contract is still in existence. . . . Bennett also indicates that he will be going to the West Coast to talk about the specifics of his Hughes relationship with Mr. Gay (the man who is responsible for releasing Maheu). Bennett also indicated that he felt confident that if it was necessary to document the retainer with O'Brien that he could get the necessary information through the Hughes people, but it would be with the understanding that the documentation would not be used in a manner that might embarrass Hughes.

As I am sure you are aware, information in this area is somewhat difficult to come by. Bob Bennett appears to be the best source readily available. (Memo from John Dean to H. R.

Haldeman, dated January 26, 1971, as reproduced in *Executive Session Hearings Before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities*, . . . Book 21, pages 9751-9753)

Two days after this memo was written, H. R. Haldeman sent a memo to John Dean. Below is a photograph of that memo as it appears in *Hearings*, Book 8, page 3369.

MEMORANDUM	
THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON	
January 28, 1971	
<u>CONFIDENTIAL</u>	
MEMORANDUM FOR:	JOHN DEAN
FROM:	H. R. HALDEMAN
SUBJECT:	<u>Hughes Retainer of Larry O'Brien</u>
<p>You should continue to keep in contact with Bob Bennett, as well as looking for other sources of information on this subject. Once Bennett gets back to you with his final report, you and Chuck Colson should get together and come up with a way to leak the appropriate information. Frankly, I can't see any way to handle this without involving Hughes so the problem of "embarrassing" him seems to be a matter of degree. However, we should keep Bob Bennett and Belch out of it at all costs. Please keep me advised of your progress on this and any plans you decide on.</p>	
<u>CONFIDENTIAL</u>	

Bennett & Hunt Discuss Burglary

Michael Myerson claims that Howard Hunt originally met Robert Mullen in Paris (see *Watergate: Crime in the Suites*, page 137).

In the Rockefeller Report, page 174, we read that Mullen "had known Hunt at a time when both had served in the European Cooperation Administration in Paris, . . ." On the same page we find this information about Hunt's employment at the Mullen Company:

Hunt retired from the Agency in April 1970 . . .

In the course of looking for post-retirement employment, Hunt contacted the Agency's External Employment Branch, which among other things helps retirees find positions. One of its officers, Frank O'Malley, had known both Hunt and Mullen from his earlier work on the Agency's cover staff. In view of Hunt's interest in the public relations field, O'Malley, with the help of the CIA case officer assigned to Mullen, contacted Mullen for help in placing Hunt. (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States*, page 174)

In the secret testimony of Howard Hunt in executive session before the Senate Watergate Committee we find the following:

Mr. Madigan. Now, who did you contact over in the placement service with regard to lock picking?

Mr. Hunt. It was the same man who had arranged my placement with Mullen and Company, and I think it was O'Malley. (Howard Hunt's Executive Session Testimony, December 18, 1973, pages 33-34)

In the *Las Vegas Sun* for May 18, 1975, we find this statement: "Hunt started to work for the Mullen Company on May 1, 1970, after his alleged retirement from the CIA. According to Bennett, the CIA pressured the Mullen Company to hire their veteran spy."

According to the Rockefeller Report, Robert Mullen changed his testimony with regard to his hiring of Hunt:

Although in early testimony Mullen claimed that Director Helms or others in the Agency had put pressure on him to hire Hunt, he later acknowledged that **this was not correct** and that he had hired Hunt on his own initiative. There does not appear to be support for the position taken by Mullen in his early testimony. While Helms had given Hunt permission to list Helms' name as a reference on Hunt's resume, and had written a letter of recommendation to a friend at another company (a copy of which Mullen might have seen), there is no evidence that he either wrote or communicated with Mullen about Hunt, or took part in Mullen's hiring of Hunt. (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities within the United States*, June 1975, page 174)

We have tried to obtain Robert Mullen's testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, but Senator Howard Cannon said it had been "embargoed from release by the Watergate Special Prosecutor, . . ." (Letter dated May 22, 1975). After the run-around we received on Bennett's testimony, we decided it would be useless to make any further inquiries about Mullen's testimony.

Tad Szulc claims that Howard Hunt started work at the Mullen Company the day following his retirement from the CIA:

Howard Hunt is not a man who believes in retirement or vacations. In the afternoon of April 30, 1970, he walked out for the last time from the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency. Next morning, May 1, he was at work at his new job with the Robert R. Mullen & Company . . . His constant need for money was something of a mystery to his friends and associates. His CIA pension was \$24,000 and the Mullen company was paying him \$24,000 a year. Dorothy, his wife, worked part time at the Spanish Embassy, . . . The family's income, therefore, had to be at least \$50,000, which was not bad in Washington in 1970. Besides Hunt received residual royalties from some of the forty-four novels he had published over the previous twenty-eight years. . . . Hunt was always "haggling" for more money, as his associates at the public-relations company reported later. . . . he put up an argument for an \$8000 salary increase—this would have brought up his salary to \$32,000—but the Mullen people turned him down. . . . In any event, the two references Hunt gave when he applied for the job with the Mullen company were Richard Helms and William F. Buckley, Jr. Helms was then still Director of the CIA. . . . Many people around Washington believe that there is indeed such a thing as a CIA "old-boy network."

At the time of the Watergate raid and in subsequent testimony before the Senate Investigating Committee, Helms insisted that he barely knew Hunt. But there are reasons to believe that Helms was at least quite aware of Hunt's existence. For one thing, according to senior Agency officials, Helms tried hard to get Hunt the Madrid station job which Allen Dulles had promised him. For another thing, Helms kept copies of Hunt's spy novels around his office and often gave or lent them to friends and visitors. (*Compulsive Spy*, pages 103-105)

Some people suspect that Hunt didn't really retire from the CIA when he came to the Mullen Co. In his secret testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, Hunt claimed that he had retired,

but he also admitted that he had used “the cloak of retirement” on previous occasions:

Mr. Hunt. It was never made explicit to Mr. Martinez that I was no longer with the Agency. I never said that I was or wasn't. . . .

Mr. Summit. You had never given him any reason to believe that you were still a member of the Agency?

Mr. Hunt. Nor did he have any reason to believe that I was not, other than **my oft-repeated remarks that I was retired from the Agency, but I had been telling people year in and year out for a long time that I had retired** from the Agency, depending on what my job was.

I went off to Spain in '65, for example, under the cloak of retirement, and that was widely reported, so when the actual thing came in '70 people were hardly prepared to believe it.

Mr. Summit. It's the old crying wolf story.

Mr. Hunt. Exactly. (Howard Hunt's Executive Session Testimony, December 18, 1973, pages 87 and 89)

On January 17, 1974, a CIA employee wrote a statement which has some interesting information concerning Hunt's relationship with the CIA after he was supposed to have retired. This statement was published by the Judiciary Committee, but unfortunately some names have been deleted. We quote the following from this statement:

My secretary, Mrs. _____, and I frequently speculated about the possible involvement of Howard Hunt and the Watergate affair and the possible involvement of the Agency. I was aware that Hunt had frequently transmitted sealed envelopes via our office to the Agency. We had receipts for these envelopes but were unaware of the contents. However, Mr. _____ who had temporarily occupied my post . . . had told me that he had opened one of the packages one day to see what Hunt was sending to the Agency. He said that the envelope was addressed to and **appeared to contain “gossip” information about an unknown person**—he assumed that it had something to do with a psychological study of that person. . . .

Shortly after my assignment at the Executive Office Building, a new telephone list was issued by the White House and it contained Hunt's name. The Watergate news broke and Hunt was involved. The White House recalled the phone listings without reason and reissued them—we noted that Hunt's name had been deleted. As the news of the Watergate and Hunt's involvement spread, we—at a date unknown—decided that it was not prudent nor necessary to retain the receipts for envelopes which we had transmitted from him to CIA and we destroyed these receipts.

Earlier this year information appeared in the press which discussed Hunt and psychological studies. Linking the above information with these news reports I became concerned that the Agency might become publicly involved in this publicity and that it would be an embarrassment which the Agency should be aware of and prepared for. . . . I knew that Mr. Helms was probably aware of some of Hunt's activities . . . (*Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803, Book 2, pages 298-299*)

The Rockefeller Report acknowledges that the CIA had an “Operation CHAOS” that engaged in spying on American citizens. On page 143 of the report we read that “A ‘201’, or personality, file would be opened on an individual when enough information had been collected to warrant a file . . . In addition, a ‘sensitive’ file might also be maintained on that same person.”

The Rockefeller Report does not indicate that Howard Hunt was connected with this operation. Hunt's secret testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, December 18, 1973, does not mention “Operation CHAOS,” but Hunt does admit that he had previously been involved in gathering domestic intelligence for the CIA:

Mr. Hunt. Yes, may I indicate **my connection with CIA domestic operations**, at this point, just to clarify my position?

Mr. Madigan. Sure.

Mr. Hunt. In the wake of the Bay of Pigs operation, that is to say, early in 1962, there was formed within the Central Intelligence Agency, a new division. It was called the Domestic Operations Division. Its chief was the late C. Tracy Barnes, B-a-r-n-e-s, and **I was appointed as the Chief of Covert Action with the Domestic Operations Division**. . . . We established field stations in Boston and Chicago and San Francisco, to name a few cities. These were parallel to the extent overt CIA establishments; and a large variety of domestic based operations were conducted by this Division.

In 1964, following the nomination of Senator Goldwater, the Republican Presidential Candidate, I was told by Mr. Barnes, the Division Chief, that I was to arrange to have picked up on a daily basis and as soon as possible every day, any and all information that might be available at Senator Goldwater's Headquarters, and that information was to be taken to a CIA man who was resident in the White House named Chester Cooper. Chet Cooper.

“I was opposed to this, as a Goldwater Republican. I was told that it didn't make any difference, that President Johnson had ordered this activity and that Cooper would be the recipient of the information. Accordingly, these pickups were made, most usually by a secretary who worked on my staff named, then, Connie Hicks, . . . Her immediate supervisor was Mrs. Frederick P. McIntosh, now retired from the Agency, who lives at Westlock Farm, Leesburg, Virginia.

This information gathering activity by CIA, for President Johnson continued on up until the election of President Johnson over Senator Goldwater that fall. It was done on a daily basis.

Mr. Madigan. Can you give another example?

Mr. Hunt. Yes. My staff ran a media operation known as Continental Press out of the National Press Building in Washington. We funded much of the activities of the Frederick D. Praeger Publishing Corporation in New York City. We funded, to a large extent, the activities of Fodor's Travel Guide, distributed by the David McKay Corporation.

Mr. Madigan. What was the purpose of that type of activity?

Mr. Hunt. It was a type of inherited activity. It was inherited by the Domestic Operations Division from some other area within the Agency. . . . I was not a fan of the idea. I thought that it was (a) unnecessary, Fodor and McKay didn't need the money; and (b) that it was an improper extension of CIA activity into the domestic field. (Howard Hunt's Executive Session Testimony, December 18, 1973, pages 47-50)

In Senator Bakers Report, page 7, we read that “Hunt left the CIA in 1970 and joined Mullen and Company with what founder Robert Mullen understood to be Director Helms' blessing. Hunt's covert security clearance was extended by the CIA; he was witting of the Mullen cover; and, on occasion he undertook negotiations with the Agency with respect to that cover—even after becoming employed at the White House . . .”

In his testimony given in *DNC vs McCord*, Robert Bennett claims that he met Howard Hunt in 1970:

Q—Was one of those persons E. Howard Hunt?

A—Yes.

Q—What was his title with the company at that time?

A—Vice President.

. . . .

Q—Did you know Mr. Hunt prior to that time?

A—I had met him at a luncheon in mid-1970, the summer of 1970, at which time my joining the Mullen Company was discussed, but I had no other contact with him until I joined the company. (*DNC vs McCORD*, Deposition of Robert Foster Bennett, page 8)

In *The Watergate Hearings: Break-in and Cover-up*, page 831, we find this information about Hunt:

Everette Howard Hunt Jr. left the Central Intelligence Agency in 1970 after 21 years of clandestine operations. But after the convicted Watergate conspirator left to take a more mundane public relations job, “he couldn’t get over the fact,” according to a friend, “that he’d been a C.I.A. agent. You couldn’t have a conversation with him for 10 minutes without him bringing it up some way or other. This was a romanticist who couldn’t get over the fact that he had been a spy.

This was a role that Hunt relished, admitting that “I was an intelligence officer—a spy—for the Government of the United States,” . . .

It was a role that teamed Hunt with G. Gordon Liddy, another Watergate culprit, to organize the break-in at the office of the psychiatrist of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg . . .

It was a role that made Hunt consider breaking into the safe of a Las Vegas newspaper publisher to get presumably damaging evidence on the then candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, Senator Edmund S. Muskie.

And finally it was a role that contributed to Hunt’s conviction for conspiring to break into the Democratic national headquarters at the Watergate complex. . . . While a schoolboy Hunt visited Havana. Years later, in 1960, Hunt returned to Havana on a secret visit to observe life under Fidel Castro. As a result Hunt recommended the assassination of Castro. (*The Watergate Hearings Break-in and Cover-up*, page 839)

Hunt claimed that he “had a rather demanding job at Mullen and Co.” (*Hearings*, Book 9, page 3716). In the *New York Times* for April 28, 1973, we read as follows:

The 54-year-old former Central Intelligence Agency employee who has written 42 books worked as vice president of the Robert R. Mullen Company and was signed on to work for the White House as a part-time consultant in July, 1971. . . . Mr. Bennett said Hunt was paid \$125 a day after he went to work for the White House and was able to spend 17 to 20 days a month on company business.

In the book *Watergate: The Full Inside Story*, pages 59-60, we find this information about Hunt:

The secretaries at the Mullen agency thought that Hunt was a rather sad man. . . . Early in July, Colson called Hunt’s superior at the firm and asked him to let Howard “moonlight” for the White House. Given the political sympathies of the Mullen agency, that was no problem at all.

While Hunt was working with Bennett at the Mullen Co., the idea of breaking into Hank Greenspun’s safe was discussed:

When Hughes left Las Vegas back in 1970, Greenspun, a resourceful newsman, managed to persuade one of the billionaire’s lieutenants to turn over a large portion of his master’s private archive—it was said of Greenspun that he owned “the largest collection of Howard Hughes memoranda in captivity.” The memos lay in the same safe as the explosive Muskie dirt.

Hunt hit upon the seemingly brilliant idea of combining public and private service. **The Hughes organization, as a client of the Mullens agency**, might be interested in recovering their boss’s documents from Greenspun’s safe. Their removal could be used as a “cover” for the real motive of the burglary—the Muskie dirt. Unfortunately, when the idea was put up to Hughes’s attorney, Hunt was told that Hughes felt he could live without recovery of the documents. (*Ibid.*, page 120)

The Watergate burglar James McCord gave this interesting testimony about the plan to break into Greenspun’s safe:

The next item is headed “Las Vegas Matter,” which was referred to in the previous testimony on Friday.

In January or February 1972, Gordon Liddy told me that he was going out to Las Vegas, Nev., in connection with casing the office of Hank Greenspun, editor of the *Las Vegas Sun*.

Liddy said that Attorney General John Mitchell had told him that Greenspun had in his possession blackmail type information involving a Democratic candidate for President, that Mitchell wanted that material, and Liddy said that this information was in some way racketeer-related, indicating that if this candidate became President, the racketeers or national crime syndicate could have a control or influence over him as President. My inclination at this point in time, speaking of today is to disbelieve the allegation against the Democratic candidate referred to above and to believe that there was in reality **some other motive for wanting to get into Greenspun’s safe**.

Liddy told me one day in February 1972 that he was going out to Las Vegas, and might need my help if there was an alarm system in the offices, when an entry operation was mounted to enter a safe in Greenspun’s offices to get the information. A few days later Liddy told me that he had been to Las Vegas and looked over the offices and that there was no such alarm system, and my services were not needed.

Subsequently in about April or May 1972, Liddy told me that he had again been to Las Vegas for another casing of Greenspun’s offices. Liddy said that there were then plans for an entry operation to get into Greenspun’s safe. He went on to say that after the entry team finishes its work, they would go directly to an airport near Las Vegas where a Howard Hughes plane would be standing by to fly the team directly into a Central American country so that the team would be out of the country before the break-in was discovered.

Around the same time Liddy made this last statement to me about the Howard Hughes plane, Hunt told me in his office one day that he was in touch with the Howard Hughes company and that they might be needing my security services after the election. (*Hearings*, Book 1, page 202)

In his testimony before the Senate Select Committee, Howard Hunt claimed that Robert Bennett had a part in discussions concerning Hank Greenspun’s material:

Mr. DASH. During this same period and prior to the Watergate break-in, Mr. Hunt, did you and Mr. Liddy work on a political espionage plan involving a target in Las Vegas?

Mr. HUNT. Apart from Gemstone?

Mr. DASH. Yes.

Mr. HUNT. . . . my employer, Mr. Robert Bennett, informed me that he had heard a rumor around Las Vegas to the effect that a publisher named Hank Greenspun had information which would “blow Muskie out of the water” in case Muskie became a candidate.

I reported by very brief memo this information to Mr. Liddy. Mr. Liddy responded enthusiastically seeing in it initially an opportunity for us to travel at company expense as it were, to Las Vegas and have an enjoyable time.

Very shortly after his initial reaction Mr. Liddy informed me that he, in effect, had been able to confirm the rumor or at least that he had heard from another source this rumor, and that there was a disposition on the part of his principals to pursue it.

I reported this matter back to Mr. Bennett and within a short period of time Mr. Bennett introduced me to Mr. Ralph Winte who was then head of security for either the Hughes Tool Co. or one of its many subsidiaries.

At our initial discussion Mr. Bennett, Mr. Winte, and I discussed Las Vegas, . . . this discussion reached the point where **Mr. Bennett suggested that there was a commonality of interest between the Hughes Tool Co. and Mr. Liddy and myself.**

Mr. Winte and I withdrew to my office where he indicated that he was disposed to cooperate with me in the matter. I had no prior experience in Las Vegas, and he said he would attempt to produce a floor diagram of the Greenspun office, and I asked him whether his firm, with its multitudinous interests in Las Vegas, could provide us with support facilities such as hotel rooms, automobiles, and so forth. He indicated that there would be no problem.

Mr. DASH. Now, in other words, what you are saying is that your conversation with Mr. Winte indicated that the Hughes Tool Co. also was interested in gaining information that may be in the possession of Mr. Greenspun that was related to their lawsuits that were pending, is that true ?

Mr. HUNT. Yes, sir.

Mr. DASH. Did that include an airplane or an escape plane should that be necessary?

Mr. HUNT. That came later, Mr. Dash.

Mr. DASH. I am just trying to abbreviate your response.

Mr. HUNT. The answer is "Yes"; it did.

Mr. DASH. Did you go out to Los Angeles and further communicate with Mr. Winte?

"Mr. HUNT. I did.

Mr. DASH. Was it part of the plan—should it follow through and should there be a safe, **that there would be an entry and that the contents of the safe would be emptied and that a different place you would divvy up what belonged to Hughes and what belonged to your interest?**

Mr. HUNT. Yes, sir.

Mr. DASH. What happened to that plan? Was it fruitful?

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Winte had indicated to me and to Mr. Liddy also that he could provide the on-the-ground support facilities which would be required for an entry operation if such an entry operation were devised, but that with regard to the aircraft, he would have to refer to his superiors for authorization. It so happened that the [sic] following, the meeting among Mr. Winte, Mr. Liddy, and myself, the Muskie candidacy was rapidly losing impetus, and no one was particularly interested in the information that Mr. Greenspun might have possessed if, in fact he ever did, concerning Mr. Muskie.

Mr. DASH. So the plan was dropped?

Mr. HUNT. The plan was dropped and either Mr. Bennett or Mr. Winte told me at a later date that in any event the availability of the aircraft had been declined. (*Hearings*, Book 9, pages 3686-3687)

Senator Baker's Report, page 8, says that "Bennett suggested that Greenspun's safe contained information of interest to both Hughes and the CRP; . . ." In footnote 12 on the same page, we read: "Bennett indicates that Hunt suggested Bennett coordination with Hughes."

According to the *New York Times*, Robert Bennett admitted that he did discuss the break-in with a Las Vegas company but that it never actually took place:

WASHINGTON, April 27—A burglary venture, that it was thought might produce information on Senator Edmund S. Muskie's Presidential campaign was discussed, but never carried out, by E. Howard Hunt Jr., a former Hunt business associate has told the *New York Times*.

Robert F. Bennett, president of a Washington public relations firm that once employed Hunt, who is one of the Watergate conspirators, said Hunt in 1971 discussed with him possibly breaking into the safe of a Las Vegas, Nev., publisher in a search for papers that Hunt told him might be "very damaging" to Senator Muskie. . . .

Mr. Bennett, president of the company, who is a son of Senator Wallace F. Bennett, Republican of Utah, said that Hunt told him he heard through underground channels that Hank Greenspun, publisher of the *Las Vegas Sun*, had papers in his safe that would be "very damaging" to Senator Muskie.

He said the safe might also contain papers sought by a Las Vegas company and that the company might be interested in the break-in. Mr. Bennett said he checked it with the company involved and told him "No way." . . .

Later when I asked Hunt if it came off, he said, "Oh, no, but Muskie's not going to be the candidate, so it doesn't matter anyway." (*New York Times*, April 28, 1973)

Although Howard Hunt and Robert Bennett admit discussing the break-in, they both indicate that it was never actually carried out. Senator Lowell P. Weicher, on the other hand, says that "Burglaries in fact took place at the office of Dr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist, at the Democratic National Committee, at the office of publisher Hank Greenspun, according to multiple evidence; . . ." (*The Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, page 673).

In the transcripts of Richard Nixon's tapes we find this very revealing information about the Greenspun affair:

E—Ordinarily not. McCord volunteered this Hank Greenspun thing, gratuitously apparently, not—

P—Can you tell me is that a serious thing? Did they really try to get into Hank Greenspun?

E—I guess they actually got in.

P—What in the name of (expletive deleted) though, has Hank Greenspun got with anything to do with Mitchell or anybody else?

E—Nothing. Well, now, Mitchell. Here's—Hughes. And these two fellows. Colson and Shapiro, Colson threw that out.

P—Hughes on whom?

E—Well, you know the Hughes thing is cut into two factions—

E—I don't even know—but they're fighting.

P—Yeah.

E—Bennett, Senator Bennett's son, for whom Hunt worked.

P—Oh?

E—Represents one of those factions.

P—So he ordered the bugging?

E—I don't know. I know the (unintelligible) say it's a bag job.

H—They busted his safe to get something out of it. Wasn't that it?

E—No. They flew out, **broke his safe, got something out** (unintelligible). Now as they sat there in my office—

P—Other delicate things, too. You've got apart from my poor brother, which unfortunately or fortunately was a long time ago but, more recently, you've got Hubert Humphrey's son works for him and, of course, they're tied in with O'Brien I suppose. But maybe they were trying to get if for that reason. (*The White House Transcripts*, New York, 1974, pages 292-293)

In the *New York Times* for May 23, 1973, we find this information:

LAS VEGAS, Nev., May 22—Hank Greenspun, editor and publisher of the *Las Vegas Sun*, charged today that a burglary attempt at his office last summer was not to obtain "blackmail-type information" on Democratic Presidential candidates, as James W. McCord Jr. testified this morning at the Senate's Watergate hearing in Washington.

Instead, he said, **the attempt was made to acquire hundreds of signed memorandums by Howard Hughes**, the industrialist, that are in his possession. . . .

"I cannot disclose now what is in these files," he stated, "but it will come out in due time. . . ."

"Hughes would give anything to get his hands on them," Mr. Greenspun said in an interview. "That's why a Hughes plane was involved and why, as McCord testified, its destination was to be a Latin-American country. Hughes was in Nicaragua at the time of the attempted break-in." . . . Mr. Greenspun said he was outraged by the disclosures at the hearings.

"As a man who is not easily astounded I find this testimony by Mr. McCord catastrophically disturbing," he asserted. "If in fact the forces of the federal Government were employed to serve the private interests of Howard Hughes, then I am completely disillusioned by the thought that they may have been turned over to a massive political contributor."

Mr. Greenspun said that he had learned "on the highest authority" that Robert Bennett, a son of Wallace F. Bennett, Republican Senator from Utah, had testified in a "secret hearing" that he had presented a **blank check from the Hughes interests to the Nixon campaign fund** and that it had been cashed for a very large sum, although the amount was unknown to him.

Ironically, Mr. Greenspun's paper supported Mr. Nixon in the 1972 campaign . . .

He said he was not certain when the burglary attempt occurred. He said **he had noticed that the aluminum sills of his office window**, which are concealed behind heavy curtains, **had been jimmied and that the safe bore the marks of heavy tools having been used on it**, when he returned from a vacation trip last September. . . .

Mr. Greenspun said that allegations made in Republican circles that the safe contained documents linking an unnamed Democratic Presidential candidate to organized crime, . . . were "completely untrue."

The only material "remotely resembling" anything like this, he went on, was information pertaining to a conviction of Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Maine Democrat, in 1966 for violating regulations while hunting ducks with Eugene J. McCarthy, . . . on a Federal reservation. Each was fined \$27.50, . . . In my judgment, they were not after the Muskie documents anyhow but after the Hughes material. (*New York Times*, May 23, 1973)

Bennett and Surveillance

In his book *The Real Howard Hughes*, Stanton O'Keefe made some serious accusations against Howard Hughes:

Although he lives in constant fear of having his privacy spied upon by means of some bugging device, he has countless bugs planted around the world to keep him informed of every move his employees, friends and enemies make. . . .

Clifford Irving, the author of the disputed autobiography of Hughes, . . . alleges that the files in his home on the Spanish island of Ibiza have been rifled. . . .

According to all the people I spoke to during the course of my research on Hughes, anyone who thinks he would stop short of anything to protect his secret empire has another thing coming. (*The Real Howard Hughes*, pages 212-214)

Since Clifford Irving's autobiography of Hughes turned out to be a forgery, we cannot place too much weight on his charge that his files had been rifled. Nevertheless, new evidence has come to light which shows that Irving was placed under surveillance and that Robert Bennett was involved in getting a bid for this surveillance. In the Rockefeller Report, pages 196-197, we find the following:

During this period **Bennett was asked by Hughes' attorneys to get a bid for surveillance of Clifford Irving**, who was then writing a book describing his earlier preparation of the fraudulent

Hughes biography. **Hunt got an estimate from James McCord and gave it to Bennett** who passed it to the attorneys. They rejected it as too high.

In the Baker Report, pages 8-9, we read as follows: ". . . Bennett asked for and received from Hunt a price estimate for bugging Clifford Irving for Hughes; . . ." In making his accusation Senator Baker refers to secret testimony given by Howard Hunt and Robert Bennett. We have finally been successful in obtaining photocopies of Howard Hunt's testimony. While Hunt does not refer to electronic surveillance, he does admit that he obtained a bid from McCord for physical surveillance and for searching through Irving's trash:

Mr. Liebengood. Was McCord ever approached for Hughes by you or anyone of your knowledge?

Mr. Hunt. In conjunction with the activity that Clifford Irving was carrying out in writing his book, *What Really Happened*, he and Suskind were holed up in a West Chester County house, and Bennett brought this to my attention, and said that the Intertel organization was charging them a fantastic fee to monitor what the Irving people were doing, and did I know anybody who could come up [with] a more reasonable figure.

I knew that this was McCord business, so I told him what was involved, and asked him to give me a rough estimate of what it would cost. He provided me—this was for physical surveillance as to who came and went from the premises, and also a trash search for any torn-up drafts and so forth. And whatever the figure was, I passed it along to Bennett along with a card that McCord had given me. (Howard Hunt's Executive Session Testimony, December 18, 1973, pages 72-73)

Robert Bennett's executive session testimony might throw some important light on this matter. Unfortunately, however, this testimony is still being suppressed by the CIA. The reader will remember that we cited the following from a letter written by Senator Cannon:

Additionally, I must also inform you that the Central Intelligence Agency advises me that the public release of the information you seek is precluded by national security considerations which attach to the documents you seek. (Letter dated February 20, 1976)

Even though we cannot obtain this important testimony, the testimony of Hunt makes it plain that Robert Bennett did obtain a bid for surveillance from James McCord. It is also interesting to note that McCord was a specialist in electronic surveillance.

The reader will notice that Howard Hunt said that the "Intertel organization" was already working for Hughes, and that it was charging "a fantastic fee to monitor what the Irving people were doing, . . ." The Hughes people were probably willing to pay a high price to obtain information which would stop Clifford Irving from carrying on his work. Robert Bennett seemed to have had a great deal of influence with Hughes' aides. As we have already shown, "Bennett brought the Hughes Tool account with him to Mullen" ("Baker Report," page 8). Senator Baker also states that "Bennett received a scrambler from Hughes personnel for use on Mullen telephones; Bennett and Liddy set up dummy committees as a conduit for Hughes campaign contributions; . . ." (Ibid., page 9). We will have more to say about Bennett's involvement with Hughes campaign contributions later in this book.

On page 193 of the Rockefeller Report, we read that "Hunt . . . continued to be employed by Mullen, which had a CIA relationship, and to be associated with Bennett in several projects with political or espionage overtones." According to Senator Baker, Robert Bennett was involved in a number of questionable activities:

Bennett's accessibility to the CIA has raised questions concerning possible Agency involvement in, or knowledge of, Bennett's activities in regard to Hunt/Liddy, to wit: Bennett suggested and coordinated the DeMott interview regarding Chappaquiddick; Bennett coordinated the release of Dita Beard's statement from Denver, after contacting Beard's attorneys at the suggestion of a Hughes executive; Bennett suggested that Greenspun's safe contained information of interest to both Hughes and the CRP; Bennett asked for and received from Hunt a price estimate for bugging Clifford Irving for Hughes; Bennett coordinated the employment of political spy Tom Gregory by Hunt and discussed with Gregory the latter's refusal to proceed with bugging plans on or about June 16, 1972. . . . and Bennett served as the point of contact between Hunt and Liddy during the two weeks following the Watergate break-in. Furthermore, Robert Oliver, Mullen's Washington lobbyist for Hughes Tool, is the father of R. Spencer Oliver, Jr., whose telephone was tapped at the Democratic National Committee. Bennett met with the Olivers after the break-in to discuss the bugging. ("The Baker Report," pages 8-9)

We will deal with more of these questionable activities later in this book.

Hunt's BYU Spy

The reader will note that in his list of Robert Bennett's questionable activities, Senator Baker said: ". . . Bennett coordinated the employment of political spy Tom Gregory by Hunt and discussed with Gregory the latter's refusal to proceed with bugging plans . . ." (The Baker Report," page 9).

As we indicated earlier, Thomas Gregory was attending BYU at the time that the spy ring was functioning on campus. According to the *Daily Universe*, published at BYU, Thomas Gregory later serve on a mission and then returned to BYU: "Gregory . . . attended BYU from 1966-1968. He served in the South Brazil Mission until 1970 and has been registered at BYU since then" (*Daily Universe*, January 11, 1973).

In his testimony, given in *U.S. vs LIDDY*, Gregory says that he served on his mission "from March 1967 to May 1969 . . ." According to the *Daily Universe* for January 10, 1973, "BYU student Kathleen Pack, . . . said Gregory . . . is an avid chess player and a returned missionary from Brazil who 'knew everybody in the ward but never talked about himself.'"

In the *Senate Watergate Report*, we find the following information concerning the recruitment of Gregory:

D. Ruby II. In February 1972, Howard Hunt hired Thomas Gregory, a student at Brigham Young University, to infiltrate the Muskie campaign. Hunt met Gregory through Robert Fletcher, the nephew of Robert Bennett, Hunt's employer at the Mullen Company.

Using the alias Ed Warren, Hunt called Gregory in Utah and asked him to come to Washington for an expense-paid job interview. About a week later Hunt and Gregory met at the Park Central Hotel in Washington, where Hunt explained that he wanted information from the Muskie campaign, including schedules, internal memoranda, and general observations of the campaign. Gregory was to work as a volunteer for Muskie, report to Hunt once a week, and receive \$175 a week for his services. Gregory accepted the offer. (*Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, page 297)

In the book *Watergate: The Full Inside Story*, page 115, we read:

In February, 1972, Hunt asked his part-time employer, Robert Bennett at the Mullen agency, if he knew of a likely lad who could do some political work. Bennett put him in touch with his nephew, who came up with the name of Tom Gregory, a student at Brigham Young University, Utah. Under his name of

Ed Warren, Hunt wrote Gregory and then sent him money and an air ticket to come to Washington.

On January 12, 1973, the *New York Times* reported the following concerning Thomas Gregory:

WASHINGTON, January 11—Thomas James Gregory, the college student who became a political spy, may not graduate as soon as he had planned. . . .

Mr. Gregory, 25 years old, testified in the Watergate bugging-burglary trial here today and said that he was hired by E. Howard Hunt Jr. last spring to engage in political espionage against Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, then the front-running Democratic candidate.

Later, he said, he performed the same task from within the campaign organization of the eventual Democratic nominee Senator George McGovern of South Dakota.

As part of an honors program for exceptionally bright and industrious students, he was to have received 16 credits for his participation in those campaigns and his authorship of a term paper about his experiences.

"But if all of this is true, then he won't get any credits," said J. Keith Melville, Mr. Gregory's faculty adviser at the university. "At least he won't get any from me. He was supposed to be working for the Democrats, not against them."

Another faculty member at Brigham Young said he believed that without the 16 credits, Mr. Gregory would be short of the required number for graduation.

While he was testifying here today, news of his involvement in an alleged political espionage scheme directed at the Democrats last year took the conservative campus by surprise. It was the major story on the university newspaper's front page, and, according to several students, widely discussed on the campus. . . .

Last week, along with all the other students at Brigham Young, a Mormon institution, Mr. Gregory had worked his way through the long registration lines to sign up for the winter-quarter classes; but when they began Monday, he was absent.

On that same day, his name appeared on a list of witnesses to testify for the prosecution here in the trial of the seven men accused of breaking into the Democratic National committee headquarters in the Watergate apartment-office complex last June. . . . in Provo, Mr. Melville, his faculty adviser on his honors program, spoke angrily about his student and "the nefarious creeps who came skulking around and lured him into it for \$175 a week."

He paused in his remarks before concluding, more sadness than anger in his voice: "I suppose the words 'honors program' have a kind of a strange ring in this context, don't they?" (*New York Times*, January 12, 1973)

The BYU's student newspaper, *Daily Universe*, published an article entitled "Student is Witness" on January 9, 1973. In this article we read:

A BYU student has been called as one of the key government witnesses in the Watergate trial which began Monday in Washington D.C. . . . Gregory, a history major, became involved with the Muskie campaign through an "Independent Learning Experience" sponsored by the BYU Honors program. After the Muskie campaign folded, Gregory went to work for McGovern. J. Keith Melville, Professor of Political Science, who supervised Gregory said that he worked on foreign policy for Muskie and was a student coordinator for McGovern.

Melville said that in his talks "there was nothing that Gregory ever related to me that would have connected him with the Watergate case."

He noted that Gregory was "very diligent in his particular political area and very perceptive about his work." Early in his progress reports, Gregory related to Melville that Muskie was on a downward trend—before this was recognized by the press. (*Daily Universe*, January 9, 1973)

On January 11, 1973, the BYU newspaper reported:

A federal prosecutor said yesterday that BYU student, Thomas Gregory was an infiltrator into the campaign organizations of Senators Muskie and McGovern prior to the bugging of the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate Hotel. . . .

Silbert, in his remarks to the jury, said that Gregory, 25, a senior from Green Village, N.J., was hired early in 1972 by E. Howard Hunt, Jr., then a White House consultant, and currently one of the seven Watergate defendants. . . . He added that the student, who was subpoenaed last week, was told to provide a "physical layout, the floor plan of the arrangement of the headquarters of Sen. McGovern, particularly of the offices of (campaign officials) Frank Mankiewicz and Gary Hart." . . .

Gregory will testify, according to United Press International, that Hunt wanted to know where the pictures were on the walls, where the electrical outlets were located, and wanted him to obtain keys or impressions of them.

A *Chicago Sun Times* reporter attending the trial told the *Universe* yesterday that Silbert intimated Gregory had gotten out of the alleged "conspiracy" before the day of the Watergate break-in. . . .

Gregory is one of 60 witnesses called last week to testify in the trial which is expected to last up to three months. (*Daily Universe*, January 11, 1973)

The following day the *Daily Universe* published an article which contained the following:

BYU student Thomas Gregory testified late Thursday that he was paid to spy on the campaigns of Democratic presidential contenders Edmund Muskie and George McGovern.

In his testimony, Gregory said he was hired by E. Howard Hunt, Jr. to supply Hunt with information about the Democratic headquarters. . . .

Gregory said he and Hunt met once a week in a drug store and exchanged envelopes, Gregory giving typewritten notes and Hunt returning his pay, \$175. . . .

Earlier Thursday, before Gregory testified, BYU President Dallin Oaks issued a statement . . . Pres. Oaks said, "I am satisfied that no Brigham Young University teacher, or official had any knowledge of the alleged spying. If the spying took place, we deplore it."

The president issued the statement after conferring with Dr. Keith Melville, the political science professor who was supervising Gregory's "Independent Learning Experience" project as intern with the Edmund Muskie and George McGovern campaigns.

Melville said he was first contacted last February by Gregory.

"He proposed the program and gave me a list of books he was to read," said Melville. "It seemed to be a noteworthy program." . . .

Melville also said he wasn't sure how Gregory at the time had arranged for the jobs in the Muskie and McGovern campaign or what the financial arrangements were either. (*Daily Universe*, January 12, 1973)

On January 17, 1973, the *Daily Universe* printed this information:

BYU student Thomas Gregory testified yesterday in Washington D.C. that **he was paid \$3400 for spying and quit after a "close call" in an effort to bug Sen. George McGovern's headquarters.**

Gregory testified in the Watergate bugging trial that he met with E. Howard Hunt, G. Gordon Liddy, James W. McCord Jr., and four other defendants in a Washington hotel room early last May.

He said McCord expressed interest in planting electronic listening devices in the offices of McGovern campaign officials, according to *Associated Press* reports. On a visit to McGovern

headquarters, Gregory said, McCord went through the building observing the burglar-alarm system and the location of exits. He said he later was introduced to Liddy, who went along on a nighttime reconnaissance of the area around McGovern headquarters.

Gregory said he was asked to provide keys to the McGovern headquarters but refused. He did agree to remain in the building late on May 28 and leave some locks open when he departed. However, another man working in the headquarters discovered him and wanted to know why he was there.

He then left and called to warn Hunt and the bugging operation scheduled for that night was called off. . . .

During a final meeting with Hunt on June 15, Gregory said he wanted out of the operation. (*Daily Universe*, January 17, 1973)

In his appearance before the Senate's Watergate Hearings, Howard Hunt gave this testimony concerning his relationship with Thomas Gregory:

Mr. DASH. Did you yourself recruit a person to infiltrate the campaign of a Democratic Presidential candidate?

Mr. HUNT. I did.

Mr. DASH. Could you tell us who and in what campaign?

Mr. HUNT. His name was Thomas Gregory. He was a student whom I recruited to pose as a volunteer to work inside Muskie headquarters.

Mr. DASH. Did there come a time when you transferred Mr. Gregory to the McGovern campaign?

Mr. HUNT. There did.

Mr. DASH. What was his assignment there?

Mr. HUNT. It was the same with one addition.

Mr. DASH. What was the addition?

Mr. HUNT. **The addition was to prepare for an electronic surveillance or electronic penetration of McGovern headquarters.**

Mr. DASH. How was he to prepare for that?

Mr. HUNT. He prepared for it initially by providing me with a floor diagram of McGovern's office building. I introduced Mr. Gregory and Mr. McCord who in April met for the first time. Mr. McCord then told Mr. Gregory what would be required to satisfy his own particular technical interests. Mr. Gregory took Mr. McCord through the McGovern headquarters. They continued as it were, doing business between themselves in connection with the electronic surveillance attempt.

Mr. DASH. Was there, in effect, an attempt to break into the McGovern headquarters?

Mr. HUNT. There was an attempt to enter it, yes sir.

Mr. DASH. What happened?

Mr. HUNT. It was unsuccessful.

Mr. DASH. Now, was this activity part of the overall Gemstone plan?

Mr. HUNT. Yes. (*Hearings*, Book 9, pages 3685-3686)

In the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, we find the following:

Gordon Strachan testified that in mid-April, 1972, Haldeman told him to contact G. Gordon Liddy to tell him to transfer his "capability" from Muskie to McGovern "with particular interest in discovering what the connection between McGovern and Senator Kennedy was." . . .

At about this same time, Hunt asked Gregory to transfer to the McGovern campaign . . . he was now to prepare and assist Hunt and Liddy in their plans to place electronic surveillance on McGovern headquarters. . . . Hunt and McCord told Gregory they were planning to place a "bug" in the McGovern Headquarters and would need assistance.

In late May 1972, Gregory took McCord through the McGovern headquarters . . . On a second occasion (May 27, 1972) Gregory again took McCord through the McGovern headquarters; on that visit McCord unsuccessfully attempted to plant a bug in Frank Mankiewicz's office.

Sometime in late May-early June 1972 Gregory met Gordon Liddy for the first time. . . . Liddy told Gregory that he, too, was interested in getting into the McGovern offices.

Hunt, Liddy, McCord, and Gregory met at a Washington hotel to discuss breaking into McGovern headquarters to copy documents and to go over a physical layout of offices and the location of alarm systems. (*Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, pages 297-298)

On page 83 of the same volume, we find this information:

The Watergate conspirators also unsuccessfully attempted to bug the McGovern headquarters on May 28. . . . But the mission this time was aborted because persons were working late inside the headquarters, and Gregory, who had been instructed by Hunt to stay outside and report when they left, was asked by a policeman to leave the area. (*Watergate Trial Transcript*, pages 37-39, 488-90)

In a chart published in the *Senate Watergate Hearings*, Book 11, page 4637, Thomas Gregory is listed as being part of the "Gemstone" operation. Mr. Lackritz says that "Thomas Gregory was known as Rudy 2 . . ." (Ibid., page 4638). There is no doubt that Thomas Gregory was deeply involved with the Watergate conspirators. In a "Chronology of Watergate-Related Events," printed in the back of the *Whitehouse Transcripts*, pages 818-820, we find the following:

May 22. Barker, Martinez, Gonzalez, De Diego, Pico and Sturgis come to Washington . . . During the next few days they meet with Hunt, Liddy, McCord and Gregory to finalize plans for break-ins at the D.N.C. and at McGovern headquarters. Liddy shoots out a light in an alley near McGovern headquarters.

May 28. Late at night, the third break-in attempt at D.N.C. offices is successfully executed. McCord, Barker, Martinez, Gonzalez and Sturgis enter the premises, while De Diego and Pico stand guard outside. Martinez photographs documents, and McCord plants wiretaps on phones of Oliver and Lawrence O'Brien. Hunt and Liddy direct the operation. They adjourn to Hunt's and Liddy's hotel room for a victory celebration.

May 28. Second attempt to break into McGovern's headquarters fails when Gregory is discovered there late at night.

June 15. Gregory tells Hunt he is quitting as an undercover agent.

June 17. Second break-in at D.N.C. headquarters is interrupted at 2:30 A. M. McCord, Barker, Sturgis, Gonzalez and Martinez are captured by Washington police . . .

In the book *Watergate—The Full Inside Story*, pages 157-158, we find this information concerning Thomas Gregory's close call in the McGovern headquarters:

That night they tried George McGovern's headquarters again. Hunt's "inside" contact on this operation was Tom Gregory; . . . Instead of leaving with the other volunteer workers that night, Gregory hid in the furnace room until around midnight, waiting for an opportune moment to let in the entry team. When he emerged, Gregory was surprised by a man sitting on the floor, who said, "What are you doing here?" Gregory could offer no very convincing reply so he made an excuse and left.

In his book *Undercover*, Howard Hunt indicates that Thomas Gregory had become very nervous about the bugging plans:

On that night, however, Gregory was detected in the building by a fellow employee and had to leave, telephone McCord and abort the operation for that night. Talking to Gregory later, I was

not encouraged by the young man's apprehensions. McCord's avuncular attitude was able to calm Gregory somewhat, but the youth was becoming a bundle of nerves, and so I began to devise an alternate solution to the problem. . . .

"The problem with Gregory," I said, "is that he spooks when he has to stay alone in that little furnace room. Things that go bump in the night bother him, and so we'll plan around him." (*Undercover*, pages 214-215)

Although Gregory was deeply involved with the Watergate burglars, he was fortunate enough to get out of the conspiracy before they were caught. In the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, page 298, we find that "By early June, Gregory had serious questions about the propriety of his activities," and that he discussed the matter with "Robert Bennett." The report goes on to state:

On or about June 15 or 16, 1972, Gregory met with Hunt to tell him he no longer wished to continue his work. After terminating his employment with Hunt, Gregory also contacted the McGovern headquarters to discontinue his volunteer work. Gregory received approximately \$3,400 for his services.

As we have already shown, Thomas Gregory confessed his activities with Hunt and appeared as a witness at the Watergate trial in January, 1973.

Skipped Over in Rockefeller Report

The Rockefeller Report seems to skip over Gregory's involvement with the Watergate burglars. It simply states:

Bennett's nephew, Fletcher, wanted a summer job and he referred him to Hunt. Hunt sought to recruit him to serve as a spy at Muskie Headquarters. Fletcher turned him down but referred Hunt to a friend, Tom Gregory, who took the job. Gregory was not related to Bennett but did visit Bennett and Fletcher occasionally and told them generally of his activities. According to Bennett, however, he was not told of any illegal activity until June 14, two days before Watergate, when Gregory told Bennett that Hunt had asked him to bug the office of Frank Mankiewicz in McGovern Headquarters. Gregory declined and went home. (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States*, June 1975, page 197)

The statement, "Gregory declined and went home," certainly passes over his deep involvement in the conspiracy. Fortunately, we have obtained photocopies of Thomas Gregory's testimony which was given in *U.S. vs Liddy*. We will cite some extracts from this testimony and let the reader decide for himself if the Rockefeller Report has done justice to this matter:

Q. And can you tell the ladies and gentlemen of the jury about the middle of May when you were introduced to another person by Mr. Hunt where that took place?

A. That was in the lobby of the Roger Smith Hotel.

Q. And after you were introduced, what did the three of you do? . . .

A. We talked bery [very?] briefly in the lobby of the Roger Smith Hotel and went to the park across the street.

Q. Would you tell the ladies and gentlemen of the jury and Chief Judge Sirica the contents or the substance of your conversation as best you recall it?

A. Mr. Hunt and Mr. McCord . . . were concerned about wanting to bug McGovern National Headquarters.

Q. Did they in any way indicate to you what you were supposed to do?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. What, if anything, did they indicate to you you were supposed to do, Mr. Gregory?

A. I was supposed to be over at McGovern headquarters at which time Mr. McCord would come over there and he was going to—I was going to introduce him as a friend . . .

Q. What were the circumstances when you next saw Mr. McCord, the defendant?

A. I was sitting in the large back room at McGovern national headquarters and Mr. McCord walked into the room from the front, which means he came through the front entrance, and then he said, "Hello," and we talked for a bit, and **he asked me to occupy some people who were up front.** . . . he wanted me to talk to the people over at the front, **so that he could get into one of the offices.**

Q. What did he say he was going to do?

A. **Put a bug, place a bug in Frank Mankiewicz's or Gary Hart's office.**

Q. Did he tell you how or discuss how much time he would need?

A. He indicated he would need about three minutes and that he was going to put it in, above one of the tiles in the ceiling.

A. Afterwards he said that he had not had enough time to plant the bug because too many people had been going back and forth through the hall.

Q. Now, were you ever asked to enable him to try again? That is, to do the same thing?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. And by whom?

A. By Mr. Hunt.

Q. Was that ever done in that way?

A. No, sir, it wasn't.

Q. Now, after the first visit that you have just described by the defendant McCord . . . did the defendant McCord ever come again to the headquarters of Senator McGovern . . . in the month of May?

A. Yes, he did.

A. . . . I met Mr. Hunt and Mr. McCord in the Howard Johnson Motel on Virginia Avenue, and we had lunch together there, and I was asked some questions about the alarm system at McGovern's headquarters, and about its physical layout and where lights were, and such, and—

Q. Who was asking you those questions, Mr. Gregory?

A. This was basically just Mr. McCord was asking me the questions about that. From time to time Mr. Hunt would ask a question, but Mr. McCord asked me most of the questions.

Q. Would you continue on, please?

A. So, after he finished his conversation we left Mr. Hunt, and Mr. McCord and I walked down to where the car was parked that I was using, and we drove over to McGovern headquarters. . . . walked through the headquarters and out the back door, and as we were going through, Mr. McCord took a careful look at the alarm system in the rear of the building and also the exits.

A. After Mr. McCord tried to plant the bug in McGovern headquarters and was unsuccessful in doing so—

Q. Will you continue with your answer?

A. After this was unsuccessful, at any rate, it was determined that **some other bug should be planted**, by another means and **that was going into McGovern's headquarters at night.** . . . I was supposed to meet Mr. Hunt at this corner where I met him, and got—I got into his car on the front seat and there was a gentleman in the back seat with dark glasses on.

A. We drove around for a while and the gentleman in the back seat asked me a number of questions about the lighting at

McGovern headquarters where the lights were located and about the buildings that were next door and where the alley was located and about the physical layout of McGovern headquarters.

Q. What kinds of questions about the physical layout, Mr. Gregory, if you recall?

A. Just how many, where the doors were located, the front and rear doors and how many of them there were.

Q. What opportunity did you have to observe the gentleman you had previously described as being the one in the back seat?

A. I was sitting next to him and I talked to him and I had an excellent chance to see him.

Q. Do you see that individual here in the courtroom today?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You want to come down from that witness stand, please, and just point him out? (complies)

A. This gentleman right here.

THE COURT: All right. Take the stand. Go back.

The record will show he identified Mr. Liddy.

Q. What happened after you drove a while, if you will tell the ladies and gentlemen.

A. We eventually—rather early in the morning—about 1:30, 2 o'clock, drove past McGovern headquarters to see if possible if there was any signs of movements around McGovern headquarters. . . . when it didn't look like there was anyone around there, we parked our car on the next street over and got out and walked over to McGovern headquarters and that is Mr. Hunt, Mr. Liddy and myself; got out and walked over there.

A. I raised my voice once to say something and one of the gentlemen—I don't remember which one—told me to not speak too loudly, and we went over to McGovern headquarters and Mr. Hunt and Mr. Liddy had a—one of them made the comment that the front light—there was a **big light** in front of McGovern headquarters, a street lamp—**would have to go.** And when we walked down the alley alongside of the building, that is, next to McGovern headquarters and to the back of that and looked at the lights there, and one of the two made a comment that **those lights also would have to go.** I don't remember who made the comment.

And then we tried the door, the back door. It was locked. And then we turned around and left. . . .

A. About the last 10 days of May, there was a—I was told to go to the hotel, the Manger Hamilton Hotel, . . . I knocked on the door of the room . . . Mr. Hunt came to the door and said, "Come in," so I went inside.

Q. Would you tell the ladies and gentlemen of the jury what happened once you got inside?

A. I met Mr. Hunt, Mr. Liddy and Mr. McCord; and I met 4 other gentlemen, . . . Mr. Hunt showed me a walkie-talkie and said that he had two of them and they cost a couple thousand dollars. And then Mr. Hunt, Mr. Liddy, Mr. McCord, and a gentleman who is very interested in all—who was very interested in keys. We went to the adjoining room . . . and closed the door.

Q. Now, who went with you into that other room?

A. That was Mr. McCord, Mr. Hunt, and Mr. Liddy, and the gentleman who was interested in the keys.

Q. Can you tell about how long were you in that other room?

A. About forty, forty-five minutes.

Q. Inasmuch detail as you can now recall, would you tell the ladies and gentlemen of the jury and his Honor what happened when you went into this other room?

A. The first—Well, in general what happened was that I was asked about the location of the doors again, and the layout of the offices where they were, . . . the gentleman who was interested in the keys asked me whether the keyhole had a round hole at the

top or whether it had a round hole at the top or a round hole at the bottom or a round hole at the top and one at the bottom also.

And he also asked me about the lock. How many prongs came out of the lock in the door. And Mr. McCord—

Q. (interrupting) Let me ask you this. Were you able to answer his questions or some of his questions about the lock?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you been asked to look at the lock before that?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. By whom?

A. By Mr. Hunt.

Q. Had anyone asked you to try anything about keys—to do anything about keys?

A. Yes. Mr. Hunt.

Q. What had he asked you to do?

A. He asked me to get a copy of the key to the back door.

Q. And did you?

A. No, sir.

Q. Getting back now to meeting at the Manger Hamilton . . . what, if anything, else was discussed at that meeting that you recall?

A. The layout of the—the general layout of the building where the doors were located, where the lights were located. Some comment was made on the alarm system, the type of alarm that it was.

Q. Who made that comment?

A. Mr. McCord. And the fact that—what the likelihood of people being there late at night was, and I indicated that there was . . .

Q. Now, were you given an assignment by anyone at that meeting?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And what was your assignment?

A. I was asked to **stay at McGovern national headquarters late the evening at which they wanted to get into the headquarters and to if possible be the last one there**, and—

Q. Would you continue?

A. Yes. And **I was asked to unlock some inside doors**, and /or I could at least tell when the last—how many people were there, after I had left.

Q. Now, with respect to the alarm system, what, if anything, was said about the alarm system?

A. There was a comment made by Mr. McCord that he had about two or three minutes to defeat the alarm system before—well, that is what he said.

Q. Did you have occasion to go to Senator McGovern's headquarters on Sunday, May 28?

A. Yes, sir, I did.

Q. About what time did you go?

A. Shortly after noon about one o'clock, 1:30.

Q. Would you tell the Court and the Jury what you did when you arrived there?

A. I just did some miscellaneous things, such as typing labels, and stuffing envelopes, and miscellaneous things until about—for most of the afternoon, and then went in the furnace room at McGovern headquarters and stayed there that afternoon.

Q. Until what time did you stay there at McGovern headquarters?

A. Until about 11:15, 11:30.

Q. And what happened then?

A. I came out and walked through the back room at McGovern headquarters and the lights—I don't remember whether the lights were on or off but at any rate there was a gentleman sitting in the—one of the offices there, and he said, "What are you doing here and I said—"

Q. What did you do after he said something to you?

A. I said that I had been in the back, and I left by the front door.

Q. What did you do after you left?

A. I called Mr. Hunt at the telephone number he had given me. I called him from a pay telephone and told him there was still someone inside McGovern headquarters.

Q. Now, sir, when you told, gave that information to Mr. Hunt, what, if anything, did he say to you?

A. He told me to stay around McGovern headquarters and watch until that individual left and then to call him back and tell him that.

Q. So, what did you do?

A. So, I got my—got into my car and drove around the block and parked up the street ways and then sat there and watched the front of McGovern headquarters. No one came out. And a plainclothes policeman with a police dog came by and asked me what I was doing parked there and I said I was resting and he said it wasn't a good neighborhood to rest in, that I might get mugged or something, and he suggested that as soon as I had sufficiently rested, he asked me whether I had a local residence, and I said yes; he suggested that I should go home as soon as possible.

Q. What did you do?

A. As soon as he left, I called Mr. Hunt again from a pay phone, told him that what had happened and that I was leaving. He indicated to me that the people that were going to go into McGovern's headquarters had already left and he asked me to try to intercept them and tell them there was still somebody in there.

Q. And what did you do?

A. I drove back to the area of McGovern headquarters, drove around briefly and didn't see them, and then was going to leave and go home and I met these individuals at the intersection just south of McGovern headquarters . . .

Q. What did you do when you saw them?

A. I told them that there was still—I called to them from my car and told them there was still somebody inside.

Q. Then what happened? What did you do?

A. I left and I don't know what they did.

Q. Had this Sunday—the date of May 28th been set up in advance?

A. Yes, sir, it had been set up at a meeting at the Manger Hamilton Hotel.

Q. Did you ever see Mr. Hunt after you returned to Washington?

A. Yes, I did.

A. Mr. Hunt said he had received the letter that I had written him and he was telling me that I didn't want to continue for him anymore . . . I offered to give him back the money that I had made and he said that wasn't necessary or possible . . . he asked me if I would not indicate to anyone else the people that I met during the time that I had been working for him, and he gave me another \$175 in cash which I took because I wanted to leave him on good terms . . .

Q. Do you recall the approximate amount of money that you had received from Mr. Hunt while you were working for him?

A. About \$3,400.00.

Q. And you graduated from high school in 1966?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do after your graduation?

A. I went to college, Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

Q. That was when?

A. That was September of 1966.

Q. How long did you remain at Brigham Young?

A. I am still a student there. I spent two years in Brazil, and from March 1967 to May 1969—I didn't spend all that time in Brazil. I spent three months of that in the United States studying Portuguese, and then two years in Brazil.

Q. What were you doing in Brazil?

A. I was a Missionary.

Q. For whom?

A. For the Mormon Church.

.....

Q. Did you remain at Brigham Young until March of 1972 as you related?

A. Yes, sir, I am still a student there since that time.

Q. You testified on direct that after you spoke with Mr. Hunt at the end of February 1972 you went back to Brigham Young to arrange to receive credit for the work that you would be doing, is that correct?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What type of credit were you talking about?

A. Off-campus credit for what is called paraprofessional experience. An experience in an activity related to your major or minor field of study and I am a political science minor.

.....

Q. How many credit hours were you to receive fro[m] your off-campus project?

A. 16.

.....

Q. It was on the 19th of December that you were first contacted by the F.B.I.?

A. I am not sure the date or the day. It was a Tuesday.

Q. That was out at Provo, Utah, correct?

A. Yes, sir.

.....

Q. Did you read about the Watergate case from June 15, between the period of June 15 and December 19 of 1972?

A. No, sir. Not completely. . . . After I left Souix City until the time that Agent Sheffield contacted me as far as I can remember I only read one newspaper article about the Watergate incident and that was in the *Deseret News*.

.....

Q. Were you concerned that at—on any day you might get a knock on your door and have the F.B.I. there ready to arrest you?

A. No, sir.

Q. You had read that 5 men were arrested in the Watergate complex in the Democratic National Committee, is that correct?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have identified some of those men as being at the Manger Hamilton Hotel on a prior occasion, is that correct?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you knew in your own mind that some of those men had wanted to bug the headquarters of Senator McGovern, is that correct?

A. Yes sir.

Q. And you assisted them in getting the layout of Senator McGovern's headquarters arm, is that correct?

A. Yes, sir.

“Q. And you remained late at Senator McGovern's for the purpose of letting them in one night, is that correct?”

“A. Not exactly. I was asked to unlock some doors.

“Q. And you say that you were covering for Mr. McCord when he was there one day trying to install the bug, is that correct?”

A. Yes sir. I said I was talking to people in the front, yes, sir.

Q. You were distracting people?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were doing that so that Mr. McCord as you say could plant the bug, is that right?

A. That is correct, sir.

Q. And you were not concerned at all that the F.B.I. might come looking for you to arrest you?

A. Not that they would arrest me, sir. No. I was not concerned. (*U.S. vs LIDDY*. Testimony of Thomas Gregory, January 15, 1973, pages 457, 458, 466-482, 487-494, 491, 493, 494, 496-499, 508, 511-513)

Robert Bennett Fletcher

Besides Robert Bennett and Thomas Gregory, there appears to have been another Mormon who had some involvement with Howard Hunt. This was Robert Bennett's nephew Robert Bennett Fletcher. In his letter to us, James A. Everett stated: “The suggestion was made to Fletcher to work for the ‘plumbers’ group on a specific assignment. This was turned down and another Mormon lad, Bobby Gregory [*sic*], took the assignment.” In the BYU paper *Daily Universe*, we find the following information about Fletcher:

Robert B. Fletcher, of Summit, N.J., was the opening witness who implicated Gregory in the Watergate situation.

Fletcher testified he was asked by Hunt whether he had “any friends in the Washington area who might be interested in joining the Democratic organization to provide information.”

Fletcher testified that after he spoke to Hunt, he contacted Gregory, and told him of the job offer. (*Daily Universe*, January 12, 1973)

According to the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, page 297, Fletcher sometimes received information from Thomas Gregory which he passed on to Hunt:

Hunt and Gregory met weekly in a drugstore at 17th and K Street, N. W., in Washington, D.C. During these brief meetings, Gregory gave Hunt typed reports on the week's activities; when Hunt was not available, Gregory gave this material to Robert Fletcher to pass on to Hunt.

All information that Hunt received from Gregory was turned over to Gordon Liddy, including the memoranda that Hunt typed which summarized Gregory's oral reports.

In his testimony in *U.S. vs Liddy*, Thomas Gregory gave some information about Fletcher:

THE WITNESS: This gentleman who introduced himself as Mr. Warren [i.e., Howard Hunt] first of all told me that he had talked to Bob Fletcher and that he, that is, Mr. Warren, was impressed by my background. He then asked me whether I had any qualms about what he had asked me to do and what he had asked me to do was to work for Muskie campaign headquarters, and supply him with information about what I was—about what I learned when I was there, in detail. . . . we discussed salary, and agreed upon \$175.00 a week if I should be hired by Muskie Headquarters, and he asked me whether I had any qualms about what I was—what he asked me to do, that is, work at Muskie headquarters and supply him information.

I said no . . .

.....

Q. Did you ask him [Hunt] any question relating to—as to who else would know what you were doing?

A. Yes, sir. I asked him almost exactly that. Who else would be aware of what I was doing. At Muskie Headquarters. And he answered that question.

Q. And what was his answer.

A. He said that himself, and that is, Mr. Warren [Hunt]; Bob Fletcher and the gentleman who Mr. Warren referred to as the man who would give him the money to pay me. (*U.S. vs Liddy*, January 11, 1973, pages 219-221)

On page 537 of Gregory's testimony we find these statements:

Mr. Gregory, when you first were contacted by Mr. Fletcher, was there any mention of money by either yourself or Mr. Fletcher?

A. I believe, yes. I believe Bobby mentioned it, yes.

Q. Did he mention any specific sum you were to receive?

A. I believe, yes. I believe he mentioned in the neighborhood of \$175 to \$200.

Robert Bennett Fletcher made the following statements in his testimony in *U.S. vs Liddy*:

Q. Are you employed?
 A. Yes, I am.
 Q. Where, sir?
 A. At First National City Bank, New York City, New York.
 Q. Is your uncle Robert Bennett?
 A. Yes, sir.

 Q. Turning to the summer of 1971, did there come a time that you came to Washington, D.C.?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. And did you work for your uncle at the Robert R. Mullen & Company?
 A. Yes, sir.

 Q. Do you know the Defendant Howard Hunt?
 A. Yes, sir.

 Q. Can you tell us, sir, when you first met Mr. Howard Hunt?
 A. That would be early in December of 1971.
 Q. Where did you meet him?
 A. At the offices of Robert R. Mullen & Company.
 Q. What was he doing there?
 A. He was employed by that firm also.
 Q. Did you have occasion to speak with him?
 A. Yes, on occasion.
 Q. Did you speak with him in language other than English?
 A. Yes, sir. We both spoke Spanish at one time or another.
 Q. Did there come a time in early February 1972 when you had occasion to visit Robert R. Mullen & Company?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Did you speak with your uncle Robert Bennett?
 A. Yes, sir; I did.

