

# CLASS AGAINST CLASS

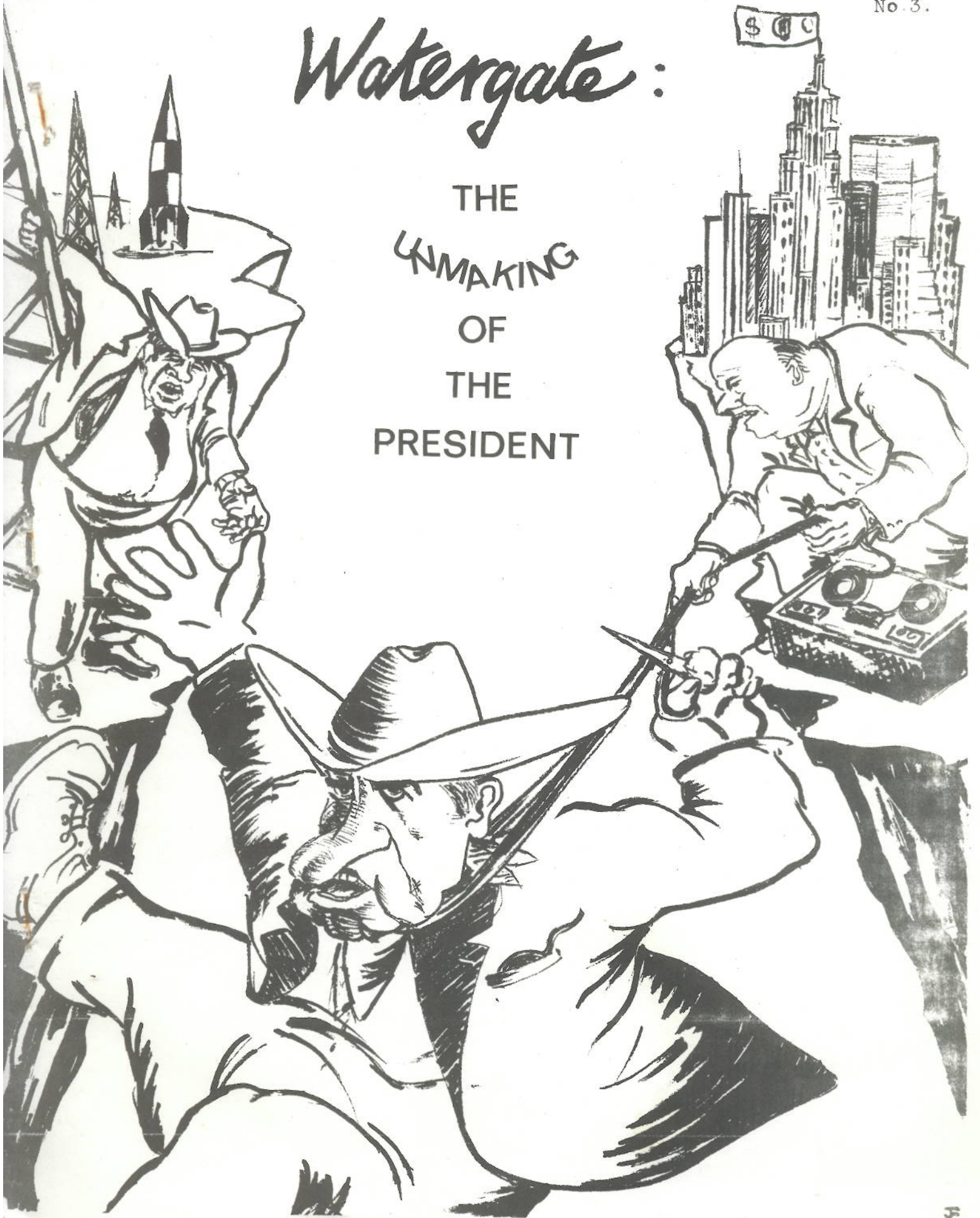
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## Watergate:

THE  
UNMAKING  
OF  
THE  
PRESIDENT





## INTRODUCTION

The speech-writer who gave Edward Heath his famous phrase about "the ugly face of capitalism" chose his words carefully, for we all know that some of the nicest people have faces which are, by the convention of a "Miss World" contest, far from beautiful. Furthermore, an "ugly" face can, if its owner is wealthy enough, be transformed beyond recognition by the art of the cosmetician and the plastic surgeon.

Thus, Mr. Heath's phrase does not imply that there is anything fundamentally wrong with capitalism. It implies that he thinks merely that its face ought either to be decently covered with a veil or be "tarted up" to make it look attractive.

In fact, the corruption in high places which has been revealed in the "Watergate" affair is an inevitable concomitant of the profit motive on which the capitalist system is based. Usually this corruption is kept decently hidden from the people, and this process of concealment is normally assisted by the media controlled by the capitalist ruling class. Where - as in the Lonrho affair which stimulated Heath's reference to "the ugly face of capitalism" - this corruption is pointedly made public, this is invariably because there is a serious conflict of interest within the ruling class, a conflict in which one group publicises the sins of its rivals as part of the struggle to defeat them.

Such a conflict within the ruling class forms the background also, as this pamphlet shows, to the "Watergate" affair across the Atlantic.

### WATERGATE - THE UNMAKING OF THE PRESIDENT

ON NOVEMBER 7TH, 1972 RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON WAS ELECTED THIRTY-SEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WITH 47 MILLION VOTES (61% OF THE POLL), WINNING ALL BUT ONE OF THE 50 STATES OF THE UNION.

TODAY, A YEAR LATER, NIXON CLINGS PRECARIOUSLY TO THE WHITE HOUSE, EXPOSED AS A LYING, CORRUPT CRIMINAL.

#### The Struggle between the Capitalist Monopolies

The power of the campaign of exposure against Nixon which followed the so-called "Watergate" affair lies in the fact that it was undertaken by organs of United States imperialism - by the "New York Times", the "Washington Post", the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The explanation for this is not, of course, that Nixon has suffered some mental aberration which has led him to espouse the cause of the working class! It lies in the fact that since 1963 the executive branch of the state has been controlled by a particular section of the US monopoly capitalists, a section most directly associated with the oil, armaments and aerospace industries, a section which has used the political power of the White House to the detriment of the majority of the US monopoly capitalists.

This conflict of interest between the President's office and the main body of the US imperialists was manifested, for example, in the maintenance until the spring of 1973 of the strict quotas on imported oil, after an energy crisis



had already begun adversely to affect the operation of US Big Business as a whole, and in the continuation and extension of the US war of aggression in Indo-China by Presidential decree long after the majority of US imperialists wished to bring it to an end. The two issues are not unconnected. As the "Petroleum Engineer" expressed it:

"Oil exploration could conceivably be successful enough to turn that part of the world (i.e., south-east Asia - Ed.) into another South Louisiana-Texas-type producing area. It all depends on the Vietnam War, how long it takes to get the job done and how well it's done".

Seen as part of a struggle between great capitalist monopolies, the "Watergate" incident itself at once becomes less bizarre. It was not in essence the "bugging" of the headquarters of one political party by the leaders of another. It was a perfectly "normal" form of industrial espionage by which one large corporation seeks to discover the technical secrets - and even the advertising plans - of its rivals.

### The "Separation of Powers"

In drawing up the Constitution of the United States in 1787, the Founding Fathers were greatly influenced by the ideas of the French constitutional lawyer, Baron de la Brede et Montesquieu. Montesquieu reached the conclusion that the political stability and "liberty" of eighteenth-century Britain was due to the "separation of powers" between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the state, to the fact that each being "unable to interfere" with the actions of the others provided a system of "checks and balances" preventing the development of autocracy. This doctrine of "separation of powers" was adopted with some degree of rigidity in the US Constitution.

As, with the development of capitalism, competitive capitalism gives way to monopoly capitalism, so a corresponding change follows in the superstructure: the state becomes transformed from the machinery of force of the capitalist class as a whole into that of the most powerful monopoly groups - that is, monopoly capitalism is transformed into state-monopoly capitalism.

The British capitalist class long ago abandoned the concept of "separation of powers" and established an integrated monopoly capitalist state. But in the United States this transformation of the state superstructure has lagged behind the development of the economic base into monopoly capitalism. The maintenance of the "separation of powers" of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the state has been a cardinal factor in allowing one of them - the executive branch - to be dominated by a particular section of monopoly capitalists.

While United States imperialism was expanding economically, to become after the Second World War the strongest of the older imperialist powers, the contradiction between the economic base of US monopoly capitalism and its 18th century state superstructure could remain largely below the surface of political life. But now that world imperialism is entering a period of retraction, now that US imperialism is entering a period of relative decline, this contradiction has burst through to the surface.

From one point of view, therefore, the "Watergate" convulsion may be seen as the first step in the transformation of the US state machine into an integrated machinery of force functioning in the interests of the most powerful of the US monopoly capitalist groups as a whole.

### The Power of the President

Under the US Constitution, the executive branch of the state consists of



the President and his subordinates, and its headquarters is the White House in Washington.

The President of the United States is no titular head of state, whose function is merely to "preside". His position as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces is also much more than nominal; the highest-ranking general could defy an order from the President only by violating the Constitution. The directors of the security organs, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency, are not only nominated by him but are his subordinates.

Under the principle of "separation of powers", the President is not accountable to Congress nor dependent upon its support, and he may veto any of its legislation he chooses (subject to the right of a two-thirds majority to overrule his veto). Similarly, the Supreme Court, at the head of the judicial branch of the state, has ruled that it has no power to declare any action of the President invalid. There is no collective Cabinet of Ministers whose views he must take into account; the "Cabinet officers", who function outside the Constitution, are nominated by him and are merely his advisers, whose counsel he may accept or reject as he wishes. And once elected for a four-year term, by a process which resembles more a carnival than a political event, he cannot be removed from office except by a vote of impeachment for grave crimes, carried by a two-thirds majority of the Senate.

Under the Nixon administration, in particular, the "Cabinet" and Congress largely ceased to play any effective role in the government of the United States. More important than either of these organs became the White House "aides" - such figures as Bob Haldeman (White House Chief of Staff), John Ehrlichman (Domestic Adviser to the President) and John Dean (Counsel to the President).

Clearly, a section of the US monopoly capitalists which could gain and maintain influence over the White House was in an extremely powerful position: it could use the immense powers vested in the executive for its own benefit, even against the interests of the rest of the monopoly capitalists.

#### The Coup d'Etat

The particular conflict of interest between the section of the US monopoly capitalists concerned with oil, armaments and aerospace (centred predominantly in the south and west of the United States and referred to in New York financial circles as the "cowboys") and the older-established majority of the US monopoly capitalists (centred predominantly in the north and east of the United States and referred to in Dallas business circles as the "yankees") has long been recognised. The "yankees" are typified by the Rockefeller, Morgan, du Pont and Mellon empires, the "cowboys" by such figures as Howard Hughes, Kent Smith and John Paul Getty.

