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#### DOCUMENT INFORMATION

ORIGINATOR FROM		SSCSGO ANGLETON,	JAMES
TO	:		
TITLE	:	•	
		09/17/75	
PAGES	:	124	
SUBJECTS	:	ANGLETON,	JAMES

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LAW ENFORCEMENT, MAIL INTERCEPTIONS

DOCUMENT TYPE	TRANSC	RIPT	1
CLASSIFICATION	TOP SE	CRET	
RESTRICTIONS	REFERR	ED	
CURRENT STATUS			FULL
DATE OF LAST REVIEW	06/25/	97	
OPENING CRITERIA			
COMMENTS	Box 1		

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Vol. 1 OF 3

RATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION Unauthorized Disclosure Subject: to Criminal Sanctions

# The United States Benate R 1218

Report of Proceedings

# Hearing held before

Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental

Wednesday, September 17, 1975

Washington, D. C.

(Stenotype Tape and Waste turned over to the Committee for destruction)

> WARD & PAUL 410 FIRST STREET, S. E. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003

> > (202) 544-6000

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(Area 202)	3	Wednesday, Sontember 17, 1995
Phone	4	Wednesday, September 17, 1975
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	6	United States Senate,
	7	Select Committee to Study Governmental
	8	Operations With Respect to
<u>د ب</u>	9	Governmental Activities,
é µ3 annos	10	Washington, D. C. The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:10 o'clock
8+ bu ,	11	p.m., in Room 608, The Carroll Arms.
ی⊷مع اب •\$1918مر	12	Staff: Paul Wallach and James Dick, Professional Staff
	13	Members.
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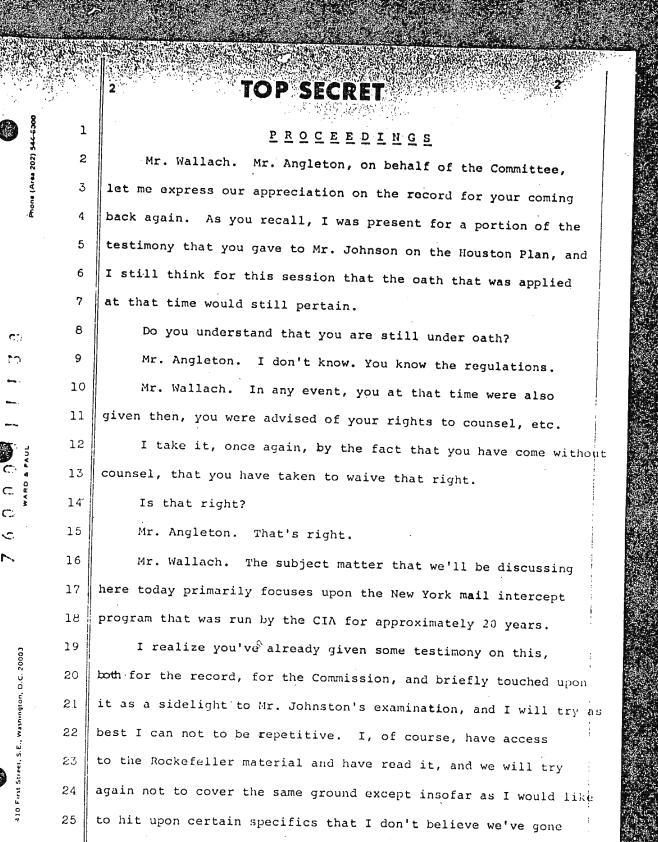
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Phone (Area 202) 544-6000	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	I also have some documents here I would like to show you in varying degrees that will have to be read, and I think we can take them one at a time, and you will be given an adequate chance to read them, and should we reach a determination it is necessary to do so, the minute there are any questions on them, we can
Phone (Area 202) 544 6000	2 3 4 5 6	I also have some documents here I would like to show you in varying degrees that will have to be read, and I think we can take them one at a time, and you will be given an adequate chance to read them, and should we reach a determination it is necessary
Phone (Area 202) Se	3 4 5 6	in varying degrees that will have to be read, and I think we can take them one at a time, and you will be given an adequate chance to read them, and should we reach a determination it is necessary
Phone (Area	4 5 6	take them one at a time, and you will be given an adequate chance to read them, and should we reach a determination it is necessary
	5	to read them, and should we reach a determination it is necessary
	6	
		to do so, the minute there are any questions on them, we can
	7	
220 <b>2</b>		do that for each document.
	8	Mr. Angleton, do you recall when you became aware that there
1 1 1	9	was a mail intercept project in New York City?
Gua.	10	
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TOP SECRET TESTIMONY OF JAMES ANGLETON -- Resumed 1 Mr. Angleton. I don't know the date, but I assume that I 2 learned of it through Herman Horton, who was my Deputy in 1954. 3 Mr. Wallach. At that time it was being run by the Office 4 of Security, is that correct? 5 Mr. Angleton. That's right. 6 Mr. Wallach. Did there come a point in time when the 7 8 operation was taken over, at least the substantive parts of the operations as compared to the procedural and mechanical aspects 9 of gathering together and intercepting the mail, that this was 10 taken over by the CIA. staff? 11 Mr. Angleton. That's right. 12 Mr. Wallach. When was that, sir? 13 Mr. Angleton. Well, there is a chrono on this eptire 14 **C**.thing. I think the best chrono is this report, if I can find 15 **C**... it in the Rockefeller Commission. '55, I believe, at the time. 5 16 5 Mr. Wallach. Is the document you are looking at now the 17 attachment, prepared for the Rockefeller Commission and submitted 18 the day you testified there? 19 Mr. Angleton. That's right. 20 сі С The time was 1955. Washington, 21 Mr. Wallach. Given that approximate time, Mr. Angleton, 22 CT. do you recall how the decision was reached that CIA\_staff would 23 take over the project? 24 Mr. Angleton. Well, I think there was a question, I think 25 TOP SECRET

there were a number of matters involved here. I think one of them was that security was undergoing some kind of freeze. Second, I believe the Division wanted out. I think there were a combination of factors which led to the feeling on the part of many that the program would be discontinued for lack of funding and personnel. The other point is that Mr. Horton had very close relationships with the Office of Security and I assume they went to him on it because even though there is a memorandum by DiSilva to the effect that the project was not to be used for counterintelligence purposes, that is very unrealistic, because Mr. Timm, who put up the project, was himself a counterintelligence officer. He had been formerly FBI, and then he was OSS counterintelligence during the war, in fact his whole career was in a professional sense in counterintelligence. And I don't feel that the thrust of it was entirely positive intelligence in his mind.

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ů o I knew him extremely well.

Further, there was, which I have not seen reflected in the papers I have read, the security was very much involved operationally in terms of penetration of the Agency in security cases, and this goes back to the post-OSS period, at least after the war when I was abroad, and there were a lot of hearings on penetration of OSS, and this was supported by some very highly sensitive documentation, Soviet in nature, to the extent of penetration and security were charged with this

problem of trying to clean out the combination of Communist Party members, probably Soviet intelligence, and also known homosexuals which also were in the counter-intelligence side. So, I think that what the record does not reflect is that there were very strong counter-intelligence stressed by the very people who, in a sense, played a part in the originating of the entire program.

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And I find that conflict with, as I say, DiSilva or Doran, Dana Durand? Dan Doran, or he stated or made some comment that it should not be a -- it was not for counter-intelligence purposes, that 10 it was entirely misleading.

And in the penetration part of it, of the problems confronting security, Mr. Horton had much to do with that as well as Mr. O'Neal. In other words, there was a very firm relationship going back into all of the other kinds of cases.

Mr. Wallach. I'm not entirely sure I understand, when you talk about the Office of Security at that time probably continually being occupied with penetration, how that would affect their handling the project. Are you talking strictly about manpower, because it is my understanding that project still took up a heck of a lot of time for the Office of Security in terms of manpower.

Are you talking about manpower down at Headquarters? Mr. Angleton. No. I only saw and noticed the effect that in one of Herman's memos which he drafted, he talked about the

1 freeze in Security, the fact that Security were hamstrung for 2 personnel, etc, and starting out in '55, the staff having been 3 pulled together in '54, we did have a lot of slots and we had 4 a lot of latitude, that it would be very natural in terms of 5 the associations for someone to put up to the staff for taking 6 away the project.

**TOP SECRET** 

Mr. Wallach. This might be kind of a hypothetical that I'm going to pose, but if you really don't feel that you can give an answer on it, just let me know.

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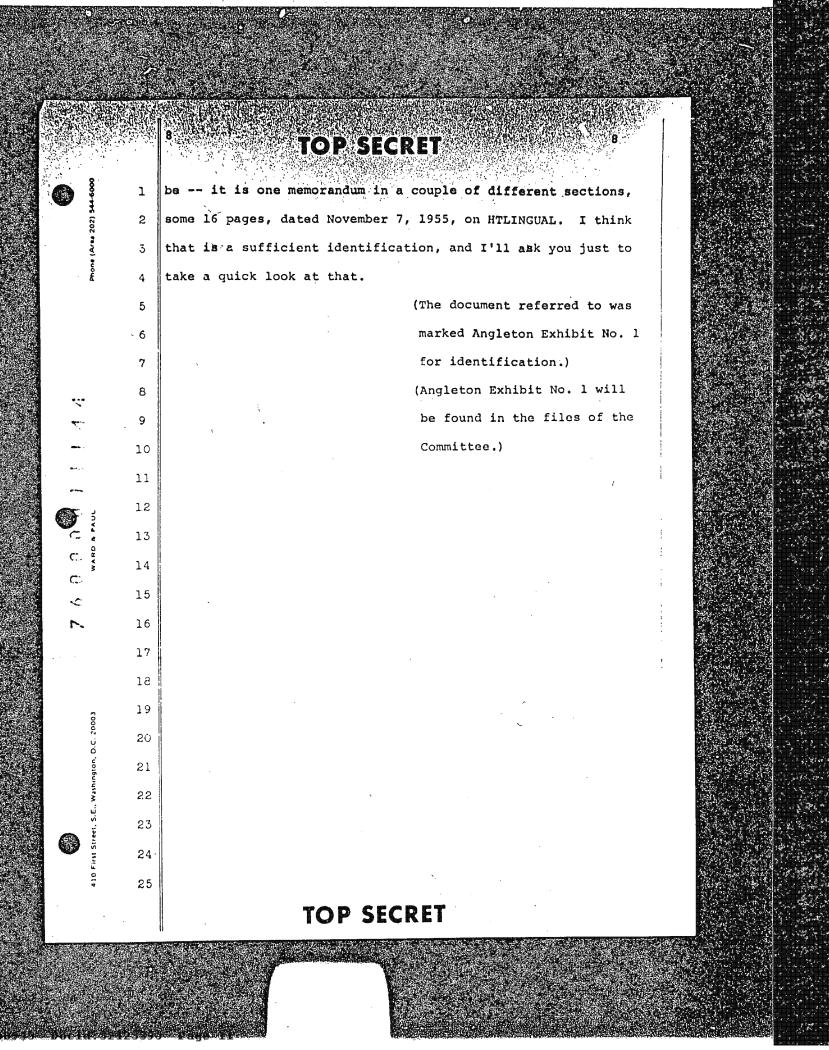
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Washington, D.C. 2000.

For example, if Security had continued with the project, would they have had the expertise to really do anything with it besides really straight, positive intelligence? I think you may have suggested that, that there was sort of a natural gravitation to CI staff once it developed.

Mr. Angleton. Yes, I think there was a natural gravitation. I think the Security's interest, they would have been able to handle, but it would have been a very small slice of the project. In other words, theirs would have only been personnel, and then, in correspondence within Agency people, and Soviet units and so on.

Mr. Wallach. I would like at this time, Mr. Angleton, to show you a document that I will just ask the Reporter to subsequently mark as Angleton Exhibit 1 for identification of this date. It is --, I am not actually sure whether it is one memorandum -- I'm sorry, there is an attachment that shouldn't



TOP SECRET Mr. Angleton. I have seen this. It is a fairly involved 1 2 memo. 3 Mr. Wallach. The reason I said not to look at it thoroughly is there are a lot of facts and figures that we'll be going into, 4 but do take a look at it. 5 Mr. Angleton. Well, if you want to call my attention to 6 any specifics in it. 7 Mr. Wallach. Well, just take a quick look through and I'll 8 call your attention to a couple of specifics. 9 My first question was going to be whether or not you 10 recall this before. In fact, there is some handwriting on I 11 guess the third page and fourth page, and I wonder if that is 12 yours. 13 Mr. Angleton. No. No, I don't recognize it. It might have 14 Birch been Bert O'Neal's. I'm not sure. 15 Mr. Wallach. But in any event, you believe you at least 16 saw this document at some point in time. 17 Mr. Angleton. I have seen it, certainly after, you know, 18 recently, but this is apparently a draft, is it not? It is a 19 2000 draft document? 20 с С Mr. Wallach. Does it say that on it? Why do you say 21 22 apparently? Mr. Angleton. Well, it wouldn't be a document with all 23 of these corrections on it. 24 Mr. Wallach. We are unable to determine if we got it from 25 **TOP SECRET** 

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10 TOP SECRET **\_10** an individual's file or not, or if someone just may have made 1 comments on it or crossed things out after they received it. 2 3 Mr. Angleton. No, no. This thing looks as though it had gone from one party to another. 4 5 Mr. Wallach. I agree. For example, on page 6 there are 6 portions crossed out and additions made. 2 Mr. Angleton. It looks very much like a paper that was 8 run through a staffing process. 5 9 Mr. Wallach. In any event, we haven't found a final 10 version, if there is one. So this is all we have to work from at this time. 11 I don't think I'll have any guestions on the portions that 12 are crossed out or handwritten in. 13 C Mr. Angleton. The language is very much like O'Neal's." 14 C Every "i" is dotted and every "t" is crossed. 15 5 16 Mr. Wallach. When the project was taken over by CI staff, was it then a mail opening project or was it just a mail inter-17 18 cept, mail cover project? 19 Mr. Angleton. Well, I really don't know. It could have been 20003 both. It could have been in the process of changing, but I had 20 0.0 a feeling that openings had been taking place before. 21 But the paragraph 5 which I am looking at now --22 (Pause) 23 Although on page 3 there is the line to the effect that 24 25 under the conditions existing now, our personnel are getting **TOP SECRET** 

STR. LE TOP SECRET 1 access, etc., for exterior examination. It is possible, 202) 544-6 2 discretely to gain exclusive access to the contents of a limited number of selected communications, and I think that secus to 3 be at variance with some others paper I have also seen. 4 I thought an earlier part, that openings were taking place. 5 Mr. Wallach. Are the documents you're looking at now 6 copies of documents that went into the Rockefeller Commission? 7 Mr. Angleton. No. I got it from a fellow. I haven't 8 examined it. 9 Mr. Wallach. From whom? 10 Mr. Angleton. From the project -- no, not the project 11 but one of the men who's still back on the staff. 12 Mr. Wallach: Mr. Tsikerdanos? 13 Mr. Angleton. Yes. 14 (Pause) 15 Mr. Wallach. While Mr. Angleton is looking through the 16 documents I would like to explain, going a bit into the 17 Rockefeller Commission, that there is some question as to 18 whether or not there was ever explicit authorization in terms 19 20003 of switching from a mail intercept, mail cover to a mail 20 0 opening project. 21 Mr. Angleton. I understand the question. 22 Mr. Wallach. But I think a couple of later documents 23 suggest that -- well, I will let Mr. Angleton finish looking 24

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through the documents that he has.

Sm.	n 12	TOP SECRET 12
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	1	Mr. Angleton. Well, I just want to see if I can see this
202) 54	2	to find anything
Phone (Area 202)	õ	(Pause)
- Hour	4	Mr. Wallach. In one of the documents there is reference
	5	to the fact that openings have been going on for some time. I
	6	think that is a year after this document, I think it is a '56 -
	7	document that that is in.
<u></u>	- 8	Mr. Angleton. Well, this is so repetitious that
-	- 9	(Pause)
ditive	10	In '53, December, they are discussing this, saying we
<b>.</b>	11	now wish to carry out the second step of this arrangement, and
<b>S</b> 5	12	that is to photograph the fronts and backs of first class mail.
	13	Mr. Wallach. I think the first step there just might have
C. 🐇	14	been a survey to see how much mail came in and out.
с С	15	Are those documents entirely related to the New York
$\sim$	16	project, Mr. Angleton?
· ·	17	Mr. Angleton. Either that or collateral.
•	18	Mr. Wallach. Do you have any objection to letting us take
500	19	a look at them?
D.C. 201	20	Mr. Angleton. Well, I would rather leave that to the
Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 70003	21	Agency. I was supposed to see the General Counsel and I have not
Washi	22	been able to get a hold of him.
eet, S.E	23	Mr. Wallach. I don't understand what seeing the General
First Stu	24	Counsel
410	25	Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean, I was supposed to get the
		TOP SECRET

guidelines for appearing here.

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Washington, D.C.

Mr. Wallach. You mean even before your appearance last week?

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Mr. Angleton. Yes. And they were all tied up. Mr. Wallach. I just think for the purposes of examination I would like to go on your memory. You have been over the subject before.