 Q. After speaking to your uncle, what did you do?
 A. I returned to his office and I saw Mr. Hunt and spoke briefly to him. He invited me into his office.
 Q. He invited you into his office?
 A. Correct.
 Q. What happened then?
 A. Well, we chatted for a while and then he got up and closed the door and said that he had something he wanted to talk to me about.

 Q. Would you tell us what Mr. Hunt said to you and what you said to Mr. Hunt at that time?
 A. Well, he asked me if I had any friends in the Washington area who might—who were strong Republicans, but who might be interested in joining the Democratic organization for the purpose of returning information to him about things that they learned in that organization. . . .

 Q. Thereafter, what did you do?
 A. Well, I returned to Michigan and was considering some of my friends that might be interested in such a proposition. It occurred to me at least one or more might be, specifically one Thomas Gregory, who is a friend of mine.
 Q. Without getting into the conversation, you called Mr. Gregory?
 A. I called Mr. Gregory.
 Q. Where was he at the time?
 A. In Utah.
 And then I called Mr. Hunt also on the telephone. . . .
 Q. Will you tell us what you told him?
 A. I told him, Mr. Hunt, Tom had indicated an interest in this and gave Mr. Hunt Tom's phone number in Utah.
 Q. Who is Thomas Gregory?

A. He is a friend of mine from New Jersey, a student at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

.
 Q. Did you ever have any other conversation, as distinguished from letter contact, with Mr. Gregory?

A. Well, in March I returned to Washington, also, and thereafter we saw each other from time to time.

.
 Q. Did Mr. Gregory ever tell you or say anything to you regarding his activities?

A. From time to time, in a general way.

Q. Can you tell us what the substance of these conversations were with him?

A. Basically, when we saw each other on a social basis, both being in Washington, and when we were alone, at times he might say that he learned something of interest from the Muskie organization, for example.

Q. During these conversations, did he appear to be enthusiastic about what he was doing?

A. At first. Although he didn't feel like the information he was getting, so he expressed, could possibly be of any value.

.
 Q. Mr. Alch also asked you if Mr. Gregory, when you initially saw him or saw him in Washington, D.C. after February 1972, whether he appeared enthusiastic about the work he was doing.

A. Yes, sir.

.
 Q. Was there contact in mid-June 1972?

A. Yes, sir; there was.

.
 Q. About June 15, 1972, did you see Mr. Gregory?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where?

A. Various places around the Washington area. We were in fairly constant contact.

Q. Did he appear enthusiastic then about the work?

A. No, sir.

.
 Q. What various places did you see him in?

A. We go to the same church, for example and I would see him there in church activities.

We went to Delaware together the weekend of the 17th through the 19th. I saw him then.

I saw him in downtown Washington at one point that week, as I recall, Monday or Tuesday it would have been. We had lunch together then, I believe. (Testimony of Robert Bennett Fletcher, *U.S. vs Liddy*, Criminal No. 1827-72, January 11, 1973, pages 182-184, 188-199, 193-195, 200-204)

Bugging Plans at Mullen Offices

In our telephone conversation with James A. Everett, who had worked for the Mullen Co., he said that a good share of the planning of the Watergate caper took place in Howard Hunt's office at the Mullen Co. In his letter to us, Mr. Everett stated:

Howard Hunt's office was the only room in the R R M & Co. suite, which could be entered from the outside hall without going through the central reception room. When Hunt would have visits from McCord, Liddy, Barker, et al, he would have them use his outside entrance and close the inner reception room door. In this manner they could conduct their extraneous activities and plannings without having it known to the other members of the R.R.M. & Co. staff. Liddy had his own offices across the street and I would imagine all the confidential charts used in the infamous briefing to Mitchell were done where he would have greater security in the preparation.

Notice that Mr. Everett stated that “Liddy had his own offices across the street” from the Mullen Co. This is a very revealing statement concerning the location of the Mullen Co. Actually, the address for the Mullen Co. was 1700 Pennsylvania Ave., and the Committee to Re-elect the Present was located at 1701 Pennsylvania Ave, which is of course right across the street. John Dean stated that “Liddy went back after that and was over at 1701, the Committee, . . .” (*The White House Transcripts*, page 136). Both the Mullen Co. and the Committee to Re-elect the President were within a block of the White House—the White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. Since John Mitchell was director of the Committee to Re-elect the President, he had an office “At 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, at the Committee to Re-elect . . .” (*Watergate Hearings, Break-in and Cover-up*, page 425)

As we have already shown, James McCord told of attending meetings where the Watergate conspirators discussed their plans “in Mr. Hunt’s office, in the Robert F. Mullen offices” (*Hearings*, vol. 1, page 142). In his book *Undercover*, Howard Hunt told of meeting McCord at the Mullen Company:

About this time Liddy brought to my Mullen & Company office his so-far-unidentified electronics expert and introduced him to me as James McCord . . . McCord brought me up-to-date on the current state of electronics art and indicated that he was commercially purchasing several items that had been developed for CIA. Liddy remarked that McCord was also procuring some small but highly effective walkie-talkies. “Not like those Mickey Mouse monsters we used in L.A.” And McCord smiled confirmation. These new walkie-talkies were expensive, McCord said, but fitted easily into a coat pocket. . . .

On the twenty-sixth the entry group moved into the Watergate Hotel, and late that afternoon **McCord brought four new walkie-talkies to Mullen & Company office.** (*Undercover—Memoirs of an American Secret Agent*, pages 210 and 222)

The reader will also remember that McCord was the man who provided Robert Bennett with a bid for putting surveillance on Clifford Irving.

In his book *Compulsive Spy*, page 138, Tad Szulc states:

As December 1971 turned into January 1972, Hunt stepped up his activities. He shuttled between his office at the Mullen company and the “Room 16” headquarters in the White House complex one block away. Occasionally, he conferred with Liddy at his office in the Mullen firm.

Howard Hunt tells that Liddy showed him the checks used by the Watergate burglars at his office at the Mullen Company:

One evening Liddy came to my Mullen & Company office and showed me a series of checks, for large amounts of money. He asked me if I thought that Barker would be able to negotiate them through his business in Miami and return the cash. . . . on our next trip to Miami Liddy turned over the checks to Barker, and in due course the cash was forthcoming.

I had noticed that some of the checks were drawn on a Mexico City bank, . . . These checks . . . were to become the focus of a fruitless and controversial FBI investigation that led into Mexico. (*Undercover*, page 209)

In the case *DNC vs McCord*, Robert Bennett gave this testimony concerning his relationship with the Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy:

Q. Mr. Bennett, did there come a time when you met Mr. G. Gordon Liddy?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. December of 1971.

Q. Who introduced you to Mr. Liddy?

A. Howard Hunt.

Q. Where did the introduction take place?

A. At the City Tavern in Georgetown.

Q. Was this a luncheon meeting?

A. At a luncheon.

.....

Q. What was the reason Mr. Hunt wanted you to meet Mr. Liddy?

A. He indicated that Gordon was a good Republican, that he would be playing an important role in the presidential campaign and that he was somebody, in Howard’s opinion, that I should meet.

.....

Q. Did you see Mr. Liddy at any time thereafter?

A. Yes. Mr Liddy was a frequent visitor to Mr. Hunt’s office in our offices and I saw him on those occasions.

.....

Q. When Mr. Liddy would come to visit Mr. Hunt, would Mr. Liddy also drop in and say hello to you?

A. Not usually. He would use the door leading directly into Howard’s office that allowed him to come and go without the other people in the office always knowing that he was there. However, if passing Howard’s office in the secretarial area I were to see Gordon there, I would stick my head in and say hello and exchange greetings with him.

.....

Q. Did you ever have occasion to discuss any business Mullen Company business, with Mr. Liddy?

A. At that initial luncheon Mr. Liddy indicated that he might be helpful to us in obtaining the account of the Browning Arms Company with whom he said he had good contact. Nothing ever came of it. That is the only conversation we ever had about Mullen Company business. (*DNC vs McCord*, Deposition of Robert Bennett, April 19, 1973, pages 13-15)

According to Senator Baker’s Report, page 9, “Bennett and Liddy” were the ones who set up “dummy committees” for Hughes campaign contributions.

Bernard Barker was another Watergate conspirator who admitted meeting at the “Mullins [*sic*] headquarters.” On page 211 of his book *Undercover*, Howard Hunt gives this information:

When Barker arrived . . . I asked him to come to my Mullen & Company office. Gordon Liddy joined us—still using his George Leonard alias—and showed Barker photographs of Ellsberg, Kunstler and some of the other counter-government luminaries.

In his executive session testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, Howard Hunt stated:

Mr. Madigan. So as far as you knew at that time you were working for the Mullen Company?

Mr. Hunt. That’s right.

Mr. Madigan. So between April and August you had no contact at all with them [i.e., the Cubans]?

Mr. Hunt. No, that is not so. I was in touch with Mr. Barker who had suggested that there might be some possibilities for a public relations account among people—accounts among people that he knew in the Miami area, and we pursued that on and off. And he came up to Washington I think twice, and on one occasion he brought up the public relations director for the Dominican Airlines. (Howard Hunt’s Executive Session Testimony, pages 28-29)

FBI After Hunt

On the night of June 16, 1972, the Watergate burglars met in Washington and prepared to break into the D.N.C. headquarters. McCord, Barker, Sturgis, Gonzalez and Martinez entered the building, but the burglary was interrupted at 2:30 a.m. on the

morning of the 17th by the appearance of the police. Tad Szulc gives this information:

The three policemen who were now inside the Democratic offices detected movement behind a glass partition. One of the officers, gun in hand, ordered the raiders to come out with their hands up. They still had their rubber gloves on. Baldwin said later in a newspaper interview that he heard McCord's choked voice over the walkie-talkie saying, "They got us." Hunt radioed Baldwin that he would come right over to the Motor Lodge. With Liddy a step behind him, Howard Hunt jumped into a car, made a U-turn on Virginia Avenue, and pulled up at the Howard Johnson Motor Lodge. Liddy vanished. Hunt went up to Baldwin's room alone, repeating to himself, "What's happened? What's happened?"

After he composed himself, Hunt telephoned Michael Douglas Caddy, a lawyer with whom he was acquainted from the Mullen firm, to say that he was on the way to his apartment. . . . Hunt then rushed downstairs, got into his car, and drove to the Mullen company offices on Pennsylvania Avenue. From there, he telephoned Clara, Barker's wife, in Miami, according to one of the versions surrounding the confused events of that dawn. The other version is that Caddy had instructions to telephone Mrs. Barker by 2 A. M., if something had gone wrong and he had not heard from Hunt. . . . From the Mullen company, Hunt went to his office in the Executive Office Building, next to the White House, and removed some cash from his safe. Then he went to Caddy's apartment and made a series of telephone calls to locate a criminal lawyer. Caddy was not a criminal specialist. Subsequently, Hunt telephoned Liddy, who had gone home, to tell him that a Joseph Rafferty had agreed to try to bail out the Watergate Five. (*Compulsive Spy*, New York, 1974, pages 154-155)

In testimony given in Executive Session before the Senate Watergate Committee, Howard Hunt stated:

Mr. Hunt. After the men were apprehended and I had gone over to the Howard Johnson Motel, I then went to the White House and took out \$10,000 from the cash box. I put \$1,500 in my own pocket, took \$8,500, and after making a call from my Mullen Company office to Mrs. Barker in Miami to advise her of the situation, and to suggest she get in touch with Mrs. Caddy; I then went to Mr. Caddy's apartment and gave him \$8,500. After he had secured an attorney named Rafferty, after many hours of telephoning members of his firm that might, or might not be available, I departed for my home. (E. Howard Hunt Testimony, July 26, 1973, as cited in *Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803*, Book 2, page 205)

Howard Hunt stated before the Senate Watergate Committee that "Douglas Caddy" was "a former employee of the Mullen Co., . . ." (*Hearings*, vol. 9, page 3688).

James McCord testified as follows:

Senator MONTROYA. Well, now, when you were arrested at the Watergate and taken to jail, two attorneys apparently appeared there the next morning. Who were those attorneys?

Mr. McCORD. Mr. Rafferty and Mr. Douglas Caddy, C-a-d-d-y.

Senator MONTROYA. Who sent them there?

Mr. McCORD. I did not know at the time. I have since understood that Mr. Hunt had a part in arranging for their appearance.

Senator MONTROYA. Was anyone—was anything said to you by these attorneys to keep quiet or not divulging anything or even the source of your employment?

Mr. McCORD. There was a brief discussion with all of the defendants at that first meeting, if that is what you are referring to, at the place where we were arrested. (*Hearings*, Book 1, page 187)

Bob Woodward, of the *Washington Post*, became very suspicious of Caddy:

Woodward went inside the courtroom. One person stood out. . . .

Woodward sat down next to him and asked if he was in court because of the Watergate arrests.

"Perhaps," the man said. "I'm not the attorney of record. I'm acting as an individual."

He said his name was Douglas Caddy and he introduced a . . . man next to him as the attorney of record. Joseph Rafferty, Jr. Rafferty appeared to have been routed out of bed; he was unshaven and squinted as if the light hurt his eyes. The two lawyers wandered in and out of the courtroom. Woodward finally cornered Rafferty in a hallway and got the names and addresses of the five suspects. Four of them were from Miami, three of them Cuban-Americans.

Caddy didn't want to talk. "Please don't take it personally," he told Woodward. "It would be a mistake to do that. I just don't have anything to say."

Woodward asked Caddy about his clients.

"They are not my clients," he said.

But you are a lawyer? Woodward asked.

"I'm not going to talk to you."

Caddy walked back into the courtroom. Woodward followed.

"Please, I have nothing to say."

Would the five men be able to post bond? Woodward asked.

After politely refusing to answer several more times, Caddy replied quickly that the men were all employed and had families . . . He walked back into the corridor.

Woodward followed: Just tell me about yourself, how you got into the case.

"I'm not in the case."

Why are you here?

"Look," Caddy said, "I met one of the defendants, Bernard Barker, at a social occasion."

Where?

In D.C. It was cocktails at the Army-Navy Club. We had a sympathetic conversation . . . that's all I'm going to say.

How did you get into the case?

Caddy pivoted and walked back in. After half an hour, he went out again.

Woodward asked how he got into the case.

This time Caddy said he'd gotten a call shortly after 3:00 A. M. from Barker's wife. "She said her husband had told her to call me if he hadn't called her by three, that it might mean he was in trouble." (*All the President's Men*, pages 16-17)

The *New York Times* for June 21, 1972, reported the following:

Douglas Caddy, who acted as a lawyer for Mr. Barker during his arrangement Saturday, could not be reached today for comment.

But Mr. Bennett, the president of the Mullen agency, said that Mr. Hunt and Mr. Caddy were "friends," adding that Mr. Caddy had "office space" in the Mullen agency up to two years ago.

The *Washington Post* said that Caddy was the "first executive Director of the conservatively oriented Young Americans for Freedom," and a "leader in the Youth for Goldwater." On June 22, 1972, Carl Bernstein reported that Caddy had worked "in one of Bennett's offices":

Robert F. Bennett, president of the Washington public relations firm in whose office two figures mentioned in the Democratic National Committee bugging case have worked, acknowledged yesterday that he was the principal organizer of dummy campaign committees to raise money for the reelection of President Nixon.

Douglas Caddy, a lawyer originally retained by five suspects arrested in the incident Saturday, worked in one of Bennett's offices while he was liaison between Bennett's firm and General Foods, a major client of the firm.

He shared the office with Howard E. Hunt Jr., a Central Intelligence Agency employee for 21 years who has been employed as a writer for Bennett.

Hunt's name was found in address books belonging to two of the five men arrested, along with a stamped, unmailed envelope containing Hunt's personal check for \$6 to a local country club. (*Washington Post*, June 22, 1972)

According to notes made by L. Patrick Gray, who was acting director of the F.B.I., Caddy refused to tell who had called him to come to the jail:

Caddy advised FBI he rec'd a call at 3 AM from a person he refuses to identify. (L. Patrick Gray Notes, as printed in *Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary. . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803*, Book 1, page 137)

In the book *Watergate: Crime in the Suites*, pages 111-112, we find this information: "Douglas Caddy. A co-founder of Young Americans for Freedom, he was a close friend and co-worker of Hunt at Mullen and Co. On pre-arranged instructions from Hunt, Caddy was the original Watergate defendants' lawyer, but was found in contempt of court for refusing to answer grand jury questions."

Trouble at Mullen Company

After our telephone conversation with James A. Everett, we sent him a letter in which we asked the following questions:

14. I believe that you stated that you returned from Europe on the night of the Watergate break-in and that you met Hunt for the first time the next day. Could you give me any additional information on this matter?

15. You said that Bennett covered for Hunt for one day. Could you give me a little more information on this matter?

Mr. Everett replied as follows:

14. I returned from Europe on the night of the break-in, i.e. 17th June 1972. I went to the office on Monday the 19th and for the first time met Howard Hunt who had been hired during my absence in Europe. We spoke of the days newspaper headlines concerning the break-in and I remarked that it certainly was a stupid caper and I hoped that no responsible Republican had been involved. I assumed at the time that he was in full agreement. Only about an hour after that conversation the first call came from Woodward (or Bernstein) concerning the fact that Hunt's private telephone number at the White House (Executive Office Building) had been discovered in two of the persons who were apprehended at Watergate. Hunt was asked if he knew how this could be and he exclaimed loudly, "My God, No!" Hung up and left the office. I met him about a half hour later coming back from 1701 Pennsylvania Ave. where he undoubtedly had gone to confer with his friend Liddy. He returned to the office, removed a few things and left and I have never met him in person since.

15. After the initial telephone call from the *Washington Post* there was a veritable deluge of calls all seeking leads. Hunt had left the office and none of us knew what was going on. The next day Hunt called in from New York where he ostensibly went to service one of our clients. He had taken the trip without prearrangements—although that wasn't such a severe violation—and could have legitimately conducted commercial work for the firm. However, as soon as he phoned in he was told in no uncertain terms by Bob Bennett that he should return poste

haste and fend off the questions that were pouring in. He said he didn't want to return and asked if [it] was necessary for him to come back. At that point Bob told him that it was very imperative and that if he was not back at his desk at 9:00 A. M. the next morning that he should consider himself dismissed from the firm. This story was given to the reporters. Please remember that at this point Howard was still stressing his innocence and telling us that he had had no association with anything to do with what has become known as the Watergate affair. The next morning the phones were ringing asking if Hunt had arrived for work—which he had not—and he was from that moment dismissed. (Letter from James A. Everett, dated October 15, 1974)

In the book *All the President's Men*, pages 24-25, we find this information concerning the phone call from the *Washington Post* which was mentioned by Mr. Everett:

Woodward called the Mullen public-relations firm and asked for Howard Hunt.

"Howard Hunt here," the voice said.

Woodward identified himself.

"Yes? What is it?" Hunt sounded impatient.

Woodward asked Hunt why his name and phone number were in the address books of two of the men arrested at the Watergate. "Good God!" Howard Hunt said. Then he quickly added, "In view that the matter is under adjudication, I have no comment," and slammed down the phone.

Woodward phoned Robert F. Bennett, president of the Mullen public-relations firm, and asked about Hunt. Bennett, the son of Republican Senator Wallace F. Bennett of Utah, said, "I guess it's no secret that Howard was with the CIA."

It had been a secret to Woodward. He called the CIA, where a spokesman said that Hunt had been with the agency from 1949 to 1970. (*All the President's Men*, pages 24-25)

According to the testimony of John Dean, it was suggested that Howard Hunt leave the country to escape prosecution:

That afternoon, Ehrlichman instructed me to call Liddy to have him tell Hunt to get out of the country. I did this without even thinking. Shortly after I made the call, however, I realized that no one in the White House should give such an instruction and raised the matter. Colson chimed in that he also thought it unwise and Ehrlichman agreed. I immediately called Liddy again to retract the request and he informed me that he had already passed the message and it might be too late to retract. (*The Watergate Hearings—Break-in and Cover-up*, page 273)

Howard Hunt testified as follows in Executive Session before the Senate Watergate Committee:

On Monday, the 19th, I was told by Mr. Liddy that they wanted me to get out of town.

Mr. Lackritz. Now, Monday the 19th, when did you see Mr. Liddy?

Mr. Hunt. It was, I gather, around 11, 11:30 in the morning. He called me and asked me to meet him down at the corner by the USIA Building, which is about 19th and Pennsylvania Avenue.

It was very mysterious, we walked, and he talked; and he said, "We want you to get out of town right away," and I expressed surprise at that.

I said, "Well, what is the purpose, where do you want me to go," and he said, "Well—" I said, "What excuse would I have for going." He said, "Well, your wife is in Europe, why don't you go over and visit her for a while, spend the rest of the summer over there, it's a free vacation." (Howard Hunt's Testimony, July 26, 1973, as cited in *Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary. . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803*, Book 2, pages 205-206)

In other testimony given before a regular session of the Senate Watergate Committee, Hunt said that he received the call from Liddy “at my Mullen Co. office. . .” (*Hearings*, Book 9, page 3690).

In a deposition given in the case of *DNC v. McCord*, Robert Bennett admitted that he was the one, who contacted Hunt for Liddy to tell him that the plans had been changed:

Q. When was the first time after June 17, 1972, when you saw Mr. Hunt?

A. The following Monday morning when I got to work.

Q. Was he already there?

A. Yes.

Q. The principal item that day was the new[s]paper reports, the stories about the Watergate break-in?

A. That’s correct, plus the fact that there were two FBI agents that came to the office to see Mr. Hunt. That kind of cleared everything else away.

Q. What time did those FBI agents get there?

A. Around noon.

Q. What did Mr. Hunt do at the office that Morning?

A. I don’t know. I had a very busy morning, which was why I couldn’t take the time to probe with him further and spent the morning in my own office working on my own problems.

Q. Did Mr. Hunt remain at the office all day?

A. No. As I left for lunch, he joined me on the elevator saying that he was going out to his oculist to get his glasses and that he might not be back that afternoon, the oculist shop being in Rockville. When I got back from lunch, the FBI agents were there and Howard was not.

Q. You simply left the building together; is that correct?

A. Yes, that’s correct. He came back later that afternoon and I told him that the FBI was looking for him.

Q. What did he say?

A. He said, “I have no reason to talk to them.” “I don’t have to talk to them.” I think was his exact phrase.

Q. Did he again leave the office that afternoon?

A. Yes he did.

Q. Thereafter, did you receive any telephone calls from anyone?

A. Yes. Gordon Liddy called.

Q. About what time did Mr. Liddy call?

A. I would guess this would be in the later afternoon. 3:30 or 4:00 o’clock.

Q. What did Mr. Liddy want to do? Did he want to talk to Mr. Hunt?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you speak with Mr. Liddy?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the nature of the conversation?

A. He wanted to know where Howard was.

Q. What did you tell him?

A. I told him that as far as I knew Howard was at home, that he had left the office telling me that he had planned to leave town until the concern about the Watergate had blown over and that he was going home to pack.

Q. Did that satisfy Mr. Liddy?

A. Mr. Liddy said, “Will you get in touch with him and tell him that the signals have changed and he’s to stay put.” I called Mr. Hunt’s home and gave him that message, whereupon he commented, “I wish they’d make up their minds.”

Q. You called him at home and he was at home at that time?

A. That’s right.

Q. Approximately what time was that?

A. That would be in the afternoon immediately after the call from Gordon. (Robert Bennett Deposition, April 19, 1973, *DNC v McCord*, pages 25, 29-32)

In the book *Watergrate: The Full Inside Story*, pages 173-174, we find the following:

. . . when Liddy called the second time Bennett agreed to pass on the instruction that “the signals had changed and that he was to stay put” (i.e., not leave the country). “I wish they would make up their minds,” snapped Hunt on receiving Bennett’s message. Bennett also told him that, from his own point of view, he would like an explanation of what was going on: Hunt should come into the agency and tell him or face suspension.

The next day, Tuesday, Hunt left for New York, supposedly to make a TV film. There he decided to ignore Bennett’s ultimatum. That evening he disappeared to California, where he hid out for the next ten days in the house of a lawyer friend.

On June 21, 1972, the *New York Times* reported:

Robert F. Bennett, president of the Robert R. Mullen Company, a Washington public relations concern employing Mr. Hunt as a full-time writer, said in an interview this afternoon that Mr. Hunt could not be found.

Mr. Bennett said that F.B.I. agents came to the offices of his company, at 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, yesterday morning looking for Mr. Hunt.

Mr. Bennett said that he found a message from Mr. Hunt this morning saying he had gone to New York for the day in connection with a television project in which the company is engaged. But, Mr. Bennett said, he could not reach him there. . . .

The following day the *Washington Post* published this statement:

Bennett said yesterday that Hunt has failed to report to work since his name was mentioned in connection with the investigation of the bugging incident, and that he has suspended Hunt “until he comes to work.”

“I don’t really know what will happen when he comes back to work,” Bennett said yesterday. “I am as interested in finding out what involvement—if any—he may have had as anybody else.

“The only comment I have from him is a flat denial that he was anywhere near the Watergate (the location of the Democratic National Committee offices) Saturday night and I take that at face value.” (*Washington Post*, June 22, 1972)

On page 9 of his report, Senator Baker claimed that “Bennett served as the point of contact between Hunt and Liddy during the two weeks following the Watergate break-in. In his deposition given in *DNV v McCord*, Robert Bennett admitted he received a number of phone calls from Hunt and Liddy at the time the FBI was after Hunt—these are in addition to the first calls concerning the change in plans about leaving the country:

Q. The next day would be June 20th. Did you see Mr. Hunt on that day?

A. No.

Q. Did you talk to Mr. Hunt on the telephone that day?

A. I would say it would be June 19th.

Q. The 20th, Tuesday the 20th.

Q. Yes. I talked to him on the phone.

Q. Where was he when you spoke to him on the telephone?

A. He was in New York.

Q. I assume he called you from New York?

A. No. I called him.

Q. How did you know where to reach him in New York?

A. Mr. Liddy had told me that Howard had gone to New York to work on the television spot that was then in preparation.

Q. When did Mr. Liddy give you that information?

A. Tuesday morning.

Q. You spoke to Mr. Liddy Tuesday morning before you spoke to Mr. Hunt?

A. That's right. Mr. Hunt did not come to work and Mr. Liddy called to explain why.

Q. That television spot, would that be in connection with your business or White House business?

A. It would be in connection with our business.

Q. What time did Mr. Liddy call you Tuesday morning?

A. . . . I got the message that he had called when I called about 10:00 or 11:00 o'clock that morning.

Q. Did you then call Mr. Liddy?

A. I then called Mr. Liddy and he said that Howard was in New York and that he was working on the television spot that we had in production up there.

Q. Did you have any conversation with him that day in that telephone call that you would pick him up in your car and go some place together?

A. Yes. He said he wanted to talk to me but that he preferred not to do it on the telephone. This was in the first conversation that we had. I said, "Well, I am away from the office. I am driving back down to the office. Why don't you come out and meet me at the curb and I will pick you up and we can talk in complete security in my car?" He said he preferred not to do that and we made arrangements instead to meet at the magazine stand of the Drug Fair immediately adjacent to 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Q. I understand then that when you returned his call, it was from some place other than your own office.

A. That's right.

Q. Do you recall where you were at that time?

A. I was in my father's [i.e., Senator Wallace Bennett's] office.

Q. Did there come a time when you met Mr. Liddy at the magazine stand?

A. That's right.

Q. What was the nature of the conversation?

A. He told me that Howard would be going from New York to Miami and that the instructions that he had had been changed—

Q. Who had?

A. Howard had. —and that I was to call Miami looking for him and give him the new instructions. He said, "It is perfectly all right for you as his employer to be looking for him, but we think it would not be well for me to be looking for him." He never identified who the "we" were or was. I do not remember those instructions. They were very, very complicated. I went back to the office and said, "If Howard really was in New York working on the television spot, where would he be?" One of the girls in the office said, "I know where he should be" and called that number, found him there and he and I then had the conversation I have described.

Q. You passed on to him the instructions that Liddy had asked you to?

A. No. I just said, "I have been in touch with Liddy and he has given me a series of instructions for you which I would prefer you got directly from him. I suggest, Howard, you call him and let him tell you what it is he wants to tell you."

Q. Did Mr. Liddy indicate to you in the additional telephone call from your father's office that he did not want you to pick him up because his office may be under surveillance?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have any conversation with Mr. Hunt that day?

A. The 21st?

Q. Yes.

A. That night around midnight.

Q. Where were you at that time?

A. I was at home.

Q. Did he call you?

A. Mr. Liddy called me and told me that he had a message for me from Mr. Hunt which I was authorized to repeat to the newspapers in Mr. Hunt's name, that I could say that I had heard from Mr. Hunt, that he had left town because of the effect from the press harassment on his children and he was going to stay out of town until such time as this pressure on his family were to die down. . . . I also told him that his wife, that is, Howard's wife, had called wanting to know where he was.

Q. When did she call?

A. She called Wednesday during the day from New York. She had been in Europe. She had flown home, as she put it, to be at Howard's side in this time of difficulty. Mr. Liddy was surprised to hear Howard's wife was in the country and looking for him. He said, "Just a moment." There was a pause on the other end of the line and Howard came on the line and said, "What's this about my wife?"

Q. You mean Liddy and Hunt were together?

A. Yes.

Q. Then Howard Hunt got on the telephone?

A. That's correct.

Q. What did he say to you?

A. He said, "What's this about my wife?" I repeated to him the circumstances of his wife's having called me. He said, "Would you please call her for me and tell her you have heard from me and that I am fine and will be in touch with her."

Q. The next day, which would have been the 23rd, did you have any conversations with Mr. Hunt or Mr. Liddy?

A. I don't believe so. You now get into a period where my memory of which day and which call came in gets a little vague and I can't accurately respond day by day beyond that one Wednesday.

Q. Let me refresh your recollection and ask you whether you received a message on Friday, June the 23rd from Mr. Liddy. Your attention was directed to Friday, the 23rd and you were asked whether you received a message from Mr. Liddy at the time of the trial before Judge Sirica and your answer at that time was that you did.

A. All right. If I may, one of the reasons why the testimony in the trial before Judge Sirica is a little bit disjointed is because Howard had pled guilty by that time and all questions relating to Howard were therefore ruled out so that they all came in backward. I received a call on that day, assuming that that was the day—because the U.S. Attorney had the telephone records which I did not have—from Howard with a message for Liddy. I then called Liddy and gave him the message.

Q. What was the message?

A. It was that Howard was with the individual he was supposed to be with, had delivered the message and was awaiting further instructions. It was very cryptic.

Q. This is the message you passed on to Mr. Liddy?

A. That's right.

Q. Mr. Bennett, your recollection as to dates of telephone calls was refreshed at the criminal trial on the basis of certain telephone records in the possession of the United States Attorney; is that correct?

A. That's correct.

Q. What kind of telephone records were they, if you know?

A. I don't know for sure because they were incoming calls to me from a long distance location. I assumed that the U.S. Attorney had the records of Howard's movements in the form

of the hotel bills, airline tickets or what have you in that period and from those records got the dates of when the calls were placed to me.

Q. In the next day or two, did you have any further conversations with Mr. Hunt or Mr. Liddy?

A. Again, I cannot give you the date. The U.S. Attorney would have the records of the incoming calls. I received a phone call from Howard prior to the 4th of July weekend, at which time he said he was tired of being in hiding, he wanted to join his family for the long 4th of July weekend and would I please get him a lawyer, that as soon as he had a lawyer he felt he could surface.

Q. Did he tell you where he was?

A. No.

Q. Did you ask him?

A. No. He said that he would be calling back. I called Mr. Liddy to say, "Howard wants to surface and he wants a lawyer."

Q. What did Liddy say?

A. Liddy said, "Fine. Tell him that Doug Caddy will be his lawyer." Mr. Hunt called back the next day and I told him, "Doug Caddy is your lawyer." He said, "No, he's not," and he said, "I want another lawyer."

Q. You spoke to Mr. Liddy at home on Sunday morning on that occasion?

A. I spoke to Mr. Liddy at home on a Sunday morning of that same weekend.

Q. That was before this conversation with Mr. Hunt that you have just related?

A. That was after.

Q. This is after Mr. Hunt turned down Caddy and wanted a new lawyer?

A. I felt I had to get back to Liddy and tell him that Hunt would not accept Caddy and that he needed another lawyer.

Q. Did you have any other conversation with Mr. Liddy that Morning?

A. That is the only conversation I had with him and that is the last conversation I ever had with him.

Q. Did he say anything about the fact that he had left the Committee?

A. Yes. . . . He said, "Well, it is the committee's policy that no one can be employed there who does not agree to cooperate fully with the FBI," or words to that effect, "in their investigation of the Watergate. Since I'm not cooperating with the FBI, it is necessary for me to leave."

Then I repeated Howard's request for another lawyer. Mr. Liddy gave me the name of the lawyer he had retained for himself, which name I have subsequently forgotten, and he said, "Tell Howard to get in touch with this lawyer and he will help him find an attorney." I told Liddy again, as I had told him on previous occasions when he said tell Howard to do this or that, that I didn't know where Howard was. I couldn't tell him anything. I had to wait for Howard to call me. He said, "Alright, but when he calls you, tell him my lawyer is" so-and-so "and he will get a lawyer for Howard."

I never had any subsequent conversations with either Howard or Gordon. (Robert Bennett Deposition, April 19, 1973, *DNC v McCord*, pages 34-49)

Howard Hunt gave the following testimony in Executive Session before the Senate Watergate Committee:

Mr. Liebengood. I want to go back now to Bennett again. The series of phone calls—I understand there was a series of phone calls between Liddy and Bennett and you and Bennett, and of course you and Liddy occasionally in the week or so following the June 17th break-in.

Do you recall those?

Mr. Hunt. Well, I recall that I called both Bennett and Caddy. I don't think I called Liddy from California.

Mr. Liebengood. Did you use code words in your conversations with Bennett?

Mr. Hunt. I cannot recall. I may have used code names. (Howard Hunt's Executive Session Testimony, Senate Watergate Committee, December 18, 1973)

During the period that "Bennett served as the point of contact between Hunt and Liddy" the FBI was conducting a very diligent search for Hunt. Bernstein and Woodward claim that 150 FBI agents were looking for Hunt: "Meanwhile, Howard Hunt had not been seen since the day he had spoken briefly on the telephone to Woodward. The FBI had assigned 150 agents to the search. On July 7, the same day the Hunt-Chappaquiddick story appeared in the *Post*, Hunt came in from the cold" (*All the President's Men*, page 34).

Bennett in Hot Water

According to Howard Hunt he spent much of his time hiding in the home of Morton Jackson in Beverly Hills. He claims, in fact, that Robert Bennett returned a call to him there:

That evening Jackson returned home and brought Los Angeles newspapers for me to read. I felt awed by the attention paid to Watergate and was profoundly concerned by a report that **the FBI was looking for me in all fifty states and two foreign continents**. I was rumored to be simultaneously in Spain and Mexico while reports from Europe indicated that I had been seen strolling the boulevards of Paris. . . .

I realized that Caddy had already done more than could reasonably have been asked of him, and so I thanked him for his help and asked him to let Dorothy know where I was. He agreed to do so and a little later I telephoned Bob Bennett's office, only to find him out. Eventually Bennett returned my call, and I said, "Look, Bob, I'm out on the end of a slender limb, and the tree is shaking violently. . . ." (*Undercover*, pages 262 and 265) .

If Robert Bennett had notified FBI agents that he was going to return a call to Hunt, they could have easily found him in Beverly Hills. This would have saved the U.S. Government a great deal of money.

After investigators learned that Hunt worked for Bennett, it did not take them long to realize that all was not well at the Mullen Co. James A. Everett, who had just arrived from Europe, felt that the FBI bugged the phones of the Mullen Co. after the Watergate break-in. Perhaps this is the reason that Robert Bennett called Liddy from Senator Wallace Bennett's office instead of his own. In his testimony in *DNC vs McCord*, Robert Bennett admitted that after Hunt went into hiding, the Mullen Company had all its locks changed:

Q. Do you know whether Mr. Liddy ever came back to your office and used your office in your building at night?

A. No. I don't. I would doubt it. After this occurred, we changed all the locks.

Q. When?

A. A few days following Howard's disappearance.

Q. Were those locks changed before he came in on that Saturday?

A. Yes.

Q. How did he get in on that Saturday?

A. The guard let him in.

Q. Let him into your office also?

A. That's right.

Q. Approximately how long after June 17th did you have the locks changed?

A. I would say a week, a few days. I don't know for sure.

Q. What was the reason for that?

A. I guess we were all getting a little paranoid at the time. With a member of our staff having disappeared with a key to

the office, we changed the locks so that we knew who would be coming in.

Q. When the FBI came to look for Mr. Hunt, I think you said they came on only one occasion; is that correct?

A. They came back after he disappeared to see if I knew where he was. (*DNC vs McCord*, Deposition of Robert Bennett, pages 53-54)

In the Rockefeller Report we read as follows:

In the days immediately following Watergate, a number of communications passed among Hunt, Liddy, and Bennett. Among other things, Hunt asked Bennett for help in finding him a lawyer. Liddy called Bennett to locate Hunt and pass messages to him. . . .

Shortly after Watergate, the office of the United States Attorney questioned Bennett; and the evidence indicates that he responded truthfully to the questions, including disclosing the firm's relationship to the CIA. When he later appeared before the grand jury, he was asked few questions by the prosecutor. Having previously disclosed the facts concerning the CIA relationship, he did not volunteer them either to the grand jury or to the FBI when he was later interviewed by it. . . . the CIA was gravely concerned over the impact of the Watergate investigation on the security of the Mullen cover . . . (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States*, pages 197-198)

On July 7, 1972, the *New York Times* reported the following:

The Mullen Company's records have been subpoenaed in connection with the current Federal grand jury investigation into the Watergate matter.

These records proved very fruitful to investigators. For instance, they showed that more than a dozen phone calls had been placed to Donald Segretti, who had "directed a campaign of political espionage and sabotage against the Democrats." This, of course, linked Segretti's activities to Howard Hunt.

In the book *Watergate: The Full Inside Story*, pages 113-114, we read the following about the relationship between Segretti and Hunt:

The benefit of Hunt's experience was then fed into the Segretti operation. Hunt, calling himself "Ed Warren," met and talked with Segretti and made it clear to him who was in charge. Over the next five months, Hunt provided ideas and suggestions for Segretti's undercover army, mostly by telephone. The relationship was somewhat curious as, according to Segretti, he was never quite sure for whom Warren worked; Warren, he later acknowledged, made him a bit "scared." Nonetheless he carried out his orders. It was not until some time after the Watergate break-in that Segretti discovered the true identity of his taskmaster. While leafing through a news magazine, he saw a picture of Ed Warren with the caption "E. Howard Hunt."

In the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, page 271, we read that "Howard Hunt directed Segretti to set up a demonstration which would subsequently become violent and would be blamed on the McGovern campaign. The Watergate break-in, however, put an end to these plans."

On page 288 of the same volume we read of other spying activities that Hunt directed at the same time that he was employed at the Mullen Co.:

At Liddy's request, Hunt met Buckley on various corners of Pennsylvania Avenue as Reitz had done previously. During these brief meetings, Hunt used the alias Ed Warren, and Buckley used the alias Jack Kent. Throughout their association Hunt never knew Buckley's real name.

Although Hunt was then employed by the Robert R. Mullen Company, he was also working closely with Gordon Liddy, who was responsible for the political intelligence gathering capabilities at CRP. The code name "Ruby I" evolved as part of the overall "Gemstone" plan, and was used primarily by Liddy and Hunt when referring to Wyatt. They also referred to John Buckley, alias Jack Kent, as "Fat Jack."

As we have already shown, Hunt also directed "Ruby II"—i.e., the BYU spy Thomas Gregory.

In the Senate Watergate Hearings we find this information:

Mr. DASH. In conclusion and in summary, Mr. Hunt, what I have sort of done is put together some of the activity that you have testified you engaged in during the period from July 6, 1971, when you first joined the White House staff to June 16, 1972, just prior to the break-in of the Democratic National Committee headquarters for the second time, and I am just going to run through these very quickly, . . .

For Mr. Colson and/or Mr. Ehrlichman or the Plumbers group, . . . you prepared a chronology of Ellsberg, you reviewed State Department cables, you participated in the fabrication of the Diem cables, . . . you participated in the breaking in of the Fielding office although you yourself did not break-in.

For Mr. Liddy and the Committee for the Re-Election of the President you engaged and participated in the planning of the Gemstone plan, you recruited Mr. Barker and others who were involved as ex-CIA employees, you served as a liaison with a mythical spy, Fat Jack, who was acting in connection with picking up materials from Muskie headquarters, you participated in the planning of the break-in of the Greenspun office in Las Vegas, you yourself helped or recruited a political spy, Mr. Gregory, to infiltrate in the Muskie campaign and then later in the McGovern campaign, . . . you helped plan disruptions at the Democratic Convention, you planned an intelligence-gathering network at the Democratic Convention, you recruited men to provide security at the Hoover funeral and to disrupt a peace demonstration at the Capitol. You provided advice and good answer to Donald Segretti, you helped plan an aborted McGovern headquarters break-in, and you planned and executed two break-ins in the Democratic National Committee headquarters.

For Mr. Colson alone in that year you interviewed Mr. Clifton De Motte, you went out to see Dita Beard, and you were requested, but you never did, to go to Mr. Bremer's apartment after the attempted assassination of Mr. Wallace.

I take it that **during that period of time when you were engaged in all these activities, is it not true that you also were working at the Mullen Co.?**

Mr. HUNT. Yes, sir.
(*Hearings*, Book 9, pages 3807-3808)

In the Rockefeller Report we find the following statement:

Hunt, **while employed by Mullen**, orchestrated and led the Fielding and Watergate break-ins and participated in other questionable activities. The Mullen Company had tangential associations with some activities of the White House staff. (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States*, June 1975, page 173)

Bennett's Cover-Up

After the Watergate break-in was discovered, Robert Bennett found himself faced with the possibility that his activities would bring embarrassment to both the Mormon Church and the CIA. Therefore, he did his best to cover-up the BYU spy and the relationship of his company with the CIA.

Bennett's attempt to suppress the involvement of the BYU spy Thomas Gregory did not last too long. In his testimony, Gregory told that he left his first name with a woman who had answered the phone when he tried to call Hunt:

A. Initially either the phone would keep ringing or Mr. Hunt would answer the phone. Eventually, a woman answered the phone. Sometimes—

Q. And for whom would you ask?

A. For "Ed" or Mr. Warren.

Q. Was there ever an occasion when you left your name?

A. Yes, there was.

Q. And how would you refer to yourself?

A. Tom. (Testimony of Thomas Gregory, *U.S. vs George Gordon Liddy*, et al. No. 1827-72, pages 223-224)

The woman must have revealed to investigators that the the name "Tom" had been left with her. A secret memo written by the CIA contains this information:

QUESTION:

i. At the Mullen Company, Hunt had a private wire installed and apparently was called there by one "Tom" reported to be a younger man. Do we know anything about this?

ANSWER:

The Agency has received no previous inquiry in this regard, and we have no knowledge of the private line or anyone named "Tom" attempting to call Mr. Hunt. (Memo printed in *Committee on the Judiciary Testimony of Witnesses*, Book III, page 40)

In his testimony, pages 268-269, Thomas Gregory said that he was contacted by the FBI in December of 1972. This was about six months after the Watergate break-in. Jack Anderson gives this information concerning Bennett's cover-up of the BYU spy:

Bennett was called in for questioning six times by the original Watergate prosecutors. He held back Gregory's vital information out of loyalty to the youth Bennett claims.

But the prosecutors traced Bennett's long-distance telephone calls to Gregory. When Bennett learned this, he called the prosecutors and said: "Look you've found Tommy. I'll tell you about Tommy." (*Deseret News*, June 25, 1974)

In the Rockefeller Report we read: "The existence of Mullens' relationship with the CIA was, of course, kept secret to protect the secrecy of the cover arrangements and this led to complications when, after Watergate, the Mullen Company came under investigation" (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States*, pages 174-175).

On pages 197-198 of the same report, we learn that Bennett did not reveal the CIA relationship to either "the grand jury or to the FBI when he was later interviewed by it." Bennett's attempt to suppress the involvement with the CIA was successful for a while, but the truth eventually came out anyway. In Senator Baker's Report we find the following:

The true nature of Bennett's relationship to the CIA was not known to us until late November of 1973 when, at Senator Baker's request, the CIA produced another volume of CIA documents (Volume IV). The following information was adduced from this volume.

On July 10, 1972, Bennett reported detailed knowledge of the Watergate incident to his CIA case officer. The case officer's report of this meeting was handwritten and carried to Director Helms on or before July 14, 1972, in this form because of the sensitivity of the information. It revealed that Bennett had established a "back door entry" to E. B. Williams, the attorney

for the DNC, in order to "kill off" revelations of the Agency's relationship with the Mullen and Company in the course of the DNC lawsuit. He agreed to check with the CIA prior to contacting Williams. Our staff has confirmed that Bennett did funnel information to Williams via attorney Hobart Taylor and that this information was more extensive than the information Bennett had previously provided the Grand Jury. The CIA has acknowledged paying one-half of Bennett's attorney fee for his Grand Jury appearance.

Although Bennett was supplying information to the CIA about many aspects of the Watergate incident and was at that time **servicing as liaison between Hunt and Liddy**, there is **no indication that these facts were disclosed to the FBI**.

The aforementioned July 10 report contains mysterious reference to a "WH flap." The report states that if the Mullen cover is terminated, the Watergate could not be used as an excuse. It suggests that the Agency might have to level with Mullen about the "WH flap." Nonetheless, a July 24, 1972 contact report shows that the CIA convinced Robert Mullen of the need to withdraw its Far East cover through an "agreed upon scenario" which included a falsified Watergate publicity crisis. The Agency advises that the "WH flap" has reference to a [deletion at Agency request] that threatened to compromise Western Hemisphere operations, but has not explained sufficient reason to withhold such information from Mullen nor explained the significance of same to Watergate developments. This Agency explanation is clouded by conflicting evidence. . . .

A memorandum drafted by the Chief of the Central Cover staff, CIA, on March 1, 1973, notes that Bennett felt he could handle the Ervin Committee if the Agency could handle Hunt. Bennett even stated that he had a friend who had intervened with Ervin on the matter. The same memorandum suggests that **Bennett took relish in implicating Colson in Hunt's activities** in the press while protecting the Agency at the same time. It is further noted that Bennett was feeding stories to Bob Woodward who was "suitably grateful"; that he was making no attribution to Bennett; and that he was protecting Bennett and Mullen and Company. ("The Baker Report," pages 9-12)

In *Time* for July 15, 1974, we find the following information.

Ever since the Watergate break-in, many observers have wondered whether the CIA was involved in planning and carrying it out. Five of the seven burglars had been involved with the agency at one time or another, and they certainly used its methods, however ineptly. . . .

No one has pursued the CIA connection more diligently than Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. . . . Last week, . . . he finally released his long-awaited report. While it raised disconcerting questions about CIA participation, it provided no evidence that the agency either planned or executed the Watergate operation.

The most questionable act that Baker examined was the burning of James McCord's files shortly after the break-in. McCord, one of the arrested burglars, worked for the CIA until 1970. When his wife set fire to his papers in their house, a CIA operative named Lee R. Pennington Jr. happened to be on hand. Pennington testified that his presence was just coincidental, but the Baker report charges that Pennington "destroyed documents which might show a link between McCord and the CIA." . . .

Another murky episode was the destruction of some CIA tapes in January 1973, just before Richard Helms departed as agency director. . . . the report contends that never before had there been such a sweeping destruction of CIA tapes. . . . the report is dismaying because it shows how easily some CIA employees were drawn into the scandal and, with too few questions asked, **gave aid to lawbreakers** and cooperated with dubious White House requests. (*Time*, July 15, 1974, page 19)

Newsweek made this comment concerning Baker's report:

According to the Baker report, Mullen's president, Robert F. Bennett, son of Sen. Wallace Bennett of Utah, reported "detailed knowledge of the Watergate incident to his CIA case officer." Among the details Bennett provided was his suspicion—after the Watergate break-in—that Hunt was involved. "There is no indication," the report stated, "that these facts were disclosed to the FBI."

On the contrary, **the report indicated that in at least one instance the CIA did its best to cover up what it knew.** (*Newsweek*, July 15, 1974, page 29)

Robert Bennett publicly stated that he knew nothing about the Watergate break-in. He claimed, in fact, that Hunt had lied to him:

"You've got to know about Hunt," Mr. Bennett said. "He made things up. He led me to believe he had instructions he didn't have. He said he'd never been near the Watergate that night." (*New York Times*, April 28, 1973)

Bennett did dismiss Hunt from his job at the Mullen Company after the Watergate break-in became known, but this does not really mean very much. If the CIA involvement with the Mullen Company was to be kept secret, it was almost essential that some action like this be taken. In a letter to Charles Colson, dated August 9, 1972, Hunt blamed his dismissal on "HEW employees":

In the midst of this imbroglia comes the thought that discreet reprisals ought to be taken against the HEW employees who insisted that I be removed from Mullen's HEW account. They did this on the 21st of June, pre-judging me, and resulting in my being fired by the Mullen Company. (Letter by Howard Hunt, printed in *Hearings*, Book 9, page 3898)

In the case *DNC vs McCord*, Robert Bennett was questioned concerning his suspension of Hunt:

Q. Did you have any further conversation with Mr. Hunt relative to his position with your company?

A. Only as I have described. . . . I also told Mr. Liddy . . . that I could not keep Howard in full status while this cloud was hanging over his head.

Q. What about the next day, June 21st? First of all, let me ask you this: Did Mr. Hunt come to work that day?

A. No.

Q. Did you take any action as a result of that?

A. Yes. I suspended him.

Q. How did you suspend him?

A. I simply stopped paying him.

Q. You notified the office manager that he was no longer on the payroll?

A. He was not to be paid until he returned to work. He was not to be paid for that day or any subsequent days until he returned to work.

Q. He would not have been paid for those days if he was not working in any event, would he?

A. If he were out of town working on Mullen Company business, he would be paid.

Q. He had completed the television job prior to Wednesday, the 21st?

A. Since I had told him that he must specifically be in the Washington office on Wednesday, I was not prepared to pay him for any work he would be doing out of town even if he were claiming it was work for us. (Robert Bennett Deposition, *DNC vs McCord*, April 19, 1973, pages 39-41)

In the Rockefeller Report it is claimed that Robert Bennett considered getting rid of Hunt before the Watergate break-in was exposed:

By June 1972, Bennett had come to doubt Hunt's reliability and judgment and had determined that **Hunt should eventually leave Mullen**, but he decided to **take no action until after the election**. According to Bennett, nothing had come to his attention that he considered sufficiently serious to justify the risk of White House displeasure should he discharge Hunt. (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities* page 196)

However this may be, as more information has come to light, it has become very obvious that Bennett knew about Hunt's illegal activities prior to the exposure of the Watergate break-in. In an article published in the *Las Vegas Sun* for May 19, 1975, we read as follows:

Robert Bennett president of the now defunct Watergate public relations agency, the Mullen Company, was according to E. Howard Hunt, **aware of spying against the Democrats during the week prior to the Watergate break-in. His role in Watergate has been hidden from the American public.** . . .

Gregory was once asked to stay late at the McGovern office and leave a door open for someone to enter and install a bug.

Two days prior to the Watergate break-in, Gregory developed "moral uneasiness" about his job, but he feared quitting and sought Bennett's advice.

In his testimony before the Nedzi committee, Bennett quotes the student as saying, "Mr. Hunt is a powerful man. I am afraid of what might happen to me if I should quit."

Bennett says he responded, "Come on, Tommy, you're exaggerating things. This is just Howard. He works for me. This is not a great, powerful man."

The following day Bennett arranged for termination of Gregory's employment with Hunt. (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 19, 1975, pages 1 and 4)

In his testimony given in *DNC vs McCord*, Robert Bennett admitted that before the Watergate affair Thomas Gregory told him that Hunt was planning to bug the Democrats:

Q. When you got there on Monday morning, June 19th, Mr. Hunt was already there; is that correct?

A. That's correct.

Q. Did you have any conversation with him?

A. I asked him about the stories that had appeared in the newspapers over the weekend with respect to the Watergate burglary and he refused to discuss them in any detail.

Q. Why would you ask him about the stories in the paper?

A. Because out of the conversation we had had previously, I had reason to believe that he might know something about what had gone on.

Q. Will you tell us about those previous conversations Mr. Bennett, which led to this surmise or speculation on your part?

A. Of course, the most dramatic one was the conversation I had with Tom Gregory, . . . whom Howard recruited to act as an information source for him within first the Muskie and later the McGovern campaign. Tom had come to me for advice as to what he should do because he was getting very nervous about some of the things he was being asked to do by Mr. Hunt, **specifically to help lay plans for the planting of a bug in Frank Mankiewicz's office** in McGovern's headquarters. I had advised Tom he must not participate in any such activity and that he should terminate his relationship with Mr. Hunt, which he had done.

Q. When did Mr. Gregory come to you to request your advice on this matter?

A. The week prior to this. Well, the week of June 17th.

Q. June 17th was a Saturday.

A. I believe it was the Wednesday prior.

Q. After you had that conversation with Mr. Gregory on that Wednesday, did you have any conversation with Mr. Hunt?

A. No, although I expected to, but it never occurred.

Q. Did you see Mr. Hunt between that Wednesday and the following Monday?

A. Yes, but not to have any in-depth conversation with him.

.....

Q. Why was it that Tom Gregory came to you for advice?

A. Tom Gregory was recruited through my nephew and he knew that I had contact with Mr. Hunt and, therefore, assumed that I would be knowledgeable about Mr. Hunt's activities. Also, Mr. Gregory and I are both members of the same religious faith and he knew that I would understand his religious qualms about what it was he was doing.

.....

Q. On Monday, the 19th, when you saw Mr. Hunt, did you have any discussion with him then concerning the problem that Tom Gregory was having?

A. No.

Q. Did you raise the question with him?

A. No.

Q. Did you have the opportunity on that Monday to discuss that problem with him?

A. I suppose I did, but, that not being the principal item of concern that day, I didn't think to bring it up. (Deposition of Robert Bennett, *DNC vs McCord*, April 19, 1973, pages 26-29)

The Rockefeller Report seems to contradict itself with regard to Robert Bennett. On page 196 it says: "There is **no evidence** that he learned anything that gave him notice of Hunt's **illegal activities** until they became public knowledge." On the very next page, however, the Rockefeller Report states that Bennett learned of the "illegal activity" on "June 14, two days before Watergate, when Gregory told Bennett that Hunt had asked him to bug the office of Frank Mankiewicz in McGovern Headquarters." This was certainly prior to the time "Hunt's illegal activities . . . became public knowledge." Furthermore, the Rockefeller Report, page 196, admits that "At one time **Hunt approached Bennett with a proposal to obtain the assistance of the Hughes organization for a burglary** in Las Vegas to secure purported information about Senator Muskie." The Rockefeller Report goes on to state that "It was also this proposal which first gave Bennett concern with respect to Hunt's judgment; he assumed, however, that Hunt, being attached to the White House staff, would be adequately supervised and controlled." According to Robert Bennett, Hunt had discussed the idea of breaking into the Greenspun safe with him in 1971 (see *New York Times*, April 28, 1973).

Jack Anderson, who is himself a member of the Mormon Church, has published the fact that Bennett knew of the "White House burglary-bugging team" before the Watergate break-in was discovered:

WASHINGTON—CIA front man Robert Bennett, son of veteran Sen. Wallace Bennett, R-Utah, has conceded that he knew a White House burglary-bugging team was on the prowl in advance of the celebrated Watergate break-in.

A secret memorandum, written by his CIA case officer, states the senator's son **withheld vital information from the authorities**.

In an interview with my associate Les Whitten, Bennett acknowledged he knew at least three days before the Watergate burglary that White House aide E. Howard Hunt, and his second-story crew had plotted to break into the campaign headquarters of Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., and bug the place.

Instead of reporting the conspiracy to the police, Bennett kept his mouth shut. He also confided to his CIA contact that he had held back information from the original Watergate prosecutors when they later questioned him about the Watergate break-in.

This episode is another link in the mysterious CIA involvement in Watergate. We uncovered the first piece of the puzzle as early as April 7, 1973, when we reported that the CIA had "ordered its agents not to talk to the FBI about the explosive Watergate case." Thereafter, we published several reports about the CIA and Watergate, but the full story still hasn't been told. . . .

Bennett's nephew referred a Brigham Young University student, named Thomas Gregory, to Hunt who recruited the young man as a political spy. . . .

But Gregory, a conscientious Mormon, became uneasy about his undercover work. He spoke to his bishop about it, who was concerned about the ethics of the job.

Then Gregory went back to Bennett and explained his misgivings. As Bennett related it, Gregory had been told by Hunt to work late one night at McGovern headquarters and leave a door open so the White House burglars could sneak in.

Gregory informed Bennett that Hunt was "reporting to someone higher up." Hunt's White House connections impressed young Gregory. Bennett said he also felt Hunt would do nothing illegal because "he had a full-time lawyer advising him." The lawyer, it turned out, was Hunt's co-conspirator, G. Gordon Liddy. (*Deseret News*, June 25, 1974)

In an article published in the *Las Vegas Sun*, May 18, 1975, we read this comment concerning Robert Bennett:

A crucial Watergate figure has remained nearly invisible to the American public until now. Robert F. Bennett, . . . worked closely with the CIA, Howard Hughes, E. Howard Hunt, and the White House. Bennett's public relations firm, the Robert Mullen Company, employed Hunt and worked on many White House horrors. . . .

High level White House aides reacted very favorably to Bennett's promotion to president of the Mullen Company. A White House memo dated January 26, 1971 quotes John Dean notifying H. R. Haldeman, "Chuck Colson informs me that Bob Bennett is a trusted and good friend of the administration." Indeed, in one of Colson's own memos, he refers to Bennett as "a trusted loyalist and a good friend."

Almost immediately **Nixon's palace guard instituted a cover-up of Bennett and his Mullen Company—a cover-up that persists to this day**.

Two days later the *Las Vegas Sun*, printed this statement:

Bennett confessed that he spent much time **blocking investigations of the Mullen Company** by lawyers of the Democratic National Committee, by the Ervin committee, by the Justice Department, and by the media. (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 20, 1975)

J. Anthony Lukas gave this information about Bennett in an article published in the *New York Times*:

In the beginning, Bennett was a friend of Chuck Colson's. They met during the 1968 campaign, when Bennett was managing the re-election campaign of his father, Senator Wallace F. Bennett, . . . Colson, then a Washington lawyer, raised \$15,000 for the Senator, and Bob Bennett was very grateful. . . .

In July 1970—probably at Colson's behest—a very important interest group got in touch with Bennett. A call came from **William Gay, a top aide to Howard Hughes. Gay and Bennett were both Mormons and Hughes had increasingly surrounded himself with that steady, straight-living, efficient breed**. Gay asked Bennett to find out whether anything could be done to stop the Government's plans to dump tons of nerve gas on the ocean floor near the Bahamas, where Hughes was planning to move. Bennett looked into it, then reported that nothing could be done.

But apparently Gay was impressed by his fellow Mormon. . . . he called again. . . . Hughes was looking for a new Washington man. Would Bennett like the job? Bennett would. "Get set then," Gay said. "Get a base."

By marvelous coincidence—or perhaps not—Colson called Bennett at just this time to suggest that he buy Robert R. Mullen & Company, a Washington public relations firm which had long served as a C.I.A. front. . . .

Colson now charges that Bennett was the key figure in the C.I.A.'s efforts to cover up its own role in Watergate and to blame the whole thing on the White House. He cites several C.I.A. memos which suggest that Bennett was feeding stories to Bob Woodward, who was "suitably grateful," and who was protecting the Mullen company and the C.I.A. (*New York Times*, January 29, 1976)

Burglary and Bugging Services

From documents which we have examined, it appears that Robert Bennett was able to offer Mullen clients not only public relations but information on spying as well. In his deposition of April 19, 1973, Robert Bennett admitted that he tried to interest his clients in a bugging device:

Q. Would it be fair to assume that during the period of time that you knew Mr. Hunt up until June 17th of 1972 that you had discussions, friendly talks with him about matters other than business?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Did he ever discuss with you whether he had any particular knowledge of **electronic surveillance** and this sort of thing?

A. Not as far as his CIA activities were concerned, no.

Q. Did he ever indicate that he had that knowledge other than what was involved in his CIA activities?

A. He indicated an interest in it after he had joined our company, an interest growing out of his activities with the White House.

Q. In what context did that interest express itself?

A. He said a friend of his had developed a device, which, as he described it, was very, very sophisticated in the realm of electronic surveillance. He said it could be attached to a piece of furniture, that it was **voice activated** so that the batteries or whatever power source would be preserved and that it was **invulnerable to an electronic sweep** and suggested that maybe some of our clients would be interested in knowing about the existence of this device. If they were, he said he could introduce them to the individual who had developed it. I checked and none of our clients had any interest in it. (*DNC vs McCord*, Deposition of Robert Bennett, April 19, 1973, pages 24-25)

It is interesting to note that Bob Woodward tells of meeting "a friend of Howard Hunt's at the Hay-Adams Hotel," whose words so closely resembled Robert Bennett's testimony that we are inclined to believe that the "friend" may have been Bennett himself:

Several days after the Senate vote, Woodward headed for a luncheon appointment with a friend of Howard Hunt's at the Hay-Adams Hotel. . . . His value as a source was incalculable now. . . .

He then proceeded to make it clear that he thought Howard Hunt ridiculous. . . . "Now we know what Howard's wiretapping squad was really like. Just rank amateur. Well, he told me that he had developed a team of really heavy people who could conduct electronic eavesdropping—said they could install a **sweep-proof bug that was voice-activated** and could be picked up a hundred yards away. . . ." (*All the President's Men*, pages 251-252)

Woodward never identifies this "friend," but the entire interview would lead us to believe that it was Robert Bennett (see *All the President's Men*, pages 251-253). The reader may remember that Senator Baker's Report, page 12 said that "Bennett was feeding stories to Bob Woodward who was 'suitably grateful'; that he was making no attribution to Bennett; and that **he was protecting Bennett and Mullen and Company.**"

Some people have suggested that Robert Bennett might be the mysterious "Deep Throat" who furnished important information on the Watergate scandal to Woodward. I will have more to say about this in the Appendix.

At any rate, Robert Bennett's own testimony plainly shows he was trying to interest his clients in equipment for electronic surveillance. He also received "a bid for surveillance of Clifford Irving" from James McCord. We must also remember that "Bennett suggested that Greenspun's safe contained information of interest to both Hughes and the CRP; . . ." ("The Baker Report," page 8), and that plans for a break-in were discussed.