In an article in the "New York Review of Books" of May 3rd, 1973, Kirkpatrick Sale gives a penetrating description of the "cowboys":

"They are for the most part new-money people, without the family fortunes and backgrounds of eastern wealth, people whose fortunes have been made only in the postwar decades, mostly in new industries such as aerospace and defence contracting, in oil, natural gas and allied businesses, usually domestic rather than international. ...

They are self-made men and women in the sense that they did not generally inherit great riches (though of course in another sense they are government-made, depending as in oil and aerospace on large favours from Washington, but they hardly like to think of it that way), and they tend to a notable degree to be politically conservative, even retrograde, usually anti-



union, anti-black, anti-consumer and anti-regulation, .. without particular concern about the niceties of business ethics and morals, and therefore to be connected ... with shady speculation, political influence-peddling, corrupt unions and even organised crime".

In the 1950s and early 1960s this conflict of interest was kept within bounds by a "gentlemen's agreement" establishing a certain "balance of power" within the executive branch of the state apparatus: according to this agreement the "yankee" monopoly capitalists were entitled to have their nominee as President, while the "cowboys" were entitled to have their nominee as Vice-President.

But on November 22nd, 1963 the "cowboys" broke this unwritten agreement in what was virtually a coup d'etat: they organised the assassination in Dallas, Texas, of President John Kennedy (the nominee of the "yankee" monopoly capitalists), so bringing into the position of President their own nominee in the person of Vice-President Lyndon Johnson.

The heads of the Dallas police, who were parties to the conspiracy, arrested and charged one Lee Oswald, a young man with convenient associations with both the Soviet Union and Cuba, and proceeded to fabricate evidence against him. Since it was clear that this fabricated evidence would be most unlikely to stand up in court, they then arranged for him to be murdered in the precincts of the Dallas gaol before he could be brought to trial. President Johnson then set up a Commission of Investigation under the chairmanship of Republican judge Earl Warren which dutifully found the case against Oswald, and Oswald alone, "proved". (The exposure of the Warren Commission's cover-up has been well carried out by Mark Lane in his book "Rush to Judgment", published in 1966, and will not be repeated here.)

#### The Rise of Richard Nixon

California-born Richard Milhous Nixon first emerged into federal politics in 1946, when he contested a California seat in the House of Representatives. His campaign was planned by an astute lawyer, Murray Chotiner, on the basis of the following "principles":

firstly: attack and discredit your opponent in every conceivable way, above all by associating him with some idea or organisation which can be labelled "subversive";

secondly: avoid putting forward a policy of any kind - and if you have to, express it in the most ambiguous terms;

thirdly: when in difficulties, whimper.

These election "principles" were applied with success in Nixon's 1946 campaign. His opponent, sitting Congressman Jerry Voorhis - although a strongly anti-communist member of the Committee for Un-American Activities and author of the notorious Voorhis Act requiring political organisations "controlled by a foreign power" to register with the Justice Department - was attacked day after day as a "crypto-Communist", and such was the political atmosphere in the United States at this time that Nixon succeeded in winning the seat.

As a Congressman, Nixon proceeded to make his name and face familiar throughout the country by playing a leading role in the Committee for Un-American Activities, particularly in the cases of Gerhard Eisler and Alger Hiss.

In 1950 Nixon contested a seat in the Senate, using the same electoral "principles" which had proved so successful in 1946; his opponent Helen Gahagan Douglas was denounced as "the pink lady" and "a notorious party-liner", and again Nixon succeeded in defeating his opponent.

It was the use of these electoral tactics which first earned him the appropriate nickname of "Tricky Dicky".



For his 1950 Senatorial campaign, wealthy backers in California had raised the record sum of \$1.6 million, and it became known that some \$18,000 had found its way into a separate fund for Nixon's personal use. Now running for Vice-President, Nixon sought to save himself by resorting to Chotiner's technique of the "whimper". In his famous "Checkers" speech on television, he told his listeners, with tears in his eyes, of his poverty and complete honesty - the only gift he had ever received was the dear little doggie "Checkers", duly produced before the cameras, for his little girl - and the stories of his "personal fund" were merely the smears of "Communists and crooks". It was a magnificent piece of acting, and it proved politically successful.

In the Vice-Presidential campaign of 1952, in which he was Dwight Eisenhower's running mate, the Chotiner technique was raised to new heights. Dean Acheson, the virulently anti-Communist Secretary of State, was attacked repeatedly for having

".. a form of colour blindness - a form of pink eye - towards the Communist threat in the United States",

while the rigidly conservative Adlai Stevenson

".. has a degree all right - a Ph.D from the Acheson College of Cowardly Communist Containment".

The technique worked again, and was one more applied in the 1954 Congressional elections, when Nixon told the electors:

"96% of the 6,926 Communists, fellow-travellers, sex perverts, people with criminal records, dope addicts, drunks, and other security risks removed under the Eisenhower security programme were hired by the Truman Administration".

After Nixon had served a second term as Vice-President under Eisenhower, the "cowboys" felt themselves strong enough to "tear up" the unwritten agreement with the "yankees", to transform the Republican Party into their own political instrument and to put forward their own nominee, Richard Nixon, for the Presidency. The "yankee" monopoly capitalists, on the other hand, put their whole strength behind the Democratic candidate, John Kennedy, and secured the latter's election.

Defeated for the Presidency, Nixon ran in 1962 against Pat Brown for the position of Governor of California, and was again defeated.

Two years later a Californian court found that the "Committee for the Preservation of the Democratic Party", which had been set up during the 1962 election and had published attacks on Nixon's Democratic opponent in the name of the latter's own party, was a fraudulent body, established under the supervision of Nixon's campaign manager Bob Haldeman, and financed to the tune of \$70,000 from Nixon's own campaign funds. The court named as also involved in the fraud Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal lawyer, and Nixon himself.

After his defeat in 1962, even Nixon appeared to believe that his political career was at an end. He told the press somewhat bitterly:

"You won't have Dick Nixon to kick around any more because, gentlemen, this will be my last press conference".

He then moved to New York and became a partner in a law firm, in which shortly afterwards John Mitchell also became a partner.

The 1960 Presidential election campaign had convinced the "cowboys" that they were not strong enough to seize the presidency from the "yankee" monopoly capitalist majority by "normal democratic processes". They therefore resorted to the coup of 1963, already described, by means of which their Vice-Presidential



nominee, Lyndon Johnson, was elevated to the Presidency.

In March 1968, the pressure of the "yankees" was effective in persuading Johnson not to stand for re-election. In his statement announcing this decision, he said pointedly:

"A house divided against itself ... cannot stand. ..."

There is a division in the American house now. ...

I have concluded that I should not permit the Presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year. ...

Accordingly I shall not seek - and will not accept - the nomination of my party for another term as your President".

The "yankees" determined to win back control of the Presidency through their nominee Robert Kennedy, younger brother of the murdered President. The "cowboys", for their part, drew Richard Nixon out of his lucrative law practice with the promise of an even more lucrative career as their nominee for President, and backed him with the most lavishly financed election campaign fund in US history, amounting to \$33 million.

Convinced by their defeat in 1960 that their candidate was unlikely to win the election through "normal democratic processes", in June 1968 they organised the assassination of Robert Kennedy, this time concealing more successfully the conspiratorial nature of the crime. They also persuaded Southern Democrat George Wallace, noted for his virulent anti-negro stance, to stand as an Independent candidate and so draw a considerable part of the southern reactionary vote from the new "yankee" candidate, Hubert Humphrey, who was identified with the "liberal" wing of the Democratic Party.

The result of the November 1968 Presidential election was as follows:

Richard Nixon: 31.3 million votes (43.6%)

Hubert Humphrey: 30.9 million votes  
(43.0%)

George Wallace: 13.4 million votes (9.8%).

Richard Nixon, the nominee of the "cowboy" monopoly capitalists, had been elected President of the United States to succeed Lyndon Johnson.

At the heart of the "Watergate" affair, therefore, lies, on the one hand, the struggle of the "yankee" monopoly capitalists to restore their full control

over the state machine, and, on the other hand, the struggle of the "cowboy" monopoly capitalists to retain their control over the executive branch of the state machine.

#### THE STRUGGLE WITH CONGRESS

While Lyndon Johnson occupied the Presidency as the nominee of the "cowboy" monopoly capitalists, the White House paid a tactful regard to the interests and wishes of the "yankee" monopoly capitalist majority. But when, at the beginning of 1969, his place was taken by Richard Nixon, the executive branch began to act more and more blatantly for the benefit of its oil, armaments and aerospace sponsors - even where these actions conflicted with the interests and wishes of the "yankees".

This situation manifested itself in an increasingly bitter struggle between Congress - a large number of the members of which were representatives of the "yankees" - and the President's office.

When in March 1969 Nixon announced that the "Safeguard" anti-ballistic missile programme was "vital for the security of the United States", the measure scraped through the Senate with crippling amendments defeated by votes of only 50-50 and 51-49 respectively.

When in the same year Congress passed an appropriation Bill which cut the military expenditure demanded by the White House by \$6,600 million, Nixon vetoed the Bill as "inflationary".

When in August 1969 the House of Representatives cut the oil depletion allowance from 27.5% to 20%, Nixon refused to sign the measure on grounds that a reduction of tax relief to the oil companies was 'contrary to the national interest'. Eventually, in December Nixon reluctantly approved an amended version of the Bill which cut the relief to only 22%.

In May 1971 Congress killed the Administration's programme for the construction of the Boeing supersonic passenger plane - the US rival to the Concorde - after \$864 million had already been spent, by refusing to vote further funds for it.

In the same month the Administration insisted on making a government guarantee of \$250 million to the Lockheed Aircraft Company to enable it to raise bank loans to stave off grave financial difficulties resulting mainly from its contract to build the C5A military transport plane.



The Administration had concealed from Congress the fact that the final cost of the C5A was \$5,000 million for 81 aircraft instead of the \$3,000 million for 115 aircraft contracted for. When the greatly inflated cost was revealed to a Congressional Committee by Ernest Fitzgerald, an Air Force cost technician, he was immediately dismissed by Defence Secretary Melvin Laird.

Again, as has been mentioned, the Administrator's rigid quotas on imported oil, which benefitted the "cowboy" oil companies, were retained right up until Easter 1973, long after an "energy crisis" had developed which was adversely affecting the interests of the majority of the US monopoly capitalists.

As the contradictions between President and Congress intensified, Nixon came to veto more and more of the legislation passed by Congress - and to enact by decree legislation which Congress refused to pass. And when Congress overruled his veto of the Water Quality Act, 1972, Nixon simply claimed the right to impound \$6,000 million of the \$11,000 million allotted by Congress under the Act.

"Time" magazine summed up the growing constitutional conflict in its issue of January 22nd, 1973:

"All of Nixon's post-election actions suggest that he is determined to subdue his opponents, defy rather than reason with the Democratic Congress and run the executive branch by decree, brooking no contrary advice by strong-willed Cabinet subordinates".