Mr. Angleton. I mean, I don't recall the first time they were actually opened, whether it was with us. I was under the impression that there had been something going on in the opening, 10 but there wasn't very much because there wasn't much personnel 11 and they didn't have the people to process. In other words, 12 that is my impression, that there had been opening. In November 13 of '55 there is a statement that the only added function that 14 would be formed by Security in the new project is that more 15 letters will be opened, the implication being that letters were 16 being opened. 17

They are presently able to open only a very limited number. 18 Under the new setup, with full time employees, Security will 19 be able to obtain the addressor, addressees and total correspon-20 dence against approximately 75 percent at the present time. 21 So, I mean, if that sentence is correct, then it means 22 that the letters were being opened, and that the only thing, 23 one of the changes would be that more letters would be 24 opened. 25

Mr. Wallach. I think you'll find the documents do not 1 pin down a specific date for the authorization of the actual 2 beginning of the project. I think it may, in fact, have 3 happened -- the interceptors may have begun to do it themselves 4 and then the Agency responding, it says, well, it looks like 5 we can do it. But I was wondering what your actual recollection 6 was. I realize it's twenty-odd years ago. 7

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Mr. Angelton. Well, it isn't quite that. I mean, I take R full responsibility for everything, but I really didn't spend 9 that much time in this business, and what I am really trying 10 to say is Mr. Horton, who was my Deputy, was the one who 11 detailed, go through all of this negotiating, and so on. 12

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Mr. Wallach. I'd just like to make it clear that I'm 13 not really here to assess responsibility or anything like that. 14 All I'm trying to do is get your memory as to --

Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean my point being that almost 16 everything I know about the origins of the mail have been from 17 December of last year on in terms of going back through all 18 these little papers. 19

Mr. Wallach. In other words, aside from your review of 20 the documents of Dacember on, you really have no independent 21 recollection of that time period? 22

Mr. Angleton. No. My impression is that the documents 23 were being opened, but on a very small scale, due to personnel 24 and due to the procedural set up. They didn't have the 25

		TOP SECRET
: 0009	1	interpreters, they didn't have the substantive people who could
2) 544	2	spot. In other words, it was a very poor program in terms of
Phone (Ave. 202) 544-6000	3	exploitation.
Prone	4	Mr. Wallach. You mean they didn't have the interpreters
	5	or the substantive people?
	6	Mr. Angleton. Well, they didn't have them in the sense
	7	that we later had people devoted entirely to this project.
	8	Mr. Wallach. Well, without getting into that, you're
$\hat{}$	9	talking about people back at Headquarters or people at the
<b>.</b>	10	intercept point?
	11	Mr. Angleton. No, at the Headquarters. I mean there were
<b>.</b> 5	12	not files built up, as I recall.
	. 13	Mr. Wallach. Now I think in your other dates you are
	14	correct.
<u> </u>	15	Mr. Angleton. And it took a lot of trial and error to
***	16	finally get through from handwritten files to punchcard to
	17	machine tapes.
	18	Mr. Wallach. I think the figures which I'm sure you've
003	19	seen which were compiled in January of this year show some
D.C. 20	20	12,000 documents or letters being opened in 1954 which surprised
hington.	21	me when I saw these figures, because I hadn't thought it was
E., Wasi	22	anywhere near that. I thought the 832 from 1956 was correct,
410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003	23	and I think that 12,000 may be in the wrong column.
First S	24	But in any event, do you see the 12,000 I'm referring
110	25	to?
		TOP SECRET

			TOP SECRET 16
	0009+	1	Mr. Angleton. Yes, I do.
	202) 54	2	Unless that was supposed to take up all the mail that had
	Phone (Area 202) 544-600	3	ever been opened prior to that, I don't know. Because it's
	e offe	4	not responsive to the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 up above.
		5	Mr. Wallach. Well, I don't think there's any explanation
		6	as to what that figure means.
		7	Mr. Angleton. I can find out, because I talked to Mrs.
ž	· •	· 8	Matzen last night, and she has her fingertips on practically
	•	9	everything on the project.
	<b></b> .	10	Mr. Wallach. That is
		11	Mr. Angleton. Yes.
		12	Mr. Wallach. Well, why don't we go back through this
		13	document at hand, and for the time being, forego this question?
C		14	Mr. Angleton. All right.
<b>A</b>		15	(Pause)
		16	I think I can finally answer to that, I would think,
Š		17	without any trouble from her. Has she been asked the question?
		18	Mr. Wallach. No, I don't believe she has.
	003	19	Mr. Angleton. And the other person who would know would
	First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003	20	be Scotty Miler.
	ngton, (	21	Mr. Wallach. What was Scotty Miler's position at this
	iusen :	22	time, as of 1955, do you recall?
	eet, S.E	22	Mr. Angleton. If I recall correctly, he was working with
	) is si	24	Bertram O'Neal on Special Investigations, which was a unit
	410 5	25	closely tied in with the Office of Security.
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The primary task was the penetration of the Agency and the government and historical penetration cases are recruitment of U.S. officials in positions, code clerks. It had a very tight filing system of its own, and it was the only component in the counterintelligence that had access to the security files and the personnel maintained by the Office of Security. And he was either the Deputy or one of the principal officers with O'Neal.

17

Mr. Wallach. I realize that in your testimony before the 9 Rockefeller Commission and in your paper that you prepared for 10 the meeting, it was extensively discussed, I guess the conditions 11 that existed at the time, the Cold War conditions, suspected 12penetration of the Agency, and other things, and I think that 13 will come out clear. I think it's quite important in focusing 14 on the beginnings of the operation, as you explained, and I 15 don't want to lose sight of that in turning to this memorandum, I 16 but for example -- and again, I'm only asking if there were 17 discussions that you remember -- this memorandum, for example, 18 on the first page in Section 3, under "Situations," says: 19 "There's no overt authorized legal censorship or monitoring of 20 first-class mails which enter, depart or transit the United 21 States at the present time." 22

Mr. Angleton. Which memorandum? Is this one I looked at?

Mr. Wallach. This is one you looked at.

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Mr. Angleton. All rightim tury

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Mr. Wallach. And all I'm trying to get from you is if you recall any discussions at that time as to whether -- about the subject and about the fact that there is no legal monitoring By that, I take it they mean opening or showing, whatever they mean by monitoring the mails.

18

Do you recall discussions about the legality or even entering into this?

Mr. Angleton. Well, I read a lot about this since, but I don't think I ever participated in any of the meetings dealing 10 with that problem. 1.1

Mr. Wallach. You say you read about discussions? Mr. Angleton. I read about it since. I mean, I read all of these papers which go into the whole legal business.

Mr. Wallach. But I, from reading the documents that we .15 have, and the Agency, has told me for all intents and purposes 16 that is what they have. I do not see any papers which reflect 17 discussions in the '50's on the legality or illegality. 18

Mr. Angleton. Wall, doesn't that --

Mr. Wallach. This one does, but it doesn't set forth any 20 discussion. It is just a fact that seems to be stated. It does 21 not permit it at this time. 22

I was wondering if you recall any discussions about that 23 at all. 24

Mr. Anglaton. Well I mean there were discussions leading

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	TOP SECRET 19
1	up to Helms and the Director going to the Postmaster General
2	and all of that.
ä	Mr. Wallach. That was in 1971.
4	Mr. Angleton. Well, "they wonth is much earlier than that.
. 5	I mean, back in the '50's.
6	Mr. Wallach. Well, Mr. Dulles did go to Mr. Helms, I
7	think back in '54 to meet with the then-Postmaster General,
8	but I don't think the record shows that the Postmaster General
9	was briefed on the fact that there was going to be any mail
10	openings.
11	Mr. Angleton. I mean, to me, I think there was a lot of
12	dispute on whether he was briefed about it.
13	Mr. Wallach. You think there was dispute about whether
14	Mr. Summerfield was briefed in the 1950's, or Mr. Day in '61.
15	Mr. Angleton. Both.
16	Mr. Wallach. In any event was Mr. Dulles aware, to the
17	best of your knowledge, that mail was being opened in New
18	York?
19	Mr. Angleton. I don't know. I don't think I ever saw
20	any datailed piece of paper on any of these visits. Well, they -
21	were all kind of short.
22	Mr. Wallach. I think I'll have a memorandum later that
23	may cast some doubt as to whether Mr. Dulles was aware the
24	mail was being opened.
25	Do you remember discussing it with him?
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Mr. Angleton. I don't remember discussing it with any Director outside of Helms.

Mr. Wallach. In other words, you would not know then if Mr. McCone was aware, for example?

Mr. Angleton. I don't know. I mean -- let me put it this 5 way. I don't think anyone tried to withhold anything from 6 Mr. McCone. Just being sort of an impression that he himself 7 was disturbed that people didn't tell him, and I think it is 8 not realistic in terms of the way he ran the business. 9 Mr. McCone was an individual who had a lot of experience in 10 government and he had a personal style of his own. He lived 11 by the record. His interest in the business was almost 12 exclusively devoted to items which were subject matters for 13 the Cabinet. In other words, it didn't matter how mundane a 14 program would be, as long as it was Cabinet-level, he went into 15 it in the most exhaustive fashion. He did not deal with the 16 case officers down the line. 17

18 In one case which I was handling with him, he read not 19 only my analysis and so on. He read all of the attachments 20 down into the interrogations, and whatnot. In other words, 21 the actual data.

Once he had discharged that as a Cabinet matter, it then reverted back way down into the bowels of the organization, and six months later there might be a glimmer of this come back again and he would update himself in the intervening



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ů o period. And that is the way he ran the Agency. He was not interested in a lot of gratuitous matters dealing, say, with mail intercepts or so on. If there had been mail intercept which involved the penetration high in the government, I can assure you it would have gone to him.

Mr. Wallach. Did Mr. Helms run the Agency in a different fashion?

Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean, I am just talking about Mr. McCone. He was a very unusual man in the sense of how he ran the Agency. He depended very directly on basically two men, one was Ray Cline and the other was Dick Helms, plus his Exec Officer, and you know, some of the people around his immediate office. But I am just saying to put it in proper perspective, there was no one withholding from Mr. McCone anything, and I think there were many of them who would give a great deal to go up and talk about mundane problems.

Mr. Wallach. Well, just going back again to Mr. Dulles, the record does reflect that in '54 he did go over with Mr. Helms and meet with Mr. Summerfield, and I think the record also shows that at that time in '54, at least, it was a mail intercept project in the sense that the mail was just being photograph or transliterated, the covers of the mail. It was not being opened.

The only point I was really trying to get at was Mr. Dulles was -- it's not really clear whether or not and I'm not

TOP SECRET saying anybody was hiding anything from him, that he ever found 1 out that the operation changed. 2 Mr. Angleton. I don't know. I don't know. 3 Let's put it this way. I don't think the project ever had tape Åb 4 any caveat of not informing the Director of any piece of 5 intercept which had broad implications and should be brought to 6 his attention. I mean that's almost automatic, and it goes 7 for all kinds of collection. 8 -Mr. Wallach. Do you recall instances of bringing the Q .... product to the attention of various Directors? 10 Mr. Angleton. Well, basically, Mr. Helms, because of a lot 11 of things dealing with civil unrest in that period, about a 12 fugitive from justice, the making of bombs, things of this 13 C.' sort. 14 C Mr. Wallach. Was this when he was DDP? 15 5 Mr. Angleton. No, he was Director. 16 5 Mr. Wallach. Director. 17 There's one other part I'd like to talk to you about and 18 really get your opinion on in a second. In the next page of 19 20003 this memorandum, it states that "It must be assumed that foreign 20 0.0 espionage agents have relied on this policy of the United Washington. 21 States government" -- by that, it is referring to the policy 22 of, there's no legal opening or monitoring of mails -- "and 23 this has resulted in extensive use of the mail for intelligence 24 purposas to our detriment." 25

What I would like to get at is if it is your believe that this is really true, or was true then, and did it subsequently change, or do you think it is still true that there is that reliance on the protection, you know, the privacy of the mails?

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Mr. Angleton. I think there was up to the time that it bacame exposed.

Mr. Wallach. What you're saying then is you do not believe the Soviets knew we were conducting this program? Mr. Angleton. Personally I don't think they did, but I 10 mean, that is purely a personal view on it. Of course, they 11 would have known if there had been any penetration, but I mean, 12 aside from that, I don't think they necessarily knew of it, 13 because after all, you had a number of exchange students using 14 the mails and in their system, no one travelling outside can 15 get either a passport or a valida as foreign exchange who 16 isn't processed by the intelligence organs as to his possible 17 usage, and particularly those scientific schools, and so on. 18 And also a lot of it is preparation for them for future jobs 19 on the American or the British desk. 20

In fact, I would assume that they probably spent several hundred thousand manhours going back through all the cases 22 and files and doing analysis to see what came through the 23 mails. 24

Mr. Wallach. Was it your understanding, then, at least at

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с; С this time that the project would only pick up mail where either the addressee or the sender was a Soviet?

Mr. Angleton. No, I think it was all communications that came out of the Soviet Union and went into it. A lot of the mail was actually sent by third nationals here.

In other words, you will find somebody's brother, maybe from Africa or someplace, and his brother is at the Lumumba University or a cousin or a relative and you've got a lot of Latin American mail, people who are relatives, friends or associates in some group that they're studying here in the United States communicating to their friend in Moscow. So the linkage is important.

Mr. Wallach. Turning again to what you said and was thoroughly described in your attachment to the Rockefeller Report is the tenor of the times that existed then. I think in reading that and then looking at paragraph 6 of this memorandum which deals with security and subparagraph (c) which is on page 7, which reads: "In the event of compromise of the aspect of the project involving internal monitoring of mails, serious public reaction in the United States would probably occur. Concaivably, pressures would be placed on Congress to inquire into such allegations, but it is believed that any problems arising could be satisfactorily handled."

What I'm trying to get at is, given that tenor of the times, it would surprise me that you would still believe there would be serious public reaction to finding out about this program.

Mr. Angleton. Whoever drafted that had great prescience. I mean, I do not know who drafted it, but they turned out to be right.

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Mr. Wallach. Well, I think it turned out to be right in 1975, but I am very truthfully too young to appreciate what was going on back at that time, and I, from talking to many people at the Agency, have kind of got a different opinion, sort of all explained to meavery thoroughly the tenor of the times that existed then and that different outlooks, certain pressures from President Eisenhower on penetration of the intelligence community, and then a lot of other concerns that ---Senator McCarthy and other things.

I was surprised to see that in 1955 someone fairly high up in the then-young CI staff would have felt that there would be serious public reaction to some disclosure of this, you know, it was for intelligence purposes, and you know, that surprised me. And I was just wondering if you could possibly recall if you would have thought that back then.

Mr. Angleton. Now don't -- I can't really say one way or the other, and I have not gotten in touch with Herman Horton. I believe I had an afternoon with him, and a lot of things became much clearer, I mean, all the meetings and the people that he saw.

> Mr. Walłach. He's retired now, isn't he? Mr. Anglaton: He's ratired.

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	<b>2</b>	ı	Mr. Dick. For what period of time was Mr. Horton your
<b>y</b>	<b>1</b>	2	Deputy?
	Phone (Area 202) Searcoun	3	Mr. Angleton. I have it somewhere here.
i	around a	4	He started with me when I took over the Counterintelligence
		5	Staff. He had been in the FBI and then he had been with the
		?6	Agency I mean, the OSS.
		7	He had also been a lawyer. When he started, he was well
		· 8	up on Federal statutes.
сı С1		9	I cannot put my hands on it right now, but I have all the
•		10	dates.
<b>6</b> 000. ,		11	Mr. Wallach. Well, I think maybe then we can just check
	ي	12	it with the Agency if you don't have it right here.
	) ≼ ≰	13	Mr. Angleton. No.
C,	0 4 4 M	. 14	Mr. Wallach. One other general aspect I'd like to talk
с:: с		15	to you on which is reflected in the memorandum, and there is
м Г		16	no reason now to go over it, is the off repeated statement here
		17	that the security factors require no disclosure whatever the
		18	made to any persons or organizations outside the CIA. And I
	50	19	
	.C. 200	20	problems that existed later on between the CIA and the FBI,
	Washington, D.C. 20003	21	and we will go into them in the '58 events by which the CIA
	Washin	22	or the FBI became informed of the project, but I was wondering
	et, S.Ε.,	23	why, for example, this would not have been thought of as a
0	irst Stre	24	project that would have been very useful to the FBI at that
	110 1	25	time, and the FBI also at least brought into the project, or

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some sort of joint project. Was that just something that didn't happen and then you just realized later on that it didn't happen?

Mr. Angleton. Well, I think that the relations with the FBI were very spotty, leading up to '54. When DeLoach was the Liaison Officer there were a number of problems and there was also a very strong feeling by Mr. Hoover about CIA men who had been former FBI people. There wasn't something generated out of the CI Staff. It was one that probably went back since Eric Timm was FBI, Bill Harvey was FBI. We stole a number of FBI people and it wasn't the best of relations.

Mr. Wallach. Have you been, or are you aware today, of the various projects, mail intercepts and mail opening projects that ware conducted by the Bureau since World War II in the United States?

Mr. Angleton. No. I am aware of the fact that there
Mr. Angleton. No. I am aware of the fact that there
were, from time to time. I mean there, operationally, were
matters that would come up, whether we would get a certain mail
coverage.

Mr. Wallach. Are you aware, for example, of continual projects from 1946 through 1966 of various foreign establishments in the U.S. run by the Bureau, and this is not something that popped up from time to time? Going to the specifics of it, it was existing in '55, but there are no Bureau records that would reflect that anybody at the CIA was made aware of it until

	ili Reference	TOP SECRET 28
	. 1	approximately '61.
	2	Mr. Angleton. No, I think anything we've done regarding
(Area	3	FBI coverage came out of the counterintelligence reports of
Phone (Ar	4	the case that was broken and the surveillance and whatnot,
	5	and after all, you'd learn how to read those reports and know
•	6	more or less where the sources are from.
	7	Mr. Wallach. I think we've gotten the same type of the stimony
	8	from other people.
~	9	Mr. Angleton. Yes.
<b>.</b>	10	Mr. Wallach. In other words, after reading it, and from
<b></b>	11	your experience, you can tell this was gotten from mail
· -· ·	12	intercept?
	13	Mr. Angleton. That's right, and they had more sophisticated
· C: \$	14	means. Ours was shotgun treatment, theirs was mainly rifle
С. •С	15	treatment.
~	16	Mr. Wallach. What do you mean by that?
•	17	Mr. Angleton. We were covering a vast amount of mail;
	18	the Bureau's interest was more or less pinpointed on matters
r.00	19	that came as a result of a breakthrough or identification of
D.C. 20	20	some active case. That is at least my understanding of how
Washington, D.C. 2000.3	21	they operate.
;	22	Mr. Wallach. Did the Bureau, at any time, stop sending
in Seet, S.	23	the CIA intelligence reports on cases and things, the ones
Eind St	24	you described?
410	25	Mr. Angleton. Well, I think probably the most painful case
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may I go off the record on this?

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Mr. Wallach. We'll go off the record.

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(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. Wallach. I think we can go back on the record. I think the record can reflect that when we went off the record, Mr. Angleton went into one or two specific cases and just a further explanation of his reasons why there was not the best of cooperative worlds between the Agency and the Bureau in the early '50s.