As we have already pointed out, the Mullen Co. handled public relations for Howard Hughes. Tad Szulc states:

Bennett was very well acquainted around Washington and the firm held some valuable accounts. One of them was to represent in Washington the interests of Howard Hughes, the elusive billionaire. This was rather more political than a public-relations job; it meant that Hughes received reports from the Mullen firm on the political situation in Washington. Bob Bennett also looked after such things as Hughes's contributions to the Republican campaign. (*Compulsive Spy*, page 106).

In the book *Watergate: The Full Inside Story*, page 59, we read that "Hunt worked on contracts for the commanding heights of capitalism—General Foods and the Hughes Tool company were among his accounts."

Howard Hunt not only asked for help from the CIA in his work for the White House but also for his work on the Hughes account. Senator Baker states:

Finally, while previous public CIA testimony claimed that the CIA "had no contact whatsoever with Mr. Hunt subsequent to 31 August, 1971," recent testimony and secret documents indicate that Hunt had extensive contact with the CIA after that date. Not only did Hunt play a large role in the CIA's development of psychological profiles on Daniel Ellsberg (not completed until November of 1971), but he actually contacted the CIA's External Employment Assistance Branch (EEAB) and approached active CIA personnel regarding several operations, including, e.g., **Hunt's requests to the CIA for person(s) skilled in lockpicking, electronic sweeping, and entry operations.** ("The Baker Report," pages 26-27)

In a footnote on page 27 of the same report, Senator Baker gave this interesting information:

a. Hunt was referred to [Former CIA employee] by [Chief, EEAB] of the CIA's EEAB, . . . when Hunt requested a "retired lockpicker" and entry man, in the time period of March-May, 1972. CIA Supplemental Materials, volume 1, tab 4, Memorandum of June 19, 1973.

b. Hunt, in late 1971, requested some "security types" to check physical security and monitor telephones in Las Vegas, "in connection with Hunt's work on the Hughes Account with Mullen and Company. . . ."

From the evidence presented, it appears that Robert Bennett was able to offer spying services to his clients. He seems to have been especially interested in providing Howard Hughes with this type of service. As we have already shown, Bennett does admit discussing a bugging device with his "clients," but he claimed that "none of our clients had any interest in it." We do not know

whether the Mormon church was one of the “clients” that Bennett discussed the matter with.

In his relationship with the Mormon Church, Robert Bennett seems to have dealt with the Apostle Mark E Petersen—Petersen is the man who is in charge of making investigations of those who are out of harmony with the Church. In his letter to us, James A. Everett stated: “9. It is my understanding that Mark E. Petersen was head of the Public Relations effort at the level which was served by Robert R. Mullen & Co. There are undoubtedly many other P. R. efforts which may be handled by other administrative arrangements.” In the same letter Mr. Everett also stated that Bennett and Petersen “are good friends.”

At any rate, once the Watergate affair became publicly known, the Mullen Company’s clients began to withdraw their accounts. According to Mr. Everett, the Mormon Church withdrew its account in 1973. In his letter to us, Mr. Everett remarked:

It is a real sad commentary on things to see a fine company, such as the Robert R. Mullen & Co., destroyed through events over which they had little or no control. Both Bob Mullen and Bob Bennett, not to mention a lot of other fine people in the firm, have had their names and their careers dramatically altered.

We have been told that what was left of the Mullen Co. was bought by Howard Hughes. While we have not seen any printed evidence to confirm this report, we do know that Robert Bennett has gone to work for Hughes. In the *Las Vegas Sun* for May 18, 1975, we read as follows:

Although the Mullen Company went out of business in 1973, Bennett still serves Howard Hughes. At present he is public relations director for the Summa Corporation, an umbrella firm entirely owned by Hughes.

Hughes and the C.I.A.

Howard Hughes was considered to be one of the richest men in the world. In *Fortune Magazine* for December 1973, we read:

... on December 14, Hughes Tool Co. was sold to the investing public for \$150 million. . . .

Thus Hughes spun off his fabled money machine. Since 1924, when he had taken over Houston-based Toolco after his father’s death, the company had provided him with a total of \$745,448,000 in before-tax profits. . . . What Hughes sold the public was just the drilling-tool division, along with the original Hughes Tool name. He retained the rest of his empire, and gave the holding company a new name, Summa Corp., with Hughes himself as the sole stockholder.

Although the value of his assets has sometimes been placed as high as \$2.5 billion, Howard Hughes appears today to have considerably less than that. A compilation of his known holdings and interviews with a number of associates indicate that the total is much closer to \$1.2 billion. The great bulk of that amount is represented by the assets of Summa Corp., the name he gave his conglomerate after selling the oil-tool division. . . . Outside of Summa, Hughes owns a wide variety of properties in his own name, including at least two hotels, a gambling casino, some Texas oil lands, 22 percent share of Air West, and an interest in Atlas Corp. . . . The value of these personal holdings is difficult to establish with any precision, but it appears to be less than \$100 million. (*Fortune*, December, 1973, pages 107 and 175)

Howard Hughes had two objectives which are of particular interest to us in this study: First, to establish a relationship with the CIA. Second, to staff his organization with a large number of Mormons. Mr. Hughes seems to have succeeded very well in both of these areas.

Noah Dietrich, who worked for Hughes for many years, made this observation: “Whether on the telephone or in person, Howard seemed to be addicted to a CIA brand of secrecy—and this was long before there was a Central Intelligence Agency” (*Howard: The Amazing Mr. Hughes*, Greenwich, Conn., 1972, page 91).

Stanton O’Keefe stated: “Like Big Brother in Orwell’s 1984, Hughes is believed to be constantly watching every move of his key people. His network of spies is rumored to rival the C.I.A.” (*The Real Howard Hughes*, page 36). On pages 203-204 of the same book, we find the following:

“Howard Hughes is the **greatest employer of ex-FBI agents in the country.** . . .”

“Hughes knows more about telephone and wire-tapping than all the law enforcement officials in the United States put together.”

“The ‘hot line’ is Howard’s favorite invention. He couldn’t exist without it.”

“He’s got more spies on his payroll than the CIA.” . . .

“Big Brother is small potatoes next to Howard. He might be watching you, but you can bet that Howard would be watching him.”

The above opinions are only a sampling of the views of men who have had the unpleasant experience of running afoul of Howard Hughes’ secret empire.

Wallace Turner gives this information concerning Howard Hughes’ link with the CIA:

A former high aide to Howard R. Hughes has said that the reclusive industrialist had been looking for years for a **Central Intelligence Agency connection that would expand his influence with government** before the agency signed his company to try to recover a sunken Soviet submarine.

Robert A. Maheu, once the manager of the Hughes operations in Nevada, made the statement last year in testifying in his successful defamation suit against the Hughes interests. Documents introduced at the trial showed that Mr. Hughes had a considerable interest in manipulating Federal agencies and politicians.

Mr. Maheu said that, as far back as 1961, Mr. Hughes showed a desire to become involved somehow with the C.I.A. And in 1968, Mr. Maheu testified, Mr. Hughes asked him to “try to work out some kind of an arrangement with the C.I.A. whereby either he or the Hughes Tool Company would become a front.”

Mr. Maheu said he had asked Mr. Hughes for an explanation and was told that if the industrialist “ever became involved in any problem with the Government, either with a regulatory body or with an investigative arm of the Government, he thought it would be very beneficial to him of being in a position of being a front” for some C.I.A. enterprise.

Mr. Maheu said he had refused to do what Mr. Hughes asked.

And as it happened, it was the C.I.A. that initiated the discussions that led to the project making Mr. Hughes’s Summa Corporation, the successor to Hughes Tool, a front for the intelligence agency, according to high Government officials.

In late 1970 or early 1971, these officials said, the agency contracted with Summa to finance the construction of a multimillion-dollar deep-sea salvage vessel and used it last summer in a secret but unsuccessful effort to recover hydrogen-warhead missiles and codes from a sunken Soviet submarine that lay three miles deep in the Pacific Ocean.

Summa, wholly owned by Mr. Hughes, supposedly built the ship for commercial mining of ocean minerals. (*New York Times*, March 20, 1975)

We first began to suspect Hughes’ relationship with the CIA when we read the following statement in Senator Baker’s Report, page 8:

CIA records indicate that Agency consideration was given to utilizing Mullen's **Hughes relationship for a matter relating to a cover arrangement** in [South America], and to garner information on Robert Maheu.

The depth of Hughes' involvement with the CIA really began to come to light sometime after a burglary was reported at Hughes' headquarters. On March 14, 1975, the *New York Times* reported:

LOS ANGELES, March 13—Safecrackers who looted Howard Hughes's Romaine Street headquarters here last year got documents that disclosed relations between the Central Intelligence Agency and Mr. Hughes's Summa Corporation, according to sources connected with the investigation. . . .

According to these sources, Government officials learned of this security breach when the safecracker tried to blackmail the Hughes organization for \$1-million.

The extortion attempt and a later effort by law enforcement officers to buy back the stolen documents for \$1-million both failed, and the confidential documents, described as filling two footlockers, are believed to be still in the hands of the burglars. . . .

When the four burglars looted the Romaine Street building shortly after midnight last June 5, only one guard and one other Hughes employee were on duty, . . . According to the initial police report, the guard was surprised by a gunman while on patrol outside the building and forced to admit the safecrackers. During a four-hour foray, between 12:45 A. M. and 4:45 A. M., the burglars burned open two safes with acetylene torches and rifled files and desks. . . . The burglars sought to sell back the stolen files in two installments of \$500,000 each.

The negotiations were taken over by Ralph Winte, head of the Hughes organization's West Coast internal security division. . . .

The loss of the billionaire's files caused consternation in his organization, because Mr. Hughes was a penchant for secrecy in even routine business transaction. Hughes officials have speculated privately that the burglary was an "inside job," and [a] number of Hughes employees have been subjected to lie detector tests.

Among the data that the burglars boasted they had stolen were documents discussing an arrangement between the C.I.A. and Mr. Hughes's Summa Corporation. Reliable sources familiar with the investigation say that at least one document taken was a memorandum explaining to Mr. Hughes in detail the relationship that would exist between his corporation and the C.I.A. (*New York Times*, March 14, 1975)

As the story unfolded it became apparent that the recovery of a Russian submarine was involved:

The Central Intelligence Agency recovered part of a sunken Soviet submarine which yielded military secrets with profound national security implications, the *Los Angeles Times* has confirmed.

The recovery was the culmination of a remarkable six-year intelligence effort which involved the building of two huge vessels, ostensibly to pioneer commercial ocean mining, but whose main purpose would be the recovery of the Russian submarine its depth of several miles. . . .

The *Times* early last month was the first to report that the CIA, using a revolutionary ocean mining craft purportedly owned by Howard Hughes, had recovered a Russian submarine. . . .

The CIA obtained Hughes' permission to use the billionaire's ongoing ocean mining venture as a front to cloak the true nature of the operation.

This occurred, ironically, at a time when a variety of federal investigative agencies were scrutinizing the wealthy recluse's vast financial empire. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 19, 1975)

On April 4, 1975, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported an extremely odd story concerning the burglary:

LOS ANGELES—A super-secret memo to Howard Hughes describing the CIA's plan to raise a sunken Russian submarine was taken from the Billionaire's Hollywood communications center by security guard Mike Davis and later destroyed by him, Davis told the *Los Angeles Times* Thursday. . . .

It is ironical that an act by an obscure guard ultimately would lead to public disclosure of one of history's most expensive and secretive intelligence missions, one that cost hundreds of millions of dollars and six years of prodigious effort.

In an interview with a *Times* reporter prior to making the same disclosure to the district attorney's office and police detectives, Davis said:

"After the burglars had gone, and I had been able to get to a phone to call for help, I noticed two pieces of paper on the floor near the door to Kay Glenn's office. The burglars must have dropped them there. . . . In all the excitement that followed with the arrival of the police and everything, I forgot that I had the documents. . . .

"One document was a memo saying that the CIA wanted to build a ship or something to bring up a Russian sub. I don't remember all the details, but I recall that it said President Nixon knew all the details, but I recall that it said President Nixon knew about it and that the IRS would look the other way on how the money was being put in.

"The other document was actually a deposit note for \$100,000 made payable to Glenn. For several months I kept both the memo and the note in a bedroom drawer.

"When all the publicity began to break on the submarine business about a month ago, I tore up the memo and flushed it down the toilet. Then I took Glenn's \$100,000 note and put it in a friend's safe." . . .

Davis was dismissed by the Hughes organization shortly after the burglary because of his refusal to take a lie detector test. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, April 4, 1975)

A big dispute has arisen over the question of whether Mr. Hughes or the U.S. Government owns the Glomar Explorer. According to the *New York Times* for June 18, 1975, the Los Angeles County assessor "Mr. Watson has since sent the Summa Corporation a tax bill that will come due in August for \$7.5-million. . . .

"The tax bill includes a 25 per cent fraud penalty assessed after Mr. Watson said he learned a week ago that the Explorer had been registered in Long Beach in October, 1973."

On August 19, 1975, the *New York Times* reported:

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 18—The Justice Department filed suit today in Federal court here to block the Los Angeles County assessor from taxing the Glomar Explorer, . . .

For the first time, the Federal Government publicly said that it owned and controlled the 618-foot vessel now berthed in Long Beach. . . .

The Government made the disclosure in an effort to relieve Summa Corporation of a \$7.5-million tax assessment levied by Philip E. Watson, the Los Angeles County assessor.

Mr. Watson said, "We will vigorously defend the tax assessment in court."

So-Called "Mormon Mafia"

Noah Dietrich, the man who "took control of Hughes Tool and who guided the destiny of the entire empire for over thirty years," has written the following concerning Hughes' preference for Mormons:

The early years of the 7000 Romaine message center brought the **Advent of the Mormons**.

"I think Mormons as a whole have the most integrity of any group of people in the country," Howard told me. "They take care of their own people, and they won't accept help from charity or the government. And I like the idea that they don't drink liquor. You can trust them."

Howard began staffing the message center and the fleet of Chevrolets exclusively with Mormons. One of them was Bill Gay, who was later to become a power in the Hughes organization. (*Howard: The Amazing Mr. Hughes*, page 218)

The end of my life with Howard Hughes was approaching in late 1956. His eccentricities were becoming more in-grained, and he spent nearly all of his time in seclusion, surrounded by his Mormon guard, headed by Bill Fay [Gay]. (*Ibid.*, page 287)

Some of Hughes' closest aids are sometimes referred to as the "Mormon Mafia." In his secret testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, page 68, Howard Hunt spoke of the "Mormon Mafia." In an article published in *Time* on January 24, 1972, we read of "the 'Mormon Mafia'—the secretary-nurse-assistants who attend Hughes round the clock . . ." The article went on to state:

Actually, of the six, only four are Mormons—Howard Eckersley, George Francom, Levar Myler and Kay Glenn, who functions as paymaster and general manager of the group. . . .

Hughes has had a longtime affinity for Mormons; they are generally nondrinkers, nonsmokers and rigidly honest about money. Despite such probity, three of Hughes' men . . . have been linked to a stock swindle involving a defunct Canadian company called Pan American Mines, Ltd. (*Time*, January 24, 1972, page 13)

In the book *Hoax: The Inside Story of the Howard Hughes—Clifford Irving Affair*, pages 115-116, we find the following:

Over the years Phelan had written five national-magazine articles about Hughes and his organization. His most recent one was running in the current issue of *Playboy*. The argument of the piece was that Howard Hughes was seriously ill and that his empire was being effectively controlled by a small palace guard—part male nurses, part persona aides—irreverently dubbed "the Mormon Mafia." . . .

The *Playboy* article drew on Phelan's last major series for the *Las Vegas Sun*, published in the summer of 1971: an expose of a major stock scandal in Montreal, Canada, involving Hughes's senior Mormon aide and personal secretary, Howard Eckersley. Although it seemed that Eckersley had been duped, his name and that of the Hughes Tool Company had been used freely. Phelan's experience on this story convinced him that Hughes was losing his grip: the cardinal feature of all Hughes's endeavors up to this date had been his reluctance to lend his name to anything he did not control. Hence the title of Phelan's *Playboy* piece: "Can the Real Howard Hughes Stand Up?"

Wallace Turner gives the following information concerning the so-called "Mormon Mafia":

The guys you have to talk to are the five who live with him and are the only ones who ever see him. You might as well have a chat with the Sphinx. These guys are hired and paid by Frank W. (Bill) Gay, who was a young Mormon student at U.C.L.A. when Hughes hired him in the Forties. . . . It was Gay who built up the security capsule that still surrounds Hughes. . . .

Hughes is supposed to prefer Mormon employees in key spots in his security network because they don't drink or smoke. Further, their religion includes strong drives for submission to authority. Besides, Bill Gay, a Mormon, likes to hire Mormons. . . . Three of the five executive assistants are Mormons, and a fourth is married to a Mormon. . . .

In the Las Vegas matter, there were two story ideas offered. . . . From the Hughes side of it, Maheu was pictured as a crook who had been looting Hughes's cash drawers . . .

From the Maheu side of it came the suggestion that Hughes was really out of his head, that he was terribly sick, that he was really a prisoner of his palace guard . . . Maheu never said such things—he just said he didn't know. . . .

The Hughes Tool Company people needed to prove beyond doubt that it was The Man's signature on the stock proxy that was used to fire Maheu. So they put Levar Myler on the stand, and showed the world what one of Hughes's executive assistants looks like. Only the insiders knew all five of these men, who shuttled mysteriously around Las Vegas for four years. They had rooms on the eighth floor, below Hughes, and they had houses around town. One, Howard Eckersley, commuted from Salt Lake City where he kept his family. Before the big flight, their names were known only to a handful. Now Eckersley and Myler have been photographed and their pictures are in the files of every major news agency in the world. They are both Mormons. So is George Francon. Roy Crawford is a Presbyterian, married to a Mormon. John Holmes is a Catholic. . . . I wondered how these fellows could serve a demanding boss like Hughes and still find time for the work load of being a Mormon Church official. Myler and I talked about it and he said it took a lot of doing. (*Esquire*, July 1971, pages 65, 67 and 73)

In his book *The Real Howard Hughes Story*, Stanton O'Keefe gives this interesting information:

Hughes remained isolated on the ninth floor of the Desert Inn throughout everything that went on. The only members of his staff with whom he had personal face-to-face contact were the five secretary-nurses of his so-called "Mormon Mafia."

They tended to all his needs and maintained the sophisticated communications center. Although Hughes obviously watched television and read newspapers to keep abreast of developments, the "Mormon Mafia" were literally his only real contact with the outside world. (*The Real Howard Hughes Story*, page 189)

The headquarters, message center and general command post of Hughes' spy network and secret empire is an unimposing two-story beige stucco building in downtown Los Angeles. Most of the time its doors are locked and no one gets in who is not expected.

It is to this headquarters, 7000 Romaine Street, that Hughes generally relays his commands, and it is through this same headquarters that his minions throughout the world communicate with him.

The Romaine Street headquarters is a nerve center of the finest and most sophisticated electronic equipment available in the espionage field. Various warning devices can spot any attempt to intrude anywhere in the building. A special device will sound an alarm if anyone attempts to get information about documents inside the building by means of X-rays from outside. All safes and desk drawers are lead-lined. There is special electronic equipment to repel radio waves and to neutralize any electronic snooping devices. . . .

The selection of employees to work in the building involves more screening and investigation than [than?] the CIA uses in selecting its agents. . . .

Each girl works alone in her private office so that no one can know what anyone else is doing. No one is permitted to receive or make personal phone calls at work. Away from the job it is strictly forbidden to talk to anyone about the work, the employer or supervisor.

An asphalt parking lot on one side of the building is staffed by expressionless young Mormon men. There are noticeable bulges under the arms of their jackets. . . .

Like his own living quarters, the Romaine Street building is staffed primarily by Mormons. Hughes favors them because they do not drink, smoke or carouse and are noted for their loyalty and integrity. . . .

During his four year stay in Las Vegas, Hughes can reliably be reported to have seen only five male secretary-nurses and his wife. The “Mormon Mafia,” as the nurses were labeled, were Howard Eckersley, Roy Crawford, John Holmes, Lavar Myler and George Drancom. (Ibid., pages 205-208)

Stanton O’Keefe goes on to state that “All of the members of the ‘Mormon Mafia’ were hired and paid by Frank W. Gay, the Hughes Tool executive who Hughes appointed to dispose of Robert Maheu” (Ibid., page 209).

Mr. Gay has certainly become very powerful figure in the Hughes empire. In the book *Hoax*, page 45, we read: “Bill Gay, a Mormon who later became the senior vice-president of Hughes Tool, had the job of finding incorruptible chauffeurs; many of them were Mormons.”

Fortune Magazine for December 1973, gives this information: “Since the sale of Toolco, Summa has been run by Frank W. (Bill) Gay, a long-time Hughes aide, who operates out of an office in Los Angeles” (*Fortune*, December 1973, page 175).

The *Washington Post* for April 1, 1975, has a large article on the Summa Corporation. We cite the following from that article:

Los Angeles—The building is an unimpressive three-story structure . . . in the San Fernando Valley.

There are no markings to betray the identity of its occupants.

Yet this is the headquarters, the nerve center, of one of the world’s largest, and most secretive, private corporations—Summa, the corporate arm representing the vast wealth and power of its sole owner: Howard Hughes.

Summa Corp. is the financial umbrella tinder which most of Hughes’ worth is contained. . . .

Like its reclusive billionaire owner, Summa takes no chances that unwanted visitors might penetrate its secret executive offices. A closed circuit television system guards the elevators and corridors of the building at 17000 Ventura Boulevard. . . . A building-wide alarm system, when operative can be triggered by mere changes in air patterns.

Most recently, another Summa “asset” hit the news: the \$350 million Hughes Glomar Explorer vessel that Hughes built at the behest (and the expense of) the Central Intelligence Agency . . . The cloak-and-dagger nature of the operation, when it was revealed, fit perfectly Hughes’ preoccupation with secrecy and anonymity. It also **raised speculation that perhaps other Hughes enterprises here and overseas are being used as CIA fronts** . . . Though several of his enterprises maintain overseas outlets, Hughes has been able to shroud his activities in secrecy.

His power lies in money and his use of it to affect companies, politicians and even Presidents . . .

He has been estimated to be worth variously from \$1.2 billion to \$2.5 billion. Unlike many multimillionaires, Hughes has a huge chunk of liquid capital—roughly \$200 million—administered by a Summa executive and invested in securities.

Nearly all of Hughes’ holdings are under the Summa Corp. umbrella. . . . Its board of directors (Hughes is not a member) consists of Frank W. (Bill) Gay, . . . Chestor Davis, . . . Nadine Henley . . . and John Holmes and Lester Mylar, two of Hughes personal assistants who remain with him and who are among the few individuals who see him face to face. (*Washington Post*, April 1, 1975)

The Mormon Church’s Brigham Young University has honored Frank W. Gay for “distinguished service to the University” and to his fellowmen. In the publication *Brigham Young University Today*, October 1974, page 18, we find the following:

Frank William Gay of Las Vegas, Nevada, chief executive officer of Summa Corp., formerly Hughes Tool Company, also received the Distinguished Service Award. . . . He has served on the General Sunday School Board of the LDS Church.

On March 19, 1975, the Brigham Young University paper *Daily Universe* reported:

A native Provoan who works in top positions in the Howard Hughes organization will speak on campus Thursday.

Frank William Gay, executive vice president and chief executive officer, director and chairman of the executive committee of the Summa Corp., will be the guest speaker at the Executive Lecture Series, . . . Gay has spent his business career in various capacities in the Howard W. Hughes Industrial complex. . . .

An active Latter-day Saint, Gay has served as a stake high councilman, member of the General Sunday School Board, and is presently on the board of directors and vice-chairman of the executive committee of the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii.

In addition he has been active in the Boy Scouts for over 30 years, . . . he serves on the BYU National Advisory Council and its executive committee associated with the College of Business. (*Daily Universe*, March 19, 1975)

The reader will notice that Mr. Gay is “on the board of directors and vice-chairman of the executive committee of the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii.” This is very interesting because the *Salt Lake Tribune* for November 15, 1970, states that the Mormon Church’s “Zions Security Corp. . . . is owner and manager of the Village of Laie in Hawaii, . . . and the Polynesian Cultural Center.”

Kay Glenn, whom *Time Magazine* for January 24, 1972, identified as one of the “Mormon Mafia,” now serves as “a vice President of the Summa Corp” (*Salt Lake Tribune*, April 4, 1975). According to the *New York Times* for March 27, 1975, it was Mr. Glenn who had custody of the memo which told of the CIA’s involvement in the Glomar Explorer project:

The four-man burglar team, trundling a heavy two-tank acetylene torch on a steel dolly, went directly to the office of Kay Glenn after forcing the guard to let them into the building.

Mr. Glenn is the assistant to Frank William Gay, a member of the executive triumvirate that runs Summa Corporation, Mr. Hughes’s holding company for his many enterprises. The executive committee consists of Mr. Gay, Nadine Henley, Mr. Hughes’s private secretary, and Chester Davis, a New York lawyer. . . .

Among the Hughes documents in Mr. Glenn’s custody was a memorandum spelling out to the billionaire the details of the C.I.A.-financed project to recover the sunken Russian submarine. (*New York Times*, March 27, 1975)

With regard to the Mormon-CIA relationship, we have already noted that since the fall of the Robert Mullen Co., Robert Bennett has gone to work for Hughes. The *Salt Lake Tribune* for January 13, 1975, reported: “. . . Robert F. Bennett, is now in Los Angeles in charge of communications for the Summa Corp., which is charged with Howard Hughes holdings.”

We have also brought out the fact that while Robert Bennett was with the Mullen Co. he handled the Hughes public relations account and seemed to be very interested in promoting the interests of Hughes. On page 9 of his report, Senator Baker pointed out that “Bennett and Liddy set up dummy committees as a conduit for Hughes campaign contributions; . . .” The reader may remember that Hank Greenspun claimed that Robert Bennett “testified in a ‘secret hearing’ that he had presented a blank check from the Hughes interests to the Nixon campaign fund and that it had been cashed for a very large sum, . . .” (*New York Times*, May 23, 1973). On January 10, 1974, the *New York Times* published an article which contained the following:

WASHINGTON, January 9 (UPI)—An agent of Howard R. Hughes gave signed blank checks to President Nixon's re-election campaign committee, according to sworn testimony released today.

Sally Harmony, who was a secretary to G. Gordon Liddy, a convicted Watergate conspirator, said in a sworn deposition that she had filled in the amounts payable on the blank checks, but that she could not remember how much money was involved. . . .

A spokesman for Common Cause, the citizens' lobby that won a lawsuit for full disclosure of President Nixon's campaign contributors, said its records showed that Mr. Hughes, the reclusive billionaire, had given \$50,000 to the Nixon campaign through an agent in Washington.

The contribution was in addition to \$100,000 that another Hughes aide gave to Mr. Nixon's close friend Charles G. Rebozo.

Mrs. Harmony, in the deposition, said that the checks she handled had been signed by Robert Bennett, a Washington based publicist for Mr. Hughes. The address for Mr. Hughes in the Common Cause records was the same as Mr. Bennett's concern, Robert R. Mullens and Company.

Mr. Bennett, who is the son of Senator Wallace F. Bennett, Republican of Utah, said in an interview that the amount of the contribution had been fixed in advance at \$50,000 and that the use of blank checks to pay for it was strictly a clerical matter. (*New York Times*, January 10, 1974)

Although the Senate Watergate Committee did not implicate Robert Bennett in the Rebozo matter, they did interview him five different times in the "Hughes-Rebozo Investigation" (see *The Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, page 638).

On August 4, 1975, an article appeared in the *New York Times* which contained this interesting information:

LOS ANGELES, August 3—Howard R. Hughes got his secret contract with the Central Intelligence Agency for the ship *Glomar Explorer* five weeks after making an "emergency" contribution of \$100,000 to President Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign, according to sources familiar with a tax investigation of the ship here. . . .

A man who handled Mr. Hughes' political contributions in 1972 has said that he was approached by aides to the Nixon re-election campaign to make the emergency gift in the last week of the campaign. . . .

There has been no evidence that the 1972 \$100,000 contribution and the award of the secret C.I.A. contract were connected. But the date of the contract conflicted with previously available information about the ship. . . .

Mr. Hughes had long been both an open and covert financial supporter of Mr. Nixon, as well as other political figures.

At the time in 1972 when he made the emergency \$100,000 gift to the Nixon campaign, he had already openly contributed \$50,000 and had covertly sent \$100,000 in cash to Charles G. Rebozo, a close personal friend of Mr. Nixon. . . .

Robert Bennett, who handled campaign contributions for Mr. Hughes in 1972, said that he was approached in the final week of the campaign by Nixon aides and solicited for an additional \$100,000 on the ground that the campaign had some urgent last-minute bills. Mr. Bennett told a reporter that he was surprised to learn after the election that Mr. Nixon's fund in fact had a substantial surplus.

The date of the *Glomar Explorer* contract, just five weeks after this \$100,000 contribution came to light in the current Los Angeles County investigation into possible tax fraud involving the ship. (*New York Times*, August 4, 1975)

The *Salt Lake Tribune* printed a shortened version of the above, but it did not include Robert Bennett's name.

Death of Hughes

In *Harper's Magazine* for December, 1974, we find the following information concerning Howard Hughes' attempt to control the gambling industry in Nevada:

In the area of "joint operations," for instance, one notes the extraordinary cooperation extended by Justice Department officials to Howard Hughes in his take-over of the Nevada gambling industry. . . . Much attention has been paid to the effective legalization of pornography, but even more important, economically, was the new attitude toward gambling. What had once been a racket run by mobsters became, by the decade's end, an industry administered by government bureaucrats and corporations such as Hughes Tool, Pan Am, and ITT. . . . The man who pioneered the takeover of mob turf by legitimate business was Howard Hughes. With a \$546 million check from his forced sale of Trans World Airlines, Hughes moved into Las Vegas under armed guard in 1966 and began making offers no one could refuse. Abetted to an embarrassing extent by federal bureaucrats and state politicians, Hughes quickly gained control of the state's major industry. His acquisitions were so many and so swift that the Justice Department's opinion of him was divided: while one faction insisted that Hughes was in violation of antitrust laws, the Criminal Division applauded his private war against the Mafia. (*Harper's Magazine*, December 1974, pages 53 and 64)

In the *Washington Post* for April 1, 1975, we find the following about Hughes' gambling interests:

Recreation: This constitutes Hughes' Nevada hotel and casino properties, employing 5,000 people. In Las Vegas, Hughes owns four hotels—the Sands, the Desert Inn (where he lived for five years), the Frontier and the Landmark, and two casinos—the Castaways and the Silver Slipper.

In Reno, Hughes has an additional casino, and he also owns a golf course in Las Vegas.

Howard Hughes appointed Robert Maheu, who had been associated with both the FBI and the CIA, to take care of his gambling interests in Nevada. In the book *Hoax*, pages 51-53, we find the following:

In 1965, Maheu's main rival in the executive status race, Bill Gay, trod on a commercial banana skin. . . . Hughes retained Gay's services but downgraded his counsel. He subsequently wrote a memo to Maheu instructing him "not to permit [Gay] to be privy to our affairs."

Maheu finally moved up to the number-one position in 1966, when Hughes started a new expansionist policy in Nevada. Both Hughes and Maheu moved to Las Vegas. . . . Maheu was given company quarters nearby in a specially constructed \$500,000 residence which became known as "Little Caesar's Palace." He was designated the exclusive spokesman for Howard Hughes and given the title Chief Executive, Hughes Nevada Operations. . . . Maheu was in daily, sometimes hourly, communication with Hughes—by telephone and memorandum, though never by personal meeting (in seventeen years of collaboration, Maheu never actually met Hughes face to face). . . . The only men allowed into his presence were a hand-picked palace guard of five people. . . . Three out of the five courtiers were stanch brethren of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Mormons had special qualifications for the work: as men who did not smoke or drink and who kept their hair cropped short, they lacked allure for most forms of bacterial life. Most of them were graduates of Bill Gay's original school for incorruptible Chevrolet drivers.

Maheu, who both drank and smoked and had a reputation as a gourmet, was never entirely comfortable with the clean-limbed palace guard. (*Hoax*, pages 51-53)

Although Robert Maheu rose to great power in Howard Hughes empire, his position was not to last. By 1970, Hughes had decided to get rid of Maheu. Noah Dietrich stated:

This time Howard didn't have Noah to do the firing for him. Instead, he assigned the Mormon high command. Before the sentence was carried out, Howard vanished and turned up at the Britannia Beach Hotel in Nassau. (*Howard: The Amazing Mr. Hughes*, page 301)

In the book *Hoax*, we find the following information:

On November 14 the unseen Howard Hughes turned 180 degrees and gave authority for Maheu to be ditched. He did it by signing a disputed proxy, witnessed and notarized by two of his palace guard, Howard Eckersley and Levar Myler. . . . It gave management control of Hughes Nevada Operations to Chester Davis, Bill Gay, and another tool company vice-president, Raymond Holliday—or any two of the three.

A few days later Hughes left Las Vegas secretly with his palace guard and flew to the Bahamas. . . . Davis, with Bill Gay in tow, descended on Las Vegas with a small army of auditors and set up battle headquarters in the Sands Hotel. . . .

Maheu, meanwhile, was making a number of strategic moves. First, he secured a temporary restraining order against entry into Hughes's casinos by the Davis-Gay forces. . . . Meanwhile, even more ominous rumors began to circulate about the health and safety of Hughes himself. In Las Vegas a sheriff's party, saying it had information of foul play, broke into the Hughes penthouse, searched it, but found nothing. Hughes's Nevada lawyer, Tom Bell, called a press conference to put on record his belief that Hughes would not willingly leave Nevada "without notifying his personal attorney." He wondered aloud whether Hughes was still alive. . . . on December 8, 1970, Davis and Maheu were finally in confrontation in a Las Vegas courtroom, the revelations came thick and fast. Maheu contested Davis's right to take over, on the grounds that he had no word from Hughes confirming his dismissal. He argued from this that the Hughes signature on the proxy document must be a forgery. Expert testimony by Charles Appel, former head of the FBI forgery school supported this claim.

But Davis had his own expert, who argued otherwise. . . .

After two members of Hughes's hitherto anonymous palace guard, Howard Eckersley and Levar Myler, appeared at the court, it was fairly clear that rumors of Hughes's death had been much exaggerated. But how alive he was, was in dispute. . . .

But Davis had the clincher which underwrote the proxy two-and-a-half-page letter from Hughes in Nassau, beginning "Dear Chester and Bill." Its contents complained about the "very damaging publicity" and ordered the recipients to "take whatever action is necessary" to "terminate all relationship with Maheu . . ." The court accepted its authenticity. . . .

"It's the old story," Maheu bitterly told his supporters. "He who controls the palace guard controls the king." (*Hoax*, pages 57-62)

Since the time Howard Hughes was "spirited . . . away from Las Vegas;" there was a growing concern that he might be dead. On January 7, 1972, a man who claimed to be Hughes gave "a telephone interview with seven West Coast journalists sitting in a Los Angeles hotel room":

The interview turned into a two-and-a-half-hour marathon in which Hughes failed, in spectacular fashion, more than half the test questions designed to prove his identity but supplied instead a morass of technical detail on the subject of his airplanes, his legal battles, even the shoes he used to wear, which convinced

everyone present that the voice on the end of the line could belong only to Howard Hughes. . . . Even by Hughes's own standards it was an extraordinary event. It was also absurd: seven grown men, clustered around an electronic box, frantically posing questions to a disembodied voice, while television cameras solemnly recorded the whole charade. (*Ibid.*, pages 140-141)

Howard Hughes would not return to the United States, and it was reported that he moved from place to place after his removal from Las Vegas:

On February 14 . . . a group of Bahamian immigration officials arrived on the ninth floor of the Britannia Beach Hotel and demanded entrance to Hughes's sanctuary. . . . they were turned back at the door. . . .

Two days later the immigration officials went back to the Britannia Beach, armed this time with expulsion orders for three members of the staff. They were still uninvited guests, so eventually they broke down the door separating Hughes from the outside world. But, like other mortals, they were not to see the great recluse. Early on the morning of February 16, Howard Hughes slipped out of the hotel and left the Bahamas, his home for fifteen months. (*Ibid.*, page 229)

One month after arriving in Nicaragua, Hughes left secretly again and ended up in Vancouver, where he is once more, at the time of writing, sealed off from the world, this time on the top two floors of the Bayshore Inn. Still flitting around the perimeters of the United States, he has not so far, as he promised in his telephone interview, returned to Las Vegas or Los Angeles. (*Ibid.*, page 308)

In December 1973, *Fortune Magazine* reported that Hughes had gone to England:

Hughes himself monitors all these enterprises from a suite that he is leasing from the N. M. Rothchild Bank on the top floor of London's Inn on the Park. His old associates say that he has with him only five executive aides. (*Fortune*, December, 1973, page 175)

If Howard Hughes had returned to the U.S., he would have been faced with a number of legal problems. On March 28, 1975, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)—Howard Hughes and seven associates were charged Thursday with defrauding stock-holders of Air West, Inc. out of \$49 million in connection with Hughes' takeover of the regional airline in 1968.

In a civil suit filed in U. S. District Court in San Francisco, the Securities and Exchange Commission charged that Hughes and the other defendants used false and misleading publicity and manipulated Air West stock to drive the price down before the Hughes purchase. . . .

Defendants included three Hughes corporations—Summa Corp., Hughes Air Corp. and Hughes Airwest—and seven other individuals. . . . A federal grand jury indicted Hughes and several of those named in Thursdays suit in 1973, but the case was thrown out by a judge . . . (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 28, 1975)

Five months later the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

NEW YORK (AP)—Two Manhattan stockholders have filed suit contending that Howard R. Hughes is dead.

If the elusive billionaire doesn't respond to their satisfaction, they intend to ask the courts to appoint an administrator for his estate. The civil complaint in state Supreme Court alleges that while Hughes is reputed to be residing at the Hotel Xanadu in the Grand Bahamas, he "has been dead for a considerable period last past" and is claimed to be alive "for the personal profit of various and sundry persons."

The contention that the billionaire is dead was denied by Hughes spokesman Richard Hanna in Los Angeles. . . .

The suit was brought by Victor and Ellen Kurtz, minority stockholders of Air Liquidation Co., formerly known as Air West Inc., in which they seek from the company's stockholders as a class, damages of \$100 million. Air West was taken over by Hughes in 1969. . . .

Several suits are pending in federal court in San Francisco growing out of the Air West takeover by Hughes, including an antitrust action brought by the Kurtzes. . . .

Bader said if Hughes fails to respond to the New York action he would press for appointment of an administrator for Hughes's estate to handle disposition of all the billionaire's assets.

"The man—as far as we know—has no children. We don't even know if there is a will," Bader said. "Nobody has seen him for 10 years or more. Unless it can be proved otherwise, he is either dead or incompetent and the burden of proof must rest with Mr. Hughes or those acting in his behalf." (*Salt Lake Tribune*, August 18, 1975)

On September 5, 1975, the *Tribune* printed the following:

NEW YORK (AP)—A State Supreme Court justice has signed an order requiring billionaire Howard R. Hughes to appear personally in court or face the prospect of being declared legally dead.

The show-cause order was signed by Justice Bernard Nadel. It directs Hughes to appear in court in Manhattan on Sept. 17 at 9:30 a. m. . . .

In applying for the show-cause order, Bader asked that Hughes be required to leave a set of his fingerprints with the court for comparison with fingerprints on file with the U.S. government. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, September 5, 1975)

On September 18, 1975, the *Tribune* reported that "Billionaire recluse Howard Hughes did not show up in court Wednesday to prove he is still alive." Finally, on September 20, 1975, the *Tribune* said that "A Judge on Friday dismissed as 'an exercise in futility' a suit calling upon billionaire recluse Howard Hughes to prove he is alive or be declared legally dead."

After the close ties between Hughes and the CIA were revealed, there was a great deal of speculation that he was dead and that his empire had fallen into the hands of the "Mormon Mafia" and/or the CIA. On April 5, 1976, however, the announcement was made that Hughes had really died. A few weeks later the Mormon Church announced that a document purporting to be the will of Howard Hughes was discovered in its headquarters. We feel that this document is probably a forgery. For more information on Hughes' mysterious death and the Mormon will see the Appendix and our pamphlet *Howard Hughes and the "Mormon" Will*.

Intertel and Hughes

Tad Szulc says that "Several organizations in the United States openly offer corporate intelligence services. The most important is Intertel, a Florida-based organization employing former senior officials from virtually every intelligence and law enforcement agency in the country. Intertel's agents include quite a few ex-CIA operators.

A former CIA official whom I know and who is intimately familiar with the workings of the system, remarked to me not long ago that this emerging industrial-intelligence complex is more pernicious than the military-industrial complex about which Eisenhower warned when he left the White House in 1961. (*Compulsive Spy*, page 36)

The relationship between Hughes and Intertel is very relevant

to this study. The following is extracted from an article written by Jim Hougan:

The best example of a private apparatus, however, is probably International Intelligence, Inc. (Intertel), a mysterious firm whose activities have impinged on the affairs of Howard Hughes, Robert Maheu, Robert Vesco, the Plumbers, ITT, Bebe Rebozo, and even the Mafia. . . . its very existence seems to have cast a shadow of paranoia over Richard Nixon—and, at least indirectly, contributed to the former President's political reversal.

In 1971 Jack Caulfield, a White House operative, was so concerned about Intertel—which he described as "an intelligence gun for hire"—that he recommended a counter-intelligence campaign to neutralize the firm. Caulfield alleged that one Intertel agent was expert at "bag jobs" and warned that the firm "continued to have unauthorized access to sensitive government files in many areas." . . . Intertel is a network of paladin agents whose collective expertise includes specialties from within the fields of law enforcement, intelligence gathering, economics, data processing, accounting, systems engineering, and the behavioral sciences. The firm has its headquarters on the second floor of the Hill Building in Washington, a few steps up Seventeenth Street from the White House. . . . it should be noted that Intertel's director of intelligence operations is Edward M. Mullin, formerly of the FBI and the CIA. . . . The firm is nothing less than the legal incorporation of an old-boy network whose ganglia reach into virtually every nerve cell of the federal investigative/intelligence community. There is nothing "wrong" in that. Civil servants are not chattels of the state, and if they decide to sell their skills in the marketplace, so what? But some who are skeptical of the motives of, for instance, Howard Hughes and ITT may become concerned upon learning of the special talents and knowledge that their assets command. To this, Tom McKeon says, "We don't act as a shield or umbrella for anybody. We won't let ourselves be used that way."

And one would like to believe him. But the fact is that the firm is for hire; it does what it's paid to do, and its clients are secret. . . .

The **potentials** for abuse are many, and suspicion of the private apparatus is only natural. What makes Intertel of particular interest, however, is the notoriety of some of its known clients and the widely diverging views about its motives.

Some instances: Caulfield was convinced that Intertel was engaged in "black" operations. Intertel denies it does this and, in fact, says that it doesn't accept politicians as clients or engage in any political work at all. . . . Yet another view of Intertel is held by Robert Maheu, former confidant of Howard Hughes. After Intertel took charge of the billionaire's Las Vegas casinos following Hughes's flight to the Bahamas, Maheu thought that his boss had been kidnapped. An attempt to "rescue" Hughes was thwarted by Bahamian officials accompanied by Intertel agents. . . . Hughes is now living in the Bahamas. . . . What's certain about the move is that Intertel was deeply involved in his expatriation.

On Thanksgiving eve 1970, Hughes was scooped from his headquarters atop the Desert Inn and put aboard a plane bound for Paradise Island. Acting on orders from top executives of the Hughes Tool Company, Intertel took control of Hughes's casinos. . . . Maheu charged that his boss was the victim of a "kidnapping," and marshaled "evidence" to backup the allegation. A physician who had seen Hughes a few weeks earlier claimed that the tycoon was too ill to have been safely moved, that he suffered from a heart condition, pneumonia, and anemia. He was, the doctor said, receiving blood transfusions and weighed less than 100 pounds. That Hughes should go to the Bahamas seemed—in view of the secret study, his illness, and his disaffection for blacks—eccentric in the extreme.

Tom McKeon, Intertel's general counsel, is still sensitive about the Hughes operation. . . . McKeon said, "The Hughes organization got in touch with us in the summer of 1970. A few months later, in August or so, Peloquin went to Los Angeles to discuss how the move should be made. . . . Well, we developed a plan, all right: it was about this thick. [His thumb and forefinger

measured out a space that would hold *Gravity's Rainbow*.] While we were still preparing for D day—that's what we called it—the Hughes organization telephoned and said, in effect, "Get every man you've got out here right away. We're moving tonight." So there went the plan. I can understand why Maheu thought Mr. Hughes had been kidnapped; it was all so sudden.

The assignment to plan Hughes's exodus from Las Vegas was a large and sensitive one; that it should be entrusted to a firm which was only a few months old seemed extraordinary to many. A few, however, thought this was no accident, and speculated that perhaps Intertel was formed expressly for the purposes of "the Thanksgiving coup." McKeon denies that, . . .

By the end of Intertel's first year, the firm was enmeshed in a tense, if sometimes farcical, game of spy-versus-counterspy. While Intertel was investigating Maheu, and vice versa, White House spy Jack Caulfield was investigating Intertel, convinced that the firm was a private CIA working in behalf of the Kennedy interests. What led Caulfield to that conclusion isn't hard to guess. In 1968, less than a month after Sen. Robert Kennedy was slain, Hughes ordered Maheu to hire Larry O'Brien and the "four or five key men in the Kennedy camp." Maheu eventually succeeded, and O'Brien's firm was retained by Hughes for the sum of \$15,000 . . . After the Thanksgiving coup of 1970, Hughes's relationship with O'Brien ended, and the public-relations account was transferred to Robert R. Mullen & Company—a firm with strong links to the Republican party and the CIA. . . .

While Caulfield and Maheu were tracking Intertel, Intertel and the IRS were investigating Maheu. (Intertel was also looking into Jack Anderson's affairs on behalf of ITT, and into Clifford Irving's affairs on behalf of Hughes.) At about the same time, E. Howard Hunt, an employee of both Mullen and the White House (who may or may not have also been an undercover agent for the CIA) was planning to burglarize the offices of a Las Vegas publisher in order to purloin a sheaf of secret Hughes memos. (*Harper's Magazine*, December, 1974, pages 54, 56 and 66)

In the book *Hoax*, page 172, we read that "it was not long before the Hughes account became Intertel's biggest. Intertel was adept at solving all manner of problems which the Hughes life style threw up—such as removing him secretly from Vegas to Nassau."

On pages 232-233 of the same book we find the following:

Once Hughes had decided to go, Intertel had to decide just **where** he should go. Hughes's irregular movements, and the secrecy in which they were cloaked, were always planned by Intertel, which spirited him away from Las Vegas and into Nassau. It looked around frantically for a new cocoon for Hughes to inhabit. It had to be outside the United States, but not so far away as to make instant and continuous communication difficult. Then James Golden, who had worked for Intertel and now worked full time for Hughes in Las Vegas, remembered that Turner Shelton, the American Ambassador to Nicaragua, had been very helpful when Hughes went to Nassau. . . . So the entourage set course for Managua.

The reader may remember that according to Howard Hunt, Robert Bennett told him that Intertel was spying on Clifford Irving for Hughes:

Mr. Hunt. In connection with the activity that Clifford Irving was carrying out in writing his book, . . . Bennett . . . **said that the Intertel organization was charging them a fantastic fee to monitor** what the Irving people were doing, and did I know anybody who could come up [with] a more reasonable figure. (Howard Hunt's Executive Session Testimony, page 72)

Howard Hunt thought that Robert Bennett may have learned about the material which Hank Greenspun was supposed to have in his possession from Intertel:

Mr. Madigan. Could you tell us when you first met Mr. Ralph Winte?

Mr. Hunt. It was sometime in January, to the best of my recollection, January of '72.

Mr. Madigan. Where did you meet him?

Mr. Hunt. In Mr. Bennett's office.

Mr. Madigan. And how was that arranged?

Mr. Hunt. That was a followup action that Mr. Bennett took in connection with a prior conversation we had had concerning an allegation or information that he has received, he told me he had received from Las Vegas sources, to the effect that Hank Greenspun was said by Mr. Bennett's sources to have information which would be sufficient to end the candidacy of Senator Edward Muskie if it were to become public. . . . So I then indicated to Mr. Bennett that there was a great deal of interest on the part of Mr. Liddy's associates . . . I so informed Mr. Bennett.

And then, as I recall, within a very few days he called me into his office and introduced me to Mr. Ralph Winte.

Mr. Madigan. Did he tell you who his sources of that information was?

Mr. Hunt. No, he did not. I was, however, aware that Mr. Bennett frequently visited Las Vegas in connection with his duties for the Hughes Tool Company; and I knew that **Intertel was employed by the Hughes organization**; and I did not ask him specifically who his sources were, . . .

Mr. Madigan. Well, what does Intertel's relationship have to do with who the source of the information might be?

Do you think that is where it might come from?

Mr. Hunt. Yes.

Mr. Madigan. Why was that? Why would you think that?

Mr. Hunt. Well, I knew that the **Intertel people were employed rather massively in Las Vegas by the Hughes organization**. And since they had a professional relationship with the Hughes Tool Company, they might well have passed on that information to Bennett when he was out there. (Hunt's Executive Session Testimony, December 18, 1973, pages 6-8)

On pages 63-65 of the same testimony, we find the following:

Mr. Liebengood. Can you describe Intertel? What is it?

Mr. Hunt. I have no intimate knowledge of its workings. It is described as the largest—I guess—protective agency, and counter-industrial espionage agency in the country. I know that its head, Robert Peloquin, at the behest of the Hughes Tool Company went to Zurich to look into the matter of the bank accounts of H. R. Hughes.

They provided protective functions for the Hughes Tool Company in Las Vegas, probably elsewhere. And they have offices in leading cities of the countries. They have hired ex-CIA personnel, but I do not know anything about it. . . .

Mr. Liebengood. What about Intertel? It would have agents?

Mr. Hunt. Yes, that is right.

Mr. Liebengood. Now, Bennett or at least Mullen—maybe Mullen, not Bennett, had some contact with Intertel?

Mr. Hunt. Well, I know that Bennett did.

Mr. Liebengood. Bennett did.

Now, what contact did he have with them?

Mr. Hunt. Well, our office, the Robert R. Mullen Company represented the Hughes interest on the East Coast with specific reference to official Washington. I previously described the relationship what Intertel had to the Hughes Tool Company.

Mr. Liebengood. Well, I realize those derivative contacts, but did he have any direct contact with Intertel opposed from those derived with Hughes?

Mr. Hunt. None that I know of. The name of Peloquin was passed around our office quite frequently at the time that we were trying to persuade McGraw-Hill and Life, Incorporated that the Clifford Irving manuscript was—purportedly was an autobiography of Howard Hughes—was a falsification. And Intertel was assigned the task of discrediting the Irving autobiography, and so **Bennett was in touch with them to that end.**

But I never knew of any non-Hughes contacts that Bennett had with Intertel. (Hunt's Executive Session Testimony, pages 63-65)

Hughes and Watergate

In the *New York Times* for March 26, 1975, we find the following:

WASHINGTON, March 24—The investigation by the Senate Committee on Intelligence into the attempt by the Central Intelligence Agency to salvage a Soviet submarine will lead the committee into the relationships between Howard R. Hughes and the Watergate case, former Watergate investigators say privately.

For some two decades Mr. Hughes and the vast complex involving the Hughes Tool Company, Hughes Aircraft and, later, the Summa Corporation **have long been a major contractor of equipment for the C.I.A.** This relationship fed speculation that the reclusive billionaire may have even more covert contacts with the agency.

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

In 1968 Mr. Hughes, according to court testimony, appeared to have two major problems with the Government. The Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice had warned him not to buy any further casinos in Las Vegas.

And, second, the Atomic Energy Commission intended to conduct more nuclear tests in Nevada. Mr. Hughes, according to this testimony, wanted to . . . stop the A.E.C. tests.

He ordered a series of secret political contributions that culminated in the payment of \$100,000 to Charles G. Rebozo, the Florida banker and close friend of Richard M. Nixon, for the benefit of the then newly elected President. Mr. Hughes's intention, according to the testimony of his former aide, Robert A. Maheu, in a trial last year, **was to gain influence in the Government.** . . .

Robert Bennett, . . . Washington representative for Summa Corporation, bought into the Robert F. Mullen Company, an international public relations concern that was operating as a front for the C.I.A.

In August, 1970, E. Howard Hunt, a veteran C.I.A. agent, appeared to retire from the C.I.A. and joined the Mullen Company.

In December, 1970, Mr. Hughes discharged Mr. Maheu, a former F.B.I. agent who had managed the Hughes Las Vegas interests. Mr. Maheu, testimony would later bring out, had put documents about Hughes political contributions in a safe owned by . . . a Las Vegas newspaper publisher.

Mr. Maheu was once alleged to have been involved in a 1960 plot, organized by the C.I.A., **to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.** . . . in 1971 certain aides to President Nixon were told that Mr. Greenspun's safe contained materials that could be damaging to Senator Edmund S. Muskie, . . . the nucleus of the secret White House unit called the "plumbers," contemplated breaking into the safe. They were allegedly promised the assistance of officials of Summa Corporation. The burglary was not carried out, but Watergate investigators strongly suspected that the target was not memorandums about Senator Muskie, but the Hughes memos hidden there by Mr. Maheu. . . .

From the time of the break-in on, the C.I.A. appeared to show concern that the Watergate investigation might uncover its own secrets. It withheld vital evidence from the F.B.I. . . . (*New York Times*, March 26, 1975)

In Senator Baker's Report, page 9, this statement appears:

Furthermore, Robert Oliver, Mullen's Washington lobbyist for Hughes Tool, is the father of R. Spencer Oliver, Jr., whose telephone was tapped at the Democratic National Committee. Bennett met with the Olivers after the break-in to discuss the bugging.

Howard Hunt made this comment about Spencer Oliver:

One evening Mullen, Bennett and I dined with a young man named Spencer Oliver, son of a lobbyist occasionally employed by our firm. A Democrat, Oliver had been engaged for some time in an international student exchange which, **I suspected to be financed by CIA;** too, Oliver mentioned several active CIA officers whom I knew. When Mullen and Bennett asked me what I thought of Oliver as a possible partner, I was less than enthusiastic, pointing out that the firm had a solid Republican image which could only be diluted by the addition of Spencer Oliver. (*Undercover*, page 142)

During the impeachment proceedings, Charles Colson gave some interesting testimony:

Mr. Colson. I was in my home, . . . the President called me, . . . The President had received some information about the CIA's involvement in a lot of aspects of the Watergate that were very peculiar. He asked me if I knew anything about it. I told him that I had been briefed at length by Senator Baker, that I found the whole matter incredible, and as a matter of fact, found it very serious; that there were just too many unexplained connections between the CIA, and the people involved in Watergate, evidence of advance knowledge on the part of the CIA of Watergate, certainly of the Ellsberg matter. I recommend to the President that it be thoroughly investigated and that he make it public. . . .

Mr. Jenner. . . . you began to refer to a conversation or a meeting following your conversation with the President. Won't you tell us about that, please?

Mr. Colson. I met at length that same Sunday afternoon with General Haig at his home, in which we again reviewed all the facts as we knew them, all the kind of **unexplained connections between the CIA and the Watergate and the personalities involved in the Watergate and the Hughes Tool Co. The phones that were bugged at the DNC were people connected with Hughes,** in one way or another. . . .

Ms. Holtzman. I wonder if counsel would ask the witness if when he was referring to the Hughes Tool Co. in this meeting with Mr. Haig, whether he was referring to the so-called \$100,000 payment that came to Mr. Rebozo as well?

Mr. Jenner. Would you respond to that question Mr. Colson?

Mr. Colson. No, we weren't talking about that at all. We were talking about the fact that Larry O'Brien had been on a Hughes' retainer, that Spencer Oliver, Jr.'s father worked for the Hughes Tool Co., that those were the two phones bugged at the DNC, that Mr. Bennett was head of the Mullen Co., that the Mullen Co. employed Mr. Hunt, that Mr. Hunt was apparently engaged in those two telephone taps and Mr. Hunt—Mr. Bennett was now representing the Hughes Tool Co., the new interest that had just taken it over. That was the thrust of it. (Committee on the Judiciary—Testimony of Witnesses—Book III, pages 360-362)

On page 507 of his testimony, Charles Colson made this statement: "Bast and I were talking about a lot of theories about **why the CIA was involved in Hughes and why no one wanted to crack down on it** and I think we talked about that as one theory."

J. Anthony Lukas has written an interesting article which was published in the *New York Times Magazine*. We extract the following from this article:

... two years of research and writing on the Watergate matter have led me to a hypothesis—which locates the roots of the burglary in the convoluted, decades-long relationship between one of the most powerful men in the land, Richard M. Nixon, and one of the wealthiest, Howard Hughes. Specifically, I believe the Nixon forces were trying to determine what the Democrats and their allies knew about some very shady dealings between Hughes and Nixon, particularly \$100,000 passed from the multi-millionaire to the President's friend Charles (Bebe) Rebozo. Secondly, they may have been trying to dig up some dirt with which to blackmail the Democrats into withholding what they knew about the Nixon-Hughes relationship during the 1972 campaign. . . .

There can thus be little doubt that Nixon's men were out to "get" O'Brien. . . . But their interest in O'Brien almost certainly had a defensive purpose as well. For, as time went by, it focused on his relationship with Howard Hughes, a figure who touched a raw nerve in the Nixon White House. . . . when Hughes and Maheu had a falling out in November 1970, O'Brien was regarded as an ally of Maheu's and dismissed.

Nixon's men feared that O'Brien knew—either directly or through his ally, Maheu—about some very peculiar transactions between Hughes and Nixon during 1969 and 1970. . . .

Thus, Hughes's dismissal of Maheu and O'Brien in late 1970 raised danger signals at the White House. On Jan. 18, 1971, Haldeman sent a memo to Dean requesting any or all information on O'Brien's relationship with Maheu and Hughes. Dean talked with Colson, who turned to his friend Bob Bennett.

Robert Foster Bennett is one of the most intriguing figures in the Watergate saga; in effect, he was the fulcrum where three powerful forces—Nixon, Hughes and the C.I.A.—converged. . . . Through his political ally, Chuck Colson, he maintained close relations with the White House and CREEP. . . . And in early 1971, through Colson's good offices, he purchased Robert R. Mullen & Company, a Washington public-relations firm which served as a C.I.A. front in Stockholm, Singapore, Amsterdam and Mexico City, provided cover for some C.I.A. activities in this country, and hired a whole platoon of "former" C.I.A. men—among them Howard Hunt. . . .

Intertel . . . undoubtedly heightened the White House nervousness about the Hughes connection . . .

Thus, Nixon's men had ample offensive and defensive reasons to examine Larry O'Brien's files and to tap his telephone. But their motivations may become still clearer when one examines the other major burglary target pinpointed by John Mitchell in February 1972—the office of Hank Greenspun, publisher of the *Las Vegas Sun* . . . when Maheu and Hughes split up, Greenspun sided with the disgraced lieutenant and began training his editorial six-shooter on Hughes . . . Maheu, in turn gave Greenspun copies of the multifarious memos through which Hughes had passed him orders over the years. Greenspun kept the memos in the huge green Meilink safe . . .

Nixon's men were particularly worried about Greenspun because he was known to be very friendly with the syndicated columnist Jack Anderson . . .

On Feb. 3, 1972—the day before the meeting at which Mitchell told Liddy to see if Greenspun's office could be burglarized—The *New York Times* reported that Greenspun had Hughes memos in his safe. . . . Hunt says Bennett called him into his office and told him he had picked up an intriguing rumor: Greenspun was . . . saying that if Muskie received the nomination he had enough information on the Senator to "blow him out of the water." . . . The publisher firmly believes that the real target of the operation against him was the Hughes-Maheu memos . . .

In any case, at Bennett's suggestion, Hunt and Liddy conferred with Ralph Winte, Hughes's chief of security, and found certain common interests. Hunt says they agreed on a burglary to empty Greenspun's safe and "divide the spoils." . . . Both parties insist it never came off. Yet, Greenspun says,

somebody did, indeed, try to break into his safe that August. (More intriguing entanglements came to light in 1975: that Maheu acted as a C.I.A. contact man with Mafia figures in the early 60's in a plot to kill Castro; . . .

Thus, I believe, both the Greenspun and the Watergate burglaries had the same prime motive: to find out how much Nixon's enemies knew about the Hughes-Rebozo-Nixon relationship and what plans were being made to use it against the President in the 1972 campaign. Secondly, the burglaries might provide information which could be used to persuade Larry O'Brien to withhold whatever he knew about the Hughes money.

For the time being, this is only informed conjecture. But soon we may know more. A recent Associated Press dispatch from Los Angeles said investigators for the Special Prosecutor's office were interviewing former Hughes employees. . . . an attorney for one of the employees said the questions would concern "primarily the Hughes-Nixon connection." (*New York Times Magazine*, January 4, 1976, pages 8, 9, 25, 27, 28, 30 and 33)

Council of 50

In our book *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 414-427, we tell how Joseph Smith established a secret organization known as the "Council of Fifty." The Mormon writer John J. Stewart gives the following information about this mysterious organization:

(The Prophet established a confidential Council of Fifty, or "Yttif," comprised of both Mormons and non-Mormons, to help attend to temporal matters, including the eventual development of a **one-world government**, in harmony with preparatory plans for the second advent of the Saviour.) (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, by John J. Stewart, Salt Lake City, 1966, page 204)

J. D. Williams, who is also a Mormon writer, made this statement:

And in the case of the Grand Council of the Kingdom, the Church obviously contemplated far more than "giving advice." Believed to have been organized in March, 1844, the Grand Council (or "Council of Fifty") was to be the government of the Kingdom of God (which Kingdom was not the Church but the **ultimate governing body for all mankind**). The Council was composed of two non-Mormons and forty-eight to fifty Mormon high priests. . . .

The picture is one of a **secret government**, responsible not to the governed but to **ecclesiastical authority**, which will provide benign **rule for all people, without election**. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, pages 46-47)

Thomas Ford, the Governor of Illinois, made this statement a few months after Joseph Smith's death:

It was asserted that Joseph Smith, the founder and head of the Mormon Church, had caused **himself to be crowned, and anointed king of the Mormons**: . . . (*Nauvoo Neighbor*, January 1, 1845)

In 1853 William Marks, who had been a member of the secret "Council of Fifty," admitted that Joseph Smith had been ordained to be a king before his death:

I was also witness of the introduction (secretly,) of a kingly form of government, in which Joseph suffered himself to be ordained a king, to reign over the house of Israel forever; which I could not conceive to be in accordance with the laws of the church, but I did not oppose this move, thinking it none of my business. (*Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ*, St. Louis, July, 1853, page 53)

The Mormon writer Klaus J. Hansen, who wrote his master's thesis on the "Political Kingdom of God" at the Brigham Young University, made this statement:

The scriptures indicated that Christ would rule as king over the kingdom of God. Smith took this idea quite literally and thought it only logical that **he, as predecessor of the Saviour, should enjoy certain prerogatives of royalty.** Consequently, shortly before his death, the prophet apparently, had himself ordained as "King on earth." . . .