#### FEATHERING THE PRESIDENTIAL NEST

When the "cowboys" approached Richard Nixon to leave his lucrative New York law practice to stand as their Presidential candidate in 1968, they assured him that he would not lose financially by it.

And once in the White House loyally serving his "cowboy" sponsors, Nixon did not neglect to feather his own nest.

Apart from his palace in Washington maintained at the taxpayers' expense, Nixon purchased two luxurious private houses: one at San Clemente in his home state of California and known as the "Western White House", the other at Key Biscayne in Florida and known as the "Florida White House". Half of the \$1.6 million purchase money for these mansions was "lent" to him by millionaire businessmen Charles ("Bebe") Rebozo and

Robert Abplanalp, the balance coming secretly from unspent election campaign funds. But the San Clemente estate included 23 acres more than Nixon required, and this was sold to Rebozo and Abplanalp for \$1.2 million, thus paying off his "loan" and allowing him a handsome profit. Nixon failed to pay capital gains tax on this deal.

\$6.1 million of government money was spent on the San Clemente mansion, officially for "security" purposes - but the "security" included landscaping of the garden, together with the provision of furniture, silverware, a swimming pool and a flagpole costing \$1,853!

In addition to all this, Rebozo managed a "private investment fund" of \$1 million on behalf of Nixon, this again coming secretly from unspent campaign funds.

Nixon's financial position was further assisted by the fact that he paid hardly any income tax. Although his remuneration as President alone amounts to \$200,000, official records show that in 1969 and 1970 he paid total income tax amounting to only \$1,600 - the amount which would be payable by a family of three with an income of around \$8,000 a year.

The "cowboys" had kept their promise!

#### "ENDING" THE INDO-CHINA WAR

One of the main planks in Nixon's election programme of 1968 was that he had a "secret plan" for "ending the Indo-China war".

It was not until November 1969, a year after the election, that the "secret plan" was unveiled, and it then turned out to be a plan not for ending the Indo-China war, but for extending it.

The key phrase in the plan was the "Vietnamisation of the war", meaning that troops of the puppet regime in South Vietnam would take over the ground fighting from US troops, which would be gradually withdrawn. This did not mean, however, the ending of US involvement in the war. The United States would continue to train and equip the South Vietnam army, and to give it "air support".

It was revealed later that this "air support" was intended to include a new device invented by the Westinghouse Electric Company by which sensory devices scattered about the countryside detected any moving object near them and flashed signals to computerised pilotless planes which dropped their bombs on the area. The fact that the sensors were unable to differentiate between



a Vietnamese partisan and a Vietnamese child or a Vietnamese cow caused the Pentagon no loss of sleep, but the fact that they were unable to differentiate between any of these and a US soldier made it politically desirable to withdraw US ground troops before bringing the new weapons into action.

The majority of the US imperialists were opposed to this policy. They were satisfied that a military defeat of the national liberation forces in Indo-China was not possible, but that, following a peace settlement, it might well be possible to establish neo-colonial domination over the area.

This conflict of policy between the "yankee" majority of US monopoly capitalists and the "cowboy" minority was reflected again in an increasingly open struggle between Congress and the White House. Already under the Johnson administration, in 1967, Senator William Fulbright had complained of the corrupting influence of the powerful "military-industrial complex". In June 1969 the Senate adopted a bi-partisan resolution calling upon the executive branch of the state not to commit US troops or resources to any foreign country without the express consent of Congress. And in mid-1971 the Senate adopted an amendment to the military appropriation Bill for 1972 (the Mansfield Amendment) which declared:

"It is the policy of the United States to terminate at the earliest possible practicable date all military operations of the United States in Indo-China".

In both cases Nixon announced that the resolutions were not binding on the executive and he intended to disregard them.

In November 1973 both Houses of Congress overruled the Presidential veto to pass a joint resolution forbidding any President from sending US troops into battle for more than 90 days without the specific approval of Congress and empowering Congress to bring to a halt within this period any undeclared war.

GAGGING THE TV COMMENTATORS

When, on November 3rd, 1969, President Nixon announced his "secret plan" for the withdrawal of US ground forces from Vietnam, a few television commentators were rather critical of the speech.

Ten days later, on November 13th,

Vice-President Spiro Agnew made his famous speech at Des Moines, Iowa, in which he strongly attacked the television networks for having permitted commentators to present what he described as "biased comments" on the President's speech, and he warned them that the right to broadcast was "sanctioned and licensed by the government".

The intimidation succeeded for more than two years. TV commentators exhibited a marked reluctance to criticise the actions and statements of the Nixon administration. Two years after Agnew's threatening speech TV newsman Walter Cronkite told a Congressional Committee:

"Broadcast news today is not free, because it is operated by an industry that is beholden to the government for its right to exist; its freedom has been curtailed by fiat, by assumption, and by intimidation and harassment".

Unfortunately for Nixon and his backers, leading organs of the press were controlled by "yankee" monopoly capitalists and were not subject to licensing by the administration.

THE "CAMBODIAN BOMBING" LEAK

In 1969 and early 1970, on the orders of Nixon as Commander-in-Chief of armed forces, the US air force carried out a total of 3,360 bombing raids on Cambodia.

This extension of the war in Indo-China into a country whose neutrality the United States was officially pledged to respect was contrary to the wishes, not only of the vast majority of the people of the United States, but of the majority of the US imperialists. The raids were, therefore, kept secret by the institution of a system of double-entry book-keeping: one set of books, marked "Top Secret", logged where the raids actually took place; another set - for consumption by the press and the "busybodies" of the Senate - described them as taking place in South Vietnam.

On May 6th, 1969, the "yankee" monopoly capitalists fired their first warning shot across the bows of the White House. On that day the "New York Times" published a report, leaked from "administration sources", revealing the truth about the raids.

Aghast at the leak, Henry Kissinger, on behalf of the President, instructed the Federal Bureau of Investigation to tap the telephones of 13 government officials (including some of his closest colleagues on the National Security Council) and 4



journalists, in an effort to discover the source of the leak, the "enemy within".

Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI, carried out the instructions from the White House, but insisted that these be put in writing and locked up with the original tapes obtained from the tapings in an FBI safe (as "insurance", he is reported to have said).

#### "THE GESTAPO MENTALITY"

In the autumn of 1969 Nixon had instructed the CIA to trace the "foreign funds" which, he was convinced, were responsible for such "un-American activities" as student demonstrations against the US war in Indo-China and the outspoken radicalism of black militants. The CIA reported back that the source of these phenomena was domestic and not foreign.

This, together with the fact that the FBI had failed to discover the source of the "Cambodian bombing" leak, led the White House to the conclusion that neither of the main state security agencies was, so far as the President's office was concerned, "reliable".

In March 1970, therefore, the Executive Protection Service was established by Presidential decree, with the express function of protecting the President - although it was also allotted the task of guarding foreign embassies.

On June 5th, 1970 Nixon summoned to a meeting in the Oval Office the heads of all the state security services: Edgar Hoover (Director of the FBI), Richard Helms (director of the CIA), Lieut.-General Donald Bennett (Director of the Pentagon's Defence Intelligence Agency) and Admiral Noel Gayler (Director of the National Security Agency, concerned with codes and the monitoring of foreign communications). They were instructed to form a committee, chaired by Hoover, to make recommendations on the strengthening of "internal security".

On June 25th, an 8-point plan was submitted to this committee, drafted by a White House security expert, Tom Huston. It provided for: the setting up of a new Interagency Group on Internal Security designed to bring all the security agencies under the effective control of the White House, together with the unrestricted use of "electronic surveillance" (i.e., telephone tapping and "bugging"), "covert mail coverage" (i.e., the secret opening and inspection of mail) and "sur-reptitious entry" (i.e., burglary) in

relation to individuals and organisations regarded as "posing a threat to internal security."

It was this document which, three years later, the Chairman of the Senate Committee investigating the "Watergate" affair, Sam Ervin, described as "evidence of a Gestapo mentality".

The White House strategists had no doubt that the "yankee" monopoly capitalists and their supporters who were opposed to the US war in Indo-China and who were trying to overthrow the President of the United States were "subversive elements" against whom the use of the security organs was legitimate and necessary. Hoover, however, who had never had the slightest qualms about "electronic surveillance" and "covert mail coverage" in relation to the Left, could not bring himself to see conservative corporation executives and journalists in this light, and he rejected Huston's plan.

When on July 23rd 1970, Nixon overruled Hoover's objections and sent out a memorandum giving Presidential approval of the plan, he was forcibly reminded that Hoover held "incriminating evidence" concerning the White House in an FBI safe which he might be "unscrupulous" enough to use if his objections were thwarted. Five days later, on July 28th, Presidential approval of the Huston plan was cancelled.

Shortly afterwards a member of the FBI staff, William Sullivan - on the instructions of Robert Mardian, Director of the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department - burgled Hoover's safe and the "incriminating evidence" was transferred to Ehrlichman's own safe in the White House.

In November 1971 the White House again attempted to coordinate the various state security agencies under its control. Richard Helms, Director of the CIA, was appointed to "an enhanced leadership role" - a role which was in effect little more than recommending economies in the budgets of the various agencies, while removing him from effective day-to-day control of the CIA. Then, above this, the Administration set up a National Security Intelligence Committee, chaired by Henry Kissinger - who being a White House aide was not accountable to Congress and was protected from Congressional inquiry by the doctrine of "executive privilege".

#### THE "PENTAGON PAPERS"

At the beginning of June 1971, the "yankee" monopoly capitalists gave a



second warning to the White House. On June 13th the "New York Times" began publication in serial form of a massive, 7,000-page top-secret "History of US Decision-Making Process in Vietnam Policy", commissioned in 1967 by the then-Defence Secretary, Robert McNamara.

Later in the month one Daniel Ellsberg - a former Administration official, now an employee of the Rand Corporation "think-tank" - took responsibility for having leaked the documents to the press and was in August charged with the "illegal possession of secret documents". It was clear, however, that the abstraction of 43 bulky volumes of top-secret documents could have been accomplished only with the active connivance of persons high up in the state security service. The "Pentagon Papers", as the documents came to be called, did not deal at all with the role of the Nixon administration in relation to the US war of aggression in Vietnam Indo-China, but they were a damning indictment of the lies, double-dealing and outright illegalities in which previous Presidents had been involved in connection with the war. Their leakage was thus a further "shot across the bows" of the White House - a clear warning that the intelligence organs of the state had given their services to the opponents of the Nixon administration, to the "yankee" monopoly capitalists, and that if the executive did not change course, if it did not cease to embrace the interests of a monopoly capitalist minority against the interests of the majority, the destruction of that administration would be brought about.

