

EPILOGUE

The Committee does not believe that the acts which it has examined represent the real American character. They do not reflect the ideals which have given the people of this country and of the world hope for a better, fuller, fairer life. We regard the assassination plots as aberrations.

The United States must not adopt the tactics of the enemy. Means are as important as ends. Crisis makes it tempting to ignore the wise restraints that make men free. But each time we do so, each time the means we use are wrong, our inner strength, the strength which makes us free, is lessened.

Despite our distaste for what we have seen, we have great faith in this country. The story is sad, but this country has the strength to hear the story and to learn from it. We must remain a people who confront our mistakes and resolve not to repeat them. If we do not, we will decline; but, if we do, our future will be worthy of the best of our past.

STATEMENT OF JOINDER

I hereby join in the foregoing report.

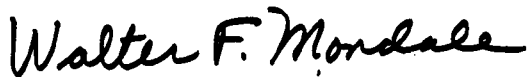
A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Frank Church". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial "F".

FRANK CHURCH, *Chairman.*

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John Tower". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial "J".

JOHN TOWER, *Vice Chairman.*

*PHILIP A. HART,
Michigan.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Walter F. Mondale". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial "W".

WALTER F. MONDALE,
Minnesota.

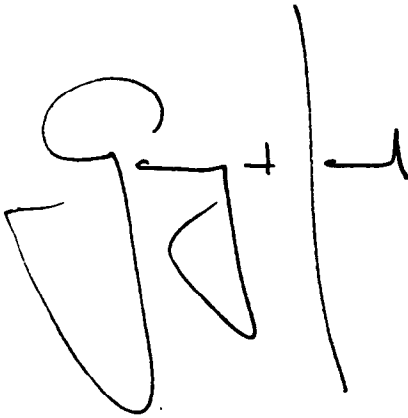
A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Walter D. Huddleston". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial "W".

WALTER D. HUDDLESTON,
Kentucky.

*See Separate Views of Senator Philip Hart, p. 297.

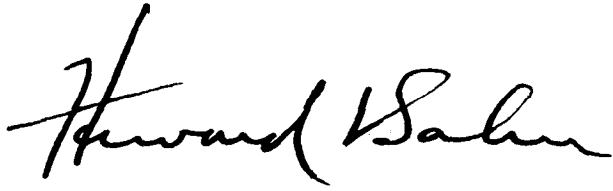
Robert Morgan

ROBERT MORGAN,
North Carolina.



GARY HART,

Colorado.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Howard Baker". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial "H".

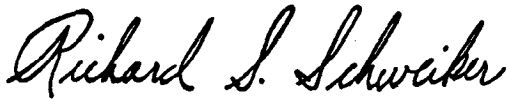
HOWARD BAKER,
Tennessee.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Barry Goldwater". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial "B".

BARRY GOLDWATER,
Arizona.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial "C".

CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.,
Maryland.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard S. Schweiker". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial "R".

RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER,
Pennsylvania.

APPENDIX A

[S. —, 94th Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To make unlawful the entering into a conspiracy to assassinate a foreign official outside the United States, the assassination of a foreign official outside the United States, or the attempted assassination of a foreign official outside the United States, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding immediately after Section 1117 the following new section:

“§ 1118. Conspiracy to assassinate foreign official outside the United States; attempted assassination of foreign official outside the United States; assassination of foreign official outside United States.

“(a) If any officer or employee of the United States or any other person while within the United States or the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States, conspires with any other such officer, employee or person to kill any foreign official because of such official's political views, actions or statements, while such official is outside the United States and such jurisdiction, and one or more such officers or employees or persons does any overt act within the United States or such jurisdiction to effect the object of the conspiracy, each shall be punished by imprisonment for any term of years or for life.

“(b) Whoever being an officer or employee of the United States, or a citizen of the United States, while outside the United States and the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States, conspires with any other such officer or employee or with any other person or persons to kill any foreign official, because of such official's political views, actions or statements, while such official is outside the United States and such jurisdiction, and one or more such officers, employees, citizens or other persons does any overt act to effect the object of the conspiracy, shall be punished by imprisonment for any term of years or life.

“(c) Whoever being an officer or employee of the United States, or a citizen of the United States, while outside the United States and the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States, attempts to kill any foreign official, because of such official's political views, actions or statements, while such official is outside the United States and such jurisdiction, shall be punished by imprisonment for any term of years or life.

“(d) Whoever being an officer or employee of the United States, or a citizen of the United States, while outside the United States and the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States, kills any foreign official, because of such official's political views, actions or statements, while such official is outside the United States and such jurisdiction, shall be punished as provided under sections 1111 and 1112 of this title, except that any such officer or employee or citizen who is found guilty of murder in the first degree shall be sentenced to imprisonment for life.

“(e) As used in this section, the term—

“(1) ‘officer or employee of the United States’ means any officer or employee, whether elected or appointed, in the executive, legislative, or judicial branch of the Government of the United States (including the District of Columbia) and its territories and possessions, and includes any officer or member of the armed forces;

“(2) ‘foreign official’ means a Chief of State or the political equivalent, President, Vice President, Prime Minister, Premier, Foreign Minister, Ambassador, or other officer, employee, or agent; (a) of a foreign government with which the United States is not at war pursuant to a declaration of war or against which United States Armed Forces have not been introduced into

hostilities or situations pursuant to the provisions of the War Powers Resolution; or (b) of a foreign political group, party, military force, movement or other association with which the United States is not at war pursuant to a declaration of war or against which United States Armed Forces have not been introduced into hostilities or situations pursuant to the provisions of the War Powers Resolution; or (c) of an international organization;

"(3) 'foreign government' means the government of a foreign country, irrespective of recognition by the United States;

"(4) 'international organization' means a public international organization designated as such pursuant to section 1 of the International Organizations Immunity Act (22 U.S.C. 288);

"(5) 'citizen of the United States' means, in addition to a United States citizen, any national of the United States, and any person who has been and is classified as an alien admitted to the United States as a permanent resident under the laws of the United States."

SEC. 2. The analysis of chapter 51 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"1118. Conspiracy to assassinate foreign official outside United States; attempted assassination of foreign official outside United States; assassination of foreign official outside United States."

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS

The following capsule summary sets forth in chronological sequence major events covered in this Report. The purpose of the chronology is to remind the reader that the assassination plots and related events, which are organized in the Report around attempts against various leaders, often occurred during the same time frame, and can only be fully understood by considering the entire picture.

This chronology necessarily abbreviates and characterizes events, and does not indicate when certain things should have happened but did not. It is not a substitute for the full discussion of the events which appears in the body of the Report at the pages indicated in brackets. The Committee's interpretation of what occurred is fully set forth in the Findings and Conclusion of this Report.

1959

December 11—Dulles approves "thorough consideration be given to the elimination of Fidel Castro." (p. 92)

1960

January 13—Special Group meeting considers Castro's overthrow. (p. 92)

Spring 1960—Meetings on covert action against Cuba at levels of CIA, Special Group, and NSC. (p. 93)

Sometime in Spring 1960—Ambassador Farland establishes links with Dominican Republic dissidents. (p. 193)

April 1960—President Eisenhower approves contingency plan for Dominican Republic—if situation deteriorates, U.S. to take action to remove Trujillo when successor regime lined up. (p. 192)

Late Spring—Early Summer—Bissell discusses assassination capabilities with Scheider. (pp. 20–21)

June 30—Congoese independence declared. Lumumba is Premier. Kasavubu is President.

July 1—CIA memo recommending delivery of sniper rifles to Dominican dissidents approved. (p. 194)

July 11—Tshombe declares Katanga independent.

July 13—UN Security Council calls for Belgian troop withdrawal from Congo and sends UN peacekeeping force.

July 14—Kasavubu and Lumumba suggest Soviet aid may be requested.

July 27—Lumumba visits Washington and receives aid pledge from Secretary Herter.

Event involving CIA request that a Cuban arrange an "accident" involving Raul Castro. (pp. 72, 93)

August 1960—U.S. interrupts diplomatic relations with Dominican Republic.

August 1960—Bissell and Edwards have discussion concerning use of under-world figures to aid in assassination of Castro. (p. 74)

August 18–26—NSC and Special Group discusses action against Lumumba and Dulles cables Congo station that Lumumba's "removal must be an urgent and prime objective . . ." (p. 52)

Early September—Scheider is ordered by Bissell to make preparations for assassination of an African leader. (p. 21)

Late September—Bissell and Edwards brief Dulles and Cabell about operation against Castro. (p. 194)

Late September—Initial meeting between Rosselli, Maheu, and CIA support chief. A subsequent meeting takes place in Florida. (p. 76)

September 5—Kasavubu dismisses Lumumba; power struggle ensues.

September 14—Mobutu, Chief of Staff of Congoese Army, takes over government by coup.

September 15—Lumumba seeks protective custody of UN guard.

September 16–20—CIA cables indicate Lumumba is seen as a continued threat

while in custody—as capable of mounting a counterattack or appealing to the public. (p. 18)

September 17–19—Tweedy and Tweedy's Deputy tell Scheider to go to Congo to deliver poisons to Hedgman and instruct him to assassinate Lumumba if possible. (p. 21)

September 19—Tweedy cables Hedgman that Scheider will come to Congo on sensitive mission. (p. 22)

September 21—NSC meeting in which it is noted that Lumumba, although deposed, remains a threat. (p. 62)

September 26—Scheider goes to Congo. (p. 24)

October 3—CIA memo sets forth plans to support Dominican dissidents.

October 5—Scheider leaves Congo. (p. 24)

October 18—Memo from Hoover to intelligence agencies detailing Giancana's statements about an imminent Castro assassination but not mentioning CIA. (p. 79)

October 31—Bissell asks Mulroney to go to Congo. (p. 37)

Las Vegas wiretap discovered. (p. 77)

November 3—Special Group discusses covert action against Castro regime. (p. 98)

November 3—Mulroney arrives in Congo. (p. 40)

Sometime after November 8—Dulles and Bissell jointly brief President-elect Kennedy on details of planned invasion of Cuba. (p. 196)

December 1—Mobutu's troops capture Lumumba.

December 3—Lumumba imprisoned at Thysville.

December 29—Special Group approves plan of covert assistance to internal and external Dominican dissidents. (p. 196)

1961

January 12—Special Group meeting approved "limited supply of small arms and other material" to Dominican dissidents. (p. 196)

January 17—Lumumba transferred by Congolese government to Elizabethville where he is killed at hands of Katanga authorities.

January 22—President Kennedy succeeds President Eisenhower.

Sometime between January 22 and April 15 (sequence unknown)—Bissell and Bundy have discussion concerning an "executive action" capability. (p. 181)

President raises with Smathers subject of assassination, indicating his disapproval. (p. 123)

Rosselli passes pills to a Cuban in Miami. (p. 80)

January 25–26—Harvey discusses Executive action with CIA subordinates. (p. 183)

February 10 and February 15—Meeting in New York City between Dominican dissidents and CIA officials. (p. 198)

February 13—Lumumba's death announced by Katanga Interior Minister Munungo.

February 14—Special Group meeting at which new members are briefed by Dulles and Bissell on "specific actions taken by the predecessor group during the past year. (p. 202)

February 15—Rusk memo to President on Dominican Republic. (p. 203)

February 17—Bissell memo to Bundy speaks of Dominican dissident "plan of action". (p. 204)

March 13—Requests for arms and explosives made by Dominican dissidents to CIA and passed on to Washington. (p. 198)

March 15—Request by Station to Headquarters for three pistols for Dominican dissidents. (p. 199)

March 20—Station raises with Headquarters the Dominican dissident request for machine guns. (p. 201)

March 24—Cable advises pistols are being pouched for the Dominican dissidents. (p. 200)

March 31—Headquarters approves passing of carbines to Dominican Republic. (p. 100)

April 7—Carbines passed to "action group" and eventually to one of the assassins. (p. 200)

April 10—Bissell approves shipping machine guns to Dominican Republic by pouch. (p. 202)

April 15–17—Bay of Pigs invasion fails.

April 17—CIA order not to pass machine guns to Dominican dissidents without Headquarters approval. (p. 205)

April 18—Maheu tells FBI of CIA involvement in Las Vegas wiretap. (p. 126)

April 19—20—The Cuban involved in the underworld assassination plot and the Bay of Pigs invasion attends meeting at which the President, other Cubans, and high Administration officials not witting of the plot are present. (p. 124)

April 20—Headquarters advises Station not to pass machine guns to Dominican dissidents. (p. 206)

April 22—June 19—Taylor/Kennedy Board of Inquiry into Bay of Pigs invasion. (pp. 121, 135)

April 25—Cable advises Headquarters of imminent assassination attempt against Trujillo and possible use of U.S.-supplied weapons. (p. 206)

April 26—Headquarters orders Dominican Republic Station that there is no authority to pass additional arms and tells Station to advise dissidents that U.S. not prepared to cope with aftermath of assassination. (p. 206)

May 3—Berle determines Dominican dissidents seek machine guns to assassinate Trujillo and speaks against involvement in such an effort. (p. 207)

May 4—Special Group meeting at which DCI reports new anti-Trujillo plot. (p. 208)

May 5—NSC notes President's view that the U.S. should not initiate the overthrow of Trujillo until it knows what government will succeed him. (p. 209)

May 16—President approves Record of Actions of May 5, 1961, NSC meeting. (p. 209)

May 16—State Department is told that assassination attempt against Trujillo is imminent. (p. 208)

May 18—Special Group stands by decision not to pass machine guns being sought by Dominican dissidents. (p. 126)

May 22—Hoover memo to Attorney General Kennedy noting CIA had used Giancana in "clandestine efforts" against Castro. (p. 126)

May 29—President advises State Department official in Dominican Republic that U.S. "must not run risk of U.S. association with political assassination, since U.S. as a matter of general policy cannot condone assassination". This principle is "overriding" and "must prevail in doubtful situation." (p. 213)

May 30—Trujillo ambushed and assassinated near San Cristobal, Dominican Republic.

June 1 and period shortly thereafter—State Department and CIA review of actions taken in dealing with dissidents in Dominican Republic. (p. 214)

October 5—National Security Action Memorandum 100 directs assessment of potential courses of action if Castro were removed from the Cuban scene. CIA makes intelligence estimate. (p. 186)

November 9—President tells Tad Szulc that he is under pressure from advisors to order Castro's assassination, but does not name advisors. (p. 138)

November 15—Bissell asks Harvey to assume control of underworld operation on stand-by basis. (p. 83)

November 16—President Kennedy gives speech mentioning opposition to assassination. (p. 139)

November 29—John McCone succeeds Allen Dulles as Director, CIA.

November 1961—Operation MONGOOSE created. (p. 139)

1962

January 18—Lansdale assigns 32 planning tasks against Castro regime. (p. 142)

January 19—MONGOOSE meeting at which Attorney General says solution to Cuban problem today carries top priority. (p. 141)

January 29—CIA objects to prosecution of Maheu for Las Vegas wiretap. (p. 129)

February 19—Richard Helms succeeds Richard Bissell as Deputy Director, Plans, CIA.

Early April—Harvey establishes contact with Rosselli. (p. 83)

Late April—Harvey passes poison pills to Rosselli in Miami. (p. 84)

May 7—Houston and Edwards brief Attorney General on pre-Bay of Pigs underworld assassination plot. Thereafter decision made not to prosecute. (p. 131)

August 8—Special Group (Augmented) adopts a stepped-up plan designed to inspire internal revolt in Cuba. (p. 147)

August 10—The subject of assassination is raised at a meeting of the Special Group (Augmented). (p. 161)

September 7—Rosselli tells Harvey the pills are still in Cuba. (p. 84)

October 4—Attorney General advises Special Group (Augmented) that President wants more priority given to operations against Castro regime. (p. 147)

October 22—28—Cuban Missile Crisis.

November—Operation MONGOOSE ends.

1963

Early 1963—CIA Technical Services Division explores exploding seashell and contaminated diving suit schemes. (p. 85)

April 1963—Special Group discusses the contingency of Castro's death. (p. 170)

May 8—South Vietnamese troops in Hue fire on Buddhists, triggering nationwide Buddhist protest. (p. 217)

May 18—U.S. Ambassador Nolting meets with Diem to outline steps to redress Buddhist grievances. (p. 217)

June 19—Special Group authorizes sabotage program against Cuba. (p. 173)

July 4—Vietnamese General Minh, Don, Kim, and Khiem agree on necessity of coup. (p. 218)

August 16—McCone is given memorandum detailing pre-Bay of Pigs assassination plot against Castro. (p. 107)

August 24—DEPTEL 243 is sent to Ambassador Lodge in Saigon telling him to press for dramatic actions to redress Buddhist grievances, including removal of Nhu and his wife. (p. 218)

August 26—CIA officers advise Vietnamese Generals Khiem and Khanh of DEPTEL 243. (p. 219)

August 29—A White House message authorizes Saigon to confirm that U.S. will support a coup if it appears it will succeed. (p. 219)

August 31—Attempted generals' coup in South Vietnam fails. (p. 220)

Fall 1963—Atwood explores possible accommodation with Castro. (p. 173)

October 2—McNamara and Taylor return from fact-finding mission in Vietnam and report that, although the war is progressing favorably, there is political turmoil. (p. 220)

October 3—General Minh outlines to Saigon Station a course of action which includes assassinating Diem's brothers, Nhu and Can. (p. 220)

October 5-6—CIA Headquarters directs Saigon that Minh's course of action not acceptable. (p. 221)

November 2—Diem is assassinated following a coup. (p. 223)

November 22—President Kennedy assassinated.