The title of king may have been a metaphor, but the power deriving from the office was not. In this respect it is especially important to recall that Smith held his political office by divine right and not by sovereignty. However, metaphorical these royal pretensions may have been, Smith apparently knew that they were so potentially dangerous as to be entrusted only to the initiated. (*Quest for Empire*, pages 66-67)

In *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, page 104, Mr. Hansen frankly admits that "Joseph Smith did start a political kingdom of God and a Council of Fifty; **he was made king** over that organization; . . ."

When Fawn Brodie stated that Joseph Smith was anointed king, Dr. Hugh Nibley claimed that there was not enough evidence to support this accusation. Since that time a great deal of new evidence has come to light, and now many Mormon writers are willing to concede that Joseph Smith was made King. For instance, Kenneth W. Godfrey, who was Director of the LDS Institute at Stanford University, stated:

Antagonism toward the Mormon Prophet was further incited when it was correctly rumored that he had been ordained "King over the Immediate House of Israel" by the Council of Fifty. (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter 1968, pages 212-213)

In a dissertation written at Brigham Young University, Kenneth Godfrey gave the following information:

Davidson states that Joseph Smith had himself anointed King and Priest and that he administered "to his followers the oath of allegiance." Some people thought this was just a typical anti-Mormon statement with little foundation in fact. Yet the *Niles' National Register* published an article in which the writer argued that Joseph Smith was like a sovereign in Nauvoo and that he conducted himself like a king. This, the author said, was a contributing cause of his death.

On March 11, 1844, Joseph Smith organized what has been called the "Council of Fifty." According to at least one report:

We [the members of the council] **ordained Joseph Smith as King on earth**, and in order to install him as one earthly king it was agreed upon that we would **run Joseph Smith for President of the United States . . . and in case they were elected we would at once establish dominion in the United States**, and in view of failure we would send a minister to the then republic of Texas to make a treaty with the cabinet of Texas for all that country north of a west line from the falls of the Colorado River to the Nueces.

William Marks stated, "I was also witness to the introduction of a kingly form of government, in which Joseph suffered himself to be ordained King to reign over the house of Israel forever." Lyman Wight in a letter to Joseph Smith dated June 19, 1844, said: "You are already president pro-tern of the World." George T. Davis wrote:

He [Joseph Smith] was able to secure his coronation as king, in this land of liberty and equal rights, whose citizens acknowledge no other king than He, whose hands are the

direction of all nations. Neither can it be denied . . . that no matter what the requisition made of them [his followers] if done under his kingly authority must be obeyed.

He also says the Prophet was crowned by the Council of Fifty over the "immediate house of Israel." It was reported by Daniel Jones that Wilson Law heard Joseph Smith "preached from Daniel, 2nd chapter, 44th verse, that the kingdom referred to was already set up and that he [Joseph] was king over it. And finally in a revelation dated 1886 given to President John Taylor, mention is made of Joseph Smith being crowned a king in Nauvoo. Not only was he ordained a king but the leading members of the Church were assigned governmental responsibilities. **Brigham Young was to be president**, John Taylor vice president, members of the Church were assigned to represent different states in the house and senate of the United States, and a **full cabinet was appointed.** ("Causes of Mormon Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846," Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967, pages 63-65)

From the evidence presented it would appear that Joseph Smith wanted to establish an independent government. Klaus J. Hansen makes this comment: ". . . the political kingdom of God required of its citizens a **separate loyalty that was difficult to harmonize with loyalty to the United States**" (*Quest for Empire*, page 119).

It was 1844 when the Council of Fifty decided to run Joseph Smith for the presidency of the United States. In Joseph Smith's *History* we find this entry under the date of January 29, 1844: "If you attempt to accomplish this, you must send every man in the city who is able to speak in public throughout the land to electioneer . . . There is oratory enough in the Church to carry me into the presidential chair the first slide" (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 188).

The attempt by Joseph Smith to become President of the United States seems to have been a treasonous plot to bring the Government under the rule of the Priesthood. Klaus J. Hansen stated: "But what if, through a bold stroke, he could capture the United States for the Kingdom? The Council of Fifty thought there might be a chance and nominated the Mormon prophet for the Presidency of the United States" (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1966, page 67).

George Miller, who had been a member of the Council of Fifty, made this statement in a letter dated June 28, 1855:

It was further determined in Council that all the elders should set out on missions to all the States to get up an electoral ticket, and do everything in our power to have Joseph elected president. If we succeeded in making a majority of the voters converts to our faith, and elected Joseph president, in such an event the **dominion of the Kingdom would be forever established in the United States**; and if not successful, we could fall back on Texas, and be a kingdom notwithstanding. (Letter by George Miller, dated June 28, 1855, as quoted in *Joseph Smith and World Government*, by Hyrum Andrus, Salt Lake City, 1963, page 54)

Instead of going to Texas the Mormons settled in the Great Salt Lake valley. Hyrum Andrus admits that Smith had even "considered the alternative of establishing the Saints in the capacity of an independent nation, should all other alternatives fail" (*Ibid*, page 60).

Before the election Joseph Smith was assassinated. Thus he was unable to establish the Kingdom which he had planned.

The practice of ordaining the President of the Mormon Church as "King on earth" did not cease with the death of Joseph Smith. It is reported that Brigham Young the second President of the Church, was made King, and the Mormon Apostle Abraham H. Cannon states that there was a discussion in the Council of Fifty as to whether John Taylor, the third President of the Church, should be anointed King:

Father [George Q. Cannon, a member of the First Presidency] said Moses Thatcher's drawing away from his brethren commenced as far as his knowledge concerning it went, at a time when the Council of Fifty met in the old City Hall, and Moses opposed the proposition to anoint John Taylor as Prophet, Priest and King, and Moses' opposition prevailed at that time. Moses has constantly opposed the increase of power in the hands of the President of the Church. ("Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," December 2, 1895, page 198; original at Brigham Young University Library)

A reference in the journal of Franklin D. Richards seems to show that John Taylor was anointed King on February 4, 1885 (see, *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 418).

It would appear, then, that at least three of the Mormon leaders were ordained as Kings. Whether the practice continued after Taylor's death is not known.

Does Council of 50 Still Exist?

The Council of Fifty had a great deal of power in early Utah. Klaus J. Hansen gives this information:

An examination of Utah territorial legislatures from 1851 to 1896 reveals that not until the 1880's, when the influx of Gentiles into the territory in large numbers began to crack Mormon political hegemony, did the Council of Fifty lose its political influence. (*Quest for Empire*, page 137)

Most scholars believe that the Council of Fifty dissolved before the turn of the century. J. D. Williams stated:

While the laity have **no sure knowledge of its demise**, one presumes that the Council, like polygamy, was abandoned about the time of statehood as the full machinery of civil government replaced the vestiges of theocracy. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, page 47)

There are some people, however, that feel the Council of Fifty may still be in existence. Jesse B. Stone told us of a conversation he had with B. H. Roberts in which Roberts claimed that the Council of Fifty was established by revelation and would always be a part of the Church.

In a manuscript entitled, "The Dilemmas of Mormonism," Jesse B. Stone stated:

In August 1927, I was invited to go with three young men and call upon the late Dr. Brigham H. Roberts, one of the L.D.S. First Council of Seventy. Those students represented what was known as the Friars Club, which had been organized at the University of Utah by the late Dr. John A. Widstoe, exclusively for returned L.D.S. missionaries.

When Mr. Roberts was questioned as to whether the Grand Council could act independently of the General Authorities of the L.D.S. Church, he informed us that while the Council is separate from the Church organization, it is still subordinate to the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. He further informed us that the Council members may nominate a man to fill a vacancy in their ranks, but that the final decision of appointment is always in the hands of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve.

On page 43 of the same manuscript. Mr. Stone says that "the Grand Council . . . still functions, though not on the surface.

Since 1879, the Grand Council has operated as a secret segment of Mormonism, but its power has had tremendous effect upon both local and State governments. None who have written on the subject have been able to clearly trace its existence and activities to the present, because of its secret and clandestine maneuvers.

There is an important reference to the Council of Fifty in a Mormon journal written after the turn of the century. This reference is found in the John Henry Smith Journal for February 18, 1911 (Smith was a member of the First Presidency at the time he recorded this entry):

John W. Taylor came into the office this morning very much angered at President Francis M Lyman and the Twelve. He ordered A W Lund and John Smith out of the office. He demanded an interview with Prest Joseph F and me. He was quite wild he staid over two hours. He said he had cursed my son George Albert for something He had said about [sic] and had threatened to kill him. He demanded that President Smith **call the Counsel of fifty to protect him** from the twelve in his violations of the law. ("John Henry Smith Journal," Book 34, February 18, 1911; photocopies of original journal at University of Utah Library)

John W. Taylor had served as an apostle in the Mormon Church until October 6, 1905. He resigned because of opposition against his continued practice of polygamy. At one time it was almost impossible for a monogamist to hold a high office in the Mormon Church. By 1911, however, a number of monogamists had become apostles. John W. Taylor apparently felt that the Council of Fifty was more sympathetic to polygamy than the "twelve."

The reader will notice that Joseph F. Smith was the President of the Church when John W. Taylor made his request. Smith was a member of the Council of Fifty, and if the Council was still functioning in 1911, he would have been in charge of its activities. President Smith lived until November 19, 1918.

Michael Marquardt has copied another extract from the John Henry Smith Journal which proves that Charles W. Penrose was received into the Council of Fifty:

2. p. m. C. of F. met and admitted two new members William Budge and C. W. Penrose. ("John Henry Smith Journal," Book 7, June 26, 1882, page 174)

Charles W. Penrose went on to become a member of the First Presidency and lived until May 16, 1925, (see *Essentials in Church History*, page 661). Thus we see a known member of the Council of Fifty lived into the 1920's.

In early 1975 a student, who worked in the library at Brigham Young University, told us that a man came into the library requesting information on the Council of Fifty. The man claimed to have had a friend who actually did work for the Council of Fifty. The friend did not die until sometime in the 1950's. This experience led the BYU student to suspect that the Council of Fifty may not have disbanded at the end of the 19th century.

On July 4, 1967, we received a letter from a man who had come to Utah to do research on Mormonism. In this letter there was an interesting statement with regard to the continued existence of the Council of Fifty:

I noticed that you . . . will be discussing the Council of Fifty. I learned through an instructor at B.Y.U. that in the professor's section of the Special Collections is information detailing the activities of the Council of Fifty presently. Ezra Taft Benson was named in one document. I realize that this is hear-say information (and that you probably already know it). Because this person is in a very precarious position at the "Y," having left the L.D.S. Church, he didn't want his name mentioned. This does raise two questions: can the existence of the Council of Fifty be proven? are its goals similar to those when instituted under Joseph Smith? (Letter dated July 4, 1967)

One Mormon scholar, who was asked about the information contained in this letter, said he knew of no "professor's section" at the BYU Library. Another scholar, however, stated that there was a "professor's section" but that it was not in "Special Collections."

However this may be, we thought that the “Ezra Taft Benson” mentioned in the letter might refer to Ezra Taft Benson’s great-grandfather who had the same name and served in the Council of Fifty in early Utah. We asked the writer about this matter. On September 13, 1967, he sent a reply in which he stated:

Concerning the present status of the Council of the Fifty, I was told by an instructor at BYU that the Council exists today. Both Apostle Benson & a son (the John Bircher) are on it. I will write him and see if he will talk with you. He is in a very precarious situation, having apostacized but not having been excommunicated or fired from the “Y.” When he discovered this evidence on the 50, he was called into the Vice President office & sworn to secrecy. (I believe there was a mild threat used—at least he implied this. . . .)

While this is certainly “hear-say information,” the whole matter needs to be explored by competent researchers. As long as the Church suppresses the secret records of the Council of Fifty, this will be a very difficult task.

With regard to Ezra Taft Benson, it is interesting to note that he has been deeply involved in politics. The Apostle Benson served as Secretary of Agriculture under President Eisenhower. Although he is not a member of the John Birch Society, his activities on its behalf have caused the other Church leaders a great deal of embarrassment. On January 4, 1964, Drew Pearson made the following comment concerning Ezra Taft Benson:

Benson has become so extreme in his views that the Mormon Church, of which he is one of the Twelve Apostles, has quietly transferred him abroad to head the church’s European mission. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, January 4, 1964)

David O. McKay, who was President of the Church at the time, denied the accusation, but the *Idaho State Journal* let the “cat out of the bag” when they published two letters written to Rep. Ralph R. Harding. One of them was written by Joseph Fielding Smith, who later became the tenth President of the Church, and the other was written by Robert McKay, who is the son of the late President David O. McKay. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reprinted parts of these letters on Friday, February 21, 1964:

The paper then quoted Mr. Smith’s letter as saying:

“I am glad to report to you that it will be some time before we hear anything from Brother Benson, who is now on his way to Great Britain where I suppose he will be at least for the next two years. When he returns, I hope his blood will be purified.”

Robert McKay’s letter, the paper said, expressed a similar sentiment.

“We shall all be relieved when Elder Benson ceases to resist counsel and returns to a concentration on those affairs befitting his office,” he wrote. “It is my feeling that there will be an immediate and noticeable curtailment of his Birch Society Activities.” . . . (*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 21, 1964, page 4-A)

On September 25, 1968, a newsman sent us a letter which contained this interesting information about Benson:

Had an interesting telephone conversation with Elder Benson the other day. **He said he could have had the American Independent Party vice presidential nomination**, but turned it down after consultation with President McKay.

Since the death of Joseph Fielding Smith, the Apostle Benson has risen to great power in the Mormon Church. As President of the Council of Twelve Apostles, he now stands next in line to be President of the Church. Many members of the Church fear Benson’s leadership. One man, who served as a Mormon Seminary teacher, wrote us a letter in which he stated: “If you think conditions are

bad in the church and at BYU with an unhealthy concern to know each other’s loyalties just wait until Ezra Taft Benson becomes president of the church.”

On December 11, 1974, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

Elder Benson also warned against criticizing church leaders . . . Elder Benson is . . . next in the traditional line to the presidency of the 3.3-million-member church. . . .

He said the BYU campus would use an “increasing number of textbooks written by inspired men of the church. There will be less and less of a tendency to subscribe to the false teachings of men.”

On February 25, 1974, the BYU’s *Daily Universe* reported the following:

SALT LAKE CITY (AP)—President Ezra Taft Benson, . . . said, in an interview this week, it is “entirely possible” the president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) will one day declare support for a political candidate. Recent Mormon leaders have not made specific endorsements.

As head of the 3.3-million member Church’s Council of the Twelve, President Benson stands next in the traditional line of ascension to the Mormon presidency. . . .

President Benson, . . . said he has never had to separate his religion from his politics.

“I talk principles,” he said. “I think it’s all one great big ball of wax because the gospel of Jesus Christ can only prosper in an atmosphere of freedom.” . . .

Asked if a good Mormon could be a liberal Democrat, President Benson said, “I think it would be very hard if he was living the gospel and understood it.”

In an article entitled, “Benson Tells Party Support,” we find the following:

Ezra Taft Benson, president of the Council of Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, has **praised the principles of the American Party as “divine and eternal,”** according to an Associated Press story Sunday.

In remarks confirmed by the *Tribune*, the former secretary of agriculture . . . said, “Never in a decade have I read **a set of principles of any party that come so close to the philosophy which I have and which I think my own church people have.**”

The church leader, . . . spoke after Tom Anderson, national party chairman for the American Party, at a fund-raising banquet Saturday night.

Elder Benson received a standing ovation from some 300 party supporters as he entered the hall, and again before and after his brief speech. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 4, 1974)

Ezra Taft Benson can not seem to keep himself out of political controversies. On January 9, 1976, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported the following:

A ranking official of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in a letter to Heber City Mayor Kent Hiatt, has denounced federally financed housing programs as “socialist” and likely to attract “undesirable tenants” to an area. . . .

The letter was on Council of the Twelve stationery and was signed “Respectfully, Ezra Taft Benson, President,” but an aide to President Benson said Thursday afternoon the use of the stationery was a “secretarial error . . . that letter was a personal letter and was intended for President Benson’s personal stationery.”

On January 16, 1976, the *Salt Lake Tribune* pointed out that Ezra Taft Benson “has a home near Heber City. . . .”

Ezra Taft Benson’s son Reed has recently been called as a mission president for the Mormon Church:

Reed A. Benson, son of Ezra Taft Benson, president of the Council of Twelve Apostles, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is in Provo awaiting transfer to his assignment as an LDS mission president at Louisville, Ky.

Reed Benson has been **active in Utah and nationally with the John Birch Society**. He has been a religion instructor at Brigham Young University most recently. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, June 30, 1975)

Law Enforcement Body of Church

Writing in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, J. D. Williams gave this information:

More subterranean, and less official, were the endorsement tactics used in the heated Thomas-Bennett election for the U.S. Senate during 1950. A "watch-and-ward society" called the **Law Observance and Enforcement Committee had become appended to the Church hierarchy** prior to this time. Its primary job was to report to the First Presidency on violations of liquor, tobacco and prostitution laws in Salt Lake County. But in 1950 this committee extended itself in publishing a list of candidates who would support Church standards. Attached to a mimeographed talk which was to be read in the monthly Fast and Testimony Meeting, the list began with the candidates for Senator and Congressman and ran on through thirty-two local offices. Seventeen of the thirty-four Democrats had been crossed out; two of the thirty-four Republicans.

Like Moses Thatcher of old, Mormon Democrats felt their Church had betrayed them. In the ensuing crossfire, the First Presidency issued a disclaimer through the Salt Lake press declaring that they had neither approved a list of acceptable candidates nor directed the circulation of such a list. But the list, and other gratuitous insults against Thomas, had their effect. He was defeated in November by the prominent Utah businessman-Churchman, Wallace F. Bennett. . . .

But the practice of Church officials making suggestions to public administrators and law makers has never died. As a case in point, one thinks of the **Law Observance and Enforcement Committee** during the 1940's when it reported to **Second Counselor David O. McKay**. Word from the Committee about a grocery store's selling cigarettes or beer to minors would lead to a 'high level' call to Public Safety Commissioner Ben Lingenfelter, and the police would then check out the offending grocer. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, pages 43 and 47)

In a telephone conversation with Jesse B. Stone on September 12, 1974, we derived some information concerning the Law Observance and Enforcement Committee. Mr. Stone claimed to have worked for this organization from 1924 to 1927. He said that this group operated secretly in the stakes of Salt Lake and Davis counties. Although Mr. Stone can not prove it, he feels that the "Committee" has the same relationship to the Council of Fifty as the FBI has to the U.S. Government. In a letter dated December 31, 1956, Mr. Stone told of "a powerful semi-ecclesiastical-political organization known as the Political Action Committee of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This organization was formerly known as the Grand Council of Fifty, of which the President of the Church is Senior High Priest.

"Subordinate to that body is a lesser organization known as the Law Enforcement Body of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This organization is presided over by Colonel Elmer G. Thomas" (Letter by Jesse B. Stone, as found in "The Dilemmas of Mormonism," page 35).

In a letter dated February 5, 1957, Jesse B. Stone gives this information:

I will not endeavor to prove that the lesser present day organization, the Law Enforcement Body of the Church, is a successor of the Danites, the early day hatchet men of the Mormons, but it must be admitted that there are some striking similarities and functions between the two, and it is certainly a direct descendant of the Grand Council. . . .

Do not the respectable people of the Mormon Church owe it to their own respect and to the honor of their posterity to demand that this comic opera, secret service department which the Church has set up be forever abolished and return to true, righteous and democratic principles of law enforcement?

Some of my good friends who have formerly supported the L.D.S. lesser organization, have now dropped out because of the melodramatic attitude of the Colonel and other leaders, to insignificant matters such as the sale of beer and tobacco, while at the same time exhibiting gross indifference to major crimes and matters of importance. (Ibid., pages 38-39)

In his book *Political Dynamiting*, Professor Frank H. Jonas wrote the following:

The Mormon church openly entered the 1950 campaign late—or was dragged into it through a peculiar set of circumstances. An unofficial agency of the church, never formally approved but unquestionably having the tacit approval of the "brethren" (church authorities), issued a document which was to have a telling effect on the outcome of the campaign. The organization was the Salt Lake County L.D.S. Law Observance and Enforcement Committee, consisting of twenty-six members, one each from the twenty-six stakes in Salt Lake County, which released a list of endorsements of candidates shortly before the final election. The names of seventeen Democrats, among them Thomas and Bosone, were "scratched," while only two Republicans were "blacklisted." Accompanying the list was a letter stating the objectives of the committee as being the checking and reporting of law enforcement in Salt Lake in five areas: "saloons" open on Sundays, taverns selling liquor to minors, gambling, prostitution, and horse racing. The letter urged the Saints to go to the polls as American citizens, to vote on the basis of principle only, and to seek the counsel of their bishops if they wished further advice as to candidates. The list and letter were sent to stake presidents and state committee members. Although only forty copies were prepared by the committee for distribution, one member allowed copies to be made and circulated widely, even beyond the borders of Salt Lake County.

Many persons immediately questioned the actions of the committee in endorsing the Republican candidates for United States senator and congressman and scratching their opponents. Previously, before the primary, the same committee had issued a list of candidates it had approved for election. It failed to list Thomas and Bosone, while it listed Bennett. It also failed on this occasion to list Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest, Republican congressional candidate, and state Senator Rue L. Clegg, who was challenging Bennett in the primary for the Republican nomination. In each case, the committee was supposed to have based its decision on the results of a questionnaire which had purportedly been sent to candidates. The electorate was never informed as to the specific questions put to the candidates or as to the answers received from them.

Democratic managers carried their protest to the church general authorities and to President George Albert Smith, who, upon solicitation, issued a retraction. Other church authorities refused to commit themselves publicly and waited almost two days to print the retraction in the *Deseret News* (November 3, 1950). The *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Telegram* had published it immediately upon its release on the morning of November second. . . . The general authorities of the church asserted that "the Church had nothing to do with the letter in any way, shape

or form. . . .” How would its official spokesman explain the statement of one of the stake presidents that “we were instructed that the thinking of Elbert D. Thomas was not in conformity with the teachings of our faith”? . . .

Senator Thomas, Ivy Baker Priest, and Rue L. Clegg claimed that they had not received the letter which had omitted their names from the list of approved candidates—nor had they ever received the original questionnaire regarding their stand on vice conditions in Salt Lake County. . . . Representative Walter K. Granger stated unequivocally that “the letter of the Law Enforcement Committee of the Church was a stunning blow for us Democrats and Thomas never got over it.”

The character of the L.D.S. church campaign to get Thomas out of office placed it within the framework of political dynamiting. The unique character of this type of political dynamiting was that it was done by a religious functionary who in his own mind was carrying out the wishes of those who had hired him, a religious body. (*Political Dynamiting*, University of Utah Press, pages 70-71)

In footnote 30 on page 81 of the same book, we find the following concerning the letter which was sent out:

This “letter” carried the address of 38 North State Street, Salt Lake City, an L.D.S. church property and **the residence of Colonel Elmer Thomas**, Republican chairman of the committee, who was an employee of the church. When Colonel Thomas was interrogated about his infamous missile he stated simply that Elbert D. Thomas was not a Communist but that he had been in office for twenty years (actually eighteen) and that “we had to get him out.” He reiterated that his committee had the “blessings of the brethren.” As a member of the state legislature, having been asked to run for that office, **his function was to report the voting records of legislative members—particularly high office holders, bishops, and stake presidents—to the authorities. He made his reports to Apostle Spencer Kimball.** He said that what the brethren were for, he was for; that what they were against, he was against; it was as simple as all that. (*Ibid.*, page 81)

It is interesting to note that Spencer W. Kimball, the man to whom Colonel Thomas reported, has now become President of the Mormon Church.

Like Richard Nixon’s “plumbers,” the Church’s Law Observance and Enforcement Committee became so zealous to punish the wicked that it found itself in trouble with the law. The following appeared in the *Daily Utah Chronicle*, published at the University of Utah:

Colonel Elmer G. Thomas of Salt Lake City’s Twenty-four Stakes of Zion **Law Enforcement and Observance Committee** has again stepped in the middle of a muddy puddle.

Summer ’66 found Thomas and the League on the path of righteousness, this time in pursuance of the area’s alcohol vendors. The league apparently found a nineteen-year-old Kaysville youth to pose at being of legal age who would try to purchase liquor from area package stores, . . .

When the league finished its research and released the findings based on the youth’s visits to Salt Lake liquor stores, they no doubt thought they had rid the Valley of an undesirable element.

A Salt Lake area package agency was closed by the Utah State Liquor Control Commission and a clerk was fired and subsequently charged with illegal sale of liquor to a minor. . . .

Utah’s Attorney General Phil Hansen considerably dampened the effect of the league’s victory with his decision that **regardless of the intent of the league’s actions it had violated state statutes in urging a minor to break the liquor laws.**

Since Hansen’s decision became public, the youth has been charged with illegal purchase of an alcoholic beverage, his father, also a member of the league has been charged with aiding and abetting the illegal purchase. County Attorney Grover A. Giles

hinted his office may file additional charges against “groups” who may have aided, abetted or counceled the Kaysville youth’s actions. (*Daily Utah Chronicle*, September 23, 1966, page 2)

Mormon Missionaries and C.I.A.

The *Washington Star* for July 23, 1975, reported the following:

Almost from its inception in 1947, the CIA has used religious groups both as a source of information and as a conduit for funds. CIA spokesmen declined to discuss the CIA-church connection in any detail . . .

Sources said the CIA dealt with religious groups in Latin America, Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

A spokesman for the Senate select intelligence committee said the panel’s staff is investigating complaints that the CIA has had improper dealings with missionaries.

The publication *Christianity Today* for October 10, 1975, gave the following information:

Some mission boards have specific policies directing their missionaries to refrain from giving information to intelligence personnel. Among these are the Church of the Brethren, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA). Compliance by the rank and file is something else. Missionary Carlsen, for example, serves with the CMA. He says he is not aware of the directive from headquarters, and he furthermore “counts it a privilege to share information with responsible agencies of the government when they seek us out.” . . .

Many CMA missionaries in southeast Asia were solicited for information by military, State Department, and CIA officials during the 1960s and early 1970s. Most, said the ex-CIA source, cooperated. . . .

Among those who attended an NCC meeting last fall was John Marks, a former State Department intelligence analyst . . . Reports at the meeting centered on contacts between missionaries and CIA agents. Marks decided to investigate further. . . . Examples of intelligence-missionary links cited by Marks:

A Catholic bishop in South Viet Nam was on the CIA payroll until at least 1971.

A Protestant missionary in Bolivia fed intelligence reports regularly to the CIA regarding Communist activities, labor unions, and farmers’ organizations.

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CIA agents posed as missionaries (Marks has given no details about this allegation).

Jesuit priest Roger Vekemans of Belgium was a conduit for CIA funding of anti-Communist social-reform efforts in Latin America. (*Christianity Today*, October 10, 1975, pages 62-63)

An article printed in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on June 1, 1975, contained the following:

Concerning the reports the CIA may have been using American missionaries serving overseas, Sen. Church would say no more than “we haven’t gotten into that yet.”

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As to the CIA’s use of missionaries, as has been claimed by some former operators, he promised “we will look into that” and then added his committee would be most careful about identifying CIA agents or overseas organization[s] it might use.

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Our question was prompted by a recent claim . . . that “the CIA has been heavily involved in church activities, religious activities” and . . . “they solicit information from missionaries, try to hire missionaries.”

In the *Salt Lake City Messenger* for January 1975, we suggested that the Mormon Church could provide a perfect cover for CIA agents:

Since the Mullen Company [the Mormon Church's public relations firm] was used as a cover for the CIA, a question concerning the involvement of the Mormon Church with the CIA naturally arises. . . .

The Mormon Church's world-wide activities and mission program could provide a perfect cover for CIA agents, but at the present time we have no evidence that this is actually the case. We do know, however, that the Church provides many men for the CIA. Writing in the *New York Times* for September 16, 1974, Wallace Turner states: "Many Mormon scholars work on contracts for the C.I.A." We recently asked a man who had taught at Brigham Young University if he had any reason to believe that the Mormon missionary program is used as a cover for CIA agents. He replied that he did not, but he went on to state that many missionaries are later recruited to CIA work. He felt that the missionary program provided good training for CIA agents. The missionaries are taught absolute obedience to authority and many of them learn foreign languages as well.

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for January 1, 1976, reported that "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day issued a statement Wednesday stating that there is no knowledge that any of its missionaries have been involved in intelligence work or subversive political activities here or abroad."

On February 22, 1975, an employee of the CIA sent us a letter in which he stated:

Thank you for your current "Messenger." As usual it is very informative.

I am currently employed with the Central Intelligence Agency and **can attest to the fact that the Agency has been very fruitful in hiring Mormons, especially former missionaries.**

In my section they are four. . . .

I'm sorry I do not have any vital information other than what I just told you. I would appreciate it if you would keep the above information in your confidence as to not using my name. I do not feel that I have given you any secret information but people can sometimes make something out of nothing.

We tried to get this CIA employee to tell us how large his "section" is, but he would not answer.

While this letter confirms the hiring of "former missionaries," it does not answer the question as to whether the missionary program itself is ever used as a cover for CIA agents. There is, however, a book which may throw important light on this subject. It is written by Patrick J. McGarvey, a man who worked for the CIA for a number of years. This book is entitled *C.I.A.: The Myth and the Madness*. On page 57 of Mr. McGarvey's book we find this very revealing information:

Lastly, CIA uses what they call "deep cover." Men usually accept such tours for seven-to nine-year periods, and all traces of American governmental or commercial connections are kept to an absolute minimum. They blend into the local landscape and perform only discreet tasks for the Agency. . . . Deep cover knows few bounds. **CIA has a surprising number of Mormon Church members in its employ**, and the fact that many of these men spent two years in a Mormon mission in Latin America or the Far East is not overlooked by CIA. A friend found himself back in the Mormon mission in Hong Kong after his training. (*C.I.A.: The Myth and the Madness*, Maryland, 1974, page 57)

Robert Mullen, who handled public relations for the Mormon Church and allowed his company to be used as a CIA front, gave this information about the Mormons in Hong Kong:

Hong Kong has seventy-two missionaries at work among the teeming 4,000,000 population . . . the Mormons have been able to gain possession of eight church buildings. (*The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today*, 1966, pages 272-273)

According to the *Salt Lake Tribune* for January 17, 1973, "The LDS church has 133 missions and more than 22,000 full-time missionaries throughout the world." It is very unlikely, however, that the CIA would use a large number of Mormons while they were still serving on their missions. For one thing, most missionaries would be too young to be trusted with such important responsibilities. Then too, if very many were used, it would soon become generally known and the cover would not be effective. Some feel that it is more likely the CIA would use mission presidents who are older and serve for a longer period.

The CIA would naturally be drawn to the Mormon missionary who has learned a foreign language and has had some experience in a foreign country. If the CIA already has a "surprising number" of Mormons in its employ at the present time, they will probably have a great many more in the future because the Church plans to have the "language center of the world" to train missionaries at Brigham Young University. In the BYU alumni paper we read:

It's a profound combination: take BYU and add a multimillion dollar language center designed to teach at least 20 languages to 22,250 missionaries each year. The result is as one observer conjured, the "language center of the world." (*Brigham Young University Today*, August, 1974)

C.I.A. & Church's Educational System

In the January 1975 issue of the *Messenger* we reported that a man who had taught at the Brigham Young University told us that the Church's educational system contains a large number of men who have been involved in the CIA or FBI. We now have evidence that even the Church's commissioner of education, Dr. Neal A. Maxwell, has been connected with the CIA. In the Brigham Young University's paper *The Daily Universe* we found the following:

Dr. Neal A. Maxwell, Church commissioner of education and regional representative to the Council of the Twelve, . . . was a legislative assistant to Senator Wallace F. Bennett and served for two years with the United States Central Intelligence Agency. (*Daily Universe*, February 23, 1971)

According to the *Deseret News*, Church Section, for November 14, 1964, Dr. Maxwell served as an assistant to Senator Bennett after he left the CIA: "From 1952-54 he served with the Central Intelligence Agency and from 1954-56 was legislative assistant to Sen. Wallace F. Bennett, R-Utah." This is very interesting in light of the fact that Sen. Bennett's son, Robert, later ran the Mullen Company which served as a CIA front.

At any rate, Maxwell not only serves as church commissioner of education but as an assistant to the Twelve Apostles.

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for June 7, 1975, said that "He is commissioner of the educational system of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and an assistant to the Council of Twelve Apostles." Dr. Maxwell worked at the University of Utah sometime between leaving the CIA and accepting his call from the Mormon Church. Some people at the University of Utah seem to have been suspicious that Dr. Maxwell had not completely severed his contact with the CIA. We do not know whether there is any truth to this accusation, however.

In the January 1975 issue of the *Messenger* we stated:

There can be little doubt that the Church's Brigham Young University provides many men for the CIA. . . .

The Brigham Young University's *Daily Universe* reported the following on Nov. 7, 1974:

"An expense paid trip to the nation's capital and a monthly salary of \$780 from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), provided BYU law student Dale Storer with an 'interesting experience' last summer. . . . Storer spent the summer in Washington D.C., doing research for the CIA. . . .

"Storer, a graduate in economics, who served a two-year mission for the church in Indonesia, did research in the areas of economy and industrialization. . . .

"He said there are many opportunities to work with the CIA and urged students wishing to gain more information to contact Dr. Lawrence G. Woodward, coordinator for cooperative programs."

In the same issue of the *Messenger*, we cited the following from a letter:

" . . . I did have a professor at BYU who had been first a member of U.S. Army Intelligence (Korean War), and later an employee of the CIA. . . . and he never made any secret of it . . . I also had a roommate at BYU who is now and has been for some time a covert agent (a '007') for the CIA, . . ."

After publishing this information we had a very interesting thing happen. The very man who was a "covert agent" for the CIA visited our bookstore. After conversing for some time, he made some statements concerning his friends and travels which led us to suspect that he was the "covert agent" mentioned in the letter cited above. We confronted him with these facts, and he frankly admitted that he was the man. He stated that he had served on a mission for the Mormon Church. Later he worked in the language department at Brigham Young University where he was recruited by the CIA. He served as a covert agent for the CIA, but he was unable to adjust to the double life. He claimed that he finally left the CIA altogether but asked us not to reveal his name. He seemed to be disillusioned with both the CIA and the Mormon Church.

As we consider the "surprising number" of Mormons employed by the CIA and the possibility that the missionary program is used as a cover, we cannot help but wonder how deep the relationship between the Church and the CIA really goes. On top of all this, we have the fact that the Mormon Church's public relations were handled by the Mullen Company—a firm which was owned by a prominent Mormon and which was used to provide cover for CIA agents. Howard Hughes was also a client of the Mullen Co. As we have already shown, his organization is filled with Mormons and is deeply involved with the CIA. Although the Rockefeller Report says that the Mullen Co. had "a number of clients having no known relationship to the CIA," it does concede that "various companies who were clients of the Mullen firm may in turn have had relationships with the CIA . . ." (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States*, pages 174 and 176). In the January 1975 issue of the *Messenger* we stated the belief that at least three clients of the Mullen Co. had some involvement with the CIA. We feel that this list can now be increased to six, and we have deep suspicions about some of the other clients.

However this may be, we are rather alarmed that so many Mormons are involved with the CIA. The Watergate investigation has clearly demonstrated that there is a tendency for some of those trained in covert operations to return and use them on their own people. Any group with a large proportion of their members trained in spying activities could become a serious threat to freedom. The Mormon Church could prove to be exceptionally dangerous, however, because it has a secret "Council of Fifty" in its history.

Mormons in Government

Besides furnishing many men for the CIA, the Mormon Church has encouraged its members to be involved in other important positions in the U.S. Government. For instance, the *Salt Lake Tribune* for April 16, 1975, reported the following:

WASHINGTON—President Ford sent to the Senate Tuesday the nomination of Rex E. Lee, dean of the law school at Brigham Young University, as assistant attorney general. . . .

"BYU is losing a very qualified administrator but he is a great choice for this important post in the Department of Justice," said Sen. Garn. "His talents will be most welcome, I am sure."

The *New York Times* for November 4, 1975, reported "The elevation of Air Force Lieut. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, the deputy director of the National Security Council, to succeed Henry A. Kissinger as the White House adviser on national security."

The *Salt Lake Tribune* informs us that Brent Scowcroft is a member of the Mormon Church:

WASHINGTON—Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, slated to become the next chairman of the super-secret National Security Council, is a native of Utah and a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. . . .

Since 1972 he has been an assistant to the President for national security affairs . . . He is also one of the few aides who regularly talks alone with the President . . . when Ford first became President, a White House source told the *Tribune* that Kissinger wouldn't stand for any attempt to replace Gen. Scowcroft. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 4, 1975)

During Richard Nixon's administration Mormons were held in high esteem. In the *Deseret News*, Church Section, for November 7, 1970, we find the following:

Members of the Church have done more to strengthen the moral leadership and high moral standards of America than any other group, according to President Richard M. Nixon.

President Nixon complimented the membership of the Church while speaking at a political gathering held in Salt Lake Tabernacle . . .

At the conclusion of the address, . . . President Nixon, returned to the podium following the songs and after many of the radio and television stations had resumed their regular scheduled programs, and complimented the Church members. . . .

"I do not know of any group in America, and I would say this not only here, but in other places in this country, who have contributed more to that strong, moral leadership and high moral standards . . . no group has done more than those who are members of this Church.

"I want to thank you," the President continued, "for what you've done for the spirit of America."

The *Deseret News*, Church Section, for December 14, 1968, reported:

Two staunch members of the Church, both of whom have served in stake presidencies, have been called to serve in the cabinet of President-elect Richard M. Nixon.

George Wilcken Romney, . . . will serve in the vital post of Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

David M. Kennedy, . . . has been called as Secretary of the Treasury.

The Church Section of the *Deseret News* for January 11, 1969, contained this interesting information:

When all the tumult and the shouting dies and the captains and the kings depart after the inauguration of President-elect Richard M. Nixon in Washington Jan. 20, the success of the whole affair will be credited to five Mormons.

J. Willard Marriot, prominent businessman and active member of the Church, is in overall charge of all inaugural activities. . . .

Standing beside him in the other prominent positions are Robert W. Barker, . . . Mark Evans Austad, radio-TV executive, . . . Jesse R. Smith, a member of the law and legislature committee, . . .

The fifth Church member of the group is Alice Marriott, wife of the inaugural chairman.

The Mormon writer Eugene England gave this information concerning Nixon and the Mormons:

Mormons, it seems, have always been quite taken with Nixon; we have approved of his public emphasis on traditional, conservative values . . . We have liked the way he sounded—moralistic, patriotic, not at all threatening (as McGovern was) to our new and hard-won economic privileges as generally comfortable, middle-class Americans. I certainly liked that kind of talk in 1960 and voted for Nixon despite my intuitive attraction to Kennedy. Utah went strongly for Nixon then and again in 1968 and 1972. In fact, during the election campaign of 1972 I visited Utah and found that even mentioning McGovern among my Mormon friends and family was not a mere political foible, it was an irreligious act!

About that time an article on Nixon appeared in *McCall's* magazine which included a quote, about the kind of people Nixon likes, from Charles W. Colson (then the President's Special Counsel, recently released from prison where he was serving one to three years for his part in violating the files of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist):

He has no use for soft people. He has disciplined, believing people around him. Mormons, Christian Scientists, conservative Jews, conservative Catholics. . . . They have a sense of mission, are believers and are moralistic like he is.

We were then still innocent enough to see that as a compliment to the Church, but can now, I trust, recoil from such an association. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1974, pages 10-11)

There are certainly many honorable Mormons involved in the U.S. Government, but there are some teachings of the Church which could be very dangerous to our freedom. For instance, the Mormon Church teaches absolute obedience to Church leaders. In the ward teacher's message for June 1945 we find these statements:

Any Latter-day Saint who denounces or opposes, whether actively or otherwise, any plan or doctrine advocated by the "prophets, seers, and revelators" of the Church is cultivating the spirit of apostasy. . . . Lucifer . . . wins a great victory when he can get members of the Church to speak against their leaders and to "do their own thinking."

When our leaders speak, the thinking has been done. When they propose a plan—it is God's plan. When they point the way, there is no other which is safe. When they give direction, it should mark the end of controversy. (*Improvement Era*, June 1945, page 354)

Heber C. Kimball, First Councilor to Brigham Young, made these statements:

. . . learn to do as you are told. . . . if you are told by your leader to do a thing, do it, **none of your business whether it is right or wrong.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, page 32)

If you do things according to counsel and they are wrong, the consequences will fall on the heads of those who counseled you, so don't be troubled. (*William Clayton's Journal*, page 334)

It would certainly be easy for a Mormon to extend this type of thinking from Church leaders to government leaders.

Unquestioning obedience is the very thing that led many CIA employees into illegal activities. Tad Szulc gives this information:

An enormous sense of loyalty develops within this elite corps, and this also leads to an unquestioning acceptance of orders from above. Innumerable CIA agents I have known consider themselves in many ways above the laws written for mere mortals. (*Compulsive Spy*, page 33)

In its report on "Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders," the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence gave this information:

WI/ROGUE was an "essentially stateless" soldier of fortune, "a forger and former bank robber" (Inspector General Memo, 3/14/75). The CIA sent him to the Congo after providing him with plastic surgery and a toupee so that Europeans traveling in the Congo would not recognize him. . . . CIA's Africa Division recommended WI/ROGUE as an agent in the following terms:

He is indeed aware of the precepts of right and wrong, but if he is given an assignment which maybe morally wrong in the eyes of the world, but necessary because his case officer ordered him to carry it out, then it is right, and he will dutifully undertake appropriate action for its execution without pangs of conscience. In a word, he can rationalize all actions.

(*Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975, pages 45-46)

The Mormon writer Eugene England seems to see the threat to freedom which comes from unquestioning obedience to authority. He states:

We Latter-day Saints not only declare the Constitution of the United States was divinely inspired but also think of ourselves as standing ready to make a prophesied defense, perhaps even a rescue, of it when it is in particular danger, at some time when it is to "hang by a thread." Our republic has recently passed through one of its three or four most serious Constitutional crises, probably the severest in this century: . . .

By April of 1973 some of those "disciplined, believing" people around the President were starting to desert him; as cracks developed in the "stonewall" that, as it now turns out, he had erected through lies and misuse of his powers, . . . I wanted to trust him, but as I looked and listened I felt strongly, through what I had come to believe was the spirit of discernment, that he was not being truthful, that he was indeed covering up. But later, I was surprised to find that most Mormons I knew had fully believed the President—and were already beginning, at his cue, to turn their anger on the press and then on Congress for building this "third-rate burglary" all out of proportion. . . . But I found, as the Watergate Senate Hearings proceeded, that I could not escape a growing sense that Mitchell and Haldeman and Erlichman were lying; . . . But again I found Mormons generally sticking with the President. . . . I waited, and the evidence began to build as Nixon was forced into a series of strange blunders . . . and finally his own release of tape transcripts last April. Nixon claimed those transcripts would fully clear him, but . . . they not only revealed . . . "deplorable, disgusting, shabby and immoral performances," but by any objective reading indicated the President's complicity in paying "hush money" to keep the Watergate burglars quiet.

With increasing anxiety I found the sentiment of many Mormons I knew remaining with the hard-core twenty-five per cent of Americans who loyally continued to approve of the President and to see his problems as the creation of a left-leaning press and a vindictive Democratic party. But as I visited Utah in December, 1973, and then in April and June of this past year, I

began to see some things in that support less admirable than the patience and charity my friend had earlier counseled. People I love and respect, their extreme loyalty confronted with awkward evidence, began to grope toward a frightening kind of situation ethics that they have rightly condemned in others. I saw them following the line of commentators like William Buckley and Paul Harvey, who now, . . . had fallen into saying that even if Nixon was guilty what he did was not very serious (or was outweighed by the good he had done or justified by the ends he was serving)—and besides it was just what every president and politician has done.

This is the most insidious poison that Nixon has injected into our system—this ethical confusion and relativism—and it perplexes and worries me that many of us in the Church seem to have been infected by it. . . . Perhaps some of the qualities we Mormons value most in ourselves—such as our moral seriousness and our high estimation of all human beings **as potential gods—make us gullible, easily taken in by moralism or legalisms, the appearance rather than the substance.** Perhaps we need to cultivate other, more neglected, Mormon values, like anxious pursuit of the truth and realization that its sources are many and its refinement never-ending—that it is something after all that requires continuous discovery and revelation. . . .

A few Mormons have, of course, played honorable, some even rather important positive roles in this crisis: Judge John Sirica's law clerk, Todd Christopherson, who did much important research for the case, is a Mormon; . . . Congressman Wayne Owens acted and spoke effectively as a member of the House Judiciary Committee. . . . But even these few stalwarts played no crucial role—nor could be expected to; they played out the part history gave them with honor and, yes, with the assistance of their Gospel training and convictions. And that, again, is perhaps the best we should hope for. In fact, it seems that some of the most dangerous people during this time have been those who, with religious intensity, arrogated to themselves—or their leaders—the unique power to “rescue” the country or the Constitution and in tragic pride destroyed the rule of law in order to “save” it. . . .

Despite our being, according to Colson, one of the groups preferred by Nixon, a man of somewhat questionable judgment, it seems, my sorrow and shame is not that we Mormons responded worse than others in this time—we didn't. But there is no evidence that, despite our pretensions and traditions, we responded any better. . . . we are **all** involved, at least potentially, in this failure: We didn't—and don't—speak out early enough or clearly and effectively enough; we too misuse our authority—as community, school, and Church leaders—not grasping our opportunities for moral leadership for pointing to the moral nature of things, but rather keeping silent or speaking only within our own dogmatic political “truths” and loyalties. . . .

And there are some special questions for us to consider in this process:

Were we (and are we) guilty of greater reverence for authority than for truth? Do we tend too easily to transfer our well-founded veneration for our religious leaders over to our political leaders, so that we neglect other Gospel values?

Why didn't our great doctrines and traditions help us be more perceptive and true to principle? Why were we so anxious about avoiding embarrassment to our leaders that we refused to see the evidence until we were clubbed by it—and then still tended to slip off into ethical relativism in order to excuse those leaders? (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1974, pages 10 and 17)

On pages 14-15 of the same article, Eugene England gives this information:

And perhaps my greatest hurt and shame has been that not only have the defenders of the Constitution in the Church seemed few and late, but, besides a BYU student who got caught up in White House political spying . . . a few other **“Elders of**

Israel” seem to have been among those cutting the few threads still holding the Constitution up. One, ironically, was spying on Nixon rather than for him, but he did it with the same unquestioning, over-zealous devotion to the direction and approval of his superiors as did the President's men; using his position as a stenographer for the military liaison unit attached to the National Security Council, and thus sometimes a traveling secretary with Henry Kissinger he stole hundreds of copies of top-secret documents, notably reports by Kissinger for President Nixon on negotiations with China, and passed them on through his superior officers to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In an interview about his actions, this spy for the Pentagon explained, “I've always done whatever I was asked to do with complete dedication and loyalty to the government.”

The reader will notice that Mr. England says that the “stenographer” who served as a “spy for the Pentagon” is an elder in the Mormon Church. The *New York Times* for July 16, 1975, seems to be speaking of the same case when it states:

Similarly, testimony last year before the Senate Armed Services Committee showed how Charles E. Radford, a young Navy yeoman assigned as a National Security Council clerk, kept the Pentagon advised of what Kenry [*sic*] A. Kissinger, now Secretary of State, had in his White House briefcase and waste basket. . . . Although frowned upon officially, the spying on Mr. Kissinger by yeoman Radford was hushed up initially and no formal action was taken against the yeoman or his superiors at the Pentagon. (*New York Times*, July 16, 1975)

Mormonism and Bugging

In the *Salt Lake City Messenger* for January 1975 we gave the following information:

In 1972 a man we had known for a number of years complained that the Apostle Mark E. Petersen was investigating him in order to find evidence that he was out of harmony with the teachings of the Church. After about eight months he was excommunicated from the Church. Later we heard that this man was claiming his telephone was bugged and his private journal stolen at the time he was under investigation. On March 5, 1974, we checked with him and found that he was making these charges. He claimed, in fact, that both his home phone and his phone at the Dugway Proving Ground had been bugged. These charges alarmed us for two reasons: First, the bugging of a U.S. Government phone on which national security matters might be discussed would be a very serious matter. Second, we knew that this man had called us in 1972, and if his phone was wiretapped then any conversations we had with him might have been intercepted also.

After we learned that Mormons like Robert Bennett and Thomas Gregory had been involved in the planning of bugging operations, we became very interested in this man's charges. In June 1974 Attorney General William B. Saxbe called on the American people to report any information they might have about illegal wiretapping. On July 1, 1974, we sent all the material that could be gathered about this alleged wiretapping to the Justice Department. A man who was well informed on legal matters told us that he felt the charges should be investigated but that he doubted the FBI would touch the matter if it involved the Mormon Church. At any rate, the Justice Department acknowledged receiving the material on July 3, 1974. Over two months past and to our knowledge no investigation was begun. On Sept. 15, 1974, we wrote to the Attorney General and asked if he was serious about the matter. Finally, after about three months from the time we first contacted the Justice Department an agent from the FBI visited our house. He said that the Government had

no record of any legal wiretapping of the man, and therefore if there was any wiretapping it had to be illegal. He assured us that a thorough investigation would be made, and that the investigation would begin the next day. After a week had passed, however, we learned that the victim of the alleged wiretapping had still not been interviewed. We called the FBI to find out what they were doing, and within a few hours the man was interviewed. Another month passed and we assumed that the FBI had contacted the important witnesses. To our dismay, however, we learned that by November 5, 1974, some of the most important persons had still not been interviewed. Now, it could be that the FBI is doing something we do not know about, but we cannot help but have the depressing feeling that the claim of a thorough investigation and the few interviews actually made were only for the purpose of pacifying us. . . . the victim of the alleged wiretapping claimed that his wife told him that a counselor to his Stake President had listened to 4 1/2 hours of taped conversation which was supposed to have been derived from the bugging. His wife, however, denies that she said this—the counselor also vigorously denies the allegation. Nevertheless, she does support her husband's story that their phone was monitored and claims to have some important evidence on the subject. This is especially interesting since she is still a loyal member of the Church and does not go along with her husband's religious views. This woman feels that her husband's excommunication was engineered from above, and that local leaders were pressured into taking action against him. She supports her husband's claim that the Apostle Petersen had been gathering information against him. At any rate, unless the FBI makes a good thorough investigation of this matter, we may never know who is telling the truth. (*Salt Lake City Messenger*, January 1975, page 7)

After our *Messenger* was published the Associated Press picked up the story:

Charles R. McKinnon, agent in charge of the Utah FBI office, . . . said that in September, 1974, the FBI "received information alleging that a wiretap occurred at a residence in Dugway. An investigation was conducted and the results were furnished to the Department of Justice."

It was learned that the FBI investigation was prompted by a letter to then Atty. Gen. William Saxbe on July 1, 1974, from Jerald and Sandra Tanner of Salt Lake City, operators of a microfilm service and authors and publishers of several anti-Mormon publications. (*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, March 21, 1975)

The same article stated that "Charles R. McKinnon . . . said the results of that investigation were turned over to the Justice Department and the FBI's involvement is closed. He would not divulge the results of the investigation."

On April 8, 1975, the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* reported that the investigation in this case

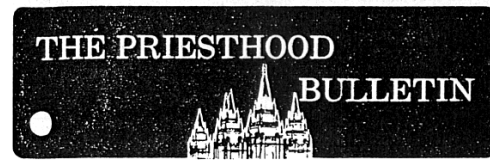
has been re-opened by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Justice Department offices here, the FBI says.

In a letter received by the Associated Press' Salt Lake City bureau Monday, FBI Director Clarence M. Kelly said the case . . . is "a matter currently under investigation by the Salt Lake City office of the FBI." . . . Charles R. McKinnon said on March 20 that the case was closed . . .

But when asked about Kelly's letter Monday, McKinnon said, "The case has been reopened. We've conducted some more interviews."

McKinnon said Monday he could not say what prompted the reopening of the case.

The following day (April 9) the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that Charles R. McKinnon of the FBI said that the "investigation has not revealed validity to the allegations" and that the FBI was not planning any further investigation into the matter. It is interesting to note, however, that the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for May 21,



Vol. 10, No. 3 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Third Quarter 1974

1. Fund-raising Activities in the United States

As a result of recent changes in income tax laws, cer-

3. Tape Recordings in Church Courts

The United States Department of Justice has notified the Church that federal law can be violated by the illegal use of an oral communication in connection with a Church court. The law is violated when anyone willfully and knowingly uses a recorded communication when he knows or has reason to believe that the recording was obtained by interception without the consent of the parties involved in the conversation.

All priesthood authorities are advised to refrain from using any tape-recorded communication unless the party whose conversation was recorded clearly has given express consent in writing to its use.

Photographs from pages 1-2 of *The Priesthood Bulletin*—printed for Mormon priesthood leaders. The reader will notice that item 3 acknowledges that the Justice Dept. has warned the Church against illegal interception of oral communications for use in Church courts.

1975, had reported that the man's "wife, reached by phone . . . confirmed to a newsman that she was aware that the couple's phone had been monitored in 1972."

In the *Salt Lake City Messenger* for January, 1975, we stated:

Although we can make no definite conclusions about this alleged case of wiretapping, the research concerning it has brought to light some important information. After we informed a man who has good connections in the Church of the case, he watched carefully for any material relating to it. Sometime around the middle of November he made a very important discovery in *The Priesthood Bulletin*. This publication is printed by the Mormon Church for priesthood leaders and is not for the general membership of the Church. The important item is found in vol. 10, no. 3, Third Quarter, 1974, page 2, and reads as follows . . . [see photograph above]:

The United States Department of Justice has notified the Church that federal law can be violated by the illegal use of an oral communication in connection with a Church court. The law is violated when anyone willfully and knowingly uses a recorded communication when he knows or has reason to believe that the recording was obtained by interception without the consent of the of the [sic] parties involved in the conversation.

All priesthood authorities are advised to refrain from using any tape-recorded communication unless the party whose conversation was recorded clearly has given express consent in writing to its use.

After reading *The Priesthood Bulletin*, we felt that it must certainly relate to the alleged wiretapping case. We called the FBI and asked if it did relate to this case. The reply we received was very surprising. The FBI claimed the statement in *The Priesthood Bulletin* did not relate to this particular case. It was concerning another matter which the FBI had investigated. From what we could gather it involved the illegal use of a concealed tape recorder to gain evidence against a Church member to be used in a Church court. The FBI had investigated the matter, and the Department of Justice had sent the Church a letter warning them against the illegal interception of oral communications. This whole matter seems to have been handled in secret and probably would not have come to our attention if it had not been for the unusual circumstances we have related. (*Salt Lake City Messenger*, January 1975, page 7)

The Associated Press was able to learn more details concerning this case:

SALT LAKE CITY (AP)—The U.S. Justice Department cautioned the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) last year about illegal use of recorded oral communications in church court excommunication proceedings, U.S. Atty. William J. Lockhart, Salt Lake City and church legal sources confirmed Thursday. . . .

The church legal source said the case which prompted the letter involved the use of a tape recording in an excommunication trial involving a Provo couple and charges of adultery. He said **the husband had apparently placed a tape recorder under the bed of his wife, from whom he was separated, to gather evidence of her activity. The tape recording was supplied to a local bishop for use in the church court proceeding.** The source said the woman filed a complaint with the U.S. attorney.

Lockhart confirmed the letter was prompted by a case involving an “electronic device” and there “may have been a technical violation of the federal statute.”

“Prosecution was declined since we didn’t have enough facts. There was no indication the church had any role until after the fact. There was no doubt that it was done out of personal motivation by an isolated individual,” Lockhart said. (*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, March 21, 1975)

William J. Lockhart, Acting U.S. Attorney, made this comment in a statement which he issued:

. . . this office . . . cautioned L.D.S. leaders after an incident in which a person with **private motives** had unlawfully intercepted communications which he offered for use in an **excommunication proceeding.**

In March of 1975 the FBI became involved in a third investigation because of allegations of bugging at the Mormon Church’s Brigham Young University. The reader will remember that as early as 1967 two BYU students stated that one of the administrators at the school “told them he wished he had had their telephones bugged.” However this may be, the following circumstances led to the investigation in 1975: on February 20, 1975, we wrote a letter to the *New York Times*. In this letter we stated:

Since publishing the last issue of the *Salt Lake City Messenger*, we have had a very interesting conversation with a student at Brigham Young University. The information which he furnished may throw some important light on the warning that the Justice Department sent to the Church on illegal use of recorded conversations. His name is Joseph Morrow and he claims to have been part of the Brigham Young University security force in 1972 or 1973.

Mr. Morrow acknowledged that the BYU security force used electronic surveillance to entrap those who break the rules at BYU. He claims that he was asked to engage in this activity but refused. He told us of three places where bugging devices had been used:

1—A teacher by the name of Jenkins had a bug planted in the light fixture of her class. She became aware of it and asked the administration what right they had to do this. She was told that it was a private institution and that they could do whatever they needed to protect it.

2—Mr. Morrow’s boss on the security force showed him a plug in the wall at the security force’s office and told him that it was in reality a bugging device.

3—A member of the security force carried a bugging device into a party to spy on students. . . .

. . . Mr. Morrow did not . . . show any knowledge of the theft of private papers before excommunication. He did, however, state that the security force worked off campus and had engaged in no knock break-ins. . . . He said that they are deputized by

Utah County and that they carry both handcuffs and a gun. He stated that they definitely operate off campus in Utah County, and that they even spy on students outside of Utah County. Mr. Morrow indicated that he had helped the security force spy on students in Salt Lake City. He said that on weekends the security force would send a crew to Salt Lake. . . . and would go around to the various taverns to see if any BYU cars were parked by them. The BYU cars evidently have a sticker of some sort that is easy to spot. In other words they are registered, and the security force records the number of any car found parked by the taverns in Salt Lake. They also check the places where homosexuals are known to hang out, and then they go up to the University of Utah to see if any of the BYU students are staying in the girls dormitories. Although Mr. Morrow did not say it, I presume that this operation is only a preliminary one to see which students must be watched more closely. . . .

Mr. Morrow told me that he worked under a man by the name of Paul Tanner in the security force. Mr. Tanner must know a great deal about the electronic surveillance which the security force used. Morrow indicated that Tanner has become disillusioned over the whole matter and has also left the force. . . . and that the security force has recently questioned Mr. Morrow concerning the operations he took part in under Tanner.

Mr. Morrow told us that the security force keeps unbelievably detailed records on the students at BYU. He said that they began his own file before he joined the security force. I believe he said the first entry was made when he sent a letter which was a little critical of the BYU’s attitude toward the war to the student newspaper. Sometime later they noted that he had been seen inside an establishment where beer was served—i.e., a pool hall. He said that the security force claims that it only shows these files to the FBI and the CIA, but he feels that information is leaked out at other times.

Mr. Morrow claimed that the security force is currently having a crack down on students they suspect of homosexual behavior. He says they called students out of class and questioned them in the halls, and even in front of girls, concerning this practice. . . . Mr. Morrow said that he really wants to tell the whole story on the BYU security force, but he is a little worried that there might be retaliation if he does. He said that he only has twelve more hours of credit until he graduates.

Since the *New York Times* did not act on this matter, we sent a copy to the Associated Press. On March 22, 1975, the *Salt Lake Tribune* printed an article which contained the following:

PROVO—A former undercover agent for the Brigham Young University security force says **an atmosphere of intrigue, spying, censorship and harassment pervades a large part of campus life at the Mormon church-owned school.**

Joseph ‘Skip’ Morrow, who says he quit the security force in disgust in late 1973, said he personally was asked to take spying assignments which he considered beyond the responsibilities of a law-enforcement agency. . . .

Morrow says he isn’t ready to charge that anything illegal was done, but he says he thinks many activities come close to being illegal. . . .

“The BYU security force pays no attention to the human rights of anyone on this campus—faculty or students. It’s ‘Big Brother’ all the way. They harrass innocent people. Everybody can be under investigation. It’s the atmosphere. They keep files on everybody for any reason. Only God knows what they keep on file on people in this school,” Morrow said.

He said BYU undercover agents have used electronic devices to spy on students both on and off campus, in dormitories, private apartments, married student housing and in the streets. . . .

Morrow said “witch hunts” are conducted especially for drug abusers and homosexuals.

Kelshaw [BYU Security Chief] denied that dormitories or other student housing facilities have been bugged per se, but he did admit that electronic recording devices have been planted **on students in order to gather information on roommates and acquaintances.**

He also admitted that there has been some off-campus surveillance as far away as Salt Lake City.

Kelshaw also acknowledged, as Morrow alleged, that searches of dorms and other student housing units have taken place **without bona fide search warrants**. But Kelshaw said no search has been conducted without verbal permission or a signed statement of acquiescence from the students involved.

Morrow said the statement signed by all students at time of admission to follow the rules and policies of the university is often regarded by security personnel as “permission enough.”

Morrow said he was asked several times **to carry hidden electronic devices**. One such assignment was to look for drugs at an all-male party of students whose wives were at a church “Relief Society” meeting. He said he never completed the assignment.

Brigham Young University President Dallin H. Oaks late Friday, responding to the former undercover agent’s charges, that said “an atmosphere of intrigue, spying, censorship and harassment exists on the BYU campus,” replied, “Nonsense!” . . .

The university leader also said he had nothing to add at this time to BYU security chief Robert Kelshaw’s admission in the article that electronic recording devices have been planted on students in order to gather information on roommates and acquaintances and searches were conducted of dorms or other student housing units . . .

When asked if BYU security agents checked known homosexual haunts looking for BYU students, President Oaks replied that he personally didn’t know of any incidences but he wouldn’t be surprised if security office had made such investigations over a per of time. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 22, 1975)

On March 22, 1975, the Church’s *Deseret News* printed this statement: “Kelshaw said Morrow was never on BYU’s payroll as a security officer and any work he did must have been on volunteer basis.”

The next day the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

PROVO—Brigham Young University President Dallin H. Oaks Saturday said news reports of police surveillance harassment on BYU campus were “unprofessional sensationalism.”

Reports Friday quoted Joseph ‘Skip’ Morrow, a BYU graduate, as saying he voluntarily served briefly as an informant for BYU Security Police about two years ago.

However, BYU Security Chief Robert Kelshaw says Mr. Morrow never was employed by the department. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 23, 1975)

While the statement which the *Tribune* cited about Morrow may be technically correct (i.e., he probably did not receive any wages for his work), there is no question concerning the fact that he was used as an informant by the force. In its issue for March 24, 1975, *Monday Magazine*, a weekly publication of BYU’s pails universe, reported that “Chief Kelshaw said Morrow had ‘voluntarily served as an informant for BYU Security Police briefly about two years ago’ . . .” On March 27, 1975, the *Daily Universe* printed this statement:

The former security officer, Paul Tanner, said . . . that when he was with BYU Security, he supervised a work done by the student who accused security police of harassing “innocent people.”