I would like now to show you a document which I would like marked as Angleton Exhibit 2 for our identification, and it's a two page document, it's a memorandum for Acting Deputy Director of Plans. It's from Mr. Angleton, and there's a date on it that's not entirely legible, but it is a '56 document.

Mr. Angleton. Does it show the drafter of the document? Mr. Wallach. Well, let me show it to you, Mr. Angleton. (Pause)

Mr. Angleton. No, it's not signed by me; it's signed by my Deputy for me, if you look at that.

Mr. Wallach. Right. You are correct in that. I'm not going to have any specific questions on it but what I'd like to do is focuse your attention on the second paragraph for a minute which goes to the question about Mr. Dulles' knowledge of the mail opening aspect of it. Once

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again I'm not saying anything was held back from him. There it says the Director approved the undertaking in principle in its initial stages in May 1954, and took steps which have, through a developmental stage, resulted in a formulation of the program and its approval by you..

Now, looking at that language, back in 1954, the CI staff was not involved, and the records seem to reflect that, at least in '54, that there may have just been isolated instances of mail opening, but it was really a mail screening, mail cover project. From this it looked like Mr. Helms himself approved the HTLINGUAL aspects of it, and the CI staff, when they came, there was probably mail opening before, but it was more formalized.

Now, I guess it would be more appropriate to ask Mr. Helms, really, did you tell Mr. Dulles about it, but I'm just showing you this second paragraph to -- maybe that would refresh you.

> (The document referred to was marked Angleton Exhibit No. 2 for identification.) (Angleton Exhibit No. 2 will be found in the files of the Committee.)

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Mr. Angleton. It does not illuminate for me at all. Mr. Wallach. Okay.

What I'm really, as you're aware, trying to get at is the procedural part of it, not at the question of responsibility or anything like that, as to a project that Mr. Dulles, you know, may have first briefed Mr. Summerfield on as a mail opening project sort of turned into that. He may or may not have been informed, possibly because he never asked, not because anybody withheld anything.

Mr. Angleton. Well, he would have been told the details because he wouldn't have gone there unless he had interrogated who brought up the proposal.

Mr. Wallach. But my statement is he went up there in early '54 and at that time we don't really have a mail opening project as such.

Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean, that's what I have not been able to 16 find here, whether this is -- let me just see if this throws 17 any light on it.

(Pause)

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Now, going back here, and this is just an aside, but this reflects that Dana Doran, who was head of the Soviet Division, had queried the FBI back in '52, '53, as to whether they had any records of correspondence between Soviet and U.S. citizens, 23 and the Bureau did reply that they did not maintain such records except that uncovered in the general security or espionage 25

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	1	cases.		
20215	2	Mr. Wallach. What you're looking at is the master list		
ie (Ares	3	of documents that was in the summaries, that was put together		
Phon	4	by the Agency?		
	5	Mr. Angleton. Yes, it's one of the summaries.		
	6	Mr. Wallach. Well, I really don't think that we should		
	7	dwell on that point.		
	8	Mr. Angleton. Well, I am trying to boil this down to a		
5	9	little more perspective, to see whether there is any indication		
<u></u>	10	when the mail was opened.		
	11	Mr. Wallach. I think we can get a clearer indication of that		
<b>a</b> r • •	12	by going back to the vault, I think we may have done this; I don't		
	12	think we have the papers here, and looking at the first papers in the vault.		
		Mr. Angleton. On what dates were there?		
C)	14 .	Mr. Angleton. On what dates were there? Mr. Wallach Truthfully I don't remember, but I think we		Ì
<b>\$</b>	- 15	i.		
Γ.	16	can trace it back that way.		
•	17	(Pause.)		
	18 -	Mr. Angleton. No, it doesn't say anything unless it does		
5003	19	down here.		
Washington, D.C. 20003	20 ;;	(Pause)		
ngton	21	Mr. Angleton. No, it skips over the question of when the		
iuse M	22	first openings occurred.		
ці S	11 23	Mr. Wallach. All right. I think we might be able to		
	24	go back the Agency, and we'll get documentation as to that	2000 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100 - 100	
410 5	25	specific point.		
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Can you tell me in the early days, I'm talking '55, '56, '57, the fifties, how really the project was set up at Headquarters in terms, was there any project staff as existed in the later years?

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Mr. Angleton. Yes, there was a group of about six people. 5 I don't think it went above six. They handled Russian, Yiddish, 6 Spanish, German, French, and these different skills were divided 7 up among the six people who were known as the CI Project, and 8 their purpose was simply to analyze the correspondence that 9 was opened, write a digest, and then there would be cleared 10 people within certain branches, geographic branches in the 11 division who were recipients, and their job was to fuse or 12 meld it with their own activities and to hopefully refine the 13 watch list. In other words, they would levy requirements or 14 indicate that such and such was of no interest. 15

Mr. Wallach. You said levy requirements. They would ask for a particular person to be placed on the watch list, and if any mail came either to or from that person --

- 19 Mr. Angleton. That's right.
- 25 Mr. Wallach. It would be intercepted.

21 Mr. Angleton. And then when they finish with the Xerox, 22 a copy of the digest would be sent back to this group where it 23 was destroyed, periodical destruction.

Mr. Wallach. Of the copies.

Mr. Angleton. Of the copies.



TOP SECRET But they maintained a copy which was first carded 1 manually, and then it went to punch card, and then eventually 2 it went to a tape, the control of which we maintain a computer 3 tape. 4 Mr. Wallach. What instructions were actually given to the 5 Office of Security intercept officers who actually picked up 6 the mail and opened it and then sent it down to Headquarters? 7 Mr. Angleton. Well, they were given, they were told what 8 was of interest and what was not, and I think they had a watch 9 list, and there was one individual who was fairly sophisticated 10 and had a great deal of experience in this field and he, 11 together with the watch list, could make a fairly accurate 12 coverage of the mail. 13 you're referring to? Mr. Wallach. Is that 14 Mr. Angleton. Yes, that's right. 15 Mr. Wallach. What I'm really trying to get at is aside 16 from the watch list, which you viewed as 17 capabilities, he did not have any training in counterintelligence 18 ability, did he? 19 Mr. Angleton. Well, I never have seen his PHS. 20 Mr. Wallach. Have you ever met[ 21 Mr. Angleton. No. 22 Mr. Wallach. Well, then, what I'm really trying to find 23 out is aside from the watch list, this is something I am asking 24 most of the people that I've talked to who have been working 25

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on the project, there does not seem to have been any real guidance that went out to the people in the field, the Office of Security people whenever they were trained in counterintelligence or the actual people who were picking up the mail.

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Mr. Angleton. I think there was definitely guidance explained to them on what was of interest and what was not of interest.

Mr. Wallach. You mean separate from the watch list? Mr. Angleton. No, I mean the watch list, the embodyment of it.

Mr. Wallach. But I think that at least the figures that have been provided to us show that there were varying figures for varying years, some years as high as 65 percent of the mail was picked up, was randomly picked up, that was not on the watch list.

Mr. Angleton. I agree there because there were a lot of P.O. boxes which were catchalls in Moscow, so you'd follow a P.O. box number; a general delivery, and you began to find that certain organizations in the United States were writing to that P.O. box. Some of the correspondence of Philby, as I recall, to people in this country, the return was a Post Office box number. So we put, a right across the board, all mail 22 il addressed to that Post Office box was picked up. 23

Mr. Wallach. That Post Office box itself was on the watch list.

TOP SECRET Mr. Angleton. That's right. 1 Mr. Wallach. I'm talking about items now that were not 2 (Ares 202) on the watch list. 3 Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean, there was a lot of random 4 collection. 5 Mr. Wallach. What I'm trying to get at is how did Mr. 6 Issaeff and various other people who helped him at one time or 7 another --8 C . 1 Mr. Angleton. Well, he had a good idea what was wanted. 9 He was not completely isolated from what the purpose of the 10 entire project was. In other words, he had many helpful views 11 and ideas on, I mean, what was important. 12 Mr. Wallach. How do you know that, Mr. Angleton? 13 Mr. Angleton. Well, I know it because I was told it. C... 14 **C**., Mr. Wallach. By whom? 15 \$ Mr. Angleton. By people on the project. 16 r. Mr. Wallach. Would it surprise you then if [ 17 told us that he did not have any guidance and often really didn't 18 know exactly what it was that was wanted? 19 D.C. 2000. Mr. Angleton. It would surprise me very much. 20 Mr. Wallach. It would? 21 Mr. Angleton. Yes. I mean, it surprised me a great 22 deal because the people in the project, I've heard them say 23 that it couldn't have been done without him. 24 Mr. Wallach. Is that because of his facility in Russian? 25

Mr. Angleton. Well, and his general perceptions. I mean, how he could himself interpret the envelopes and the addressees and so on.

Mr. Waliach. Well, a good percentage of the mail that
went back two and from the Soviet Union was, at least from the
Soviet Union, was propaganda.

Mr. Angleton. That's right.

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ngton.

Mr. Wallach. And I believe that --

9 Mr. Angleton. Well, there was a big interest in government 10 at one time on suppressing propaganda mail. I don't know what 11 happened, but it goes way back. My recollection is, I don't 12 even know whether the mail was in fact suppressed, I mean, the 13 propaganda mail.

Mr. Wallach. Did you yourself at any time have occasion to make a cursory review of the types of mail that was coming in?

Mr. Angleton. No. Items would be sent to me but they were items relating to cases we were on.

Mr. Wallach. What I'm trying to get at is the basis, and you said that people had told you this, saying that it couldn't have been done without It seems that if 1 million pieces came through, discounting propaganda, if the time is -- there's only a certain amount of mail that Mr. Issaeff can get to, and I don't really know how it can be determined if he missed some or didn't miss some.

How could anybody back at Headquarters make that judgment 1 as to whether he was getting all that was good, or just 10 2 percent of what was good, which looked like a lot, if nobody 3 really know. That's what I'm --4

Mr. Angleton. Well, I don't think that is correct. 5 and another lady who was there Scotty Miler and 6 were very much on top of this mail business, and also on the 7 requirements. In other words, they had a very strong voice in 3 what was sent to the various branches and divisions, and had 9 a lot to do with the screening of requests for coverage and 10 fit it into their activity. 11

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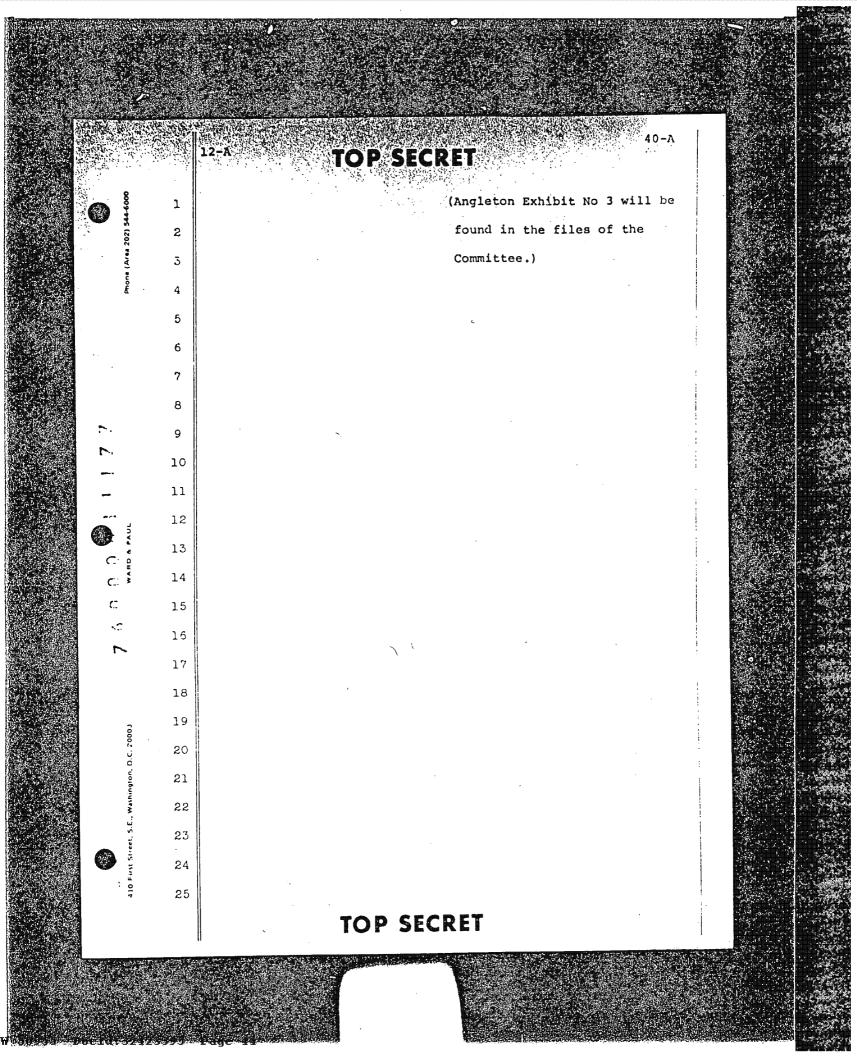
Mr. Wallach. Maybe I'm just not making myself clear. 12 Maybe I just don't understand your answer, but it seems that 13 we're talking about two different things, one at headquarters, 14 and I'm not even inquiring into the process at headquarters. 15 I have no doubt but that there were qualified people there. 16 I am talking about the communications between headquarters and 17 the guys in the field who were essentially -- I realize the 18 only background of them seems to be that they were Office 19 of Security people who were educated, well educated, and who 20 went out there and intercepted mail. It doesn't seem to 21 reflect in here whether there was any real guidance from 22 headquarters except for the watch list. 23

Mr. Angleton. Well, I'll have to talk to Miler for that. He can explain that. 25

11 <b>TOP SECRET</b> 39
Mr. Wallach. What you're saying is you're not really aware
of that aspect, are you.
Mr. Angleton. I'm not aware of that aspect of it, but
I don't have any doubts but that there were guidances given
to New York, I mean, they're not out of Personnel. At the
same time I'm confident that the guidance was given.
Mr. Wallach. In your view of the documents, have you seen
one document that talks about guidance for the people in New
York besides the watch list?
Mr. Angleton. I haven't seen all the documents.
Mr. Wallach. You have not seen all the documents, and
those documents that you've seen
Mr. Angleton. I've not seen it.
Mr. Wallach. You've not seen it.
Mr. Angleton. No.
Mr. Wallach. Do you know of the particular documents that
you haven't seen?
Mr. Angleton. Well, there are two filing cabinets, I
understand, of documents.
Mr. Wallach. Relating to this project?
Mr. Angleton. I assume relating to the project, yes.
Mr. Wallach. Let's just say that from the documents you have
there, it looks like we both have the same amount, so I'm
basing my statement on what I've seen.
Mr. Angleton. Well, we've been trying to get shold of
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12 40 TOP SECRET Mr. Tsikerdanos for three or four days now, but he's gone up 1 in the House. 2 Mr. Wallach. I'm sorry, in where? 3 Mr. Angleton. In the House, in the House committee. 4 Mr. Wallach. Do you know what he's been doing with the 5 House Committee? 6 Mr. Angleton. No. He's simply not been available. I 7 tried to call him last night well past the close of business, 8 and he was in meetings. He's been working with the Department 9 of Justice. And the purpose of it was simply to try to get from 10 him the answers to a lot of questions which I have on my mind, 11 which are not too far distant from the ones you're asking me 12 now. 13 begi<del>n</del>, 2 Mr. Wallach. You mean by that the one or two areas that 14  $\sim$ we really covered so far? 15 С., .0 Mr. Angleton. I've been trying to find out more about the 16 ~ questions and specifics on events that occurred which are not 17 reflected in the papers I've seen. 18 Mr. Wallach. I'd like to show you another document which 19 20003 is an internal FBI memorandum dated January 22, 1958, and it's 20 from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Bordman, and ask you to take a quick 21 look at that, sir. 22 (The document referred to 23 was marked as Angleton Exhibit 24 No. 3 for identification.) 25 TOP SECRET



TAN TAN DE		
	L	Mr. Angleton. I see the source there is to protect the
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<del>P</del> hone (Aree 202)	3	Mr. Wallach. In any event, we do have an agreement that
roff.	4	the Bureau that any documents that they give us, that we protect
	5	sources and methods, and we do. If it's required we can go
	6	ahead and get them, but we usually don't.
	7	Mr. Angleton. Well, I see where they crossed it out, but
~	8	they left it on the end.
сэ. М.	9	Mr. Wallach. If you're saying there's вloppy editing, yes,
\$10~s s	10	in very many cases.
80°44	11	Mr. Angleton. Well, I think that this may reflect the
æ. :	12	events of the period, but it is my understanding and my
	13	memory that this thing on the Bureau's inquiry was going back and
C: VA	14	forth for some time.
C) •2.	15	Mr. Wallach. You mean they had reason to believe that the
N	16	CIA was engaging in a mail intercept in New York?
	17	Mr. Angleton. Well, my own view is that they were not
	18	entirely ignorant of all this, and this is again the kind of
2	19	question which I cannot get a response to. I have a feeling
D.C. 20003	20	that we were handling much of this as we would communications
gton, D	21	intelligence; that is, disseminating some of the material in
Mashin	22	disguised form with false attribution source.
rt. S.E	23	Mr. Wallach. Even at that time in '57?
IN SILE	24	Mr. Angleton. Well, that I'd have to find out, but we had
410 64	25	other operations much more sensitive than this, and the material
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14 TOP SECRET had to get out into an action element of government in which the 1 material was camouflaged, rewritten, and given a false source 2 description. So that would be the normal procedure, even in 3 the case of this material, assuming that there was something of 4 great importance that was turned up. 5 Mr. Wallach. Once again what you're stating, it was 6 kind of assumption or kind of speculation. 7 Mr. Angleton. It's an assumption, but it's one of those 8 questions which I have been trying to find the answer to. 9 Mr. Wallach. Just looking at this memorandum for a second, 10 do you remember going over and speaking to Mr. Belmont about this 11 project on your initiative? 12 Mr. Angleton. No. I talked to Papich. 13 Mr. Wallach. Do you remember going over and talking to C: 🛔 14 C. Papich? 15 5 Mr. Angleton. No. He used to come to our place every 16 1 day. 17 Mr. Wallach. Do you remember, did he broach the subject 18 with you? 19 20003 The reason I'm asking is, it appears the Bureau made 20 ы О inquiries in New York to the Postal Service for the same type shington 21 of project, not the same type of project, but for a project 22 ž to mail from the Soviet Union, and that the Postal Service kind 23 of called CIA Headquarters and said the Bureau is inquiring, 24 what do you want us to do. And that sort of set the time 25 **TOP SECRET** 

