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Text: The C.I.A. Documents

(A) [**Files on Illegal Spying Show C.I.A. Skeletons From Cold War**](#)

By MARK MAZZETTI and TIM WEINER

Long-secret documents released Tuesday provide new details about how the Central Intelligence Agency illegally spied on Americans decades ago.

Published: June 27, 2007

WASHINGTON, June 26 — Long-secret documents released Tuesday provide new details about how the [Central Intelligence Agency](#) illegally spied on Americans decades ago, including trying to bug a Las Vegas hotel room for evidence of infidelity and tracking down an expert lock-picker for a Watergate conspirator.

Known inside the agency as the “**family jewels**,” the 702 pages of documents released Tuesday catalog domestic wiretapping operations, failed assassination plots, mind-control experiments and spying on journalists from the early years of the C.I.A.

The papers provide **evidence of paranoia and occasional incompetence** as the agency began a string of illegal spying operations in the 1960s and 1970s, often to hunt links between Communist governments and the domestic protests that roiled the nation in that period.

Yet the long-awaited documents leave out a great deal. **Large sections are censored**, showing that the C.I.A. still cannot bring itself to expose all the skeletons in its closet. And **many activities** about overseas operations disclosed **years ago by journalists**, Congressional investigators and a presidential commission — which led to reforms of the nation's intelligence agencies — **are not detailed in the papers**.

In a note to agency employees, Gen. [Michael V. Hayden](#), the C.I.A. director, said that Tuesday's release of documents was part of the agency's “social contract” with the American public, “to give those we serve a window into the complexities of intelligence.”

General Hayden drew a contrast between the illegal activities of the past and current C.I.A. practices, which he insists are lawful.

The 60-year-old agency has been under fire, though, by critics who object to the secret prisons and harsh interrogation practices it has adopted since the Sept. 11 attacks.

Some intelligence experts suggested on Tuesday that **the release of the documents was intended to distract from the current controversies.**

And they and historians expressed disappointment that the documents were so heavily censored. (The agency said it had to protect its intelligence “sources and methods.”)

Tom Blanton of the National Security Archive, **the research group that filed the Freedom of Information request** in 1992 that led to the documents' becoming public, said he was initially underwhelmed by them because they contained little about the agency's foreign operations.

But Mr. Blanton said what was striking was the scope of the C.I.A.'s domestic spying efforts — what he called the “C.I.A. doing its Stasi imitation” — and the “confessional” nature of so many of the documents.

“Reading these memos is like sitting in a confessional booth and having a string of former top C.I.A. officials say ‘Forgive me, Father, for I have sinned.’ ” Mr. Blanton said.

The broad outlines of the C.I.A.'s illegal activities have been known for some time. Still, the public has never seen most of the documents, contemporary memorandums and reports from an agency that zealously guards its files and almost never permits outsiders to examine its internal records.

More than anything, the papers provide a dark history of the climate both at the C.I.A. and in Washington during the cold war and the [Vietnam](#) era, when fears about the Soviet threat created a no-holds-barred culture at the spy agency.

Some of the documents provide insight into the mundane workings of a bureaucracy — tedious correspondence about reimbursement for stationery, references to insurance benefits for E. Howard Hunt, the Watergate conspirator, and a document noting “the high degree of resentment” among C.I.A. officers who had to grow long hair to pose as hippie radicals to infiltrate the peace movement at home and overseas.

And some of the language in the papers reflects the sanitized jargon of officialdom: “gangster-type action” refers to an assassination plot against [Fidel Castro](#), for example.

The internal C.I.A. investigation into covert operations during the agency's first three decades — the inquiry that produced the “family jewels” documents — was begun in 1973 by James R. Schlesinger, then director of central intelligence.

Mr. Schlesinger had been appalled to learn that operatives had carried out domestic break-ins on behalf of the Nixon White House, and ordered an investigation into past operations “outside the C.I.A.'s charter.”

Because the documents were compiled as the Watergate investigation was gathering steam, the agency's concern about the extent that it could be tied to the crimes of the Nixon administration is palpable throughout.

Internal memorandums detail C.I.A. contacts with Mr. Hunt and James W. McCord Jr., a retired operative who was one of the Watergate burglars. One has the heading “Hunt Requests a Lockpicker” and reveals that in spring 1972, a C.I.A. official helped Mr. Hunt, the mastermind of the Watergate break-in, track someone “accomplished in picking locks.” It is unclear exactly what lock Mr. Hunt was trying to open.