At any rate, shortly after Morrow’s statements were published, the FBI began an investigation of the charges:

PROVO—Federal Bureau of Investigation agents have contacted a one-time student informant for the Brigham Young University security force for details of the informant’s recent allegations concerning electronic eaves-dropping devices.

The informant, . . . said Tuesday he was visited by two FBI agents Sunday and interviewed for about a half hour. FBI and Justice Department officials refuse to comment, . . .

FBI Agents-in-Charge Charles R. McKinnon of Salt Lake City told the Associated Press Tuesday, “I can neither confirm nor deny there is an investigation.”

Mr. McKinnon referred a reporter to U.S. Atty. William Lockhart of Salt Lake City. Mr. Lockhart said, “I guess our position at this time will be: ‘No Comment.’”

When asked if he could confirm or deny that an investigation exists, Mr. Lockhart repeated, “I can’t discuss the matter at this time.”

Bruce Olson of the Brigham Young University Public Relations Office, . . . declined to answer questions on whether FBI agents have talked with university officials. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 26, 1975)

On March 27, 1975, the BYU’s *Daily Universe* reported the following:

A former member of the BYU Security Department said Wednesday he had been interviewed this week by a Federal Bureau of Investigation agent about campus police practices.

This inquiry by the FBI was related to the claim made last Friday by a former BYU student that electronic eaves-dropping had been used to harass students.

The fo[r]mer Security officer, Paul Tanner, said he spent three hours with a representative of the FBI Tuesday. . . .

During the time he worked on the security force, Tanner said, officers never did anything “unconstitutional, unreasonable or in violation of students’ rights.”

“No rooms were ever tapped, no phones ever bugged or anything like that ever used,” he said. . . .

A faculty member, Dr. Jean Jenkins, said she had also been asked questions by an FBI agent.

Dr. Jenkins, an assistant professor of speech, said Morrow had given the FBI her name because he thought she had information about her office being bugged or her telephone tapped. She said she knew Morrow was a student.

“I don’t know where ‘Skip’ Morrow got his information, but I know he tends to be overly dramatic at times,” she said.

“To my knowledge, my office or telephone has never been bugged,” Dr. Jenkins said she told the FBI. She was interviewed by an agent on Wednesday morning. (*Daily Universe*, March 27, 1975)

On the same day (March 27) the *Salt Lake Tribune* had stated that FBI and Justice Dept. officials “may have a statement” on the investigation “soon.” On the same day the *Daily Universe* reported: “The FBI agent in charge of the Salt Lake City office shed no light on the Provo activity of the agency. Special agent Charles R. McKinnon declined to say anything, but added that he might have a statement to make within a week.” Finally, on May 2, 1975, the *Salt Lake Tribune* printed an article which contained the following:

No evidence of illegal bugging or wiretapping by either Brigham Young University security police or the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in excommunication proceedings has been found, the U.S. attorney for Utah said Thursday.

In the statement itself, obtained from the U.S. Attorney’s office, we find the following:

Until now this office has maintained a “no comment” position regarding these investigations in order to avoid supporting groundless speculation. The public is now entitled to know that investigation has found no violations by B.Y.U.

Our concern about these matters arises from federal criminal laws which prohibit the use of an devices to intercept or record private conversations. The federal law, however,

includes certain exceptions for legitimate law enforcement purposes. Specifically, the law permits electronic interception of conversations where one of the participants—the one carrying the device—has consented to the interception.

This exception to the federal law is, however, subject to certain technical limitations. If a participant's "consent" to the interception had been coerced, then interception may be unlawful. Similarly, the interception may be unlawful if it is beyond the scope of legitimate law enforcement and for the purpose of violating Constitutional rights or doing other injury.

With respect to the allegations of "bugging" by B.Y.U. Security police, the F.B.I. has pursued all leads by any person who has suggested unlawful interceptions. No one has supplied any information indicating the B.Y.U.'s use of interception devices has gone beyond the scope of legitimate law enforcement or is different from the practices of other local enforcement agencies. There is no evidence that information acquired by consented interceptions is used for purposes other than law enforcement. In the absence of any evidence of a violation, investigation of the B.Y.U. allegations will be closed.

The reader will notice that there is no question about the fact that the BYU Security Police were using bugging devices. According to the *New York Times* for June 24, 1975, even the possession of these devices in Utah is illegal;

WASHINGTON, June 23 (AP)—Several manufacturers sell wiretapping and bugging devices to police departments in states where possession of such devices . . . is **illegal**, even for the police, according to data acquired by the National Wiretap Commission. . . .

Federal law permits the police to own the equipment if they are permitted to use it by state law. However, at least 19 states do not have such authorizing laws. . . . An analysis of the records shows that nearly half of all the devices sold for use in wiretapping phones or bugging rooms go to police in states where possession of such devices is illegal.

The states are Alabama, California, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, **Utah**, West Virginia and Wyoming. (*New York Times*, June 24, 1975)

One controversy which arose over the BYU affair was whether the security police actually recorded the conversations that were bugged. Joseph Morrow believes that they did; in fact, he told us later that he had learned that they had been recording conversations in a motel room just a few days before the Associated Press came out with their exposé. BYU Security Chief Robert Kelshaw emphatically denied that conversations were actually recorded:

In response to a question in a Friday interview, Chief Kelshaw said security had **at times used self-contained body microphones** on officers or informants in investigations. Conversations can be monitored for some distance for the safety of the investigating officer or potential victims, but is **not recorded**, he continued. . . . It is the only electronic surveillance device owned or used by BYU, "and we have not had occasion to use even this device for the last 12 months," he added.

"The news reports erroneously stated that the university was using tape recorders on students for surveillance," Chief Kelshaw said. "Tape recorders, bugging or wiretapping" never have been used by his department and are strictly forbidden by university policy, he added. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 23, 1975)

Swen Nielson, who was in charge of BYU Security before Kelshaw took the position, disagreed with his successor. On March 26, 1975, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

Former security Chief Swan Nielsen, now Provo police chief, also confirmed use of the devices and reportedly told the campus newspaper the devices were capable of relaying communications **for possible recording elsewhere**.

Chief Nielsen was quoted as saying nothing illegal was ever done.

BYU's own publication *Monday Magazine* for March 24, 1975, says that Swan Nielsen admitted that at least some recordings had been made:

Provo Police Chief Swen Nielsen, who was formerly head of BYU Security, said, however, that conversations between Security officers and suspected drug dealers had been recorded in the past. He said such recordings are commonly made by law enforcement agencies in some cases, then used as evidence in court.

Nielsen said it would have been possible to use the body microphone to record other conversations, but that his department never used the device in anything other than a criminal matter—chiefly drug problems—while he headed Security.

Another difference of opinion was concerning the surveillance by BYU security in Salt Lake City. In *Monday Magazine* for March 24, 1975, we find the following:

Nielsen was chief of BYU Security during the period when Morrow served as an informant. . . .

Morrow had also charged that he was asked one Friday night to go to Salt Lake City, where he was to check for BYU parking permits on cars gathered around specific bars. The bars, he said, were known homosexual haunts. Morrow claimed that when [he] expressed dismay over the assignment, to a Security officer, he was told **it was a regular weekend practice**.

Nielsen said, however, that Security personnel were never assigned by him to check parking permits on cars in Salt Lake City. He said Security might have done so had it received information or a complaint that members of the BYU community were involved in a criminal activity at a specific location, but that the situation never occurred.

The reader will remember that when President Oaks was asked if BYU Security checked "known homosexual haunts," he "replied that he personally didn't know of any incidences but he wouldn't be surprised if security office had made such investigations over a period of time" (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 22, 1975).

When we talked to Mr. Morrow in early 1975 he assured us that this actually did take place and emphatically affirmed that he had actually taken part in it. It is interesting to note that after Mr. Morrow's story appeared a man who owned a bar in Salt Lake City said over a radio station that BYU Security police used to actually come inside his establishment to check to see if BYU students were present. He finally eliminated this practice by making each person who came in the bar place an order.

In 1974, before the controversy over the BYU Security police erupted, BYU's *Monday Magazine* published an interesting article by Rand Taylor. We extract the following from that article:

BYU's cops are officially labeled Security Officers. There is probably more misinformation and misunderstanding about Security and its role on campus than any other organization. To get the facts, this reporter spent two months with BYU Security Officers. By special permission of Security Chief Swan Nielsen I was able to participate in all their activities including pursuits, surveillance, interrogation, and arrests. I saw what goes on first hand. Here are the facts:

BYU Security Officers are cops in every sense of the word. They are accredited and authorized police officers by the State of Utah and possess the **authority to function anywhere in Utah County as police officers**. Although most of their work is done on campus they can and do **make arrests anywhere in the state**. One case I observed included an arrest in Salt Lake City and a subsequent conviction in Provo City courts.

Full-time Security Officers must pass the Utah State Police Academy at the University of Utah just the same as any other law enforcement officer in the state. . . . They can and do handle traffic problems, burglary, theft, narcotics, homosexuality, rape, vandalism, mob violence, and murder. They are not merely night-watchmen or building guards. They are cops.

FACT: BYU Security Officers are **armed** with .38 caliber revolvers. They know how to use them. They are not loaded with rubber bullets. The vehicles are also equipped with an impressive array of alternative weapons that may be used in tight situations.

FACT: BYU Security is equipped with a wide assortment of modern technological equipment to aid in crime prevention. They have one of the most powerful communications systems in the state. They have radar equipped vehicles, **sophisticated recording and monitoring devices both audio and video**, a complete weapons system, a direct link to state and national crime records, data, and information, and a 24-hour staff. . . .

FACT: Although they are the most visible, the traffic officers represent only one half of the team. The investigators carry out the assignments not usually seen by the public. This includes the narcotics team, **the plain-clothes men, the “detective” division of Security**. They keep a low profile: but are busily engaged.

Fact: BYU Security makes use of confidential informers just as every other police department. Several cases were “busted” wide open by informers while I was there. . . . The identity of some of these informers would surprise you. (*Monday Magazine*, January 14, 1974)

The reader will notice that this article admits that the BYU Security uses “sophisticated recording and monitoring devices (both audio and video).” We have heard of two cases where homosexuals have been secretly filmed in compromising situations at BYU. One man has claimed he was filmed in a parked car.

In early April, 1976, we received an envelope which had only the letters “B.Y.U.” written in the space for the return address. (We do not know whether it really came from BYU, but it was mailed from Provo on April 7.) At any rate, it contained clippings from a publication called *The Advocate* for August 13, 1975. While this publication seems to endorse homosexuality, it does contain some information relevant to our study of the BYU Security Police. One article contains a story “reconstructed from interviews with seven students who were victims of BYU witch hunts during the last two years.” It tells that the Security Police extended their surveillance all the way to Salt Lake City and suggested that they were using bugging devices—both these allegations were later confirmed:

“I’ve got to talk to you about a very touchy subject,” the campus security officer began, after ushering David into what looked and felt like an interrogation room. “Your name has been turned in as a suspected homosexual.”. . .

David hesitated. Three years ago, when he was being interviewed for a Mormon missionary assignment, he had admitted having a homosexual experience. He was sure that was still a part of his church records and assumed the officer knew. He had not been allowed to go on a mission, but managed, by promising to repent and to refrain from any further sexual activity, to get accepted to Brigham Young University. . . .

“Your name has been given to us by several persons with similar problems,” the officer replied. “They’ve indicated you’re a practicing homosexual. They think you need help. . . .

“Our officers have also reported to me that you have been entering and leaving the homosexual bars in Salt Lake City,”

the officer continued. “You know BYU students should never be in such places. Do illicit sexual activities go on in those bars?”

“Haven’t your officers checked that out too?” David asked.

The officer bolted up and left the room. David wondered if this interview was being recorded. It was rumored on campus that Security was using electronic devices to eavesdrop on students.

In a few minutes the officer returned. He looked calm and fatherly once again. . . .

“I’m going to leave the room,” he said. “While I’m gone, I want you to write down the names of all those with whom you’ve had sexual relations, all those you know are actively involved in homosexuality, and all those you suspect might have a similar problem.”. . .

He left the room. David shook his head. He still couldn’t believe this was happening in 1975.

Ten minutes later, the officer with his fatherly smile returned. “Have you written down some names?” he asked.

“No I haven’t,” David replied, “and I’m not going to. I think it’s wrong.

“Furthermore,” David said, “I’ve made a decision. I plan on finishing this semester. Finals are a week away. But I don’t intend on returning to BYU.

“And if I have any difficulty associated with taking my finals or having my records transferred, I’ll find a lawyer and file suit against you and Brigham Young University.”. . . He left the security office and, after finals, left BYU. (*The Advocate*, August 13, 1975)

An article published in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on March 17, 1976, shows that BYU Security Police were used for surveillance of homosexuals near Pleasant Grove (about 8 miles from the BYU campus), and that the men arrested there had no connection with BYU:

PLEASANT GROVE—Four men have been fined for lewdness in connection to a series of arrests made by Utah County lawmen over alleged illicit use of the rest area facilities on I-15 near here. . . .

Persons had complained of being propositioned “and grabbed at” when they stopped to use rest area facilities near Pleasant Grove on I-15, the sheriff said. . . .

“We found quite a number of cars whose drivers were frequenting the place and discovered that a lot of these people were known for homosexual activities,” Sheriff Holley said.

Although officers from Brigham Young University Campus Security Division were used in undercover work, none of the arrested persons had affiliation with the school, a BYU security division spokesman said. . . .

Sheriff Holley said the campus police were used because he was “shorthanded” and needed the extra men. BYU campus police are special deputies for Utah County Sheriff’s Department. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 17, 1976)

The BYU has probably had a real influence on law enforcement in the city of Provo. On March 24, 1975, BYU’s *Monday Magazine* reported that “Provo Police Chief Swen Nielsen, . . . was formerly head of BYU Security. . . .”

Ernest L. Wilkinson, the former president of BYU who took responsibility for the spy-ring on campus, wrote the following in a letter dated September 21, 1951:

It has been reported to me that there is a kind of “liquor dive” . . . between Center and First North.

I think it would be a most excellent thing if the students [themselves], as a part of their civic responsibility attempted, . . . to check on “dives” of this kind and assist police . . . in eliminating them. You might talk this over . . . and have them make some [observations] so that we can then approach the proper officials to have [the?] place either fined or closed.

This letter was written many years ago, but the BYU's *Daily Universe* reported the following in 1976:

Two BYU students and another former student, have worked as undercover agents to assist the Utah County Sheriff's Office in a crackdown on the sale of alcoholic beverages to minors.

One of the students was the corrections coordinator at the county jail and a master's degree candidate at BYU in criminology, the other a 19-year-old coed. Also involved was a former BYU coed, also 19. . . .

According to Sgt. Jerry Scott of the sheriff's office, the students' efforts resulted in the arrest of the owner of a local tavern, the Silver Dollar, . . . Elden 'Andy' Anderson, . . . was charged with selling beer to minors, selling after hours, and advertising light beer. . . .

Scott added that action will be sought to close the tavern permanently.

The girls became involved in the case at the request of Scott, and their names are withheld by request. . . .

The BYU coed had worked in the past with the Provo Police as an undercover agent in drug traffic. . . .

Arrangements were made for the women to meet at the courthouse and go to the tavern. The deputy-student was to accompany them as a precautionary measure, Scott said.

The object was for the two girls, both minors, to see if the bar would sell them alcoholic beverages.

Since neither of them drink, they said a bit of maneuvering was required to get rid of the beer once they'd bought it.

After sitting at a table, talking for a while, they went to the rest room and poured their beers down the sink. They then filled the bottles with water and returned to the table, they said. (*Daily Universe*, April 14, 1976)

During the course of looking into the accusations of bugging in the Mormon Church we ran into a very strange story. Since we do not have investigative powers like the FBI, we are unable to definitely test its authenticity. At any rate, some time after Mr. Morrow told us about the excesses of the BYU Security police with regard to their crack down on homosexuals, a man contacted us and told us he had some important information. Among other things, he claimed that in the early 1970s he found that a former BYU student who was then attending the University of Utah was spying on some of his friends. In an attempt to find out what the former BYU student was up to, the man did some detective work of his own. He found that the student was secretly bugging people who were engaging in homosexual behavior. The activities were recorded on tapes which the man kept in his apartment. Also, the spy had in his possession equipment for making recordings from a telephone. The most startling thing the man had, however, was a notebook which contained a record he had kept of his spying activities while he was at BYU. Although it did not extend to the time when the man came to the University of Utah, it had some very revealing material concerning his spying activities at BYU. It told of picking up "bugs" and "clothing bugs" from the Security Police which were used to monitor the activities of various individuals. The most startling entry, however, told of taking the tapes of the Halloween party to Apostle Mark E. Petersen. According to the man who told us the story, the notebook revealed that the BYU spy was working as much for the general authorities of the Church—i.e., Mark E. Petersen and Spencer W. Kimball—as he was for the BYU Security Police.

At any rate, the entries were so revealing that the man removed the notebook from the apartment where it had been kept. From that time it was stored in a safe-deposit vault. After he made this confession to us, we asked him why he did not bring the notebook to light. He said that since the notebook mentioned the names of those

who were being spied on, it could cause them serious problems. He later indicated that he had consulted a lawyer and felt he would not have any legal problems if he owned up to the theft, but that the release of the notebook would put those whose names appeared in it in a very embarrassing position. We were of course in agreement that the names of the victims of the spying should not be released. We asked him, however, if he could photocopy the notebook but cover over or cut out the names of the victims. He agreed to this plan, but when the time came to turn over the photocopies he said he needed more time to think it over. He claimed that he had been talking to some of those whose names appeared in the notebooks and asked them if they would like to come forward and tell of their experiences with the BYU spy. Later two men accosted him and told him that he had better mind his own business. After this he received a mysterious phone call warning him that something might happen to his car. Shortly after this, he had trouble with his car when he went to leave a parking lot. He found that his brake line had been cut and three lug bolts had been removed or broken off from one wheel. He interpreted this as a real threat on his life and indicated that because of this he did not think that it would be wise to turn over the photocopies at that time. At first we wondered if those who were responsible for the bugging operations had made this obvious threat on his life. This interpretation, however, turned out to be incorrect. The man later claimed that it was the victims of the alleged surveillance who had taken this extreme action because they feared that in an investigation their names might become public. They had engineered the plot so that he would not actually get the car moving before he would discover something was wrong. Although they were not really trying to kill him, they felt this would intimidate him so that he would not turn over the photocopies.

We felt that there are at least three different ways of looking at this story about the Mormon spy and the notebook:

First, it might be possible that the notebook does not really exist and that the whole story is a fabrication from beginning to end. There are certainly people who are capable of making up stories like this.

Second, it could be that only part of the story is true. For instance, it is possible there is a notebook but that it is not really as damaging as the man claimed.

Third, it could be that the whole story is true but that fear of repercussions from the exposure of the contents of the notebook prevented the man from bringing it forth. In a letter mailed on November 24, 1975, this man stated:

I am sorry that I haven't gotten in touch with you, . . . this letter is not easy for me to write. I think I had better lay a few facts out on the table in order to show the personal reasons behind my reluctance in providing you with a copy of the material I have concerning Church spying on homosexuals. 1. First of all it (the whole subject) hits at a very personal level since I am gay and disclouser of that us[u]ally stops all intelegent conversation between most people and myself. Fear from that and non-acceptance and non-understanding played a key part in raising my concern. 2. Though I had NO involvement on a personal or sexuall level with Mr. _____, I had several close friends who did, who as a result had been hassled enough. I felt a strong need to protect their private affairs. 3. When I decided to finally go to . . . pick up the material and make it available, I set off trouble that was the straw that broke the camel's back . . . I was to learn that the trouble I had with the car and elsewhere were caused out of fear within and not from without. . . . I[t] was fear on his [i.e., a friend's] part that my actions in regards to the material might cause some public awar[e]ness and stigma over a very private and personal life style that triggered actions causing me to panic.

I have the material and even though I have been effected on a very personal level over not only the material, but the basic nature of the material to the point that I feel I should have kept my mouth shut. I still feel that injustices will continue unless I let the material go. I am also afraid that you might react adversely to things I have said in this letter, . . . I am going to make the material available to you, very soon, but you must understand that I have suffered hard because of it, . . . I hope you can and will understand.

Although we still have not received photocopies of the notebook, this letter does give a plausible reason why it has not been brought to light. The man may fear that it could reopen the bugging investigations by the FBI and bring reprisals from both sides.

However this may be, the reader will notice that we have not included the name of the alleged spy in our extracts from this letter. The name is in the original letter, however, and we have had two contacts with him—a telephone call on January 5, 1976, and a meeting with him at our house on January 6, 1976. We found that this man is very deeply involved in Mormonism. He claims, in fact, that he has a testimony that transcends all facts.

As to the charges made against him, he was surprisingly frank—especially when he learned how much we already knew. While he denied some of the charges, he admitted others and provided an astonishing amount of new information. He admitted, for instance, that he had engaged in homosexual practices at BYU and the University of Utah. He had also been involved in drugs. He said, however, that he has since been rehabilitated and now has a wife and children. He claimed that his problem with homosexuality went back prior to the time he entered BYU. It was on his mission for the Church that he first began to realize that he had homosexual tendencies. He confessed this to Apostle Spencer W. Kimball. He found Kimball to be a very kind and helpful counselor on the subject. Unfortunately, however, he was not able to overcome the problem, and when he entered BYU he became involved with a group of homosexuals who were also attending school there. One day he was approached by an official from the administration at BYU who told him they were aware of his homosexual conduct and that he would have to leave. The man decided that he did not want to be punished while others involved might escape detection, so for a brief period he became an informant for Apostle Spencer W. Kimball—Kimball has since become President of the Mormon Church. It is not too surprising that Kimball would be deeply involved in this type of activity. The reader may remember that Colonel Elmer Thomas was in charge of the Church's Law Observance and Enforcement Committee and that he made reports on voting records of legislative members to "Apostle Spencer Kimball" (*Political Dynamiting*, page 81).

The fact that Kimball was involved as a counselor to those with homosexual problems was brought out in a clipping from *The Advocate*:

SALT LAKE CITY, UT—It was a year of suicides, a rather harsh introduction to the gay society I discovered in 1965, hidden beneath Salt Lake City's placid sheen of righteousness. . . .

Those five young men I met in 1965 were all in their early 20's. They were Mormons. Three of them had recently returned from missionary service for the Mormon Church. They were all students at Brigham Young University (BYU), . . .

Months prior to their suicides, four of them had been trapped in the on-going homosexual **witch hunts at BYU** and subjected to the Church's disciplinary program. The fifth had sought help on his own by contacting Church authorities and admitting his problem to them. As an initial step in their "counseling," each of them was interviewed by the counselor for homosexual problems at that time, Spencer W. Kimball, now president and prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The interviews with Kimball reeked of moral blackmail. . . . Their continued education at BYU and their precious membership in the Mormon church were made contingent upon their complete repentance and **their willingness to provide names** of other gay people. As they described it, the names seemed most important. . . . one by one, each was expelled from BYU, excommunicated from the Church, their families informed through Church channels of the "problem." One by one they discovered their student records contained this sorry piece of information, causing difficulties in attempts to transfer to other schools or gain employment; one by one, they took their lives. (*The Advocate*, August 13, 1975)

At any rate, the man we interviewed decided he would help Spencer W. Kimball by providing names of homosexuals at BYU. He was staying in the room of a man who had an address book containing names of homosexuals on campus. When an opportune time came, he removed the address book from a drawer in the man's room. He took it from the premises, made a typed copy and returned it without being detected. The typed copy was then presented to Spencer W. Kimball, who used it to ferret out other homosexuals at BYU. We were especially interested in this episode because of the fact that some of those who lean toward "Fundamentalists" doctrines claim that their private journals were taken just before they were excommunicated. For instance, the man who felt he was being wiretapped told us that his journal was stolen just before his excommunication. Nothing else was missing. He told us that there were three other cases he knew of where private journals were taken prior to excommunication. He felt that it was the work of professionals. In one case in Provo a man had left his journal in a room which he locked. He also locked the door of his house when he went out. When he returned both doors were still locked but the journal was missing. We understand that the FBI took the names of the people whose journals were stolen, but an agent told us that they could not investigate because stealing journals is not a federal offense. However this may be, we felt that the BYU spy's story about the address book sounded so similar to the other cases that we questioned him at great length about the matter. He denied having any knowledge of the other thefts and insisted he returned the address book after he had made a typed copy. He admitted that Kimball used the copy he made in tracking down other homosexuals at BYU, but he said that Kimball did not have foreknowledge that he was going to take the address book.

One of the charges against the BYU spy was that when he came to the University of Utah he had too much money for the work he was doing. This led to the belief that he was secretly receiving funds from the Church. We were told that his journal is silent concerning this matter, but that it does not cover the period after he left BYU. When we were interviewing this man, a very interesting thing came out. He said that Kimball had misspelled his name on a travelers' check he had given to him. The check was for \$50.00 and came from Kimball's own personal funds. While this could be interpreted as a payment for spying services, the BYU informant maintained that it was given as a gift out of the goodness of Kimball's heart because he was in financial difficulty at the time.

As to the charge that he delivered tapes of the Halloween party to the Apostle Mark E. Petersen, he completely denied this accusation. He said that he had never worked for BYU Security Police, had never used bugging equipment and had not delivered any tapes to Mark E. Petersen. Strangely enough, however, he did admit attending the "famous" Halloween party sometime in the late 1980s. This was an extremely wild party involving both sex and drugs. It was held at a motel off campus. He claimed that it would have been impossible for him to have bugged this party because he knew nothing about bugging or recording equipment. We did not feel that this had any real bearing on the matter because the Security Police could take care of the technicalities. All he would

have to do would be to plant the bug. He claimed that this would have been impossible because those at the party were not wearing clothes. We did not feel that this was a valid excuse because he must have been wearing clothes at the time he arrived at the party.

From other evidence which we have presented it seems logical to believe that BYU Security Police would have taken a real interest in such a party. Since it involved both homosexual behavior and drugs it is also logical to believe that recordings might be made. The reader will remember that Swen Nielsen, formerly head of BYU Security, admitted that some conversations “had been recorded in the past” (*Monday Magazine*, March 24, 1975). The fact that the party took place in a motel off campus would probably not make too much difference to the BYU Security Police. Joseph Morrow claimed that they were bugging a motel room in 1975, and the *Salt Lake Tribune* for March 17, 1976, says they were used for surveillance of homosexuals near Pleasant Grove.

Two men who have done research into the bugging which went on at BYU have told us that Mark E. Petersen and Spencer W. Kimball were responsible for the crackdown on homosexuals. We have no way of knowing whether this is correct, but, as we have already pointed out, the Apostle Petersen has a long record of ferreting out the “cultists.” In 1944 he stated that men “have been appointed by the Church to search out the cultists, turning over such information as they gather to the prosecution . . .” As recently as July 26, 1974, he wrote a letter to a stake president in which he stated:

We have recently learned that a new little offshoot from some of the polygamous cults have started in Provo. They call themselves the “Johnson’s Group.” They wear old style garments . . . They definitely preach and attempt to practice plural marriage.

I am writing to each of you presidents in the Provo area to ask if you will quietly **make some inquiries** concerning this group. . . . Any way you could help me on this will be greatly appreciated.

Some of the “Fundamentalists” have accused Mark E. Petersen of bugging, but so far no one has been able to prove this charge. The BYU informant claimed that he knew nothing of spying activities directed against the “Fundamentalists.”

When this man was asked whether he had a journal which was stolen from him, he replied that this was untrue. Later, however, he admitted that he had kept a journal at BYU. He claimed that he still had it in his possession after he left BYU, but that when his mother wanted to read it he decided that it must be destroyed. We pointed out to this man that his story was beginning to sound very much like that told by his adversary. He agreed with him on two very critical points: 1. He had kept a journal at BYU. 2. The journal was no longer in his possession. The only point they differed on was whether it had been stolen or destroyed. The fact that this man did not come right out at the first and tell us that he had kept a journal at BYU seemed to undermine the credibility of his story.

Sometime later the man who claimed to have the journal called us and discussed the matter at greater length. At this time he spoke of the very explosive nature of the contents of this journal, indicating that it was his understanding that a man had already committed suicide because of the spying operation which was covered in the journal. During the course of the conversation he gave us some information which led us to believe that he really did have the journal in his possession. We were discussing the BYU informer’s first meeting with Kimball when he realized he had a problem. He said that this is recorded in the journal. Then he proceeded to tell what the journal says about an incident that happened during the interview. We recognized immediately that what he related was almost identical to what the BYU informer had told us about the meeting. It was just too close to be a coincidence.

Although it is possible that the informer had told the same story to him years before, it seems more reasonable to believe that it came from the journal itself.

The man who claims to have the journal was very surprised to learn that the BYU informant claimed he did not know Mark E. Petersen. He said that although the journal did contain some material about meeting with Kimball, the informer appeared to be working mainly for Petersen. He was also surprised that the informant claimed he did not work with the BYU Security Police. He said that the journal definitely said that he was working with them and refers to them as “campus police.”

As to the charge that the BYU informer delivered the tapes of the Halloween party to the Apostle Petersen, he affirmed again that this was in the journal and said that it appeared under the date of November 1.

The man who claims to have the journal would have us believe the following about the man from BYU: He worked as an informer for the BYU Security Police and the Apostles Petersen and Kimball. He was deeply involved in electronic surveillance and took the tapes of a Halloween party to Apostle Petersen. He performed numerous other spying activities at BYU. In his journal he told of picking up the “bugs” for these operations from the “campus police.” After doing all in his power to rid BYU of homosexuals, he came to the University of Utah. He began spying on students at the U. of U. in the same way as he did at BYU. He actually engaged in homosexual practices with these students and made tape recordings of these activities. He also had in his possession equipment for making tape recordings from a telephone. During this period he had so much money that those who knew him suspected he was receiving funds from the Church. This certainly is a very ugly picture. If these charges are all true, then we are faced with a conspiracy which must rank with the great prostitution conspiracy of 1885.

The picture by the BYU spy himself is somewhat different. He admits that he briefly played the role of an informant at BYU, but he claims that he did not work with the BYU Security Police nor Apostle Petersen. He does admit removing an address book from a man’s drawer, and presenting Spencer W Kimball with a typed copy. He did attend the “famous” Halloween party, but he did not take the tapes of it to Mark E. Petersen. He admits that he continued to engage in homosexual practices after he came to the U. of U. but he says he was not spying for the Church and did not engage in electronic surveillance. He did receive a check for \$50.00 from Kimball, but it was given as a gift and not as payment for spying activities.

As we indicated earlier, we do not have investigative powers like the FBI. Therefore, we are unable to determine exactly what the truth is about this matter. We publish it in the hope that someone who may have knowledge of this or any other incidents involving electronic surveillance will come forth with the information.

As the reader may well imagine, the BYU informant was very upset over this whole matter. He begged us not to reveal his identity because he would lose his job and his position in the Church. He showed signs of being under great stress and said that he would not be able to sleep at night for fear of what we might print. Under the circumstances, we decided that it would not be wise to use his name in this book. We felt that it would serve no useful purpose, would ruin the man and could even drive him to suicide. There are some important details about this man which we cannot use here because they would lead to the uncovering of his identity.

Conclusion

We do not want the reader to misunderstand our feelings with regard to the matters which we have discussed in this book. We feel that the Mormon Church has every right to excommunicate

people who do not live up to the standards of the Church. The Church's stand against homosexuality, polygamy, drunkenness and pornography seems commendable and in harmony with the Bible. The thing that concerns us, however, is the abuse of Church power in trying to enforce the rules. The Church's Law observance and Enforcement Committee clearly went beyond the law in its attempt

to establish righteousness. We do not feel that a church should take the law into its own hands, nor do we feel that it is right to try to make church and state one.

For more information on the history and doctrines of the Mormon Church we recommend our book *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?*



APPENDIX

A. New Light on Mormon-C.I.A. Relationship

On page 55 of this book we discussed the question as to whether the CIA had used Mormon missionaries. We quoted Patrick J. McGarvey, who used to work for the CIA, as saying: “Deep cover knows few bounds. . . . A friend found himself back in the Mormon mission in Hong Kong after his training” (*C.I.A., The Myth and the Madness*, page 57).

The Mormon Church issued a statement which emphatically denied that its missionaries were used by the CIA. On April 1, 1976, however, the University of Utah’s *Daily Utah Chronicle* reported that former CIA agent Victor Marchetti claimed that the CIA had used some Mormon missionaries as agents:

Marchetti, first ASUU Challenge Speaker of spring quarter . . . opened his speech by saying, “I see a former CIA officer in the front row.”

Statements by Marchetti referring to investigations by his co-author John Marks, who found, according to Marchetti, that the CIA had used some LDS missionaries as agents, brought a denial from this other “former CIA officer.”

“I never found any evidence that the CIA ever attempted to recruit Mormon missionaries,” the man who said he had worked in the clandestine operations division of the CIA and was himself a former Mormon missionary, claimed during the questioning period following Marchetti’s speech. (*Daily Utah Chronicle*, April 1, 1976)

Just as we were preparing the last part of this book some important information came to light which could have serious implications with regard to the relationship of the Mormon Church and the CIA. This is the discovery that James A. Everett was in reality a secret agent for the CIA. Mr. Everett had previously denied any relationship to the CIA, and in a letter dated April 1, 1976, he stated: “It appears you’re having a lot of fun with the issue of Mormons, Hughes & the C.I.A. I frankly think you’re reading in a lot of conspiracy where none really exists, but it will be fun for me to see how you weave it all together.” The very same day that we received Mr. Everett’s letter, we found the following in a book by J. Anthony Lukas:

. . . when Mullen established its “own” office in Stockholm in 1962, it was staffed by two CIA men—James Everett and Jack Kindschi—who pretended to be working on a study for General Foods, one of Mullen’s earliest clients, while they were actually debriefing Soviet and Chinese defectors. After scoring a major coup—the detection of a ranking KGB official—the Stockholm office closed in 1967. Kindschi moved for a time to Mexico City, again under Mullen cover, while Everett established a Mullen office in Amsterdam. In 1970 Mullen opened still another foreign office, this time in Singapore. Another CIA agent—Arthur Hochberg—ran this operation. . . . there is evidence that

Mullen & Company may have served a similar role at home. (*Nightmare: The Underside of the Nixon Years*, New York, 1976, page 38)

Sometime after reading this we had a telephone conversation with a noted authority on the CIA. He told us that we could not use his name, but that he could confirm that James A. Everett had worked under “deep cover” for the CIA from 1960 to 1972. On May 29, 1976, we decided that we would confront Mr. Everett again with this important question. This time we had the evidence and Mr. Everett frankly confessed that he had been under “deep cover” while he was with the Mullen Co. and that this fact had come out in testimony before the Nedzi committee. The reader may remember that Mr. Everett first wrote to us in 1965 from the Mullen Co. in Sweden. In this letter he requested copies of our publication on Mormonism (see photograph of the top of this letter on page 14 of this book). After we found out that Howard Hunt worked for the Mullen Co. and that it was owned by a Mormon, Robert Bennett, we contacted Mr. Everett in Missouri. Mr. Everett then provided us with a great deal of information concerning the relationship of the Mullen Co. and the Mormon Church (see pages 14-15). This information seems even more significant now that we know Mr. Everett was working for the CIA.

Although James A. Everett’s job at the Mullen Co. involved handling some public relations work for the Utah Mormon Church, he does not belong to that church. He is actually a member of an offshoot known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Mr. Everett first went to Europe as a missionary for his Church. Later he worked for the Mullen Co. in Europe. When we learned of his involvement with the CIA it was only natural for us to wonder if he was under “deep cover” at the time he was serving as a missionary. He replied that this was not the case; he had joined the CIA after his mission was over. We asked Mr. Everett when he had received his CIA training. He said that his missionary experience had lasted from 1954 to 1958, at which time he left Europe to return to the United States. He entered the University of Chicago and then received his CIA training. After this he returned to Europe as an employee of a trading firm and subsequently went to work with the Mullen Co. After his CIA training he served only as a lay member of the Reorganized Church. He does acknowledge that the Reorganized Church sometimes met in the Mullen offices in Europe, but he claims that this was only for lack of a place to meet and had nothing to do with the CIA. The church also met at his home and at other locations. In the letter dated January 20, James A. Everett said that he is “a good friend of James D. Wardle and a Seventy in the Reorganized Church . . .” Mr. Wardle, a well-known member of the Reorganized Church, spoke highly of Mr. Everett. He was not aware of his CIA involvement but he felt that it could have nothing to do with his missionary work for the church. He felt certain that the Reorganized Church would not allow CIA agents to pose as missionaries.

The strange thing about Mr. Everett is that he ended up working for a company which handled public relations for the Mormon Church and which was eventually owned by a Mormon. It would seem that this would be a very hard assignment for a Seventy and former missionary for the Reorganized Church. The two churches have been at enmity for over 100 years. The fact that Robert Bennett was a real supporter of the CIA, however, probably helped to make Mr. Everett's work easier. Although Mr. Everett is a devout member of the Reorganized Church, he is from Utah and has become accustomed to living and working with members of the Mormon Church. We were rather surprised though to learn that James Everett actually graduated from BYU before he went on his mission for the Reorganized Church. (As we have already stated, BYU is a Mormon school which seems to maintain a very close relationship with the CIA). Mr. Everett, of course, claims that he was not recruited to the CIA until after he returned from his mission. At any rate, his CIA relationship probably helped him get along with Utah Mormons who were interested in many of the same goals.

Now that we know that Mr. Everett was under "deep cover" for the CIA, we have to take a second look at his statement: "I returned from Europe on the night of the break-in, i.e. 17th June 1972" (Letter dated October 15, 1974; see page 31 of this book). Since Mr. Everett was a secret agent of the CIA at this time, his return close to the time of the Watergate break-in raises a question: could his return on the "17th" of June have anything to do with the CIA trying to protect its interests in the investigation that was to follow? A literal reading of this letter would indicate that Mr. Everett returned sometime after the break-in took place. The break-in was actually discovered at 2:30 a.m. on June 17, 1972. The night of the 17th would be many hours later. For instance, if Mr. Everett had returned at 9:30 p.m. on the 17th, this would have been 19 hours after the break-in. We thought that perhaps Mr. Everett really meant the night of the 16th. When we asked him about this in our telephone conversation of May 29, 1976, he became confused and could not remember whether he had arrived before or after the burglary. Now, we do not mean to imply that Mr. Everett had anything to do with the Watergate break-in, but if he did arrive after the burglary was discovered, there is a possibility that the CIA rushed him back to Washington to help cover up a very serious situation at the Mullen Co. It is interesting to note that "Douglas Caddy, a lawyer retained by five suspects arrested . . . worked in one of Bennett's offices while he was liaison between Bennett's firm and General Foods, a major client of the firm" (*Washington Post*, June 22, 1972). In our telephone conversation with Mr. Everett, he admitted that he also worked on the General Foods account in Europe, but he claimed that he never met Douglas Caddy. Mr. Everett denies that his return had anything to do with the Watergate break-in and claims that it was planned some six months before. We do know that the CIA did destroy some relevant evidence concerning the Watergate break-in, but we do not have anything showing that Mr. Everett was involved in the cover-up.

We think the most significant thing about James A. Everett's confession that he was a secret agent for the CIA is the new light it throws on Robert R. Mullen's book about the Mormons, *The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today*. This is the book which the Mormon newspaper, *Deseret News*, called "one of the most complete, objective and friendly treatments of the Mormon story ever done by an 'outsider'" (*Deseret News*, Church Section, September 24, 1966). The reader will remember that Robert Mullen wrote this book to promote the interests of the Mormon Church (see pages 12-13 of this book for more information about this matter). After we found that the Mullen Co. provided cover for the CIA, we began to suspect that Mr. Mullen's book might have some connection to the CIA. Since the investigation by the Senate

Select Committee on Intelligence, the connection between the CIA and the publishing world has become known. The following is taken from the *New York Times*, April 27, 1976:

The committee has found that the Central Intelligence Agency attaches a particular importance to book publishing activities as a form of covert propaganda. A former officer in the Clandestine Service stated that books are "the most important weapon of strategic (long-range) propaganda." Prior to 1967, the Central Intelligence Agency sponsored, subsidized or produced over 1,000 books: approximately 25 percent of them in English. In 1961 alone, the C.I.A. published or subsidized over 200 books, ranging from books on African safaris and wildlife to translations of Machiavelli's "The Prince" . . .

The committee found that an important number of the books actually produced by the Central Intelligence Agency were reviewed and marketed in the United States.

The reader will note that "In 1967 alone, the CIA published or subsidized over 200 books, . . ." The Mullen book on the Mormons appeared in the fall of 1966, and was printed by "Doubleday & Company." It is interesting to note that the Senate Select Committee found that another book "actually written by C.I.A. agents" was unwittingly published by Doubleday:

The "Penkovsky papers" a book purported to be based on the reports of an executed Soviet spy, was actually written by C.I.A. agents. It was published in the United States by Doubleday and Company in 1964 and became a commercial success. The report said that the publisher did not know of the agency's involvement. (*New York Times*, April 27, 1976)

This, of course, does not prove that the CIA had anything to do with Mullen's book about the Mormons, but when we remember that Mullen provided cover for the CIA, we cannot help but be a little suspicious of any book which came from his public relations firm. Now, when we add to this the fact that James A. Everett worked on foreign editions of the book on the Mormons the whole thing becomes even more intriguing. We became aware of Mr. Everett's involvement with the Mullen book when we first talked to him on the telephone on October 7, 1974. At that time this fact had no special meaning other than it seemed strange that a member of the Reorganized Church would be working on a book for the Utah Mormons. Now that we learn that Mr. Everett was really a secret agent of the CIA, this takes on new significance. Why would a CIA spy be working on a book for the Mormons. Mr. Everett explains that this work was just part of his cover and that it had no connection with the CIA. In other words, he needed a legitimate project to work on so that he could cover up his secret activities. This could very well be true, but then how can we be certain that it was not also a part of his CIA role? How do we know where to draw the line?

In the telephone conversation of October 7, 1974, we thought that Mr. Everett said the Mormons helped subsidize the translation of Mullen's book into about 10 different languages (see our letter on page 14), but in the conversation of May 29, 1976, Mr. Everett mentioned only about half a dozen. However this may be, in his letter dated October 15, 1974, Mr. Everett said that "In some instances translation work was done by the Mormon Church . . ."

In our conversation of May 29, 1976, Mr. Everett made a very revealing statement concerning his work on the Mullen book. He said that before the various translations were made, it was necessary to make certain changes to make the book fit each country and that he helped make these revisions. In other words, he had a part in the decision making process as to what should appear in each translation of the book. These revisions were then approved by Mr. Mullen.

The situation we have, then, is this: Robert Mullen, whose company provided cover for the CIA and helped to prepare literature for groups connected with the CIA, wrote a book promoting the interests of the Mormon Church. It was published by a company which had previously been unwittingly used by the CIA to print a book written by CIA agents. After Mr. Mullen's book about the Mormons appeared in English, it was translated into foreign languages and a secret agent of the CIA, James A. Everett, helped to make revisions in the text to fit the various countries. Because of these strange circumstances, we cannot help but raise a question as to whether the CIA has some interest in the programs of the Mormon Church. We have previously shown that some former CIA agents believe that the Mormon missionary system is sometimes used to provide cover. Mr. Everett claims that this is "a lot of hogwash." He indicated that the CIA would never use such young men. We, of course, agree that most missionaries would be too young, but there are certainly many that are old enough. Then, too, there are mission presidents who serve for a longer period. At any rate, Mr. Everett informed us that because of his vast experience as an undercover agent of the CIA he absolutely knew that the CIA did not use Mormon missionaries. We reminded him, however, that he had previously disclaimed having any experience with the CIA. He admitted that he had previously deceived us about his CIA involvement, but said that he was under obligation to the U.S. Government not to reveal it. Now that we had the evidence, however, he could no longer hide the fact. At this point, it was only natural for us to wonder if he might change his story on the use of Mormon missionaries if more evidence were to become available.

Mr. Mullen's book on the Mormons has a great deal of material on the missionary system. He seems to be preparing the world for a great missionary thrust:

Among the Mormons, all is well.

As The Church . . . enters the last third of the twentieth century, its membership stands at an all-time high. Its growth is the fastest in its history. Theological dissents are virtually nonexistent. . . . the Mormon missionary system has found ways of increasing effectiveness.

As this is written, 12,000 Mormon missionaries are proselytizing in sixty-five countries. (*The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today*, page 4)

Some people think that the genealogical program of the Mormon Church might be used in some way by the CIA. We have no evidence that this is the case, but it is obvious that this program which microfilms records from many countries would be a very good place for a CIA agent under "deep cover." In any case, Mr. Mullen gives this information about this program:

In Little Cottonwood Canyon, . . . there is solid face of granite from which was taken much of the stone used in the Temple. . . . one confronts six large concrete portals resembling entrances to a railroad tunnel. If you walk into the main portal and proceed about 150 feet, by which time you are under 800 feet of solid granite, you come upon a cross tunnel, or room, some 402 feet long and fifty feet wide. . . . This vast room is the central office for the genealogy records.

You see three huge banklike vault doors. One, you are told, weighs fifteen tons and could withstand almost any known blast. Each of these vault doors leads to a 350-foot long room, extending even farther back into the granite mountain. . . .

The vaults have their own self-contained power plant, their own emergency supplies, fresh air filters, and other equipment to endure even a severe atomic attack, . . . the vaults . . . are in daily service as the principal storage area for the 250 million or more feet of microfilm in the Church's genealogical library . . .

Here are the master records of as much of humanity as can be garnered from the vital statistics of some twenty nations around the world. The most recent acquisition, for example, are microfilms of every birth and death in New Zealand since records were kept. . . .

Since the development of microfilming, representatives of the Church have roamed the world, . . . They have offered to make two sets of microfilm records—one to be left with the local people for their use and safekeeping; the other to be filed in the vaults at Little Cottonwood, . . . This is a generous offer which few refuse. **It is said to be the world's most extensive recording effort.** (*The Latter-day Saints*, pages 193-194)

Some people who are prone to look for conspiracy seem to feel that the genealogical program is virtually run by the CIA. We do not think this could be possible. Genealogical research has been a part of the doctrine of the Mormon Church almost since its beginning. Mormons were working on genealogical research long before the CIA came into existence. Nevertheless, we can certainly see how such a program would be of interest to the CIA.

Mr. Mullen also has quite a bit to say about the Mormon Church's educational system. Some of the Church's schools are in areas where the CIA has a real interest. Mr. Mullen informs us, for instance, that the Church has two schools "in Chile" (*Ibid.*, page 265). So far we do not have any evidence that the CIA is involved in the Church's educational system, but on page 55 of this book we did quote the following from the *Daily Universe*, February 23, 1971: "Dr. Neal A. Maxwell, Church commissioner of education . . . served for two years with the United States Central Intelligence Agency." We also published this fact in the *Salt Lake City Messenger* in April 1976. Just after our article appeared, the *Salt Lake Tribune*, printed the following:

Dr. Jeffrey R. Holland . . . has been named commissioner of education for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. . . .

Dr. Holland replaces Elder Neal A. Maxwell, assistant to the Council of the Twelve Apostles, who served as commissioner since August, 1970. . . .

Elder Maxwell was released in order to give full attention to his increasing worldwide responsibilities as a General Authority, President Kimball said. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, April 17, 1976)

Many people felt that Robert Mullen's book was written to counter Wallace Turner's book *The Mormon Establishment* or his series of articles which appeared earlier in the *New York Times*. Mr. Turner had stressed the great wealth of the Church. In the "Author's Foreword" to his book, Mr. Mullen talks of "the world's press" giving "a somewhat overblown idea of the Church's business activities, . . ." Mr. Everett denied there was any connection between the two books, but he did say that Mr. Mullen's book grew out of an attempt to counter criticism of the Church. He also stated in his letter of October 15, 1974, that Earl Minderman of the Mullen Company had been "answering critical media reports. . . ."

Since the book *The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today* was written by a man who prepared material for organizations linked to the CIA, and, since a secret agent worked on foreign editions, we cannot help but suspect that it is in some way connected with the interests of the CIA. We feel that this whole matter needs further investigation to determine if there has been a secret attempt to link church and state through the CIA.

In discussing the Mormon-CIA relationship it is interesting to note that Mormon Senator Jake Garn has been named "one of the seven Republican members of the Senate's new blue ribbon select committee on intelligence activities" (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 21, 1976). The same article goes on to show that Senator Garn is not very concerned about the CIA's abuse of power:

“The Frank Church Committee hearings clearly indicated that intelligence abuses have been overrated,” said Sen. Garn. “Still, they showed that there had been abuses and unwarranted action that points to need for some control and oversight.

“I see my main function on the committee as attempting to limit the oversight to a proper range and doing all that needs to be done to see our intelligence-gathering capability is not destroyed.”

Sen. Garn’s appointment was announced by Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania.

Besides providing many men for the CIA and FBI, the Mormon Church also furnishes many officers for the military. The *Provo Herald* printed this interesting information on August 13, 1975:

The Summer graduates will bring the total commissioned through the Army ROTC program at BYU since it was started to a total of 546, with 86 receiving commissions this academic year.

This makes BYU the third largest source of officers for the U.S. Army . . . according to Col. Bartley E. Day, professor of military science at BYU.

The Air Force ROTC unit has commissioned 68 this year and a total of 1255 officers since it began in 1951.

B. Assassination and the Secret Army

In this book we have shown that Howard Hunt worked for Robert Bennett at the Mullen Co. and that the Watergate burglars met and discussed plans at Mr. Bennett’s company. Evidence has recently come to light to show that at least some of these men who met at the Mullen Co. were involved in assassination plots and that they were very dangerous. Robert Bennett’s testimony would indicate that he was oblivious to the danger. BYU spy Thomas Gregory tried to warn Robert Bennett that Howard Hunt was a dangerous man, but Bennett claims he did not believe it. In the *Las Vegas Sun* for May 19, 1975, we read:

Two days prior to the Watergate break-in, Gregory developed “moral uneasiness” about his job, but he feared quitting and sought Bennett’s advice.

In his testimony before the Nedzi committee, Bennett quotes the student as saying, “Mr. Hunt is a powerful man. I am afraid of what might happen to me if I should quit.”

Bennett says he responded, “Come on, Tommy, you’re exaggerating things. This is just Howard. He works for me. This is not a great, powerful man.”

Howard Hunt admitted that he kept a pistol in his office at the Mullen Co., but he claimed that it was to protect the secretaries from a rapist: “. . . I brought my wife’s .25 caliber Browning pistol to my Mullen & Company office and kept it there, letting the secretaries know of its presence” (*Undercover*, pages 206-207). This pistol was later discovered in Hunt’s safe at the White House.

Howard Hunt’s executive session testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, December 18, 1973, page 51, gives some indication of how dangerous Hunt really was. Speaking of the hotel room where he was staying when the Watergate break-in took place, Hunt stated: “If we had thought, of course, that that matter was going to become what it did, we would have stayed there. Probably I would even have set the room afire. In retrospect, that would have been the thing to do.”

Howard Hunt has even been accused of being involved in a plot to assassinate columnist Jack Anderson:

WASHINGTON—E. Howard Hunt Jr. told associates after the Watergate break-in that he was ordered in December, 1971 or January, 1972 to assassinate syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, according to reliable sources. . . .

His alleged plan involved the use of a poison to be obtained from a former CIA physician. The poison was a variety that would leave no trace during routine medical examination or autopsy. . . .

Hunt told the sources that Anderson was to be assassinated because he was publishing sensitive national security information . . . Through his lawyer, Hunt said he would have no comment on the allegation that he planned to assassinate Anderson. . . .

The alleged Anderson assassination plan has no connection to a previously reported incident in which Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy apparently thought he had been ordered to kill Anderson. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, September 21, 1975)

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for November 8, 1975, printed this statement:

The subcommittee, headed by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, also heard sworn testimony that appeared to confirm news reports of a 1972 scheme involving convicted Watergate burglars E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy in a short-lived plot to drug syndicated columnist Jack Anderson.

The same day the *New York Times* reported:

In earlier testimony today, Dr. Edward M. Gnnn [*sic*], a former C.I.A. medical officer, said he was approached in March 1972 by E. Howard Hunt Jr. and G. Gordon Liddy, who wanted to obtain mind-distorting drugs from him.

Although Hunt was working for the Mullen Co. at the time of the alleged assassination plot, we have no evidence to show that Bennett was aware of it.

G. Gordon Liddy was another Watergate conspirator who met at the Mullen Co. Liddy seems to have been as dangerous as Hunt. Jeb Stuart Magruder related the following:

Liddy particularly liked to impress women. Rob Odle used to tell the story of his wife’s first meeting with Liddy:

“I came out of a meeting and Lydia was waiting for me and she said, ‘Rob, I just met the most amazing man. He showed me how you could kill someone with a pencil!’ It was Liddy, of course.”

Liddy’s method of killing someone with a pencil, incidentally, involves bracing the eraser end of the pencil in your palm and ramming the sharp end into the victim’s neck, just above the Adam’s apple. He recommends that the pencil be freshly sharpened.

Liddy had some larger-than-life campaign posters, with a picture of himself shining a police spotlight at a crowd of angry blacks, that he would give to any woman who’d take one. And there was the time in February, when he appeared at the office with his hand bandaged. I ignored the bandage at first, but after he’d worn it a week I finally asked what the problem was.

“I was meeting with some important contacts,” Liddy whispered in his most conspiratorial manner. “I had to show them I could take it. So I held my hand to a blow-torch. That’s what you call mind over matter—mental discipline.”

“Are you serious?” I asked.

“Sure I am,” Liddy said. “I burned my nerve endings. But I never flinched, and it was worth it.”

The true story of the bandaged hand leaked out later. Liddy had held his hand over a burning candle to impress some friends. . . .

Liddy once remarked to me:

“Jeb, did you know I have a gun that will shoot underwater?” I thought about that one a minute.

“Gordon, when are you going to be shooting anybody underwater?”

"I might have to sometime," he said. "You never know what might happen." . . .

One rainy day, Liddy came to my office to discuss a legal matter, and when we finished, I grumbled about some columns Jack Anderson had been writing that were embarrassing to the Administration.

"Boy, it'd be nice if we could get rid of that guy," I commented.

Liddy left, and a moment later Bob Reisner, my administrative assistant, burst in with a look of horror on his face.

"Did you tell Liddy to kill Jack Anderson?" he asked.

"What?"

"Liddy just rushed past my desk and said you'd told him to rub out Jack Anderson." . . .

Reisner found Liddy before he left the building, fortunately.

"Gordon," I told him. "I was just using a figure of speech, about getting rid of Anderson."

"Well, you'd better watch that," Liddy said with annoyance. "When you give me an order like that, I carry it out."

Another time, Liddy told me that when he was with the FBI he'd been part of a secret "hit squad" and that he'd once killed a man. As Liddy told the story, he'd hidden in a garage until the victim arrived, overpowered him put a rope around his neck, and hanged him from a rafter.

"Then you know what happened?" Liddy said, shaking his head. "I found out he was the wrong guy. I've always felt bad about that."

Liddy may have made the story up, but he told it convincingly and I believed him. I'd never known anyone like him, and I was beginning to wish I'd never met him. (*An American Life: One Man's Road to Watergate*, New York, 1974, pages 174-175)

Liddy was the man who prepared the original "Gemstone" plan—the plan which led to the Watergate affair. Jeb Stuart Magruder shows that the original plan included the use of prostitutes and kidnapping but that Attorney General John Mitchell wanted a plan that was less expensive:

. . . Liddy unwrapped a package that contained six or seven professionally prepared charts, each with a code word at the top . . .

None of us was prepared for the nature of the plan that Liddy was outlining with such self-assurance. It was, as John Dean said later, mind boggling. It included mugging squads, kidnapping, sabotage, the use of prostitutes for political blackmail, break-ins to obtain and photograph documents, and various forms of electronic surveillance and wiretapping.

The mugging squads, he explained, could rough up hostile demonstrators. The kidnapping squads could seize radical leaders . . . and hold them in a "safe house" in Mexico during the Republican Convention . . . He explained in more detail some of the elements of his plan. For example, he explained that the proposed kidnap squads would seize radicals, infect them with some drug that would render them unconscious, and carry them unconscious to the "safe house" in Mexico. "They'd never even know who had them or where they were," he promised.

But no one shared his enthusiasm for this aspect of his plan. . . . and Liddy agreed that he would present a new version that would eliminate the call girls and kidnapping squads and concentrate more on the wiretapping. (*Ibid.*, pages 178-179)

In his secret testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, December 18, 1973, page 62, Howard Hunt related that Jack Stewart refused to join "our organization" because Bernard Barker, another Watergate conspirator who met at the Mullen Co., had given him "some highly exaggerated and frightening information, allegations having to do with possible kidnaping and killing people, and that Jack quite reasonably became frightened, and decided to have nothing further to do with us."

The *New York Times* for June 27, 1975, carried an article which contained the following information:

SAN DIEGO, June 26—The American Civil Liberties Union completed today a report for Senate investigators alleging that the Federal Bureau of Investigation recruited a band of right-wing terrorists and supplied them with money and weapons to attack young anti-war demonstrators.

The 5,000-word account prepared for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence contains what A.C.L.U. lawyers described as "newly established evidence" purportedly linking the F.B.I. to at least two assassination plots here.

The lawyers, . . . said the allegations . . . document in detail the F.B.I.'s sponsorship in 1971 and 1972 of a San Diego group calling itself "the Secret Army Organization."

Told of the A.C.L.U.'s assertions, a spokesman for the F.B.I. said that the bureau had had "nothing to do" with the establishment of the so-called secret army organization, . . .

The group's acts of terrorism, allegedly carried out in San Diego on instructions from the F.B.I., range from espionage, vandalism and mail theft to bombings, assassination plots and shootings, according to the report. . . .

Miss Tharp was wounded on Jan. 6, 1972, when shots were fired into Mr. Bohmer's Ocean Beach home here from an automobile carrying several members of the so-called Secret Army. . . .

The A.C.L.U. report says that John Raspberry, whom it identified as an F.B.I. informer, has admitted that, in the winter of 1971-1972, the bureau instructed him to assassinate Mr. Bohmer, but that the attempt was never carried out. . . .

Another F.B.I.-directed plot to assassinate Mr. Bohmer was allegedly set up in April, 1972, . . . Mr. Bohmer and Linco Bueno, a member of the Brown Berets, a left-wing Chicano organization, were to be lured across the Mexican border to a desolate area near Tijuana. There, they were to be killed by the Mexican Federal police for possession of a cache of smuggled weapons.

The plot was abandoned, Mr. Young reported, presumably when the Republican convention was moved to Miami Beach.

. . . The F.B.I.'s creation of the Secret Army Organization here, as a successor to the paramilitary Minutemen broken up by the local authorities in 1970, was said by the A.C.L.U. to have been an extension of earlier espionage activities by the bureau, including a 1969 operation with the code name "Inlet." . . .

The A.C.L.U. alleged that when the F.B.I. set up the Secret Army Organization here in 1971, in advance of the Republican convention, it chose as one of its two leaders Howard B. Godfrey, a former San Diego fireman, elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and, for three years, an F.B.I. informer in the Minutemen.

Mr. Godfrey testified at the 1973 trial of another member of the Secret Army Organization who was convicted of bombing a motion picture theater that **the FBI furnished him or paid for \$10,000 to \$20,000 worth of weapons and explosives for the so-called Secret Army Organization** over a period of five years. As a member of the Minutemen and later the Secret Army Organization, he said he was paid about \$250 a month by the bureau.

In addition to the F.B.I.'s direct control over the Secret Army, **the White House allegedly maintained contact with the group through Donald H Segretti**, who was later convicted for directing a campaign of political espionage and sabotage against the Democrats in 1972.

Mr. Segretti was quoted by the A.C.L.U. as having told the Secret Army that any potential troublemakers at the 1972 Republican convention would be "gotten rid of" an apparent reference to the so-called Liddy plan alluded to during the Senate Watergate hearings, whereby the leaders of anti-Nixon elements would be kidnapped and taken to Mexico.

The plan was devised by G. Gordon Liddy, former counsel of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, who was convicted of conspiracy, burglary and wiretapping in the Watergate case. (*New York Times*, June 27, 1975)

It is interesting to note that it is alleged that Donald Segretti was supposed to have been in contact with the "Secret Army." The reader may remember that the records of the Mullen Co. revealed a number of telephone calls from Howard Hunt to Segretti. In the Senate Watergate hearings it was revealed that Donald Segretti's notebook tells that he spent about three days in Salt Lake City in March 1972 (see *Hearings*, Book 10, page 4333). We do not know for what purpose Segretti made this mysterious visit. In an article published in *People and the Pursuit of Truth*, August 1975, page 8, we find the following:

Louis Tackwood, ex-agent-provocateur of the L.A.P.D. . . . alleged that Donald Segretti (also known as Sims) had met with right-wing FBI agent Howard Godfrey, the commander of San Diego's Secret Army Organization. The SAO was a terrorist group responsible for several bombings and murder attempts against anti-war activists. Tackwood also alleged that Watergaters Hunt and McCord met L.A. police intelligence officers during the week of the break-in at the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

The *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, page 271, shows that on one occasion "Howard Hunt directed Segretti to set up a demonstration which would subsequently become violent and would be blamed on the McGovern campaign. The Watergate break-in, however, put an end to these plans."

Peter Biskind gives this information about the alleged meeting of Godfrey and Segretti in California:

What were the goals of the agents who ran Godfrey? The fact that the Bureau went to such lengths to protect Godfrey suggests that more may have been at stake than a few playful fire-bombings or some potshots at local militants. One theory is that the SAO was intended to play an important role in a carefully orchestrated plot to swing the election to Nixon or, if you're given to apocalyptic speculations, cancel the elections altogether. Louis Tackwood, a former undercover agent for the Los Angeles Police Department . . . told . . . of plans to provoke a small-scale war at the convention. . . . The scenario included an attack by several hundred uniformed members of Gerald Smith's Nazi Party, bombs smuggled into the Convention Center in hollowed-out furniture and the death of several high-ranking Republicans. The Democrats would be tied to the left-wing participants in the melee. . . . Nixon, at the very least, would have won by a landslide. At worst, he would have declared a state of emergency and instituted martial law.

Since the convention was moved to Miami, we may never know if this scenario is fact or fancy. We do know that Donald Segretti, using the name Don Simms, payed a number of visits to San Diego. Former Minuteman Jerry Lee Busch has stated that on at least two occasions in the summer of 1971, Segretti conferred with Godfrey in Busch's presence at the Gunsmoke Ranch, where SAO members retired for weekend target practice. Busch claims that after these meetings with Segretti, Godfrey came up with his "bizarre ideas to 'take care of those Red punks' if the convention were held in San Diego." (*New Times*, January 9, 1976, page 25)

The *San Diego Union* gives this interesting information:

A source with firsthand knowledge of the SAO, who asked not to be identified because he fears disclosure will jeopardize

his life, . . . described SAO practice sessions with explosives and attempts to disrupt antiwar demonstrations at San Diego State University. Godfrey, according to the source, was determined to throw bombs in the midst of young people gathered at the protest meetings, but didn't. . . .