Vice President Johnson becomes President.

AM/LASH given poison pen device for assassinating Castro. (pp. 89, 175)

1964

March-May—Caches of arms delivered to AM/LASH in Cuba. (pp. 89, 175)

April 7—Special Group discontinues CIA-controlled sabotage raids against Cuba. (p. 177)

1965

Early 1965—AM/LASH put in contact with leader of anti-Castro group and receives weapon with silencer from him. (p. 89)

1966

1966—Helms reports to Rusk that CIA not involved with AM/LASH in Castro assassination plot. (p. 178)

1967

May 1967—Helms briefs President on 1967 Inspector General's Report. (p. 179)

1968

January 20—President Johnson leaves office, President Nixon inaugurated.

1970

September 4—Dr. Allende wins a plurality in Chile's Presidential election. (p. 225)

September 8 and 14—40 Committee discusses Chilean situation. Question of U.S. involvement in a military coup against Allende raised. (p. 229)

September 15—President Nixon instructs CIA Director Helms to prevent Allende's accession to office. The CIA is to play a direct role in organizing a military coup d'etat. This involvement comes to be known as Track II. (p. 227)

September 28—U.S. Military Attache in Santiago instructed to assist CIA in promoting coup. (p. 235)

October 5—CIA makes first contact with Chilean military conspirators. (p. 240)

October 13—CIA Station informs Headquarters that retired General Viaux intends to kidnap General Schneider to precipitate a coup. Viaux's plan is reported to Headquarters as part of a coup plot that includes General Valenzuela. (p. 242)

October 15—Karamessines meets with Kissinger and Haig at the White House. A decision is made to defuse the Viaux coup plot, at least temporarily. (pp. 242, 250)

October 16—Headquarters informs CIA Station of Viaux decision and instructs it to continue to generate maximum pressure to overthrow Allende by coup. (p. 243)

October 17—CIA informs Viaux associate of decision. Agent told that Viaux would proceed with coup in any case and that the abduction of Schneider is first link in chain of events. (p. 243)

U.S. Military Attache meets with Chilean Army officer and Navy officer. They request tear gas, grenades, and three sterile submachine guns, with ammunition. (p. 243)

October 18—General Valenzuela informs U.S. Military Attache that he and senior military officers prepared to sponsor a coup. (p. 244)

October 18—Tear gas grenades delivered to Chilean Army officer and Navy Captain. (p. 244)

October 19—Weapons sent from CIA Headquarters by diplomatic pouch to Santiago. (p. 244)

First Schneider abduction attempt fails. (p. 244)

October 20—Second Schneider abduction attempt fails. (p. 244)

October 22—Three submachine guns delivered to Chilean Army officer by U.S. Military Attache. (p. 245)

General Schneider is shot in kidnap attempt. (p. 245)

October 24—Dr. Allende confirmed by Chilean Congress. (p. 246)

October 25—General Schneider dies. (p. 246)

1972

Helms issues directive against assassination.

1973

Colby issues directive against assassination.

SEPARATE VIEWS OF SENATOR PHILIP A. HART

Because of illness, I was unable to attend meetings of the committee for the several months immediately preceding the issuance of this report. Inasmuch as I did not participate in hearings on assassination during this period, nor in much of the committee's deliberations on the findings and the drafting of the report, it would be inappropriate and perhaps misleading for me to sign the report as one of its authors.

However, while expressing no view on the report and its findings, I feel that I did participate in enough committee hearings on the subject to conclude that the United States should never engage in political assassination in peacetime. Therefore, I support the committee's recommendation for a statute making such activity a crime.

In addition, I endorse the Committee's decision to make the facts of this chapter in our history known to the American people.

PHILIP A. HART.

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF SENATOR ROBERT MORGAN

Our Nation needs a strong, secure, and effective intelligence community. Our memory of Pearl Harbor and testimony taken in hearings with regard to that catastrophe as well as testimony taken during these hearings clearly establish the need for a central intelligence agency to coordinate the intelligence gathered by our various agencies of Government. If the United States had had a coordinating intelligence agency in 1941, the disaster at Pearl Harbor would, in my opinion, have been averted. That we have now, and continue to have, such an agency is essential if we are to avert any future threats to our national security. Our national security is, after all else, of paramount importance.

We must recognize, however, that our national security can be subverted by overzealous governmental action as well as antagonistic domestic or foreign agents. Our Nation cannot remain intact if we ourselves subvert our own ideals; consequently, it is as important for our government to abide by them. In the words of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis:

Decency, security, and liberty alike demand that governmental officials shall be subjected to the same rules of conduct as the citizen. In a government of laws, existence of the government will be imperiled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for the law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare in the administration of [a democracy such as ours] the end justifies the means * * * would bring terrible retribution. Against that pernicious doctrine, [we] resolutely set [our] face.

It is argued, and in many cases justifiably so, that in dealing with our national security, and especially with hostile or adversary forces abroad, extraordinary means are necessary. So long as the Soviets maintain KGB agents around the world, we must maintain an effective intelligence gathering capability. However, this report deals with a particular activity of the government, which in the absence of armed conflict, would, if true, shock the conscience and morals of most Americans. That this investigation was necessary was unfortunate, but it was made so by the broadly circulated and printed reports of alleged assassination plots, some of which were given credence by public statements by various officials. It was my belief in the beginning, and still is, that it would be far better to ascertain the truth as far as possible, and clear the air, to the end that our intelligence agencies could get back to their assigned tasks.

I have weighed in my own mind for many days and nights how much of the information contained in this report should be made available to the American public and thus to the world, including our potential adversaries. That the public has a right to know is incontrovertible,

but whether that right extends to information which could damage our image and national security is not so easily determined. Is it satisfactory for the members of the Congress, the duly elected representatives of the people, to hold such information in trust for the people? In some cases of national security the answer can and must be "yes", and in the future, such information must be held by competent and aggressive oversight committees.

In the present situation too much water has gone over the dam for such secrecy and to refuse to make as full and complete a disclosure as is consistent with the safety and protection of our present intelligence personnel would only add to the intrigue, and the issue could not be put to rest. So though I have in some instances voted with some of my colleagues to retain much information in executive session, I have concurred with the issuance of this report after being assured that the release of it would not violate any law with regard to classified matter and after the respective agencies have had another chance to recommend exclusion of extremely sensitive matters.

Throughout the hearings one issue has remained paramount in my mind. If the alleged acts happened, were they the result of over-anxious, over-zealous intelligence agents who were acting like "a rogue elephant on the rampage", or, were they basically the acts of responsible, well-disciplined intelligence agents acting in response to orders of "higher authority"? To me the conclusion is important. If the first is true, then the agencies must be revamped or possibly dismantled and new agencies created to replace them. If the second is true, then clearer lines of authority must be established and stringent oversight by the duly elected representatives of the people must take place.

During the course of these hearings, I have been impressed by the belief held by the principals that those illegal and immoral acts engaged in by our intelligence agencies were sanctioned by higher authority and even by the "highest authority." I am convinced by the large amount of circumstantial evidence that this is true. Although illegal and immoral activities carried out by our intelligence agencies cannot be justified by any argument, it is, I think, important to note that these actions were carried out in the belief that they were sanctioned by higher authority, even though this Committee has been unable to establish whether or not presidential authority was given. Some of the acts conducted by these agencies could have been, and probably were, beyond the scope of the projects authorized. In addition, the agencies may have conducted other activities which, in spite of this investigation, are still unknown to this Committee. Thus, they cannot be absolved of all the blame.

Since our intelligence agencies act on both a compartmentalized and need-to-know basis, it is difficult to establish in retrospect who was informed and what authority was given. It is also difficult to establish what was told to those who were informed since circumlocution was also a standard practice within the chain of authority. The practice was, after all, adopted to insure official deniability as well as to acquire consent. And the effectiveness of these techniques of "need-to-know" and "circumlocution" is attested by the fact that this Committee not only has been unable to establish whose consent was given but has also been unable to establish who was not involved. We have been able to establish neither responsibility nor innocence. In this situation, the

presumption of innocence cannot be applied without question, since the mere willingness to participate in circumlocutious briefings implies a willingness to deny responsibility at crucial times. Consequently, I also believe that responsibility for the illegal actions of our intelligence agencies must be shared; it should not be carried entirely by our intelligence community.

In drafting legislation to circumscribe the activities of intelligence gathering agencies, I would stress the need to guarantee their ability to function effectively in our complex and dangerous world. The effectiveness of our intelligence agencies must not be limited solely by sound and practical applications of law drafted with clear objectives in mind. We must know what we want our intelligence agencies to do and what we do not want them to do. Then we can confidently allow them to function in the knowledge that they will not only defend the law but abide by it. Only in that way can we be certain that our society will be preserved as an embodiment of our openly democratic ideals. Although we must have intelligence, we also must preserve our open society, for to destroy the latter for the sake of the former would be a complete perversion of our goals.

While we may realize that investigations of this nature into sensitive governmental actions in effect strengthen our country, we would be foolhardy to think for a moment that our enemies, and perhaps even friends, will openly acknowledge this significant accomplishment. We can assume, for instance, that our opponents will go to great lengths to publicize and distribute propaganda based on this report inimical to the best interests of the United States. That this, in fact, will be done only serves to reinforce my belief that we need, and must have, as strong an intelligence capability as possible. And while this Committee is charged with the responsibility of investigating and reporting on the misdeeds of the Central Intelligence Agency, we cannot reveal the details of the many meaningful accomplishments of the Agency which without a doubt have been beneficial to our country. That we have such an agency now, that we maintain our intelligence potential in these times of continuing international tension is essential to our society and continued existence as a nation.

The release of this report, based on the public's right to know, does not compromise our right to be secure. The report details only the actions of Agency employees in the cases under investigation and does not unnecessarily reveal confidential intelligence sources and methods. One can, however, successfully predict the impact the report will have in the news media. A review of previous revelations concerning assassinations which have appeared in the press have gone a long way towards sensationalizing this country's involvement in assassination plots. This report confirms some prior public allegations while it disproves others. While some may shudder upon learning that the events related in the report actually took place, we can all take great pride in the ability of this country to look frankly at problems within our system of government, and accordingly, in our ability to govern ourselves. History will undoubtedly record our ability to openly reveal and discuss improper, unpopular governmental actions as one of the basic elements in the continued existence of our free society and the general ability we, as a nation, have achieved to subject ourselves and our government to the rule of law.

ROBERT MORGAN.

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF SENATOR HOWARD H.
BAKER, JR.

Altogether, I think the Committee's report represents a remarkably good treatment of the large volume of testimony and documentation which was received by us and a fair reconciliation of the conflicts that developed.

While it is clear from the record that assassination planning and efforts did in fact occur during the late 1950's to the mid-1960's, it is not equally clear from the record that they were fully authorized by the respective Presidents serving during that time. I entirely agree with and subscribe to the Committee's central finding that:

the system of Executive command and control was so inherently ambiguous that it is difficult to be certain at what level assassination activity was known and authorized. This creates the disturbing prospect that assassination activity might have been undertaken by officials of the United States Government without it having been uncontrovertibly clear that there was explicit authorization from the President of the United States. At the same time, this ambiguity and imprecision leaves open the possibility that there was a successful "plausible denial" and that a Presidential authorization was issued but is now obscured. (Committee Report, Findings and Conclusions p. 261)

Or put another way, in the Inspector General's report on this subject in 1967:

This reconstruction of agency involvement in plans to assassinate Fidel Castro is at best an imperfect history. Because of the extreme sensitivity of the operation being discussed or attempted, as a matter of principle no official records were kept of planning, of approvals, or implementation. The few written records that do exist are either largely tangential to the main events or put on paper from memory years afterwards . . . For the most part . . . we have had to rely on information given to us orally by people whose memories are fogged by time. (I. G. Report, p. 1)

However, it is my personal view that on balance the likelihood that Presidents knew of the assassination plots is greater than the likelihood that they did not. This impression stems from the record of course, but as well from observing and hearing the witnesses testify and by applying the usual courtroom tests for determining the worth and value of the witnesses' testimony: the demeanor of the witnesses while testifying; the completeness or the incompleteness of their statements; whether the testimony has the ring of truth; prior consistent or inconsistent statements; inconsistencies in the course of their testimony before the Committee; the probability or improbability of their testimony; their means of knowledge; their interest in the subject. All of these things are best judged by observing the testimony of the witnesses.

It is because of this, that I had hoped for public hearings on this subject, carefully sanitized to avoid the disclosure of properly classified information and the identification of "sources and methods". It seems to me that without a record clearly supporting a conclusion of Presidential responsibility, or the absence of it, that a public examination of the witnesses was more important than would otherwise be the case. The Committee determined not to hold public hearings and I abide by that decision.

Accompanying these views is an Appendix of record evidence and documentation which relate to these conclusions and impressions. While the Appendix in large part deals with the Castro situation, I believe it is fairly representative of the problems we have encountered.

HOWARD H. BAKER.

APPENDIX

FOR ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF SENATOR HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

	Page
I. The Testimony and Evidence Regarding Authority From Those Involved in the Operational Activities of the Plots-----	307
II. The Testimony and Evidence Regarding Authority From Those CIA Officials Knowledgeable of the Plots-----	308
Pre-Bay of Pigs-----	308
Post-Bay of Pigs-----	310
III. The Testimony and Evidence Regarding How Authority Would Have Been Obtained—The Troubling Doctrine of Plausible Denial-----	313
IV. The Concept of Assassination Was Discussed at the Highest Levels of Government and Not Affirmatively Disavowed-----	318
A. Executive Action-----	318
B. The August 10 Meeting-----	319
1. The Testimony: Who Raised the Suggestion of the Assassination of Castro?-----	320
(a) Testimony of McCone-----	320
(b) Harvey's Testimony-----	321
(c) Goodwin's Testimony-----	321
(d) Lansdale's Testimony-----	322
(e) Testimony of Rusk, Bundy, and Gilpatric-----	322
(f) Testimony of Robert McNamara-----	323
(g) Testimony of Parrott-----	323
(h) Testimony of Walter Elder-----	323
C. Conversations With President Kennedy About the Use of Assassination-----	324
1. President Kennedy's Meeting With Tad Szulc on November 9, 1961-----	324
2. Conversation Between President Kennedy and Senator George Smathers-----	325
D. President Eisenhower's Discussion at the August 18, 1960, National Security Council Meeting-----	326
V. Did the Investigation of Giancana and Rosselli Reveal Their Involvement in the Assassination Plots to the FBI, Department of Justice, Attorney General, or the President?-----	327
A. The FBI Memoranda-----	328
1. The October 18, 1960, Memorandum-----	328
2. The May 22, 1961, Memorandum-----	329
B. President Kennedy's Meeting With the Cuban Exile Leader-----	330
C. The Events of 1962-----	333
VI. The MONGOOSE Program—The Environment in Which the Assassination Plots Arose-----	333
VII. Whose Idea Was the Use of the Underworld in an Assassination Plot Against Castro?-----	338

I. The testimony and evidence regarding authority from those involved in the operational activities of the plots

Our investigation was unable to uncover any documentary evidence bearing directly on the issue of authority for the assassination plots. Testimony, however, was taken from all of those involved at the operational level of the assassination plots. To a man, they were convinced the assassination operations were specifically approved by the United States Government.

The CIA Case Officer selected for the plot activities, testified about his feelings toward the authorization of the plots, as follows:

I was in World War II. And I was told that there was an enemy, and I was told that I was supposed to do it in the interest of national defense support. And I felt that this was coming from a higher up and in their wisdom and judgment this was the way to go. I was just doing as I was directed. (O.C., 5/30/75, p. 41)

Robert Maheu, the man contacted by the case officer initially in an attempt to recruit underworld assistance, testified that he felt the assassination plots were not only authorized but were an adjunct to the Bay of Pigs invasion:

I was taking my instructions from [the Case Officer] and Col. Edwards. I had no way of knowing where they were receiving their instructions * * * I personally never discussed this matter with any higher authority than [the Case Officer] and Col. Edwards during those days. (Maheu, 7/30/75, p. 5)

* * * The government felt it was important to dispose of Mr. Castro as part of the overall invasion plan * * * (Maheu, 7/29/75, p. 13; 7/30/75, pp. 7-9)

Maheu throughout his testimony reiterated his contention that he would never have accepted the Case Officer's request for assistance with the assassination plans had he not been convinced they were government sponsored:¹

John Roselli was also firm in his testimony that he regarded the assassination plots, as, in effect, part of the United States "war" against Castro. He testified as follows:

Q. What did Mr. Maheu discuss with you in the first meeting * * *?

A. * * * he was told that some high government official had given him word to recruit me, if I would be willing to help the government.