Attorney-General John Mitchell wrote immediately to the publishers of the "New York Times" demanding that they cease publication of the "Pentagon Papers" "in the interests of national security". When they refused, the Justice Department sought and obtained a court injunction prohibiting further publication. At the end of June, however, the Supreme Court overruled the injunction, declaring it to be "an unconstitutional limitation of the freedom of the press".

The White House was thus served notice that the highest organ of the judicial branch of the state had taken the side of the "yankee" enemies of the Nixon administration.

#### THE WHITE HOUSE "PLUMBERS"

But the Nixon administration did not heed the warning to change course. It

reacted to the knowledge that the state security organs were on the side of its enemies by setting up in July 1971 the White House's own intelligence agency, the Special Investigations Unit (known as the "plumbers" since its official function was the plugging of leaks from the executive branch of the state). It had its headquarters in Room 16 of the Executive Office Building next door to the White House, and was headed by Egil Krogh (assistant to John Ehrlichman, Domestic Affairs Adviser to the President). Its staff included Howard Hunt (a former CIA agent who had directed the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 and had since written third-rate spy stories), Gordon Liddy (a former FBI agent), and two former New York policemen, John Caulfield and Anthony Ulasewicz.

It was Howard Hunt, then still in the CIA, who offered \$400,000 to the former OAS operative Jean-Luis Romero to assassinate President John Kennedy on the latter's visit to Paris in May 1961 (The incident is described in Camille Gilles' "\$400,000 pour abattre Kennedy a Paris"). And when the assassination of Kennedy finally took place in Dallas in 1963, one of the people arrested on the grassy knoll from which some at least of the shots are known to have come - but later released in accordance with the frame-up of Lee Oswald - was .. Howard Hunt.

The first known (as yet) operation of the White House "plumbers" was carried out with the Presidential election of the following year in mind. It was an investigation into the death in July 1969 of Mary Jo Kopechne, an incident in which Edward Kennedy, a dangerous potential "yankee" candidate, had been involved. After delving for some time into the Chappaquiddick mud, the investigating team discovered that, however indiscreet Kennedy might have been, a significant role in the mysterious "accident" had been played by thugs hired by someone in the White House. The investigation was accordingly abruptly terminated.

In late July 1971 the "plumbers" asked the CIA to provide a "psychiatric profile" on Daniel Ellsberg. This report, however, proved unsatisfactory to the purposes of the White House - it went so far as to express the view that Ellsberg had acted through "what he deemed to be a higher order of patriotism".

On August 11th, 1971, therefore, Krogh sent a memorandum to Ehrlichman saying:

"We would recommend that a covert



operation be undertaken to examine all the medical files still held by Ellsberg's psychiatrist covering the two-year period in which he was undergoing analysis".

Ehrlichman returned the memo with his initial opposite "Approve", adding the rider: "if done under your assurance that it is not traceable".

The White House was interested in the records of Ellsberg's psychoanalysis partly in the hope of finding some pretext on which Ellsberg could be found "psychologically unfit" to stand trial, partly in the hope that they might reveal the high officials involved in the leakage of the documents.

On September 3rd, 1971, therefore, Hunt and Liddy broke into the Los Angeles office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist, Dr. Lewis Fielding, but failed to find the files they sought.

In April 1973, as the facts about this burglary were about to be made public, Ehrlichman had two meetings with the judge presiding at Ellsberg's trial, Judge Matthew Byrne - at one of these Nixon himself was present - and offered the judge the post of Director of the FBI (rendered vacant by the death in May 1972 of Edgar Hoover) "subject to confirmation" (meaning, of course, subject to the judge's cooperation in suppressing the role of the White House in the burglary).

At the end of April 1973 Judge Byrne revealed in court both the fact of the burglary and the blatant attempt on the part of the White House to pervert the course of justice. A few days later he discharged Ellsberg, saying:

"The conduct of the government .. precludes the fair and dispassionate consideration of the issues by the jury".

The next operation of the "plumbers" was to organise another attack on Edward Kennedy, this time indirectly through his murdered brother. It had long been known that the John Kennedy administration had been involved in the overthrow in 1963 of its puppet President of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem. No one had so far, however, accused the administration of complicity in Diem's subsequent assassination.

Howard Hunt accordingly got to work and forged a couple of cables purporting to have come from the State Department in October 1963 and "proving" just this.

On September 16th, 1971 Nixon told a press conference:

"I would remind all concerned that the way we got into Vietnam was through overthrowing Diem and the complicity in the murder of Diem".

In October, Charles Colson, Special Counsel to the President, got in touch with "Time" reporter William Lambert, drew his attention to Nixon's statement of the previous month and steered him to Hunt and his faked cables. Lambert smelled a rat and declined to take the bait. The forged cables were then put in Hunt's safe at the White House, where they remained for the next eight months.

#### THE "POLITICAL ENEMIES" DOSSIER

During the latter part of 1971 a dossier was prepared in the office of Charles Colson, Special Counsel to the President, and given the name of the "Political Enemies Project". Its purpose was made clear in a memorandum written to Haldeman and Ehrlichman by John Dean, Legal Counsel to the President:

"This memorandum addresses the matter of .. how we use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies".

The completed dossier contained the names of 200 individuals and 18 organisations. The "individual" names included those of leading Democratic Party politicians, such as Edward Kennedy, Edmund Muskie, George McGovern and George Wallace; the entire negro membership of the House of Representatives; journalists, such as Jack Anderson and James Reston; film stars, such as Jane Fonda, Gregory Peck and Paul Newman; and newspapers, such as the "New York Times" and the "Washington Post". The organisational names included not only the Black Panthers, but the Farmers' Union, the National Student Association, the National Education Association and the Brookings Institution.

In view of Hoover's unwillingness to allow the FBI to be used against Nixon's more "respectable" political opponents, shortly before Christmas of 1971 Nixon invited him to the White House and asked him pointedly about his plans for retirement. Hoover replied, equally pointedly, that he had none.

In these circumstances the White House turned to the Internal Revenue Service. Indeed, in 1969 the IRS had, on the instructions of the President, set up



a "Special Services Group" the function of which was

".. to receive and analyse all available information on organisations and individuals promoting 'extremist' views and philosophies".

Then in September 1970 White House aide Tom Huston (author of the "Gestapo" plan already described) had addressed an irritated memorandum to Bob Haldeman complaining:

"Nearly 18 months ago the President indicated a desire for IRS to move against leftist organisations taking advantage of tax shelters. I have been pressing the IRS since that time to no avail".

The White House response had been typical. In January 1971 the IRS Commissioner, Randolph Thrower, was forced to resign for reasons he described as "between me and the President", and was replaced by a Nixon nominee, John Walters.

But the lower-level officials of the IRS proved reluctant to go along with the idea of using the tax authority as a weapon of retribution against political opponents of the Nixon administration, and the White House was compelled to make use of a statute which compelled a local tax office to undertake a "special audit" if it received "reliable information" pointing to the need for such an investigation.

In October 1971, for example, the New York newspaper "Newsday" published a special issue devoted to the dubious financial affairs of Nixon's millionaire friend Charles ("Bebe") Rebozo. As Dean revealed in 1973:

"I got instructions that one of the authors of the article should have some tax problems".

And so Robert Greene, the "Newsday" editor mainly responsible for the issue, found himself the subject of a sudden "special audit" by the IRS - which revealed no irregularities but cost him a considerable sum in accountant's fees.

And in June 1972 Charles Colson, Special Counsel to the President, sent a memorandum to Dean suggesting a "special audit" in the case of Harold Gibbons, Vice-President of the Teamsters' Union, whom he described as

".. an all-out enemy, a McGovernite, ardently anti-Nixon".

## THE 1972 ELECTION STRATEGY

The political strategy which Richard Nixon and his "cowboy" backers decided to adopt for the Presidential election of November 1972 was put forward in 1969 by Kevin Phillips, a young lawyer working for the Justice Department, in his book "The Emerging Republican Majority". It envisaged the Democratic Party as transformed into the political instrument of the "yankee" monopoly capitalist majority - which he called "the privileged elite of the northeast" - and making its appeal primarily to a "white liberal minority" and to the non-white minorities, with the Republican Party as the political instrument of the "cowboy" monopoly capitalists - of "a new American revolution coming out of the South and West", as he expressed it - and making its electoral appeal to the "silent majority" of "conservative-minded whites" of the petty bourgeoisie and working class. This "silent majority" would be composed of

".. the 57% of the American electorate which voted to eject the Democratic Party from national power", that is, from the combined votes of those who in 1968 voted for Nixon and Wallace.

Thus, the main features of the campaign to secure the re-election of Nixon as President in 1972 were:

1) to win for Nixon the reactionary "southern white" vote, and to eliminate his competing rival for this vote, George Wallace;

2) to ensure that the Democratic Party's candidate was the one likely to win a minimum number of votes from among the "silent majority".

## "THE SOUTHERN STRATEGY"

The strategy of seeking to win for Nixon the reactionary "southern white" vote began three years before the 1972 Presidential election.

In August 1969 Nixon nominated to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Court a white racist judge from South Carolina, Clement Haynsworth. After investigation, the Senate rejected the nomination.

In January 1970 Nixon made a second nomination - of another white racist judge from the South, George Carswell. Again the nomination was rejected by the Senate.

In April 1970 Nixon nominated a northern judge, Harry Blackman of Minnesota, making the point that with the present



constitution of the Senate there was "insurmountable discrimination" against judges "from the South".

Meanwhile, on December 8th, 1969, Nixon had told a press conference that he disagreed with a Supreme Court decision of October 29th, ordering immediate educational desegregation in 33 school districts in Mississippi.

On March 24th, 1970 Nixon declared that the Administration would carry out the law on desegregated education, but opposed "bussing" (the transport of children to schools outside their home areas in order to maintain "racial balance" in each school).

In April 1971 the Supreme Court ruled in favour of compulsory bussing where this was necessary to maintain "racial balance", but in March 1972 Nixon announced in a broadcast that he would ask Congress to pass legislation - the Student Transport Moratorium Bill - to halt all new bussing.

In line with the campaign to win for Nixon the reactionary "southern white" vote, the President had demonstrated that he was a firm supporter of white racism against the Senate and the Supreme Court.

There remained the problem of George Wallace, whose white racist stand had been longer, more consistent and more virulent than that of Nixon.

In 1970, when Wallace ran for Governor of Alabama, Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal lawyer, made secret contributions totalling \$400,000 from residual 1968 campaign funds to Wallace's opponent, Albert Brewer. At the same time Bob Haldeman revealed that Wallace's brother, Gerald, was to be charged by the Internal Revenue Service with tax frauds. Despite this, Wallace was elected.

In May 1971 Nixon, on a visit to Alabama, invited Wallace to fly with him in the Presidential plane from Mobile to Birmingham. There he persuaded him to run for the official Democratic Party Presidential nomination in the following year. Wallace agreed, and shortly afterwards IRS dropped its case against Gerald Wallace.