Godfrey led SAO members in firebombing autos parked outside residences of known activists, the source said. One incident the source said he participated in occurred outside the residence of antiwar activist Peter Bohmer, an instructor in economics at San Diego State.

"We both placed incendiary devices under the car," he said.

According to the source, who admitted he was a member of the SAO, Godfrey told the group that the SAO's first major battle would come during the 1972 Republican National Convention, then planned there.

He said Godfrey made kidnap assignments for SAO members. . . .

"My target was to be Jerry Rubin," the source said, referring to the nationally known activist . . .

Among early proposals for handling demonstrators, estimated to number more than 100,000 persons, was a proposal to utilize Fiesta Island in Mission Bay as a campground.

"Godfrey also talked about bombing the demonstrators and he had a way to load a remote-controlled airplane with white phosphorous and fly it over Fiesta Island," the source recalled. "Then, Godfrey said he would unload the stuff and wipe them out." . . .

The former SAO member identified, from news photos, Donald Segretti, the White House employee who perpetrated so-called "dirty tricks" against rivals of the President in 1972, as one person with whom Godfrey plotted.

He said Segretti and Godfrey met and talked at an East County resort known as the Gunsmoke Ranch in Harbison Canyon.

Alden Willis, owner of the ranch, acknowledged Godfrey had visited the site and often was accompanied by persons who were unfamiliar. But he could not identify Segretti.

However, another person Willis did identify as being a frequent visitor was a man named Jerry Busch, . . .

On Feb. 12, 1974, Busch filed a declaration in Superior Court in San Diego.

It said: "On at least two occasions, to the best of my knowledge, I was present when Godfrey conferred with Segretti . . . in San Diego County during the summer of 1971 . . ."

Also in the declaration, Busch said: "I subsequently had occasion to be present when Godfrey suggested that someone should do something about the Yippies (a group of demonstrators headed by Jerry Rubin), such as dropping in a few mortar rounds on them or flying a plane load of white phosphorous over them." . . .

Segretti, 34, who lives in Los Angeles, has denied visiting San Diego to conduct espionage against demonstrators. . . .

Victor Sherman, his attorney, said his client will not submit to an interview.

"It is utter nonsense," Sherman said in response to a question about a possible meeting between Segretti and Godfrey. "Mr. Segretti never contacted anyone in San Diego about helping him with convention plans." . . . a San Diego banker contradicts the story.

"I was contacted by Mr. Segretti. We met through a mutual friend whom I don't care to name," said Bill Hitchcock, an executive with United California Bank in San Diego.

Hitchcock said besides three face-to-face meetings—two in San Diego—one in Los Angeles—there were numerous phone conversations between himself and Segretti.

"He asked me if I would like to work for the White House," Hitchcock said. "I was flattered."

But, after Segretti outlined his plan, Hitchcock said he turned the young attorney down. "He wanted me to gather information on local demonstrators and try to gather information on local demonstrators and try to get wind of planned demonstrations," he said. . . .

William Francis Yakopec, . . . said Godfrey wanted kidnap activist Tom Hayden.

He said Godfrey's plan called for Harden to be taken to Mexico until after the convention.

"If anything happened to Hayden," Yakopec said during an interview at the California Medical Facility at Vacaville, "Godfrey said that would even be better." (*San Diego Union*, January 17, 1976)

On January 11, 1976, the *San Diego Union* gave this information about Godfrey and the Secret Army Organization:

Besides attempts to capitalize on discord between two black groups in San Diego . . . the FBI got involved in another case here.

It created a group known as the Secret Army Organization (SAO) which waged protracted, guerrilla warfare against antiwar protesters in San Diego for more than one year, from 1971 to 1972. . . .

A San Diego fireman named Howard Berry Godfrey cofounded the gun-toting, vigilante group, paid its expenses, recruited members, supplied them with explosives and pinpointed targets, he has testified.

Godfrey also revealed to a grand jury here in July, 1972, that he had another calling, more secret than his soldiering with the Secret Army Organization.

He was a paid undercover informant for the FBI. . . .

First, he joined the San Diego area Minutemen. As a member, he learned how to explode homemade bombs and participated in Minutemen missions that sometimes involved violence. . . .

He helped form the SAO in 1971, Godfrey said, because the FBI directed him to. The FBI wanted him planted in an extremist group. . . .

Armed with FBI funds and the bureau's endorsement, Godfrey led the SAO for more than a year . . . in a series of illegal, often violent activities that included:

- Burglarizing homes and offices of antiwar protesters.
- Bombing and ransacking offices of activist organizations, including a San Diego underground newspaper.
- Firebombings of automobiles.
- Stockpiling and transferring illegal weapons and explosives.
- Issuing death threats against local activists and political figures.
- Drawing battle plans to disrupt demonstrations at the 1972 Republican National Convention, then planned for San Diego.
- Plotting to kidnap radical demonstrators.
- Shooting a young San Diego woman. (*San Diego Union*, January 11, 1976)

Peter Biskind wrote the following:

It seems Godfrey had played a considerably more active part in the SAO than his role of informant required. . . . Godfrey himself estimated that the FBI had furnished or paid for \$10,000 to \$20,000 worth of weapons and explosives over a five-year period. . . .

Godfrey . . . initiated a single-handed reign of terror. Operating within a charmed circle of FBI protection, he committed an alarming number of criminal acts for which he has never been prosecuted. From his own admissions in open court and the testimony of his former friends in the SAO, it has been possible to piece together at least a partial profile of his activities. They ranged from petty harassment, such as obscene phone calls . . . fire-bombing cars (usually he soaked the upholstery with gasoline and tossed in a flare); malicious destruction of

property . . . Also by his own admission, he supplied the gun used in the Tharp shooting and drove the getaway car, which, under California law, makes him equally liable to a charge of attempted murder. Godfrey suppressed evidence of the crime by giving Hoover's gun to Special Agent Christiansen, who then hid it. At various times Godfrey possessed and sold illegal explosives, supplying Yakopec with the incendiary materials to blow up the Guild Theater. . . .

Despite the staggering number of crimes Godfrey committed, the FBI prevented the San Diego D.A.'s office from prosecuting him. According to Logan McKechnie of the D.A.'s office, "The FBI drew up a wall of protection" around Godfrey. . . .

The facts of the SAO case point inescapably to the conclusion that Howard Berry Godfrey was much more than an informer, much more, even, than a provocateur. As Jerry Lynn Davis put it, "Without Berry, there never would have been any SAO. He was the man to see to get explosives, illegal arms. The FBI used us to do things they couldn't do." (*New Times*, January 9, 1976)

The *San Diego Union* for January 16, 1976, carried this information:

Huffman, chief deputy district attorney, carried the prosecution against Yakopec in the lead-off trial against the SAO.

He acknowledged that he relied upon Godfrey's testimony to convict Yakopec. He also indicated that Godfrey probably acted improperly during his involvement with the SAO.

"Remember, this man Godfrey was not our informant, **he was the FBI's informant**," Huffman said in a recent interview. "Our informants are neither encouraged nor permitted to act the way Godfrey apparently was." . . . another law enforcement official who did not hesitate to discuss Godfrey and the SAO was Rex I. Shroder, former director of the FBI office here. . . .

He insisted that informants like Godfrey are necessary tools in FBI intelligence gathering efforts.

"Sometimes we hire people who might be considered less than acceptable by the public," he said. "But we use them to try to save lives—not take them."

Said Shroder, "Still, you've got to understand, we don't go looking for undercover informants in church."

That reference apparently was an oversight on Howard Berry Godfrey who was recruited for the FBI by an official in the Mormon Church here. (*San Diego Union*, January 16, 1976)

The statement that Godfrey was "recruited for the FBI by an official in the Mormon Church here" called for a correction in the issue of January 27, 1976:

. . . the choice of words—even when carefully practiced—can lead to difficulty. In the article appearing on January 12, we quoted the FBI informant and activist, Howard Berry Godfrey, as saying that he was "introduced to the FBI by J. Clifford Wallace, currently a judge for the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals." The concluding paragraph of a subsequent article published on January 16 stated: ". . . Howard Berry Godfrey . . . was recruited for the FBI by an official in the Mormon Church here."

The January 12 article provided another, and as it turns out correct, version which refuted Godfrey's allegation concerning his introduction to the FBI. . . .

The culprit word here is "recruited." Judge Wallace did not recruit Godfrey for FBI service.

The article of January 12 pointed out the Judge Wallace, as the leader of a church group, was asked to counsel a member about a problem. This was his church duty. His advice that **Godfrey should report to the FBI any alleged illegal activities** was proper; he would have been judged to be at fault had he advised otherwise. That Godfrey subsequently **entered into illegal activities**, of course, had nothing whatever to do with Judge Wallace, then a respected attorney and now a distinguished jurist who was recently on the select list of possible nominees to the United States Supreme Court.

The Church Section of the *Deseret News* for June 17, 1972, page 11, said that J. Clifford Wallace is a "faithful" Latter-day Saint and Regional Representative of the Twelve.

Today, J. Clifford Wallace, 42, is a United States District Court judge in San Diego and a Regional Representative of the Twelve in the Burbank, Calif. and Tucson, Ariz. regions.

The January 12, 1976, issue of the *San Diego Union* gave this information about Godfrey's contact with Wallace:

In 1967, when Godfrey consulted him, Wallace worked as an attorney for a San Diego law firm. Several years later, he was appointed a federal judge by President Nixon. His name also appeared on the list of candidates to succeed Justice William O. Douglas to the U.S. Supreme Court.

"I believe Berry Godfrey came to me for religious reasons," Wallace said during an interview. . . .

Like Godfrey, Wallace is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. At the time of their meeting, Wallace was a stake president in the Mormon Church.

He recalls the incident.

"He came to me and said he had been contacted by some people, members of the Minutemen, I believe, who asked him to take part in some illegal activities," said Wallace. "Berry Godfrey was troubled and wanted my advice.

"I suggested that he talk to the FBI and called someone in the bureau here whom I had known," he said.

Wallace refused to reveal what he and Godfrey discussed during their first meeting in 1967. He said his status as a clergyman prevented him from betraying the confidence of Godfrey.

He said he sent Godfrey to FBI agents Eugene Olson and Jordan Naylor.

The article published in the *New Times* on January 9, 1976, erroneously reported that Godfrey was "brought up before U.S. District Judge S. Clifford Wallace, a Mormon like Godfrey himself. . . . Wallace suggested Godfrey work for the FBI instead of going to jail. Godfrey readily agreed, and the charges against him were dropped."

In the issue for March 5, 1976, this error was corrected:

We reported that Howard Berry Godfrey appeared before the court of Judge J. Clifford Wallace, who agreed to drop charges pending against Godfrey if he went to work for the FBI. In fact, Godfrey never appeared before Wallace in court. Wallace, before he was a judge and while he was a lay church leader, was sought out by Godfrey for moral advice when he was approached by the SAO. It was some time later that Godfrey joined the SAO **as an FBI informer.**

Peter Biskind says that the SAO "issued a flurry of monthly bulletins to a circulation list of about 250 sympathizers, including Birchers . . . military personnel, members of the Mormon Church and ex-Minutemen" (*New Times*, January 9, 1976, page 22).

William Francis Yakopec, who was also a member of the Mormon Church, was involved in the bombing of the Guild Theater. Peter Biskind states:

Finally, on the night of June 19, SAO member William Francis Yakopec sidled down an alley next to a local porno house, the Guild Theater. . . . Concealed in the jacket was a bomb. Yakopec pried loose a vent, at the rear of the building, positioned the bomb, replaced the vent and left. A few minutes later, the bomb exploded, destroying the screen, blowing debris 60 feet in the air and showering the audience with two-by-fours as people scrambled for the exits. Unhappily for Yakopec, among the audience were a deputy city attorney and a San Diego police officer named Rubien D. Brandon.

Brandon, connecting the bombing with the SAO, angrily **called the FBI** and demanded to know the name of their **informer.** A week later, seven members of the SAO were in jail. Yakopec was charged with the Guild Theater bombing. . . . For five years the Right had terrorized the Left in San Diego with impunity. Then, in a matter of hours, after the lives of two city officials had been inadvertently endangered, **the roof fell in on the Secret Army Organization. . . . the Bureau did its best to frustrate the subsequent inquiry.** It limited San Diego Police Department access to FBI files, refused to allow its agents to testify and declined to open an investigation of its own.

After arresting Yakopec, the police, armed with search warrants, combed his house and grounds. In a nearby woodpile; they found a cache of explosives. Further raids on SAO stockpiles netted an assortment of rifles, handguns and shotguns, 7,000 rounds of military ammunition, tracer ammunition, 50 pounds of gunpowder, a quantity of tear gas, tear gas guns, deactivated land mines, a number of mortar rounds, a flame thrower and an unpacked case of M-16 rifles with a market value of \$60,000.

A few days later, Yakopec's wife, Deborah, was watching television with Howard Berry Godfrey at Godfrey's house, which was next-door to her own. Godfrey had been her husband's best friend, had recruited Yakopec into the SAO and had even persuaded him to join the Mormon Church, where they were both members of the same Elders Quorum. As Deborah Yakopec and Godfrey watched the news together, the newscaster revealed the name of the **FBI informer** in the SAO. Deborah Yakopec turned in amazement to look at the man seated next to her who had **turned in her husband** and was even then still gathering information to be used against him.

According to witnesses at the trial, Yakopec entertained an obsessive hatred of pornography, which apparently motivated his attack on the Guild Theater. (*New Times*, January 9, 1976, pages 23-24)

The *San Diego Union* printed the following on January 15, 1976:

Yakopec said he met Godfrey at a place in North Park . . . They talked about rifles and exchanged ideas on what they perceived as harmful elements seeping into society, mainly pornography and radical demonstrators.

Yakopec was a willing recruit for the SAO. . . .

Godfrey arranged for Yakopec and his family to move in next door. **Godfrey also preached the doctrines of the Mormon Church and finally persuaded Yakopec to join.** Godfrey, an elder in the church, became Yakopec's home teacher. . . .

Yakopec said Godfrey also telephoned threats against Joyce and Leon Nower, San Diego State University faculty members . . .

Godfrey also said he had broken into their faculty offices, according to Yakopec.

Another time, Yakopec recalled, Godfrey claimed he fire-bombed a pickup truck parked outside the home of San Diego State Professor Harry Ruja, an antiwar activist. . . .

Yakopec also said that during one of their meetings **Godfrey brought over a large quantity of explosives.**

"I think it was sometime in the winter of 1970 that he gave them to me," Yakopec said. "He told me I should keep the explosives for when the communists took over and we had to fight back."

He also described how Godfrey would start conversations about **religion** and then launch diatribes against pornography or antiwar demonstrators.

"We would always end up by talking about blowing up bookstores and movie houses," he said. "It was like obsession. I was thoroughly convinced they should be gotten rid of."

Godfrey has testified in court that he and Yakopec had numerous discussions about pornography and possibly using explosives to eradicate them.

He denied singling any facility out as a possible bombing target for Yakopec. But, **Godfrey said he told the FBI about their talks.**

Yakopec said **Godfrey told him to bomb Sen. George McGovern's presidential campaign headquarters** in Normal Heights in the early spring of 1972. . . .

"I actually cased the place," Yakopec said. "But, there were people sleeping on the floor inside. I couldn't do it and told Godfrey." . . .

From his prospective in prison over 2 1/2 years, Yakopec became convinced Godfrey pressured him into committing violent acts during the spring of 1972.

One SAO plan called for kidnaping prominent radicals and holding them in Mexico during the Republican National Convention, then scheduled for San Diego.

"I was assigned by Godfrey to kidnap Tom Hayden," Yakopec said. . . .

Yakopec believes the plan faded when the convention site was switched to Miami. . . .

During Yakopec's trial, his defense attorney attempted to establish that his client not only was innocent of bombing the movie house but that he resisted the exhortations of his church mentor and leader in the SAO to commit illegal acts.

Godfrey, according to Hetter, was an agent provocateur, who bore responsibility for illegal and often violent acts by the SAO.

The defense attorney attempted to focus the jury's attention on the fact that Godfrey had supplied Yakopec with illegal explosives and then discussed possible targets with him.

Hetter: "Did you report to your FBI superiors that you had provided this man with explosives?"

Godfrey: "Yes, sir."

Hetter: "Did you and Mr. Yakopec ever talk about places that might be blown up?"

Godfrey: "Yes, sir."

Hetter: "Did you advise him of places that might be better to blow up than others?"

Godfrey: (Pause) "Yes, sir." (*San Diego Union*, January 15, 1976)

Peter Biskind gives this information concerning the shooting of Paula Tharp:

On Christmas Day, Bohmer was sent a greeting by the SAO: "Merry Christmas. It will be your last. We know you are there alone. This is the Minutemen." . . .

Then, on January 6, 1972, the ante was suddenly upped dramatically. The SAO called the home of Bohmer's neighbors saying: "Say goodbye to your friends down the street." That night at about 8:30, **two shots were fired from a slow-moving car** at shadows visible through the curtained front window of Bohmer's house. The first shot hit Paula Tharp shattering her elbow. The second lodged in the window frame, a few inches from Shari Whitehead's head. . . .

Godfrey . . . fingered George Mitchell Hoover as the gunman in the Tharp shooting and, in the process, told a rather bizarre story. The two of them, Hoover and Godfrey, were seated in Godfrey's car running their customary surveillance on the Bohmer house, recording license plate numbers of parked cars and noting down who went in and out. Hoover began fiddling with a 9mm Polish Random pistol that Godfrey had stolen from the home of Bohmer's neighbors on an earlier occasion. Without warning, Hoover fired two shots into Bohmer's house. He was about to fire a third when the gun jammed. Godfrey testified that he ordered Hoover to stop shooting and immediately drove away from the house. The next day, Godfrey gave the pistol to his FBI control, Steve Christiansen, who concealed the weapon under his couch for six months while the police were looking for it. Christiansen insists that his FBI superiors were aware that he was hiding the gun and fully approved. (*New Times*, January 9, 1976)

The *San Diego Union* for January 14, 1976, contains some important material with regard to the shooting of Paula Tharp:

In court, Godfrey described his activities on Jan. 6. . . . he and his lieutenant, George Mitchell Hoover, . . . parked across from Bohmer's residence, took down license numbers of cars parked nearby and noted activities inside the house, Godfrey said.

Hewicker: "Did you have a pistol in the car on that evening?"

Godfrey: "Yes, I did. It was underneath the front seat on the passenger side." . . .

Hewicker: "What type of gun was it?"

Godfrey: "It was a 9mm Radom."

He confirmed under questioning that he had been in possession of the weapon but could not recall how long.

Then, during a series of questions and answers, Godfrey described how he watched Hoover load the weapon by jamming the ammunition clip into firing position.

And, as Godfrey drove slowly past the Bohmer residence, Hoover stuck his arm out the window and fired twice into the house.

A young woman, a friend of Bohmer's named Paula Tharp, was hit in the elbow. She suffered permanent damage. . . .

During Hoover's trial, Godfrey related that he drove quickly from the scene of the shooting.

He said **he took Hoover home, told him to get an alibi and took the weapon. The weapon was turned over to his FBI supervisor the next day**, Godfrey said.

The supervisor, Christensen, acknowledged in court that he recovered the weapon from Godfrey. He then testified that he hid the pistol under his own living room couch.

It remained there for six months.

Meanwhile, San Diego police homicide officers investigated the shooting and came up with no leads even though they asked the FBI for help.

Why wasn't the weapon turned over to investigators? Christensen was asked at the same trial.

"I believe it would have surfaced our informant and possibly endangered his life," Christensen replied.

Peter Biskind says that the FBI agent who hid the gun for six months had moved to Utah:

Moreover, the Justice Department has not lifted a finger to investigate the FBI's involvement with the SAO. According to attorney Peter Young, "They are still continuing to cover up whatever really happened down there. Steve Christiansen has left the Bureau and now lives with his family in Kanosh, Utah." (*New Times*, January 9, 1976, page 25)

Since Mr. Christensen—the name is also given as Christiansen—had moved to Utah, we suspected that he might also be a member of the Mormon Church. This suspicion was confirmed in the *San Diego Union* on January 12, 1976:

The FBI also heard from Godfrey on a daily basis, sometimes as often as 12 to 15 times a day, he testified. . . . His supervising agent, the man to whom he reported and received directions, the person who paid the informant, was Steve Christensen—a Mormon.

On January 16, 1976, the *San Diego Union*, reported the following:

Steven Christensen, the FBI agent who supervised Godfrey's activities with extremist groups for five years, said he would like to tell about everything. But he can't.

He said a federal law which prohibits former FBI agents from ever telling what they did prevents him from disclosing his experiences with Godfrey. . . .

“Yes, I suppose you could say we were involved in some interesting activities. And, other activities were going on elsewhere,” he said during a telephone interview. “But, I cannot discuss them.”

Did the FBI direct domestic espionage campaigns using undercover agents to run vigilante groups?

Christensen cannot answer. He also refused to discuss why he resigned from the bureau. . . .

Shroder [former director of the FBI office in San Diego] said he argued but finally consented to bring forth Godfrey and finally crack down on the SAO. He said that in the case of agent Christensen and informant Godfrey, it was simply a case of “a couple of bad apples.”

“I called Christensen into my office and said you’re in **possible violation of a felony**,” he remembered. “I strongly suggested Christensen resign.”

Shroder said he also turned over to the district attorney all information passed on by Christensen about the weapon used to shoot Paula Tharp.

He said he could not recall if he told the district attorney that the weapon was stolen but informed the office that his agent Christensen had hidden the pistol at his own home for six months.

“The district attorney informed me they would not prosecute either Godfrey or Christensen,” Shroder said. (*San Diego Union*, January 16, 1976)

The reader will notice that Steven Christensen was quoted as saying that the FBI was “involved in some interesting activities.” Mr. Christensen also said that the law prevented him from revealing what these activities were, but the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence seems to have shed some light on this question:

WASHINGTON, May 8—The Federal Bureau of Investigation carried out a secret, nationwide effort to “destroy” the Black Panthers, including attempts to stir bloody “gang warfare” between the Panthers and other groups . . . according to the staff report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities.

The bureau’s efforts contributed to a climate of violence in which four Black Panthers were shot to death in internal battles, according to the report. . . .

After a series of clashes between the Panthers and Ron Karenga’s U.S. group . . . in southern California, which resulted in **three deaths** (one more would follow), the San Diego FBI office sent to headquarters a message that the report says “pointed with pride” to the violence, saying:

“**Shootings, beatings and a high degree of unrest** continues to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. Although no specific counterintelligence action can be credited with contributing to this overall situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this program.”

The committee report said that the techniques used in Cointelpro “would be intolerable in a democratic society even if all the targets had been involved in violent activity; but Cointelpro went far beyond that.” . . .

On Jan. 17, 1969, two Panthers. . . . were killed in a shootout with US members on the University of California, Los Angeles, campus. The F.B.I. helped stir the feud further, the report says and on May 23 John Savage, a Panther, was killed and another, Sylvester Bell, was slain on Aug. 15, both by US members. (*New York Times*, May 9, 1976)

The FBI’s strategy with regard to the Black Panthers seems to be very similar to that used to attempt to destroy radical groups with the Secret Army Organization. At any rate, we feel that there is need for a thorough investigation of the Secret Army and the claim that it was linked to Donald Segretti and the Liddy plan. If it is discovered that Godfrey really met with Segretti, as witnesses claim, then it is very possible that there is a link to Howard Hunt and the Liddy plan. The reader will remember that Hunt and Liddy discussed their illegal plans at the Mullen Co., and that telephone records of the Mullen Co. linked Hunt to Segretti.

J. Anthony Lukas gives this interesting information:

On February 11, 1972, the two men [Hunt and Liddy] flew to Florida and—using their customary aliases, “Ed Warren” and “George Leonard”—met with Segretti in his room . . . In his book, Hunt recalls that he and Liddy had decided to play the “good-cop-bad-cop-routine,” with Hunt designated as the heavy. When Hunt left the room to use a pay phone, Liddy told Segretti:

“There’s one thing about Warren you ought to know. We have trouble with him.”

“Trouble?” asked Segretti. “What kind of trouble?”

“Well,” said Liddy, lowering his voice. “Warren **tends to kill without orders**.”

Segretti was impressed. But Hunt and Liddy were not . . . Liddy was ordered to monitor Segretti’s activities and try to keep him out of trouble. Liddy turned the assignment over to Hunt, who met with Segretti several times over the next few months and called him from time to time with ideas or instructions, speaking in a “whispery, conspiratorial voice.” Segretti later told John Dean that Hunt “scared” him. (*Nightmare: The Underside of the Nixon Years*, page 156)

In his book *Give Us This Day*, page 38, Howard Hunt frankly admits that he had recommended the following to the CIA:

1. Assassinate Castro before or coincident with the invasion. (a task for Cuban patriots; . . .

Michael Canfield and Alan J. Weberman quote Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis as saying:

“Howard tried to assassinate Castro, and Castro is still around, bigger than ever. Alright, but hey, listen, Howard was in charge of other CIA operations that involved ‘disposal’ and I can tell you, some of them worked.” (*Coup d’etat in America: The CIA and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*, New York, 1975, page 79)

In a footnote on page 289 of his book *They’ve Killed the President!* Robert Sam Anson states:

Hunt is reported to have planned or recommended at least three assassination attempts. Two were against Castro: a proposal in 1960 that was rejected by the Eisenhower administration, and the Cubela plot that was foiled by Castro in 1966. The third Hunt assassination proposal was reportedly drafted after he allegedly retired from the Agency and went to work in the Nixon White House. In 1971, according to *Newsweek* magazine, Hunt had an assassination team in Mexico ready to kill the president of Panama, a nationalist who was demanding that the United States give up sovereignty over the Canal Zone. The assassination was never attempted. (*They’ve Killed the President!* New York, 1975, page 289)

On pages 256 and 260 of the same book, we find the following:

There was, however, a Nicaraguan anti-Castro conspiracy afoot, including a plan to assassinate Castro. The operation, according to journalist Tad Szulc, was dubbed Second Naval Guerrilla. Among its leading actors were three names later to become familiar to Americans: Bernard Barker James McCord, and E. Howard Hunt. . . .

Two exiles who went along on other operations [against Cuba] were Bernard Barker and Eugenio Martinez, both of whom were later arrested at the Watergate. Martinez told Crile and Branch that the Agency and the exiles wanted to inflict more than pinpricks on the Castro regime. They wanted to bring down the man himself. “I can tell you there were plots,” Martinez said. “I took a lot of weapons to Cuba. Some of them were very special weapons for very special purposes. They were powerful rifles with sophisticated scopes—Springfields with bolt actions, rifles used only by snipers. They were not sent to shoot pigeons

or kill rabbits. Everyone in the underground was plotting to kill Castro, and the CIA was helping the underground. I was with the underground, as well as with the CIA, so you could say I was involved in the plots, too, but that is all so obvious.”

On page 298 of the same book, we read as follows:

Before and after the invasion the mob was also trying to secure Castro’s assassination, sometimes with the Agency’s help, sometimes without it. Frank Sturgis, who as a casino operator in Havana had lines to both the CIA and the mob, was twice approached shortly after the Cuban revolution by organized crime figures wishing to enlist him as an assassin . . . according to Sturgis . . . a Lansky associate who was an acquaintance of Sturgis casually remarked that it would be “worth a million” to the Cosa Nostra to get rid of Castro. Later, when Castro was visiting in New York, Sturgis was again contacted, this time by an unnamed stranger who identified himself as a member of the Havana gambling mob. The stranger offered Sturgis \$100,000 to assassinate Castro with whom Sturgis was then on very good terms. . . .

By early 1961 the Agency and organized crime were deep into discussions on how best to eliminate their common foe.

Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis has admitted he was part of a special “assassination section.” In an interview with Michael Canfield he stated:

Sturgis: You have to look at my past. I’ve done a lot of things. **I’ve been on assassination attempts.** I was involved in so many things. Skullduggery, intrigue, espionage.

Canfield: When you say assassination attempts . . .

Sturgis: Well, in foreign countries.

Canfield: I see.

Canfield: Explain, as you did before, . . . some of the other things that the company asked you to do, and approached you, like on the 40 committee, etc.

Sturgis: Well, I was an associate, while I participated in Operation Forty. Operation Forty was formed before the Bay of Pigs invasion, it was a top secret government operation; it consisted of many Cuban intelligence officers, who worked for the Central Intelligence Agency, and this organization. Their job primarily was to train people to infiltrate a foreign country, . . . plus there was also a group formed in which was **the assassination section, which I was part of**, that if necessary, this assassination group would upon orders, naturally, assassinate either members of the military in the foreign country, members of the political parties of the foreign country that you were going to infiltrate, and if necessary some of your own members, who were suspected of being foreign agents. Now at the same time, I was asked by my friend, who was a CIA agent, he asked me if I was interested in participating, or doing an assassination with the Company. I told him yes, providing that I would sit down with this case officer and go over the details, and that I would do it.

Canfield: Domestic or foreign?

Sturgis: It would be domestic.

Canfield: Here in the United States?

Sturgis: Oh, yeah. The reason for that, he asked me how I would go about it. And I told him, well, if it was going to be domestic, well, I could do it several ways. I could do it either in the Everglades. I could do it by boat, or I could do it by air. But, that if it was going to be done, I did not want nobody to be part of this, I would do it by myself, but I definitely wanted to meet the officer who wanted this done, and I wanted to see him, and get it right from him, so I would be sure that it would be someone with authority, and not just a lower-level agent, such as he.

Canfield: Did this come out of the Forty Committee, or the Agency itself?

Sturgis: This is what the Operation of Forty was trained for, by the Agency—to do all this type of work.

Canfield: Do you know if they ever did carry out any operations like that?

Sturgis: Yeah, oh yeah. Sure. Operations were being done, infiltrations were going on inside of Cuba, and contacts were made with political elements in Cuba, also in military and—

Canfield: I mean the assassination teams.

Sturgis: Well there were several from word of mouth through associates, there were several attempts and several assassinations that were going on inside of Cuba. Nothing large—

Canfield: Any other countries?

Sturgis: Not that I know of. No, we were concentrating strictly in Cuba at that particular time. . . .

Canfield: What about domestic activities, did they ever attempt a domestic assassination?

Sturgis: Not to my knowledge, no. But the only thing I can say on that is, when I was asked to do domestically, myself—

Canfield: Right.

Canfield: You were approached though to do assassination jobs—

Sturgis: Oh, yeah. Also an associate. And it can be proven that he is or rather was, at that time, a CIA agent.

Canfield: Was he involved in any of the things that went on later?

Sturgis: . . . intelligence?

Canfield: No, involved in, yeah, involved in domestic intelligence—involved in Watergate?

Sturgis: Well, I don’t want to go ahead and say at this point. But if I’m ever called in front of a Congressional committee, which I assume I would be, I’ll tell them . . .

Canfield: I see, like say you’re gonna do in a President of some country, you would, uh—

Sturgis: For instance, Fidel; when I was in Cuba there, I told my CIA contact, I said, look pass the word upstairs, you want me to kill Fidel, I’ll kill him, . . . I can kill him in two minutes. If you people want it done, I will do it with my people . . . I was close with Fidel.

Canfield: So what did they say when you put this to them?

Sturgis: They’d let me know. At that time, if you remember, the American embassy was very pro-Fidel.

Canfield: Oh, I see, this was before?

Sturgis: In 1959, yep. . . .

Sturgis: Operation 40 were a bunch of Cubans that were sent to the Army to receive intelligence training. . . .

Canfield: And they were all trained in assassination? Or just a group of them?

Sturgis: Just a group, a team of them.

Canfield: Five, ten, fifteen—

Sturgis: No, more than that.

Canfield: Twenty?

Sturgis: More than that. When we get into there search of it, there’s a lot—you see a lot of these people who belong to it didn’t know me. Only the top chief of the operation, only the top man. Like agents, they don’t expose themselves to everybody. (*Coup d’etat in America*, pages 230, 250-252, 255, 258-261)

Michael Canfield and Alan J. Weberman claim that “There is strong evidence that plans for Castro’s assassination had been made in the offices of Mullen & Company” (*Ibid.* , page 174). If such “strong evidence” does exist, Canfield and Weberman do not seem to include it in their book. There is one point, however, that needs further investigation. This is the relationship between the Cubans and the Mullen Co. In a memo from the CIA to the FBI we find

the following: “3. In addition, **Mr. Mullen was instrumental in the formation of the Cuban Freedom Committee.** Mr. Mullen managed to keep a low profile, and avoided public identification with it, except that his company prepared some brochures for the committee” (*Committee on the Judiciary—Testimony of Witnesses*, Book III, page 11). The Cuban Freedom Committee appears to have been a “CIA front group” which engaged in anti-Castro activities. Along this same line, it is interesting to note that the man who recommended the assassination of Castro—i.e., Howard Hunt—finally ended up at the Mullen Co.

At any rate, in the book *Coup d’etat in America*, page 142, we find this information: “Diaz states that a close friend of his was a director of the anti-Castro radio program called *Voice of Cuba*. The *Voice of Cuba* was sponsored by Mullen/CIA’s Cuban Freedom Committee.”

In his book *Undercover*, page 141, Howard Hunt stated: “The CIA placement officer had told me that the Mullen firm had ‘cooperated’ with CIA in the past. This cooperation was identified as the firm’s having established and managed a Free Cuba Committee for CIA.” Canfield and Weberman claim that there were a number of committees set up with similar names:

If they would have checked out the Committee To Free Cuba they would have found their way to a CIA-financed can of worms. The Committee To Free Cuba, like the Free Cuba Committee, Citizens for a Free Cuba, Crusade to Free Cuba, Crusade to Free Cuba Committee, Cuban Freedom Committee, and the Committee for Free Cuba, was merely a CIA front group established in order to account for funds the CIA was pumping into various exile groups. Either directly or indirectly, they could all be traced back to Watergate mastermind, Everette Howard Hunt. . . .

Committee members of The Crusade to Free Cuba openly admitted it was a Cuban Revolutionary Council fundraising front. Arnesto Rodriguez told the FBI the Crusade was founded “primarily to raise funds with which to buy arms and supplies for use by the CRC.”

The Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, the Cuban Freedom Committee and The Free Cuba Committee, all located in Washington, D.C., were really one organization. Mr. Bethel worked for the Citizens Committee For a Free Cuba and the Free Cuba Committee at the same time. . . . Hunt says a Washington-based public relations firm named Mullen & Co. “established and managed a Free Cuba Committee for the CIA.” In Watergate Exhibit 142 it is apparent that Mullen & Co. was also involved in setting up the Cuban Freedom Committee, which is the same thing. (*Coup d’etat in America*, pages 138-139)

Members of the Cuban freedom organizations were undoubtedly involved in attempts on Castro’s life. The *New York Times* for July 31, 1975, reported:

Some of these others [i.e., other plots] may have been included in the 24 plots alleged in the Cuban report [Castro’s report] given to Senator McGovern. Though many of the plots the report said were C.I.A.-instigated involved Cubans not known in this country, it names several prominent members of Cuban freedom organizations here.

Canfield and Weberman give this information concerning a plot to assassinate Castro:

. . . the CIA was encouraging gangsters to assassinate Castro. According to Jack Anderson, a CIA agent named Robert Maheu, who later managed Howard Hughes’ Las Vegas gambling interests and who probably worked out of Mullen & Company in Washington, D.C., was assigned the task. Maheu hired Las Vegas gambler Johnny Rosselli, an ex-Capone lieutenant who

had moved to the West Coast. Rosselli, with the help of two CIA agents and Syndicate money, paid for everything, including the expensive boats. Cover for the operation was provided by Cuban refugee groups. . . . In the 1950’s Maheu operated an investigative and “problem-solving agency” in Washington called Robert A. Maheu Associates and by 1955 he was an employee of Howard Hughes. Mr. Maheu handled political and governmental matters for the reclusive billionaire. . . .

In 1966, when Mr. Hughes moved secretly into the Desert Inn in Las Vegas, he took Maheu with him and swiftly made him his “chief Nevada executive” at \$520,000 a year. . . .

While trying to kill Castro Maheu probably used the same cover Hunt used when he was directing the White House Secret Police—Mullen & Company, a firm with a very unique background. At the time Maheu was allegedly there the Washington-based “public relations” firm with offices across the street from the White House was headed by Robert Mullen, . . . (*Coup d’etat in America*, pages 170 and 173)

The reader will notice that Canfield and Weberman use the words “allegedly” and “probably” when they try to link Maheu with the Mullen Co. The *New York Times* for July 31, 1975, seems to indicate that Maheu was working for his own public relations firm at the time of the CIA-Mafia plot against Castro. Maheu claimed that Howard Hughes was his biggest client at the time. While Maheu does not try to implicate Hughes in the plot, he does say that he told him about it:

WASHINGTON, July 30—Robert A. Maheu, a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and former aide to Howard R. Hughes, said today that he had recruited a Mafia figure for the Central Intelligence Agency in a plot to poison Fidel Castro, Premier of Cuba.

Mr. Maheu told reporters of his role in the C.I.A. plot to kill Mr. Castro after completing more than four hours of testimony in closed session before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. . . . Mr. Maheu was granted immunity from prosecution on matters covered in his testimony. . . .

This was the sketch of the plot given by Mr. Maheu:

He became a paid C.I.A. operative in 1954, seven years after he resigned from the F.B.I., and accepted several [*sic*] while heading a firm called Robert Maheu & Associates in Washington.

He said that he was paid \$500 a month by the C.I.A. . . . He said that he had also allowed his company to be a “cover” for agency operations abroad.

In 1960, he said, he was approached by James O’Connell, who he said was an official of the C.I.A. and his “project” officer, who “asked me if in connection with a planned invasion of Cuba I would contact a Mr. John Roselli in Los Angeles, asking if Mr. Roselli would be inclined to help in a program for removing Mr. Castro from the scene or eliminating him in connection with the invasion of Cuba.” . . .

Mr. Maheu said that the C.I.A. had told him that “eliminating” Mr. Castro meant killing the Cuban leader.

He said that Mr. Roselli at first had been “very reluctant to participate,” but agreed “finally, . . .”

He said that he went to Miami, where he met with a man who was introduced as “Sam Gold,” but who he later learned was Sam Giancana, a Chicago rackets figure.

He said that Mr. Roselli and Mr. Giancana had been sought out because they had gambling interests in Cuba before the revolution and still had contacts there who might be able to slip poison into the Cuban leader’s food.

Mr. Maheu said that in early 1961—he could not remember the date—he was shown the poison capsules in a white envelope by Mr. O’Connell at the Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami Beach, where the operation made its headquarters. . . .

Mr. Maheu said that he stayed in Miami several months between the fall of 1960 and the spring of 1961 because

“someone had to be there to hold their [Mr. Roselli’s and Mr. Giancana’s] hands.” . . .

Mr. Maheu said that in early 1961, **the biggest client of his public relations firm, Howard R. Hughes**, urged him to come to Los Angeles, and that he finally told Mr. Hughes the secret project he was working on.

He said that in the fall of 1966, Mr. Hughes asked him to help the Hughes organization to become part of a C.I.A. covert operation to give the billionaire’s empire protection from investigation by other Government agencies. He said that he “categorically” refused. He said that in 1970 and 1971 he learned that the C.I.A. and Mr. Hughes were conspiring against him. (*New York Times*, July 31, 1975)

Mr. Maheu’s allegation that the CIA and Hughes were “conspiring against him” is very interesting in the light of information which appears in “The Baker Report,” page 8:

CIA records indicate that Agency consideration was given to utilizing Mullen’s Hughes relationship for a matter relating to a cover arrangement . . . and to garner information on Robert Maheu.

The following information about the CIA-Mafia plot to assassinate Castro appears in the report by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence:

In August 1960, the CIA took steps to enlist members of the criminal underworld with gambling syndicate contacts to aid in assassinating Castro. . . .

Edwards and the Support Chief decided to rely on Robert A. Maheu to recruit someone “tough enough” to handle the job. . . . As Maheu recalls the conversation, the Support Chief asked him to contact John Rosselli, an underworld figure with possible gambling contacts in Las Vegas, to determine if he would participate in a plan to “dispose” of Castro. . . .

At first Maheu was reluctant to become involved in the operation because **it might interfere with his relationship with his new client, Howard Hughes**. . . . The Support Chief testified that Maheu was told to offer money, probably \$150,000, for Castro’s assassination. . . .

It was arranged that Rosselli would go to Florida and recruit Cubans for the operation. . . .

Maheu recalled that it was Giancana’s job to locate someone in Castro’s entourage who could accomplish the assassination. . . .

In late October 1960, Maheu arranged for a Florida investigator, Edward DuBois, to place an electronic “bug” in a room in Las Vegas . . . DuBois’s employee, Authur J. Balletti . . . installed a tap on the phone. . . . A maid discovered the equipment and notified the local sheriff, who arrested Balletti . . .

The Committee also received conflicting evidence concerning whether the tap had been placed to keep Giancana in Miami or to check on security leaks. The Support Chief testified that during the early stages of negotiations with the gambling syndicate, Maheu informed him that a girlfriend of Giancana was having an affair with the target of the tap. Giancana wanted Maheu to bug that person’s room; otherwise Giancana threatened to fly to Las Vegas himself. Maheu was concerned that Giancana’s departure would disrupt the negotiations, and secured the Chief’s permission to arrange for a bug to insure Giancana’s presence and cooperation. . . .

There is some evidence, however, suggesting that the CIA itself may have instituted the tap to determine whether Giancana was leaking information about his involvement in an assassination attempt against Castro. . . . Maheu informed the FBI that the tap involved the CIA. . . . Edwards subsequently informed the Bureau that the CIA would object to Maheu’s prosecution . . . Herbert J. Miller, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, advised the Attorney General that the “national interest” would preclude any prosecutions based upon the tap. . . .

The Inspector General’s Report described conversations . . . concerning the most effective method of poisoning Castro. . . . There is some evidence that Giancana or Rosselli originated

the idea of depositing a poison pill in Castro’s drink to give the “asset” a chance to escape. . . .

Edwards rejected the first batch of pills prepared by TSD because they would not dissolve in water. A second batch, containing botulinum toxin, “did the job expected of them” when tested on monkeys. . . .

The record clearly establishes that the pills were given to a Cuban for delivery to the island some time prior to the Bay of Pigs invasion in mid-April 1961. (*Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975, pages 74-80)

Sam Giancana, the mobster who was supposed to help the CIA with the plot to kill Castro, was going to give testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, but he “was killed before he was available for questioning” (*Ibid.*, page 129).

John Rosselli, another underworld figure involved in the plot, did give testimony before the Senate Select Committee. *Time Magazine* for December 21, 1970, gave this information about Rosselli:

Mob-connected men settled down comfortably in the Hughes organization. One of them: John Roselli, who was imprisoned in the ’40s for shaking down Hollywood movie producers and later was convicted of conspiring to fleece wealthy card players in rigged gin-rummy games at the Beverly Hills Friars Club. Roselli, who holds a gift-shop lease at Hughes’ Frontier Hotel, boasts that he collected a large finder’s fee when the Desert Inn was sold to Hughes and recently dealt himself in on kickbacks paid by entertainers at the Hughes casinos.

Neither the Jack Anderson columns nor the report by the Senate Select Committee mention anything about the Mullen Co. being involved in the CIA-Mafia plot against Castro. It is interesting to note, however, that about 10 years after Maheu told Hughes of the plot, Howard Hunt, the man who recommended the assassination to the CIA, did some “work on the Hughes account with Mullen and Company” (“The Baker Report,” page 27).

Some people suspect that Howard Hunt may know something about the attempted assassination of George Wallace. This suspicion arises because of the fact that Charles Colson told Howard Hunt to break into Arthur Bremer’s apartment after the attempted assassination. In the Senate Watergate Report we read as follows:

On May 15, 1972, Alabama Governor George C. Wallace, then a contender for the Presidency, was shot and seriously injured during a campaign speech in Maryland. E. Howard Hunt testified that Charles Colson called him into his office the morning following the assassination attempt, and told Hunt that Wallace’s assailant had been identified as Arthur Bremer of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Colson said that the press “had trampled through his (Bremer’s) apartment,” and suggested that Hunt should go through the apartment to survey the contents. Colson explained to Hunt the purpose of the assignment as follows:

In the past when Mr. Kennedy was assassinated, when Jack Ruby was killed, and when Martin Luther King was killed, it was immediately blazoned as a right wing plot of some sort. We would like to know what kind of kook this guy is. What has he got up there in the way of literature? Is he a neo-Nazi?

Hunt concluded: “. . . I think that the thrust of that effort was to determine his political orientation or some motivation for what he did.”

When initially confronted with the assignment, Hunt says he strenuously protested and explained that the apartment was probably staked out or legally sealed by this time. **Hunt testified that Colson then implied that a break-in could elude the stake-out and provide revealing information.**

Finally, according to Hunt, Colson cancelled the entire operation. (*The Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, pages 209-210)

In his book *Undercover*, page 217, Howard Hunt says he asked Charles Colson “how . . . am I going to get in a sealed apartment that’s being watched by the FBI?” He claims that Colson replied: “Maybe you could bribe the janitor, get another key—something like that. You know—like your CIA experiences.”

Howard Hunt goes on to relate the following:

Reluctantly I began to pack a bag, adding to it the shaving kit that held my CIA-issue physical disguise and documents.

Dorothy noticed my desultory packing and said, “What does Chuck want now?”

I told Dorothy, who shook her head disgustedly. “He’s got to be insane. Call him up and tell him you can’t do it.”

“Can’t or won’t?”

“I don’t care. This is one mission he can find somebody else to do.” She turned and left the bedroom.

I called several airlines and found that the only available flight would put me in Milwaukee about eleven o’clock that night. . . . I liked none of it; still, Colson had turned to me, and Colson was close to the President. If Colson was assigned to inventory Bremer’s apartment, it had to be on orders from the Oval Office. How could I refuse?

Even supposing I could locate the apartment janitor and bribe him for a key, wouldn’t the Bureau have men inside the apartment? How could I credibly explain my presence? Once in the Bureau’s hands, I could quickly be identified and traced back to the White House, and that was something Colson wanted to avoid. (*Undercover*, page 217)

It is very hard to believe that Charles Colson would order Howard Hunt on such a bizarre mission to Milwaukee just to find out what Bremer had in the way of literature. R. Frank Salant gives this information:

According to the *New York Times*, Bremer’s apartment was burglarized before the FBI showed up, The FBI only found left wing material. But newspaper reporters who examined Bremer’s apartment before the FBI, saw right wing and left wing literature there.

The FBI arrived and left, allowing the curiosity seekers and some reporters who came after them to rummage through Bremer’s apartment. They failed to seal off the apartment, and forgot to brush it for fingerprints. In fact, Mrs. Wasche, who runs the building, had charged \$10 a head and made a bundle!

The FBI has never offered an explanation as to why they permitted the apartment to be ransacked, . . .

Where was E. Howard Hunt on the afternoon of May 15, 1972? Hunt testified before the grand jury investigating Watergate, under oath, that shortly after the assassination attempt (within one hour) Charles Colson called him from the White House by telephone and ordered him to immediately “go to Bremer’s apartment and see if there is left or radical reading material around.”

Hunt swore to the investigators that he countermanded Colson’s order on the grounds that a break-in would be too risky.

But in answer to an identical question before an Executive Session of the Senate Watergate Committee on July 25, 1973, Hunt testified that he was called into Colson’s office on the morning of May 16, 1972, one day after the shooting, and was ordered to fly to Milwaukee, break into Arthur Bremer’s apartment, and look for evidence.

On the same page as the above, Hunt claims that he protested because of his belief that the apartment was staked out by the authorities. Hunt then testified that Colson strongly implied that a break-in could elude the stake out and retrieve important information.

Finally, Hunt concludes his testimony by stating that Colson canceled the plan altogether. But Colson has denied the entire story on more than one occasion. Why the two completely different stories? Why the denials?

It’s interesting to take note of the reports that Governor Wallace is applying behind-the-scenes pressures to have some presidential tapes of May 15, 1972, released. Those tapes of an emergency meeting, between Nixon and Colson, held minutes after the shooting and immediately preceding Colson’s dispatching of Hunt to Bremer’s apartment, are unfortunately unavailable for inspection. They are being withheld by Gerald Ford and the Secret Service to this day. (*People and the Pursuit of Truth*, September 1975, pages 4-5)

Some people suspect that Watergate conspirators E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis may know something about the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Canfield and Weberman try to link the Mullen Co. to his murder (see *Coup d’etat in America*, pages 139-142). Others have pointed out an unusual fact which they believe is more than just a coincidence: that is, that one of the strongest defenders of the “Kennedy-Connally One Bullet Theory,” Dr. John K. Lattimer, worked for a client of the Mullen Co. This fact was discovered in a brochure published by the Mullen Co. which we obtained from James A. Everett. Under the list of “Representative Clients” we find the “Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center (New York).” In an article reprinted from *The Journal of the American Dental Association*, January 1968, page 106, we read that “Doctor Lattimer is head of Squier Urological Clinic, Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, College Physicians and Surgeons, 622 West 168th St., New York.

We do not know whether Dr. Lattimer had any personal contact with Mr. Mullen or the CIA, but he did work for a client of the Mullen Co. and has become noted for his defense of the “One Bullet Theory.” Those who hold to this theory believe that only one bullet caused Kennedy’s neck wound and the wounds which Gov. Connally received. If the one bullet theory could be disproved, the entire basis for the Warren Reports’ conclusion that only one assassin was involved would be undermined.

Mae Brussell and some of her supporters claim to have secret information linking a Mormon to the assassination. According to this theory, there was an imposter who used Oswald’s identity—a second Oswald. After the assassination in Dallas, he went to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. From there he was flown to Sao Paulo, Brazil and served for three years as a Mormon missionary.

We have done a great deal of research with regard to the Kennedy assassination, but we have not been able to turn up any real evidence against the Mullen Co., nor have we found evidence that Mormons were involved. We have, however, found many things which lead us to question the Warren Report, and we feel that the investigation should be reopened to restore confidence in our system of government.

C. Hughes’ Mysterious Death

Before Hughes’ death was announced on April 5, 1976, a number of serious charges against him and his organization appeared in newspapers throughout the country. For instance, on April 8, 1975, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported the following:

LAS VEGAS, Nev. (UPI)—Robert Maheu, former top aide to Howard Hughes, Monday said that in 1968 or 1969 the billionaire urged that his organization bring influence to bear on continuing the war in Vietnam in an attempt to recoup losses in the Hughes helicopter program.

"I would never have disclosed this voluntarily, but in late 1968 or early 1969, Hughes wrote a memorandum urging that we exert our influence to continue the Vietnam war in order to recoup Hughes' losses on the L.O. (light observational) helicopter program," Maheu said.

The *Las Vegas Sun* quoted John Meier, another former Hughes employe, as confirming that he had seen a memorandum dealing with the helicopter program and the Vietnam war.

Meier said the memo was sent by Hughes to Maheu suggesting that Maheu "should get to our friends in Washington and see what could be done about keeping the war in Vietnam going" to benefit the helicopter program.

If this accusation should prove true, it would certainly show that Hughes was a very selfish and heartless man. The Hughes organization claims that Maheu and Meier were lying about the matter.

James R. Phelan wrote an article which contains some revealing information on Hughes and his organization. We extract the following from that article:

Since 1970, Howard Hughes has shunned the United States—flitting about its perimeter, as ghostly as the Flying Dutchman, slipping to the Bahamas, Nicaragua, Vancouver, back to Nicaragua, over to London, back to the Bahamas. More than a year ago, Hughes and his retinue of functionaries moved into the Xanadu Princess. . . . He bought the hotel outright.

He had found a home away from home that was beyond the reach of American law. Several months later, when the American judicial system reached for Hughes, he brushed the court's hand aside.

On Sept. 5, 1974, the United States consul in Nassau, Marvin Groeneweg, went to the Xanadu Princess with a court summons for Hughes. . . . A summons in a criminal case, unlike one in a civil suit, requires personal appearance in court. A defendant who fails to show up can be declared a fugitive from justice.

The hotel management professed to know nothing about Howard Hughes or his whereabouts. Groeneweg consulted the local postmaster and learned that the Hughes organization had designated an employee to accept mail for the billionaire. Groeneweg sought out the man and handed him the summons.

A week later, Groeneweg had an indignant visitor from Washington. He was Robert Peloquin, who identified himself as an attorney for Hughes. . . . he is founder and president of **Intertel**, a high-level private investigation agency that has Hughes as a major client. Peloquin informed the consul that Hughes would not honor the court summons on the grounds that it was improperly served. To serve Hughes properly, Peloquin said, the consul would have to hand the summons to Hughes in person. When Groeneweg asked how he might arrange to meet Hughes, Peloquin replied, according to an affidavit Groeneweg later executed, that "any consular officer would find Mr. Hughes quite inaccessible." . . .

. . . *Fortune* magazine once observed that Hughes's interests are so intimately entwined with those of the Government that it is difficult to differentiate between them. For more than 30 years he had been the beneficiary of funds, licenses and franchises from the very Government whose consular representatives he has now declared *persona non grata*. . . . He [Hughes] is sole owner of seven Nevada casinos (Desert Inn, Sands, Frontier, Castaways, Silver Slipper, Landmark, Harolds Club). Gambling in Nevada is so tightly regulated that no other individual owns even one resort casino; to assemble this chain Hughes required special dispensations from the Nevada Gaming Commission and the United States Justice Department. . . .

For more than a quarter-century, with a single exception in the early nineteen-fifties, Hughes has avoided any personal appearance in court or even the giving of an oral deposition. He has accomplished this by spending uncounted millions for the

services of literally hundreds of lawyers, private intelligence agents and private guards. . . . In the current S.E.C. suit against Hughes, which is only in its preliminary stages, Federal Judge Alfonso J. Zinpoli commented: "I have never seen so many lawyers appearing on behalf of the defendant—I mean not only counsel appearing in court, but counsel on the briefs and writing on the briefs—as I have seen in this litigation. . . . The Hughes interests, such as they are, are able to engage substantial numbers of attorneys to present innumerable objections and motions. In fact, you completely outflank the Government in that respect . . . The Court has a very distinct feeling and reaction that there is a continuous effort to obstruct the procedures in this case, evidenced all the way through, starting with the depositions, the failure to appear for depositions, the excuses offered which the Court deems to be entirely without merit." Attempting to apply orderly judicial processes to Hughes, the judge observed, "is like twisting with a ghost."

Hughes's immunity from examination by governmental bodies and the judicial system is an American phenomenon.

The presidents of great American corporations have been summoned before Congressional committees or required to give testimony in court, and Vice President Spiro Agnew was brought before the judicial bench. But Hughes has two potent inquiry-repelants working on his behalf. . . . he is the most successful subpoena evader of modern times. In the early nineteen-sixties, a consortium of the most powerful banking and investment companies hired a former F.B.I. agent, A. B. Leckie, and a platoon of private investigators to subpoena Hughes in the T.W.A. litigation. In more than a year of intense man-hunting, they failed even to glimpse Hughes from afar. . . .

There are signs, here and there, of a change of national attitude toward the use of money to corrupt the political process. . . . Despite two setbacks in the stock-fraud case against Hughes—twice, Nixon's Justice Department produced criminal indictments so faulty that a Nevada Federal judge summarily voided them—the S.E.C. has initiated civil action of its own and is pressing toward trial. . . .

In his Grand Bahama hideaway, Hughes himself maintains his customary granitic silence. Years ago he told Robert Maheu that **he wanted an affiliation with the C.I.A. because it would be useful to front for the agency if he had problems with the Government.** He also expressed another wish. The conversation was tape-recorded, and was filed in the Maheu defamation suit as a court exhibit. In his reedy voice, Hughes complained to Maheu that things had not worked out right in Nevada; there were too many problems he couldn't resolve to his satisfaction. He was contemplating moving to the Bahamas, and this time he wanted things done right. If he moved there, he said, "I would expect you really to wrap that government up down there to a point where it would be—well—a captive entity in every way." (*New York Times Magazine*, September 14, 1975, pages 14, 50, 56, 59, 64 and 65)

As we indicated earlier in this book, just before Hughes' death many people were beginning to believe that he was dead or incompetent and that his empire had fallen into the hands of the "Mormon Mafia" or the CIA. On November 25, 1975, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)—Howard Hughes once again failed to appear for a deposition Monday in a fraud case against him and an attorney said he would ask for a hearing to determine if the billionaire recluse is alive, dead or incompetent.

Jack Anderson claimed that even government agents were beginning to wonder if Hughes might be dead and whether there was an imposter:

WASHINGTON—The world has caught only fleeting glimpses of Howard Hughes since he disappeared into his

penthouse some 18 years ago. Now government agents have joined in the guessing game. Was this the real Howard Hughes or an imposter who showed himself briefly to outsiders? Is the world's richest recluse dead or alive? . . .

Not until March 1972, did anyone outside his tight personal circle meet with him face to face. . . .

Before Hughes flew off to Vancouver, he invited President Anastasio Somoza and U.S. Ambassador Turner Shelton to meet him . . .

Hughes was next reported holed up in the towering Bayshore Inn in Vancouver, British Columbia.

But no one saw him. "We didn't have any reported sightings," the former hotel manager. Warren Anderson, told my associate Bob Owens. Anderson added apologetically: "I honestly don't know" if Hughes was really there.

The story was the same at London's posh Inn at the Park Hotel. . . .

Two New Yorkers, . . . had a business meeting with Hughes in September 1972. But they refused to comment on his appearance.

Despite these brief encounters with the outside world, many government agents are still skeptical. **They can't help wondering whether the outsiders sat down with Hughes or a double.** (*Deseret News*, March 1, 1976)

The following appeared in the Jack Anderson column on March 2, 1976:

WASHINGTON—The incredible story can now be told how Internal Revenue officials let the elusive Howard Hughes slip through their fingers in 1972 after his lawyer made several midnight telephone calls to Washington.

IRS agents were prepared to serve a subpoena on the phantom billionaire at the Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., airport in the early morning hours of Dec. 24, 1972. At the last minute, however, they were forbidden by their superiors from boarding his plane.

A Customs inspector finally was admitted on board. He turned a flashlight on a bearded man, with a black hat pulled down over his head, who identified himself as Hughes. The recluse was then allowed to go on his way, believe it or not, although there was a subpoena out for him.

Agents from at least two federal offices—the Internal Revenue Service and the Securities and Exchange Commission—would like to determine whether Hughes is dead or alive. If they should establish that he is no longer alive, it could lead to a multi-million-dollar fraud case. (*Deseret News*, March 2, 1976)

The question of whether Hughes was alive was finally settled in most peoples' minds on April 5, 1976, when his death was announced. *Time* magazine printed the following:

At 70, the legendary, invisible, mysterious, outrageous Howard Robard Hughes was dead. No American had ever intrigued and confounded his fellow citizens as did the once handsome and dashing Hughes. . . . For the past ten years his isolation had been so complete that **only his death gave proof he had still been alive.** . . .

Hughes had lived for so long in utter isolation that many people questioned whether the body was actually his. The Internal Revenue Service, which had been on the verge of declaring him legally dead in order to claim the huge estate tax, took fingerprints from the corpse to check against genuine Hughes prints on file with the FBI in Washington. It was Hughes, all right. . . .

No one could be blamed for doubting. He had not been seen in public since 1958, and the most recent photo dates from 1952. Dr. Jack Titus, the chief pathologist at Methodist Hospital, performed the autopsy. **He found Hughes to be a skeleton of a man, weighing only 90-odd lbs.** . . .

His secret life was surrounded by speculation, much of it wildly spurious. The only eyewitness account came in 1971, when Howard Eckersley, one of Hughes' principal nurse-aides, was compelled to testify in a Nevada suit. According to Eckersley, Hughes had locked himself into a self-made prison. . . . He was completely sheltered from outsiders by **five nurse-aides, four of whom are Mormons.** . . . The penthouses were isolated from the rest of the hotel by locked elevator and surveillance devices, sometimes including TV monitors. Security guards patrolled the halls to ward off intruders.

Usually Hughes lived in one room, its windows sealed by black curtains and masking tape. (*Time*, April 19, 1976, pages 20-21)

Howard Hughes' death came at a very strange time. Only about a month before, columnist Jack Anderson had written his articles questioning whether Hughes was still alive. According to the *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, Anderson had discovered that Hughes' Mexican tourist card was forged and had been pressuring Mexican officials to break into the hotel where Hughes was supposed to be staying:

LOS ANGELES (UPI)—Columnist Jack Anderson, . . . said the late **Howard Hughes had a double**, and that the signature on Hughes' Mexican tourist card was **forged.** . . .

Hughes died aboard a private jet plane en route to the United States from Acapulco, . . .

Anderson said he began to question whether Hughes was still alive after he disappeared from Las Vegas. In 1970, Anderson said, a doctor in Las Vegas reported he had serious doubts that Hughes was still alive.

He said he began his investigation several months ago. "We located everybody who claimed to have seen Howard Hughes over the past few years," . . . they were divided into two groups.

... "One group, . . . described someone who was emaciated, thin, mumbled . . . had long straggly hair, a long beard and was unkempt."

The other group, . . . described a businessman who was "neat, trim Van Dyke beard, an eloquent speaker, loquacious, very alert," Anderson said.

"We have two different Howard Hughes."

"Anderson said his investigation showed that Hughes had **hired a double at one time**, an actor named Brooks Randle, to dodge subpoena servers, "I guess in 1970."

"We began to wonder whether Randle might be playing Hughes now," he said.

Anderson said he told Mexican officials he thought the man in the hotel penthouse suite in Acapulco might be an imposter but was told they could not break into the penthouse unless charges were filed.

Anderson said he would make the charges, and found a specimen of Hughes' signature which showed **Hughes' Mexican tourist card was reportedly forged.** (*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 9, 1976)

On April 8, 1976, the *New York Times* reported the following:

ACAPULCO, Mexico, April 7—The Mexican police today **arrested the three aides of Howard R. Hughes** who stayed on here after the ailing billionaire was flown out of this Pacific Coast resort Monday. . . . The sources also stressed that the current investigation began three weeks ago and had not been touched off by Mr. Hughes's death . . . around noon yesterday, while most guests still believed Mr. Hughes was secluded here, the luxurious hotel was invaded by armed plain clothed agents of the Mexican Federal Judicial Police. . . .

The three unidentified aides were arrested in the hotel and escorted to the federal police headquarters in downtown Acapulco for questioning.

Three days later, the following appeared in the *New York Times*:

ACAPULCO. . . . The Mexican Government formally charged an aide to Howard Hughes today with falsifying the ailing billionaire's signature on a tourist card when he entered Mexico on Feb. 11, . . .