* * * * * * * *

Q. When you were asked to help arrange for the assassination of Mr. Castro, what was your understanding of who in the United States government wanted you to do this?

A. Well, anybody in the United States government. My point was if I am recruited in the army and I was in the Second World War, it is like being recruited in the army and if it comes through from higher authority I don't

¹ Maheu had been involved in a wide variety of ventures for the CIA. He was also, at the time of the plots, cultivating Howard Hughes as a client (and indeed told Hughes of the project during its active stage). The Committee's Report discusses the full breadth of Maheu's motivation in accepting this assignment. (Committee Report, pp. 74-75).

ask any questions how high it was as long as there were government people. I was satisfied that I was doing a duty for my country.

* * * * *

Q. Now, you were asked to help join in an effort to kill somebody. Why did you agree to do that?

A. It was a government project. (Roselli, 6/24/75, pp. 7, 57-58, 59)

Our evidence established that throughout his lengthy involvement in the plots Roselli paid for almost all of his expenses.¹ Moreover, at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis both Harvey and Roselli agreed that Roselli was active in providing pure "intelligence" on what was occurring in Cuba. Nevertheless, the evidence adduced by the Committee strongly suggests that the underworld was also quite interested in getting rid of Castro because of his actions barring their control of the Havana gambling enterprises. And, Roselli did attempt to use his CIA involvement to his advantage in later years in an attempt to deter prosecution of him for other unrelated matters. (See Committee Report, p. 85)²

Whatever the totality of the motivation of all those involved in the operational end of the plots, the uncontroverted evidence is that they all truly believed the U.S. Government was behind the project.

II. The Testimony and Evidence Regarding Authority From Those CIA Officials Knowledgeable of the Plots

The Committee's Report discusses the evidence relating to whether the assassination plots were authorized by higher authority outside the CIA. That is, of course, the ultimate issue of our inquiry. To properly address that issue, I feel it is important to note that each of the supervisory officials of the Agency testified that they fully believed that the plots were authorized by the "highest authority."³ During the Pre-Bay of Pigs phase Bissell and Edwards were the CIA officials admittedly knowledgeable of the plots. Both felt that the plots were fully authorized. During the Post-Bay of Pigs phase Bissell turned the project over to William Harvey and his immediate superior Richard Helms. Both confirmed Bissell's earlier testimony that the plots were authorized both within and without the CIA.

PRE-BAY OF PIGS

Bissell testified that the plots were authorized by "highest authority" which he felt meant knowledge and approval by the President. He testified that it would not have been "consonant with the operations of the CIA" to conduct such highly sensitive activities without the President's permission or knowledge. (Bissell, 6/9/75, pp. 37-38) Bissell elaborated:

¹This was corroborated by the testimony of the Case officer, Maheu, and Harvey.

²At least Harvey (and perhaps others) recognized that the use of the underworld could lead to demands in later years. When he was first apprised of the details of the Roselli project he observed that:

"* * * it was a very, or it appeared to be, and in my opinion was, at that time, a very real possibility of this government being blackmailed either by Cubans for political purposes or by figures in organized crime for their own self-protection or aggrandizement, which, as it turned out, did not happen, but at that time was a very pregnant possibility." (Harvey, 6/25/75, pp. 67-68)

³Our investigation established that "highest authority" was a euphemism, used both at the CIA and cabinet level, for the President of the United States.

Q. * * * (I)n the ordinary course of the operations of the CIA as you know it under their traditions, their rules and regulations, their policies as you knew them, what is your opinion—(w)as the President, President-elect briefed or was he not in the light of all these circumstances?

Bissell: I believe at some stage the President and the President-elect both were advised that such an operation had been planned and was being attempted.

Q. By whom?

Bissell: I would guess through some channel by Allen Dulles.

* * * * *

Senator Morgan: Mr. Bissell, it's a serious matter to attribute knowledge of this sort to the President of the United States, especially one who cannot speak for himself. Is it fair to assume that out of an abundance of caution you are simply telling us that you have no knowledge unless you are absolutely certain? * * * I gather that you think * * * it (assassination plot information) came out but because of the seriousness of the accusation you are just being extremely cautious * * * Is that a fair assumption to make?

Bissell: That is very close to a fair assumption, sir. It's just that I have no direct knowledge, firsthand knowledge of his (the President) being advised but my belief is that he knew of it (assassination plans). (Bissell, 6/9/75, pp. 55-56)

Bissell emphasized that because of the Agency's structure, in which he was only DDP and not DCI, Allen Dulles would be the "only person" who could have informed the President of the assassination plots. (Bissell, 6/9/75, p. 60). And, he summed up why he felt certain that such authorization was obtained from the President by Dulles:

I had no direct evidence that (the President) was advised. I do agree with you that given the practices of the Agency, its relation to the Presidency and to the White House and given also everything I know of Mr. Dulles' character and integrity, I would expect he had perhaps obliquely advised both of the Presidents of this auxiliary operation, the assassination attempt. (Bissell, 6/9/75, p. 47) ¹

Bissell testified that it was not at all unusual that he, Bissell, did not personally discuss authorization for the project with either the President or one of his aides in the White House.² He stated that he believed that, since his position was that of DDP reporting directly to the DCI, the DCI, and not Bissell, "in a matter of this sensitivity * * * would handle higher-level clearances." (Bissell, 6/9/75, p. 26)

On matters of this sort I left the question of advising senior officers of the government and obtaining clearances in Allen Dulles' hands. (Bissell, 6/9/75, p. 29)

Bissell concluded his testimony by describing the tight control which was applied to such a project:

Assuming for the moment that I am correct (that the President approved the plots), since the effort would have been to minimize the possibility of embarrassment to the President, it is, I think, understandable that neither I nor anyone else in the Agency would have discussed this operation on our own initiative with, for instance, members of the White House staff. The effort would have been to hold to the absolute minimum the number of people who knew that the President had been consulted, had been notified and had given, perhaps only tacitly, his authorization. (Bissell, 6/11/75, p. 6)

¹ How Bissell felt the President would have been advised, through the method of plausible denial, is treated in Part III of these views. *infra*.

² Bissell did discuss assassination capability with a senior White House official and the record is patently clear that at a minimum he received no discouragement and at a maximum was "ordered" to develop an assassination capability. As I discuss in Part IV of these views, these conversations may have contributed to his strong subjective notion that assassination was authorized.

The only other supervisory official who testified about authorization during this Pre-Bay of Pigs period was Col. Sheffield Edwards.¹

Col. Edwards was quite ill at the time of his appearance before the Committee (and has since died) and was unable to undergo a lengthy inquiry. He was, however, certain in his belief that the assassination plans were approved by the top echelon of the CIA. He testified before the Committee as follows:

* * * (T)his possible project was approved by Allen W. Dulles, Director of CIA, and by General Cabell, the Deputy Director. They are both dead.

The Chairman: How do you know, Colonel, that the project had been approved by these two gentlemen?

Edwards: I personally briefed Allen Dulles * * * and Cabell. (Edwards, 5/30/75, pp. 5-6)

Edwards was also interviewed by the Rockefeller Commission (Edwards interview, 4/9/75, p. 5):

Q. Now, who inside the Agency besides Bissell did you have any contact with on the top echelon?

A. Very important. The plan was approved by Allen W. Dulles and General Cabell.

As Director of Security of the CIA, Edwards appeared to have little direct contact with the White House and therefore was unable to enlighten the Committee on the issue of authorization to the plots outside the CIA.² His testimony, however, corroborates the feelings of the others involved in the plots that at no time did they view their actions as beyond the bounds of appropriate authority.

POST-BAY OF PIGS

The assassination project or activities continued into a second or post-Bay of Pigs phase. As the Committee's Report discusses, William Harvey was selected by Bissell to take over the project. Harvey testified that he had no doubt, throughout his involvement in the assassination plots, that the project was authorized by the "highest authority,"³ which to him meant the President of the United States. He testified that:

I can conceive of it [assassination] being perfectly within the province of an intelligence service, * * * on proper orders from the highest * * * authority (and)

* * * * *

the approval [for assassination] * * * must come from the Chief Executive, the President. (Harvey, 6/25/75, pp. 22, 24, 31-32)

Harvey emphasized at the outset of his testimony that he as a subordinate officer of the CIA did not have direct knowledge concerning the source of such authority. He described the authorization process as necessarily being conducted on a higher level:

[T]he fact that I say that authority for an assassination must * * * come from the President does not mean that I as an officer in CIA am entitled to know or to inquire exactly as to the where, why, what, when and in what words this authority may have been transmitted. (Harvey, 6/25/75, p. 32)

¹ See discussion regarding knowledge or lack thereof of J. C. King, then Chief of the CIA's Western Hemisphere Division, *infra*, Part VII.

² He did participate in the May 7, 1962, briefing of Attorney General Kennedy, which I treat in Part V, *infra*, and which is described in depth in the Committee's Report, pp. 131-134.

³ See ft. 3, pg. 308, *supra*.

Harvey continually asserted and re-asserted throughout his testimony, at several appearances before the Committee, that

I was completely convinced during this entire period, that this operation had the full authority of every pertinent echelon of CIA and had full authority of the White House, either from the President or from someone authorized and known to be authorized to speak for the President. But I won't answer, so this does not get out of context, that I have no personal knowledge whatever of the individual's identities, times, exact words or channels through which such authority may have been passed. (Harvey, 6/25/75, p. 31)

Harvey was then questioned about (1) whether he had any doubts that the plots were authorized and (2) why he did not personally confirm the authorization by specifically asking high government officials about it. Harvey answered that, "[I]t was my conviction at the time * * * that [the plots] were completely authorized at every appropriate level within and beyond the Agency." (Harvey, 6/25/75, p. 69) He explained that he felt he was always operating under appropriate orders from the top and that it simply was not his place (or purpose, particularly within the framework of plausible denial) in the bureaucracy to go "topside to question the orders of his superiors." (Harvey, 7/11/75, p. 73) In response to a question by Senator Goldwater, he described his feelings this way :

I did not feel that it was up to me, after being requested, instructed, ordered, whichever you want to put it, to assume (control of this operation), and after being told, if you will, by a responsible officer at a senior level who was my immediate superior, that this did have the necessary and requisite approval that you referred to, Senator Goldwater, that it was up to me to go to the Director and say, now what about this? (Harvey, 6/25/75, p. 84)

At his final appearance before the Committee, Harvey explained :

* * * if I had not been firmly convinced that this had full authority right straight down the chain of command, * * * I (would) have said to Bissell, all right, if I'm going to undertake this, which at best is a damned dicey operation or undertaking, I want to know who authorized it and under what circumstances. But I had every right to believe organizationally, humanly, whatever way you want to put it, that nothing that was being told to me by Bissell had not in fact come to him from the Director of Central Intelligence, or with the knowledge of the Director of Central Intelligence. (Harvey 7/11/75, pp. 73-74)

Harvey specifically rejected the idea that he would have entertained the thought of embarking on an assassination project on his own :

I think what you are saying is had I not had reason to believe and been firmly convinced that this was an authorized, direct and fully approved and ordered, both operational and policy decision, would I, William Harvey, have gone out on my own and planned anybody's assassination, and the answer to that is a flat no. (Harvey, 7/11/75, p. 72)

Harvey best summarized his involvement in the plots as follows :

At no time during this entire period we are talking about did I ever personally believe or have any feeling that I was either free-wheeling or end-running or engaging in any activity that was not in response to a considered, decided U.S. policy, properly approved, admittedly ; perhaps through channels and at levels I personally had no involvement in, or firsthand acquaintance with, and did not consider it at that point my province to, if you will, cross examine either the Deputy Director or the Director concerning it. (Harvey, 6/25/75, p. 83)

The only other supervisory official of the CIA who admittedly was knowledgeable of the plots during the Post-Bay of Pigs phase was Richard Helms, presently U.S. Ambassador to Iran. Helms was at that time DDP (taking over from Bissell in February, 1962) and John

McCone was DCI (taking over from Dulles in November, 1961.¹ Helms had not been involved in the planning for the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion and had no knowledge of the Pre-Bay of Pigs assassination plots (Helms, 6/13/75, pp. 17-18). Harvey testified that he had "briefed" Helms some time in early 1961 regarding Bissell's directive to Harvey to begin working on an assassination capability." (Harvey, 6/25/75, pp. 42-44) ² Thereafter, Helms said he was not "brought into Cuban operations" until after McCone had become Director in "late 1961 or early 1962." (Helms, 6/13/75, p. 18)

Our evidence established, however, that Helms was not brought into the picture affirmatively until April, 1962, when Harvey discussed with him the contacting of Roselli. Helms explained that :

Harvey * * * says he came to me and said he wanted to recruit this man * * * (Roselli) which I didn't like at the time * * * But I decided to go along with it, since (Roselli) had been used in a previous operation, which hadn't worked. He was, therefore, in that sense, around our neck as a possible embarrassment, if he (Roselli) did have some connections and we didn't have very many in those days into Cuba someplace, maybe he would turn out to be a useful fellow. (Helms, 7/17/75, p. 8)

Helms testified that he was never convinced that this operation would be successful but since it had already been approved, he felt that "we haven't got very much, why don't we try". Helms, 7/17/75, pp. 23-24)

Helms, as our Report demonstrates, was much less involved in the plots than either Bissell or Harvey and perhaps because of this testified that :

* * * [t]here is something about the whole chain of episode in connection with this Roselli business that I am simply not able to bring back in a coherent fashion. And there was something about the ineffectuality of all this, or the lack of conviction that anything ever happened, that I believe in the end made this thing simply collapse, disappear. And I don't recall what I was briefed on at the time. You saw the IG Report [which] says that I was kept currently informed. Maybe I was and maybe I wasn't, and today I don't remember it. * * * But I do not recall ever having been convinced that any attempt was really made on Castro's life. (Helms, 7/12/75, p. 38)

Nevertheless, Helms did recall being advised of the plots by Harvey and indicating his approval. He testified that he felt the assassination attempts, while he was skeptical as to how far they actually progressed, were authorized by the White House. Helms, however, like Harvey and Bissell, did not have any personal knowledge as to how or through whom such authorization passed.³

¹ McCone denied any knowledge of or authorization for the assassination plots which went on during his tenure as DCI. McCone testified that he learned of the plots for the first time in August 1963 when Helms briefed him. This discussion and the failure of McCone to issue any directive thereafter affirmatively banning such actions (which continued into 1964 and 1965) is discussed in the Committee's Report, pp. 99-108.

² Harvey testified he told Helms exactly what Bissell told him, i.e., that the White House had twice urged Bissell to set up an Executive Action capability. (Harvey, 6/25/75, pp. 42-44)

³ Helms, in effect, stepped into the middle of a project run originally by Bissell and passed on in November, 1961, to Harvey. Dulles remained as DCI until November, 1961—well long enough to have briefed the incoming Kennedy Administration on whether to continue the assassination actions. Helms did not know whether Dulles obtained such authorization or for that matter whether McCone did so. As developed hereinafter, everything which was transpiring around him led him to believe such authorization was obtained. See Helms, 6/25/75, pp. 67-69, 34, 90, 101-103. Part VI *infra*, of these views provides a look at just what kind of environment surrounded Helms and the CIA in 1962. Helms, however, never asked anyone in higher positions if the plots were in fact authorized even when he had the opportunity to do so—exhibiting, at a minimum, very bad judgment.

Helms testified that while no one in the Administration gave him a direct order to assassinate Castro, neither did he expect one.¹ It was, however, made abundantly clear to him by the Kennedy Administration that the CIA's mission was to "get rid of Castro";

The desire (of the Administration) was "can't you fellows [CIA] find some way to get rid of Castro and the Castro regime?" (Helms, 7/17/75, p. 17)

Helms testified that he had no doubts but that the assassination attempts were within the authorized U.S. policy toward Castro:

I believe it was the policy at the time to get rid of Castro and if killing him was one of the things that was to be done in this connection, that was within what was expected. (Helms, 6/13/75, p. 137)

Thus, Helms told the Committee that the plot activities were both presented to him in 1962 as an ongoing project previously authorized and that such actions appeared to be clearly within the ambit of authority which he felt existed at the time. The latter concept, stressed by Helms in his testimony, was that assassination plots were consistent with the environment of the time. Helms' view that assassination was within the approved policy during the atmosphere of the time is corroborated by the authors of the CIA's 1967 Inspector General's Report who took pains to point out:

We cannot overemphasize the extent to which responsible Agency officers felt themselves subject to the Kennedy Administration's severe pressure to do something about Castro and his regime. The fruitless and, in retrospect, often unrealistic plotting should be viewed in that light. (IG Report, p. 4)

Helms testified that during this 1961-1962 period

The highest authorities of government were anxious that the Castro government fall and that in some fashion Castro go away (Helms, 6/13/75, p. 62)

* * * * *

and if he (Castro) had disappeared from the scene they would not have been unhappy. (Helms, 6/13/75, pp. 72-73)

Helms summed up his testimony, in effect, by stating in colloquy with Senator Mathias that, though no direct order was given to him, "some spark had been transmitted that (assassination) was within the permissible limits." (Helms, 6/25/75, p. 72) Helms' and Harvey's total understanding of the authorization of assassination plotting together with the ingrained system of deniability present in intelligence operations, I feel, explains, but does not excuse their actions in not directly confronting a superior or a White House official and saying: "By the way, are these assassination plots really authorized." I think it blinks reality to suggest that such a thing would have occurred. True, the system must be changed, but these assassination activities must be viewed in light of the modus operandi which existed at the time.