There was, of course, no possibility of Wallace receiving the Democratic nomination, but he did well in the first primaries in 1972 and the "danger" remained of him standing as an Independent candidate who would take a not inconsiderable quantity of the reactionary "southern white" vote from Nixon.

On May 15th, 1972 George Wallace was gunned down at a campaign rally in

Laurel, Maryland, leaving him paralysed from the waist down and effectively out of the election. Again the crime was officially put down to a "lone fanatic", Albert Bremer, again with vague "left-wing" connections. However, an employee of the Chesapeake and Ohio ferry, Earl Nunnery, recognised Bremer on television as having travelled on the ferry with an older man who talked of their "political plans" and appeared to give him orders; later Nunnery identified this man from a photograph as Dennis Cossini. On July 6th Cossini was found dead in a parked car in Toronto, Canada; despite evidence that he did not take drugs, the cause of death was given as an overdose of heroin.

#### "CREEP"

In the 1970 mid-term Congressional elections, President Richard Nixon and Vice-President Spiro Agnew campaigned vigorously on behalf of the Republican Party; they toured the country appealing with tongue-lashing rhetoric to all the prejudices with which they credited the "silent majority", raving hysterically about "law and order" and tearing into the "long-haired hypocrites who carry a 'Peace' sign in one hand and a bomb in the other".

The campaign was counter-productive. The Republicans lost 11 governorships and 9 seats in the House of Representatives. Only in the Senate did the party improve its position, by 2 seats, but was left in the minority in both Houses of Congress.

In the light of this experience, a new strategy was adopted for the 1972 Presidential election. Nixon would stand aloof and "dignified" as the President, and the campaigning would be done by others on his behalf.

Thus, in April 1971 there came into being the Campaign for the Re-election of the President (known appropriately as "CREEP"). Nixon's friend and former law partner John Mitchell later resigned as Attorney-General to become its director, and Maurice Stans resigned as Secretary of Commerce to become Chairman of CREEP's Finance Committee, in which fund-raising post he was assisted by Nixon's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, who became CREEP's chairman. Its assistant director was Jeb Magruder.

A principal task of CREEP was the raising of the large funds required to carry through its political strategy. In this task they were helped by Nixon's Presidential powers. On January 26th, 1972 Congress sent to the President for his



signature the Federal Election Campaign Bill, requiring each political party to publish the sources of all donations over \$10 and to report to the General Accounting Office all donations over \$100. Nixon delayed signing the Bill for the full ten days allowed him, until February 7th and the Act came into force on April 7th. This left a time-gap between the date of expiry of the old legislation (March 10th) and the coming into force of the new Act within which no disclosure of contributor's names need be made. CREEP took full advantage of this.

By April 7th 1972, when the new Act came into effect, CREEP had collected \$19.4 million in donations, of which only \$10.2 million was reported. In addition Kalmbach had custody of \$1.5 million of secret funds (being the residue left unspent from the 1968 Presidential election campaign less the sum of \$400,000 taken from this to assist in the 1970 campaign of George Wallace's opponent for Governor of Alabama). This meant that CREEP had \$10.7 million in secret funds available for secret operations.

After April 7th CREEP went on with its fund-raising activities, bringing in eventually a total sum of \$55 million - the largest campaign fund ever reported.

The largest donations came from Nixon's backers among the "cowboy" monopoly capitalists - from the directors of oil, armaments and aerospace firms the profits of which would undoubtedly suffer if the nominee of the "yankee" monopoly capitalists were elected to the Presidency.

Corporation donations to a campaign fund were illegal even during the time-gap between the two Acts, and most corporations channelled their funds through "personal contributions" from their directors, often by devious routes to reduce traceability. For example, Robert Allen, President of Gulf Resources and Chemical Corporation of Texas, arranged for his contribution of \$100,000 to be sent via a number of intermediate bank accounts in Mexico - a process known in CREEP circles as "laundering".

Some corporations, however, taking advantage of the period during which donations need not be disclosed and relying on the promises of CREEP to maintain secrecy, made their donations with blatant illegality: Phillips Petroleum Company gave \$100,000, Gulf Oil Corporation \$100,000, Ashland Oil Inc. \$100,000; American Airlines \$55,000, and so on. After the "Watergate" affair broke, Stans was careful to shred his list of 2,000 secret contributors, but a file copy sent to Nixon's personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, survived.

In addition to these contributions, a considerable number of donations was brought in as the price of specific Administration favours - received or expected.

At the beginning of March 1971, for example, Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin fixed the price supports for manufacturing milk at the same level as the previous year - \$4.66 per hundred pounds. On March 22nd the Trust for Agricultural Political Development (a dairy industry political fund) donated \$10,000 to CREEP. On March 23rd 16 dairy industry leaders were invited to meet with Nixon and Hardin at the White House. On March 24th another dairy industry political fund donated a further \$25,000 to CREEP. On March 25th Hardin announced that milk price supports would, after all, be raised to \$4.93 per hundred pounds.

In December 1971 Nixon used his Presidential prerogative of clemency to release from prison James Hoffa, the corrupt Mafia-linked former President of the Teamsters' Union, after he had served only 5 years of his 13-year gaol sentence for fraud and jury tampering. About the same time the Justice Department dropped its prosecution of Richard Fitzsimmons, son of the new President of the union Frank Fitzsimmons, for embezzlement of union funds. The leadership of the Teamsters' Union then declared its support for the re-election of Nixon and donated \$1.1 million of union funds to CREEP.

In March 1971 the Securities and Exchange Commission had launched an investigation into the affairs of financier Robert Vesco, who had taken over the mutual-fund colossus Investors' Overseas Services (IOS) from its equally crooked founder Bernard Cornfeld and had misappropriated \$224 million of its funds. In June 1971 Vesco had given the lucrative post of his personal assistant to the President's nephew Donald Nixon. On March 8th 1972 Vesco met Maurice Stans and offered to contribute \$250,000 to CREEP; he was immediately taken upstairs to discuss the SEC investigations with Attorney-General John Mitchell. On April 3rd, 1972 the President's brother, Edward Nixon, went to Vesco's office in New Jersey to collect the donation, but Vesco - with \$224 million of other people's money - was "unable" to raise the \$250,000 until after the new electoral law had come into force requiring



disclosure of contributions. On April 10th, however, the first instalment of \$200,000 was handed over to Maurice Stans in an attache case. In this case it proved impracticable to stop the investigation, and in November 1972 Vesco was charged with fraudulent conversion. The reason for his "inability" to raise his donation before the April 7th deadline then became clear; he wrote to the President's brother, Donald Nixon, threatening to disclose the secret contribution unless the prosecution against him were dropped; CREEP then returned his money. However, the mention of Vesco's secret contribution was deleted from the SEC's case after discussions between Maurice Stans and the SEC's Counsel, Bradford Cook.

At this time the Minnesota soya bean tycoon Dwayne Andreas had an application in for a federal bank charter, approval of which was being "delayed". On April 5th, 1972 Andreas told CREEP that he was anxious to make a donation of \$25,000 to Nixon's campaign fund, and handed the money over six days later. On August 22nd his bank charter was approved.

There were any number of other cases where donations were the price of specific Administration favours - received or expected. Ten substantial contributors with social ambitions were later appointed Ambassadors - the "social status" of the Embassy to which they were appointed being dependent on the amount of the contribution.

But the best documented example is the ITT affair.

#### THE ITT AFFAIR

From 1969 on, Harold Geneen, President of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT), had been fighting the attempts of the "anti-trust" division of the Justice Department to block his company's projected take-over of the large insurance company, Hartford Fire - which would have been the largest merger in US history.

On May 1st, 1971 Dita Beard, ITT's Washington lobbyist, negotiated a settlement with Attorney-General John Mitchell at the Kentucky Derby. The Justice Department would drop its objections to the merger, and ITT would donate \$400,000 to the costs of the Republican National Convention due next year. On May 12th, Geneen confirmed the donation to his friend Bob Wilson, Republican Congressman for San Diego. On June 3rd, Wilson announced the donation, without specifying the source.

On June 25th, 1971 Dita Beard sent a confidential memorandum to the head of

ITT's Washington office, William Merriam, which said:

"Other than permitting John Mitchell, Ed Reinecke (Lieutenant Governor of California - Ed.), Bob Haldeman and Nixon (besides Wilson, of course), no one has known from whom that 400 thousand commitment had come. . . Our noble commitment has gone a long way towards our negotiations on the mergers eventually coming out as Hal (i.e., Geneen - Ed.) wants them. Certainly the President has told Mitchell to see that things are worked out fairly. . .

I hope, dear Bill, that all of this can be reconciled .. if all of us in this office remain totally ignorant of any commitment ITT has made to anyone. If it gets too much publicity, you can believe our negotiations with Justice will wind up shot down. Mitchell is definitely helping us, but cannot let it be known. Please destroy this, huh?"

On July 31st, the Justice Department announced that it was permitting the take-over to take place.

On August 5th Wilson confirmed rumours that the \$400,000 contribution had come from ITT.

In February 1972 Dita Beard's memorandum arrived at the office of columnist Jack Anderson and, after checking its authenticity with Mrs. Beard, he published it, saying:

"We now have evidence that the settlement of the Nixon administration's biggest anti-trust case was privately arranged between Attorney-General John Mitchell and the top lobbyist for the company involved. We have this on the word of the lobbyist herself, crusty, capable Dita Beard of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company. She acknowledged the secret deal after we obtained a highly incriminating memo, written by her, from ITT's files".

In his next column, Anderson wrote:

"We have now established that Attorney-General-designate, Richard Kleindienst, told an outright lie about the Justice Department's sudden out-of-court settlement of the Nixon Administration's biggest anti-trust case".

The day after Anderson published his first story, ITT mounted an orgy of destruction in which every document relating to the negotiations over Hartford was fed into a shredding machine. On the next day Dita Beard was whisked away to a secluded private hospital in Denver, Colorado.



Nevertheless, in June 1972 only 19 Senators voted against the confirmation of Nixon's nomination of Richard Kleindienst as Attorney-General.

#### THE "DEPARTMENT OF DIRTY TRICKS"

The plan adopted at the beginning of 1971 by the "yankee" monopoly capitalists to win back control over the executive branch of the state was to secure the nomination as candidate of the Democratic Party Senator Edmund Muskie and to bring about his election as President in November.

In existing political conditions in the United States, the result of a Presidential election is mainly determined by which candidate has the most campaign funds at his disposal. Since the resources of the "yankee" monopoly capitalists far exceeded those at the disposal of their "cowboy" rivals, other things being equal Muskie should have been elected. Indeed, in May 1971 opinion polls showed Muskie not only in the lead for the Democratic Party nomination, but in the lead over Nixon by 48% to 39%.

But other things were not equal. The millions of dollars of secret funds raised by CREEP were used to further the second strategic objective of campaign to secure the re-election of Nixon: to ensure that the Democratic Party's candidate was the one likely to win a minimum number of votes from among the "silent majority". This objective was pursued principally by a clandestine "department of dirty tricks" set up under lawyer Donald Segretti.