After being charged this morning, Clarence Albert Waldron, a 41-year-old executive in Mr. Hughes's Summa Corporation . . . was imprisoned in Acapulco's over-crowded municipal jail. . . .

Manuel B. Rodriguez Delgadillo, the Mexican Federal attorney who brought the charges today, told reporters that "Mr. Waldron **admitted that Mr. Hughes had not signed the tourist card**, though he did not admit that he had done so." . . . "The detainees told our interrogators that **Mr. Hughes could not sign his name** and had signed no documents while in Acapulco. They also said that Mr. Hughes had been **bedridden for years**." (*New York Times*, April 11, 1976)

On April 14, 1976, the *New York Times*, reported:

MEXICO CITY, April 13—A Mexican federal judge unexpectedly dropped today all charges against an aide to the late Howard Hughes who had been arrested and accused of falsifying the billionaire's signature . . .

After studying the charges and evidence . . . Federal Judge Antonio Uribe Garcia concluded on the basis of a technicality that there were insufficient "elements" to prove that Mr. Waldron had forged the signature on Mr. Hughes' tourist card when the latter entered Mexico Feb. 11.

Although most people now accept the claim that it was really Howard Hughes who was buried in Houston on April 7, there still remains a question concerning whether he was competent during the last years of his life. The following appeared in the *New York Times*:

Mr. Hughes's death two and a half weeks ago is still something of a mystery. Most of the important questions it raises revolve around the billionaire's health and competence during the final decade of his life.

Was he firmly in command of himself and his empire during his costly acquisition, of a network of tourist and gambling properties in Las Vegas; . . . and when the decision was made to provide operating cover for the Central Intelligence Agency in the attempt to raise a sunken Soviet submarine? . . . Was he, as some accounts suggest a graciously aging man with a razor-sharp mind, beset by no more than the ills that normally afflict a septuagenarian? Or was he, as other accounts insist, a pitiful, bedridden, often irrational figure, progressively weakened by disease until he could no longer look after himself and his fabulous interests? . . .

The picture of a bedridden Howard Hughes emerged from interviews, with former associates and others knowledgeable about his affairs, . . . But that picture is curiously inconsistent with other accounts provided by equally reliable visitors to Mr. Hughes over the last few years.

Such conflicting accounts led some longtime observers . . . to rec[all] that in the early 1960's, when investigators for T.W.A. were attempting to serve legal papers on Mr. Hughes in the shareholders lawsuit that resulted in the \$500 million judgement, **the Hughes organization hired an unknown character actor named Brooks Randall** who bore a remarkable resemblance to the wealthy recluse.

Mr. Randall, one former Hughes aide recalled, was put on public display **at least twice** in that period. On one occasion, in a San Francisco nightclub, according to the former aide, he spent Mr. Hughes's money freely, causing mention of "Mr. Hughes's" presence in the next day's gossip columns and throwing the T.W.A. men off the scent.

The former aide said that Frank William Gay . . . was aware of Mr. Randall, but he could not say whether the actor had been employed to impersonate Mr. Hughes in recent years. . . .

In his declining years, according to this associate and other former associates, Mr. Hughes dealt with outsiders exclusively through his male secretaries, mostly Mormons, a group that one close observer described as the most important figures in the Hughes empire, because "they're the sole contact he had with the world."

The secretaries handled all of Mr. Hughes's [c]orrespondence, passing on his directives and relaying reports to him from his executives. The former associate said that in doing so, they had "the power to add and delete" information as it suited them, . . .

The question of whether Mr. Hughes left a will has been a central one in both Salt Lake City and Las Vegas, the two places where the Summa Corporation's roots are most firmly planted. (*New York Times*, April 22, 1976)

On April 21, 1976, the *New York Times* reported:

Contradictory accounts about the final days and illness of Howard R. Hughes have emerged from interviews and public statements about the reclusive billionaire's recent death. . . . the accounts given by two of Mr. Hughes's doctors, and the statements made to the Mexican Federal Police by his aides, conflict in several instances about his condition in his final days.

The possible significance of these conflicts is not clear. But the question of whether Mr. Hughes was competent to manage his affairs during the last stages of his life, or was under the influence of others, could become important if a court battle develops over the disposition of Mr. Hughes's \$1.5 billion estate. . . .

Most of the men closest to Mr. Hughes in his last days had been selected for the job, directly or indirectly, by Frank William Gay, the executive vice president and director of the Summa Corporation, . . .

Mr. Gay is a Mormon; indeed, a significant number of men in the senior echelon at Summa and around Mr. Hughes were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons).

There were, in effect, two circles of companions to Mr. Hughes.

The inner circle, according to Summa sources, consisted of LaVar Myler and Howard Eckersley both of Salt Lake City, George Francom, of Las Vegas, Clarence A. Waldron and John Holmes of Los Angeles.

The outer circle included Eric E. Bundy and Clyde B. Crow of Los Angeles and Roy Crawford of Burbank. . . .

Dr. Wilbur S. Thain a general practitioner from Logan, Utah was also on the Hughes medical staff. . . . Thain is Mr. Gay's brother-in-law.

Dr. Homer C. Clark of Salt Lake City has been associated with Mr. Hughes's care since 1970. . . . Dr. Clark is the brother of Rand Clark, an executive assistant to Mr. Gay at the Summa Corporation. (*New York Times*, April 21, 1976)

In the *Salt Lake Tribune* for April 15, 1976, we find the following:

In Acapulco, a medical expert reported Wednesday in an official investigation that Hughes went into a state of "shock" three days before his death, but his personal physicians—of unknown reasons—did not act to hospitalize him.

"Howard Hughes died of an illness called neglect," said Dr. Vicente Manuel Montemayor Martinez.

The *National Enquirer* for May 25, 1976, gave the following information:

Dr. Montemayor said that he had been urgently summoned by one of Hughes' doctors . . . just 6 1/2 hours before Hughes died. . . .

Dr. Montemayor said he was astonished to learn from the doctors that Hughes had been in a coma for four days—and hadn't been taken to a hospital yet. . . .

"If I had been called into the case on Friday, I would have ordered his transfer (to a hospital) immediately. It was obvious

he wasn't getting the best possible treatment in the hotel. The best possible treatment would have been available only in a hospital." . . .

The doctor paused, then added: "Howard Hughes probably died because he was Howard Hughes."

"Any other patient would have been moved to a hospital . . . and would probably now be alive and well."

On April 26, 1976, the *New York Times* printed an article that contained the following:

MIAMI, April 24—A doctor who treated Howard R. Hughes in his last months says that "a forum" is needed to clarify why Mr. Hughes died of untreated kidney failure. . . .

Dr. Homer C. Clark, a Salt Lake City clinical pathologist who had treated Mr. Hughes on a rotating basis with two other doctors, said in a telephone interview that he had been **surprised** by Mr. Hughes's death on April 5, because when he last saw the industrialist in Acapulco, Mexico, in early March he had no reason to think that Mr. Hughes had a terminal ailment. . . .

It was his uncertainty about Mr. Hughes's rapidly changing condition that led Dr. Clark to propose a forum that would reexamine the circumstances of his death. Dr. Clark did not elaborate on how or by whom the forum would be conducted. . . .

Among the unanswered questions are the following:

—Why was Mr. Hughes's chronic kidney condition apparently detected only hours before his death? Chronic kidney failure progresses over a period of many months, if not years, and generally is diagnosed well in advance of death, not just before.

—Why were different diagnoses given for Mr. Hughes's condition before and after death? When Kenneth A. Wright, administrator of the Hughes institute, called to make arrangements for Mr. Hughes's admission to Methodist Hospital in Houston, he cited a tentative diagnosis of a diabetic coma. . . . Officials of the Summa Corporation, . . . initially attributed his death to a stroke. Dr. Victor Emanuel Montemayor . . . said, even after the autopsy disclosed chronic kidney failure, that he thought Mr. Hughes had suffered a stroke on top of neglect. . . .

Some questions raised in Mr. Hughes's case might have been answered if he had died in Acapulco . . . But Mr. Hughes was treated in Mexico and his autopsy was done in Methodist Hospital, a unit of Baylor Medical Hospital, which receives support from the Hughes Institute among other sources. . . .

Because the autopsy was done privately with the permission of Mr. Hughes's next-of-kin at Methodist Hospital, the report is sealed as a confidential medical record. (*New York Times*, April 26, 1976)

After Hughes death there was a great deal of speculation as to whether he had prepared a will. A "world-wide search" was conducted, but on April 27, 1976, the *New York Times* reported: "Arlo Sederberg, a spokesman here for the Summa Corporation, . . . said that no will executed by Mr. Hughes had been found, either signed or unsigned." Two days after this was printed the Mormon newspaper, *Deseret News*, made a very startling announcement:

LOS ANGELES (AP)—The missing will of the late billionaire has been found . . . and part of his estate will go to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, radio station KFWB reported today . . .

The document was found in the Mormon Church Office Building in Salt Lake City, but Church leaders took "no position on the authenticity" of the will. They did, however, call "all news media" for a press conference, and the "Church attorney" personally delivered the document to "the Clark County clerk in Las Vegas." (For a full account of the discovery see *Deseret News*, Church

Section, May 8, 1976.) This purported will bequeaths one-sixteenth of Hughes' estate to the Mormon Church. This would amount to something between 94 and 156 million dollars.

Although we would really like to believe that this so-called Mormon will is authentic, the more we study it the more convinced we become that it is a forgery. We have given the reasons for this conclusion in our booklet *Howard Hughes and the "Mormon Will."*

On May 14, 1976, Wallace Turner wrote the following:

SAN FRANCISCO, May 13—the almost daily appearance of another purported will of Howard R. Hughes has obscured the fact that the executives of the Summa Corporation and some of Mr. Hughes's relatives have begun to seek a way to avoid the forced breakup of his empire to pay inheritance taxes.

Most informed observers of Mr. Hughes affairs and sources familiar with the attitudes or executives of Summa, expect that the purported wills will fall by the wayside, since each has serious flaws. (*New York Times*, May 14, 1976)

In the same article Mr. Turner says that "the secrecy of Mr. Hughes's affairs is as impenetrable as it was in his lifetime." Some people believe that Summa executives would like to have the empire turned over to the Hughes Medical Institute to avoid paying inheritance taxes. Mr. Turner points out that "The people who control Summa also control the institute. They are F. W. Gay, Chester C. Davis and Nadine Henley, all top officers of Summa and all directors of the institute" (*Ibid.*). We have previously shown that Frank William Gay is the man who was responsible for hiring the so-called Mormon Mafia. He is a very active and prominent member of the Church.

Time magazine for April 19, 1976, says that Hughes "had often stated that he intended to bequeath his fortune to the Howard Hughes Medical Institute, . . ." Lawrence K. Altman wrote the following about this institute:

Mr. Hughes was sole trustee of the controversial medical research institute that owns Hughes Aircraft Corporation. The institute grants highly prized awards to medical investigators throughout the country on the basis of its earnings from the Hughes Aircraft Corporation . . .

Mr. Hughes's fortune, estimated at at least \$1.5 billion, was earned largely through Government contracts, **including secret ones from the Central Intelligence Agency** . . .

Congressmen have accused the institute of spending a small fraction of its earnings on medical research and of not living up to the spirit of the law concerning the divestiture of foundation wealth. . . .

According to interviews . . . the Hughes Institute operated with the secrecy characteristic of Mr. Hughes himself and unlike other medical research groups.

The Hughes Institute does not publish an annual report, as other medical foundations customarily do. No one outside the institute knows the full extent of its programs or precisely how it decides which medical investors to support. Institute officials were not willing to discuss either its future or its past. . . .

Earlier this week, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence report emphasized the C.I.A.'s extensive ties to American universities and foundations. Because of the unusual nature of the Hughes institute's financial support for research, the secrecy of its operations, and previous disclosures about Mr. Hughes's involvement with the C.I.A. in building the Glomar Explorer to raise a sunken Russian submarine, some have questioned possible connections between the C.I.A., the Hughes institute and selected medical schools. (*New York Times*, May 1, 1976)

In the same article we read that "In a statement filed with the Internal Revenue Service, the institute said that, as of Dec. 31,

1974, it had 85 employees, including 60 research investigators and 14 other laboratory personnel working at the institute here and 12 medical school hospitals . . .” The “University of Utah” is included in this list.

The depth of Hughes’ involvement with the CIA may never be known. J. Anthony Lukas says: “Hughes had a particularly lengthy and complex relationship with the CIA, in which many of his ranking executives had served. It has long been believed that Hughes offices abroad—and at home—function as fronts for certain agency activities” (*Nightmare: The Underside of the Nixon Years*, page 113).

On January 6, 1976, the *New York Times* reported that “The Central Intelligence Agency refused today to produce information regarding the mysterious burglary of Howard R. Hughes’s headquarters in 1974.” The reader may remember that this burglary was supposed to have led to the revelation about the CIA’s role in the Glomar Explorer project. After this information came out, there was a dispute over the question of whether Hughes or the U.S. Government owned the Glomar Explorer. Finally, on January 21, 1976, the *New York Times* announced that “A Federal district judge dismissed yesterday a \$7.5 million Los Angeles County tax claim against Howard R. Hughes’s Summa Corporation on the ground that the Federal Government, not Summa was the owner of the ship Glomar Explorer.”

There are some people that believe that the Glomar Explorer’s real mission was much more important than just raising a submarine. In *Time* for April 19, 1976, pages 23-24, we read:

Summa organized the construction of the Glomar Explorer, under the guise of an oceanic mining and exploration ship. **Its real mission remains the subject of suspicion.** Despite Government denials, there is speculation that the ship may have been performing different duties—like implanting a weapons system on the ocean floor. Last week the Government sought to dispel those suspicions by allowing newsmen to visit the huge barge that accompanied the Glomar Explorer on the mission. The craft looked harmless, but it was not large enough to accommodate a retrieved Soviet submarine, as the CIA at first asserted.

Michael Drosnin deals with this matter in an article published in *New Times*, April 2, 1976. He claims that he received some important information from the Mormon military spy Charles E. Radford about Hughes helping to finance a secret weapons system. Mr. Drosnin admits, however, that he lied to Radford to get information from him. Because of this, we do not know how much stock to put in this story.

The reader may remember that we had a frustrating exchange of letters with Mormon Senator Howard Cannon over getting access to Robert Bennett’s testimony. This testimony could have revealed a great deal about Hughes’ interests because Bennett handled public relations for Hughes and later went to work for Summa. Cannon finally said that the CIA would not let him release this testimony. Although it may have no relation to the suppression of this testimony, it is interesting to note that Senator Cannon was a “close friend” of Hughes. Stanton O’Keefe gives this information:

The marriage ceremony itself was a classic example of Hughes’ penchant for secrecy. It took place in Tonopah, Nev. . . . Senator Howard Cannon, who was then the city attorney of Las Vegas and a personal friend of Hughes, took care of all the legal arrangements—including the trick maneuver that protected the validity of the marriage contract while allowing the couple to register under assumed names. (*The Real Howard Hughes Story*, page 147)

Jack Anderson, who is himself a Mormon, claims that Senator Cannon received large contributions from Hughes:

“Everyone has his price,” the late Howard Hughes once told his associate Noah Dietrich. Each election year, the eccentric billionaire tried to prove his theory by doling out hundreds of thousands of dollars to favored political candidates.

The beneficiaries of his largess ran the political gamut from presidents to sheriffs. Usually, the money was distributed in cash, which was taken from the gaming tables of his Las Vegas casino, the Silver Slipper. . . .

Like Bible [Sen. Alan Bible, D-Nev.], Sen. Howard Cannon, D-Nev., also received secret cash contributions from Hughes. Evidence in the files of the Securities and Exchange Commission states that Cannon “received between \$30,000 and \$70,000 in contributions from the Hughes organization.” . . . A spokesman said the senator “has never handled fund-raising personally” but “knew that the Hughes organization” had donated. . . .

Hughes may now be dead, but his empire hasn’t forgotten his political favorites. Senator Cannon, who is running for reelection this year, has collected contributions from a veritable Who’s Who of the Hughes’ Summa Corporation. (*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 8, 1976)

Now that Hughes is dead the Summa Corporation is faced with some very serious problems, and no one knows what the future holds. Less than a week after Hughes’ death, the *New York Times*, printed the following:

SAN FRANCISCO, May 11—A once dismissed indictment that accuses Howard R. Hughes and three of his associates of illegal manipulation of a publicly traded stock has been reinstated by the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

When the indictment was voted on July 30, 1974, it was viewed as a test of whether the rich and powerful Mr. Hughes could be brought to trial. . . .

Mr. Hughes died on April 5, and the charges against him will be dismissed . . . The other defendants are the following:

Chester C. Davis, chief counsel of the Hughes holding company, the Summa Corporation. . . .

Robert A. Maheu, Las Vegas, who from 1966 until 1970 was manager of Mr. Hughes’s interests in Nevada. . . .

David B. Charnay, president of Four-Star International, . . .

In addition to the four it accuses, the reinstated indictment names as co-conspirators who are not indicted: Herman Greenspun, publisher of the *Las Vegas Sun*, and George Crockett, . . . (*New York Times*, May 12, 1976)

There has been one important development with regard to the so-called Mormon will since we finished our pamphlet *Howard Hughes and the “Mormon Will.”* On May 29, 1976, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

LOS ANGELES (UPI)—The attorney for the man named executor of a purported Howard Hughes will confirmed Friday that at least two digits and perhaps three contained in a postage meter mark correspond in sequence to numbers on a meter machine registered to the hotel where Hughes lived.

“There is at least a relevant probability that the number on the envelope is the same as the number on the Pitney-Bowes machine,” said Harold Rhoden, . . .

“If it is the same number, then whoever wrote the will had access to that machine. Hughes certainly had access. He was there. Dummar did not.” . . .

The similarity of the postage meter mark number on an envelope containing the will and the number of the meter machine was disclosed earlier by Carol Moore, San Diego office manager of Pitney-Bowes, who said, “This is quite a coincidence, at the very least.”

She said postage meter No. 841862 was registered to the Desert Inn at Las Vegas, in June, 1967, and was still there in 1968 when the purported will was dated.

Rhoden said the first digit of the meter mark cannot be deciphered without the aid of chemicals or a microscope. The

second digit is a 4, he said, the third is unreadable, the fourth is an 8, the fifth either a 6 or 8 and the last is undecipherable.

While we must agree that this is “quite a coincidence,” it is far from conclusive proof. This is evident from the following: after we read this article we remembered that we had a collection of envelopes mailed to us from companies throughout the country. The first one that we picked up was from “Lighthouse Christian Stores” in Long Beach, California. It had a postage meter mark number of 849865. The reader will note that if the first, third and last digits were unreadable as in the case of the envelope containing the Mormon will, the other digits would agree perfectly. The following is a comparison of the two numbers in which we have marked the important digits: OUR SAMPLE DESERT INN

849865 841862

As far as the three numbers go, our sample conforms on all three digits, whereas on the envelope which held the Mormon will they are only certain of two—the fifth digit is “either a 6 or 8.” If the fifth digit should turn out to be an 8 it would prove that the will did not come from the Desert Inn. To be fair, however, we should point out that the name “Las Vegas” appears on the meter stamp on the envelope which was supposed to contain the Mormon will (*Arizona Republic*, April 30, 1976). Our sample has “Long Beach” and this obviously would not conform to the claim concerning the will’s origin. We must admit that the appearance of the name “Las Vegas” does strengthen the case for the envelope coming out of the Desert Inn. It certainly does not prove it, however, and the fact that the numbers are blurred and the year completely unreadable tends to cast doubt on the authenticity of the will. We have presented very compelling evidence against the will in our pamphlet *Howard Hughes and the Mormon Will*. We would like to believe that the will is genuine, but the evidence is over-whelmingly against this conclusion.

On the subject of the Hughes will we should report that James A. Everett, the former CIA agent who worked for the Mullen Co., claims that there is a genuine will that has not yet come forth. Since the Mullen Co. handled public relations for Hughes, we must seriously consider his statement. In a telephone conversation on May 29, 1976, he said that Hughes’ will is in the possession of Chester Davis. Mr. Everett claims that he has actually heard part of the contents of this will and that plans have already been made for the future on the basis of this will. It will apparently turn the Summa Corp. over to the Hughes Medical Institute. Mr. Everett feels that Summa officials may suppress this will as long as possible but that they will eventually bring it out.

D. Is Bennett “Deep Throat”?

In the *Las Vegas Sun* for May 18, 1975, we find an article entitled, HUGHES MAN WATERGATE ‘DEEP THROAT’. In an introduction to this article the following appears:

Editor’s note: This is the first of a three-part series on the Watergate scandal. Authors Richard Popkin and Barry Glassner have researched recently declassified CIA and congressional documents and from them concluded the *Washington Post’s* secret news source, code-named “Deep Throat,” was Robert F. Bennett, son of former U. S. Senator Wallace Bennett. . . .

In the first article Popkin and Glassner state:

According to recently declassified documents of the CIA and a congressional committee, Bennett was a major source of Watergate information for Washington “Post” reporter, Robert Woodward. . . .

According to a March, 1973 CIA document written by agent Eisenstadt, “Woodward is suitably grateful for the fine

stories and by-lines which he gets and protects Bennett (and the Mullen Company). Typical is the article, ‘Hunt Tried to Recruit Agent to Probe Senator Kennedy’s Life’ on page A-16 of the Saturday, February 10, 1973, *Washington Post*.” (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 18, 1975)

On May 20, 1975, the *Las Vegas Sun* published the last article in the three-part series. In this article we find the following:

Washington “Post” reporter Robert Woodward credits as [an?] anonymous person in a sensitive executive branch position with providing him much of the information about Watergate events. He called him “Deep Throat.” A comparison of Woodward’s remarks about “Deep Throat” with material now available on Robert Bennett suggests that Bennett is the real “Deep Throat.”

In his testimony before the Nedzi committee, Bennett emphasizes, “Bob Woodward of the *Washington ‘Post’* interviewed me at great length on numerous occasions. I have told Woodward everything I know about the Watergate case, except the Mullen Company’s tie to the CIA.” Bennett goes on to say, “As a result, I am a good friend of Woodward.”

Despite these alleged conversations between Bennett and Woodward, Woodward mentions Bennett only three times in his best seller, *All the President’s Men*. In each instance Bennett is described as a minor source, and in the book’s index he is listed as two separate people. . . .

The cover-up of Robert F. Bennett (“Deep Throat”?) and his CIA-front, the Mullen Company, is the most successful of the several Watergate cover-ups.

The cover-up continues to this day. Even Senator Baker, who noted Bennett’s activities several times in his Watergate report, remains silent. When reached last week at his Washington office, his only response to several questions about Bennett was “no comment.” (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 20, 1975)

The reader may remember that we previously quoted Senator Baker’s Report, page 12, as saying that “Bennett took relish in implicating Colson in Hunt’s activities in the press while protecting the Agency at the same time. It is further noted that Bennett was feeding stories to Bob Woodward who was ‘suitably grateful’; that he was making no attribution to Bennett; and that he was protecting Bennett and Mullen and Company.”

Earlier in this book, we suggested that Robert Bennett may have been the man that Woodward met with at the Hay-Adams Hotel (see Woodward’s account in *All the President’s Men*, pages 251-253). To say, however, that Bennett was the mysterious “Deep Throat” is certainly another question. Bennett was so upset when he learned of this charge that he threatened to consult his lawyer.

Those who have read *All the President’s Men* know that “Deep Throat” was the man who would meet Woodward in the middle of the night at such places as underground parking lots and bars to give him information on the Watergate scandal. One thing that troubles us about identifying Bennett as “Deep Throat” is the fact that “Deep Throat” was a very heavy smoker, whereas Bennett was supposed to be a devout Mormon, and good Mormons are forbidden the use of tobacco. When we asked a defender of the theory that Bennett is “Deep Throat” out this matter, he replied that it is very possible that “Deep Throat” wasn’t a chain-smoker, but that Woodward had just added this detail to cover-up his true identity.

Time magazine for May 3, 1976, gave this information about “Deep Throat”:

Nowhere do secrets have a higher mortality rate than in Washington, D.C. . . . Yet one mystery has proved as snoop-resistant at it is tantalizing: the identity of “Deep Throat,” . . .

There is no shortage of suspects in the guessing game of who Deep Throat was—or of skeptics. “I would expect it was a composite,” muses former Nixon Attorney James St. Clair. . . .

Political Writer Richard Reeves argues in the *New York Times*: “I have never been convinced that Deep Throat existed. The whole thing was too much like an old newspaper tactic that I have used myself: inventing a secret source. . . . If there is a Deep Throat, he’s worth \$10 million on the hoof.” Woodward declares that there is a Deep Throat . . . (*Time*, May 3, 1976, page 17)

In another article on the same page, we find the following:

Though he has proved himself a probing, tenacious reporter, Bob Woodward bitterly resents being on the receiving end of an interview if the subject is Deep Throat. But last week . . . Woodward reluctantly agreed to a terse session with *TIME* Correspondent Hays Gorey.

Q. Given all that has happened, do you feel you owe the American people any additional evidence of your credibility—such as the identity of Deep Throat?

A. No. And I don’t think reporters trying to identify other reporters’ sources is the noblest kind of journalism.

Q. Isn’t Deep Throat more than just another “source”? How do we know he exists?

A. My editors at the [*Washington*] *Post* know he exists—though they don’t know who he is. . . .

Q. Will he ever go public?

A. Some day he’ll come forth. If he were to die, I would feel obliged to reveal his identity. . . .

Q. Many of your colleagues still think you made him up.

A. Well, the ultimate test ought to be: Were our stories credible? Was our book credible? Have they held up? (*Ibid.*)

In the same interview Woodward says that Deep Throat “has a career in government.” Unless Robert Bennett is an undercover agent for the CIA, he does not match the description. Bennett admits that he allowed the Mullen Co. to be used as a CIA cover organization, but he denies that he has ever been “a C.I.A. operative.” *Time* magazine says that the evidence “strongly suggests,” assuming that Deep Throat does exist, that he operated in the White House, which knew about Hunt before the FBI did . . .” Although Robert Bennett did not work in the White House, he probably had very good contacts that knew what was going on. For instance, from testimony given by Bennett in *DNC v. McCord*, it would appear that he recommended Des Barker to be a special assistant to President Nixon:

Q. Did you have any conversation that day with anyone from the White House?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was that?

A. Des Barker.

Q. Who was Mr. Barker?

A. He is . . . an old friend of mine, who happened at the time to have been a special assistant to the President . . .

Q. Did he discuss the Watergate episode with you?

A. Simply to make comment about what a stupid kind of thing it had been over the weekend.

Q. Did he inquire as to the whereabouts of Mr. Hunt?

A. He asked if Hunt had come to work, that morning and I said yes, he had.

Q. I would like to go back just a minute to the question of Mr. Barker at the White House, a phone call on June the 19th. Can you tell us a little more about who Mr. Barker is and what position he had in the White House?

A. Mr. Barker is . . . head of Barker & Jorgenson, a Salt Lake City advertising agency and public relations firm. He worked with Ken Clawson and Herb Klein and Chuck Colson.

Q. Do you know who his immediate superior would have been?

A. I believe it would have been Chuck Colson, but I couldn’t say for sure.

Q. Do you know by whom he was recruited for the White House?

A. I believe Colson hired him. He was recommended for the job by me, among others. (*DNC v McCord*, Deposition of Robert Bennett, pages 33, 34, 95-57)

Mr. Barker helped Wallace F. Bennett when he was running for the U.S. Senate, and now Bennett seems to be helping him. The *Salt Lake Tribune* for March 10, 1976, reported the following:

Desmond J. Barker is announcing his candidacy Thursday for the U.S. Senate seat . . .

Former Sen. Wallace F. Bennett is serving as chairman of a Friends of Des Barker Committee organizing the campaign kickoff. . . . the former senator said “1976 marks a fresh opportunity for our party to recapture the Senate seat we lost to the liberal wing of the Democratic party in 1958.”

Mr. Barker has been active in Republican affairs since 1952, serving as a communications director for Young Republicans, . . . and also as an aide to campaigns of Sen. Bennett.

Robert Bennett also was a good friend of Charles Colson, and Colson certainly had a good idea of what was going on at the White House.

In an article entitled, “The Bennett Mystery,” J. Anthony Lukas points out that Robert Bennett probably had enough knowledge to have played the role of Deep Throat:

Who was Howard Hunt’s employer at the time of the Watergate break-in? . . .

Who helped recruit Tom Gregory to infiltrate the Muskie and McGovern campaigns? . . .

Who suggested that Hank Greenspun. . . . might have information in his safe that would interest the White House?

Who represented multimillionaire Howard Hughes in Washington during the Watergate period?

Who served as the contact man between Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt in the days immediately after the Watergate break-in? . . .

Who surreptitiously fed information to Bob Woodward of the *Washington Post* in a manner suggestive of “Deep Throat”?

The answer to all these questions is the same: **Robert Foster Bennett**. . . . He is the mystery man of Watergate, a shadowy figure rarely mentioned in most accounts, but whose trail can be followed through the duskiest corners of the scandal.

In the beginning Bennett was a friend of Chuck Colson’s. They met during the 1968 campaign, when Bennett was managing the re-election campaign of his father, Senator Wallace F. Bennett. . . . Colson, then a Washington lawyer, raised \$15,000 for the Senator, and Bob Bennett was very grateful. . . .

In July 1970—probably at Colson’s behest—a very important interest group got in touch with Bennett. A call came from William Gay, a top aide to Howard Hughes. Gay and Bennett were both Mormons and Hughes had increasingly surrounded himself with that steady, straight-living efficient breed. . . . apparently Gay was impressed by his fellow Mormon. For one day in December he called again. . . . Hughes was looking for a new Washington man. Would Bennett like the job? Bennett would. “Get set then,” Gay said. “Get a base.”

By marvelous coincidence—or perhaps not—Colson called Bennett at just this time to suggest that he buy Robert R. Mullen & Company, a Washington public relations firm which had long served as a C.I.A. front. . . .

Colson now charges that Bennett was the key figure in the C.I.A.'s efforts to cover-up its own role in Watergate and to blame the whole thing on the White House. He cites several C.I.A. memos which suggest that Bennett was feeding stories to Bob Woodward. . . .

Woodward concedes that Bennett was one of his important sources during the Watergate investigation. Whether or not he was Deep Throat . . . Bennett seems to have had access to much if not all of the information coughed up by Deep Throat. (*New York Times*, January 29, 1976)

In a letter to the *New York Times*, May 4, 1976, Robert Bennett vigorously denied Mr. Lukas' accusations:

Simply put, I am not Mr. Woodward's "Deep Throat." I have never been a C.I.A. operative, and I have never done the things that uninformed journalists like Mr. Lukas are telling the general public I did.

On April 29, 1976, the *Deseret News* reported that the magazine *Rolling Stone* had accused Bennett of being Deep Throat:

NEW YORK (AP)—Robert Bennett, a former Washington public relations man identified by *Rolling Stone* magazine as "Deep Throat," the Watergate informant, has denied he was the source of disclosures surrounding the scandal. . . .

Rolling Stone said providing information about the cover-up in the Nixon White House to *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward was part of a CIA effort to keep the media from inquiring into the role of the spy agency and, peripherally, the late billionaire Howard Hughes. . . .

"It's total nonsense," Bennett declared. . . . "It's an old story that's been kicking around close to six months and has long since been discredited.

"Check your morgue and you'll find that out." . . .

Rolling Stone author Howard Kohn cited as sources an ex-CIA operative and a Watergate investigator, both unnamed. (*Deseret News*, April 29, 1976)

Howard Kohn's article is entitled, "The Hughes Nixon-Lansky Connection: The Secret Alliances of the CIA From World War II to Watergate." We extract the following from Mr. Kohn's article:

Bennett coordinated the hiring of an operative to spy on the Democrats for Nixon and furnished him a bed in his own house. . . .

After the Watergate burglary, however, **Bennett charted a course that protected the CIA and Hughes at the expense of Nixon.**

. . . White House aide Chuck Colson came to view Hunt as a CIA double agent sent by Helms to monitor Nixon and compile potential blackmail material. . . . Hunt didn't go to work for the Mullen Agency because he happened to find a good job there. He was posted there by Dick Helms. All the time that Hunt was on the Mullen payroll he was reporting biweekly to the CIA. . . .

Most of the documentation that could have linked the CIA with the Plumbers was destroyed soon after the burglary. McCord's papers were burned in his fireplace. Helms disposed of all his taped conversations relating to Watergate. . . .

Reporters began pestering Hunt and the other Plumbers with unsettling questions. The burglars managed to maintain a professional silence. But the reporters were not satisfied until Robert Bennett began holding audiences with a few of the media's most influential newsmen. According to a CIA memo unearthed by the Watergate committee, Bennett flew from Washington to Los Angeles to spend four hours convincing a *Newsweek* reporter that the CIA had not been involved in the

burglary. Then he persuaded a *Time* investigative reporter that the magazine "was beating a dead horse" to pursue a CIA link to Watergate.

The two news weeklies—which had yet to learn of Bennett's ties to the CIA—seemed to accept his word. . . .

Only two young *Washington Post* reporters, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, continued to dog the Watergate story. Their persistence began to unnerve the CIA. So Bennett approached Woodward with an offering of information. As a Colson confidant, Bennett had been privy to several White House "dirty tricks" that were only tangential to the Watergate burglary. In exchange for a promise of anonymity, **Bennett supplied Woodward with a catalog of such White House wrongdoing.** . . .

Bennett also scrupulously sheltered the Hughes organization from *Post* scrutiny. Woodward and Bernstein never learned of the plan to burglarize Greenspun's safe, nor were they told the circumstances of the \$100,000 transaction from Hughes. . . . Woodward developed a "special relationship" with Bennett, according to a Watergate committee investigator who was also a source for Woodward. "A lot of the *Post* stories in the summer and fall of 1972 came in part from Bennett," the investigator said.

According to an ex-CIA operative familiar with Bennett and CIA infiltration of the White House, Bennett was acting on orders from CIA higher-ups in talking to Woodward. Bennett, who still enjoyed access to the White House, passed along everything he learned of the White House coverup to Woodward, the ex-CIA operative said. Eventually, according to the operative, Bennett assumed the code name "Deep Throat" and became the enduring catalyst for the *Post's* Watergate investigation. Chuck Colson, who claimed to have seen some CIA files on Watergate, said he believed that the CIA "can show how every story that Woodward won the Pulitzer Prize for was fed to him by the CIA."

Bennett briefly expanded his schedule to include other media. At one point his tipstering helped convince *Newsweek* to print a story entitled "Whispers about Colson." According to the CIA memo, "Bennett took relish in implicating Colson . . . while protecting the agency at the same time." . . . Robert Bennett, as head of the Mullen Agency, played a key undercover role in the undoing of Richard Nixon. (*Rolling Stone*, May 20, 1976, pages 86-88 and 92)

In the same article Howard Kohn gives some additional information about Howard Hughes, the Mullen Co. and the Bay of Pigs operation:

The Bay of Pigs operation had taken place ten years earlier . . . Among its participants had been John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Richard Nixon, Mafia leaders and hitmen, Howard Hughes, the CIA, Richard Helms, Charles 'Bebe' Rebozo, Robert Maheu, E. Howard Hunt, Frank Sturgis and the Mullen Agency. Then they all reappeared in the Watergate scandal.

All, except the Kennedy brothers. They were dead. . . . Through the long fall of 1960 Hunt mustered a secret army of exiles. . . . Secret training sites were set up in the Florida Everglades. . . .

Another was on Cay Sal, a rocky outcropping off Florida owned by Howard Hughes. Not only had Hughes given the CIA temporary custody of the island, but, according to one former CIA operative, he'd furnished the guerrillas with an alibi: if discovered, they could say they were rehearsing for a Hughes movie. Gary Hemming, a hulking ex-Marine who conducted drills at one of the training sites, later recalled that he helped unload crates labeled "Toolco," then the name of Hughes's parent company. Inside the crates were camp gear and machinery for the invasion.

Hughes had a purpose for his patriotism. According to a former aide, Hughes intended to rush into Cuba once Castro fell and develop a series of resort parks on the beach front, build his own jumbo airport and buy up a block or two of casinos and set himself up as a tourism magnate. . . .

According to 1974 congressional testimony, Bennett's company had been a CIA front since its inception in 1959, . . . During the Bay of Pigs preparations, it had helped set up the Cuban Freedom Committee, a CIA support group that tried to sabotage Castro's first sugar crop. (Ibid., pages 41, 45 and 87)

The publication of Mr. Kohn's article led to a very interesting article in the *Daily Utah Chronicle*, published at the University of Utah. We extract the following from that article:

Former ASUU student body president **Doug Bennett** claims the secret source "Deep Throat" used by *Washington Post* reporters Woodward and Bernstein in uncovering Watergate is "a collection of sources" **including his uncle Robert Bennett.**

Doug said he **lived with his uncle** from June through September 1974, during which the *Post* reporters uncovered most of the Watergate scandals.

Doug said Woodward, who has refused to reveal the identity of "Throat" met with his uncle "on several occasion[s]." Doug said Woodward and his uncle also talked a great deal over the phone. . . .

Doug said his uncle was outraged to learn of Hunt's activities at the White House. The former ASUU president said Robert talked mainly to Woodward about Hunt. Doug said his uncle would come home and say things like, "I talked to Woodward today."

Woodward has said "Throat" is a cigarette-smoking drinker who met him in dark parking lots. Robert Bennett is a Mormon who doesn't drink. Robert said, while he met Woodward in private, he didn't meet him in dark parking lots.

Doug explains these discrepancies as a smoke screen used by Woodward to protect the identity of "Throat." "The public would have tired of constant attribution to just 'sources,'" Doug said. "I think Woodward lumped together his most important sources into a spy novel-type character and called them "Deep Throat"!"

Doug said that if "Throat" were just one person, it probably wasn't his uncle. A single source would have been able to implicate Mitchell . . . "and my uncle didn't know anything about him," Doug said.

Robert told the *Chronicle* that he "got the impression" from talking to Hunt on Monday June 19, 1972 (the Watergate break-in occurred on Saturday June 17) that "Mitchell was involved." . . . Robert refused to elaborate on his "impression" that Mitchell was involved in Watergate. . . .

Robert said he believed Woodward's description of "Throat." He said he didn't think he could be "Throat" without knowing it. "I'm more aware of what I'm doing than that," Robert said. (*Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 10, 1976)

While we do not know if Robert Bennett ever met with Woodward in "dark parking lots," we do know that he was "feeding stories to Bob Woodward who . . . was making no attribution to Bennett; and that he was protecting Bennett and Mullen Company" ("The Baker Report," page 12). Like J. Anthony Lukas, we do not know whether Bennett was Deep Throat, but it is clear that "Bennett seems to have had access to much if not all of the information coughed up by Deep Throat."

E. The De Mott Interview

In the Baker Report, page 8, we read that "Bennett suggested and coordinated the DeMott interview regarding Chappaquiddick; . . ." In the Rockefeller Report we find the following concerning the DeMott interview:

Shortly after Hunt started to work at the White House, Bennett told him of an acquaintance, Clifford de Mott, who claimed to have derogatory information about the Kennedy family. Bennett knew and had approved of Hunt's White House

job and thought de Mott might be of interest to the White House. Hunt and Colson agreed that de Mott should be interviewed. Hunt felt, however, that his identity as a White House staff member should be concealed and proposed to obtain a disguise from the CIA.

At Hunt's request, relayed by Colson, Ehrlichman called General Robert E. Cushman, Jr., the Deputy Director of the CIA, on July 7, 1971. . . .

On July 22, 1971, Hunt met Cushman at the Agency by appointment. . . .

Hunt explained that he had been charged with a "highly sensitive mission" by the White House and needed a physical disguise and some identification cards for what he described as a "one time operation—in and out." . . . Hunt's purpose when asking for these materials was simply to conceal his White House's connection while interviewing de Mott. . . . The materials were prepared and on the following day, July 23, 1971, a TSD technician met Hunt at a Washington apartment maintained by the Agency for clandestine meetings (where all subsequent meetings were also held) and supplied him with a wig, a pair of glasses, a speech-altering device, a driver's license and miscellaneous identification cards (not including credit cards). On his return, the technician briefed the Acting Chief on the meeting with Hunt. Hunt and the technician met again at Hunt's request about a week later to adjust Hunt's glasses.

Hunt used the disguise to interview de Mott in Rhode Island. (*Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States*, pages 177-178)

In his book *Undercover*, Howard Hunt gives this information about the DeMott interview:

Bennett then told me that a former employee of his named Clifton De Motte was anxious to get back into Washington politics and was volunteering information on the Kennedy clan, particularly the Chappaquiddick tragedy. Bennett suggested I mention this potential source to Colson, which I did the following day. . . . Colson was immediately interested.

"Does Bennett think he's got inside information?"

"Bob says De Motte worked for the Kennedy entourage back in 1960 and knows the whole gang. Bob thinks he's worth checking out." . . . I returned to the White House and telephoned Clifton De Motte. . . .

Next morning I received a telephone call from Carl Wagner telling me to go that afternoon to a safehouse on upper Wisconsin Avenue near the National Cathedral. A man from CIA's Technical Services Division would be waiting for me, and his operational alias was "Steve." He would know me as "Edward."

At the safehouse Steve outfitted me with thick non-refractive glasses and a brown wig, which he showed me how to don and adjust. He was experimenting, he told me, with a voice-altering device, which he hoped I would be willing to use and report upon. Accordingly, he made a dental cast of my mouth and palate and with dental equipment in the safehouse fashioned a replica of my upper palate. Fitted into my mouth, the device—a false palate—interfered with normal tongue placement and produced a lisping effect.

Steve had brought with him a number of documents made out in the name of Edward J. Warren. . . .

So I flew to the Providence airport and checked into a motel room, where Clifton De Motte joined me at the appointed time. At first he seemed cautious and edgy, and I purposely kept the light low in the room to avoid his taking particular note of my physical disguise. We sat on opposite sides of a table, on which I had placed a small home tape recorder and its microphone. I asked if he objected to our conversation being recorded and he said that he did not. . . .

At the conclusion of our discussion I gave De Motte money for future expenses and suggested that after he had explored the Chappaquiddick situation he telephone Bob Bennett, who would convey the message to me. (*Undercover*, pages 148, 149, 159 and 160)

Howard Hunt gave testimony on the DeMott interview in the Senate Watergate Hearings (see *Hearings*, Book 9, pages 3677-3678; also Howard Hunt's Executive Session Testimony, December 18, 1973, pages 2, 27, 69 and 70). Charles Colson gave this testimony before the Judiciary Committee:

Mr. COLSON. I personally asked him to go to interview Dita Beard, as I have already testified. I authorized him to go to Massachusetts to interview one Clifton DeMott, which he had suggested to me and had been suggested to him by Mr. Bennett.

Mr. EDWARDS. And that is the one where he went with the disguise furnished by the CIA?

Mr. COLSON. That's correct.

(*Committee on the Judiciary—Testimony of Witnesses*, Book III, page 454)

F. Bennett and the ITT Affair

In his book *Compulsive Spy*, Tad Szulc gives this information:

... ITT had already been a problem for the Nixon administration for some time, as something of a scandal was developing over the Justice Department's favorable settlement of antitrust actions against the huge corporation. Jack Anderson had published what he described as an internal memorandum written by Mrs. Beard stating that the Justice Department had settled the suit against ITT after ITT promised to provide \$400,000 to the Republican party for their convention, which was to have been held in San Diego. Early in March, Mrs. Beard was secretly flown from Washington to Denver (apparently by Gordon Liddy), where she interned herself in a local hospital allegedly because of a heart condition.

Colson has admitted that a few days later, he sent Hunt to Denver to "interview" Mrs. Beard concerning the authenticity of the compromising document. Colson ordered Hunt's expedition after Bob Bennett, the friendly president of the Mullen public-relations firm, told him that a private investigating agency working for ITT had concluded that the Beard memo might be a forgery. This private investigating firm was Intertel, also employed on a retainer basis by the Howard Hughes interests. And, of course, Bennett was Hughes's local representative.

For his interview with Mrs. Beard, Hunt wore the CIA's red wig and used the name Edward J. Hamilton. This was the name that appeared on his identification papers prepared by the CIA the previous summer. (*Compulsive Spy*, page 141)

In his secret testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, December 18, 1973, page 67, Howard Hunt said that he did not believe that Gordon Liddy was responsible for Dita Beard's disappearance from Washington: "I heard allegations that he got her out of town, but that seems incredible to me."

Robert C. Mardian, on the other hand, claimed that Liddy had confessed to him that he was responsible for Dita Beard's disappearance:

I tried to convince him [Liddy] he would be identified, that his best bet was to give himself up rather than try to wait for them to arrest him.

He discounted this completely by saying that this group had been operating together for some considerable period of time, that they were all real pros, that they had engaged in numerous jobs. And when I asked him what kind of jobs, he said, we pulled two right under your nose.

I inquired as to what he meant by that, and he said that they had invaded the office of the psychiatrist of Dr. Ellsberg and that **they were the ones who got Dita Beard out of town.**

I expressed my strong displeasure with respect to—I pointed out that the worst thing that had happened in the hearings was that Dita Beard disappeared. (*Watergate Hearings: Break-in and Cover-up*, pages 479-480)

In the book *The Sovereign State of ITT*, page 288, Anthony Sampson says that "John Mitchell, the former attorney general, later described the removal of Dita Beard from Washington as one of 'the White House horror stories.' In the meantime Charles Colson, the former White House aide, confirmed to the Staggers committee, which was investigating the SEC, that he had agreed that Howard Hunt should be sent to Denver to interview Dita Beard about the authenticity of the memo: . . ."

On pages 220-223 of the same book, we find the following:

In the meantime the one crucial witness, Dita Beard herself, had vanished. The case acquired a surrealistic dimension, the more so as it coincided with the Howard Hughes affair. Eastland issued a subpoena, but still there was no trace of her. The FBI was asked to find her, and eventually it was learned that a woman answering her description had become ill on a flight to Denver on March 2, and had been given oxygen, but refused to identify herself, . . . J. Edgar Hoover at last reported that she had been discovered . . . in Denver, Colorado. The FBI agents were at first refused admission until her personal doctor, Dr. Liszka, had examined her heart. Then, after they served the subpoena, the doctor stated that she was too ill to give evidence, as she was suffering from impending coronary thrombosis. . . .

It was not till March 10 that Dita Beard made a public statement about the memorandum. . . . Mrs. Beard categorically denied "that there was ever an arrangement between ITT and the administration involving a favorable settlement of the antitrust action," but she did not suggest that she had not written the memo. A week later, however, she dictated a further statement from her hospital bed, saying that the memo published by Anderson was a hoax, with forged initials. . . .

At last, three weeks after the beginning of the hearings, a few senators were allowed to question Dita Beard. . . . under questioning from Kennedy she admitted that many bits of the memo did seem familiar, and she even explained why she had written them. She recognized the first two paragraphs, except for the bit about Mitchell. She was familiar too with the subject matter of most of the third paragraph; but after that, she said, she was confused—particularly by the reference to talks with Governor Nunn, and "our noble commitment." She couldn't understand how she could have said that "the President has told Mitchell to see that things are worked out," but she agreed that "this last paragraph does sound very familiar." (*The Sovereign State of ITT*, pages 220-223)

In the book *All the President's Men*, page 256, we find this information:

Colson had coordinated the united White House-ITT strategy. Initially, both the administration and the corporation had tried to picture Dita Beard as a drunken crackpot and sought to discredit Jack Anderson. The effort had failed. ITT had hired Intertel, which also did work for the Howard Hughes organization, to make a technical inspection of the memo. Intertel established that the memo was probably written on a typewriter in Mrs. Beard's downtown Washington office, but that it would be almost impossible to prove. **Robert Bennett**, who represented Howard Hughes' interests in Washington **passed this information on to Howard Hunt**, his employee, for transmission to Colson.

It was the old "insulation" story. Intertel's findings had cleared the way for the memo to be labeled a forgery. Colson, Hunt's other employer, dispatched Hunt to Denver. Mrs. Beard

then issued a statement denying she had written the memo. (“I—and in a greater sense the whole American government—are the victims of a cruel fraud. . . .”) Her words got back to the White House, from Hunt to Bennett to Colson. It was like Tinker to Evers to Chance. Colson-Chance then flipped the good news to Hugh Scott, who read Mrs. Beard’s denial on the Senate floor that same day.

In his testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, Howard Hunt gave this information:

Senator ERVIN. Now, when Mr. Colson asked you to go to Denver to consult Dita Beard, what did he tell you that he wanted you to say to Dita Beard or ask Dita Beard?

Mr. HUNT. This was a very complicated mission, . . . my two basic instructions when I set out to elicit information from Mrs. Beard were to determine, (a) why she had left Washington, and (b) and in effect hidden herself out—hidden herself away—and (c) whether or not the famous or infamous memorandum concerning ITT was, according to the best of her knowledge, fraudulent. . . .

Senator ERVIN. Did you disguise yourself in any way when you visited Mrs. Beard?

Mr. HUNT. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. What name did you give her?

Mr. HUNT. I believe it was Warren, consistent with the documentation I was carrying at that time.

Senator ERVIN. Where did you get that documentation?

Mr. HUNT. **From the CIA.**

Senator ERVIN. So they did assist you on more than the Fielding case?

Mr. HUNT. Well, indirectly; yes, sir. But this documentation had been provided me approximately a year earlier. (*Hearings*, Book 9, pages 3752-3753)

In his testimony before the Judiciary Committee, Charles W. Colson admitted that “Hunt did go to Denver in alias . . .” Then he went on to state:

Mr. COLSON. He used an alias and he also wore what has subsequently been described as an ill-fitting red wig, although the CIA takes great offense at that. (*Committee on the Judiciary—Testimony of Witnesses*, Book III, page 251)

In the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, page 208, we find this interesting information:

Robert Mardian testified that shortly after the Dita Beard memorandum was published, G. Gordon Liddy told him he transported ITT lobbyist Beard away from Washington, D.C. Subsequently, Colson dispatched E. Howard Hunt to Denver, Colorado, where Mrs. Beard was in a hospital to interview her about the origin and authenticity of her memorandum. . . . Money was then provided for the trip from campaign funds held by G. Gordon Liddy. Following Hunt’s interview with her, Mrs. Beard issued a statement claiming that the famous memo was a fraud. **This statement was written by Bob Bennett**, Hunt’s employer at the Mullen Co. (*Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 1, page 208)

In his secret testimony given before the Senate Watergate Committee, Howard Hunt told of Robert Bennett’s involvement in the Dita Beard affair:

Mr. Madigan. Well, he [Bennett] was involved, was he not, with the Dita Beard affair when you went out there to interview her?

Mr. Hunt. I found that he was, yes.

Mr. Madigan. . . . Did you tell him about what you were doing and how you were going to go about doing it?

Mr. Hunt. Perhaps I could give you my perceptions of his awareness of my involvement in the Dita Beard affair. I believe that it began, according to the best of my recollection, with some information from him, Mr. Bennett, to me, which he had either assumed or requested that I pass to Mr. Colson. I at that time had not been particularly aware of Mrs. Beard other than what I read in the newspapers. He had acquired some information, I believe from some member of the Hughes Tool Company organization, which he passed to me and I passed along to Colson.

Subsequent to that, Colson called me over to the White House and introduced me to Wally Johnson who was the one who ultimately dispatched me to see Mrs. Beard.

Now, when I returned from that assignment I found that **Mr. Bennett was in the thick of a public relations campaign** which involved himself, I believe Wally Johnson of the White House, very likely Colson, and I think Senator or Congressman Hruska . . .

Mr. Madigan. What time frame would you place these activities in?

Mr. Hunt. I would say the first day or two following my immediate return from Denver. I know that **the Mullen office was being used by Bennett as a sort of a clearinghouse** for statements that were being made with regard to Mrs. Beard. I know that Mr. Bennett was in touch with one or more of her attorneys, whose names would mean nothing to me at this point.

Mr. Madigan. I think it was March of ’72.

Mr. Hunt. Yes. Well, we’re talking about March of ’72. And Mr. Bennett put on our copier a press release that was to be made by Mrs. Beard in Denver, and it was sent to her attorneys’ offices in Denver, I believe from Mullen Company.

Now, he had worked out the press release with interested parties, let us say, in the Senate and in the White House, . . .

Mr. Madigan. There was some involvement in the letter that was written by Mrs. Beard—

Mr. Liebengood. The memo.

Mr. Madigan. The memo rather, was there not?

Mr. Hunt. Well, I became aware of the controversy over the letter but not through Mr. Bennett. I became aware through Mr. Colson.

Now, evidently, apparently—and I can only be that specific—Mr. Bennett and Mr. Colson were in close and continuous touch on the problem that the so-called Beard memorandum represented to the Administration. (Executive Session Testimony of E. Howard Hunt, December 18, 1973, pages 3-5)

Mr. Liebengood. I am not sure I understand the reason for Bennett’s interest in Dita Beard. You indicated there was some public relations aspect of that, I think, that was lost.

Mr. Hunt. I was not aware of his interest in Dita Beard until I got back from Denver and found out **the whole office was somehow engaged in this affair**. I think that she had some **Mormon lawyers, and so you had the Mormon Mafia involved here**.

I think she had at least one lawyer who was a Mormon, who I think was known to Bennett. I think also that one of her lawyers had some sort of a peripheral relationship with the Hughes Tool Company, and I do not know if that was coincidental or what.

It may have been that we had one of these transmitter-receivers, facsimile transmitter-receivers in our office. There was only a limited number of them in Washington. I do not think the White House had any, and it was deemed important that her lawyers would be able to receive facsimile copies of drafts of suggested statements that she might make.

Now, Colson and Bennett were very close, and I assumed that Colson had called Bennett in and said, loo [look?], will you help us out in this affair. We have got a communications problem. That is my guess. (Ibid., pages 68-69)

G. Bennett's Dummy Committees

On June 22, 1972, Carl Bernstein wrote an article for the *Washington Post*. In this article we find the following:

Robert F. Bennett president of the Washington public relations firm in whose office two figures mentioned in the Democratic National Committee bugging case have worked, **acknowledged yesterday that he was the principal organizer of dummy committees to raise money, for the reelection of President Nixon.** . . .

The fund-raising committees that Bennett formed—bearing names such as Supporters of the American Dream—were established in 1971 as a means of legally collecting Nixon campaign contributions without reporting them under the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, according to Bennett.

Bennett said he shut the committees down several months ago, however, “when we became front page news and a lot of people got scared” that they might be making illegal contributions.

Committees like those established by Bennett reportedly raised a portion of \$10 million collected for the President's re-election before April 7, when the Corrupt Practices Act was supplanted by a new campaign reporting law that requires full disclosure of all contributions.

Former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, now Nixon's campaign chairman, has refused Democratic demands and requests from newsmen that the contributors of the \$10 million be identified.

Among contributions sent to the organizations was a total of \$325,000 given 68 different committees by the political arm of the Associated Milk Producers, Inc., a cooperative with more than 30,000 member farms in 20 states.

The contributions led to a suit filed by Ralph Nader's Public Citizens, Inc. which charged that the Nixon administration raise[d] government milk support prices as a payoff for the donations.

In all, **from 75 to 90 committees were established by Bennett** and “people who told me they would set them up for me . . . it was a sort of a chain-reaction thing,” he said. (*Washington Post*, June 22, 1972)

In the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 2, we find the following about the dummy committees that Bennett set up:

From the time of the meeting in November, 1970 in the Madison Hotel attended by Colson, Kalmbach, Evans and the AMPI representatives to discuss dummy committees for the \$2 million in milk producer contributions, until March 23d, no substantial progress was made in arranging for these contributions to the President's campaign. In the interim, Colson, Haldeman and Kalmbach agreed to have a person not directly affiliated with the White House or the campaign to supervise this project.

Kalmbach was the chief fund-raiser for the President. However, he apparently did not want to deal with interest group contributors, such as the milk producers. In a memorandum from Colson to Haldeman dated February 1, 1971, and titled “Outside Fund Handling,” Colson pointed out this fact to Haldeman and said that he knew of an individual who could handle contributions from those groups. Haldeman's handwritten response on the memo was “proceed away.” Below that is written “Bob Bennett” in what has been identified as Colson's handwriting. . . .

Bennett told the Select Committee staff that he wanted to participate, albeit in a minor way, in the 1972 campaign. He decided there would be a need for multiple committees for large contributions, and he talked to Colson and Evans about setting up committees.

Evans introduced Bennett to Kalmbach who told him that they needed 100 committees right away and, ultimately, 300 to 400 committees. In March, Evans gave Bennett a copy of a

charter for a District of Columbia Committee “to work for the renomination of President Richard M. Nixon.” In the following months, Bennett organized the committees using that charter. . . . Lilly's account of a \$250,000 commitment dovetails with the evidence that at about that time Kalmbach and Robert Bennett both understood that the first contributions by the milk producers to the multiple committees for the President's campaign were to total \$250,000, in the form of \$2,500 to each of 100 committees.

Within one week after the price support increase, (1) TAPE took steps to lend ADEPT \$50,000 to contribute to Republican committees (the subject matter of the Louisville airport meeting with Alagia) and (2) 100 committee names were sent by Harrison to Nelson for a \$250,000 contribution to be made to the President's re-election. Within a month's time, checks were drawn, each for \$2,500, by TAPE, to 76 of the committees. Although these checks were voided and the process eventually took several more months to complete, by September, 1971 TAPE had contributed to 75 committees and the other two dairy trusts to 18, for a total contribution of \$232,500 to 93 committees. . . .

In the course of this contribution activity, there were repeated references by the milk producers to the fact that these contributions were part of a commitment which, according to some, was made in exchange for the increase by the President.

In the months that followed, Haldeman met with Dean to discuss what was to be done with the “milk money.” Throughout, there was a concern about **concealing the fact** that the milk producers were substantial contributors to the campaign. . . .

c. Public Disclosure. White House aides were concerned about disclosure of a link between the milk producers' contributions and the President's campaign, and they took certain precautions to minimize the possibility of such disclosure.

Since District of Columbia political committees were not required to report their expenditures (including any transfers to the President's campaign), the Bennett committees were organized in D.C. to receive the dairy contributions. . . .

Furthermore, the committees were made to appear as anonymous as possible. For treasurers of the committees, Bennett enlisted employees of the two banks in Washington used for the 100 committees' accounts, and the bank addresses were to be reported as the official addresses for the committees. The names of the committees did not include the President's name and were drawn in such a way so as not to be linked to the President, such as “Americans United for Honesty in Government.”

Despite all their efforts, the link between the milk contributions and the President's campaign was uncovered. Apparently because the milk producers reported the address of the chairmen of several committees, rather than the bank addresses given for the treasurers, it became known that the committees established by Bennett were for the President's campaign. In addition, two persons (who had originally been included as chairmen and then replaced by Bennett) were inadvertently included in the lists sent to the milk producers and subsequently included in their public reports; these individuals then informed the Clerk of the House that they knew nothing of the committees that had been reported as receiving the contributions.

The milk producer reports were corrected, but the publicity linking the President and the milk producers had begun, and White House officials and fund-raisers were quite upset. Internal White House memoranda in September, 1971, indicate that Haldeman, Dean, Colson, Kalmbach, Nunn, Strachan, Bennett, Evans and Robert Odell (Executive Director of the Republican National Finance Committee) were all involved in discussions concerning investigations and stories by several newsmen “on the ‘milk money’ situation.” According to one memo, Bennett advised Nunn that “no damaging information has been released.”

But the damage had been done. Newspaper articles appeared which suggested that a *quid pro quo* may have taken place for the President's milk price support decision, and all parties to the transaction—the milk producers, the White House and Bennett and his chairmen—were embarrassed. Sloan says that accordingly, sometime in the fall of 1971, Harrison put a “hold” on additional contributions by the milk producers. Later, in late 1971 and early 1972, after the September contributions from TAPE were reported, more adverse publicity arose and, as a result, Bennett had the committees closed and the funds transferred to FCRP, and the milk producers began looking for other less embarrassing ways to meet their commitments to the President's campaign. (*Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 2, pages 251, 252, 269, 290, 292, 318 and 319)

In footnote 622 on page 316 of the same report, we find this information:

Only 99 of the 100 committees were to be used. The 100th was chaired by E. Howard Hunt, and Bennett says it was decided that, in view of Hunt's work at that time on the White House “Plumbers” unit, it would be inappropriate and too risky to link him publicly to the multiple committees and the President's campaign.

A memo from Gordon Strachan to H. R. Haldeman is reproduced on page 414 of the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 2. The following is taken from that memo:

Lee Nunn reports that \$232,500 has been realized. This is slightly more than one-half of the amount that should have been delivered on the commitment (\$90,000 per month).

However, a much more disturbing element has emerged. Frank Wright, a reporter for the *Minneapolis Star* has interviewed six of the chairmen of the front committees and Bob Bennett (the man handling all of the transactions). Memo dated September 11, 1971, as reproduced in the *Senate Watergate Report*, vol. 2, page 414)

Frank Wright, mentioned in the memo cited above, wrote an article entitled, “Land of Milk and Money, which was published in *The Nation* on December 20, 1971. We quote the following from that article:

As newcomers to the back corridors of big-time political financing, the dairy farmers, certainly without wanting to and perhaps without realizing it, have provided a classic example of how election campaigns in the United States are often paid for and how that can influence government actions. It involves the direct intervention of President Nixon and dozens of Congressmen on behalf of the milk producers, the payment of hundreds of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions, and the expenditure of millions of dollars in taxpayers' money. . . .

The whipped cream topping to this campaign came on March 23, when the President met at the White House with sixteen representatives of the farmers. . . . The audience with Nixon was scheduled to last thirty minutes; it went on for almost an hour. Details of the discussion have never been disclosed, but whatever was said was effective. Two days later, Hardin announced the price support increase. . . .

The whole affair might gradually have faded from sight after that, but in June the farm groups filed with Congress their next set of required political financing reports. They showed that the organizations had contributed \$85,000 to the President's 1972 re-election at the very time he and his Administration were reversing themselves on price support. . . .

Washington was amazed by the candor of the reports. . . .

By September, when their latest reports were filed, the farmers had learned their lesson. They reported spending another \$170,000 on contributions, but this time didn't reveal the actual

recipients of the money. According to the reports, the money went to a series of sixty-eight different committees located at a variety of addresses in and around Washington. Each committee received \$2,500. They carried such names as the Organization of Involved Americans, Americans United for Political Awareness, Americans United for Political Involvement, Americans Participating, Americans United for Decent Government. . . .

As intended, the uninitiated were confused, but to those versed in national political financing, it was an old story—the dummy committee was back again. Under the law, a contributor may give only \$5,000 to a candidate's campaign or to his committee. To get around this, or to hide the identity of his backers, a candidate will often set up a series of committees that are little more than a name, an address and checking account. To avoid the requirement that they file public reports, they usually use banks in Washington which are exempt from laws regulating national political campaigning.

Only by checking out the address for each committee could reporters trace the dairy farmers' underground committee network to Nixon. One address was the home of the daughter of Sen. Wallace Bennett (R., Utah), a pillar of the Mormon Church. Another was the office of a Virginia attorney active in the Mormon Church. A third was the home of that attorney's secretary. Another was the former address of a public relations firm that has worked in numerous GOP campaigns.