Historians have generally concluded that far from being a rogue agency, the C.I.A. was following orders from the White House or top officials. In 1967, for instance, President [Lyndon B. Johnson](#) became convinced that the American antiwar movement was controlled and financed by Communist governments, and he ordered the C.I.A. to produce evidence.

His director of central intelligence, Richard Helms, reminded him that the C.I.A. was barred from spying on Americans.

In his posthumous memoir, Mr. Helms said Johnson told him: “I'm quite aware of that. What I want for you is to pursue this matter, and to do what is necessary to track down the foreign Communists who are behind this intolerable interference in our domestic affairs.”

Though it was a violation of the C.I.A.'s charter, Mr. Helms obeyed the president's orders.

The C.I.A. undertook a domestic surveillance operation code-named Chaos that went on for almost seven years under Presidents Johnson and Nixon. Mr. Helms created a Special Operations Group to

conduct the spying. **A squad of C.I.A. officers grew their hair long, learned the jargon of the New Left, and went off to infiltrate peace groups in the United States and Europe.**

The agency compiled a **computer index of 300,000 names of American people and organizations, and extensive files on 7,200 citizens.** It began working in secret with police departments all over the United States.

The documents released on Tuesday provided details. One said **the agency “recruited, tested and dispatched” as foreign agents overseas “Americans with existing extremist credentials.”** It also used “new and old Agency assets” — in other words, people and sources of information — who had worked against China, the Soviet Union, North Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea.

These were people and businesses that had “connections with and/or knowledge of” the American antiwar movement. They were as far-flung as Paris, Stockholm, Mexico City, Ottawa and Hong Kong.

One document, entitled “Foreign Support for Activities Planned to Disrupt or Harass the [Republican National Convention](#)” in 1972, lists the Beatles singer John Lennon, “a British subject,” as someone who had given money to a protest group.

A rare gem among the documents for C.I.A. buffs is **a pair of detailed reports signed by James J. Angleton**, the legendary chief of the agency’s counterintelligence staff from 1954 to 1974. They describe an **American program to create and exploit foreign police forces, internal-security services and counterterrorism squads overseas.**

The documents explain that **the C.I.A. and other American agencies trained and equipped foreigners to serve their countries — and, in secret, the United States.** Once the Americans had set up a foreign service, it could help carry out American foreign policy by suppressing communists and leftists, and gather intelligence on behalf of the C.I.A.

The documents evidently were included in the “family jewels” because one part of the program in April 1973 included training of the foreigners by the bomb squad of the Dade County Police in Florida.

Mr. Angleton, who was dismissed from the C.I.A. the following year, after disclosures that he had overseen the opening of first-class mail in the United States since the early 1950s, was the C.I.A.’s man in charge of the overseas training program.

The program, according to recently declassified government documents, **trained hundreds of thousands of foreign military and police officers in 25 countries by the early 1960s.**

It put the C.I.A. on “dangerous ground,” Robert Amory Jr., chief of the C.I.A.’s intelligence analysis directorate under Presidents [Dwight D. Eisenhower](#) and [John F. Kennedy](#), said in an oral history interview for the Kennedy presidential library. “You can get into Gestapo-type tactics.”

Some anecdotes reveal just how far outside the law some C.I.A. agents strayed. One technician was arrested in 1960 after **trying to bug a Las Vegas hotel room.** The operation had been requested by Sam Giancana, the Chicago mobster, who was then helping the C.I.A. in a **plot to assassinate Mr. Castro.**

Mr. Giancana had been concerned that his girlfriend, the singer Phyllis McGuire, was having an affair with the comedian Dan Rowan, and surveillance was ordered to “determine the extent of his intimacy” with her.

In one episode that has echoes of a current controversy, the [National Security Agency](#)’s domestic surveillance program, a May 1973 memorandum details a C.I.A. wiretapping operation that monitored calls between the United States and Latin America to learn about drug trafficking.

The surveillance, conducted by a C.I.A. unit called Division D, was ended after the agency's general counsel issued an opinion that it violated the agency's charter and "should be carried on by appropriate law-enforcement agencies."

Some of the activities detailed, while lawful, would have been embarrassing had they emerged at the time. One document revealed that John McCone, director of central intelligence during Kennedy's presidency, authorized an Air Force plane to fly the Greek tycoon Aristotle Onassis and the soprano Maria Callas from Rome to Athens, a favor that led to media inquiries.