TOP SECRET 1 frame, you might have gone over there. And then there's a 2 meeting accouple of days later with the CIA. Mr. Angleton. Well, this is a question where dates are 3 important, but I do know the files reflect in some part, as I 4 recall, two different stories, one that the Bureau contacted 5 the Postal authorities and were told to see CIA, and another 6 7 one in which the Postal authorities contacted the CIA to say the Bureau wants to get into the same field. And anyway, the 8 9 decision was made the Bureau had to be cut in. Mr. Wallach. In Mr. Belmont's memorandum -- and I under-10 stand he wrote the memorandum and not you -- he quotes you as 11 saying that the sole purpose of the New York operation was for 12 the coverage -- the sole purpose of the New York operation's 13 coverage was to identify persons behind the Iron Curtain who 14 might have some ties in the U.S. and who could be approached in 15 their countries as contacts and sources for CIA. 16 Is that your understanding of the sole purpose of the 17 18 operation? 19 Mr. Angleton. No. Mr. Wallach. Well, I think that this may sidetrack us 20 for a second, but if you would really on the record explain, 21 it's been, it's kind of documented in various parts here as to 22 what really you feel are the purposes and benefits of this 23 24 operation. Mr. Angleton. Well, I think the basics are simply that 25

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TOP SECRET 44 16 it -- well, starting off first was this security, hopefully 1 from the Soviets, that this activity was going on, in other 2 words, that the one would hope that they did not have any 3 knowledge of it. Otherwise, it could have become a channel 4 also for deception on their part in a major way. 5 Boudins Now, my feeling on that is particularly reviewing Boudien's 6 letters and Philby's, is that they were unaware of the censorship. 7 Now, I said before and I'll say it again, that the obstacles 8 for counterintelligence in 'a democratic society working against 9 a totalitarian type of intelligence service is very inadequate, 10 and the obstacles of simply trying to accomplish even the most 11 minimal investigations or coverage and of course, this varies 12 to a large extent in the west. I mean, there are many western 13 services that do have rather complete counterintelligence 14 coverage, and it is afforded by the entire government. 15 Here, I mean in terms of the perspective of our assets, 16 the mail program loomed as an extremely important object, I mean 17 in terms of exsight and insight into Soviets who were traveling 18 here, Soviet students, and we had an active program of 19 recruitment, attempted recruitments of Soviet students, our 20 knowledge that practically every Soviet student is at the 21 sufferance of KGB, where it is worked in necessarily into the 22 mechanism. It is also the grounds for preparing young people 23 in American realities who come back and go into the service 24 and more active roles. 25

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So that I think that by way of counterintelligence weapons outside of communications intelligence, and there's practically little or none of that for the time being, that it was probably most important overview that Counterintelligence had. It was also an overview, and we were very active in propaganda in all different forms, the Cord Meyer operations and so on. And it had the specific cases, going back into the period of civil strife and whatmot, it was the only source of information in those cases.

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And I think you've seen the requirements which the Bureau levied, and again, it was the only source of information which the FBI ever had in those subjects.

Mr. Wallach. That is assuming that the Bureau did not have its own project.

Mr. Angleton. I mean, in spite of all of that, this was documentation, you know, where it differs, I mean, it goes up to the top of the class in the sense of grading the bona fides of the sources and information next to Communications INtelligence; if the opposition does not know it, then the mail becomes an extremely important source of very high level information. I mean, it's factual.

Mr. Wallach. May I take you one step further on that? Would there be any benefit to an operation like this if we had, for example, back in '51 Congress had passed a specific statute and said in certain circumstances the CIA can

open mail, and the Soviets would have known that the CIA could 1 possibly have done that, and let's say today we passed that 2 legislation. I think you can understand what I'm getting at. 3 Now, would that have any benefit in just reviewing, I 4 think probably less benefit, if there was any benefit, but of 5 having that kind of statute in narrowly prescribed circumstances, 6 it could be entirely held secret, you know, possibly given 7 the approval of the President or whatever, if there was different -8 types of legislation, because I don't believe it now exists --9 10 that it would be of any benefit.

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I mean, I think this is one of the questions that academia -Mr. Angleton. Well, personally, I am too close to these
inquiries to be very objective on what if because my own personal
view is that, you know, counterintelligence and the work on
the Bloc in large measure has been destroyed by these hearings.
That's my personal view.

I cannot see a Soviet defector coming over to the United 17 States, so to speak, in a sense committing suicide. I don't 18 think that agents who are high level agents are going to have 19 anything to do with the Agency for a great deal of time with 20 all of these exposures. I think the Soviets have had very 21 high level discussions and conferences regarding how they can 22 23 exploit this period to achieve the maximum benefits for 24 themselves.

I think they will probably run a damage report on what

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put a tremendous number of agents on ice in order to avoid any type of a reaction.

For example, I mean, they've done it in the past when they've 5 been in a period of crisis, where there's been a crisis in the 6 West, they have put agents on ice in order to avoid any kind of political scandal.

Mr. Wallach. You're seeing some sort of a backlash in the U.S.? 10

Mr. Angleton. That type of thing, but after the Gozenko 11 cases up in Canada for ten years there was a type of prohibition 12 on operations in Canada because of the impact in Canada politi-13 cally that that had in many areas of the world, and these were 14 conscious decisions that they arrived at. 15

Now, I think any of them saying, what has happened to the 16 U.S. intelligence community, that the only people they would make 17 use of would be agents of influence, and find another way of 18 putting water on the wheel without themselves becoming directly 19 implicated. I think this would be the normal direction of any 20 adversary service, when it sees that somebody else is doing 21 the job for them. 22

So going back to this basic question that you have asked, 23 I think there may have been in the '50s an opportunity to 24 have influenced the Congress to have some kind of bills passed 25

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that would have aided the investigative agencies on the problem 1 of espionage. Other countries do have it. 2

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But our General Counsel -- and I am not speaking authoritatively here -- it is my impression is that one of our weaknesses is that we did not have the General Counsel work into 5 the planning phases of operations. Usually we went to the 6 General Counsel when something was going wrong, but not in the 7 inception of operations. If there had been much more of that, 8 that type of consultation of things being originated, then a 9 General Counsel might have been able to cure a number of these 10 programs by proposing types of legislation. 11

Now, this was not done. Now I think it is too late. I 12 don't think the mood of the country would support that type of 13 legislation. 14

Mr. Wallach. Are you saying it's too late because of the 15 mood of the country or too late for practical reasons? 16 Mr. Angleton. No, I think it is the mood of the country 17 principally, and then, as I say, I suspend judgment, my own 18 personal view is that it would not have the same benefits. 19 In time it might again, if the pendulum swings again, but I 20

don't foresee that happening. 21

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But I think that the other -- to put this in further 22 perspective, I don't know if people really appreciate how diffi-23 cult it is to work against the Soviets. When we have a major 24 leakage in the Government, and I will refer to one case which 25

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с С aton. involved some government documents which have fallen into the hands of the opposition, for a number of years they would take those documents and then falsify either a cover letter of an American official to another official, and float that document in the third world. And the attachments would be bona fide. They were actually military documents on weaponry, whereas the thrust of the entire operation was disinformation, total fabrication.

We could identify in our holdings the American documents which were authentic, the attachments. When we tried to work on the case, and even coming to the original recipients, it ran into over 800 names or more, without going down to all of the 12 Xeroxes that were made of those documents, or all of the people 13 who were not listed as recipients in different offices. 14

On the Soviet side, if there is a leakage, they can pinpoint 15 very rapidly that there were only two or three people who knew 16 the secret, and that one of them was in the west. So the problem 17 that they have in terms of filling in the holes are relatively 18 simple under their system, because they have every bigot list 19 in terms of the need to know. So if there is a leakage, as 20 there was in one of our biggest cases, the Popov case, which was 21 the speech of Zhukov in Germany, and immediately it centered or 22 focused attention on our agent, and that document went through 23 the hands of George Blake in Berlin. So all he did was tell 24 his case officer, Soviet, that he saw the speech, a copy of the 25

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speech that Zhukov gave to the General Staff in Germany, all they had to do was look as to which of their officers had access, was in the west, and that had to be our agent.

4 Mr. Wallach. Now, I think, although I am personally quite
5 interested in what you're talking about, it would be a better
6 matter to raise --

Mr. Angleton. Well, you asked me the original question to try to define the intercept program. Unless you understand what the state of the art is, I mean, it would be difficult for you to put as high an evaluation on it as we do, or as the SB Division gave it in the times when they were first set up as a geographic unit.

Mr. Wallach. Well, let me at this time continue, so that 13 without marking for the time being, and without asking you to 14 read the whole thing, because it is twelve pages, and there's 15 only one or two sections of it I would like you to look at, is 16 Annex 2 of the Inspector General's survey of the Office of 17 Security, which is dated in 1960, and I'll just give this to 18 you. And the bottom of the first page is not that clear, but 19 we're not going to go to that. 20

Mr. Angleton. This was 1960?

Mr. Wallach. Yes, sir.

As a matter of fact, why don't I mark this as Exhibit 4, the above-described document, which is an annex to and is 12

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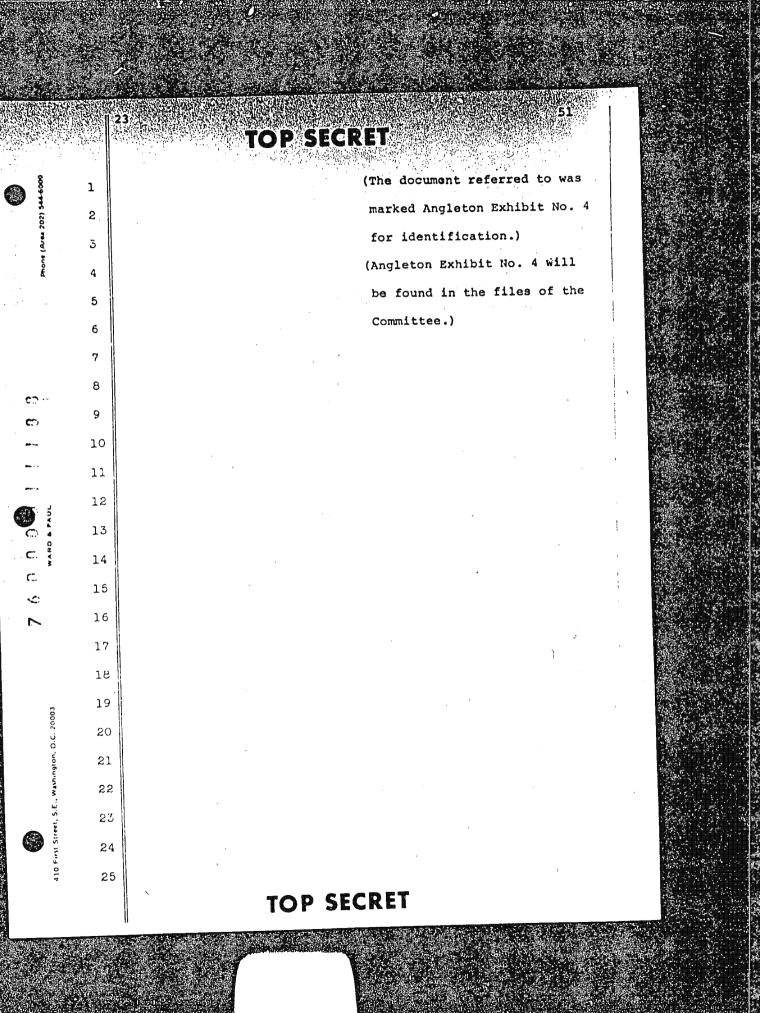
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8	1	Mr. Wallach. And since that is stamped Top Secret, we	
	2	will classify the entire transcript as Top Secret.	
Area 20	3	Mr. Angleton. I am just scanning this. I have not seen it	
Phone	4	before.	
<b>.</b>	5	Mr. Wallach. Right.	
	6	As I said before, I have a couple of specific questions and	
	7	you can read those paragraphs.	
•	8	Mr. Angleton. I am unaware of the first Recommendation A.	
	9	I am aware of the Recommendation B. I have not seen this	
€0 	10	document before.	
6349. a	11	Mr. Wallach. I realize you've only had quick opportunity	
	12	to just skim it at this time.	
	13	Did you in your capacity as Chief of Counterintelligence	
C: K	14	have occastion to get any input from the Inspector General's	
C:	15	office from surveys?	
	16	Mr. Angleton. On occasion.	
	17	Mr. Wallach. I, for example, was told by someone else	
	18	that this was held by the Office of Security, and you'll see	
c	19		
Maton D.C. 20003	20	at least one or two people I have spoken to who were involved	
	21	at that time had no occasion to get any feedback from this, and	
		I was wondering if you at your level had, after a review was	
	23	made, be it through the Office of Security, about a project	
	24	that was essentially CI's, did have feedback from this?	
u (	25	Mr. Angleton. I think the only feedback was on the question	
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of the cover story.

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ن م Mr. Wallach. And I have a couple of documents here that I think you've probably seen recently that I'll show you again. But, for example, and there are a couple of specific questions I have.

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In the second paragraph of this, the IG report annex 6 states, "the activity cannot be called a 'project' in the usual 7 sense because it was never processed through the approval 8 system and has no separate funds." And then it goes on to 9 explain that the various components involved have been carrying 10 out the responsibility as a part of their normal staff functions. 11 And really, all I want to get is an understanding of what 12 they mean, if you know, by approval system. 13

Mr. Angleton. Well, the approval system would have meant that this would have had to go to a great number of components who would have to sign off on it, and it would receive tremendous dissemination in the Agency.

18 Mr. Wallach. That, at least to me, seems the opposite 19 of a highly sensitive operation.

20 Mr. Angleton. That is the reason I think it was excepted 21 from it, and that way it short circuited the normal project 22 approval process.

Mr. Wallach. In other words, from approval, they're not talking about going straight up to the Director. They are talking about laterally going out?

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Mr. Angleton. Yes, more or less. When a project is conceived, it might cut across many jurisdictions to begin with, I mean different geographic divisions and so on, so there would have to be a signoff by the various components, and then it would go before a project review board, which again the members would be drawn from many parts of the clandestine services, and I mean, you would have this tremendous opening up of the activity to a great number of people.

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Mr. Wallach. But it would just seem to me -- obviously my knowledge of the Agency is limited -- that this would entirely 10 be, you know, again kind of totally against the grain of any sort of need to know concept. 12

Are you saying it is not because the components usually involved would have some need to know?

Mr. Angleton. No. Because of the fact that it involved 15 Security, it involved ourselves, in the SA Division, and since 16 the Director and everybody concerned were so familiar with it, 17 it was very easy to exempt it from the project system. 18

Mr. Wallach. Who would make a determination as to what could be exempted and what could not be exempted?

Mr. Angleton. Oh, the Deputy Director probably could. I mean, it would depend on what the operation is. I mean there could be operations where he himself would not give the exemption, he'd want the Director to sign off on it.

Mr. Wallach. I call your attention to the paragraph

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numbered six on page 3. It states, "The principal guidance 1 furnished to the interception team is the watch list of names 2 compiled by the CI Staff. The names may be submitted by the 3 SR Division, the FBI, CI Staff, and the Office of Security. 4 The list is revised quarterly to remove names no longer of 5 interest, and it ranges between 300 or 400 names." And then 6 it just goes on and states, "Headquarters has prepared the 7 actual watch list intercepts with the photographs of all 8 exteriors. There has not yet been a case of a watch list item 9 having been missed by interceptors. Of total items opened, 10 about one third are on the watch list and the others are 11 selected at random. Over the years, however, the interceptors 12 have developed a sixth sense or intuition, and many of the names 13 on the watch list were placed there as a result of interest 14 created by the random openings. 15

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"A limited amount of guidance is given in the specific 16 area of topical requirements, but this is not very satisfactory. 17 The interception team has to rely largely on its own judgment 18 in the selection of two thirds of the openings, and it should 19 have more first hand knowledge of the objectives and plans of 20 operational components which levy the requirements. Information 21 is now filtered through several echelons, and is more or less 22 sterile by the time it is received in New York." 23

And I don't really want to take argument with this or not. My real question is whether or not this was really conveyed

to you, because at least from the people I have interviewed and talked to, including numerous of the intercept people, they really felt left out in the cold in certain circumstances, and there was no feedback at all on the operation.

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And here I think we have a kind of a recommendation, although 5 it may not be formalized and per se a recommendation, where they 6 are saying let's give them more guidance. I just really want to 7 know if this was brought to your attention, for example. 8

Mr. Angleton. Well I was never aware that anyone in the 9 operation felt that he was not getting guidance, and as I say, 10 I have not, to my knowledge, I've never seen this report. The 11 only thing I've ever seen on it is a memorandum that starts off 12 something about the IG report, and it got into the whole question 13 of the cover story.

Mr. Wallach. One last reference on this, Mr. Angleton, 15 on page 11, the paragraph numbered 13, it begins, "Operational 16 evaluation should include an assessment of overall potential. 17 It is improbable that anyone inside Russia would wittingly 18 send or receive mail containing anything of obvious intelligence 19 or political significance." 20

Then it continues on, including comments to the effect 21 that certain innocent statements can have intelligence 22 significance, such as prices, crop conditions, etc., that goes 23 censorship. But that really doesn't seem to vitiate the by 24 first sentence, at least, which was it's improbably that anyone 25

inside Russia would wittingly send or receive mail containing anything of obvious intelligence or political significance. Mr. Angleton. I don't think that is accurate, though. Mr. Wallach. That's what I was going to ask you. Mr. Angleton. I don't think that's accurate. I think 5 that the case, one that we could cite is the case of one of 6 Hammer's illegitimate sons came over here. He had previously 7 been identified to us as KGB. And I don't know if you are 8 familiar with that whole period of the New Economic Policies in 9 the '20s, but in any event, many industrialists put their all, 10 so to speak, in Russia, had second families and illegitimate 11 children. The project of the net was run by Derjinski under 12 Lenin's order. Derjinski was head of the OGPU, and the purpose 13 of it was the improvement of capitalists on a broad basis, and 14 it was one of the foundations of the entire field of Lenin's 15 strategy, which to our way of thinking has been resuscitated 16 as a result of de-Stalinization. 17 But anyway, he went to New York. He was acknowledged 18 19

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by the family and he wrote a great number of letters back, all of which we intercepted. Now, we know he is a staff officer 20 in KGB and his ostensible assignment here was to write on the 21 Kennedy assassination, which is a recurring theme among KGB 22 people, i.c., a right wing conspiracy, etc. 23

Now, all of this went to the Bureau. I am not saying how 24 much coverage was given to him. And I would say that a great 25

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deal of this information has been acquired here, has not been put into operational or investigative -- it has not been exploited. But that has a lot to do with the cadres and the amount of personnel that is involved.