Eventually **the trail led to Robert Bennett**, the Senator's son. He is now an executive of the public relations firm, Robert R. Mullen & Co. . . . Bennett readily admitted setting up the committees and said their purpose was to collect money for the President's re-election. He said he had been campaigning for Nixon ever since 1960. He called his efforts “a little quiet something I can do.” Bennett claimed the committees were his own idea. . . .

It took reporters several days to check out enough of the dummy committees to flush out Bennett and to find the charter. How many private citizens with an interest in who gives what to whom have that much time to search behind the public record? And, if ours is the open society that it claims to be, why should they have to? (*The Nation*, December 20, 1971, pages 657-659)

In a memo to John Ehrlichman, dated February 1, 1972, John Dean wrote the following:

. . . on March 25, Secretary Hardin reversed his initial decision and announced that the price support level would be raised. . . .

Nader alleges that this decision was then followed by much larger political contributions to Republican campaign committees. Since March 25, TAPE, SPACE, and ADEPT contributed another \$287,500 to over 50 dummy committees for the re-election of the President, all located in the District of Columbia. Investigation of these committees by Nader further determined that many listed in the reports had incorrect addresses and that certain individuals listed as officers denied any connection whatsoever with the committees. These inaccuracies in listings have resulted in several complaints to the Clerk of the House by individuals whose names or addresses were used in connection with the committees without their permission.

From a legal standpoint, Nader should have a difficult time winning his case if the Department of Agriculture has documentation of its rationale for the reversal of position, which it apparently has. . . .

Aside from the ultimate decision in this case, **the discovery proceedings could prove disastrous**. . . . Nader can be expected to try to obtain through discovery all communications between the White House and the Department of Agriculture. These will probably be amenable to protection by claims of executive privilege. (Memo from John Dean to John Ehrlichman, as printed in *Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary*. . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803, Book 6, part 2, page 883)

At the time the Judiciary Committee was considering the impeachment of Richard Nixon, the donations by the milk producers became a very important issue. In the *Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary . . . Pursuant to H. Res. 803*, Book 6, Part 2, pages 789-807, we find a list of Robert Bennett's dummy committees. A number of chairmen listed seem to be from the staff on the Mullen Co. and Interprogres. It would be interesting to determine how many Mormons appear on this list. We notice, for instance, that Lawrence S. Jeppson of Bethesda, Maryland, is listed as the Chairman of the Association for Concerned Citizens. The *Salt Lake Tribune* for January 13, 1975, says that Senator Wallace F. Bennett has a daughter, "Mrs. Lawrence Jeppson" who lives in "Bethesda, Md." The Chairman of the Association of Progressive Americans is listed as "Robert W. Barker." "The reader may remember that we have previously mentioned a Robert W. Barker who is "eastern regional representative of the Council of Twelve Apostles" in the Mormon Church (see *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 10, 1974). The address for the Chairman of the Association of Progressive Americans is listed as 1616 H Street, N. W., Washington, D.C.

H. Interprogres

The *Washington Post*, for June 20, 1972, gave the following information:

Robert F. Bennett, president of the public relations firm at which Hunt works, said yesterday that the firm also has an affiliate, called Interprogres, that is **attempting to increase American trade with Communist countries.** (*Washington Post*, June 20, 1972)

A brochure about this affiliate contains this information:

Interprogres. Ltd. is incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware. U.S.A. and is aimed at expanding East-West commercial relationships. Its headquarters are in Washington, but it maintains offices in Singapore, Amsterdam and Zagreb.

Among the "Directors" of Interprogres we find the following names: Robert F. Bennett, James A. Everett, E. Howard Hunt, and Robert R. Mullen. Now that we know that the Mullen Co. was deeply involved with the CIA, it seems reasonable to believe that the real purpose of "Interprogres" was to help the CIA rather than "to increase American trade with Communist countries." A secret memo from the CIA to the FBI indicates that the CIA did have an interest in the success of Interprogres:

6. Interprogres is a new subsidiary of the Mullen Company formed in 1971, . . . At least two overseas assets have tangential tasks of promoting the acceptance of this company as a Mullen subsidiary. (Memo from the CIA, as reproduced in *Committee on the Judiciary—Testimony of Witnesses*, Book 3, page 12)

It is also interesting to note that the Mullen Company had "A wholly owned subsidiary" known as the "Intercontinental Research Company" in New York City. (Brochure published by the Mullen Company)

I. J. Walter Thompson Co.

In our telephone conversation with James A. Everett, he mentioned something concerning the Mormons and the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency. When we asked him about this later, he replied as follows: "I mentioned J. Walter Thompson Company merely as a reference point in how the Mormon account came to Robert R. Mullen & Co. They went first to JWT and were referred from there to RRM & Co. As far as I know JWT has never had a

contractual relationship with the Mormon Church" (Letter dated October 15, 1974).

Advertizing Age for February 3, 1975, carried an article concerning the J. Walter Thompson Co., the Mullen Co., the Mormons and the CIA. We cite the following from that article:

New York, Jan. 31—The Central Intelligence Agency, whose domestic and overseas actions have made it the center of national attention, appears to have involved J. Walter Thompson Co., the nation's largest ad agency, through a pr front for the intelligence unit. . . .

The beginning chronologically goes back to World War II when JWT supplied a number of its key executives to the Office of Strategic Services (predecessor agency to the CIA) . . .

More recently, JWT appears to have been involved in several **joint advertising-pr service activities with Robert R. Mullen & Co.**, a Washington-based pr firm whose principals have admitted to Senate investigators that they provided cover for the CIA. Mullen has since quietly ceased operations.

Robert Bennett, who became president and owner of Mullen in 1971, . . . had handled the Hughes account . . . Mr. Bennett also employed, as a pr writer at Mullen, E. Howard Hunt (convicted Watergate burglar), . . .

The only instance Mr. Bennett could recall when Mullen used JWT was during August, 1971, when **it hired the pr arm of JWT-London to handle a Mormon conference in Manchester, England.** "We needed some people on the ground, before we got there, to advise on publications, invite the press, get releases out, things like that," he explained. Mr. Mullen has written a book on Mormon history. . . .

JWT's tie with Mullen goes back many years, Robert C. R. Mullen being an acknowledged close friend of a number of top JWT executives, including Samuel W. Meek, who often has been credited with building JWT's overseas operations even though he was never given a specific title in international. . . .

Reached by phone at his Key Biscayne, Fla., retirement home, Mr. Mullen denied that the Mullen company and JWT ever had joint offices.

Mr. Mullen did concur with Peter Dunham, a former JWT vp-international, who said that when he (Mr. Dunham) was manager of JWT's office in Mexico City, Mullen got the pr assignment for the Mexican government tourist account and was invited to use JWT's Mexico City office. Mr. Mullen said, "They handled the advertising and we had the pr." . . .

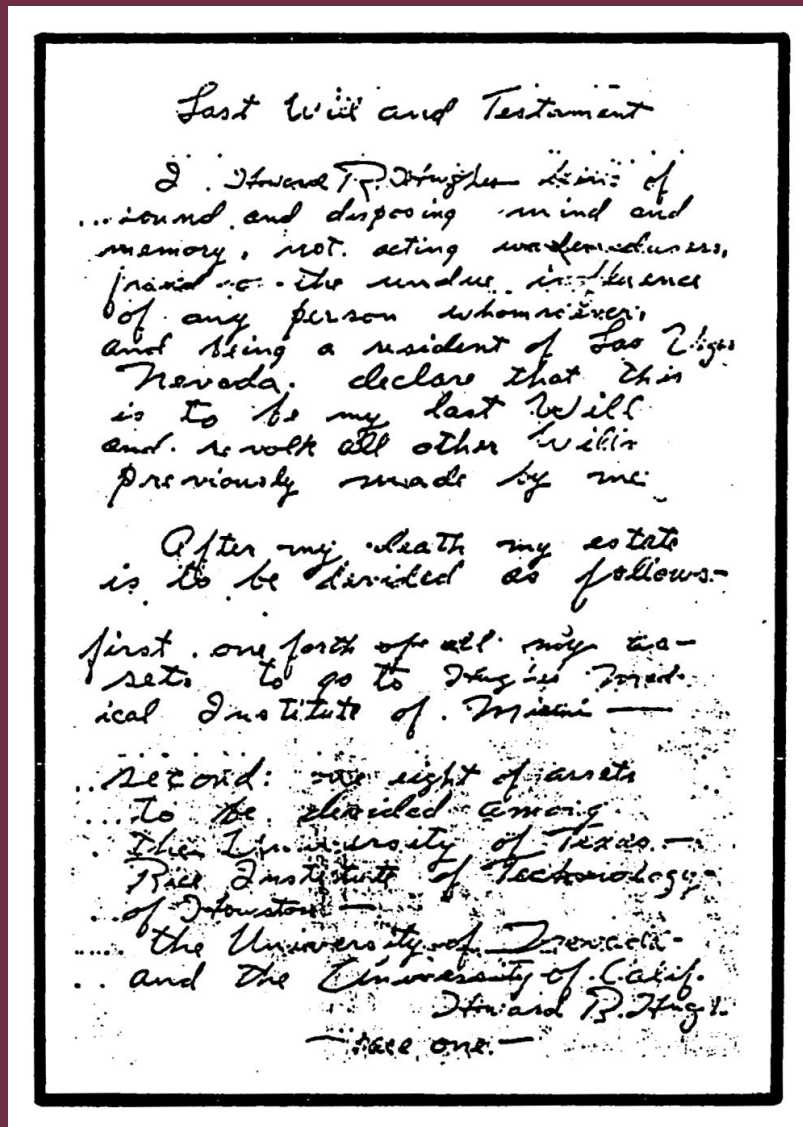
When asked if any JWT people had ever moved to his company, Mr. Mullen answered, "No." Later in the conversation, when the name Gene d'Olive was brought up, Mr. Mullen recalled that Gene d'Olive had worked for JWT, and then "he worked for us for a couple of years in the 1950s." (*Advertizing Age*, vol. 46, no. 5, February 3, 1975, pages 1 and 56)

The reader will notice that *Advertizing Age*, states that Samuel W. Meek of J. Walter Thompson Co. was a "close friend" of Robert Mullen. We have previously brought out the fact that Mullen was instrumental in the formation of the Cuban Freedom Committee. J. Anthony Lukas gives this information:

Just prior to the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, the CIA established an organization called the Cuban Freedom Committee, based in Washington. This propaganda outlet for the agency, which operated a station called Free Cuba Radio, broadcasting anti-Castro material into Cuba, was financed by \$2 million in CIA money funneled through various foundations. The committee's board of directors included Samuel Meek of J. Walter Thompson; . . . according to a CIA memo, Robert Mullen was "instrumental in the formation" of the committee and prepared some of its material. (*Nightmare: The Underside of the Nixon Years*, New York, 1967, pages 38-39)



HOWARD HUGHES and the "MORMON WILL"



Did Hughes Really Leave \$100,000,000
to the Mormon Church?

By Jerald and Sandra Tanner

Howard Hughes and the “Mormon Will”

By Jerald and Sandra Tanner

1976

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HOWARD HUGHES and the “MORMON WILL”

After Howard Hughes' death there was a great deal of speculation as to whether he had prepared a will. A “world-wide search” was conducted, but on April 27, 1976, the *New York Times* reported: “Arlo Sederberg, a spokesman here for the Summa Corporation, . . . said that no will executed by Mr. Hughes had been found, either signed or unsigned.”

Two days after this was printed the Mormon newspaper, *Deseret News*, made a very startling announcement:

LOS ANGELES (AP)—The missing will of the late billionaire has been found . . . and part of his estate will go to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, radio station KFWB reported today. . . .

“Whether or not the will is the actual will of Mr. Hughes or is a hoax, we do not know,” the church said in a statement issued by its public relations director. . . .

In Salt Lake City, church officials called all news media and said a press conference would be held in the early afternoon for an “important” announcement. . . .

Some time ago the Houston, Texas *Chronicle* quoted Noah Dietrich, a former Hughes aide as saying the billionaire would leave the church much of his estate.

Robert Bennett, public relations director for Summa, and a member of the LDS Church, said he figures about 30 percent of Summa executives are Mormons. . . .

Mormons don't accept gambling so there are virtually no Mormon dealers or casino managers in the Summa-owned Las Vegas hotels and casinos, he said. (*Deseret News*, April 29, 1976)

The Church Section of the *Deseret News* gave this important information about the discovery of the so-called “Mormon will”:

A handwritten document that appears to be a will of deceased billionaire Howard R. Hughes was found in the Church Office Building in Salt Lake City Tuesday afternoon, April 27.

The controversial, three-page document bequeaths one sixteenth of the billionaire's estate to the Church, a similar amount to a Church member living in Willard, Utah, and other portions to charities and Hughes' aides and former wives.

The Church has taken no position on the authenticity of the document.

Mystery surrounds the purported will's appearance in the Church Office Building. At a press conference . . . Church Public Communications Department spokesmen gave this explanation of what is known. . . .

At approximately 4:50 p.m. MDT April 27, Daniel A. Hinmon . . . picked up a large package on his desk for mailing, also picking up, on the bottom of the large package, an envelope addressed to President Spencer W. Kimball.

The envelope was one available to tourists and others in the Temple Square Visitors Center and was addressed in ink to:

President Spencer W. Kimball
Church of Jesus Christ
Salt Lake City, Utah

The envelope was marked “Personal,” . . . Brother Grubb delivered the envelope to the secretary in President Kimball's office whose assignment is to open the mail, Noal Alleman, 47. . . . Inside she found a second envelope, appearing to show the yellowing stains of time, and a note which said: “This was found by Joseph F. Smith's house in 1972—thought you would be interested.”

On the face of the older envelope was the message in ink handwriting: “Dear Mr. McKay: Please see that this Will is delivered after my death to Clark County Court House, Las Vegas, Nevada. Howard R. Hughes.” . . .

Inside was a handwritten statement in ink describing the document as “Last Will and Testament” of Howard R. Hughes. . . .

Early Wednesday morning, April 28, the papers were turned over to Wilford W. Kirton Jr., legal counsel for the Church. . . .

The Church attorney contacted Leslie W. King, a handwriting expert from Bountiful, Utah, who has previously worked on a case involving Hughes' writing.

After spending three and a half hours examining the purported holographic (handwritten) will, she said there is “a good chance, a very good chance” that the document is genuine.

She emphasized, however, that it was a preliminary opinion and she could not be certain because of the time element and because comparison documents she was using were “photostats.” . . .

Following these investigations, the Church attorney, with Wendell J. Ashton, director of Public Communications, and others, delivered the purported will to the Clark County clerk in Las Vegas, Nev., Thursday, April 29, at the same time the church called the press conference in Salt Lake City. A press conference also was held in Las Vegas.

At the press conference, reporters questioned Jerry Cahill, press secretary with Public Communications, who noted that the Church does not know whether the will is genuine or not.

The church spokesman also later denied speculation that former Texas Gov. John Connally might have been connected with the will's appearance in Salt Lake City.

The former governor met privately with President Kimball the same afternoon the will appeared in the Church Office Building.

However, the visit, which dealt with a nonpolitical matter, was requested in a letter dated March 29 and received by President Kimball on April 1, four days before Mr. Hughes' death on April 5. (*Deseret News*, Church Section, May 8, 1976, page 3)

The reader will find a photograph of the first page of the purported will of Howard Hughes on the cover. It is taken from the *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April 30, 1976.

Although a sixteenth of Hughes' estate—the amount which the will bequeaths to the Mormon Church—does not sound like much, when we consider how wealthy Hughes was it amounts to millions of dollars. An article published in the *Deseret News* on May 1, 1976, says that Hughes had a "\$2.5 billion empire." Wallace Turner calls it a "\$1.5 billion empire" (*New York Times*, April 30, 1976). The Church Section of the *Deseret News* for May 8, 1976, gives this information:

The Hughes' estate has been estimated at from 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 billion dollars. Mr. Dietrich believes the lower figure is more accurate. He said, "Hughes took a whopping loss when he sold off the Hughes Tool Co. for \$130 million."

If we say that Hughes was worth \$1.5 billion, then the Mormon Church would receive about \$94,000,000. If we accept the higher estimate, however, one-sixteenth would amount to about \$156,000,000. The *Salt Lake Tribune* for April 30 says that "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will receive . . . about \$156 million." This money would be exempt from tax. The *Deseret News* for May 1 informs us that "Shares of the will going to tax-exempt organizations, including universities, the medical center, and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, would be exempt from inheritance taxes."

At the time the so-called Mormon will was published we were working on the last part of our book *Mormon Spies, Hughes, and the C.I.A.* In this book we show that public relations for both the Mormon Church and Howard Hughes were handled by the Mullen Company. During the Watergate investigation it was revealed that the Mullen Co. had a relationship with the CIA. Further research showed that the Mullen Co. was purchased by Robert Bennett who is the son of former Utah Senator Wallace F. Bennett. When the cover of the Mullen Co. was blown, Robert Bennett went to work for Hughes' Summa Corporation. This, together with the fact that many Mormons worked for Hughes, led us to believe that there was a close relationship between Hughes, the Mormon Church and the CIA. When the Hughes will was first announced we felt that it provided additional evidence of this relationship. Although Church leaders did not make any claim as to its authenticity, the fact that they called a press conference and had the Church attorney personally deliver the will to the Clark County clerk in Las Vegas, Nevada, seemed to indicate that there was a good possibility that the will was genuine. We did not think that the Church would want to be publicly linked to Howard Hughes' money, some of which was obtained by questionable activities like gambling, unless the will was really authentic. At any rate, after making a careful examination of the contents of the will and the circumstances surrounding its discovery, we have reluctantly come to the conclusion that it is probably a forgery. Nevertheless, in the material which follows we will try to honestly examine both sides of the question.

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for May 12 says that "Handwriting experts have given conflicting opinions about the authenticity of that purported will, which contained numerous misspellings and was somewhat vague in its directions."

On May 1 the *Deseret News* reported the following:

LAS VEGAS—More handwriting experts are convinced the mysteriously-discovered will of Howard R. Hughes is genuine—opening the way for perhaps the longest probate trial in American history. . . .

"I know of at least two experts who think it's legitimate and I don't know if there are any who say it isn't," Rhoden said.

Support for authenticity of the will came Friday from Dietrich, from New York handwriting analyst Charles Hamilton, and from Henry Silver, a Los Angeles expert familiar with Hughes' penmanship.

Four days later, the *Las Vegas Sun* reported:

A handwriting expert said Tuesday the document purported to be the will of Howard Hughes is a forgery. . . .

"The handwriting is so undisciplined I think it was not a real stable person who did the forgery," Burezyk said. "It almost looks like it was an intentional ruse on the individual because the forgery is not good. It's not a high type forgery. The signature is a little closer. But the body of the letter is very different." (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 5, 1976)

On the same day the *Salt Lake Tribune* printed the following:

Mr. Rhoden said handwriting experts he has consulted stand firm in their belief that the will was written by the late billionaire. However, according to a *Chicago Daily News* story, fulltime graphologist Nicholas Burezyk, Chicago, said he believes the document found in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Office Building April 28 was written by a woman.

"The handwriting looks feminine. It is not as disciplined as Hughes' handwriting," he said. He added there are "some on-purpose tremors" to make it appear an older person had written the will. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 5, 1976)

The following day the *Las Vegas Sun* reported:

The second handwriting expert to examine the purported will of Howard Hughes said Wednesday he believes the document is a "rank forgery."

After studying the document for more than three hours, John J. Harris, who was hired by three of Hughes' cousins, said he has a "strong feeling that the will is a forgery." . . . "You might even say it's a rank forgery," Freese quoted Harris as saying. . . .

The first expert to study the will, Henry Silver, told the *SUN* that he still feels the document is genuine. (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 6, 1976)

On May 8, 1976, the *Deseret News* printed the following:

LOS ANGELES (UPI)—The Hughes will is authentic according to a handwriting analyst who helped expose the Clifford Irving biography as a hoax.

"If it's a forgery, it's a perfect forgery—and that's impossible," declared A. Henry Silver Friday. . . .

Other analysts—hired by Hughes relations and others challenging the will—have called it a fake. One who examined the will in Las Vegas Wednesday termed it "a rank forgery." . . .

Rhoden said Silver would "stake his reputation" on the document's authenticity.

Silver, 85, said he never had been proven wrong in court in his many years as an expert witness.

"All the handwriting, including the signatures, were definitely written by Howard R. Hughes," Silver said, saying the billionaire's writing had "a pattern of consistent inconsistencies" that would be impossible for a forger to duplicate.

On May 15, 1976, the *Las Vegas Sun* reported:

A handwriting analyst hired by Noah Dietrich said Friday that the first purported Howard Hughes will was not written by the billionaire.

Although the expert would not go so far as to say it was a forgery, he did say that it appeared to him someone tried to copy Hughes' handwriting.

Charles Sachs, who studied the document for about five hours, told reporters that he compared the purported will with documents believed to have been written by the billionaire and found "striking similarities and striking dissimilarities."

Dietrich's attorney, Harold Rhoden, said he did not know whether he would go ahead and try to get the will admitted to probate. . . .

Dietrich was named in the will as executor of the Hughes estate. . . .

Sachs had a photocopy of one document that Hughes allegedly authored, he said, and he also worked from memos obtained from *SUN* publisher Hank Greenspun.

Sachs said that the handwriting on the memos and the photocopy appeared to be the same. The handwriting on the will and the handwriting on the memos, however, were different, he said.

"The probability is that the person who wrote the will did not write the memos," the expert said.

Greenspun, who has numerous memos believed to have been written by Hughes, allowed Sachs to examine seven of the memos which were all written within one month of the date on the alleged will, March 19, 1968 . . .

Sachs would not go so far as to say the will is a "rank forgery" as one other handwriting expert has proclaimed.

Wallace Turner was one of the first to cast serious doubt on the authenticity of the will. In an article published in the *New York Times* on May 3, 1976, he stated:

SAN FRANCISCO, May 2—Among many people who have studied Howard R. Hughes as closely as they could during his almost 20 years in seclusion, serious doubts have grown about the validity of the purported Hughes will that turned up mysteriously Tuesday. . . .

Handwriting identification is far from an exact science. When it is used in court, expert witnesses frequently take opposite sides on such matters.

Probably the most crushing blow for public acceptance of handwriting identification experts involved Mr. Hughes's handwriting. That came in 1972 when a little-known author, Clifford Irving, came to public notice with a manuscript he said was based on interviews with Mr. Hughes. It was to be called "The Autobiography of Howard Hughes."

Mr. Irving collected about \$650,000 in advance royalty payments from McGraw Hill, . . . Mr. Hughes was outraged and did everything but come out of his hotel to block publication. . . .

But the publishers moved serenely ahead. Mr. Irving had provided them with copies of handwritten letters he said he had received from Mr. Hughes . . .

As pressure mounted the publishers took the handwriting samples to Osborn Associates, a New York firm that specialized in examining questioned documents. The Irving material was compared with known samples of Mr. Hughes's writing, and the experts said it had all been written by the same person.

This was not so, as Mr. Irving explained before going to jail to serve a term for fraud. He had written the letters . . . The handwriting experts were wrong.

A comparison between the purported Hughes will and the writing and the memos identified as having been written by Mr. Hughes shows many significant differences visible to nonexperts.

One of the letters which Irving forged was "nine pages long and signed Howard R. Hughes" (*Hoax—The Inside Story of the Howard Hughes-Clifford Irving Affair*, by Stephen Fay, Lewis Chester and Magnus Linklater, New York, 1972, page 96). On pages 98-99 of the same book, we read as follows:

The letter clinched the question of authenticity once and for all as far as Harold McGraw was concerned, . . .

Then Ralph Graves seemed to suffer a small stab of doubt. He suggested to McGraw-Hill that it would be a good idea to have the most recent letter from Hughes analyzed by a handwriting expert. There was a man . . . called Alfred Kanfer, who had studied the letter Hughes had written to Bill Gay and Chester Davis a year earlier. Why not show it to him? . . . On December 2 . . . Kanfer concluded:

It can be stated that the two handwriting specimens were written by the same person. . . .

The chances that another person could copy this handwriting even in a similar way are less than 1 in a million.

On January 24, 1972, the following appeared in *Time* magazine:

The noted New York handwriting experts Osborn Associates have verified that the handwriting on those documents matches samples of Hughes' handwriting dating back to 1936. . . . Says Paul A. Osborn of Osborn Associates: "The evidence that all of the writing submitted was done by one individual is, in our opinion, irresistible, unanswerable and overwhelming."

On page 304 of the book *Hoax*, we read that because of the Irving affair "the whole art of handwriting analysis has suffered a setback to its status as reliable evidence . . ."

Since there is such a wide difference of opinion among handwriting experts with regard to the authenticity of the Hughes will, we think that it should be examined in the light of its historical setting. To begin with, the will is dated March 19, 1968. There are at least three claims made in the will that are consistent with this date: 1. Howard Hughes was living in Las Vegas at the time. 2. David O. McKay was President of the Mormon Church at the time. 3. Melvin Dummar was living in Gabbs, Nevada.

On the other hand, however, there are some very serious problems with the date of March 19, 1968. For instance, the will names Noah Dietrich as executor. Now, if the will had been dated before 1957 this would have been consistent, for it was Noah Dietrich "who guided the destiny of the entire empire for over thirty years" (*Hoax*, page 39). By 1968, however, Dietrich had left and Hughes considered him a real enemy. As early as April 30, 1976, Wallace Turner pointed out in the *New York Times*, the inconsistency of Hughes making Dietrich the executor:

If the will should be genuine, one of the big surprises in it is that Mr. Hughes designated Noah Dietrich, his top aide for almost 40 years, as executor.

Mr. Dietrich and Mr. Hughes split in bitter, personal feuding in 1957 and had no contact since that time according to the 88-year-old Dietrich.

Newsweek for May 10, 1976, refers to Dietrich as an "archenemy" of the Hughes empire. The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for April 30 said that "The will is dated 1968, 11 years after their association ended on unfriendly terms. Robert Maheu was Hughes' top aide in 1968, . . ." In 1972 Noah Dietrich actually published a very revealing exposé of Hughes' life and business dealings. It is entitled, *Howard: The Amazing Mr. Hughes*. Wallace Turner gives this interesting information:

Mr. Hughes and Mr. Dietrich quarreled and separated 19 years ago, ending almost four decades of close association. They had no direct contact since that time, Mr. Dietrich said yesterday.

Mr. Dietrich's earnings from his memoirs of the Hughes years, . . . were blocked from him by legal action filed by Summa executives and Mr. Hughes in 1972. When he left Mr. Hughes Mr. Dietrich had signed a promise not to write about his years there, according to documents filed in the court proceedings. (*New York Times*, May 1, 1976)

According to Dietrich's book, Hughes had threatened to sue him at the time he left, but it turned out that he filed a suit against Hughes:

Still, Howard pursued his small-boy vindictiveness. My office at 7000 Romaine continued to be padlocked. Many of my personal effects were in there: . . . I finally had to go to court, and get a mandatory order for the return of my possessions. . . . I began to get sore. He was having gumshoes snoop around my records in an attempt to catch me in wrongdoing. . . .

When I had tried to quit after my safari in 1956, Howard had pleaded, with me to remain. "Just stay another six months. . . . If you'll stay just six more months, I'll give you an extra million dollars . . ."

I stayed eight months. And of course the million dollars never appeared. So I sued him for it.

Howard had to appear for a deposition prior to the suit, and his attorneys kept pleading his ill health. . . .

The case never came to trial. Howard settled for \$800,000 . . . it severed me from Howard Hughes forever. (*Howard: The Amazing Mr. Hughes*, pages 297-299)

According to the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for April 30, 1976, Hank Greenspun stated:

"Although Hughes was supposedly mad at Dietrich at the time the purported will was written, he trusted him implicitly," Greenspun said. "He trusted Dietrich's good business judgment and he always turned to him in time of crisis."

The next day, however, Mr. Greenspun was expressing serious doubts about the matter:

If anyone should inherit from Howard Hughes for services rendered through all the years, it should be Noah Dietrich whose financial mind and expertise started the billionaire off to his immense fortune. . . .

For Noah's sake, I would love to see the will probated without challenge because his fees as executor might in some measure compensate him for the years of loyalty and service.

But I fear greatly that the will will not stand the test of reality. (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 1, 1976)

Initially, Dietrich himself was suspicious of the will:

A handwriting expert consulted by the church said the document seemed authentic. But Noah Dietrich . . . named executor of the will, was wary.

"The signature looks like Howard's and so does the rest of the handwriting," he said. "But I never knew him to misspell words and that makes me somewhat suspicious." (*Arizona Republic*, April 30)

After consulting with Robert Maheu and others, Mr. Dietrich became fully converted to the position that the will was really written by Hughes. The *Salt Lake Tribune* for May 2 said that Dietrich "would be entitled to \$40 million" for his role as executor.

The fact that Noah Dietrich was appointed executor of the will just does not make sense. Would a person appoint one of his worst enemies to such an important position?

Another problem with regard to making Mr. Dietrich executor would be his age. He was 17 years older than Hughes and would have been approaching 80 years old at the time the will was supposed to have been written. He is now in his late 80's.

Another thing in the "Mormon will" which has caused some people to be suspicious is the use of the words "spruce goose" when referring to Hughes' flying boat. Wallace Turner wrote:

A Summa statement said the executives would not "give a firm statement denying the authenticity of the will," but the statement said that there were several troublesome points, such as a reference to Mr. Hughes' huge, all wooden stored airplane as the "Spruce Goose," a name the Summa statement said the eccentric Mr. Hughes disliked. (*New York Times*, April 30, 1976)

Newsweek for May 10, 1976, reported that "Aides said that he detested the nickname Spruce Goose and never used it." The *Arizona Republic* for April 30 said that "a reference to the 'Spruce Goose'—a name for his wooden airplane that Hughes considered derogatory—raised suspicions of his former associates." The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for April 30 contained this information: "It refers to it as 'the spruce goose,' an originally derisive term which both Dietrich and the Summa spokesman agree Hughes despised and was never heard to use. 'He would come alive again if he heard his Hercules Flying Boat referred to as the spruce goose,'

the Summa spokesman said." *Time* for April 19, 1976, says that Hughes "constructed his plane from lumber; hence its nickname, the *Spruce Goose*." Noah Dietrich gives this information about the Spruce Goose:

Newspaper reporters referred to it flippantly as the Spruce Goose, or the Flying Lumberyard. . . . on the many occasions I saw the Hercules I never ceased to be astounded at its size. Its wings are slightly longer than a football field. Its tail is the height of an eight-story building. . . . Howard's plane was designed to carry 700.

The flying boat can claim any number of superlatives. The biggest airplane in history. The most money spent for one aircraft. The longest period under construction.

I would give it another distinction: it was Howard Hughes' biggest folly. (*Howard: The Amazing Mr. Hughes*, page 171)

According to Dietrich, the official name was "the HK-1, or the Hercules," but Hughes sometimes referred to it as the "flying boat." Dietrich quoted Hughes as saying the following:

. . . I designed every nut and bolt that went into this airplane. . . . If the flying boat fails to fly, I will probably exile myself from this country. I have put the sweat of my life into this thing. . . . My reputation is wrapped up in it. I have stated that if it fails to fly, I will leave the country. And I mean it. (*Ibid.*, page 209)

Since Hughes was so emotionally involved in the development of his flying boat, it seems very unlikely he would use the derisive term "Spruce Goose" when referring to it in his will.

The will itself says that "the spruce goose is to be given to the City of Long Beach, Calif. . . ." (*Deseret News*, Church Section, May 8, 1976). Noah Dietrich, however, said that on September 17, 1953, a barge which was being towed broke loose and seriously damaged the flying boat. Hughes subsequently "filed suit for \$12,000,000 against the city of Long Beach, . . ." (*Howard: The Amazing Mr. Hughes*, page 213). When the city threatened not to renew his lease at the Long Beach hangar, Mr. Hughes used "devious" means to get city officials to change their minds. We wonder if Mr. Hughes would give Long Beach his flying boat after being at enmity with city officials.

On May 4 the *New York Times* pointed out another problem with regard to the Spruce Goose:

WASHINGTON, May 3—A Government spokesman said today that the Spruce Goose, a celebrated airplane bequeathed to the city of Long Beach, Calif., in a will attributed to Howard R. Hughes, was owned by the General Services Administration at the time the will was purportedly written. . . . Richard Q. Vawter, a public information officer for the General Services Administration. . . . said he found it odd that a will dated March 19, 1968, would attempt to give away an airplane that Mr. Hughes would presumably have known belonged to the Government.

Until last year, the spokesman said, the G.S.A. had leased the Spruce Goose to Mr. Hughes for \$800 a month.

After studying the will, we have come to the conclusion that most of the contents could have been written from material published after Hughes' death in April, 1976. For instance, the idea of appointing Noah Dietrich as the executor of the will could have come from newspaper articles. One article published in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on April 17, 1976, contained this information:

LOS ANGELES (UPI)—Billionaire Howard Hughes wrote a will and it was placed in a safe deposit box in Hollywood, according to a one-time associate, Noah Dietrich. Attorneys for the Hughes estate have said a will has not been found.

Dietrich, of Los Angeles, who left Hughes' employ in 1957 after 32 years of service, insisted that a Hughes will had existed.

. . .

Mrs. Dietrich said, however, that Dietrich doesn't know if a will is in existence at this time, but knows one was written by Hughes in 1955. She said Dietrich saw Hughes sign it and give it to Nadine Henley. . . .

A spokesman for Summa Corp. said Miss Henley will make no comment on whether there is a will, or if there is one, where it might be.

Since the article does not tell that Hughes and Dietrich had become enemies, it would be very easy to make the mistake of listing Dietrich as executor of the will.

The will says that the biggest share of Hughes empire should go to Hughes Medical Institute: ". . . First one fourth of all my assets to go to Hughes Medical Institute of Miami . . ." This could have been suggested by the same article which told of Dietrich working for Hughes: "Dietrich had said earlier that Hughes had intended to leave the bulk of his fortune, estimated at about \$2 billion to the Howard Hughes Medical Institute of Miami, Fla." (*Salt Lake Tribune*, April 17, 1976).

The will also bequeaths "one sixteenth to Church of Jesus Church [*sic*] of Latterday Saints—David O. McKay-Pres. . . ." This could have been suggested by an article which appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on April 7, 1976:

LOS ANGELES (UPI)—The disposition of Howard Hughes' fortune will not be known until the will—if there is one—is filed for probate, but medical research and the LDS Church may get some of it. . . .

The Houston, Tex., *Chronicle* Tuesday reported that Noah Dietrich, 87, a former Hughes aide interviewed by the paper some time ago, said Hughes would leave the LDS Church much of his estate.

Time magazine for April 19 also suggested that the Mormon Church might receive some of Hughes' money:

If Hughes left a single will dividing his estate between his relatives and the institute—and perhaps some others, including possibly the Mormon Church—the various sides would be likely to fight anyhow. (*Time*, April 19, 1976, page 31)

The same issue of *Time* (page 24) tells of Hughes' work on his flying boat and says that "the Spruce Goose . . . sits in a specially constructed hangar in Long Beach." This could easily have suggested the idea of Hughes bequeathing "the spruce goose . . . to the City of Long Beach, Calif. . . ." The article in *Time* gives no warning that Hughes despised the term Spruce Goose."

The will also bequeaths "one sixteenth of assets to William R. Lommis of Houston, Texas. . . ." As evidence for the will it has been pointed out that this man is a "cousin who was not widely known as a relative" (*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April 30, 1976). When we turn to the article in *Time*, however, we find him mentioned: "On the one side are Hughes' rather distant Houston relatives, . . . William Rice Lummis, is a member of the prestigious Houston law firm . . . which has handled the Hughes family's private matters for half a century" (*Time*, April 19, 1976, page 30). The *Salt Lake Tribune* for April 15, 1976, also mentions "William R. Lummis" and his mother as being appointed "temporary administrators of Hughes' estate, . . ." On May 1 the *Deseret News* pointed out that in the will the name "William R. Lummis, was misspelled 'Lommis.'" It is interesting to note that the *New York Times* for April 8 has three different spellings for the last name of William's mother: "Lummis," "Lommis," and "Loomis."

The will bequeaths "one sixteenth to be divided among Jean Peters of Los Angeles and Ella Rice of Houston . . ." *Time* for April 19 gave the information that these two women were once married to Hughes: "Hughes married twice . . . he wed Ella Rice, . . . from a prominent Houston family. . . . In 1957, he married Actress Jean Peters" (page 22). The *Salt Lake Tribune*, for April 7 also mentions both these women.

The will also gives "one sixteenth to be divided among my personal aids at the time of my death . . ." This could have been suggested by *Times'* reference (page 21) to Hughes' "five nurse-aides, four of whom are Mormons."

The will bequeaths one-eighth of Hughes' assets to four universities. All of them, however, are in states where it is known that Hughes lived and worked. Two are in Texas, one in California and one in Nevada. All of these states are mentioned in the article in *Time*. The *Salt Lake Tribune* for April 7 stated that Hughes at one time "gave the University of Nevada \$1 million to start a medical school . . ." It is interesting to note that the "University of Nevada" is listed as one of the beneficiaries in the will.

The will also leaves money for the Boy Scouts, the "key men" in Hughes' companies and for setting up a "scholarship fund for [the] entire country." The only thing in the will that would not be readily available from printed sources or easy to make up is the part that reads: ". . . one sixteenth to go to Melvin DuMar of Gabbs Nevada . . ." We will have a great deal more to say about this later.

As far as finding out what Hughes' handwriting looked like, there would be many possible sources. For instance, the article in *Time* for April 19, 1976, gives photographs of Hughes' writing. The book *Hoax* has a photograph of Hughes' writing and informs us that an issue of *Life* magazine (January 22, 1971) had "a full-color reproduction of the entire 'Dear Chester and Bill' letter, . . ." This is a letter Irving used to forge Hughes' handwriting. In this regard, it is interesting to notice an article which appeared in the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* on May 15:

A third handwriting expert has examined a purported Hughes will and says it is probably not genuine, but adds there are "striking similarities" with samples of the billionaire's writing.

But Beverly Hills handwriting expert Charles Sachs said all of the similarities in the purported will appeared in a photocopied letter—a message from Hughes to top aides Bill Gay and Chester Davis—which appeared in a 1970 [1971?] issue of *Life* . . . Sachs spent all day Friday comparing the purported will with examples of Hughes memos . . .

Harold Rhoden, . . . said: "The probability is that the person who wrote the purported will is not the person who wrote the exemplars," or examples of Hughes memos, . . .

Rhoden said "someone could make that [the ?] assumption" that the alleged will was copied from the *Life* magazine article.

"We came here today to prove something and we couldn't do it," Rhoden said.

The Church Section of the *Deseret News* for May 8, 1976, informs us that the will was written on "three sheets of yellow, lined, legal pad paper . . ." This type of paper could have been suggested from a statement saying that Hughes "wrote down his instructions in pen on yellow legal pads, . . ." (*Time*, April 19, 1976, page 31)

The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for April 30 points out that "The holographic will—so called because it purports to be written in one's own hand—contains no signatures of witness." The idea that Hughes might write his own unwitnessed will could have been suggested by the *Salt Lake Tribune* for April 7, 1976: "'Over a period of time, he talked to me about various forms of bequests,' Bautzer said, but he added that he was not asked to make up a will. He said he had the impression Hughes wanted to write his own will without an attorney."

Besides lacking witnesses, the will appears to have been unknown to Church officials prior to April 27, 1976. No evidence has been produced to show that President David O. McKay ever saw it; in fact, two of his sons have denied any knowledge of it. It seems logical that if the will had been delivered to McKay it would have been preserved in a safe. How, then, could it have been "found by Joseph F. Smith's house in 1972"? Would Church officials handle one of the most important documents in the world in such a careless manner?

The *Arizona Republic* for April 30, 1976, says that Wilfred F. Kirton, Jr. legal counsel for the Mormon Church, claims that "the inner envelope had a Las Vegas postmark, but the date was too blurred to read." The fact that "the date" is the part that is blurred tends to increase our suspicion concerning the authenticity of the will.

When we first heard of the will we felt that fingerprints might provide some important evidence as to whether the will was really written by Hughes. Unfortunately, the *Las Vegas Sun* for May 1 informs us that "Clark County District Attorney George Holt . . . said possible tests for fingerprints were ruled out because the three pages of legal sized paper had been handled by so many people since it appeared 'out of nowhere' on a desk of the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City."

It is interesting to note that officials of Hughes' Summa Corp. "have said they do not accept as authentic the hand-written document which was left in mysterious fashion Tuesday in the Salt Lake City headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (*Deseret News*, May 1, 1976). According to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, for May 19, the Summa Corp. has hired its own handwriting expert:

Attacks on the authenticity of the first purported will of Howard Hughes were heightened Tuesday when the document was pronounced a forgery by a handwriting expert hired by Summa Corp., which operates the late billionaire's properties. . . .

Lyndal Shaneyfelt of Alexandria, Va. . . . examined the so-called Mormon will Monday and Tuesday in Las Vegas and said it was "a good forgery as forgeries go."

On May 12, 1976, the *Salt Lake Tribune* said that "A second purported Howard Hughes will, leaving his fortune to relatives, charities and 10 'living Americans' identified only by Social Security numbers, was filed Tuesday by officials of the late billionaire's Summa Corp."

After this the floodgates were opened and bogus wills began to pour into the Clark County courthouse. On May 13 the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* reported: "At last count, there were six documents claimed by various people to be the one and only authentic Hughes will." One of the wills "bequeathed \$10 million to Clifford Irving and \$5 million to his wife, Edith. They have served prison terms for fraud in the production of a hoax autobiography of Hughes." On May 18 the *Salt Lake Tribune* said that "Nine more purported Howard Hughes wills surfaced Monday, making a total of 17 such documents."

Of these 17 the Mormon will is the only one that has received any serious consideration. Although we believe that the Mormon will is also a forgery, as yet we can give no definite answer as to who was responsible. Since the will was brought to Mormon Church offices in Salt Lake City, it is very possible that the forgery was committed by a resident of Utah. The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for May 1, 1976, makes it very clear that there are many people in Utah capable of committing such a crime:

ROY—A recent increase in counterfeiting by Utahns has made the Beehive state one of the nation's leading producers of counterfeit money, a Secret Service agent told the Roy Chamber of Commerce. . . .

Mr. Sherman said he "has no answer" why counterfeiting has increased so dramatically in Utah during the past couple of years but noted the state has ranked second or third in the nation in seized currency.

He also said that counterfeiting covers "illegally duplicating anything of value" and told merchants the bulk of counterfeiting involves fake drivers licenses, draft cards, high school diplomas, stamps, bonds, liquor labels and related items.

Since the will was found at Mormon Church headquarters and bequeaths money to the Church and to members of the Church—i.e., Melvin Dummar and Hughes' personal aides—the suspicion

arises that a member of the Church might be responsible. This theory might also help explain the fact that one-sixteenth of Hughes' estate is bequeathed to the Boy Scouts. The Mormon Church is deeply involved in this organization, and "about one in every 20 U.S. Boy Scouts is a member of the church" (*Deseret News 1974 Church Almanac*, page 55).

On the other hand, however, the will could have been written by an enemy of the Church in an attempt to discredit Mormonism and bring unfavorable publicity upon the Church. If the will proves to be a forgery it will probably bring a great deal of embarrassment to Church leaders, for although they took no position as to the will's authenticity, they did call a press conference and had their legal counsel deliver the will to Clark County Courthouse in Las Vegas.

While we feel that the will could have been written by someone who has some type of interest in or knowledge of Mormonism, we are confident that no high official in the Church would be involved in a scheme which has so many potential pitfalls.

There is one part of the Mormon will that stands out like a sore thumb and could provide the clue which will eventually reveal the identity of the forger. This is the part which reads: ". . . one sixteenth to go to Melvin DuMar of Gabbs Nevada. . . ." While some of the instructions in the will are a little unclear, the part concerning Melvin Dummar makes no sense whatsoever. Why would Hughes give 100 million dollars or more to a man who was never known as one of his friends or relatives? Mr. Dummar claims to have an answer to this important question. In the Church Section of the *Deseret News* for May 8, 1976, we find the following:

The Melvin DuMar of Gabbs, Nev., named in the will has been identified as Melvin Dummar, formerly of Gabbs, now a resident of Willard, Utah. . . .

A native of Cedar City, the Utahn is a member of the Church, a prospective elder who has recently returned to activity. . . .

He said that in January 1968, while he was living in Gabbs, he stopped to help "a skinny old man" on a dirt road in Nevada.

The 31-year-old Utahn, who operates a combination service station and store in Willard, said he was traveling toward Las Vegas and drove onto a dirt road between Tonopah and Baty "to use the bathroom."

Lying at the side of the road was the old man, who appeared to have been hurt in some kind of accident since he was bleeding about the face, the possible beneficiary said.

He offered to take the old man to the hospital, but was directed instead to the Sands Hotel in Las Vegas.

The old man didn't talk during the trip but in Las Vegas asked to be taken to the rear of the hotel. He also asked for the loan of some money, "I think I gave him a quarter," said the Utahn.

The old man requested his benefactor's name and announced himself as Howard Hughes, "but I thought, 'Oh sure,' and figured he was just some bum," said the stunned Willard resident. (*Deseret News*, Church Section, May 8, 1976)

We know that Howard Hughes lived in Las Vegas at the time this incident was supposed to have occurred, and it also appears that Dummar was working in Nevada at the same time. Since Hughes was living at the Desert Inn at the time, Dummar's story that he took him to the Sands Hotel sounds a little inconsistent, but this is possible because Hughes also owned the Sands Hotel. At any rate, members of Dummar's family claim that he did tell this story sometime ago. According to the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for May 7, Dummar's sister "recalled that her brother joked eight years ago about how he had picked up 'this bum who said he was Howard Hughes.'" The *Deseret News* for May 1 quotes Dummar's cousin Ronald Brown as saying:

"It was sort of a family story. I'd heard it before several times," Brown said. "We treated it as a joke." Melvin's brother Richard also "says he heard the story about Howard Hughes several years ago." (Ibid.)

Although it seems very unlikely that Hughes could have been found injured and bleeding in the desert in 1968, Noah Dietrich does mention the fact that during an earlier period in his life Hughes was mistaken for a "bum":

Howard had flown to Louisiana in the Sikorsky and had encountered some mechanical trouble. He docked the plane at Shreveport and wandered into town. He was unshaven and wore rumpled clothes and sneakers, and he carried a bottle of milk in a paper bag. . . . He talked of renting a car and driving to Florida. The gas station men became suspicious and called the police. . . . He was booked as a vagrant. . . .

Our man in Shreveport received a telephone call from the police station: "We got a hobo down here says he's Howard Hughes. You want to come down and take a look for yourself?"

My next contact with Howard was even more curious.

A man telephoned from Florida. . . . Howard had stopped at his home to stay a few days.

"I don't know what to do about him," the friend said. "Howard showed up here looking like a bum. Then he went out in the backyard and burned all his clothes." . . .

No word came from Howard until his return, six months after he had disappeared. He offered no explanation about his travels, and I asked him nothing. (*Howard: The Amazing Mr. Hughes*, pages 179-181)

Dietrich also says that Hughes "harbored an intense fear of being robbed. That's the reason he never carried any money around with him, and the legends multiplied about how he paid taxi drivers with IOU's and borrowed dimes from friends for telephone calls. Howard fostered those legends" (*Ibid.*, page 55).

Like Melvin Dummar, Clifford Irving claimed he had talked with Howard Hughes in a car:

February 13, 1971, Mexico: . . . An emissary of Mr. Hughes, . . . drove me to a mountaintop . . . where Mr. Hughes awaited me in a parked car. Mr. Hughes identified himself to me as Howard Hughes . . .

March 4, 1971, Puerto Rico: . . . Mr. Hughes and I met in a parked car within brief walking distance of the hotel and I drove Mr. Hughes, . . . to an area known as the tropical rain forest . . . We talked intermittently for several hours and then I drove the car back to the same parking place near the hotel and left Mr. Hughes in the car and went back to the hotel. (*Hoax*, pages 102-103)

Hank Greenspun, of the *Las Vegas Sun*, found Melvin Dummar's story no more palatable than the one told by Clifford Irving:

The likelihood of Melvin Dummar picking up Howard Hughes in the desert between Tonopah and Beatty in 1968 would bring about the same odds in any Las Vegas bookmaking parlor as Astronaut Neil Armstrong finding the billionaire up on the moon when he landed there for the first time in 1969. (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 1, 1976)

On the same day that Greenspun published his statement, Wallace Turner wrote the following:

During the period 1966-70, according to those close to Mr. Hughes, he never left a penthouse at the Desert Inn, a hotel with casino on the Las Vegas Strip.

"Whatever we know about Howard Hughes, we know that he did not go out and lie by the side of the road to be picked up by a gas station attendant," said one man familiar with Mr. Hughes's habits. But even he was not certain. (*New York Times*, May 1, 1976)

On May 12 the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* reported the following:

LAS VEGAS, Nev. (UPI)—A daily log kept by Howard Hughes' security guards shows that the late billionaire never left

his Desert Inn suite during four years of Nevada residence that would include the day he was supposedly picked up by a Good Samaritan named as a beneficiary in a purported Hughes will.

Sources with access to the log said Tuesday that when Hughes arrived by train from Boston on Thanksgiving eve of 1966, he went to his Desert Inn ninth-floor penthouse and stayed there until he left the place for good in 1970.

Even Noah Dietrich, who has been trying very hard to prove the Mormon will authentic, finds it difficult to believe Dummar's story:

Mr. Dietrich said later he "would not place too much credence in the (Mr. Dummar's) story."

"It doesn't sound like Howard to be out alone in the desert," he said. "Furthermore, he was not known to reward those who helped him. A Marine who pulled Howard out of his burning plane in Beverly Hills was never adequately rewarded." (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 1)

We do not know how Noah Dietrich can reject Melvin Dummar's story and still believe in the authenticity of the will. We feel that the two stand or fall together. If we do not accept Dummar's story about helping Hughes, then how do we explain the presence of his name in the will?

W. A. Jones, who is head of Heir-Finders and represents some of Hughes' cousins, said "he wants Mr. Dummar to submit to a lie detector test on his story of once taking Hughes to Las Vegas and giving him a quarter" (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 6).

We feel that any search for the identification of the forger should begin with Melvin Dummar's story about meeting Howard Hughes. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that Mr. Dummar had anything to do with the fraud. It could be that he really did meet a man who claimed he was Hughes and that an acquaintance or even an enemy decided to capitalize on it. Since Dummar is listed as the beneficiary of millions of dollars, however, some people suspect that he might have something to do with the writing of the will. As early as May 1, Hank Greenspun said:

It [the will] could easily have been the work of one of his aides . . . Or maybe some gas station attendant came up with the brainstorm. I am merely speculating without pointing any fingers, but truth has a way of surfacing. (*Las Vegas Sun*, May 1)

Mr. Dummar probably caused some people to suspect him because of his strange behavior after the discovery of the will was announced. The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for April 30 reported the following:

WILLARD—Melvin Dummar, 31-year-old service station operator here who might be heir to \$156 million from the estate of Howard Hughes, was reported under a doctor's care today after going into hiding. . . . the pressure of worldwide attention and publicity has apparently been too much for the former Nevada resident . . .

Mr. Dummar was reported under a doctor's care today following a night of extreme agitation.

Mrs. Gay W. Pettingill . . . said Mr. Dummar "had been crying all night." Her husband is the bishop of the LDS Ward Mr. Dummar attends. . . .

Mr. Dummar and his wife Bonnie both called Bishop Pettingill. Thursday asking for advice following revelation of the apparent good fortune.

Melvin's father, . . . does not even know where his son is.

On May 1 the *Deseret News* printed this information:

Dummar went into hiding Friday after being besieged by newsmen and a family friend said he was in shock and under sedation after receiving the news . . .

The 31-year-old Utahn had scheduled a news conference Friday, but failed to show up. Gay Pettingill, a Mormon bishop, talked to newsmen instead . . .

The following day the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

WILLARD. . . . Melvin Dummar, . . . said his life "has become a nightmare" since the Hughes will was announced. . . .

The way it is, said Melvin, he and his family have been besieged by promoters, media people and others. . . .

The former milkman has been under a doctor's care and nearly broke down three times during the barrage of questions. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 2)

Another article on the same page contained this information:

A man who has befriended Melvin during his shock the last two days is Gay Pettingill, bishop of the Willard 3rd LDS Ward—"Melvin's bishop."

He described the whole family as "good church members." "Melvin attends priesthood meeting and I have been close to the boys coming into the priesthood," said the fruit farmer.

Sometime later Mr. Dummar appeared on television and was questioned about his story. He controlled his emotions very well and made a good impression. At any rate, newsmen began to search into his life, and on May 1 the *Las Vegas Sun* printed an article entitled, "HUGHES 'HEIR' ACCUSED FORGER." The following is taken from that article:

Dummar, according to informed sources, was arrested Nov. 11, 1968 on a charge of forging a payroll check from the Basic Refractories Inc., a mining company, located in Gabbs, Nev.

After pleading innocent and asking for a jury trial, Dummar, then 24, was tried in the Fifth Judicial Court in Mineral County and found not guilty in July, 1969.

The *SUN* source said Dummar was accused of taking the check in Gabbs, and cashing it in Hawthorne.

Three days later papers in Salt Lake City began to discuss this matter:

Mineral County, Nev., Dist. Atty. Larry G. Bettis said Monday evening that Melvin Dummar, . . . was tried but not convicted on a forgery charge in 1969.

Mr. Bettis said Mr. Dummar was charged with forging a payroll check for \$251.36 written on Basic Refractories, Inc. in Gabbs, Nev., a magnesium plant where the Willard, Box Elder County, service station operator worked in January, 1968. While there he said he picked up an injured "skinny old bum" . . . who said he was Howard Hughes . . .

Mr. Bettis said a three-day trial started July 22, 1969, in Hawthorne. . . . ended with a hung jury. "Both sides stipulated to a dismissal, which was granted the following Sept. 11," said the district attorney. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 4, 1976)

The same day the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* printed the following:

Dummar said Monday, "I realize that since this all happened people are going to dig up anything about me from the time I was born until today. I'm only human. That's all I can say.

"I wasn't convicted," he added, and then refused to discuss the matter further. . . .

Dummar also once wrote a song, "A Dream Can Become a Reality," but the song never sold. It was written in 1968, the same year he reportedly found Hughes in the desert and later gave him a quarter.

Two days later (May 6) the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* reported:

A 31-year-old service station operator . . . said Wednesday if the purported will of Howard Hughes that leaves him around \$150 million is a forgery, "I didn't have anything to do with it." . . .

He said, . . . he has been upset about some of the media digging up the alleged forgery charge and publishing it. Dummar said the main reason is that he "never did" forge any checks. The charge was not forgery, but passing a payroll check knowing it was "false, altered, forged or counterfeit."

On May 4, 1976, the Mormon Church's *Deseret News* printed an article entitled, "Probate Lawyer Denies Dummar Could Forge Will." In this article we find the following:

It's "not in the realm of possibility" that Melvin Dummar, 31, could have forged the hand-written Howard Hughes will, a lawyer working on the case said today.

Harold Rhoden, attorney for Noah Dietrich, named as executor in the will, made this comment after stories appeared saying Dummar was charged and cleared of forgery in Nevada in 1969.

"I know what people are thinking when they hear the kid has a forgery rap in his past," he said.

"Dummar's past has absolutely nothing to do with the validity of the will or this young man's right to inherit his share of it," Rhoden said.

Roger Dutton, Ogden, an attorney for Dummar, said stories about his client's past are "journalistic muckraking," . . .

The lawyer also indicated that Dummar would not be giving interviews to the press in the future.

"He has a marketable commodity in his life story and has already been approached with some offers," Dutton explained.

In another article on the same page, William B. Smart, the Editor and General Manager of the *Deseret News* admitted that his paper had the information about the check-passing charge before the *Las Vegas Sun* published it, but had decided to suppress it:

We regard the publication of the old check-passing charge against Dummar as a violation of professional ethics and of all standards of fair play.

Our reporters, in an intensive investigation that has provided the most comprehensive coverage of this case, learned last Friday about the charge against Dummar. We checked it out completely, obtaining the text of the criminal information on file—something no one else seems to have done. The text makes it clear Dummar was not charged with forgery, as is now being reported, but of passing a payroll check knowing it was "false, altered, forged or counterfeit."

Our editors met Friday morning to decide what to do with the information.

These facts were clear:

1. Dummar was not convicted; the jury could not reach a decision.

2. We could find no reason to believe there was any connection between this charge and the case of the Hughes will.

3. Publishing the information would titillate the public appetite for the sensational but at the expense of unfairly defaming Dummar.

After careful consideration, we decided not to publish. We still consider this the correct decision.

The *Las Vegas Sun* also learned about the old charge and published it Saturday morning. The wire services, it first appeared, agreed with our standards of fair play, since they did not pick up the story for national distribution. But Monday night CBS broke the story, the wire services picked it up and it was in the national and local press this morning. . . .

We deplore this reckless, unfair, and insensitive exploitation of an irrelevant incident from a man's past. (*Deseret News*, May 4, 1976)

On May 4 the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* reported: "It was also revealed Monday that Dummar was charged several months ago in Ogden, Utah, with possession of stolen goods. This case was

also dismissed." A week later. (May 11) the same paper printed an article which contained the following:

BRIGHAM CITY—Melvin Dummer, . . . will not be charged with receiving stolen property, Box Elder County Attorney O. Dee Lund said today.

Mr. Lund said his office has determined that a search warrant issued in Weber County and executed at Mr. Dummer's Box Elder residence last January lacked jurisdiction and therefore the case could not be prosecuted. . . .

The warrant authorized the search of Mr. Dummer's station and residence in Willard. During the search, seven rifles and guns were confiscated, Mr. Wallace said.

Weber County filed a charge of possession of one allegedly stolen rifle against Mr. Dummer in January. The charge was dropped Feb. 6 because the only link of Mr. Dummer to the rifles was in Box Elder County, he said, and Ogden City Court Judge Stanton M. Taylor ruled that was not within Weber County officials jurisdiction. (*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 11, 1976)

On May 5, 1976, the *Salt Lake Tribune* printed the following information:

The *New York Times* quoted Mr. Dummer Tuesday as saying he intended to press for the one-sixteenth share of the \$1.5 billion estate allotted him in the purported will.

The *Times* said Mr. Dummer . . . was willing to testify in any court to help substantiate the authenticity of the will.

The *Times* said Mr. Dummer's attorney, Roger S. Dutson, said he had instructed his client to stop talking with reporters. "There are many things we are not going to discuss," Mr. Dutson said.

Lyndal Shaneyfelt, a handwriting expert who worked for the FBI at one time, has compared the handwriting on the Mormon will with that of Melvin Dummer, but "his examination was inconclusive" (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 14, 1976).

Since "the Hughes hitchhiking story" was known by Melvin Dummer's family before the will was discovered, some people have speculated that some of Dummer's relatives might be responsible. On May 24, 1976, *Newsweek* printed the following:

Last week the questions were directed less at Dummer, . . . than at two of his relatives. Barely a day after word of Dummer's inheritance became public, Ronald Brown, a California cousin, arrived at his doorstep to announce he was prepared to act as Dummer's "financial adviser" . . . Dummer and his lawyers quickly sent Brown home to California. Now it turns out that Brown's mother, Bonnie Dummer (who was married for the fifth time in 1972 to Melvin's uncle, Richard Dummer), may have had access to scores of Hughes documents, including his signature, through her job on an Orange, Calif., publication called *Millionaire*.

Hobby: Millionaire is published as a hobby by Edward Kelly, a printer, and distributed free to 30, 000 mostly very rich readers. Bonnie Dummer wrote several articles for the magazine, one boosting a defunct business of Ronald Brown's. Kelly says that during Mrs. Dummer's seven years with *Millionaire* she could have seen "trunkfuls" of Hughes memorabilia and manuscripts he was collecting for a book. "I don't say she did it [forged the will]," said Kelly. "But there's no reason she couldn't have."

At her home in Bellflower, Calif., . . . Mrs. Dummer denied forging the will—then became incommunicado. . . . Other relatives noted that the Hughes hitchhiking story had been floating around the family for eight years. "When [Brown and Bonnie Dummer] talk about getting money," one said, "everything is in the millions or hundreds of thousands. Nothing's ever realistic." (*Newsweek*, May 24, 1976, page 30)

The information concerning Ronald Brown and his mother Bonnie Dummer apparently came out earlier on an NBC news report. Melvin Dummer claimed that his aunt would not commit such a crime:

Dummer also said he feels it is "cruel" to dig up information about his aunt Bonnie Dummer who figures in speculation that his relatives fabricated the first will. . . .

Speaking of his aunt, . . . Dummer said, "She is just not someone who would do a thing like that." . . .

Bonnie Dummer is the mother of Ronald Brown who arrived in Utah shortly after the first will was reported. Brown said he would act as Dummer's advisor.

Dutson said he was not invited and he was quickly invited to go back to Southern California. (*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 12, 1976)

We have previously quoted Ronald Brown as saying that he had heard the Hughes hitchhiking story "several times" (*Deseret News*, May 1). In the same article we find the following information about Brown:

Melvin heard the news Thursday afternoon, became excited and highly emotional, according to his cousin, Ronald Brown, 31, a Los Angeles financial a [*sic*] consultant, and "had to be sedated."

Brown, who flew into Salt Lake City Friday night for a press conference at the airport, said Melvin had to be taken in to seclusion with his wife, Bonnie, and their our children. . . .

Brown he thinks the will is real. So do Melvin's parents, . . .

Brown said he has been called on the phone and approached by "hundreds of people who want Melvin's help, especially money. It is unbelievable" . . . (*Deseret News*, May 1, 1976)

The *Las Vegas Sun* for May 2, 1976, gave this information:

Ronald Brown, Dummer's cousin from Los Angeles where he is a financial consultant, directed the news conference. He told Dummer not to answer any questions about the will or other matters except his reactions to being picked by Hughes to share in the estate.

We have previously discussed the fact that the postal stamp on the envelope which contained the Mormon will is blurred so that the date is unreadable. Some people now feel that this stamp could hold the key to the question of the authenticity of the will:

Harold Rhoden . . . told the court he hoped the iodine tests would bring out markings of a postal meter stamp imprinted on the back of the envelope. . . .

The stamp, he said, "might lead that envelope right into Hughes' den" but he also acknowledged that it could disprove the will's authenticity.

The letters "Mar," standing for March, are visible on the stamp, Rhoden said, but an identifying meter number has been obliterated. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, May 22)

CONCLUSION. Although we would really like to believe that the Mormon will is authentic, the more we study it the more convinced we become that it is a forgery. Those who are interested in the relationship between Mormonism and Howard Hughes may enjoy our new book *Mormon Spies, Hughes and the C.I.A.*





Sandra and Jerald Tanner

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