The documents were compiled in the early 1970s but remained classified because of concern by C.I.A. directors that public exposure of a litany of illegal acts by their operatives would do indelible damage to the agency's reputation — possibly even bring an end to the agency itself.

"The shock effect of an exposure of the 'family jewels,' I urged, could, in the climate of 1973, inflict mortal wounds on the C.I.A. and deprive the nation of all the good the agency could do in the future," wrote William E. Colby, a former director of central intelligence, in his memoir.

(B) NEWS ANALYSIS Comparing Today's Tactics With Those Used in the Past

A comparison is flawed but irresistible: Do the actions of the intelligence agencies in the era of Al Qaeda eclipse those of the Vietnam War period?

By [SCOTT SHANE](#)
Published: June 27, 2007

WASHINGTON, June 26 — When the [Central Intelligence Agency](#) took a nervous look at its past in 1973, one potential illegal act officials identified was the treatment of a K.G.B. officer named Yuri Nosenko. **After fleeing to the United States in 1964, Mr. Nosenko was held in a makeshift jail for three years** and subjected to tough questioning to determine whether he was a genuine defector or a plant.

A C.I.A. document released Tuesday said officials "became increasingly concerned with the illegality of the agency's position in handling a defector under these conditions for such a long period of time." So Mr. Nosenko was moved to a more comfortable safe house, given friendlier treatment and **felt "no bitterness" about his experience after he resettled with a new wife**, said the 1973 memorandum recounting the case.

In an era when secret C.I.A. detentions have become a mainstay of the news, the comparison is hard to avoid. **Since 2002, the agency has jailed nearly 100 suspected terrorists overseas and subjected some of them to far harsher interrogations than Mr. Nosenko's.** The program is not seen as an agency lapse, and instead has been **vigorously defended by C.I.A. officials and President Bush.**

Comparisons between different historical eras are always tricky. With an incomplete account of C.I.A. misdeeds in its first quarter century from the so-called family jewels, released this week with many redactions, and a presumably even more incomplete knowledge of the spy agencies' actions since 2001, such a comparison is inevitably flawed.

But it is also irresistible. And it raises a provocative question: **do the actions of the intelligence agencies in the era of [Al Qaeda](#), which include domestic eavesdropping without warrants, secret detentions and interrogations arguably bordering on torture, already match or even eclipse those of the Vietnam War period?**

At both times, Americans faced a hostile global ideology — communism then, violent Islamic jihadism today — and feared cells hidden in their midst. In the face of such a threat, it may be no surprise that secret agencies, wielding powerful technology and with the formidable backing of a president, sometimes come into conflict with democratic ideals.

On Tuesday, the C.I.A. director, Gen. [Michael V. Hayden](#), tried to pre-empt such comparisons in a message to agency employees that was part cheerleading and part explanation of why the agency had

finally released the documents, first requested in 1992 under the Freedom of Information Act by the National Security Archive at [George Washington University](#).

“We will find in the press coverage of today’s release reminders of some things the C.I.A. should not have done,” General Hayden wrote. But he added: “I firmly believe that the improved system of intelligence oversight that came out of the 1970s gives the C.I.A. a **far stronger place in our democratic system**. What we do now to protect Americans we do within a powerful framework of law and review.”

Some cold war activities exposed over the years went beyond those detailed in the 700 pages of documents released Tuesday, including failed plots to assassinate foreign leaders and mind-control experiments on unwitting Americans and foreign agents. Still, independent historians of the agency did not see the sharp contrast between past and present that General Hayden described.

“We don’t know everything that’s going on today,” said David M. Barrett, a political scientist at [Villanova University](#). “But it seems to me there’s already enough evidence to conclude that things are not so different today.”

Mr. Barrett, the author of a 2005 book on the C.I.A. and Congress in the 1940s and 1950s, said the notion that the C.I.A. was once lawless but now meticulously followed the law was simply wrong.

He said Lawrence Houston, the agency’s general counsel for its first 26 years, “signed off on a lot of things that were of questionable legality.” And **while the agency now has far more lawyers, they too have approved actions that some independent legal experts consider illegal or improper**, he said, including kidnapping terrorists in foreign countries and using the simulated drowning technique called waterboarding.