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The same goes for one of the biggest cases that's engaged practically all western intelligence, is Victor Luis, and that whole history and background.

8 Mr. Wallach. I think I understand you're taking argument.
9 Mr. Angleton. Yes, I take argument because these people,
10 or whoever made those comments simply was not aware of the
11 cases that were of interest.

Mr. Wallach. Well, that really goes to the heart of my 12 question. Here we have a group that's really theoretically 13 reviewing projects and making recommendations, and in one respect 14 they're supposed to be the internal reviewing arm of the Agency, 15 and possibly the General Counsel's office, that whole side of 16 the Agency, and really from what you said, it doesn't seem 17 really tuned in, so to speak, as to the value of the project, 18 and I think that it continues in the '69. 19

I'm not disputing with you at this point that the project and or did not have value. All I'm saying is that --

Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean, I don't like to have to defend it in that sense because to begin with, I never had any meetings with these people, and I see here as a result of the Inspector General's survey, December '60 --

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Mr. Wallach. I think the memorandum you're referring to is the next memorandum I had that I was going to show you. Mr. Angleton. It is a Security memorandum.

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Mr. Wallach. But I think there's a subsequent memorandum following that up from the Deputy Chief of the CI-Staff dated 1 February '62, but in any event, all I said, the only point I'm trying to get at is very truthfully that you seem to have an internal review that really didenot have some sort of understanding of the project, and whether or not there was any really internal review of it at all.

Mr. Angleton. Well, the point where I have to be very careful is, I don't know whether they interviewed my own people, Non the you see. I mean, they interviewed Bort O'Neal, Scotty Miler. If they did, I am unaware of it. If they did, I am unaware of it, but again, the only notification I see, the only thing I see in Counterintelligence is this memorandum from Security dealing only with the cover programs, nothing here on the question of guidance.

Mr. Wallach. What is your understanding of the reasons behind the Inspector General's survey of the various projects?

Mr. Angleton. Well, let me put it this way. I would imagine there would always be a reluctance on the part of everyone to have an office, a Security Office, an IG report ever go to any other component. That would be very unusual.

32 TOP SECRET It was generally accepted in the Agency, and I think quite 1 rightly, that the Office of Security has to be completely sealed 2 off from all other elements in the Agency, I mean in terms of their 3 internal workings. ۵ Mr. Wallach. In other words, a review might have been 5 made --6 Mr. Angleton. No. They should have extracted, from our 7 way of thinking, they should have extracted that memorandum, 8 that part of it, and sent it to us. 9 Mr. Wallach. Well, that's all I was trying to --10 Mr. Angleton. But they may have done so, but I have never 11 seen it, and I cannot believe that it would have gone to my 12 people whose really -- who are really making quite a fuss about 13 it, as they did on the cover program. 14 Now, it may have been an oversight, I don't know. I 15 can't reconstruct -- what was the date on this again? 16 Mr. Wallach. It's in 1960, sir. The exact date is back 17 at the office, but it's a 1960 survey. 18 Did you know Mr. Thomas Abernathy? 19 Mr. Angleton. Yes. 20 Mr. Wallach. Let me give you a two page memorandum and 21 mark it as Exhibit 5. 22 (The document referred to was 23 marked Angleton Exhibit No. 24 5 for identification.) 25

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#### **TOP SECRET** 661 33 Mr. Wallach. Apparently Mr. Abernathy prepared, subsequent 1 to this Inspector General's report in the Office of Security, 2 and I ask you to take a quick look at this. I'm going to have 3 a couple of questions on Paragraph 3. 4 Mr. Angleton. What was his title then, do you know? 5 Mr. Wallach. Very frankly, no, I do not. 6 Mr. Angleton. Well, I think it's the same Abernathy 7 who is now very senior in administration. 8 He must have been on the inspection staff from the way it 9 reads. 10 Mr. Wallach. Exactly. It refers to recommendations. I 11 am sure he was on the inspection staff. I just don't know his 12 title. 13 Mr. Angleton. Where did he ever get a figure that the CI 14 Staff had about 30 people working on it full time? 15 Mr. Wallach. I don't know. I think we probably should 16 ask him that. It would seem at least from some of the figures 17 he has here that he would have at least have attempted to talk 18 to somebody in CI about a project that was run by CI Staff. 19 Mr. Angleton. I don't know, I don't understand it. I 20 didn't know there was ever any issue of that sort. 21 Mr. Wallach. In other words, neither Mr. Abernathy nor 22 Mr. Belmon ever came in to talk to you about it? 23 Mr. Angleton. No. 24

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Mr. Wallach. And said we think there's a problem; let's

**TOP SECRET** talk about it?

pirch Mr. Angleton. No. They may have talked to Bert O'Neal, 2 who would be the logical person to come to first. 3 Mr. Wallach. Is Mr. O'Neal still with the Agency? 4 Mr. Angleton. No, he's retired some time ago. I think he's in the area. But I think again the person who would be most 6

knowledgeable would be Mr. Miler. 7

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Mr. Wallach. I mark now as Exhibit 6 a January 2, 1962 8 memorandum for Chief, CI Staff, Attention, and the name is deleted. The subject is Project HTLINGUAL, and it's from the 10 Deputy Chief, Office of Security. I think that was Mr. White 11 at that time. 12

> (The document referred to was marked Angleton Exhibit No. 6 for identification.) (Angleton Exhibit No. 6 will be found in the files of the Committee.)

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Mr. Wallach. And we'll mark as Exhibit 7 for identification as 1 February '62 memorandum for the Director, Office of Security, Subject: Project HTLINGUAL. This is from the Deputy Chief, C1 Staff.

> (The document referred to was marked Angleton Exhibit No. 7 for identification.) (Angleton Exhibit No. 7 will be found in the files of the Committee.)

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TOP SECRET Mr. Wallach. And I believe that these are two memoranda 1 regarding the cover story for the project that Mr. Angleton had 2 referred to before. 3 Mr. Angleton. Let me just see if I have a memo here which 4 says where it.originated at. 5 Mr. Wallach. I think your memorandum might not have the 6 name blocked out like ours. It is fairly easy to trace in 7 certain circumstances, and in others it is more difficult. 8 (Pause) 9 Mr. Angleton. This originally went to Mr. John Mertz, who 10 was my Executive Officer. 11 Mr. Wallach. He was at one time the project chief, was 12 he not? 13 Mr. Angleton. Yes, I think so. Yes, he was the project 14 chief. 15 Mr. Wallach. You're talking about the January 11th 16 memorandum went to John Mertz? 17 Do you recall ever discussing it with him on or about 18 January 11, '62? 19 Mr. Angleton. I did not discuss it with him. He prepared 20003 20 Washington, D.C. on 1 February '62 the answer. The project, actually, the head 21 of the project at that time was a man called Chalmers. 22 Mr. Wallach. You say Mr. Mertz prepared the 1 February 23 '62 memorandum? 24 Mr. Angleton. Yes. 25

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TOP SECRET 565 Mr. Wallach. He prepared it under the signature of the 1 Deputy Chief, CI Staff? 2 Mr. Angleton. That's right. 3 Mr. Wallach. Who would that have been at that time? 4 Mr. Angleton. His name was James R. Hunt. 5 6 Mr. Wallach. Do you recall ever discussing this cover 7 story in the early '60s, '62, or the need for a cover story? Mr. Angleton. I can't recall that. We had a major defector 8 in December '61, and I think from then on for a year or so that 9 was about my own'preoccupation, but I do not recall this -- I 10 mean, I have read it since. 11 Mr. Wallach. Do you think that in today's time there would 12 be consideration given to a cover story such as this as was 13 considered in the early /60s? 14 Mr. Angleton. Well, you see, your report says a memorandum 15 for CI staff. The actual thing is for Chief, CI Staff, Attention: 16 Mr. Mertz. 17 Mr. Wallach. Yes. I think this says attention CI, also 18 and his name is blocked out. 19 Mr. Angleton. I didn't see that. 20 Mr. Wallach. I am saying it did or did not get to you. 21 You say it didn't, and that is a matter of record. But the 22 memorandum which Mr. Mertz sent in reply under Mr. Hunt's 23 signature really in Paragraph 5 states, "It is most important 24 that all Federal law enforcement and U.S. intelligence agencies 25

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vigorously deny any association, direct or indirect, with any such activity as charged." And his stated reason is that since no good purpose can be served by an official admission of the violation, and existing Federal statutes preclude the concoction of any legal excuse for such violation, it must be recognized that no cover story is available to any government agency.

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And then it goes on to say, "In the event of a compromise, this position should be made known immediately to the Postmaster General. He is fully knowledgeable of the project."

And I would like to stop there and ask you if you have any knowledge that the then Postmaster General, I think it was Mr. Day, was fully knowledgeable of the project.

Mr. Angleton. Well, do you have a paper that deals with any meetings with Day before this?

Mr. Wallach. Well, I have a paper that Mr. Helms wrote that I think you have.

Mr. Angleton. That was before this? Mr. Wallach. Λ 1961 paper, sir, in which it says, "withheld no relevant details."

Very truthfully, Mr. Helms does not recall whether or not he told Mr. Day what -- well, in essence he doesn't recall what was held -- what no relevant detail meant. He doesn't recall what he told him, and there is a later CCI project note in '74, or '73, I am sorry, which again says Mr. Helms really leaves some doubt as to what he meant.

**TOP SECRET** I am just wondering if you had any knowledge. 1 Obviously Mr. Mertz did, but I was wondering if you did, 2 whether the Postmaster General was fully knowledgeable of the 3 project. 4 Mr. Angleton. No, that would be spculation, but I would 5 have thought that Mr. Helms would have told him everything, for 6 the simple reason that he knew him quite well outside government. 7 Mr. Wallach. Mr. Day? 8 Mr. Angleton. Yes. I mean, I met him at Helms' house. lle 9 seemed to be a friend of the family. 10 Mr. Wallach. Was there a reason why certain Postmasters 11 General would have been told and certain would not have been 12 told? I think there were three or four between Mr. Day and 13 Mr. Blount? 14 Mr. Angleton. I don't know the reasoning one way or 15 another, but I think that behind all of it was that the 16 Postmaster General in those days was also dat the very top in 17 terms of the party in power. 18 Mr. Wallach. You mean a Cabinet official? 19 Mr. Angleton. Yeah. It was the standard sinecure for 20 the campaign head of the party. 21 Mr. Wallach. So was Mr. O'Brien after that, Mr. Gronouski? 22 Mr. Angleton. I am saying in Day's case that I would have 23 thought that everything was told to him about the project. I 24 can't see any reason going over and seeing him unless he was 25

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**TOP SECRET** given very full disclosure, but that again is my own speculation, ٦ plus, fortified by the line in Dick's memorandum -- would you 2 mind recalling it to me? 3 Mr. Wallach. "Withheld no relevant details." 4 Mr. Angleton. That's right. 5 Mr. Wallach. Just getting into the fact of a cover story 6 here, in essence it seems that Mr. Mertz's replying to the 7 memorandum that was sent to him saying, the hell, we can't 8 have a cover story here, we've just got to deny, you know, any 9 participation in it. 10 Nr. Angleton. I agree with his conclusions. 11 Mr. Wallach. All right. I guess I don't see any more point 12 to go into that. 13 Mr. Angleton. It is possible that Hunt might have discussed 14 it with me, and this is one month after that defection, and that 15 ħ. was a full time, seven day a week business. 16 I also note here in passing that the memorandum of. 17 20 December '62 from Sheffield Edwards to Deputy Director, 18 Support, subject: Inspection of Office of Security by 19 2000 Inspector General -- it goes on and refers to Recommendation 20 с о Shinaton 41A of Inspector General's report and subsequent evaluation, and 21 to the subsequent evaluation of HTLINGUAL. "In connection with 22 the above-mentioned evaluation, this is to advise you that the 23 project has been thoroughly reviewed by all interested Agency 24 components. This review has resulted in the conclusion that the 25

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project is of value to the Agency's overall mission in the collection of intelligence, and as such, it should be continued. Mr. Wallach. But that really doesn't go -- still doesn't go to what I was going to before, that you were informed after interviewing certain people that there were certain problems. 5 I realize you may have been preoccupied with certain other 6 things. 7

Mr. Angleton. I mean I am simply stating that there must have been some meetings that were held which I don't see any 9 record of between the Office of Security and our project 10 people. 11

Mr. Wallach. Well, I take it that after the first couple 12 of months, that this project really held no value per se for the 13 Office of Security. It was primarily of value to the CI Staff. 14 Mr. Angleton. Quite the contrary, I think that it was 15 of value to the Office of Security. I think that they built 16 up their own files and records on the whole thing. They had 17 a very first rate research and analysis group that had a lot 18 to do with their responsibilities on employment and distribution 19 of employees. So there was a great deal turned up in the 20 project that related to organizations and things of this sort. 21 Mr. Wallach. Along those lines, are you aware that any 22 time of one of the categories of mail that was requested to 23 be intercepted and opened was mailed to or from elected or 24 appointed U.S. officials?

TOP SECRET Mr. Angleton. Well, I know there is a memorandum, and it 1 may be well after the event that forbids it. 2 Mr. Wallach. Are you talking about the December 1971 3 memorandum? 4 Mr. Angleton. I don't know which one. 5 Mr. Wallach. Well, let me get that out, Mr. Angleton, 6 because I think a clear reading of that will make it obvious 7 that it is not forbidden. The only thing that happens as a 8 result of that memorandum is that separate procedures are set 9 up, and I think I have a copy here for you. If it is not the 10 one we are referring to, we can look at the other one, and I 11 would like to mark the 22nd December 1971 memorandum as 12 Exhibit 8, and the subject is Handling of Items to or from 13 Elected or Appointed U.S. Officials. 14 (The document referred to was 15 marked Angleton Exhibit No. 8 - 16 for identification.) 17 (Angleton Exhibit No. 8 will 18 be found in the files of the 19 Committee.) 20 21 22 23 24

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	\$	1	Mr. Wallach. I would ask you if this is the item you were
	Phone (Area 202)	2	referring to.
	Ares	3	(Pause)
	ε δ.	4	Mr. Angleton. Well, first, I don't know what prompted this,
		5	I mean, what prompted their
		6	Mr. Wallach. Well, let me see if I can refresh your
		7	recollection, but first let me ask if this is a document that
ŝ		8	you were referring to before?
с.		9	Mr. Angleton. It is the same document.
<b>c</b> (		10	Mr. Wallach. Would you agree with me that it does not
<b></b>		11	preclude the intercepting or opening of mail to or from elected-
5	L C	12	or appointed U. S. officials?
	₹ € 0	13	Mr. Angleton. Yes. In Paragraph 1(b)
<b>C</b> :	14 × W	14	Mr. Wallach. Do you recall ever discussing this matter?
с У		15	Mr. Angleton. It is possible, but it doesn't stick out.
~		16	Mr. Wallach. Do you recall anything ever called special
		17	category items or special file that's referred to in Paragraph
		18	F, that would be set up?
03	500	19	Mr. Angleton. Not necessarily, but I mean, it wouldn't
	D.C. 20(	20	surprise me.
First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003	ngton, t	21	Mr. Wallach. One doesn't exist.
	iusew .	22	Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean, normally in all projects,
	eet. S.F	23	as they developed they would always be something that is pushed
D	115 Str.	24	aside that is very sensitive.
	1011	25	Mr. Wallach. Mr. Rocca was at this time your Deputy, was
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Mr. Angleton. Yes.

Mr. Wallach. Do you recall at any time Mr. Rocca calling to your attention that a large number of communications to Senators Church and Kennedy had been picked up and that this might not be a great idea to disseminate it throughout the Agency or to the Bureau; and that there may be a need for a different procedure once the material reached headquarters?

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Does that ring a bell at all?

Mr. Angleton. Who were the two?

Mr. Wallach. Senators Kennedy and Church, and also a Congressman, I can't remember his name now. The last name 12 begins with a "G" I believe. And apparently 13 who was the Chief of the project at this time, passed these on 14 to Mr. Rocca because he thought they were interesting, or for 15 whatever reason, and Mr. Rocca --

Mr. Angleton. Was that something he wrote on a pink cover sheet and holographed, to your knowledge? 18

Mr. Wallach. I don't know, sir, very truthfully, sir. It outlines the same question you raised, what precipitated this memorandum, it took a month and a half of investigating to find out that there was a special files category that did exist ' and that there were previous memoranda that for one reason or another the Agency had not given to us, although they were requested, and we made a priority request again yesterday

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Mr. Angleton. Well, the special category doesn't surprise me because certain letters such as that Hammer business, and Philby and a few other things, would go into -- I mean, would be segregated, because there would be a lot of collateral probably attached to it.

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Mr. Wallach. I'm not disagreeing with you, but it is my understanding that all of the special category items included was mail to or from appointed or elected U.S. officials, or at least a special category or file, so there may have been other special files, and I think we've had testimony that insofar as this project was concerned, except for the occasional hot item that might be sent directly to someone higher, that this 13 was the only special procedure set up, and it was precipitated 14 as a result of correspondence coming in that was described 15

I think if you remember, that was back at the time of Vietnam, and we mentioned Congress was acting on that, and I believe Senator Church was just taking a tour and was receiving correspondence.

I don't want to say that I know exactly what's in that file, because I don't.