III. The Testimony and Evidence Regarding How Authority Would Have Been Obtained—the Troubling Doctrine of Plausible Denial

The Committee received considerable evidence on the manner or modus operandi which would have been employed to advise the President of matters of great sensitivity, such as the assassination plots. The

¹ How Bissell, Harvey, and Helms felt the plots would have been authorized is treated in part III of these views.

Committee Report defines and discusses the mode or method of operating which has come to be known as plausible denial. (Committee Report, pp. 11-12) Members of the Committee have given its application to the assassination plots differing degrees of weight. In these views I assign it substantial weight because of the frequency with which it wove its way through the evidence concerning the critical issue of authorization.

Simply stated, plausible denial is the system which dictates that any acts that are perpetrated shall be done in such a way so as to ensure that the U.S. Government cannot be blamed. In its most common meaning in the intelligence community, plausible denial dictates the use of "cut-outs," or, various levels of knowledge with the lowest level not being told that the work that is being done is on behalf of the U.S. Government. The system is designed to insulate the President from the responsibility for projects which may go awry.

We know that efforts were made to employ this system in the Castro plots through the use of Maheu to initiate the contact with Rosselli and Giancana, the CIA Case Officer assuming the false identity of an employee of Maheu, and the use of the "cover story" of the U.S. business interests in explaining the plots to the Cubans. The agent (in this case the Cubans) may assume or guess that the person he was doing the work for was a government representative, but, an admission of government involvement was avoided.

Additionally, we found the system used in the records of the Special Group which avoid direct attribution to the President and refer to the President as "higher authority," or "his associate." This was true in almost all the cases we examined.¹ Moreover, the testimony revealed that the prevailing practice on all sensitive matters was to brief the President without obtaining his express approval. Maxwell Taylor testified that the President would simply listen to what the person briefing him had to say without responding affirmatively so that "the record (did not) say that the President personally approved (the project)." (Taylor, 7/9/75, p. 25)

Thus, whenever we attempted to climb the authority ladder to determine the highest level of knowledge and approval of assassination plots we encountered the use of plausible denial. Indeed, Bissell testified that he and Edwards used the system to "circumlocutiously" advise Dulles of the assassination plans because "the Director (Dulles) preferred the use of * * * (that) sort of (circumlocutious) language * * *." (Bissell, 6/9/75, p. 25) Bissell testified that it would be through the use of plausible denial that he felt approval for the assassination plots would have been obtained from the President by Dulles.

Bissell testified that Dulles would have advised the President of the assassination plots by obliquely describing the operation but continuing "until the President got the word." (Bissell, 6/11/75, pp. 12-14) He described how Dulles could have preserved deniability yet obtained approval from the President:

I have expressed the opinion and am making it clear, it is not based on hard evidence that probably the President knew something of this * * * I very much

¹ See "Guidelines for Operation MONGOOSE" (Draft), March 5, 1962; Memorandum for the Record, Special Group Augmented, "Discussion of Operation MONGOOSE with the President" of March 16, 1962 and accompanying footnote of March 22, 1962; Memorandum for the Record, Special Group Meeting, August 25, 1960.

doubt if he at any time was told any of the details. My guess is that indeed whoever informed him, that is Dulles directly or Dulles through a staff member, would have had the same desire that you referred to to shield the President and to shield him in the sense of intimating or making clear that something of the sort was going forward, but giving the President as little information about it as possible, and the purpose of it would have been to give the President an opportunity, if he so elected, to cancel it, to order it cancelled, or to allow it to continue but without, in effect, extracting from him an explicit endorsement of the detailed specific plan.

Senator MATHIAS. What you're saying is this is a highly subjective kind of operation in which an intimation can be given in which the President can clearly be told what is happening, but be told in, I think the words you used, a *circumlocutious* way, that he might not even blink unless he wanted to. Is that right?

Mr. BISSELL. That is correct, sir. (Bissell, 6/9/75, pp. 60-61)

Bissell made it clear that his perception of what happened at levels of authority above him spanned more than one administration. Indeed, he continually spoke of President Eisenhower and Kennedy together:

In the case of an operation of high sensitivity of the sort that we are discussing, there was a further objective that would have been pursued at various levels, and that was specifically with respect to the President to protect the President. And therefore the way in which I believe that Allen Dulles would have attempted to do that was to have indicated to the two successive Presidents the general objective of the operation that was contemplated, to make it sufficiently clear so that the President—either President Eisenhower or President Kennedy—could have ordered the termination of the operation, but to give the President just as little information about it as possible beyond an understanding of its general purpose. Such an approach to the President would have had as its purpose to leave him in the position to deny knowledge of the operation if it should surface.

My belief—a belief based, as I have said, only to my knowledge of command relationship, of Allen Dulles as an individual, and of his mode of operations—is that authorization was obtained by him in the manner that I have indicated. I used the word on Monday "circumlocutious," and it was to this approach that I referred. (Bissell, 6/11/75, pp. 5-6)

William Harvey and Richard Helms also felt that they doubted that there would ever be a direct written or even oral order communicated to the DCI on a matter such as the assassination plots. Helms elaborated on why he felt the plots were authorized even though he was unable to point to a direct written or oral order to carry them out:

[Assassination plots would not be] authorized in any formal way * * * These schemes * * * would have taken place in the context of doing what you could to get rid of Castro, and the difficulty with this kind of thing, as you gentlemen are all painfully aware, is that nobody wants to embarrass a President of the United States discussing the assassination of foreign leaders in his presence. This is something that has got to be dealt with in some other fashion.

Even though you use euphemisms you've still got a problem * * *

Now, when President Eisenhower took responsibility for the U-2 flights that was on his own * * * [h]e wasn't obliged to do that * * * he had his mechanism to blame it on, if he wanted to. (Helms, 6/13/75, p. 29)

Helms added that apprising the President of such a matter was no easy or simple task:

Senator MATHIAS. When Mr. Bissell was here I think I asked him whether the job of communicating with superior authority was one of protecting superior authority, and specifically the President, protecting him from knowledge and at the same time informing him, which is a difficult and delicate job, and he agreed that that was really the difficulty.

And you this morning have said that in advising a President or very high authority of any particular delicate subject, that you resorted to euphemism.

Mr. HELMS. Yes, sir. (Helms, 6/13/75, pp. 65-66)

* * * * *

Senator MATHIAS. Did Presidents indulge in euphemisms as well as Directors?
Mr. HELMS. I don't know. I found in my experience that Presidents used the entire range of the English language from euphemisms on the one extreme to very explicit talk on the other.

Senator MATHIAS. Let me draw an example from history. When Thomas A. Beckett was proving to be an annoyance, as Castro, the King said who will rid me of this man. He didn't say to somebody go out and murder him. He said who will rid me of this man, and let it go at that * * *

Mr. HELMS. That is a warming reference to the problem.

Senator MATHIAS. You feel that spans the generations and the centuries?

Mr. HELMS. I think it does, sir.

Senator MATHIAS. And that is typical of the kind of thing which might be said, which might be taken by the Director or by anybody else as Presidential authorization to go forward?

Mr. HELMS. That is right. But in answer to that, I realize that one sort of grows up in tradition of the time and I think that any of us would have found it very difficult to discuss assassinations with a President of the United States. I just think we all had the feeling that we were hired out to keep those things out of the Oval Office.

Senator MATHIAS. And yet at the same time you felt that some spark had been transmitted, that that was within the permissible limits?

Mr. HELMS. Yes; and if he had disappeared from the scene they would not have been unhappy. (Helms, 6/13/75, pp. 71-73)

The Executive Assistant to Harvey, described what he thought the approval process might be in the following exchange with Senator Schweiker:

Senator SCHWEIKER. We keep coming back to this confusing status where we see the assassination plans and plots falling out very prolifically, and we see that higher authority as in your case has authorized them, but somewhere along there we lost track. And I guess my question is, would a logical explanation of this very confusing situation be that some of the powers that be just decided not to discuss them in the formal sessions, and just verbally passed on instructions through the chain of command, but not in the formal committee special group apparatus?

Might that be a logical explanation of why we are continually confused by the kind of testimony that you have given, and let me say that others have given, too?

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT: I wouldn't expect any President to sign a piece of paper directing an assassination for any reason. I don't think that is done in any government.

Senator SCHWEIKER. So that kind of an explanation would make sense from your experience in government?

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT: Yes, sir.

Senator SCHWEIKER. And explain the discrepancy that we keep running into in terms of different situations analogous to yourself?

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT: Sure. I don't think you are going to find a piece of paper for everything that this Agency or any other Agency has done. There are lots of things that get done by word of mouth.

The CHAIRMAN: But does this leave us in a situation where the direct connection between the President or the Special Group Augmented, the high policy making authority, with respect to knowledge of and direction to assassination of Mr. Castro must be based upon assumption or speculation?

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT: I think it is based upon the integrity of the people who passed on the orders. And it is all oral. (Executive Assistant to Harvey, 6/18/75, pp. 54-55)

Harvey, reporting directly to first Bissell and then Helms, also exhibited in his testimony an ingrained reluctance to even discuss assassination in front of his superiors unless specifically asked about it. He was sure that the way the system of deniability operated

* * * no one would want to charge the President personally with the complete, dirty-handed details of [the assassination plans]. (Harvey, 6/25/75, p. 82)

Moreover, when he was first advised by Bissell that the White House was urging the CIA to set up an assassination capability,¹ Harvey was asked during his testimony why he had not inquired of Bissell as to who in the White House had communicated with him. Harvey answered that:

I did not ask him, and he did not volunteer and I would have considered it somewhat improper to ask and grossly improper if he had volunteered on his part. (Harvey, 6/25/75, p. 37)

Again, when queried by the Committee as to why he never raised the subject of assassination at any of the Special Group Meetings he attended, Harvey responded that he:

* * * felt that if the White House (tasked) this (operation to the CIA) and wanted the Special Group to know about it, it was up to the White House to brief the Special Group and not up to me to brief them, and I would have considered that I would have been very far out of line and would have been subject to severe censure. (Harvey, 7/11/75, p. 77)

It seems to me that Harvey's failure to specifically raise the subject of assassination in meetings with high level Government officials is attributable to more to his attempt to effectuate the system of plausible denial than to any sinister motive to conceal the plots from his superiors. Helms very frankly, and in my view honestly, confirmed Harvey's understanding of deniability and the "protection" of one's higher authority as follows:

Mr. HELMS. I don't know whether it was in training experience tradition or exactly what one points to, but I think to go up to a Cabinet officer and say, am I right in assuming that you want me to assassinate Castro or to try to assassinate Castro, is a question it wouldn't have occurred to me to ask. (Helms, 7/17/75, p. 51)

Whether that protection extended to a duty to lie to protect higher authority is a matter we were not able to resolve. Bissell, while emphasizing that he had been truthful in his testimony before the Committee, said:

"* * * There are occasions when I would go a long way to protect the President of the United States from certain kinds of embarrassment." (Bissell, 6/11/75, pp. 62-63)

* * * * *
 "(Senator Goldwater) Q. * * * Would you tell a falsehood to protect a President of the United States?"

A. Well, under certain circumstances, I would indeed, Senator. I would tell a falsehood, for instance, to the Press or in public announcements * * * and that is perhaps a little different thing, but I would certainly be at ease to do so if the revelation of an operation would be directly embarrassing to the President." (Bissell, 7/22/75, pp. 50-51)

The testimony set out above provides us with the best look at what most likely occurred in terms of *how* authorization was obtained by the CIA for the assassination plots. Whether such conversations did in fact occur is something we will never be able to prove conclusively. What remains are impressions of what probably occurred. This testimony in large part forms the basis of my impressions.

¹ Assassination capability of "Execution Action," as it came to be known is described in Part IV of these views, *infra*.

IV. The concept of assassination was discussed at the highest levels of Government and not affirmatively disavowed

The Committee's investigation revealed that the "concept" of assassination was actually discussed on several occasions at the highest levels of Government. While I find it disturbing that something as drastic as assassination was apparently calmly talked about within our Government, it is even more troublesome that assassination was never clearly and unequivocally disavowed in a manner which left no doubt, at any level of government, that such a course of action would not be tolerated under any circumstances. Some of the discussions of assassination were plainly that. Other times the "capability" for assassination or language which may have been interpreted by some as a euphemism for assassination were the topics of debate within the Executive Branch. The fine distinction between approval of a "capability" for assassination and approval of planning and plotting for actual assassination may be a distinction without difference. If not, it is clearly a dangerous and foolish distinction to make. So too was the ever so common use of loose language and euphemisms. As the Committee's Report notes, the frequent usage of terms such as "get rid of," "eliminate," "removal of Cuban leaders," "disappear simultaneously," "straightforward action," "direct positive action" together with continual discussion of contingency plans to take effect upon the demise of Castro within an intelligence community operating under an ingrained system of deniability combined to create a mosaic of confusion and misunderstanding.

A. EXECUTIVE ACTION

Executive Action is treated in the Committee's Report, pp. 181-190. The impact of Executive Action, at least upon me, is one of more substantial weight than that accorded in the Report. In my view, the gravity and seriousness of Executive Action is twofold. First, in some ways I find an untargeted capability to perform assassinations even more sinister than the overt planning against a specific antagonistic target. While the plotting against Castro can never be justified, at least the argument can be made that we were battling what was at that time perceived to be a hostile communist force 90 miles from our shores. A standby assassination ability that is capable of being employed anywhere for any reason addresses no particular threat, perceived or real. It is highly a dangerous "capability" to maintain.

Second, the approval, whether actual or apparent, of the maintenance of an assassination capability surely contributed to the CIA's view that the assassination plots were fully authorized. It strains my imagination to argue that assassination capability (Executive Action) on the one hand and assassination "plotting" on the other hand fit neatly into separate little compartments. For example, while Bundy was either affirmatively ordering the CIA to set up an assassination capability or at least implicitly approving it, did the CIA officers knowledgeable of such White House approval find it consistent with and supportive of their feeling that the assassination plots were authorized? Were Bissell, Helms and Harvey, aware that the White

House had approved or urged assassination "capability," far off base in their beliefs that the Castro plotting also bore the White House imprimatur? To me, these questions provide obvious answers.

Third, Bissell testified that when he and Bundy were discussing Executive Action he "might have" spoken of "Castro as a possible victim" (Bissell, 6/11/75, p. 50) and:

I might very well have spoken of others [besides Castro], I might well have spoken of Lumumba. I might possibly have spoken of Trujillo. They were some of the cases where this kind of thing was considered.

* * * * *

I might well have used the three names that I just gave, because they were the sorts of individuals [Castro, Lumumba, Trujillo] at that moment in history against whom such a capability might possibly have been employed. (Bissell, 6/11/75, pp. 50-51)

Thus, we have yet another example of the CIA's planning in Trujillo, Lumumba and Castro blended together, along with Executive Action, in a common web of perceived authority.

The fact that Executive Action and actual plots were at times blended together is best illustrated by Harvey's testimony of his discussion with Bissell about the creation of an Executive Action capability. He recalled that Bissell advised him at that time of a then going operation involving "the names of Maheu and possibly Roselli and Giancana," "which was a part of the Agency's effort to develop * * * a capability for Executive Action." (Harvey, 7/11/75, pp. 55, 61) Harvey said that he was told that "in connection with * * * our charge to create such a capability [Executive Action], [t]here is one operation already going." (Harvey, 7/11/75, p. 53)

These are some of the questions and concerns which I have about the "Executive Action" testimony and evidence the Committee has received. What I consider to be the most important parts of our documentary evidence and testimony concerning Executive Action are set out comprehensively in the Committee's Report, pp. 181-190.