On February 24th, 1972, two weeks before polling day in the vital New Hampshire primaries, the Manchester newspaper "Union Leader" published a letter purporting to come from a "Paul Morrison" of Deerfield Beach in Florida, alleging that Muskie was a racist who used the term "Canuck" in speaking of people of French-Canadian descent (of which there are a considerable number in New Hampshire). By the time it was discovered that the letter was a forgery written by a White House deputy communications director, Ken Clawson, (who boasted of it indiscreetly to a journalist on the "Washington Post"), Muskie had publicly broken down in tears while seeking to refute the charge and his reputation had fallen disastrously.

On March 11th, three days before the primaries in Florida, voters in the state received a letter issued in the name of Muskie accusing his two main rivals, Hubert Humphrey and Henry Jackson, of gross sexual misconduct dating as far back as 1929. The forged letters damaged the reputations not only of Humphrey and Jackson, but also of the presumed slan-

derer. In the Florida Democratic primaries George Wallace topped the poll with 42%, Humphrey and Jackson were far behind, while Muskie finished a poor fourth with less than 10%.

At the Wisconsin Democratic primary in April 1972, George McGovern led with 30%, while Muskie was bottom of the poll with only 10%; at the end of the month, he withdrew from the contest.

As a result of these manoeuvres on the part of the White House's "department of dirty tricks", George McGovern - regarded by the "cowboy" monopoly capitalists as the Democratic candidate likely to win a minimum number of votes from the "silent majority" - was nominated as the Presidential candidate of the Democratic Party at the Party's convention at Miami Beach on July 12th 1972.

#### SABOTAGE

The "yankee" monopoly capitalists had little interest in replacing Nixon by George McGovern and when it became clear that the latter was to be the Democratic Party's candidate they gave little material support to his electoral campaign.

Nevertheless, the "cowboy" monopoly capitalists were leaving nothing to chance in their bid to secure the re-election of their nominee, Richard Nixon, and the "department of dirty tricks" headed by Donald Segretti embarked on an intensive programme of political sabotage in relation to the McGovern campaign.

Within a few days of the Democratic National Convention, information (culled from the burglarious activities of the "plumbers") was leaked to the press that McGovern's Vice-Presidential candidate, Senator Thomas Eagleton, had received psychiatric treatment and a powerful propaganda campaign was launched against the prospect of a "psychologically unstable" individual being elected to a position only one step away from the Presidency. After some days of declaring his "1,000% support" for Eagleton, McGovern dropped him from the ticket - demonstrating that the Democratic Presidential candidate was also "psychologically indecisive". The desperate quest to find a replacement for Eagleton, ending with the selection of Kennedy's brother-in-law Sargent Shriver - the seventh person to be offered the nomination - also did not help the Democratic campaign.



The nomination of McGovern as Democratic Party Presidential candidate had already alienated many conservative-minded workers and petty bourgeois who had previously supported the Democratic Party. The AFL-CIO leadership refused to endorse the Democratic candidate for the first time in twenty years - a decision aided by a fake telephone call to AFL/CIO President George Meany (purporting to come from Gary Hart, McGovern's campaign director, but in fact emanating from one of Segretti's saboteurs) demanding that Meany cancel his engagements and fly to New York for immediate talks with McGovern.

Segretti's saboteurs assisted this process of alienation of the conservative-minded workers and petty-bourgeois from the Democratic Party's candidate by drafting in among McGovern's supporters considerable numbers of agents-provocateurs, dressing and behaving like caricatures of "leftists", who distributed black racist and "sexual liberation" literature, often of a grossly obscene character.

McGovern's political adviser, Frank Mankiewicz, recalls at least twelve occasions when meetings and rallies organized by the Democratic Party were "cancelled" by telephone calls or telegram (purporting to come from party headquarters, but in fact emanating from Segretti's "department of dirty tricks").

All this, while not politically decisive, could only help the Campaign to Re-elect the President.

#### "OPERATION GEMSTONE"

The effective disruption of the Democratic Party's Presidential election campaign required detailed intelligence work concerning this campaign, and this task was naturally allotted to the White House "plumbers", headed by Howard Hunt and Gordon Liddy.

On March 30th, 1972 Jeb Magruder, Deputy Director of CREEP, flew down to Key Biscayne to see John Mitchell - who had now resigned as Attorney-General to take up the post of Director of CREEP - and presented to him details of "Operation Gemstone", an intelligence operation prepared by Gordon Liddy. This project, scheduled to cost a mere \$250,000, had as its central feature the "bugging" of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate Building, Washington. Mitchell gave his approval to the operation.

The team assembled for "Operation Gemstone" consisted of four Cuban emigres,

headed by Bernard Barker, manager of a Miami real estate office, and, as leader of the team, James McCord, CREEP's Director of Security. Hunt and Liddy supervised the operation from a room in the nearby Watergate Hotel.

McCord was a highly skilled electronic expert who had served 19 years with the Central Intelligence Agency until his "resignation" in 1970; he had then set up his own security firm, McCord Associates, in Maryland and had taken up his post with CREEP in the autumn of 1971. What no one in CREEP or the White House knew was that McCord's "resignation" from the CIA had been purely formal, and that he had been planted in CREEP by the CIA.

When the burglary of the Watergate Building took place in the early hours of the morning of June 17th, 1972, it was the highly professional McCord who "bungled the job" by taping the door-locks horizontally instead of vertically. These tapes were seen by a security guard, Frank Wills, who called the police and brought about the arrest of the five burglars. According to her later deposition, when John Mitchell's wife Martha heard of the arrests

"my first thought was that McCord had been a double agent".

#### THE COVER-UP

A search of the arrested men, and of the hotel rooms they were found to have occupied, revealed unmistakably the involvement of Liddy and Hunt, and they were arrested some weeks later. But there, the White House determined, the trail must be made to end.

There seems no reason to doubt Jeb Magruder's later testimony to the Senate "Watergate" Committee when he said:

"I don't think there was ever any discussion that there would not be a cover-up".

On the afternoon of June 17th, the day of the burglary, John Mitchell issued a statement on behalf of CREEP to "explain away" the arrested James McCord. He had been, said Mitchell,

".. employed by our committee months ago to assist with the installation of our security system. ..

We want to emphasise that this man and the other people involved were not operating on either our behalf or with our consent. .. There is no place in our campaign or in the electoral process for this type of activity, and we will



not permit or condone it".

Three days later, on June 20th, when the press had got wind of Howard Hunt's involvement in the Watergate burglary and of his links with the White House, Presidential Press Spokesman Ron Ziegler dismissed the matter airily:

"I am not going to comment from the White House on a third-rate burglary attempt"

while "a White House spokesman" declared, quite untruthfully, that Hunt had not been employed by the White House since March.

That same day Hunt left Washington hurriedly for a hide-out in California, and the Special Services Administration was instructed to remove the safe from his White House office before the FBI arrived, break it open and hand over the contents to John Dean, Counsel to the President. The contents, when delivered to Dean, proved potentially rather embarrassing; they included, apart from electronic equipment, various products of the "plumbers'" more dubious activities, including the forged cables relating to Diem's assassination.

On June 27th Dean handed over to the FBI agents working on the Watergate burglary the more innocuous items from Hunt's safe, and on the following day he delivered the rest personally to Patrick Gray, Acting Director of the FBI, telling him that, while not related to "Watergate", the material was "political dynamite" which "should never see the light of day". Gray took the material and later destroyed it.

On June 22nd, five days after the raid, Nixon felt it desirable to bring the prestige of his office to back up the cover-up:

"As Mr. Ziegler has stated, the White House has had no involvement whatever in this particular incident".

But the FBI agents working on the case had discovered, in investigating Bernard Barker's bank account, some mysterious payments into it emanating from Mexico: these were, in fact, some of the illegal corporation donations to CREEP which had been channelled through intermediate accounts in Mexico. On June 23rd, therefore, John Erlichman, Domestic Adviser to the President, summoned to his office Richard Helms and General Vernon Walters, Director and Deputy Director respectively at the CIA, and informed them that "it was the President's wish" that Walters should call on Patrick Gray and insist that the FBI should not pursue the Mexican leads on the grounds that this would "trespass" on some covert CIA

operations. Walters therefore went directly to the FBI, and Gray agreed to his demand.

On June 28th, eleven days after the raid, John Dean (Counsel to the President), Robert Mardian (Director of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice), and Fred LaRue (John Mitchell's personal assistant) met with Mitchell in his office at CREEP and agreed that it was imperative to raise

".. support money in exchange for the silence of the men in jail".

Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal lawyer, was accordingly entrusted with a large sum from CREEP's secret funds and began negotiations with Dorothy Hunt, Howard Hunt's wife, who acted on behalf of all seven accused. By mid-September it had been agreed that the accused would keep complete silence on the involvement of CREEP and the White House in the Watergate burglary for the sum of \$450,000.

Meanwhile, John Mitchell had been having difficulties with his wife, Martha. On June 22nd, she had called her friend Helen Thomas, White House correspondent of United Press International, and gasped out:

"I am a political prisoner. I am sick and tired of politics. I gave John an ultimatum I would leave him if he didn't get out. I'm sick and tired of the whole operation. I am not going to stand for all the dirty tricks that go on".

The call was then interrupted when her bodyguard, Steve King, ripped the phone from the wall of the California motel where she was staying, and she was forcibly placed under sedation. Some days later she managed to reach a phone once more, and again complained that she was being kept a prisoner. On July 1st, after a lunchtime talk with Nixon, Mitchell resigned as Director of CREEP "for family reasons", and his place was taken by Clark McGregor.

Another who was found to be "lacking in team spirit" was Hugh Sloan, Treasurer of CREEP, who was being pressed to swear that he had handed over to Gordon Liddy only \$40,000 instead of the \$235,000 which had actually changed hands. "I have no intention of perjuring myself", said Sloan. "You may have to", Magruder replied. On July 14th, Sloan resigned as Treasurer of CREEP.

On August 29th, 1972 Nixon made another personal statement on "Watergate":



"Within our staff, under my direction, Counsel to the President, Mr. Dean, has conducted a complete investigation of all leads which might involve any present members of the White House or anybody in the government. I can say categorically that his investigation indicates that no one in the White House staff, no one in this administration, presently employed, was involved in this very bizarre incident".

(Not till the summer of 1973 did the White House admit that no investigation had taken place).

Meanwhile a grand jury was examining the charges against the seven Watergate burglars. Here the cover-up was assisted by Attorney-General Richard Kleindienst, who agreed to John Dean's request that prominent figures in CREEP and the White House should be allowed to give their evidence to the grand jury by affidavit, so avoiding their cross-examination.

On September 15th 1972 the grand jury handed down indictments in the case of the seven defendants only. That afternoon John Dean was called to the Oval Office and congratulated by the President on having "contained" the affair.