Mr. Angleton. No, well, I mean, I am unaware that although I want to see here -- well, I don't know. Mr. Wallach. I have been told that there was an August 3),

	<sup>46</sup> <b>TOP SECRET</b>
× <sup>8</sup> 1	'71 memorandum which precipitated this, and just for your
2 R	information you might want to ask to see that.
1 2 3 3 4	Mr. Angleton. August?
Leone C	Mr. Wallach. August 30, 1971 memorandum. We do not have
5	a copy of it, otherwise I would show it to you.
6	As Exhibit 9 for identification I would like to ask a one
7	page letter dated January 13, 1971 I'm sorry, it is a two
8	page letter, but really, before I do that, I would like to ask
9 9	Mr. Angleton to focus his attention on a time that has become
<b>c</b> : 10	more clear in more recent months, when Mr. Cotter became Chief
11	of the Inspection Service.
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Mr. Wallach. Really what I'm going to be getting into now is, although it took four years, the termination of the project and the events that happened during that time, and if we could focus our attention on that.

What is the first time that you recall, Mr. Angleton, that 5 you recall there was any consideration being given to really 6 terminating the project? 7

Mr. Angleton. It came up more than once, and it usually came up as a result of somebody who was a contact of Security going to Security and telling them that they had better have new principals or they had a change of some sort, they wanted reassurance.

Mr. Wallach. What do you mean by new principals? Mr. Angleton. A new Postmaster General, basically that. mean there would be a change of people at the top. Mr. Wallach. Well, you say it happened more than once. You mean it happened more than once in the life of the project? You're talking about the period -- we're talking

about --Mr. Angleton. I'm talking about through the life of the 20 project, I mean, if there were any changes in the Post Office or something, there would be concern expressed that those 22 people should be briefed. 23

Mr. Wallach. Was there concern, if you know, that the Postmaster should be briefed that the CIA had a mail cover,

mail opening going on so the Postmaster didn't stumble upon it 1 and make an inquiry or just to tell him that there was a mail 2 opening going on? I think there is a difference, in my mind, 3 and I don't think we have any hard evidence that any Postmaster 4 General up to Mr. Blount was ever told, and I can see reasons 5 for both types of concerns, but the first one would almost make 6 more sense to me, because the Postal Inspectors in New York knew 7 that mail was being provided. Some of the clerks knew the 8 mail was being provided. In fact, one worked in the operation. 9 But there is doubt that any of them knew that mail was 10 actually being opened; such is their testimony. It would almost 11 seem to make more sense to brief the Postmaster General, yes, 12 we have this intercept, and it's not in accordance with the 13 usual procedures, but we are just covering the mail and, you know, 14 we just wanted to let you know about that. 15

And I really, when I ask if you know either way of whether 16 that was the conern, or the conern was to tell them that we 17 were opening mail. 18

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Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean, I cannot remember specifically. 19 I never attended any meeting with the Postmasters, and the 20 memorandum, though, well it came back, were fairly general. 21 There wasn't any detailed memorandum of the conversation, as 22 I recall it, but there's no question, though, through the life 23 of the project, the question of continuing it or not came up 24 from time to time.

TOP SECRET Mr. Wallach. Aside from the question of continuing it, 1 was there any difference of degree in that question after, Mr. 2 2023 Cotter came on board as the Chief Postal Inspector, say from 3 '69 on? 4 Mr. Angleton. When did he come on board? 5 Mr. Wallach. April, 1969. 6 Mr. Angleton. I don't know, really. I mean, he obviously 7 was much more sophisticated, he'd been in Security, and I think in 8 20 many ways he was probably more conscious of the flap. 9 Mr. Wallach. On the other hand, because he was in Security 10 and because he had been assigned in the mid-'50s to the 11 Manhattan field office, he did know that mail was being 12 opened. 13 I don't know if you are aware of that or not. 14 Mr. Angleton. Well, I knew that he at some stage knew 15 5 it. 16 Mr. Wallach. In any event, he did know that mail was 17 being opened. I don't know if he knew the dimentions of the 18 project because it had grown since '55 or whatever, approximately 19 20003 '56, when he was there, but in any event, he did know, he was 20 с О back at Headquarters for a time, and then before he went over, 21 word bubled up again, the project was continuing. So, I Ň 22 think you really don't know anything about what his concern 23 was, or you never really discussed that? 24 Mr. Angleton. I don't think -- my understanding is his 25

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concern was the extent to which he would be compromised, I mean, his job would be compromised in the Post Office, and he always wanted some kind of laying on of hands, that is, the Director seeing the Postmaster General and making sure that there was some kind of touching of base there. That is my general impression of Cotter's concern.

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Mr. Wallach. Is that essentially -- I'm not trying to put words in your mouth -- that he was trying to protect himself, to make sure that his boss knew?

Mr. Angleton. Yes, I think so. I mean, that is my impression. I mean, I read the papers about his appearances and so on, and I don't bear him any ill will for his statements. I mean, I think all throughout he was torn about this project. He was very ill at ease with it, and I think he -- that his position was very difficult.

Mr. Wallach. I would like to get from you, as best you can, if you remember the sequence until the termination, and we have a couple of documents here. I'm sure that these are documents that you have seen and you do have, but in any event, I will show them to you, but I would like to get at your memory now as to what happened in general terms.

Mr. Angleton. On the termination? Mr. Wallach. The events leading to the termination. Mr. Angleton. Well, what I recall simply is again a meeting had occurred, I think, while Helms was still Director,

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regarding the question of Cotter, and it was decided to still
go ahead with the project. I can't remember whether there were
any recommendations about seeing anybody at this moment.
Subsequently, when Dr. Schlesinger came aboard, Cotter
did raise a very strong issue with the Office of Security, and
he coupled it with sort of an ultimatum that if certain steps
were not taken, that he would abandon the operation, and I was

8 not present, and the ultimatum was presented to Dr. Schlesinger,
9 and I assume it was Osborn who signed, or somebody. So the
10 issue was drawn.

11 There was to have been a meeting on this in which there would 12 be arguments presented to Dr. Schlesinger. Then something 13 happened there. It was the same day, I think, that Colby was 14 made the Deputy Director for Operations, to succeed Karamessines. 15 So the meeting did not take place which had been scheduled, 16 and Colby wrote an opinion about doing away with the operation.

In my argument, I induced him to go to a meeting that I had scheduled on another subject with the Director and so I pre-empted some of the time in Colby's presence to put up another argument to the Director to the effect that in my opinion the President had a vested interest in this.

Mr. Wallach. You say the President?

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Mr. Angleton. Yes. And I say the decision -- I mean, I questioned that the Director of Central Intelligence could do away with the project, without: it being a decision of the Executive.

Mr. Wallach. Was the President aware of the project? Mr. Angleton. Well, can I come back to your question? I'm just trying to recount what I recall here.

Mr. Wallach. Go ahead.

Mr. Angleton. Because I felt that there was really grounds-15 for very deep examination of the value of it, its value to the 16 Bureau and ourselves, and he, in effect told me and he told 17 Colby also that he would be very pleased, or words to that 18 effect, to consult the President, and he overruled his 19 previous ruling with Colby about closing it down and instructed 20 Colby to get word through to Cotter that if he would hold off 21 on his ultimatum that he would consult with higher authority, 22 and this word was passed through Colby to Security who, in turn, 23 talked to Cotter and he refused to do it and it was closed down 24 that evening. 25

Mr. Wallach. I take it one of the things and what do you say, was it Mr. Colby who was in favor of closing it down? Mr. Angleton. Yes.

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Mr. Wallach. Is that because of his general non-predisposi tion to counterintelligence, or were there other reasons, specifically, with this project?

Mr. Angleton. Well, I think that -- I mean, I don't want 7 to try to put thoughts into how his mind was, but I think that 8 the whole Watergate business, the way it was handled, by taking all of the documents and simply throwing them all over the 10 White House and everything, out of the Agency, which has gone 11 on ever since, that this was part and parcel of his own, I mean, 12 what he had decided he was going to do. In other words, there 13 would be a hurried-up meeting which Dick Ober and myself would be 14 called over there and without any explanation be requested to furnish 15 all kinds of documents. There is to my knowledge, I don't think 16 mine or Ober!s were even logged in or logged out. It was one of 17 these crash things where somebody was standing in the same room 18 waiting until all those xeroxes were made and then rushing them 19 over to the White House. So that was the general atmosphere of 20 the period. 21

Mr. Wallach. Wall, I'd like to focus more particularly on the question of have you had any discussions with Mr. Colby and did he have any specific reason why he wanted to close the project down? Did he ever discuss it that he thought it wasn't

		<sup>3</sup> TOP SECRET <sup>82</sup>
8	1	legal?
	2	Mr. Angleton. Oh, yes, very definitely.
(Area 202)	.3	Mr. Wallach. Therefore he was worried about sort of the
Phone (	. 4	flap potential, so to speak?
	5	Mr. Anglaton. Oh, yes.
	6	Mr. Wallach. And I take it that his estimate of the value
	7	of the project was quite different than yours?
	8	Mr. Angleton. He never mentioned that to me. I saw a
C	9	comment to theseffect where it stated that Dr. Schlesinger did
сt С	10	not feel that the product was worth the risk. He never made
•	11	that statement to me, in fact, he was guite prepared to take it
8010- 1	12	up to the President, if Cotter had held off.
	13	Mr. Wallach. What was Mr. Schlesinger's initial, then,
C &	14	reason for sending out the memorandum cutting off the project
<b>C</b> :	15	or instructing Mr. Colby to do so?
<	16	Mr. Angleton. I don't know if I've seen that memorandum.
~	17	Was there a memorandum of that sort? I didn't think so.
	18	Mr. Wallach. It's a good time to mark this and we can take
-	19	a look at it, as Exhibit 10. It's a one-page document dated
C. 2000	20	28 February '73 which is actually an official routing slip.
jton, D	21	10A, a one-page memorandum dated February 15, 1973, signed by
wiyseM	22	Mr. Colby.
Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003	23	10B, a one-page document dated February 14, 1973.
	24	Mr. Angleton. What was the date on Mr. Colby's?
410 Fu	25	Mr. Wallach. February 15th, and this is February 14th. I'll
		TOP SECRET
	· .	

	TOP SECRET
1	give you these in just a moment.
2	It's entitled "Talking Paper, subject, Mail Intercept
3	Program".
4	And as Exhibit 10C, a thirteen-page excerpt from documents
5	entitled "The Project." It is referred to in the memorandum
6	of February 13, 1973.
7	(The documents referred
8	to were marked Angleton
9	Exhibits 10, 10A, 10B
.10	and 10C respectively for
11	identification.)
12	(The documents will be
13	found in the files of
14	the Committee.)
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TOP SECRET
Mr. Angleton. This buck sheet from Colby is dated 20
February, and I assume that is what is attached to all of this.
Mr. Wallach. To be very honest with you, Mr. Angleton,
I am not positive that it was attached. This is the way we
got it, and I'm not sure that it totally makes sense in this
fashion.
Do you have copies of these memoranda in your files?
Mr. Angleton. I have.
The facts are that the Bureau informally was canvassed by
me. From the informal reaction, it was quite obvious that
all of these proposals for passing the project over to the FBI
were not realistic.
Mr. Wallach. Who did you talk to there?
Mr. Angleton. To one of the senior officers.
Mr. Wallach. You won't mention his name?
Mr. Angleton. I don't think it is necessary, because he
didn't take it up to higher authority, but he was senior enough
to know the Bureau's feelings about matters of this sort.
Mr. Wallach. What did he tell you the Bureau's feelings
Ware?
Mr. Angleton. He simply stated, forget it. They didn't
2 have the personnel to handle this type of thing, and so on.
But I understood this from so many other things of the Bureau
4 over the years, I mean, Mr. Hoover was opposed to bringing
aboard as Bureau officers people who ware not active. He didn't
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want a lot of translators and so on and so on.
Mr. Wallach. This was after Mr. Hoover, was it not?
Mr. Angleton. Yes. This was after, but I think the
judgments he had on these things were I mean, everyone agreed
to them and there was no problem for me to understand the
Bureau's position.
Mr. Wallach. But going back and this may be a difficult
question to ask you, because you say you do not have any
specific knowledge but I can tell you that the Bureau did
run numerous mail intercept opening projects at different
points in time.
Mr. Angleton. But they were connected directly to some-
thing operational. I mean, they had a specific reason for
sach thing that they did.
Mr. Wallach. What was your understanding of those
projects?
Mr. Angleton. What projects?
Mr. Wallach. Of the Bureau's?
Mr. Angleton. My understanding only is that it was based
spacifically on a piece of information regarding some operational
matter of the opposition.
In other words, it wasn't a project of this sort.
Mr. Wallach. Are you talking about something to the
effect of an indicator?
Mr. Angleton. Pardon?
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	009	l	Mr. Wallach. Something like an indicator?	
y	Phone (Area 202) <b>544-6000</b>	2	Mr. Angleton. What I mean	
	(Area 2	3	Mr. Wallach. Are you saying you just went after one	
	E ofd	4	person?	
		5	Mr. Angleton. Well, more or less. Either that or	
		6	looking for a category of communication.	
		7	Mr. Wallach. What you're saying is although it may	
منه		8	have had this same format, it was much narrower in the items	
c:		9	that they picked up.	
<b>C</b> :		10	Mr. Angleton. And I assumed that it was very temporary	
		11	for the life of that particular internal security matter.	
<b>6</b> .	۲ د	12	Mr. Wallach. You're saying then that you would have no	
Q	đ đ	13	knowledge of a project that lasted 18 years?	
c. C	ž.	14	Mr. Angleton. No.	
<u>ح</u>		15	Mr. Wallach. You're saying of a project, the matter	
2	•	16	would run in our particular case for x-number of months?	
		17	Mr. Angleton. That's right, where they identified the	
		18	same agent.	
	600	19	Mr. Wallach. But you don't know of any projects that	
	D.C. 200	20	they used just to try to identify agents?	
	Washington, D.C. 20003	21	Mr. Angleton. Nell, I know of that type of thing but	
	iusew .	, 22	I thought that that was of relatively short duration. Those illegals	
_	eel, S.E	23	were in the questions of legals. I mean where they were trying	
0	'ust Str	24	to get patterns of communication.	
	4101	25	Mr. Wallach. Well, when you say short duration, are	:
			TOP SECRET	

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ns on stands			
gab	2	TOP SECRET	
	1	you talking about months or years?	
	2	Mr. Angleton. Well, when you stellime 18 years, I.	
20	3	never dreamed the Bureau would have that kind of operation.	
Phone	4	Mr. Wallach. Have you ever heard of the term z coverage?	
	5	Mr. Angleton. What?	
	6	Mr. Wallach. Z coverage.	
	7	Mr. Angleton. I've heard of it, but I didn't know it	
	8	was specifically mail.	
10	9	Mr. Wallach. It may have been other things, too.	
с: с:	10	In other words it was not a realistic possibility to	
844-a	. 11	assume the Bureau would take this over?	
~.	. 12	You mean they you went through the formalities.of	
Ø	13	asking?	
с. Г.	14	Mr. Angleton. No, I mean when I called up and asked	1.20
: C	15	this fellow a curbstone opinion as to whether the FBI would	
5	16	be prepared to take on the Hunter and he just told me to	
	17	forget it. Simply they wouldn't be able to man it or to	
, .	18	handle it.	
	. 19	Mr. Wallach. Was there any discussion?	
	20	Mr. Angleton. Of course there would be another policy	
	20 21	reason for that. I don't think the Bureau would get into	
	22	an operation of this sort where they would be passing to us $\mathcal{J}$	
	s 22 23	the raw materials. I mean that is again Bureau policy.	
	20 5 5 5 24	In other words, we had a different customer's list than	
	24 7 7 7 8 25	he would have should they take this project on.	
	- 20	TOP SECRET	
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8	1	
	2	Mr. Wallach. Do you recall who was the Deputy Chief
VIBA 202)	~ 3	of CI staff on January 27th, 1961 or 1961 who that would have
thone (		been?
٩	4	Mr. Angleton. That would have been Jim Hunt.
	5	Mr. Wallach. In the memorandum for the Chief of Operation
	6	EDP that date Mr. Hunt says: "On January 5, 1961, Don
	7	Moore, Deputy to Al Bellmont, very condifidentially
ç	8	advised that they by that "they" he means the Bureau
¢:	9	"had set up a similar but more limited coverage to examine
C.	10	mail to certain cities in Europe. Their examination is solely
900)-14	11	to look for suspicious letters that might be mailed by
	12	illegal Soviet agents. This coverage has positively located on
	13	GRU illegal channel."
C ¥	14	(Discussion off the record.)
<	15	Mr. Angleton. I just wanted to grasp here, I just saw
~	16	in one of the memorandums that you referred to
	17	Mr. Wallach. Is that the 27th January, '61 memorandum?
	18	Mr. Angleton. No, this is again going back to the
03	19	batch of memos
D.C. 2000	20	Mr. Mallach. Exhibit 10.
	21	Mr. Angleton. Colby and Schlesinger.
Washington.	22	Mr. Wallach. Yes, sir.
er, S.E.,	23	Mr. Angloton. There is our presentation for the
) w Sw	24	project.
410 Fi	25	Mr. Wallach. Is that essentially that paper that you
		TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET gave to the Director? 1 Mr. Angleton. Well, I don't know exactly what stimulated 2 it, except that it was a paper, I think, prepared to show the 3 concern of the meeting that we were going to have to take 4 place. There was supposed to be a meeting with Mr. Austin, 5 myself, and probably my deputy and Karamessines and so on. 6 And that was cancelled. 7 But in any event, what I was referring to was in going 8 through the chronology here on page 3, there is a statement 9 made on page 3, paragraph C: 10 "Occasional exploratory openings conducted at 11 secure CIA installation nearby proved so rewarding that continu-12 ation on a highly selective basis was deemed necessary 13 in the national security interest." 14 15 Now that sequentially in terms of what they're discussing 16 would have been prior to our taking on the project. 17 Mr. Wallach. But again, this was a document that was 18 prepared in early '73 or late '72, but probably would have 19 looked back at other documents to be prepared? 20 Mr. Angleton. It would have been a synthesis of the 21 holdings on the project probably prepared by Scotty Miler in 22 February, '73. 23 And since it is a chronology, it is a chronology which 24 talks about the exploratory openings before it came to counter-25

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ash S TOP SECRET intelligence. This is a feeling I've always had but --1 Mr. Wallach. Do you remember Mr. Schlesinger discussing 2 with you the cost of the operation in terms of actual funds? 3 Mr. Angleton. No. We only talked to the question of 4 content and the relation to the Bureau. And this was a very 5 6 brief discussion. Mr. Wallach. Well, who was getting that performance to 7 Angleton and reading that January 27, 1961 memorandum, which 8 talks about Don Moore offering to put CIA names on an FBI 9 watch list? I was wondering, this sort of cuts against what 10 you said about the Bureau not conducting any operations like 11 12 this. Mr. Angleton. I know that operation you are discussing. 13 That again was one where it was designed for a very specific 14 purpose and one purpose alone, and that was to get the pattern 15 of communications to certain neutral country places before 16 it went on to Moscow with illegals. 17 Mr. Wallach. Do you know when those projects that you 18 are talking about ended? Did they end? 19 Mr. Angleton. Well, I say none of this do I know 20 officially. 21 Mr. Wallach. Well, I realize it's hearsay and it 22 percolated up, but you, for example, said you can read. 23 intelligence reports and through your experience, as other 24

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people have said, tell us something was received from a

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Mr. Angleton. Well, when I say "mail intercept," I mean --

Mr. Wallach. An opening of a letter?