James Bamford, whose books on American intelligence cover the period from the Korean War to the Iraq war, took a similar view. Mr. Bamford said **the scale of the [National Security Agency’s interception of phone calls and e-mail messages](#) of Americans and others in the United States in recent years — which prompted a lawsuit from the [American Civil Liberties Union](#) in which Mr. Bamford is a plaintiff — almost certainly dwarfs the electronic surveillance and the review of mail carried out by the N.S.A. and the C.I.A. in the 1960s.**

If the collection details **government spying on Vietnam War protesters**, it has a contemporary echo in the Pentagon’s admission that **a database called Talon improperly recorded the activities of Iraq war protesters, he said.**

“These documents are supposed to show the worst of the worst back then,” Mr. Bamford said. “But **what’s going on today makes the family jewels pale by comparison.**”

The controversial activities of the campaign against terrorism took place despite the changes enacted after the scandals of the 1970s.

The Bush administration chose to bypass the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, created in 1978 to oversee eavesdropping on American soil. The Senate and House Intelligence Committees, created to make sure past abuses would never be repeated, did little to rein in the N.S.A. wiretapping program or to set limits on interrogation practices until news reports set off a furor.

On the other hand, the recent surveillance activities appear so far to have been aimed at mostly people believed to pose a terrorist threat, not a political threat. So far there is no evidence of anything comparable, for example, to the [F.B.I.’s](#) relentless pursuit and harassment of the Rev. Dr. [Martin Luther King Jr.](#) or the political abuses of Watergate.

“I think there’s a lower threshold today for activities that impinge on our privacy and civil liberties,” said Amy Zegart, author of the coming book “Spying Blind: The F.B.I., the C.I.A. and the Origins of 9/11.”

But she added the caveat that the full story might not be known for decades, quoting a line about the William J. Casey, C.I.A. director under President [Ronald Reagan](#): "The old joke was that Casey wouldn't tell you your coat was on fire unless you asked."

(C) Timeline of the C.I.A.'s 'Family Jewels'

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Feb. 2, 1973 President Richard M. Nixon installs **James R. Schlesinger** as director of Central Intelligence.

May 9, 1973 As the Watergate scandal builds, Mr. Schlesinger prepares to leave the C.I.A. to become the secretary of defense. Before leaving he issued a memo stating: *"I have ordered all senior operating officials of this Agency to report to me immediately on any activities now going on, or that have gone on in the past, which might be construed to be outside the legislative charter of this agency. I hereby direct every person presently employed by C.I.A. to report to me on any such activities of which he has knowledge. I invite all ex-employees to do the same."* **This order created the "family jewels."**

May 21, 1973 **William E. Colby** becomes the director of central intelligence-designate. As news breaks of President Nixon's and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's wiretapping of aides and reporters, Mr. Colby **locks the "family jewels" in his office safe.**

Aug. 8, 1974 President Nixon says he will resign.

Oct. 7, 1974 President Gerald R. Ford, in one of his first National Security Council meetings, calls leaks to newspapers intolerable. **"We need an Official Secrets Act,"** says Mr. Schlesinger, the secretary of defense, but **"the present climate is bad for this sort of thing."**

Dec. 22, 1974 The New York Times, in an article by Seymour Hersh, reveals that the **C.I.A. spied on Americans.**

Dec. 24, 1974 Mr. Colby sends a note to Mr. Kissinger summarizing the "family jewels."

Dec. 25, 1974 Mr. Kissinger distills the list into a **five-page memorandum to President Ford**, informing him that the C.I.A. had indeed spied on the American antiwar movement, wire tapped reporters and placed them under surveillance, conducted illegal searches and opened first-class sacks of mail. But Mr. Kissinger does not put the worst revelations in writing. Some of the C.I.A.'s actions "clearly were illegal," he warns the president. Others "raise profound moral questions." He later refers to the file as "The 'Horrors' Book."

Jan. 3, 1975 **Laurence H. Silberman**, the acting attorney general, learns about the file and informs the White House.



President Gerald R. Ford, with his soon-to-be vice president, Nelson A. Rockefeller, in December 1974.



James R. Schlesinger in August 1974.



Associated Press
Dick Cheney and Donald H. Rumsfeld in November 1975.

[Enlarge This Image](#)

He warns that the file contains one dangerous piece of information: **"Plans to assassinate certain foreign leaders which, to say the least, present unique questions."**

Jan. 4, 1975 Richard Helms, a former director of central intelligence, meets with President Ford to discuss plans for a commission headed by Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller to **investigate the C.I.A.'s domestic activities**. **"Frankly, we are in a mess," Mr. Ford tells Mr. Helms.**

Jan. 16, 1975 President Ford invites representatives of The New York Times to the White House. The president tells editors that **it is not in the national interest to discuss the C.I.A.'s past** and that **the reputation of every president since Harry S. Truman would be blackened** by the record.