On October 3rd, the House Banking and Currency Commission overruled its Chairman, Wright Patman, and decided against an investigation into CREEP's financial activities.

The "containment" of "Watergate" appeared to have been successful.

#### THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

On October 10th, however, the "Washington Post" threw what could have been a bombshell in the direction of the cover-up. It published a report that the break-in at the DNC headquarters was linked to an extensive campaign of political sabotage conducted by officials in CREEP and in the White House, and named Donald Segretti as the leading figure in the campaign. Two days later it published a further article naming Dwight Chapin, Herbert Kalmbach and Bob Haldeman as also involved.

CREEP angrily dismissed the articles as "a collection of absurdities". Clark McGregor declared with a show of righteous indignation:

"Using innuendo, third-person-hearsay, unsubstantiated charges, anonymous sources and huge scare headlines, the 'Post' has maliciously sought to give

an appearance of a direct connection between the White House and the Watergate, a charge which the 'Post' knows - and half-a-dozen investigations have found - to be false".

The President's Press Secretary, Ronald Ziegler, declared that he would

".. not dignify with comment stories based on hearsay, character assassination, innuendo and guilt by association".

In the final stage of the Democratic Party's campaign, George McGovern attempted to bring out the undertones of Administration corruption lying beneath the surface of the "Watergate" incident; but to most voters this seemed no more than a desperate and far-fetched political "smear". A Gallup poll taken in October showed that less than half the voters had heard of "Watergate", and 80% of those who had done so considered it had no political significance.

McGovern's strongest card was that his opposition to the war in Vietnam, while not beyond criticism, had at least been longer and more consistent than that now professed by Nixon. But twelve days before the election, Foreign Affairs Adviser to the President Henry Kissinger announced, quite untruthfully, that as a result of his secret negotiations peace in Vietnam was "at hand".

On November 7th, 1972 Richard Nixon received 47.2 million votes to 29.2 million for George McGovern, winning in 49 states out of 50, and was re-elected President of the United States.

At least so far as the Presidential election was concerned, the cover-up of "Watergate" had been very successful.

#### DEATH OF A BLACKMAILER

Like all blackmailers, Dorothy Hunt became unreasonably greedy. Repudiating the settlement of September, she began to demand more money from Kalmbach as the price of the continued silence of the prisoners, whose trial had been prudently held over by Attorney-General Richard Kleindeinst until after the Presidential elections.

On December 8th, 1972 a Boeing 737 air liner of United Air Lines crashed mysteriously while approaching Midway Airport in Chicago on a scheduled flight from Washington, killing all 45 people on board including Dorothy Hunt. Investigation of the cause of the crash was complicated by the fact that the plane's flight record was not recovered till 36



hours after the crash with all its information erased, and the discovery that seven persons on the plane, including the pilot and Mrs. Hunt, had received a lethal dose of cyanide, apparently administered in vegetarian meals specially ordered before take-off. The Cook County coroner accordingly found that the pilot had died before the crash.

At the official inquiry which followed the inquest, the United Air Lines representative was none other than Dwight Chapin who had resigned as the President's Appointments Secretary to take a responsible post with UAL. It was largely as a result of Chapin's efforts that the inquiry reversed the coroner's verdict: the pilot, it concluded, had been "killed in the crash" which had been caused by "ice on the wings".

Shortly afterwards Alex Bottos, an investigator for the Citizens' Committee to Clean up the Courts, revealed that documents carried by some of the passengers were being offered for sale to the Republican Party by the Joseph Sarelli gang, which specialised in aircraft crimes. Bottos was immediately arrested by federal marshals and confined, without being charged or tried, in the Federal Medical Centre in Springfield, Missouri.

#### McCord Throws Off His Mask

The "yankee" monopoly capitalists, outmanoeuvred in the 1972 Presidential election, were not prepared to sit back and allow their "cowboy" rivals to enjoy unchallenged control of the executive branch of the state for the next four years.

This time they prepared their political strategy with care and deliberation. The aim of this strategy was to bring about a gradual public exposure of the lies, crimes and corruption of the Nixon administration, of CREEP and of the President personally, until the climate of public opinion reflected in the 1972 election result had been so radically changed that the unprecedented step of removing the President, either by forced resignation or impeachment, would be not merely generally acceptable, but overwhelmingly demanded.

This political strategy began to be put into operation in February 1973.

The trial of the seven Watergate burglars had opened in Washington in January 1973 before Judge John Sirica. All the defendants except Liddy and McCord pleaded guilty, and all without exception maintained silence on the background to the raid (although Hunt did go so far as to declare pointedly that the death of his wife had

"resulted from" the affair). On February 7th, after verdicts of guilty had been brought in on all seven defendants, the judge expressed disquiet that the court hearings had failed to get to the bottom of the case.

Taking their cue from the judge, on February 7th the Senate voted 77-0 to set up a seven-man Select Committee to investigate not only the "Watergate" affair, but also the conduct of the 1972 Presidential election. Sam Ervin, a Democratic Senator from North Carolina, was appointed Chairman of the Committee, and it was quickly arranged that the testimony of the more important witnesses should be televised throughout the country.

On March 12th 1973 Nixon issued a statement giving the doctrines of "separation of powers" and "executive privilege" unprecedentedly wide scope:

"The manner in which the President personally exercises his assigned executive powers is not subject to questioning by another branch of government. If the President is not subject to such questioning, it is equally appropriate that members of the staff not be so questioned, for their roles are an extension of the Presidency".

Therefore, Nixon laid down, members and former members of the President's staff

".. shall follow the well-established precedent and decline a request for a formal appearance before a committee of Congress".

The Senate Committee rejected Nixon's constitutional claim and next day voted unanimously to demand the appearance before it of John Dean, Counsel to the President.

On March 23rd, Judge Sirica passed sentences of long terms of imprisonment on all the "Watergate" defendants except McCord. He read a letter from the latter, however, asking to see the judge in his chambers and declaring that there had been "political pressure applied to the defendants to plead guilty", that perjury had been committed during the trial "in matters highly material . . . to the government's case" and that "others involved in the Watergate operation were not identified during the trial".

#### Nixon Begins To Retreat

McCord, released on bail, was almost



immediately interviewed by Sam Dash, Chief Counsel to the Senate "Watergate" Committee. The substance of their conversation was leaked to and published in the "Los Angeles Times": McCord had implicated in the "Watergate" break-in Jeb Magruder, Deputy Director of CREEP, and John Dean, Counsel to the President.

By the week-end of March 31/April 1st, Dean had, after talks with his lawyers, offered to tell the government prosecutors the whole story in return for immunity from prosecution. He was followed a fortnight later by Jeb Magruder. They implicated John Mitchell, Robert Mardian, John Ehrlichman and Bob Haldeman.

On April 2nd Ervin replied on behalf of the Senate Committee to Nixon's claims of "executive privilege", which he described as "executive poppycock". The members of the President's staff, he said, are not "nobility or royalty"; if White House aides refused to attend the Committee's hearings when asked to do so, they would be subpoenaed, and if they did not comply with the subpoenas he would ask the Senate to issue warrants for their arrest.

On April 17th Nixon made his first step in retreat. Saying that "major developments" had come to light in connection with the "Watergate" affair, he now said that members of the White House staff would appear before the Senate Committee if requested to do so, would testify under oath, and would answer all appropriate questions. If anyone in the executive branch were indicted by a grand jury, he would be suspended; if convicted, he would be dismissed. On the same day White House chief press secretary Ron Ziegler made his famous declaration that all previous White House statements on "Watergate" were "inoperative".

On April 27th, after the "Washington Post" and the "New York Times" had revealed that he destroyed the material taken from Howard Hunt's safe, Patrick Gray resigned as Acting Director of the FBI.

Three days later, Nixon attempted to repeat the success of his "Checkers" speech, in a country-wide telecast flanked by a photograph of his family and a bust of Abraham Lincoln. He boldly accepted "responsibility" for the disturbing facts that had "only recently" come to his attention, but declared that he was not to blame. Hoping to save himself by sacrificing his leading "generals", he announced the resignations of Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman,

describing them as "two of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know", the resignation of Richard Kleindienst as Attorney-General because he had been "a close personal and professional associate of some of those involved in the case", and the "resignation" - in terms that made it clear that this meant dismissal - of John Dean as Counsel to the President. He promised that there would be "no whitewash in the White House", and concluded by requesting God to bless America.

Over the next few weeks he proceeded to fill the many positions that now lay vacant: Leonard Garment was appointed Counsel to the President in succession to Dean; Elliot Richardson (Secretary of Defence) as Attorney-General in succession to Kleindienst; General Alexander Haig (Deputy Chief-of-Staff) as White House Chief-of-Staff in succession to Haldeman; James Schlesinger (former Director of the CIA) as Secretary of Defence in succession to Richardson; William Colby as Director of the CIA in succession to Schlesinger; Melvin Laird as Domestic Adviser to the President in succession to Ehrlichman; and Clarence Kelley as Director of the FBI. In addition, in May, a few days after joining the Republican Party, John Connally was appointed part-time unpaid adviser to the President and Fred Buzhardt was appointed Special Counsel to the President on the "Watergate" affair. Connally felt it prudent to resign two months later.

On May 1st, 1973 the Senate carried a resolution calling for the appointment of a Special Prosecutor from outside the executive to take charge of the "Watergate" investigation, and on May 18th Attorney-General Elliott Richardson appointed to this post Archibald Cox, Professor of Law at Harvard, and pledged that he would be given "complete independence".

On May 7th Deputy Presidential Press Secretary Gerald Warren issued a further denial that Nixon had had any knowledge of or had participated in the "Watergate" affair or that he had offered executive clemency to anyone involved in the case.

On May 17th, the Senate "Watergate" Committee began its hearings, beginning with the lesser important players and working up to the stars.

On May 22nd, Nixon felt it prudent to issue a 4,000-word "White Paper" admitting some of the dubious activities in which the "plumbers" had been engaged but again denying his own knowledge of or participation in either the activities concerned or the subsequent cover-up.



The Washington press corps were extremely interested in the discrepancies between this statement and Nixon's telecast of April 30th. Fred Buzhardt, Special Counsel to the President on the "Watergate" affair, explained that the President now had "a clearer recollection" of the matter.

#### THE TAPES

The most sensational testimony to the Senate "Watergate" Committee during the summer of 1973 came from John Dean, former Counsel to the President. Dean, who began his evidence on June 25th, testified, on the basis of his personal knowledge, that the President had participated fully in the attempted cover-up of the "Watergate" affair and so was, at the very least, guilty of the crime of attempting to pervert the course of justice. The White House immediately issued a statement, drafted by Fred Buzhardt, completely denying the charges and alleging that they had been made merely to try to cover up Dean's own guilt.