Mr. Angleton. An opening of a letter. But it could also have been a bag job of some sort.

But in any event, the precision of what followed was something that must have come off of a document.

Mr. Wallach. Well, did you, for example, note that this ended when Mr. Hoover died, for example, that the FBI stopped at least instances of mail openings at that time, or did you notice any stoppage at all?

Mr. Angleton. Nope.

Mr. Wallach. You're saying that insofar as you know, the same mail -- in other words, it continued in the same pattern that it had always been.

Mr. Angleton. Well, you see, I am not cognizant of any long-term mail opening by the Bureau. But let's take a simple case. If they were surveilling a man and he put a letter in a mailbox down at the Post Office, they might have somebody down behind the counter who "picked up the letter."

Mr. Wallach. What I am asking is, really, these types of incidents you are describing, did you know this, and I realize this is only from what you gleaned, sir, that it stopped, for example, when Mr. Hoover died?



ash 7 TOP SECRET Mr. Angleton. No. 1 Mr. Wallach. In other words, you noticed no termination 2 of this type of thing? 3 Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean I do not remember so many 4 specific things after that anyway. By that time, I mean --5 Mr. Wallach. Do you remember Mr. Brannigan, for example, 6 in 1971, sending you some of Jane Fonda's correspondence? 7 Mr. Angleton. That would normally go to the liaison 8 office, but I don't remember it as such. I know the flap 9 over Jane Fonda. I mean we were getting stuff from the Bureau 10 reguarly. It came every day. 11 Mr. Wallach. Is there a law which is kept as to which 12 documents the Bureau supplied? 13 Mr. Angleton. It used to be. 14 Mr. Wallach. When was that stopped? 15 Mr. Angleton. I don't know if it was stopped, but in 16 '73 I lost the liaison office. 17 But prior to that we had a detailed log with everything 18 from the Bureau plus the gist of all meetings and discussions 19 20003 with people in branches and so on. 20 ů Ö Mr. Wallach. Would that have been in the liaison office? 21 Mr. Angleton. Yes. 22 Mr. Wallach. The log actually physically kept there? 23 Mr. Angleton. That's right. 24 Mr. Wallach. If, for example, the Bureau had, assume, 25 TOP SECRET

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			TOP SECRET	
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<b>W</b>	544.6	2	picked up a piece of Joe X's mail, let's say in '68, and for	
	ree 202		any reason on that it wanted to pass this information on	
v <b>e</b>	hone (A	3	to the CIA, they would not have sent a copy of the letter.	
5	6,	4	They would have put it into	
		5	Mr. Angleton. A report.	
•.		6	Mr. Wallach. Into a report.	
		7	Mr. Angleton. It would be a subject of file with the	
<b>8</b>	••	8	information.	
۲۲. ۲		9	Mr. Wallach. Do you know if there was a special	
-	•.	10	liaison set up between Mr. Ober and the Bureau?	
	•	11	Mr. Angleton. I think so.	
Ø	PAUL.	12	Mr. Wallach. Was there one particular person who was	
С: С:	45 C1 C2	13	in contact?	
c	3	14	Mr. Angleton. I imagine Ober himself.	
<ul> <li></li> </ul>		15	Mr. Wallach. At the Bureau, I'm sorry.	
, <b>r</b>	•	16	Mr. Angleton. No, I mean oh, he may have had, in	
ja teo		17	addition to the regular liaison man that came every day, he	
		18	probably had liaison with somebody who was a specialist who	
	0003	19	was in the field. He was a specialist and that probably in	
	D.C. 20003	20	one stage meant George Moore.	
	Washington.	21	Mr. Wallach. If we could for a second turn to Exhibit	
	E., Wast	22	10, which is his handwritten official rating slip. I believe	
	reet, S.I	23	that is your handwriting, is it not?	
	First St	24	Mr. Angleton. That is correct.	
	014	25	Mr. Wallach. I have a problem reading it and I wonder	
			TOP SECRET	

TOP SECRET 1 if you could read it into the record for us. 2 Mr. Angleton. I said, "As Colby knows, and it's not 3 reflected herein, and I went with him to the DCI and pointed 4 out the inadequacy of the FBI , etcetera , etcetera , rl handling, 5 would be known to my people, and DCI modified position to last ••••• 6 clause of para two. Ourismand said he was 7 under instruction from Colby atto the reffections that no pressure should be put on Cotter. Also pointed out 8 to DCI that personnel or CIA and doubted if they would wish 9 10 to be detailed.

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Mr. Wallach. Was there a discussion of detailing interceptors?

Hr. Angleton. When Colby and myself -- I mean you have to keep in mind a little odd coincidence.

15 Colby came down to my office to deliver me the final
16 closing down of the project. I had a meeting scheduled for
17 3:00 to see the Director on an entirely different matter.
18 Colby actually came down at that time to see Mr. Karamessines
19 and Cord Meyer to the effect that he had been appointed
20 Deputy Director of Plans.

So I told him that I had a meeting at 3:00, that I was going to contest his memorandum closing down the operation with Mr. Schlesinger, and I asked him if he would come along with me at that time because there was a real time factor involved, which he did.



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And so I went up and explained to the Director that I wanted to protest the decision. And that is when I put up the proposal and I went through the question of the FBI and whatnot, and then the suggestion was put up by Mr. Colby that we could detail all of our personnel over there to the FBI, which was totally in my view unrealistic because the people's careers are in our business. And second, I mean the FBI would never accept such a proposal. It was totally unrealistic. And that was when I put up the proposition that prior to the final death of the project, that in my view it should be raised at the highest executive level as to whether it should be terminated or not, since, if it was terminated, it would not be re-opened again. At least give the President that option.

So Dr. Schlesinger turned to Mr. Colby and stated that he would like him -- that he had reconsidered, that he would like him to go back to Cotter with the statement of suspending that for a few days in order that he could take it up "at the highest level." But he had told both of us that he was prepared to discuss it with the President and that's the end of it.

Mr. Wallach. I think you've given me a very good accounting of that. I would just like to have a couple more questions on two meetings -- I'm sure you've seen these two memoranda and I would like to mark them as Exhibit 11,

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		1 TOP SECRET	
	1	which is a 19 May '71 memorandum on the DCI meeting concerning	
202) 54	2	HTLINGUAL.	
i (Area	3	You can take a look at that to make sure you've seen it.	
<u> </u>	4	(The document referred to was	
	5	marked Angleton Exhibit No. 11	
10 1	6	for identification.)	
	7	(Angleton Exhibit No. 11 may be	
6	8	found in the files of the	
to	9	Committee.)	
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	1	Mr. Wallach. And Exhibit 12 is a 3 June 1971 memorandum
	2	for the record, Subject: Meeting in DCI's office concerning
	3	HTLINGUAL.
	4	(The document referred to was
	5	marked Angleton Exhibit No. 12
	6	for identification.)
	7	(Angleton Exhibit No. 12 will be found in the files of the
	8	Committee.)
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	<b>6000</b>	1	/ (Pause)
		2	Mr. Angleton. I have seen this one.
		3	All right, I read that.
		4	Mr. Wallach. Calling your attention, Mr. Angleton, to the
		5	May 19, 1971 memorandum, I just have a couple of questions.
		6	You were present at that meeting, were you not?
		7	Mr. Angleton. That's right.
		8	Mr. Wallach. And calling your attention to Paragraph 5,
		9	which discusses the theft of FBI documents from Media,
		10	Pennsylvania, do you have any recollection of discussing that
		11	at all, except what is written down here?
~~·		12	It doesn't even say that you discussed it, but do you
С.		13	recall that coming up?
<u>ک ۵ ت</u> ک		14	Mr. Angleton. No, I really don't recall it. It would not
		15	have surprised me, but I don't think that Karamessines got it
	410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 2000J	16	very straight there. I mean, I think he misunderstood something.
		17	Mr. Wallach. Why do you say Karamessines?
		18	Mr. Angleton. He was the DDP.
		.19	Mr. Wallach. All right.
		20	He states he had been informed.
		21	Mr. Angleton. That's it.
		22	Mr. Wallach. In the event he may have been informed of
		23	something that is incorrect?
		24	Mr. Angleton. There was never to my knowledge the damage
		25	report submitted to the Agency by the FBI as to what materials
			TOP SECRET

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of ours were compromised in that Media, Pennsylvania breakin. 1 Mr. Wallach. Calling your attention to paragraph 9, sir, 2 the paragraph numbered 9 on the third page, it states, on the 3 question of continuance, the DDP stated that he is gravely 4 concerned for any flap would cause CIA the worst possible 5 publicity and embarrassment. He opined that the operation should 6 be done by the FBI because they could better withstand such 7 publicity, inasmuch as it is a type of domestic surveillance. 8

The DS stated that he thought the operation served mainly an FBI requirement. The CCI countered that the Bureau would 10 not take over the operation now and could not serve essential 11 CIA requirements as we have served theirs; that, moreover, CI 12 staff sees the operation as foreign surveillance. 13

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There are a couple of things I would like to discuss 14 really, you know, first. In there we have the Director of 15 Security stating that the operation serves mainly an FBI 16 requirement, and I think throughout my discussions in depositions 17 of security people, they almost uniformly stated that all they 18 did was provide the documents, and it really didn't serve any 19 of their purposes, you know, including past Directors of 20 Security. 21

I'm just wondering if their feeling seems to differ as 22 to what you've expressed before as to the benefits that resulted 23 from this. They feel they were minimal at best. 24 Mr. Angleton. I would have to -- maybe as of the time 25

TOP SECRET 100 spelled out here, that that was their feeling. 1 Mr. Wallach. Do you recall any discussions with Mr. Osborn 2 about this, with Mr. King about this? 3 Mr. Angleton. Well, they were present at the meeting. I 4 mean, Mr. Osborn was. 5 Mr. Wallach. It seems that Mr. Karamessines was also 6 saying here that this was domestic surveillance, and one of 7 your responses was that this was foreign surveillance. 8 Could you kind of elaborate on that? Is there really a 9 distinction? 10 Mr. Angleton. I am not sure, I think that we're both 11 saying the same things in a way. The -- I think that the basic 12 thrust of Mr. Karamessines feeling was the question, to what 13 extent it had been compromised and whether there would be a 14 flap, and his thought of passing it over to the FBI, in my 1.5 view, it just simply would not fly at all. In other words, 16 they would not accept it. 17 The Agency was much more qualified in terms of the 18 product and the handling of it than anybody else, to our way 19 of thinking, and it was, no question that it served both domestic 20 and foreign interests, about things, Soviets who came here and 21 Soviets who returned there: 22 Mr. Wallach. Was there any discussion of it making any 23 difference as to whether the mail was opened outside the U.S. 24

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as opposed to inside the U.S.?

101 **TOP SECRET** Mr. Angleton. Well, those discussions had taken place 1 at various stages over a long period of time because we obviously 2 had mail opening benefits. Well, maybe we didn't do it but 3 we had people who opened mail abroad, and where we got the 4 product. 5 Mr. Wallach. Was the German operation at Frankfurt, the 6 German authorities in the army of major benefit to the Agency, 7 or are you qualified to answer that really? 8 Mr. Angleton. Well, I think that is my general under-Q standing. 10 Mr. Wallach. What other specific mail intercept and 11 opening operations are you aware of that took place within 12 the United States? 13 Mr. Angleton. Well, I have heard since all of this happened 14 about the one in New Orleans, the one in San Francisco, and the 15 one in Honolulu. 16 Mr. Wallach. But during your time at the Agency up until 17 this became public, you really did not know of anyone besides 18 the New York Operation. 19 2000 Mr. Angleton. Nope. It's possible that one of my men 20 ر د may have known it. 21 Mr. Wallach. I take it, then, that TSD or TS in the 22 San Francisco operation never came to you and said would you 23 like some of the take from this, take a look at some of the 24 Chinese stuff. 25

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TOP SECRET Mr. Angleton. I mean, I don't recall that, although I'say I'm not excluding that they may have gone to Scotty

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Miler or somebody and stated that we have this or that. But I 3 don't think so. 4

Mr. Wallach. In other words, nobody's ever told you that. 5 You're just saying it could have happened. 6

Mr. Angleton. I mean I don't recall it. I mean when I 7 saw the intercept or anything broke open is when I learned, I 8 know specifically, to my own knowledge, about the San Francisco, 9 and then I was told at that time there were three others. 10

Mr. Wallach. Do you know about any individual instances 11 of mail intercepts in the United States that you can recall? 12 I have one memorandum here, and I think we have some others back 13 there that I did not have time to get, which I will show you; 14 the 22 November '67 memorandum, which I again might not have 15 gotten to you. It's to the attention of somebody else whose 16 name is whited out, which refers to Syrian items. 17

Mr. Angleton. No, I never saw this.

Mr. Wallach. You're not aware, I take it, of any coverage 19of Middle Eastern mail in the middle or late sixties, when 20 mail was actually intercapted and opened.

Mr. Angleton. No.

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Mr. Wallach. Have you ever heard of a project called 23 SRINDIAN? 24

Mr. Angleton. No.

			<sup>8</sup> TOP SECRET
	0009-1	1	Mr. Wallach. Are you aware of an operation by which the
	202) 544	2	mail of certain embassies was opened in the United States,
	(Area	3	diplomatic pouches?
. du	Phone	4	Mr. Ang.ston. Well, I know it's going on.
		5	Mr. Wallach. But the CIA wasn't primarily involved in that?
		6	Mr. Angleton. I think they were not done by the Agency.
		- 7	Mr. Wallach. Well, it's hard for me to really recount this
		8	area. It's my understanding that it was.
		9	Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean, I'm not aware of it. I mean,
<b>C</b> .:		10	it doesn't surprise me, mind you, it doesn't surprise me, but
, finite of		11	I'm not aware of it.
<b>6</b>	۲ د	12	Mr. Wallach. Did you know about it prior to 1974?
	< < <	13	Mr. Angleton. Well, we've had, going back to OSS days,
C.	8 4 X	14	we've had operations that were domestic, in the war, all the
ය ඉ		15	way through.
~		16	Hr. Wallach. Well, I'm really asking from '60 on.
		17	Mr. Angleton. I was not aware of the Agency being involved
S.E., Wathington, D.C. 20003		18	but it would not surprise me if some of our people helped the
	F 00	19	Bureau or something of this sort.
	2 	20	Mr. Wallach. Are you aware of Customs being involved in
	notprit	21	that?
	w	22	Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean if they're going to do it,
	1961, S.I.	23	they'd probably have a lot of people involved.
•		24	Mr. Wallach. Well, what is your understanding of the
	0 *	25	project?
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,	9 TOP SECRET
l	Mr. Angleton. I don't know the project. But I mean, I
2	do know that we had some of the best experts in the community
3	as far as locks and picks are concerned.
4	Mr. Wallach. Have you ever heard of a wax and seals course
5	Mr. Angleton. A what?
6	Mr. Wallach. A wax and seals course.
7	Mr. Angleton. I know the course.
8	Mr. Wallach. That's flaps and seals. I'm asking you
9	if you know wax and seals.
10	Mr. Angleton. Well, it's the same. People don't use
11	wax anymore anyway.
12	Mr. Wallach. Well, I think I have one other question
13	in the line of questions.
14	Are you aware of any mail intercept projects where the
15	Bureau cooperated with the Agency or any other agency actually
16	provided mail to the CIA?
17	Mr. Angleton. No.
18	Mr. Wallach. How about where they provided intelligence
19	reports that actually contained mail on a continual basis?
20	Mr. Angleton. Like the what?
21	Mr. Wallach. Instead of providing a copy of the mail, they
22	provided intelligence reports that you were aware contained
23	mail from a study project, like the thing we mentioned before.
24	Mr. Angleton. No.
25	Mr. Wallach. In other words, you're not aware as to whether
	TOP SECRET
	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 21 22 23 24

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		10 TOP SECRET
	1	the CIA receives copies of diplomatic mail?
202) 54	2	Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean I know about some mail abroad,
Phone (Area 202)	3	I mean, I don't know specifically but I know there has been.
nord.	4	Mr. Wallach. I am talking right now about mail coming to
	5	the United States that's actually opened in the United States.
	6	Mr. Angleton. No.
	7	Mr. Wallach. Do you recall the meeting of June 1, 1971,
<u>ارم</u>	8	which was reflected in the June 3rd, '71 memorandum? I mean,
ج	9	without reference to that memorandum, really.
<b>C</b> :	10	Mr. Angleton. This is the one about Mitchell and so on?
бтр . Фётры	11	Mr. Wallach. Do you have an independent recollection of
5 : <b>7</b>	12	that meeting, Mr. Angleton?
	13	Mr. Angleton. I am trying to remember. See, I knew all
C	(14	about the I know everything about the Attorney General on that
0 0	15	point.
٢.,	16	Mr. Wallach. Well, let me ask you a couple of specific
	17	questions.
	18	Do you recall Mr. Helms telling you at that meeting, telling
ξOC	19	you that he told Mr. Mitchell that the CIA was opening mail in
Eust Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 2003	20	New York City?
ngton, [	21	Mr. Angleton. I can't recall it, but my feeling was that
wspu .	22	I told that to Mr. Mitchell.
eet. S.E	23	Mr. Wallach. When do you think you told that to Mr.
	24	Mitchell?
410 F	25	Mr. Angleton. I mean, I didn't tell him, I mean, I showed
		TOP SECRET
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TOP SECRET him exemplars on some cases. 1 Mr. Wallach. When was that? 2 Mr. Angleton. I cannot give you a date. 3 Mr. Wallach. Was it in connection with the Special Report 4 involved on the so-called Houston Plan? 5 Mr. Angleton. It might well have been. 6 Mr. Wallach. In any event, you do have a definite 7 recollection of showing Mr. Mitchell selections? 8 Mr. Angleton. Of course, I took a couple up with me. 9 Mr. Wallach. Do you recall specifically who they were on? 10 Bert Len Mr. Angleton. Boudien and one on the murder, I believe, 11 in Maryland, but I think Dick may have seen him subsequently. 12 Mr. Wallach. Do you recall what Mr. Mitchell said when you, 13 discussed this with him, if anything? 14 Mr. Angleton. No. I mean, he was very interested. 15 Mr. Wallach. Did he ask about the details of the project 16 and how long it had been going on and questions like that? 17 Mr. Angleton. I don't think so. I think that the main 18 thing was that the only information the government had was 19 here was a young girl in New York who was a fugitive from 20 justice who had written twelve letters from Moscow to people 21 throughout the United States, and they were the only leads, 22 and it raised the big question of what was she doing in Moscow? 23 Mr. Wallach. Did he ask you if you passed this information 24 on to the Bureau? 25

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Mr. Angleton. I think I told him. I mean I am certain I told him. I mean, after all, it was the Department of Justice. Mr. Wallach. Did he ask you if the Bureau had some of the programs?