Feb. 21, 1975 President Ford enlists **Donald H. Rumsfeld**, the White House chief of staff, to **create a "damage-limiting operation for the president."**

Spring 1975 The White House faces Congressional investigations and hearings on the C.I.A.

March 28, 1975 Mr. Schlesinger tells the president that it is imperative to cut back on "the prominence of C.I.A. operations" around the world and that Mr. Colby was being "too damned cooperative with the Congress."

Oct. 13, 1975 President Ford and his advisers meet to weigh the damage. Mr. Colby tells the president that **"any document which officially shows American involvement in an assassination is clearly a foreign policy disaster."**

Mr. Rumsfeld advises, "We are better off with a political confrontation than a legal one."

Late October 1975 To prepare for the political fight, President Ford shakes up his cabinet. Mr. Schlesinger is dismissed, and **Mr. Rumsfeld** becomes secretary of defense. **Dick Cheney** takes his place as White House chief of staff. **George Bush** is picked to be the next director of central intelligence.

Jan. 13, 1977 At their last meeting before Jimmy Carter's inauguration, Mr. Kissinger tells Mr. Bush that the C.I.A. simply cannot conduct effective covert operations anymore. "Henry, you are right," Mr. Bush says. "We are both ineffective and scared."

Source: "Legacy of Ashes: The History of the C.I.A.," by Tim Weiner



David Hume Kennerly/Gerald R. Ford Library
President Ford with Mr. Rockefeller, left, and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in April 1975.



Associated Press
George Bush before the Senate confirmation hearing in December 1975 on his nomination as director of central intelligence.

(D) [Perspective on the Jewels From the C.I.A.'s Chief Historian](#) By [DAVID ROBARGE](#)

[Download all the Documents](#) (22 mb)

For more than 30 years, the Family Jewels have clouded the C.I.A.'s reputation, even though most of their contents have long been known from official reports and ad hoc disclosures. William Colby — who oversaw the compilation of the Jewels while serving as the agency's operations chief and director-designate — is the source of some durable misconceptions about them. In his memoir, *Honorable Men* (p. 340), Colby says that the Jewels consist of "693 pages of possible violations of, or at least questionable activities in regard to, the C.I.A.'s legislative charter"; that among the contents are "bizarre and tragic

cases wherein the Agency experimented with mind-control drugs”; and that accompanying them was “a separate and even more secret annex” that “summarized a 1967 survey of C.I.A.’s involvement in assassination attempts or plans against Castro, Lumumba and Trujillo.”

These misstatements were repeated at least in part in several widely read works, including Thomas Powers’s *The Man Who Kept the Secrets*, John Ranelagh’s *The Agency*, G.J.A. O’Toole’s *Encyclopedia of American Intelligence and Espionage*, and Norman Polmar and Thomas Allen’s *Spy Book*. Less informed observers also have suggested that the Jewels include details about political and paramilitary covert actions and definitive proof that the C.I.A.’s controversial counterintelligence chief, James Angleton, was the mastermind behind the domestic spying program called MHCHAOS.

The release of the Jewels should end much of the mythology about them. For starters, the compendium is not a 693-page catalogue of crime and immorality. Repetitive reports, duplicate documents, blank pages, file dividers, cover sheets, distribution lists and news clippings comprise approximately 30 percent of the total. Among the remaining 500 or so pages of substance, **except for an account of the use of Mafioso Johnny Roselli in a plot to kill Castro (12-16)** — of note is that the director of central intelligence at the time, Allen Dulles, approved it — **there are only passing references to already disclosed assassination plots** and drug-testing programs and next to nothing of importance about purely foreign operations.

That may disappoint some expectant readers but should not be surprising because **the whole point of an order by James Schlesinger**, a later director of central intelligence, that produced the Jewels **was to get information about activities that possibly violated the C.I.A.’s charter. Consequently, the collection is nearly all about activities involving American citizens** or occurring inside the United States — most of the latter, as an Agency officer noted, “completely innocent, although subject to misconstrual” in the political atmosphere of 1973 (36) — and includes much about agency contact with the White House “Plumbers,” the Watergate break-in perpetrators, and now-obscure characters such as the fugitive financier Robert Vesco. The hypersensitivity about anything that could be interpreted as having domestic political implications — or perhaps simply the bureaucratic instinct for self-protection — may explain the inclusion of the lengthy set of mundane documents about a small C.I.A. expenditure for postal services on behalf of the White House (83-104), and a memo about the Office of Logistics disposing of the National Security Council’s classified trash (324).