The constitutional lawyers were generally agreed that it was not possible to subpoena the President to appear before the Committee, where he could be put through the same kind of cross-examination to which Dean had stood up without his story being shaken. Perhaps, it was suggested informally to the White House, the President might like to appear voluntarily before the Committee and "clear his name" ..? On July 7th, Nixon wrote to Sam Ervin, Chairman of the Committee, making it clear that he would neither appear nor give it access to Presidential files.

The "cowboy" monopoly capitalists drew a visible sigh of relief. It was still a matter of weighing the testimony of one self-confessed criminal against the word of the President of the United States.

Then, on July 16th, Alexander Butterfield, a former White House official who had become Director of the Federal Aviation Administration, told the Senate Committee that all Nixon's conversations, including telephone conversations, in the official rooms in the White House had been automatically recorded since the spring of 1971.

Both the Senate Committee and Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox immediately requested the President to make available the tapes of key conversations alleged to contain references to the "Watergate" affair. Nixon refused.

On July 23rd, both the Senate Committee and Cox issued subpoenas on the President ordering him to hand over the tapes. The White House issued a statement that Nixon would refuse to comply with the subpoenas.

On August 15th, Nixon attempted another

diversionary tactic in a country-wide telecast, telling his audience that "a backward-looking obsession" with Watergate was causing "the nation" to neglect matters of much greater importance. And on August 22nd he met a barrage of hostile questions at the first press conference he had dared to face for five months, declaring for the first of many times that he had no intention of resigning.

On August 27th, after hearing the legal arguments of the White House lawyers, Judge John Sirica ordered Nixon to turn over to him the tapes for which sub-poenas had been issued. On the 29th a statement was issued from the "Western White House" saying that Nixon would refuse to comply with the judge's order.

It was widely expected that Nixon would fight the judge's order up to the Supreme Court, but on October 19th - as the deadline for his appeal to the Supreme Court ran out - he announced that he had reached a compromise agreement on the tapes with Sam Ervin, Chairman of the Senate "Watergate" Committee: a transcript of the subpoenaed tapes would be provided by the White House and this would be checked against the tapes themselves by Senator John Stennis, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. The next day, October 20th, Nixon wrote to Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, saying:

"Though I have no wish to intrude upon the independence of the special prosecutor, I have felt it necessary to direct him as an employee of the Executive Branch to make no further attempts by judicial process to obtain tapes, notes or memoranda of Presidential conversations".

Cox immediately called a press conference and announced that he intended to summon Nixon for contempt of court. Nixon immediately instructed Attorney-General Elliot Richardson to dismiss Cox; Richardson refused to do so and resigned. Nixon then instructed the Deputy Attorney-General, William Ruckelshaus, to dismiss Cox; Ruckelshaus also refused and resigned. Cox's dismissal as Special Prosecutor was ultimately carried out by Robert Bork, the Solicitor-General, elevated by Nixon to the post of Acting Attorney-General.



The dismissal of the "independent" Special Prosecutor on Nixon's instructions caused an active revulsion of opinion against the President, both in Congress and in the country at large, even among Republicans who had up to then supported him. A flood of hostile letters and telegrams descended upon both the White House and Congressmen. An opinion poll showed that 51% of the public now favoured the President's impeachment, and on October 22nd the American Federation of Labour/Congress of Industrial Organisations added its voice to the impeachment demands.

The White House retreated before this hostility. On October 23rd, White House lawyers informed Judge John Sirica that the President "would comply in all respects" with his order to hand over the subpoenaed tapes.

On October 31st, however, Judge Sirica announced that he had now been informed by the White House lawyers that two of the key tapes which had been subpoenaed - tapes which could confirm or refute Nixon's participation in the "Watergate" cover-up - "did not exist". One conversation had "not been recorded", since it had not taken place in the official quarters of the White House where the automatic recording equipment operated; in the other case, the equipment had "broken down".

And on November 21st Judge Sirica announced that he had now been informed that an 18-minute segment of one of the subpoenaed tapes that did exist - the particular segment relating to a Presidential discussion on "Watergate" - had been "accidentally erased". A few days later the President's personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, appeared in court to say that she had "probably" been responsible for the erasure, as a result of answering a telephone call" (stated to last "four or five minutes" only) while transcribing the tape. Invited to demonstrate in court how she had pressed the "record" button in error and kept her foot on the pedal while answering the telephone, - a feat that could only have been performed by an absent-minded contortionist - Miss Woods failed to do so.

At the time of writing the tapes have been sent for examination by a team of electronic experts to ascertain whether or not they had been tampered with after their original recording.

#### AGNEW TRIES TO CHANGE SIDES

By the summer of 1973 Vice-President Spiro Agnew concluded that it was probable that the "yankee" monopoly capitalists

would succeed in their aim of removing Richard Nixon from the Presidency. He decided, therefore, that if he made it clear to the "yankee" monopoly capitalists that he was prepared to assist them in achieving this aim and to be their loyal servant, his own elevation to the Presidency would be likely to receive their support.

By this time Nixon had been under heavy, continuous and growing pressure for many months and was showing obvious signs of psychological stress. Examples of this became visible to the public in television newsreels in which Nixon was seen to push his Chief Press Secretary, Ron Ziegler, down the steps of the White House and to administer an unprovoked slap across the face to an innocent bystander. In this situation (as he later revealed publicly) Agnew made clear his "usefulness" to the "yankee" monopoly capitalists when he pointed out that one of the functions of the Vice-President was to "monitor" the condition of the President and decide whether action should be taken to remove him on the grounds of "disability".

The attack upon Agnew thus came from the White House. The "plumbers" passed to the Justice Department the information they had gleaned on bribes totalling \$100,000 which Agnew had taken while holding the successive positions of Chief Executive of Baltimore County (1962-66), Governor of Maryland (1966-69) and Vice-President (1969 on).

It was the Nixon administration, too, which leaked to the "Washington Post" the fact that Agnew was under investigation by the Justice Department for corruption, extortion and tax frauds, and Agnew was compelled to confirm this on August 6th.

For two months Agnew attempted to resist the attack. He endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to have the charges transferred from the courts to Congress and he declared as late as September 30th to cheering Republican women in Los Angeles that he would not resign even if indicted. The White House remained significantly silent; and when Agnew, in his September 30th speech, accused Henry Peterson, a senior civil servant in the Justice Department, of having leaked the charges against him to the press, Nixon rushed at once to Peterson's defence.

At the beginning of October Agnew capitulated. He accepted an offer from the Justice Department that if he would resign - the constitutional position of the courts to try a Vice-President on criminal charges was a matter of dispute



among constitutional lawyers - only minor charges would be brought against him, saving him from a prison sentence.

On October 10th Agnew resigned as Vice-President, and later in the day pleaded "no contest" to minor charges of not having paid income tax on the bribes he had received. Judge Walter Hoffman fined him \$10,000 (equivalent to 10% of the bribes he was alleged to have received) and placed him on probation for three years.

#### THE APPOINTMENT OF GERALD FORD

The appointment of a new Vice-President to replace Spiro Agnew was of great importance in the situation existing in the autumn of 1973 since, if the "yankee" monopoly capitalists were successful in their aim of removing Nixon from the Presidency, his Vice-Presidential appointee would, under the Constitution, automatically be elevated to the Presidency.

The US Constitution provides that the nomination of a new Vice-President shall be made by the President, subject to the approval of both Houses of Congress. The situation had all the makings of a deadlock. Nixon was clearly not going to nominate a committed representative of the "yankee" monopoly capitalists, while Congress was most unlikely to approve the nomination of a committed representative of the "cowboy" monopoly capitalists.

A compromise was found in the person of Gerald Ford, Republican leader of the House of Representatives. Ford had the advantage that, although his record was by no means without the blemish of corruption, he appeared to have taken less bribes than most Congressmen. Above all he was notoriously stupid - the generally accepted story was that "he had played football too much without a helmet" at college, where his sporting considerably outran his academic achievements. The "yankee" monopoly capitalists considered that, if elevated to the Presidency in what would be a mere caretaker capacity, he would be amenable to the strongest pressure - which they were determined would be theirs.

On October 13th, 1973, therefore, Nixon nominated Gerald Ford as Vice-President, and it is expected that the nomination will be approved by Congress early in December.

That the "yankee" monopoly capitalists intend that Ford's caretaker Presidency, assuming that he is elevated to that position by the removal of Nixon, shall be brief is suggested by an Open Letter published in the magazine "L'Express" of November 12th from Pierre Salinger, who was Press Secretary

to President John Kennedy. In this he calls on "the President" to call on the Supreme Court, in view of the now proven irregularities in the 1972 Presidential election, to arrange a special Presidential election in 1974, two years before the normal time.

Meanwhile, on November 1st Nixon appointed Senator William Saxbe as Attorney-General (in succession to Elliot Richardson), and approved the nomination by Acting Attorney-General Robert Bork of Texas lawyer Leon Jaworski as Special "Watergate" Prosecutor.

#### CONCLUSION

At the time of writing (November 1973), the struggle between the "yankee" monopoly capitalists and their "cowboy" rivals for control of the executive branch of the state is not yet over. Nixon still clings precariously to the Presidency, but under ever-increasing pressure, and many of his accomplices are now either in prison or awaiting trial on criminal charges.

There are, however, many revelations about the lying, corruption and crimes of Nixon and his accomplices that can be made - so far, for example, only a few hints have been dropped concerning the links between "Watergate" and the assassination of President John Kennedy.

The "yankee" monopoly capitalists are, therefore, confident that a continuation of the gradual exposure can force the removal of Nixon - either through "disability" (i.e., psychological breakdown) or as a result of the same kind of deal which brought about the removal of Agnew (i.e., the promise of immunity from major criminal charges in return for his resignation). The "yankee" monopoly capitalists are reluctant, except as a last resort, to set the precedent of removing Nixon by impeachment, and the slow House of Representatives impeachment proceedings are intended at present to form a threat, a means of pressure to assist him to resign.

Already, however, Nixon is more isolated in the White House than any previous President - almost his only favourable press in recent months has been that of the Soviet revisionists, who have consistently presented him as a "peace-loving progressive" strug-



gling for survival against "right-wing forces"!

The existence of such a deep-seated division of interest within the US monopoly-capitalist ruling class, with its resulting bitter struggle for full control of the state apparatus of force, represents one - although, of course, only one - of the prerequisites for a revolutionary situation. Should this conflict between the two rival factions of the ruling class remain unresolved by the time the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of the United States of America has succeeded in transforming its, at present, numerically small forces into a Marxist-Leninist Party with deep roots and wide-spread influence among the working masses of the USA, as it assuredly will, then it will be of great tactical significance for the, at present embryonic, revolutionary forces; the Party will assuredly be able to take advantage of this conflict within the ruling class in order to advance significantly the position of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard.

But even in the present situation the exposures that have arisen out of this inter-imperialist struggle within the United States can be of great value in carrying forward the struggle against capitalist society in every country. For "Watergate" has shown, to an unprecedented extent, not merely "the ugly face of capitalism", but its essential rotten, corrupt, putrefying character.

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