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I take it you told him this mail had been gotten from the New York intercept operation.

7 Mr. Angleton. I think so. I mean, there was no reason
8 to hold anything back from him. You know, he was there and the
9 problems we were discussing got down into this whole question
10 of -- I mean, let me put it to you another way.

11 Going back into the difficulties we had in the liaison 12 was interrupted. We then had eventually Mr. Gray come aboard, and so it raised questions of whether we would be able to resolve 13 14 with Mr. Gray during his tenure a number of these outstanding matters which had sort of hung fire over a long period of time 15 after Mr. Hoover's death, and before. So just as we thought we 16 17 were getting along all right and setting the stage for a number of meetings with Mr. Gray, then he disappeared, and along came 18 Mr. Ruckelshaus, and he didn't stay very long. In other words, 19 20 there was a whole series of very urgent business in the pending box that never got out of the pending box; given the changes in 21 22 the FBI.

27 Mr. Wallach. Did it strike you as funny then, on June 24 3rd, when Mr. Helms said ne had briefed Mr. Mitchell about the 25 project, that Mr. Helms didn't say why, I know you did, too?

Mr. Angleton. No. This could be an ontirely separate meeting that he had.

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Mr. Wallach. But I'm saying if you had briefed Mr. Mitchell before --

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Mr. Angleton. I know, but I briefed -- the mail intercept 5 was only a small part of our discussions. I mean, the contents 6 of the letters which he saw relating to mail intercepts.

Mr. Wallach. But in any event, this developing series 8 of documents that we have would suggest that Mr. Cotter had 9 asked that either the Attorney General or the Postmaster General 10 be briefed by Mr. Helms, and he wanted that to protect his 11 back, so to speak, and Mr. Helms had concurred because for 12 whatever reasons, he went ahead and did it, and it seems funny 13 that Mr. Mitchell wouldn't have said I knew, and he would have 14 come back to the meeting and said, Jim, I'm glad you briefed 15 him, that type of thing. 16

Mr. Angleton. Well, I don't think it was in that context. 17 I think in my discussions with the Attorney General was simply on substantive cases, but also of discussing the whole problem of coverage.

As I read this, Helms' discussion was prompted by Cotter's 21 problem. 22

Mr. Wallach. Exactly, but all I'm saying is that Mr. 23 Helms' purpose, from what I can see from these documents and 24 from talking to him, is going over there and letting Mr. Mitchell 25

109 TOP SECRET know that there is a project going on in New York. 1 Mr. Angleton. That's true. 2 Mr. Wallach. And even if it wasn't your stated purpose in 3 going to see him before that, at least he was made aware of that, 4 from your testimony, now, and just didn't it strike you as 5 curious? 6 Mr. Angleton. Yes, but I cannot remember the exact date 7 when we had the meeting with Mitchell. 8 Mr. Wallach. It might have been after this? 9 Mr. Angleton. That is what is bothering me. 10 Mr. Wallach. In other words, you might have known that 11 Helms talked to him and that it was okay for you --12  $\wedge$ Mr. Angleton. No. I had every intention to brief him. 13 Mr. Wallach. Do you remember Helms at this meeting coming 14 in and saying I showed Blount a sample of the product and 15 described the operation to him? 16 Mr. Angleton. Vaguely. 17 Mr. Wallach. Does this Paragraph 3 accord with your 18 recollection, basically, or does it accord with your recollection? 19 Mr. Angleton. I tell you very frankly I can't seem to 20 focus on this. 21 Mr. Wallach. Well, in any event, I want to ask you to read 22 through it now, but you said you did have a vague recollection 23 of that. 24 Just a couple more questions, Mr. Angleton. 25

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Mr. Angleton. I do remember the latter part of all of this.

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Mr. Wallach. You mean the idea of stopping first and investigating later?

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Mr. Angleton. No, the whole -- yes, that part in the Paragraph 6, and 7 in particular.

Mr. Wallach. Okay.

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Okay, turning your attention for one second to your NA cover of Mr. Johnson, I won't belabor it, especially the report of the Interagency Committee on Intelligence, which was eventually signed by Mr. Hoover, Mr. Helms, Mr. Bennett and Mr. Gaylor, Mr. Helms has told us that you primarily worked on this from the CIA standpoint, is that correct?

Mr. Angleton. I was the Agency's representative in the working group.

Mr. Wallach. In Part 2, sir, which is restraints on intelligence collection, it states, "The Committee noted that the President had made it clear that he desired full" consideration be given to any regulations, policies or procedures which tend to limit the effectiveness of domestic intelligence collection. The Committee further noted that the President wanted the pros and cons of such restraints clearly set forth so that the President will be able to decide whether or not the change in current policies, practices, or procedures should be made."

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And then going down and talking about specific operational 1 restraints, Subsection (c) is mail coverage, there is a 2 discussion and the document will speak for itself on page 29, 3 30, etc., and I don't want to readilit again into the record, 4 between legal and illegal mail coverage under the present state 5 of the law, and illegal mail coverage is defined as opening mail.

In here it states that covert coverage has been discontinued 8 while routine coverage has been reduced primarily as an outgrowth 9 of publicity arising from disclosure of routine mail coverage 10 during legal proceedings and publicity afforded this matter in 11 Congressional hearings involving accusations of governmental 12 invasion of privacy. 13

Did you actually participate in the drafting of this report?

Mr. Angleton. Well, I don't think that, as I recall, we 16 didn't do any drafting. 17

Mr. Wallach. Was it Mr. Sullivan?

Mr. Angleton. Everybody submitted, my recollection is 19 that everybody submitted their own input. The Bureau went off 20 and came back with drafts, which were then discussed, and then 21 they went off and the procedure was that. I had Ober present 22 as my leg man, getting papers and all that, and it's possible 23 that he may have had something to do with dealing with the 24 Bureau people who were handling the drafting. 25

112 TOP SECRET 1 Mr. Wallach. Let me ask you this. 2 Did you read the report before it was signed by Mr. Helms? 3 Mr. Angleton. I read the report. Mr. Wallach. Do you know why there's a statement in there 4 5 to the President that covert coverage, which is defined as the 6 opening of mail, has been discontinued? 7 Mr. Angleton. I think that was mainly a Bureau contribu-8 tion. 9 Mr. Wallach. If it was mainly a Bureau contribution, the Bureau states in a note here the FBI is opposed to implementing 10 any covert mail coverage because it is clearly illegal, and it 11 is likely that if done information will leak out of the Post 12 Office to the press, and serious damage will be done to the 13 14 intelligence community. Mr. Angleton. That is the comment made after the report 15 16 was submitted. 17 Mr. Wallach. There was comment made after the report was 18 submitted? Mr. Angleton. It was not a comment made, to my knowledge, 19 to the working group, was it? 20 Mr. Wallach. I don't know, but it appears to be part of 21 the regular type -- report that was signed as a footnote, to 22 23 go in. Mr. Angleton. I don't know, but if I recall, the report 24 was pulled together and finalized, and Mr. Hoover put his 25

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Mr. Wallach. Mr. Angleton, without quibbling about footnotes, it seems that in any event the Bureau was not pushing for the implementation of covert mail coverage.

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But in any event --

Mr. Angleton. That was after, that was the position of Mr. Hoover's which did not jive with Mr. Sullivan, who was the Chairman of the working group.

9 Mr. Wallach. So, what you're saying is the fact that it's 10 written here, covert coverage has been discontinued, referred 11 only to the FBI?

Mr. Angleton. No. I'm referring only to the footnote. Mr. Wallach. I know, but I'd like to -- I understand the explanation. I believe you're correct, in fact, I know you are correct, but what I'm asking is that the President here is asking what cannot we do and what haven't we been able to do because of the laws as they exist, and here you are saying we cannot do covert coverage because it is illegal, but yet, on the other hand, covert coverage was going on, at least in San Francisco and at least in New York.

21 Mr. Angleton. But not known to the other parties in the 22 working group.

Mr. Wallach. Mr. Sullivan knew, didn't he? Mr. Angleton. Yes, but he was the only one. Mr. Wallach. But then would not this be a misrepresentation

TOP SECRET 114 to the President unless he knew? 1 Mr. Angleton. Well, it was a question that was asked me. 2 Mr. Wallach. Asked you by whom? 3 Mr. Angleton. Mr. Johnson. 4 Mr. Wallach. Well, I'm sorry --5 Mr. Angleton. Well, I'm going to -- may I look at that a 6 moment, because there's something that escaped my attention. 7 Mr. Wallach. Surely. 8 I think any light you can shed on this would be useful. 9 It's just, I don't think anybody --10 Mr. Angleton. You see, the basic -- the Bureau presided 11 over all of these proceedings. The other representatives outside 12 of ourselves were unaware of our mail coverage, and therefore 13 it is my understanding -- let me see -- that as far as I know, 14 we did not spell out to anyone present about what we were 15 doing. So it stood to reason, except when you come down to 16 page 30, and this is where I've got to get together with Mr. 17 Ober, it comes down to covert coverage. It states, high 18 level postal authorities have in the past provided complete 19 cooperation and maintained full security of this program. 20 Now, this is -- what I can't understand is whether this 21 is referring to LINGUAL, because only high postal authorities 22 knew of its existence, and persons involved are highly trained, 23 etc. 24 Mr. Wallach. Did Mr. Mitchell ever tell you that he told

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the President about the mail operation in New York and the 1 Boudin results, locating Boudien? 2

Mr. Angleton. No. But when I saw him, and Helms said 3 that he picked and chose, as he saw fit, to brief the President. 4 Mr. Wallach. But at least you agree that this document 5 appears, on reading, to be -- : I'm not saying anyone was trying 6 to mislead the President; but it's just not clear, in any event. If you read that document on mail coverage, it appears that mail was discontinued, covert mail coverage, i.e., opening of mail. And you're asking for Presidential permission to do it 10 again.

Mr. Angleton. The only point being, if you're going into 12 this, it gets back into, know of its existence. It is in the 13 present tense. Only high echelon Postal Authorities know of 14 its existence. 15

Mr. Wallach. Of the existence of the technique of covert 16 mail coverage. I don't think there's any suggestion there that 17 that is a program that is ongoing, if you look at the precedents. 18 Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean, I got that. 19

Mr. Wallach. It says "High level Postal authorities have 20 in the past provided complete cooperation," and it goes on to 21 say that the technique involves negligible risk. 22

Mr. Angleton. Well, this must be entirely Bureau input 23 dealing with what they had in the past. 24 25

## Mr. Wallach. Well, I.don't want to --

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Mr. Angleton. All I can say is that it must be their input into the exercise because it is going into diplomatic establishments.

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Mr. Wallach. And it's not this example, I realize the bottom part of this is not clear.

Mr. Angleton. That would be a Bureau case. Mr. Wallach. That was a Bureau case? (Pause)

Mr. Angleton. I have a feeling it is a Bureau case. I don't know. I mean, that's where I have to get clarification from Ober because I can't really --

Mr. Wallach. In any event, just upon my reading ---12 Mr. Angleton. My reading of the recommendation being put 13 in the way it was put in. It was simply one of saving or with-14 holding from the other participants the actualities. We had 15 the Army participant, made very clear to us on more than one 16 occasion that he couldn't even safeguard the documents, that he 17 couldn't even trust the typists, etc. He didn't even know how 18 it was going to go through channels, to present it at high enough levels in the Department of Defense to have it approved. So, if you're running into that type of thing throughout these meetings, this was a bald statement made of the security situation in DIA.

Mr. Wallach. Who was the Army representative that actually was there?



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Mr. Angleton. A Colonel whose name I know -- well, I've forgotten it for the moment, but Johnson has it.

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Mr. Wallach. Well, I don't want to press this point --Mr. Angleton. Well, I mean I want to try to find out more but I don't know where I'm going to go to find it out, but I think that was a Bureau input.

Mr. Wallach. Well, was there any discussion about saying, 7 well, we'll deceive these agencies but we've got to let the 8 President know the reason we're doing this?

Mr. Angleton. Well, there were discussions between 10 Sullivan and myself and so on, and there's no memo of records 11 on it. I mean, they were just things about before he went in, 12 or he called me after a meeting or something of that sort. 13

Mr. Wallach. Do you recall discussions specifically along 14 those lines, as you said before, we cannot let these other 15 guys know about it, but we're going to put this in here, 16 17 ; shouldn't we let the President know?

. Mr. Angleton. It would have stood to reason that we would 18 have made some comment of that sort when on the Agenda, of 19 course, of mail intercepts. 20

But you see, there was a great deal about these meetings, and I'd like to go off the record on this.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. Wallach. If we can go back on the record, going back 25 to what we discussed before we that off the record, Mr.

	1944 Barley	23
	ing and a second seco	
• • • • •	1	Angleton, would it have been your position that you would rather
202) 54	2	not have informed the President about this rather than prejudice
e (Area	3	the program in terms of its value?
co fa	4	Mr. Angleton. Not at all.
	5	Mr. Wallach. I just wanted to get it clear that what you
	6	were saying was that when the point in time came when it was
	7	laid on the table, that you would have told him in this regard
<u>ç</u>	8	that the report was incorrect.
1-	9	Mr. Angleton. Absolutely.
<b>C</b> .	10	Mr. Wallach. One last very quick area, and I don't know
9990 v	11	if Mr. Johnson had discussed it with you. If he did, just let
۲ ۲	12	me know.
	13	This involves a case, one of the cases, the Didi Freeman
C. 🚦	14	case. I don't know if you recall it.
e S	15	Mr. Angleton. The which one?
~	16	Mr. Wallach. Didi Freeman, the waitress, and the penetration
	17	of the Bureau?
	1	Mr. Angleton, I've heard of it.
i oc	10	Mr. Wallach. Mave you had any discussions with anyone
Washington, D.C. 2000	2.	about the case?
1.01901	2:	Mr. Angleton. I never heard about it until relatively
INSEM	22	recently. I mean I didn't know about it in the past.
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	- 27	Mr. Wallach. Who did you discuss it with?
Fund Str	24	Mr. Angleton. I mean, I have known am I supposed to have
01*	25	discussed this case with the Bureau?

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24 **TOP SECRET** . Nr. Wallach. I'm sorry, discussed it with the Bureau? 1 Mr. Angleton. Yes. I mean, I misunderstood you. 2 Mr. Wallach. No. I asked you if you discussed it with 3 anyone from the Bureau. 4 "y question before I think was --5 Mr. Angleton. When was the case? When did the case come 6 out in print or become known? 7 Mr. Wallach. I am not sure exactly when it came out. 8 Mr. Angleton. It was recently. Hasn't it come out in 9 print someplace? 10 C. Mr. Wallach. I think it only came out about six months 11 ago. 12 Mr. Angleton. I don't think I ever knew the case before-13 hand. I never knew that case. I mean I have known of cases and С. 14 rumors of cases. 15 Mr. Wallach. You know of no instance in respect to that 16 case, whether the FBI asked the CIA for help to cover it up? 17 Mr. Angleton. I never heard of that case. 18 Mr. Mallach. Okay. 19 I'd like to say once again thank you very much for coming 2. 0 down. We've spent four hours here and you have been most 21 cooperative. ie M 22 Mr. Angleton. Well, I haven't been able to help you, 2% I'm afraid. That's the trouble. 24 Mr. Wallach. Well, there are a couple of areas where the 25 TOP SECRET

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documents don't speak so loudly.

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2 Mr. Angleton. Let me leave it this way, that I will try 3 to get into this stuff, and particularly if I have a chance to 4 see Tsikerdanos, and then I'll give you a ring if I've learned 5 anything that is more pertinent on the questions you asked. Mr. Wallach. If you could really help us, maybe we should 6 7 call him in and have you sit in on the meeting with him. Mr. Angleton. Well, I think he's having a difficult "me 8 with it because he was not involved. 9

TOP SECRET 120

10 Mr. Wallach. I understand that.

Mr. Angleton. And therefore he's going back into strange territory on this. But the only way this can properly be done in my view is to first deal with the various project officers, and then principally with Mr. Miler who had the day to day work, and he could probably answer off the top of his head every question and every detail. He's a very good man on detail. Mr. Wallach. He's still with the Agency?

18 Mr. Angleton. No.

24

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19 Mr. Wallach. He's not?

20. If Angleton. He left with me.<sup>7</sup> He lives in Alexandria, 21. Eut 1 think he's more or less out of town, but he knows fac-22.  $\frac{1}{2}$  tually all of the ins and outs of the whole thing from the 52. beginning.

Mr. Mallach. Once again, thank you.

(Whereupon, at 6:02 o'clock p.m. the interview was conclusion