B. THE AUGUST 10 MEETING

The Special Group Augmented met on August 10, 1962. Sixteen persons, all high Government officials, attended the meeting. I treat this meeting separately because I accord it more importance than does the Committee's report. It is one of the few times where the Committee has established, upon convincing evidence, that assassination was raised and overtly discussed as a possible course of action. While, as the Committee Report concludes, the August 10 meeting was not directly related to the Castro attempts, I feel it is instructive for several reasons. First, it is about the only concrete example of what occurred when we know the subject of assassination was raised publicly and the discussion was written up. Second, it contributed to the hostile atmosphere in which these various assassination plots grew. Third, it demonstrates that despite the clear record that assassination was discussed, not everyone present can "recall" the discussion and no one will admit that he raised assassination as a possible course of action. Fourth, the written record of the meeting (the minutes) contains no

reference to it.¹ In short, the August 10 meeting serves as a microcosm for the whole system of deniability.

The Committee Report, pp. 161-169, describes this meeting in detail. I will not recount the facts again, but will focus instead on the testimony regarding who suggested it.

1.—THE TESTIMONY—WHO RAISED THE SUGGESTION OF THE ASSASSINATION OF CASTRO?

(a) TESTIMONY OF McCONE

McCone testified that the question of a "liquidation" or removal of Castro and other Cuban leaders arose at the August 10 meeting in the context of "exploring the alternatives that were available" for the next phase of MONGOOSE. (McCone, 6/6/75, p. 33) He noted that:

* * * during those days it was almost common for one person or another to say, we ought to dispose of Castro . . . But at no time did anyone come to me, or come to other authorities to my knowledge, with a plan for the actual undertaking of an assassination. (McCone, 6/6/75, p. 3.)

McCone testified that he did not recall who made this suggestion, but that he and Mr. Murrow took "strong exception" to assassination he said:

Q. "* * * I take it then, that according to your best recollection the subject of liquidating Castro and possibly other top Cuban leaders did come up at this meeting, and you did take strong exception to it?"

A. "Yes. I was not alone in that. Mr. Murrow took exception. I remember that very clearly." (McCone, 6/6/75, p. 33)

Despite remembering very clearly his response, McCone testified he couldn't "recall" who it was that made the suggestion. (*Ibid.*)

McCone then testified that although he had no independent recollection of who raised the subject of assassination, he was able to reconstruct from the documentary record that was Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara who made the suggestion. McCone relied upon his own memorandum, which was written in 1967, and the August 13 Harvey Memorandum. McCone's memorandum was prepared April 14, 1967, after McCone left the CIA. He dictated the memorandum as his recollection of the August 10, 1962 meeting. The memorandum was prompted by a telephone call from the newspaper columnist Jack Anderson, who at that time was preparing a column on Castro assassination attempts. After talking with Anderson on the telephone, at Robert Kennedy's request, McCone dictated the April 14, 1967 memorandum, which stated that at one of several MONGOOSE meetings on August 8, 9 or 10, 1962. "I recall a suggestion being made to liquidate top people in the Castro regime, including Castro." (McCone, Ex. 4, p. 1) While

¹ I find it disturbing, but not surprising, that our exhaustive inquiry did not satisfactorily establish either why the minutes show no reference to assassination nor who suggested assassination. No one was candid enough to say, yes, I raised it but not in a serious vein or in a moment of frustration. Rather, we are left either to question the credibility of the witnesses or conclude that assassination was so commonplace or insignificant that it did not make an impression on anyone. In any case, it is not a pleasant picture.

this 1967 memorandum does not state that McNamara raised the concept of assassination, it does state that :

Immediately after the meeting, I called on Secretary McNamara personally and re-emphasized my position, in which he heartily agreed. I did this because Operation MONGOOSE—an interdepartmental affair—was under the operational control of (the Defense Department) * * * (*Id.*)

McCone continued in his testimony that “At no time did the suggestion receive serious consideration by the Special Group (Augmented) nor by any individual responsible for policy.” (McCone, Ex. 4). He emphasized that after he spoke with Harvey about the Lansdale memorandum he :

[I]nsisted that that Memorandum be withdrawn because no decision was made on this subject, and since no decision was made, then Lansdale was quite out of order in tasking the Central Intelligence Agency to consider the matter. (McCone, 6/6, pp. 38-39)

McCone concluded his testimony about the August 10 meeting and its aftermath by saying that “The subject was just dropped” after his objection. (McCone, 6/6/75, p. 37)¹

(b) HARVEY'S TESTIMONY

Harvey testified that Robert McNamara raised the subject of assassination by stating at the August 10 meeting “shouldn't we consider the elimination or assassination of Fidel?” (Harvey, 7/11/75, pp. 29-30) When asked whether he was certain or merely guessing that it was McNamara and not someone else who made the suggestion, Harvey responded :

No, I am not guessing . . . [t]o the best of my recollection, it was surfaced by Robert McNamara. (Harvey, 7/11/75, p. 86)

Harvey also testified that his independent recollection of McNamara raising the subject was in accord with his memorandum of August 14 (written shortly after the meeting) which also referred to McNamara bringing up the assassination suggestion.

(c) TESTIMONY OF GOODWIN

The testimony of Goodwin was, like Lansdale's appearance before the Committee, not a model of clarity. Goodwin was interviewed by the staff on May 27, 1975. (Goodwin Exhibit 2, 7/18/75) At that time he told the staff that McNamara had suggested assassinating Castro or “getting rid of Castro” at the August 10 meeting. Indeed, he told the staff that “etched on his memory” was the following exchange :

McNamara got up to leave during a discussion of how to get rid of Castro and said, “The only way to get rid of Castro was to kill him.”

Goodwin then said that McNamara followed this comment up by saying, “I really mean it.” At that point, Goodwin told the Committee

¹ This conclusion was not in accord with Harvey's recollection that after the August 10 meeting Lansdale tried to raise the subject of assassination with him on several occasions. See I.G. Report, p. 115; Harvey 7/11/75, pp. 3-5.

staff that Bissell said, "Oh, you mean Executive Action." Goodwin said he didn't think the comments were followed up on by McNamara (although Lansdale and Harvey were both at the meeting) and that "it was pretty foolish for McNamara to talk about that kind of a subject in front of 15 other people." (Goodwin interview, 5/25/75, p. 1)

When Goodwin appeared before the Committee, about six weeks later, his testimony was significantly different. He testified with respect to who raised the suggestion of assassination at the August 10 meeting that: "I am unable to say with any certainty who it was." (Goodwin, 7/18/75, p. 8)

Goodwin was later questioned about statements he was quoted as having made to authors Taylor Branch and George Crile, III.¹ He was quoted in the article as having said that at one of the Cuban task force meetings, McNamara said that "Castro's assassination was the only productive way of dealing with Cuba" and that he, Goodwin, was "surprised and appalled" at such statements. In his testimony, Goodwin said he was misquoted and that he did not tell the authors "it was definitely McNamara." (Goodwin, 7/18/75, p. 33). Goodwin concluded by testifying that, some 15 years after the August 10 meeting, he could not testify about who raised the assassination suggestion with "substantial certainty" (*Id.* at p. 35).

(d) LANSDALE'S TESTIMONY

Lansdale testified that he simply had a poor recollection of the August 10 meeting. He was not sure what occurred at the meeting, other than that assassination was raised and that "one or two people sitting in there (at the meeting) said it was something that shouldn't be considered," (Lansdale, 7/8/75, p. 123) and that "others * * * might have" joined McNamara in proposing or urging it. (Lansdale, 7/8/75, p. 127) Moreover, Lansdale could not explain why he ordered the CIA to draw up an assassination plan if the consensus of the Special Group was negative.² He said he didn't "remember the reason why" he sent out such a memorandum. (Lansdale, 7/8/75, pp. 122-23, 20-21) Lansdale summarized his recollection as follows:

I believe that the subject of assassination was brought up at a meeting * * * by Robert McNamara * * * and (McNamara) was usually very brief and terse in his remarks, and it might have been something like, well, look into that * * * (Lansdale, 7/8/75, pp. 116, 126).

Lansdale could not offer any explanation for why the minutes of the meeting were silent on the matter except that it was decided not to make it "a matter of official record." (Lansdale exhibit 16, p. 1)

(e) TESTIMONY OF RUSK, BUNDY, AND GILPATRIC

Rusk, Bundy, and Gilpatric all testified that they had "no recollection" of assassination being discussed at the August 10 meeting. (Rusk, 7/10/75, p. 63; Bundy, 7/11/75, pp. 27, 89; Gilpatric, 7/8/75, p. 48)³

¹ They co-authored the article entitled "The Kennedy Vendetta," which appeared in Harper's Magazine, July, 1975.

² Lansdale, like Goodwin, denied the accuracy of two news stories quoting him as saying he was ordered to develop such a plan. See Committee Report, pp. 167-169.

³ Indeed, Gilpatric testified that "I didn't think I was present for that meeting." (Gilpatric, 7/17/75, p. 48)

(f) TESTIMONY OF McNAMARA

McNamara testified concerning the August 10 meeting that he did not even recall that particular meeting. (McNamara, 7/11/75, p. 11) He said that he had "no recollection of raising [the assassination suggestion] at any time." (McNamara, 7/11/75, p. 12) McNamara, throughout his testimony, stated that he doubted that he proposed such a tactic. He said at one point:

I have talked with Messrs. Taylor, Bundy, Gilpatric and Rusk [and they also] have no recollection of me raising it. It is entirely out of character with what I believe I thought at the time and I do not read into those words (Harvey's memorandum) a statement that I did propose it. (McNamara, 7/11/75, p. 18)

(g) TESTIMONY OF PARROTT

Parrott, the author of the August 10 Minutes, testified that he did not recall a discussion of assassination at that meeting, but the fact that the minutes do not reflect such a discussion is not an indication that the matter did not come up. Parrott pointed out that his minutes "were not intended to be a verbatim transcript of everything that was said." (Parrott, 7/10/75, p. 34) Parrott further stated that the purpose of his minutes was "to interpret what the decisions were and to record those and to use them as a useful action document." (Parrott, 7/10/75, p. 35) Parrott testified:

"We had 15 or 16 people (at the August 10, 1962, meeting) * * * all of them well informed, all of them highly articulate.

This meeting, as I recall, went on for several hours * * * Now I'm sure that particularly in a group like this that there were a great many proposals made that were just shot down immediately. (Parrott, 7/10/75, pp. 34-35)

Parrott further testified that he did not record proposals "that were quickly rejected at the August 10 meeting. (Parrott, 7/10/75, p. 35) He stated that, although he had no recollection of a discussion of Castro's assassination at the August 10 meeting, he would infer from the related documents (the Lansdale and Harvey memoranda of August 13 and 14) that the subject was raised but "it never got off the ground * * * [a]nd therefore, I did not record it." (Parrott, 7/10/75, p. 35) Parrott said it was not his practice to intentionally not record such discussions in the minutes.

(h) TESTIMONY OF ELDER

Walter Elder testified that although he was not present at the August 10 meeting, he was present when McCone returned to the Agency and "called McNamara on the phone and * * * took exception to the discussion of assassination as improper." (Elder, 8/13/75, pp. 22-23) Elder described the conversation (which he heard in McCone's office on a speaker phone) as follows:

A. * * * (McCone) said, "Bob, the subject you just brought up, I think it is highly improper. I do not think it should be discussed. It is not an action that should ever be condoned. It is not proper for us to discuss, and I intend to have it expunged from the record."

Q. Did McNamara say he did not bring it up?

A. No, he did not.

Q. Is that the total conversation as you remember it?

A. This was back in 1962. That was the gist of it.

C. CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT KENNEDY ABOUT THE USE OF ASSASSINATION

The only evidence the Committee heard of the discussion of assassinations with a President were two conversations with President Kennedy.¹ Both occurred during the active phase of the Castro plots, during the year 1961. Neither conversation aided us in our effort to determine whether President Kennedy or any other President specifically or implicitly authorized the CIA's assassination plots and plans. They established that President Kennedy said he was being urged to authorize Castro's assassination. Yet, none of the Presidential advisors were aware of any such urgings and testified that they thought they would have been if the President had been so urged.

1. PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MEETING WITH TAD SZULC ON NOVEMBER 9, 1961

In early November 1961, Szulc was asked by Richard Goodwin, then Special Assistant to President Kennedy, to meet with Attorney General Robert Kennedy on November 8, 1961, to discuss the situation in Cuba. The meeting was an "off-the-record" one which Szulc attended as a friend of Goodwin's and not as a reporter. (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 24) During the meeting with Robert Kennedy, the discussion centered on "the situation in Cuba following the [Bay of Pigs] invasion [and] the pros and cons of some different possible actions by the U.S. Government in that context." (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 25) The word assassination did not come up during this meeting. (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 31)

At the close of the meeting, Robert Kennedy asked Szulc to meet with President Kennedy. (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 25) On November 9, 1961, Szulc, accompanied by Goodwin, met with President Kennedy for over an hour in the Oval Office. (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 25) Szulc recalled that the President discussed "a number of his views on Cuba in the wake of the Bay of Pigs, asked me a number of questions concerning my conversations with Premier Castro, and * * * what the United States could [or] might do in * * * either a hostile way or in establishing some kind of dialogue * * *" (Szulc, 6/10/75, pp. 25-26)

Szulc testified that after this general discussion, the President then asked, "*what would you think if I ordered Castro to be assassinated?*" (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 26; Szulc Notes of Conversation with President Kennedy, November 9, 1961 (Emphasis Added.) Szulc testified that he replied that an assassination would not necessarily cause a change in the Cuban system, and that it was Szulc's personal view that the United States should not be party to murders and political assassinations. (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 26) Szulc testified that thereupon the President said, "I agree with you completely." Szulc stated further:

He [President Kennedy] then went on for a few minutes to make the point how strongly he and his brother felt that the U.S. for moral reasons should never be in a situation of having recourse to assassination in foreign policy. (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 27)

¹ The testimony regarding the August 18, 1960 meeting of the National Security Council at which President Eisenhower said something which one Robert Johnson thought was an assassination suggestion is discussed *infra*; see also Committee Report, pp. 55-60.

Szulc's notes of the meeting with the President state:

JFK then said he was testing me, that he felt the same way—he added “I’m glad you feel the same way—because indeed U.S. morally must not be part [sic] to assassinations.”

Szulc's notes of the conversation further state:

JFK said he raised question because he was under terrific pressure from advisers (think he said intelligence people, but not positive) to okay a Castro murder, said [sic] he was resisting pressures. (Szulc Note of Conversation with President Kennedy, November 9, 1961)

Szulc stated, relying on his memory, that it is “possible” and he “believed” that President Kennedy used such words as “someone in the intelligence business,” as the source of the pressure for a Castro assassination. (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 29) The President did not identify the person or persons. (Szulc, 6/10/75, p. 27)

Goodwin also testified before the Committee about the Szulc/Kennedy conversation. He said that, after asking Szulc for his reaction to a suggestion that Castro be assassinated, President Kennedy said only, “we can’t get into that kind of thing, or we would all be targets.” (Goodwin, 7/18/75, pp. 4, 11)

This conversation, if accurately related to the Committee, and if the President was accurate in his remarks to Szulc, is particularly troublesome to me. It raises a number of questions on the issue of authority. The central question, of course, is who, in November 1961, was putting pressure on the President to authorize Castro’s assassination? On November 29, 1961, John McCone replaced Allen Dulles as DCI;¹ thus, on November 9, Dulles was still DCI. Bissell was then still DDP. Helms and Harvey were both within the DDP. Yet, everyone has uniformly denied ever even mentioning assassination to President Kennedy, let alone “pressuring” him to approve it.² Moreover, the CIA itself, in a paper drafted and submitted to the President only one month earlier, had concluded that Castro’s death would not be “fatal to the regime” and recommended against any such action. See Committee Report, pp. 136–137.

Thus, this piece of evidence, like many others, does not fit neatly into the puzzle. Whether Allen Dulles ever spoke to President Kennedy about approval is a matter which cannot be conclusively resolved.

2. CONVERSATION BETWEEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND SENATOR GEORGE SMATHERS

George Smathers, former United States Senator representing the State of Florida, testified that in a conversation he had with President Kennedy as they walked together on the White House lawn:

* * * [President Kennedy] asked me what reaction I thought there would be throughout South America were Fidel Castro to be assassinated * * * I told the President that even as much as I disliked Fidel Castro that I did not think it would be a good idea for there to be even considered an assassination of Fidel Castro, and the President of the United States completely agreed with me, that it would be a very unwise thing to do, the reason obviously being that no matter

¹ McCone’s appointment was announced on September 27, 1961, but he spent some time “getting up to speed” on Agency operations, through briefings with Dulles, and took office on November 29. (See Elder, 8/13/75, pp. 8–9, 12–14)

² McCone, Helms, Bissell, Harvey, and all members of the Special Group and Special Group Augmented have testified that at no time did they ever discuss assassination with President Kennedy. Allen Dulles is deceased.

who did it and no matter how it was done and no matter what, that the United States would receive full credit for it, and it would work to his great disadvantage with all of the other countries in Central and South America * * * I disapproved of it, and he completely disapproved of the idea. (Smathers, 7/23/75, pp. 6, 7)

Smathers testified that he had the "impression" that the President raised the subject of assassination with him because someone "had apparently discussed this and other possibilities with respect to Cuba" with the President. (Smathers, 7/23/75, pp. 16, 25) Smathers had no direct knowledge of any such discussion, nor did he know who might have been involved. (Smathers, 7/23/75, pp. 16, 25) Moreover, the President did not indicate directly that assassination had been proposed to him. (Smathers, 7/23/75, p. 18)

According to Smathers, the President "asked me what reaction I thought there would be through South America were Fidel Castro to be assassinated." (Smathers, 7/23/75, p. 6) Smathers responded that he thought it would work to "great disadvantage" with the nations of Central and South America because they would blame the U.S. for any assassination of Castro.

Thereafter, Smathers said he tried to raise the subject of Cuba with President Kennedy and the President told him in no uncertain terms that he should not raise the subject with him again. Smathers particularly recalled one incident, which occurred after the above-quoted conversation, which stuck in his memory. He recalled that one evening he was at the President's home and during conversation:

I just happened to mention, * * * something about Cuba, and the President took his fork and cracked the plate * * * and says, for Gods sakes, quit talking about Cuba * * * (Smathers, 7/23/75, p. 22)

Senator Smathers concluded his testimony by indicating that in general he felt he was "taking the tougher stance" on Cuba than was President Kennedy (Smathers, 7/23/75, p. 24) but that he disapproved even thinking of assassinating Castro and that in his opinion President Kennedy was definitely "not interested in the assassination of Fidel Castro." (Smathers, 7/23/75, p. 16)

This second time that President Kennedy talked about assassination he again expressed the opinion that assassination should not be used by the United States. The subject was one, however, which appeared to be on his mind and, again, we are unable to establish who, if anyone, raised assassination with the President.

D. PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S DISCUSSION AT THE AUGUST 18, 1960 NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

A discussion of United States policy towards the Congo occurred at the National Security Council on August 18, 1960. Robert H. Johnson, an NSC staff member from July 1951 to January 1962, attended that meeting as he had others and took the minutes. He testified that:

I attended one such NSC meeting in the summer of 1960. I should note parenthetically that I have refreshed my memory as to the probable time of the meeting by checking the historical record of international developments. At that meeting, there was a discussion of developments of what was then the Congo, now Zaire. I do not remember the context of the discussion. It is my guess that it was precipitated by the intelligence briefing by the Director of Central Intelligence on world developments with which every NSC meeting at that time began.

At some time during that discussion President Eisenhower said something—I can no longer remember his words—that came across to me as an order for the assassination of Lumumba who was then at the center of political conflict and controversy in the Congo. There was no discussion; the meeting simply moved on. I remember my sense of that moment quite clearly because the President's statement came as a great shock to me. I cannot, however, reconstruct the moment more specifically. (Johnson, 6/18/75, p. 6)

Senator Mathias then asked:

But what comes across is that you do have a memory, if not of exact words, but of your own reaction to a Presidential order which you consider to be an order for an assassination.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Senator MATHIAS. And that although precise words have escaped you in the passage of 15 years, that sense of shock remains?

Mr. JOHNSON. Right, Yes, Sir. (Johnson, 6/18/75, p. 8)

Johnson, however, qualified his remarks as follows:

* * * I must confess that in thinking about the incident more recently I have had some doubts. As is well known, it was quite uncharacteristic of President Eisenhower to make or announce policy decisions in NSC meetings. Certainly it was strange if he departed from that normal pattern on a subject so sensitive as this. Moreover, it was not long after this, I believe, that Lumumba was dismissed as premier by Kasavubu in an action that was a quasi-coup. I have come to wonder whether what I really had [heard] was only an order for some such political action. All I can tell you with any certainty at the present moment is my sense of that moment in the Cabinet Room of the White House. (Robert H. Johnson, 6/18/75, pp. 5-7)

The minutes do not, however, reflect the exchange to which Johnson alluded.¹ Nor, does any other participant of the same meeting remember any such statement. Douglas Dillon, who was also present, suggests that the sentiment of the time was to get rid of Lumumba and that perhaps that is what was said. *See* Committee Report, pp. 57-60.

A fine line appears to exist between getting rid of someone and taking steps toward their assassination. Again, we find conversations which mean different things to different people. This is one more example of why I fully agree with the Committee's central finding that we cannot conclusively establish whether the assassination plots were authorized, yet come away with the impression that the CIA's actions were not far afield from what the policymakers desired.

V. Did the Investigation of Giancana and Roselli Reveal Their Involvement in the Assassination Plots to the FBI, Department of Justice, Attorney General or the President?

On October 31, 1960, at the very early stages of the Castro plotting in Florida, the wiretap installed through Maheu at the request of Giancana was discovered in another person's Las Vegas apartment. *See* Committee's Report, pp. 77-79. The FBI commenced an investigation which soon led to both Maheu and Giancana. During the course of the investigation information regarding the CIA's involvement with underworld figures was disclosed to the FBI, Justice Department

¹ Johnson, following the meeting, "checked with a superior as to whether I should include the President's statement in my de-briefing of the Planning Board and as to how I should handle it in my memorandum of the discussion. I suspect—but no longer have an exact recollection—that I omitted it from the de-briefing. It was not unusual to occasionally omit some particularly sensitive subject from the de-briefing." (Johnson, 6/18/75, p. 7; 9/13/75, pp. 11-13)

officials, and Attorney General Kennedy. In addition, our investigation revealed that during the Florida assassination plotting the FBI actually had Roselli and Giancana under surveillance and had a bug in their various abodes.¹ This section will describe what evidence the Committee gathered concerning what information was transmitted to the Executive Branch during the period of the Las Vegas wiretap investigation and what action was taken because of it.

A. THE FBI MEMORANDA

1. THE OCTOBER 18, 1960 MEMORANDUM

The first relevant memorandum discovered by the Committee's investigation was a memorandum sent by Director Hoover to Allen W. Dulles, DCI, marked "Attention: Deputy Director, Plans."² The memorandum reported that an FBI "source" had obtained the following information:

According to the source, during recent conversation with several friends, Giancana stated that Fidel Castro was to be done away with very shortly. When doubt was expressed regarding this statement Giancana reportedly assured those present that Castro's assassination would occur in November. Moreover, he allegedly indicated that he had already met with the assassin-to-be on three occasions, the last meeting taking place on a boat docked at the Fontainebleau Hotel, Miami Beach, Florida. Reportedly, Giancana claimed that everything has been perfected for the killing of Castro and that the "assassin" had arranged with a girl, not further described, to drop a "pill" in some drink or food of Castro's.

Bissell, however, was the CIA's DDP (to whose attention the memo was directed) at the time and testified that he did not recall seeing the memorandum. (Bissell, 7/22/75, p. 40) He said that under CIA procedures a copy would also have been given to the DCI Dulles. (Bissell, 7/22/75, p. 40)

The FBI copy of the Hoover/Dulles memorandum contained the following additional information:

By separate airtel [night cable] we have instructed the field to be most alert for any additional information concerning alleged plots against Castro and to submit recommendations for close surveillance of Giancana in the event he makes trip to the Miami area or other trips which may be for the purpose of contacting people implicated in this plot.

I find the October 18, 1960, memorandum particularly significant since it reveals intimate knowledge of the Castro plots including the method to be used (poison pills) and the place of most meetings. (Fontainebleau Hotel). I have a hard time believing this memorandum was dismissed as idle chatter, particularly as the FBI's investigation proceeded forward and yet additional information was obtained. Our investigation, however, has not determined exactly who was advised, orally or otherwise, of this October 18 memorandum or what was done about it.

¹ See FBI documents; Meheu 7/29/75, pp. 66-67, 9/23/75, pp. 13-16; Roselli 9/22/75, pp. 13, 19, 20-21, 47, 55.

² Copies of this memorandum were sent to Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army, Attention: Chief, Security Division; Office of Special Investigations, Air Force, Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division; Director of Naval Intelligence; Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley; Office of Security, Department of State.

Courtney Evans was then the FBI's liaison with Attorney General Kennedy and the President. He had worked closely with the then Senator John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy on the McClellan Committee, which had investigated the relationship between organized labor and organized crime. After becoming Attorney General, Robert Kennedy singled out Giancana as one of the underworld leaders to be given the most intense investigation. Evans was questioned by the Committee about the October 18 memorandum. He testified that he did not recall ever having seen it, that he had never heard from any source of an assassination plot involving the Central Intelligence Agency and members of the underworld during his tenure with the Bureau, and that he never discussed assassination with the Attorney General. (Evans, 8/27/75, pp. 55-57) He testified that while he did not recall the memorandum, if it had been sent to him, it would have been sent by Thomas McAndrews, who was Chief of the Organized Crime Section of the Special Investigative Division of the Bureau.

McAndrews, who was responsible for distributing information to the entire intelligence community from the FBI, could not recall ever having given the October 18 memorandum to his superior, Evans. When asked if he believed the information contained in that memorandum had ever been brought to the attention of Attorney General Kennedy, McAndrews testified:

*I think he was briefed specifically on it, either in writing or orally * * * I think it was done. But I can't say for sure. (McAndrews, 9/17/75, p. 27)*

Ralph Hill, who was the Special Agent in charge of the investigation of Giancana, stated that he recalled the information in the October 18 memorandum, but that he did not recall the memorandum itself. He stated that because of the Attorney General's interest in organized crime figures, it was the practice for field reports concerning Giancana to be given to Courtney Evans, who would then forward them to the Attorney General.

As the FBI investigation of the Las Vegas wiretap proceeded forward, Sheffield Edwards, the CIA's Director of Security, was in continual contact with the Bureau about the case. Edwards was unable to be questioned about either the October 18 memorandum or his contacts with the FBI due to his infirm condition. Bissell, however, testified that he knew during the spring of 1961 that Edwards was seeking to persuade the Justice Department not to prosecute the parties involved in the tap, including Maheu, Roselli and Giancana. While he believed that Edwards had told the Bureau the truth, he did not expect that Edwards would have revealed that the CIA operation involved assassination. (Bissell, 6/9/75, pp. 63-65)

2. THE MAY 22, 1961 MEMORANDUM

The information which Edwards was providing the FBI in response to inquiry about the Las Vegas tap was eventually forwarded by Director Hoover directly to Attorney General Kennedy by memorandum of May 22, 1961. The memorandum, while not directly mentioning the word "assassination," reported that the CIA had relied on Giancana because of his contacts with gambling figures who might have sources for use "in connection with CIA's clandestine efforts

against the Castro government." The memorandum continued that "none of Giancana's efforts have materialized to date and that several of the plans still are working and may eventually 'pay off'." It described the activities as "dirty business" and said the CIA could not afford having knowledge of the actions of Maheu and Giancana in pursuit of any mission for the CIA. The May 22 memorandum stated:

Colonel Edwards advised that in connection with CIA's operation against Castro he personally contacted Robert Maheu during the Fall of 1960 for the purpose of using Maheu as a "cut-out" in contacts with Sam Giancana, a known hoodlum in the Chicago area. Colonel Edwards said that since the underworld controlled gambling activities in Cuba under the Batista government, it was assumed that this element would still continue to have sources and contacts in Cuba which perhaps could be utilized successfully in connection with CIA's clandestine efforts against the Castro government. As a result, Maheu's services were solicited as a "cut-out" because of his possible entree into underworld circles. Maheu obtained Sam Giancana's assistance in this regard and according to Edwards, Giancana gave every indication of cooperating through Maheu in attempting to accomplish several clandestine efforts in Cuba. Edwards added that none of Giancana's efforts have materialized to date and that several of the plans still are working and may eventually "pay off."

Colonel Edwards related that he had no direct contact with Giancana; that Giancana's activities were completely "back stopped" by Maheu and that Maheu would frequently report Giancana's action and information to Edwards. No details or methods used by Maheu or Giancana in accomplishing their missions were ever reported to Edwards. Colonel Edwards said that since this is "dirty business" he could not afford to have knowledge of the actions of Maheu and Giancana in pursuit of any mission for CIA. Colonel Edwards added that he has neither given Maheu any instruction to use technical installations of any type nor has the subject of technical installations ever come up between Edwards and Maheu in connection with Giancana's activity.

* * * * *

Mr. Bissell, in his recent briefings of General Taylor and the Attorney General and in connection with their inquiries into CIA relating to the Cuban situation told the Attorney General that some of the associated planning included the use of Giancana and the underworld against Castro.

The memorandum thus provided a graphic though elusive description of the assassination plots in terms which I think would lead one receiving the memorandum to ask: What dirty business? What exactly are the "clandestine efforts" of the CIA against Castro? What "plans" are still working and may eventually "pay off?" Perhaps, though, the system of plausible denial dictated that such questions would not be asked. In any event, our investigation did not reveal whether such questions were asked and if so what answers were given.¹

B. PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MEETING WITH THE CUBAN EXILE LEADER

Before reviewing what our investigation revealed as to what happened to the May 22 memorandum, I feel it important to review the time period in which it was written. First, the portion of the memorandum which reads "none of Giancana's efforts have materialized to date" seems to refer to the recent passage of poison pills in April 1961 to the Cuban exile leader who was active in the plots around this

¹ All officials still living who the record established saw the memoranda testified they never learned that the memorandum was describing assassination efforts.

period of time.¹ Second, the memorandum was received by Attorney General Kennedy in aftermath of the Bay of Pigs and at the height of the Taylor/Kennedy Bay of Pigs inquiry which met from April through June of 1961. (See Committee's Report at pp. 121-23) Moreover, Allen Dulles was one of the members of the Taylor/Kennedy Board and obviously available to answer inquiries about the May 22 memorandum. Third, our investigation determined President Kennedy met in person with the Cuban exile leader on April 19-20, 1961, apparently to discuss the failure of the Bay of Pigs.² Thereafter, on May 18, 1961, the Taylor/Kennedy Board of Inquiry interviewed the Cuban exile leader, and other members of Cuban groups. The record reveals that the subject matter of this interview was the Bay of Pigs operation and that Attorney General Kennedy was present.

Those still living who participated in the Taylor/Kennedy inquiry have testified they never heard of the assassination plots from any of the witnesses. The May 22 memorandum, however, references Bissell's briefing Attorney General Kennedy about the fact that the CIA's "associated planning included the use of Giancana against Castro." Bissell's testimony about what he told Kennedy at that time is treated at length in the Committee's Report, pp. 121-23. Suffice it to say he again had a very bad memory as to what, if anything, he told Attorney General Kennedy about the plots.³

The May 22 memorandum was accompanied by a short cover memorandum stating that Edwards had acknowledged the "attempted" use of Maheu and "hoodlum elements" by the CIA in "anti-Castro activities," but that the "purpose for placing the wiretap * * * [had] not been determined * * *." (FBI memo to Attorney General, 5/22/61)

The May 22 memorandum to Attorney General Kennedy was stamped "received," and contained a notation in the margin, in Kennedy's hand, as follows: "Courtney I hope this will be followed up vigorously." "Courtney" was Courtney Evans. Evans, as indicated earlier, testified that he neither knew anything about any assassination plots nor discussed the subject with Attorney General Kennedy. However, Evans did write a memorandum to Allen Belmont, Assistant Director of the FBI, dated June 6, 1961, which stated:

We checked with CIA and ascertained that CIA has used Maheu as an intermediary in contacting Sam Giancana, the notorious Chicago hoodlum. This was in connection with anti-Castro activities. CIA, however, did not give any instructions to Maheu to use any technical installations. In connection with this information received from CIA concerning their attempted utilization of the hood-

¹ According to FBI memoranda dated December 21, 1960, and January 18, 1961, the Cuban exile leader was associated with anti-Castro activities financed by United States racketeers, including Santos Trafficante, who hoped to secure illegal monopolies in the event of Castro's overthrow. Cuban exile leader was also used by Roselli in the second passage of pills to Cuba in April 1962.

² While there is no record of this meeting, other members of Cuban groups and Secretary of Defense McNamara and General Lemnitzer were present. McNamara has testified that he never heard the assassination plots discussed with the President or anyone else. (McNamara, 7/11/75, p. 73)

³ Bissell at one point answered:

Q. * * * you're saying that in briefing the Attorney General you are telling him you are using the underworld against Castro, and you intended to mean, Mr. Attorney General, we are trying to kill him.

A. I thought it signaled just exactly that to the Attorney General, I'm sure. (Bissell, 7/22/75, p. 54)

But, he later equivocated about what he said, the net result being that we just cannot be sure what he may have said to Attorney General Kennedy.

lum element. CIA requested this information be handled on a "need-to-know" basis.

We are conducting a full investigation in this wiretap case requested by the Department and the field has been instructed to press this investigation vigorously. Accordingly, the Attorney General will be orally assured that we are following up vigorously and the results of our investigation will be furnished to the Department promptly.

At the time Director Hoover sent the May 22, 1961 memorandum to the Justice Department, indicating that there was a CIA/Giancana link, the Bureau and Justice files contained the October 18, 1960 memorandum revealing that Giancana had earlier talked about an assassination attempt. This memorandum of October 18, 1960 did not reveal any Giancana/CIA connections. It did, however, mention assassination. Anyone reading the memorandum of October 18, 1960 and knowing that the CIA was associated with Giancana in a project "against Castro" should have realized the connection. There is no evidence, however, that the Attorney General ever saw the October 18 memorandum. Nor is there any evidence that anyone put the two memorandums together or, for that matter, asked enough questions of the right people to determine that the project or activities or plans "against Castro" were in fact assassination plots.

Given the information transmitted in the memorandum of 1960 and 1961 that developed from the FBI investigation of the Las Vegas tap together with bugs in the listening devices in various buildings of the underworld figures and the physical surveillance in Florida adds up to one of three possibilities; (1) the plots became known to those who wanted to know and were allowed to continue; (2) no one learned of them because they "didn't want to know;" or (3) the information was never sufficiently put together enough to reveal the plots. The evidence, however, will not permit me to even guess which of the three possibilities actually occurred. We will never know for certain whether in May of 1961, almost a year before the second passage of poison pills in April 1962, anyone realized that there were ongoing assassination plans and yet did nothing about them.

C. THE EVENTS OF 1962

Both the Castro plots and the Giancana wiretap investigation did not exhibit much activity between the May 22, 1961 memorandum and the advent of 1962. The events surrounding the May 7, 1962 briefing are dealt with at length in the Committee's Report. I mention them briefly here so that they may be viewed together with the events preceding them in 1960 and 1961. In this manner I believe a fuller picture of the problems of who knew what when is presented.

The ambiguity reflected in the Committee's Report over what occurred in the May 7 briefing is heightened by the May 14, 1962, memorandum which purports to describe the May 7 briefing. The May 14 memorandum was prepared at the Attorney General's request by Edwards, with Houston's assistance.

The May 14 memorandum described the assassination plots as a "sensitive operation against Fidel Castro," and said that "(a)fter the failure of the invasion of Cuba word was sent through Maheu to Roselli to call off the operation," and that "neither this Agency (CIA) nor (Edwards) knew of" the proposed Las Vegas wiretap. Thus, the memorandum did not fully or accurately describe the assassination operation and actually falsely stated other facts, e.g., that the plots were concluded in May of 1961 when they were continuing and that

the CIA was not involved in authorizing the Giancana tap when it apparently did. Moreover, the Attorney General had already seen the May 22, 1961 memorandum (discussed *supra*) which said that in late May of 1961 “[plans were] still working” and might “eventually pay off.” And, the Attorney General was presumably also aware that the CIA had been involved in the proposed tap (from reading the May 22, 1961 memorandum). Therefore, the May 14, 1962, memorandum contained several statements which seem to be known inaccuracies.

The answer to all these ambiguities may be that the May 14 memorandum was intended to be false to serve as a “cover” for the real facts. Alternatively, the memorandum may just have resulted from the apparent confusion between Houston and Edwards and a general reluctance to detail in writing something like an assassination operation.

It is clear, however, that at the May 7 briefing the “operation” against Castro was described as an assassination attempt because of the meeting between Attorney General Kennedy and Hoover two days later. Hoover’s May 10 memorandum describing the May 9 meeting, noted that Kennedy described the operation as involving the CIA’s hiring “Robert A. Maheu, a private detective in Washington, D.C., to approach Giancana with a proposition of paying \$150,000 to hire some gunmen to go into Cuba to kill Castro.”

Whatever occurred at the May 7 meeting and whatever the reasons for the May 14 memorandum, the major concern which arises for me is that no affirmative action was taken. Despite the fact that the Attorney General, the Director of the FBI, the General Counsel and the Director of Security of the CIA, all discussed assassination plots against Castro, no written order was levied upon all CIA employees banning any such actions.¹

Indeed, John McCone, the Director of the CIA in May of 1962, testified that he was not even told of the plots until August of 1963, and then only because of a newspaper article (Committee Report, pp. 99–108)². And, all the advisors to President Kennedy testified that they also never heard anything about it. For example, Herbert J. Miller, Jr. testified that he had never heard about assassination efforts and that if the Attorney General had, “he would have told me.” (Miller, 8/11/75, pp. 17–22) Of course, we know that the Attorney General did know, at least as of May 7, 1962. Whether he informed President Kennedy we do not know. The confusion over who did or did not know, and if so when, again demonstrates the glaring need for better command and control within both the intelligence community and the Executive Branch.

VI. *The MONGOOSE Program—The Environment in Which the Assassination Plots Arose*

The Committee Report discusses in some detail the occurrences during the so-called “MONGOOSE Program” against Cuba by the Ken-

¹ In another aspect of the Committee’s investigation the command and control structure also failed to provide a specific written order which, according to one CIA employee, would have ensured the destruction of certain toxins. (Gordon, 9/16/75, pp. 166–67)

² This is so even though our record indicates that McCone and Attorney General Kennedy were personal friends and, in the words of McCone’s former Executive Assistant Walt Elder “quite close.” (Elder 8/13/75, pp. 52) (*See also* Helms, 6/13/75, p. 69)

nedey Administration from November 1961 through October 1962, and, for the most part, I find little to differ with in the presentation. I thought that, because of the length of the Committee's Report, it would be useful to succinctly set out some examples of how and why the pressure on the CIA and other agencies was so great during this period. Even a brief look at these events demonstrates what the environment was. This is not to excuse what occurred but to describe the quite unique atmosphere which existed during these various assassination plots. While MONGOOSE was a program directed only against Cuba, it in some ways set the tone for actions taken in other countries. These examples, along with other evidence of that period, will, I hope, shed some additional light on why assassination plots may not have struck those involved at the CIA level as immediately *verboten*.

Richard Helms has testified that during the time he was DDP the prevailing mood in the Administration regarding Castro was, in essence, "anything goes." He stated that (1) the injunction laid down by the Administration was to "get rid of" the Castro regime, and (2) no limitations were placed on the means.

Helms testified that in October or November of 1961:

*** the Agency was instructed—to get going on plans to get rid of Castro by some device which obviously would have to be covert because nobody had any stomach anymore for any invasions or any military fiascos of that kind. (Helms, 6/13/75, pp. 16-17)

He characterized the atmosphere of the 1961-62 MONGOOSE period as

pretty intense, and I remember vividly it was very intense *** [N]utty schemes were born of the intensity of the pressure. And we were quite frustrated. (Helms, 6/13/75, p. 26)

And by the time of the missile crisis the pressure was described as "no doubt about it, it was white heat." (*Id.* p. 27)

Helms was not the only witness who testified that the pressure to remove Castro by any means was real. The Executive Assistant to Harvey in the DDP testified that in the early fall of 1961 Bissell told him that he was called to the White House where he was:

chewed out in the Cabinet Room of the White House by both the President and the Attorney General for, as he puts it, sitting on his ass and not doing anything about getting rid of Castro and the Castro regime. (Executive Assistant, 6/18/75, pp. 8, 37-38)

The Executive Assistant added that he understood that the CIA had been ordered during the MONGOOSE period to remove the Castro regime and that "no holds were barred" *** we had no limitation." (Executive Assistant, 6/18/75, p. 37)

Former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara noted that

we were hysterical about Castro at the time of the Bay of Pigs and thereafter. And there was pressure from JFK and RFK to do something about Castro. (McNamara, 7/11/75, p. 93)

The Inspector General's Report described the pressurized environs in which the assassination plots were spawned as follows:

We cannot overemphasize the extent to which responsible Agency officers felt themselves subject to the Kennedy Administration's severe pressure to do something about Castro and his regime. The fruitless and, in retrospect, often unrealistic plotting should be viewed in that light. (IG Report, p. 4)

The events, meetings and proposals concerning the "Cuba problem" which occurred after the defeat at the Bay of Pigs largely explain why those involved felt engulfed by the "pressure" to get rid of Castro. After the Taylor/Kennedy Report (Committee Report, pp. 135-36) was completed in June 1961, President Kennedy set up a completely new covert structure for dealing with the Cuban situation. In November 1961 a new program was mounted against Cuba which came to be known as "Operation MONGOOSE." And, before it was concluded in October 1962 a wide variety of actions were debated, considered and employed against Cuba. While not all proposals were approved their mere consideration contributed to the climate at the time.

President Kennedy's November 30, 1961, memorandum formally established the MONGOOSE program and named Edward G. Lansdale as its Chief of Operations. On December 1, 1961, the Attorney General informed the Special Group that "higher authority" had decided that higher priority should be given to Cuba.

The parameters of what was or was not considered authorized under the MONGOOSE program was graphically demonstrated in Roswell Gilpatric's testimony:

Q. Going back, then, to the general MONGOOSE Special Group (Augmented) atmosphere here, could you give the Committee your best recollection of your perception at that time of the limits of the authority of the Special Group with respect to what could and could not be done about Castro?

Mr. GILPATRIC. Well, the only limit that I felt the Special Group was under, was Senator Goldwater said, we had no power. We were an advisory group, we were *staffing the President of the United States and the Attorney General, but within our charter, so to speak, the one thing that was off limits was military invasion.* That, as I understood it, was something that the group was not to go into. The Joint Chiefs had contingency plans for the invasion of Cuba. They always have had, probably, they've probably got new ones today, but that kind of overt military action was out of bounds as I understood it as far as the Special Group was concerned.

We were talking about covert, clandestine operations to be conducted through the CIA using, perhaps, paramilitary measures, but not the armed forces of the United States in a support role.

Q. Would the killing of Castro by a paramilitary group have been within bounds?

Mr. GILPATRIC. I know of no restriction that would have barred it. (Gilpatric, 7/17/75, pp. 44-45)

Early in the MONGOOSE Program, on December 7, 1961, Gen. Lansdale sent a memorandum concerning the Cuba Project to Maxwell Taylor, U. A. Johnson, Roswell Gilpatric, and John McCone, then DCI. Lansdale noted that the President's November 30 memorandum would be implemented and that MONGOOSE would accomplish an overthrow of Castro by means of a popular movement of Cubans from within Cuba. He recommended exploiting the potential of the underworld in Cuban cities to harass and bleed the Communist control apparatus. The Lansdale memorandum read in part:

This effort may, on a very sensitive basis, enlist the assistance of American links to the Cuban underworld. (Memorandum, December 7, 1961)

The Lansdale program assigned some 32 planning tasks for the agencies participating in MONGOOSE (including the CIA). These tasks ranged from intelligence collection to the use of military force. The next day an additional 33rd task was added to a plan to utilize biological and chemical warfare against the Cuban sugar crop workers.

Although the proposal was eventually rejected as unfeasible, the consideration of such a drastic tactic was no doubt borne out of the frustration and concern of the times.

On January 19, 1962, the Attorney General once again addressed the Special Group and emphasized that the President felt that immediate action against Cuba was necessary. The Attorney General emphasized that the solution of the Cuban problem was:

The top priority in the U.S. government—all else is secondary—no time, money, effort, or manpower is to be spared * * * Yesterday * * * the President had indicated (to the Attorney General) that the final chapter had not been written—its got to be done and will be done. (McManus Memorandum, January 19, 1962)

After the Attorney General addressed the group on that occasion, Lansdale sent a memorandum to the members of the “Caribbean Survey Group” (another euphemism for the Cuba Project) dated the next day which stated:

As he (the Attorney General) so adequately tasked us, there will be no acceptable alibi. If the capability must be developed, then we must acquire it on a priority basis. It seems clear that the matter of funds and authority offers absolutely no defense for losing time or for doing less than the very best possible effort in your tasks.

* * * * *

It is our job to put the American genius to work on this project, quickly and effectively. This demands a change from business-as-usual and a hard facing of the fact *that we are in a combat situation*—where we have been given full command. (Memorandum, January 20, 1962, p. 1) (*Emphasis supplied.*)

On January 24, 1962, the CIA submitted its plan for developing the assets needed for the Cuba Project. The plan included the use of Cuban “crime syndicate” members as intermediaries who would make appeals inside of Cuba, but it noted that controlling indigenous nationals was difficult.

General Lansdale’s Program Review for the Cuba Project of February 20, 1962, included his “Basic Action Plan.” Phase IV of that plan had as one of its components:

Attack on the cadre of the regime, including key leaders * * * This should be a “Special Target” operation. CIA defector operations are vital here. Gangster elements might provide the best recruitment potential for actions against police G-2 officials. Bloc technicians should be added to the list of targets. CW (Chemical Warfare) agents should be fully considered.

Lansdale testified that the “actions” and “attack” referred to in this component meant killing. (Lansdale, 7/8/75, p. 106) And, he also testified that he had suggested to various agency representatives involved in the MONGOOSE program that they contact “criminal elements” for possible use in the program against Cuba. (Lansdale, 7/8/75, p. 107)

On January 30, 1962, a Defense Department proposal was sent to Lansdale entitled “Operation Bounty.” The proposal involved a:

system of financial rewards, commensurate with position and stature, for killing or delivering alive known Communists. (Lansdale ex #1, Memorandum of January 30, 1962, p. 1)

Under Operation Bounty leaflets were to be dropped into Cuba listing rewards for the death of various individuals. The rewards ranged from \$5,000 for an “informer” to \$100,000 for “government officials.”

A reward of "2¢" was listed for Castro himself. (*Id.*, p. 3)¹ While the Bounty proposal never got off the ground operationally, yet it is another indicia of the climate of the time.

As the MONGOOSE program advanced, the Special Group recognized that the Cuban program, considering what was being proposed, created a potentially volatile situation. The March 5, 1962 SGA Minutes acknowledged that:

Agents infiltrated into Cuba would be trained in paramilitary as well as intelligence skills and * * * once the agents are within the country, they cannot be effectively controlled from the U.S.

Nevertheless, under the program, agent teams were dispatched into Cuba. A Lansdale memorandum of March 13, 1962, to the Special Group Augmented advised that:

(1) Two teams of agents dispatched April 1 through 15, 1962; (2) Two teams of agents dispatched April 16 through 30, 1962; (3) Two teams dispatched to Cuba May 1 through 15, 1962; (4) Four teams of agents dispatched to Cuba May 16 through 31; (5) Ten to fifteen teams of agents dispatched to Cuba June 1 through 31, 1962.

In addition to the agent infiltrations, the MONGOOSE program also continued to include stepped up sabotage proposals. The unsuccessful attempt to blow up the Matahambre mine was approved on August 30, 1962, and an August 31, 1962 memorandum from Lansdale to the SGA selected sabotage targets as "the Matahambre Mine and various refineries, nickel plants * * *" The same memorandum suggested:

encouraging destruction of crops by fire, chemicals, and weeds, hampering of harvest by work slowdown, destruction of bags, cartons, and other shipping containers.

While the MONGOOSE program ended around the time of the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962, sabotage continued. For example, the Special Group minutes of June 19, 1963, show that the following proposed sabotage program was approved:

A meeting was held this morning with higher authority, on the above subject. Present were Mr. McNamara and General McKee; Mr. Harriman; Mr. McCone and Mr. Fitzgerald; and Mr. Bundy.

* * * * *

Mr. Fitzgerald then gave the outlines of the proposed program. It will be directed at four major segments of the Cuban economy: (a) electric power; (b) petroleum refineries and storage facilities; (c) railroad and highway transportation; and (d) production and manufacturing. (He pointed out that many targets in the last category could be put out of operation by successful sabotage of power facilities.) The first operation is planned for mid-July. Raids will be conducted from outside Cuba, using Cuban agents under CIA control. Missions will be staged from a U.S. key.

* * * * *

A question was asked as to whether the Cubans would retaliate in kind. The answer was that they would certainly have this capability but that they have not retaliated to date, in spite of a number of publicized exile raids.

I set out the above events as examples of the atmosphere and environment which I can easily see might lead one to conclude that an assassination effort, presumably approved by higher authority, fit within the realm of approved action against Castro and Cuba.

¹ The reward for Castro was supposed to "denigrate * * * Castro in the eyes of the Cuban population." (Lansdale, 7/8/75, p. 26) The logic of the effort, however, escapes me.

VII. Whose Idea Was the Use of the Underworld in an Assassination Plot Against Castro

A final matter I would like to treat briefly is a question which the Committee Report does not specifically address, *i.e.*, the origin of the Castro plots. I describe the testimony here not because it matters much where within the CIA the proposal originated, but because it sheds additional light on why it is so difficult to pin down responsibility for assassination.

The Inspector General's investigation did not focus on any one particular individual as the originator of the plots, noting that the "first seriously-pursued CIA plan to assassinate Castro had its inception in August 1960." Concerning the plots' origin, the Inspector General's Report stated:

Richard Bissell, Deputy Director for Plans, asked Sheffield Edwards, Director of Security, if Edwards could establish contact with the U.S. gambling syndicate that was active in Cuba. The objective clearly was the assassination of Castro although Edwards claims that there was a studied avoidance of the term in his conversation with Bissell. Bissell recalls that the idea originated with J. C. King, then Chief of WH Division, although King now recalls having only limited knowledge of such a plan and at a much later date—mid 1962. (I.G. Report, p. 14)

However, when King was interviewed by the Committee, he denied that the Castro underworld plots originated with him. He said that he remembered nothing about the plots but could not dispute Bissell and Edwards. (King Interview, p. 1.)

Moreover, Bissell and Edwards each had differing recollections concerning who proposed the idea of utilizing the underworld in an assassination effort against Castro. Each testified that the other came to him with the idea. Edwards testified that:

Q. Now, did you in the fall of 1960 receive some instructions from Mr. Bissell in connection with Mr. Castro?

A. Yes.

Q. And did he tell you to find somebody who could accomplish the assassination of Mr. Castro?

A. No, he told me if I had access, to see if I had access to any source that I feel might accomplish that end, yes.

* * * * *

Q. And this refreshes your recollection that you were approached in August 1960 by Mr. Bissell.

A. I was approached by Mr. Bissell. Now, I'm not sure that it shows here that it was approved, this possible project was approved by Allen W. Dulles, Director of CIA, and by General Cabell, the Deputy Director. They are both dead.

* * * * *

I mean, I told him that Mr. Bissell, the Deputy for Plans, had asked me if I had any sources and Bissell was there as I recall. I'm pretty sure he was there. And it was a brief conversation, it was a sensitive conversation. (Edwards, 5/30/75, pp. 3, 5, 7)

On the other hand, Bissell described the origin as follows:

My own recollection was that Shef Edwards himself brought up the possibility of using this channel. * * * I am sure that I did encourage Shef Edwards to see what could be done through this channel.

* * * I think he [Edwards] either said in as many words or strongly inferred that the plan would be put into effect unless at that time or subsequently he was told by Mr. Dulles that it should not be.

* * * * *

You have hit on an important point which is that this operation, the planning for this operation and the support of this operation was conducted in a manner completely different from that of any other operation I ever knew of in the Agency was conducted. The main difference was that an operation directed against a foreign government was handled through the Director of Security's chain of command by his people and with his contacts, and as you are aware, he did not report to me, he was not in my chain of command. This was done, as I made clear, with my foreknowledge, but operationally, this matter was in his hands.

* * * * *

I received reports quite infrequently from Shef Edwards. I felt a high confidence in his competence to pursue this matter and none in my own. * * * I knew a plan had been drawn up and I knew that Edwards had been authorized to pursue it, and I knew in a general way what the plan involved. (Bissell, 6/9/75, pp. 22, 23, 32, 72)

* * * * *

I think the question it undoubtedly did raise in my mind at the time was whether the specific operation *that had been initiated by Mr. Edwards* with my knowledge and encouragement, whether the operation was threatened with being blown. (Bissell, 7/22/75, p. 59, emphasis added)

The testimony set out above demonstrates that none of the witnesses were rushing forward to take credit for initiating the Castro schemes. And, plots to use the underworld to attempt to assassinate Castro are events which should stick in one's memory. Nevertheless, this aspect of our investigation, as in many other areas of our inquiry on assassination, has not provided concise, clear evidence nor easy answers.

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

My signature appended to the Majority Report of this Committee indicates I am greatly appreciative of the dedicated work done by the Senate members of the Committee and the complete staff.

I am in disagreement with the general idea of an interim report. In fact, as I will indicate, I was opposed to getting into the subject of assassinations at all. Although my signature appears on the Majority Report, I have additional views concerning this whole subject which I am compelled to make part of this report.

A majority of the Select Committee voted in favor of an interim assassination report, because they believed it was necessary to lay the matter at rest so that the Committee could get on with other work. While I respect the decision of the Committee, I disagree for the following reasons:

(1) An interim report is tentative in nature. If the Select Committee is unable to pass on the subject matter of assassinations with finality, I submit it should wait until it can do so. Further, it is questionable that there is any public need requiring an interim report.

(2) A lengthy report with numerous names and replete with quotes can pose security and diplomatic problems in the absence of time to carefully scrutinize the document. Americans and our friends abroad may suffer embarrassment or notoriety.

(3) The interim report deals with such subjects as "plausible deniability", "command and control", and covert operation methods. The Select Committee is placing itself in the position of generalizing on these subjects based on four case studies presented to the full Committee. Although the document does contain disclaimers as to final conclusions on these matters, nevertheless conclusions in those areas are implied.

(4) It is possible that the Select Committee may uncover new material bearing on assassinations as it proceeds into other areas of investigation leading to the further possibility that its findings might have to be altered in the final report.

In view of the foregoing, I believe the reader of the interim report might want to ask himself these questions:

Does it serve any national interest?

Does it enhance the legislative process?

Does it raise more questions than it answers?

I, for one, oppose the interim assassination report because I feel the Committee should have all the evidence at hand before publishing a report. Problems raised by the conduct of covert operations have an important bearing on the work of the Select Committee. Important also are the lines of authority established by various administrations. However, the Committee has received scant information on covert operations and command and control as of this writing.

What have been the results of the assassination investigation?

The full Committee has considered four case studies involving Rafael Trujillo, President of the Dominican Republic; Ngo Dinh Diem, President of South Vietnam; and General Rene Schneider, Chief of Staff of the Chilean Armed Forces; and attempts on the life of Fidel Castro during the early 1960's. In the first three cases, evidence presented to the full Committee failed to establish any direct U.S. involvement in the deaths.

One case not examined in detail by the full Committee, requires comment. The Committee has received evidence that "higher authority" than the CIA ordered the removal by whatever means necessary of the late African leader Patrice Lumumba. On January 17, 1961, Lumumba was killed in Katanga, and a subsequent United Nations report found no U.S. involvement. The findings of the United Nations are supported by evidence received by the Select Committee. This case tends to reinforce findings given further on concerning the CIA's responsiveness to Presidential orders and directives.

The attempts upon the life of Fidel Castro fall into a different category. During the early 1960's the United States was in a state of near war with Cuba. Fidel Castro and Che Guevara were promoting and abetting the export of revolution to other countries of the Western Hemisphere. Russian ballistic missiles were installed on Cuban soil altering the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union and creating a serious threat to America's survival.

The ill-conducted Bay of Pigs invasion was mounted because Fidel Castro was clearly thought to be a threat to the United States and friendly nations in Latin America. Castro's removal seemed necessary, if not vital, in those days and was supported by nearly all responsible officials in Washington. Congress generally supported President Kennedy in his Cuban policy.

The Select Committee has received circumstantial evidence that Attorney General Robert Kennedy was aware of the attempts on Fidel Castro's life before, during, and after they occurred. There can be no doubt of the unusual circumstances where the President has his brother as Attorney General, and there can be no doubt of the close relationship existing between these two.

When the Select Committee decided to conduct an investigation into assassinations, I warned the Committee that Presidential involvement or authority was a certainty. Moreover, I was very concerned that harm would come to the office of the Presidency giving comfort to our Nation's detractors and enemies.

Nothing has happened in the intervening weeks to change my views. Unfortunately, the word assassination has been thrown around to the extent that the office of the Presidency and the CIA appear to the untutored as Murder, Inc.

The mere fact that key officials are called with respect to so-called assassination hearings tend to reinforce this image. For example, the Select Committee has been taking testimony on the Allende election in Chile in 1970 and the circumstances surrounding the death of General Rene Schneider. In the early hours of October 22, General Schneider was shot while some Chileans were trying to abduct him. Their purpose was to remove General Schneider from the office of

Commander-in-Chief so that a military coup to oust Allende could proceed.

The conspirators planned to remove General Schneider to Argentina for safekeeping. The last thing in the world they wanted was his death, because they knew this would be severely criticized in Chile. Unfortunately, General Schneider pulled his pistol in an attempt to resist his abductors. In the ensuing melee, General Schneider was shot and ultimately died.

Two things have been confirmed by the record: First, the Schneider death can in no way be characterized as an assassination. Second, there was no direct American involvement in his abduction or death.

Nevertheless, the words "assassination", "Chile", and "Allende" have become linked with those who testify regardless of the actual facts of the case. While this is true of any Congressional investigation, in this instance it becomes more burdensome to the witnesses because murder is involved.

With the understanding that new information may be received in the coming months by the Select Committee, I offer these conclusions:

I. Since World War II, Presidents have directly or indirectly approved of all actions taken by the CIA which have been the subject of the Select Committee investigation. If any Presidents were unaware of CIA activities, it was a result of their failure to insist on detailed briefings or reports. The intelligence community is, and must be, responsive to Presidential requests and orders.

II. Since World War II, no President or his agents ordered an assassination that was *actually* committed. Moreover, there is no evidence that any agency of the U.S. Government committed an assassination. There is no doubt that it was the policy of the U.S. Government, for example, to seek the ouster of Presidents Ngo Dinh Diem and Rafael Trujillo, but their removal and death cannot be *directly* attributed to the U.S. Government.

III. The CIA at all times was acting within the law, or had every reason to believe it was acting legally, in taking action on the behalf of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon.

IV. If there have been failures, abuses, mistakes, or bad judgment they are the result of individual actions and are deviations from the normal high standards established by the U.S. intelligence services.

V. The United States has been served by men and women in our intelligence services who have exhibited great courage, loyalty and dedication.

The Select Committee may be faced with a dilemma that cannot be resolved: tyrannicide. The appalling atrocities committed by Hitler and Stalin raise a question which may be unanswerable but which needs to be carefully examined because the human carnage they created cries out for it. Stated another way, should a President of the United States have the right to aid the destruction of either a Josef Stalin or Adolf Hitler in peacetime? Assassination during wartime does not seem to be at issue. Here we have a fundamental question which may have confronted Presidents in the past, and which could confront a future President.

Since the Select Committee came into being in late January, it has been my belief that the investigation should be held in executive

session with one final and complete report to the Senate and ultimately to the American people. The difficulty of distinguishing between those matters that are part of the public record from those that must remain classified are difficult to keep in mind. Accordingly, Members of the Select Committee and its staff are now faced with an increased possibility of inadvertent disclosure of information that could be damaging to America's foreign policy.

Finally, Congressional investigations into the intelligence services are failing to turn up any categories of abuses not already known. More open hearings in the abuse area can lead us into lines of inquiry that may well do serious harm to the Nation's intelligence services. Congress now possesses sufficient information in the abuse area to start the legislative wheels turning. We may have passed the point where public investigation into the intelligence services has produced irretrievable harm. I hope not. It is not too late to put on the brakes.

BARRY GOLDWATER.

SUPPLEMENTAL VIEWS OF SENATOR CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

As much as I regret the necessity for this report, I concur in the findings reported.

Painful political problems are seldom solved by silence. As crude as the story unfolded here may seem, it can be the source of important lessons for the future.

The facts are necessary in order to frame, with authority, a new, comprehensive statutory charter for the intelligence agencies of the United States. The proposal of that charter is the most useful work that the Select Committee can accomplish and the basic justification for its existence. The main tasks of the Select Committee remain to be done in the next three months.

It will be asked why it is necessary to publish the report outside the Select Committee, or at most beyond the Capitol. One of the tenets of American political philosophy holds that "Knowledge will forever govern ignorance and a people who mean to be their own Governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives." The duty which James Madison defines in these words is of the essence of democracy and it can be positive and stimulating. This report portrays a darker side, but life does present us with responsibilities that must be discharged if stench is to be prevented from causing rot and disease.

Much of what is reported herein is inconclusive. There should be no illusions that even the work done so far by the Select Committee on this aberrant chapter in United States policy has produced anything more than an oblique insight into the destructive effect of excessive secrecy upon the practices of governments. It is a glimpse of the exercise of great power without many of the checks and balances that serve to guard our liberties and protect our values.

Nearly 30 years have passed since Congress created the Central Intelligence Agency in 1947. In that time the thousands of men and women who have worked in our intelligence services have rendered a vital contribution to the American people.

In the aftermath of Watergate and its lessons about the abuse of power, it is clear that Congress faces a most serious task—to determine the proper role of our intelligence agencies within our constitutional system of government.

The assassination plots discussed in the report are profoundly disturbing, not because they are unique, but because they represent steps backward. History has often witnessed the practice of assassination as an instrument to transfer or to terminate political power. History also shows that men and governments have come to recognize the compelling force of ethical principles. The torturer who was once an adjunct of the courts themselves is today an international outlaw. By recognizing the sacredness of human life, mankind has sought to shed such barbarisms, barbarisms that have usually led to further violence

and often to the destruction of the leaders and nations who resorted to them.

When practiced against a domestic leader, assassination is common murder. When practiced against a foreign leader, assassination is an act of war without that sorry sanction that war gives to the taking of human life. There can be no place in a world striving toward civilization for either practicing or condoning assassination.

Principles are impersonal. If they are right for the weak, they are right for the strong. Moral strength is more enduring than mere power. It is these concepts that should guide nations and history teaches that a contrary course brings tragedy not only to the victim but to the assassin as well. Nothing found in these pages will contradict the lessons mankind has read and ought to have learned.

Our purpose in studying the evidence of assassination plots was not to damage our intelligence services or to injure the reputations of past Administrations. Rather, we sought to stop the erosion of society's values caused by excessive secrecy and unchecked Executive power by making the factual record as accurate and clear as possible.

We talk candidly with our fellow Americans, but we speak also to our friends around the world. They should be advised of our efforts at self-correction and our adherence to our traditional values and beliefs.

CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, Jr.

Abbreviations of citations

<i>Example</i>	<i>Source</i>
Bundy, 7/1/75, p. 34-----	Bundy testimony to the Senate Select Committee, July 1, 1975, p. 34.
Goodpaster, 7/17/75, II, pp. 13-14-----	Goodpaster testimony to the Senate Select Committee, July 17, 1975, afternoon session, pp. 13-14.
Helms, Rockefeller Commission, 3/5/75, p. 61.	Helms testimony to the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States, Mar. 5, 1975, p. 61.
Memo, Bissell to Smith, 10/1/54-----	Memorandum from Bissell to Smith Oct. 1, 1954.
Cable, Bissell to Smith, 10/1/54-----	Cable from Bissell to Smith, Oct. 1, 1954.
Cable HQ to Sta., 10/5/70-----	Cable from Headquarters to Station, Oct. 5, 1970.
Cable, Smith, Jones to Hedgman, 10/5/57.	Cable from Smith and Jones to Hedgman, Oct. 5, 1957.
Cable, Smith to Jones, Hedgman, 10/5/57.	Cable from Smith to Jones and Hedgman, Oct. 5, 1957.
Memo to Smith, 6/5/60-----	Unsigned memorandum to Smith, June 5, 1960.
Memo from Hedgman, 6/5/60-----	Unaddressed memorandum from Hedgman, June 5, 1960.
NSDM 97, 8/18/70-----	National Security Decision Memorandum No. 97, Aug. 18, 1970.
Smith affidavit, 6/5/63, p. 1-----	Smith affidavit given to the Senate Select Committee, June 5, 1963, p. 1.
Special Group Minutes, 10/6/61-----	Minutes of a meeting of the Special Group, Oct. 6, 1961.
SGA Minutes, 10/6/61-----	Minutes of a meeting of the Special Group (Augmented), Oct. 6, 1961.
I. G. Report, p. 98-----	Apr. 4, 1967, Report on Plots to Assassinate Castro prepared by the Inspector General of CIA for the Director, p. 98.
I. G. Report, B, p. 22-----	Undated [c. March-May 1967] Report on the Assassination of Trujillo prepared by the CIA. I. G. for the Director, p. 22.
I. G. Report, C, p. 22-----	May 31, 1967, Report on the Assassination of Diem prepared by the CIA. I. G. for the Director, p. 22.
Pentagon Papers, p. 422-----	Senator Gravel Edition, " <i>The Pentagon Papers</i> ," the Defense Department History of U.S. Decisionmaking on Vietnam, Beacon Press, Boston, p. 422.
Mecklin, p. 158-----	Mecklin, John, " <i>Mission in Torment</i> ," an Intimate Account of the U.S. Role in Vietnam, Doubleday & Co., 1965, p. 158.

This report is the result of an impressive effort by the entire Committee staff. The Committee wishes to express its appreciation to the members of the support, research, and professional staffs, and, in particular, to the following professional staff members who made a substantial contribution to this report :

Frederick D. Baron
David W. Bushong
M. Elizabeth Culbreth
Rhett B. Dawson
Thomas C. Dawson
Joseph F. Dennin
Dorothy C. Dillon
Daniel E. Dwyer, Jr.
Joseph E. diGenova

Edward F. Greissing
Karl F. Inderfurth
Robert K. Kelley
Lawrence Kieves
Charles B. Kirbow
Michael J. Madigan
Andrew W. Postal
Gordon C. Rhea
Gregory F. Treverton
Burton V. Wides

(349)