Although put together haphazardly, the Jewels can be divided into several categories: dealings with Watergate-related figures, liaison with government agencies, administrative and support activities, collection operations, security investigations and counterintelligence programs. Pages 5 to 37 probably will attract the most initial attention because they concern a list of activities specifically identified as “Family Jewels,” but the unredacted items will be familiar to students of the Rockefeller Commission and Church Committee reports. The entry on the K.G.B. defector Yuri Nosenko (23-24) fails to mention that **he was treated so harshly because of suspicions that he was hiding Soviet involvement in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy**. In the remaining several hundred pages can be found occasional stray new details about well-worn stories.

In the context of **Seymour Hersh’s famous exposé about the Jewels in The New York Times on Dec. 22, 1974** — in an article headlined “Huge C.I.A. Operation Reported in U.S. Against Antiwar Forces, Other Dissidents in Nixon Years” — the long set of documents about C.I.A.’s involvement with United States Government activities targeting American dissidents suspected of receiving foreign assistance to help them disrupt the presidential nominating conventions in 1972 (549-74) is worth mentioning. Not only is Angleton’s hand not prominent, but the extent to which MHCHAOS and related programs concentrated on the foreign angle becomes clear. As the records show, no evidence of anything more than political and moral support was ever found. The C.I.A. History Staff’s recently declassified study of Richard Helms as director of central intelligence, available on the agency’s public Web site in the F.O.I.A. reading room, has a thorough discussion of MHCHAOS based on materials other than the Jewels.

The Jewels close with two groups of documents that convey the tenor of the times. One series (634-58) deals with a leak about agency technical assistance to a suburban Washington police department. It was a good news story — the C.I.A.-supplied device might have prevented a cop killing — but a revelation of that sort could not be countenanced in 1973, and the incident was reported. Documents 659 to 693 involve an exchange between Colby and the Parade Magazine editor Lloyd Shearer over a charge in Shearer’s publication that the agency “uses political assassination as a weapon,” citing the Phoenix program in Vietnam. Colby, who managed Phoenix, replied that “C.I.A. has never carried out a political assassination, nor has it induced, employed or suggested one which occurred.” Based on what is known about the agency’s assassination planning and Phoenix, that carefully crafted answer was not only accurate, but an exemplar of the lawyerly intellect that Colby would put to good use during the Congressional investigations of 1975-76, when his policy of controlled disclosure may have saved the C.I.A. from dissolution. These final records — several of them in Colby’s own hand — make an unintentionally fitting conclusion to the Jewels collection, the product of a process he orchestrated as a damage control exercise but which almost proved to be the agency’s undoing.

Due to his current employment as the C.I.A.’s chief historian, the material in this post was reviewed by agency officials before publication.

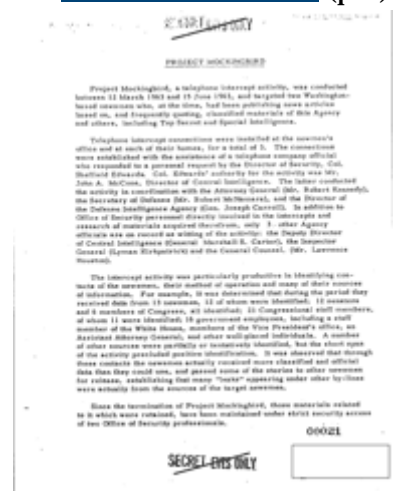
(E) [Project Mockingbird: Spying on Reporters](#) By [PHILIP TAUBMAN](#) JUNE 26, 2007, 1:12 PM

[Read the Document \(pdf\)](#)

The C.I.A. monitoring of journalists in 1963, 1971 and 1972, including wiretapping their phones and setting up observation posts across the street from their offices to track their comings and goings and their visitors, was a practice that the White House itself employed during the Nixon administration.

It’s interesting to see in the description of Project Mockingbird, which describes C.I.A. wiretapping of two Washington reporters (unnamed) from March 12, 1963 to June 15, 1963, that **the intercepting of calls**, executed under the authority of John McCone, the Director of Central Intelligence, **was done in coordination with Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara** and the director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Gen. Joseph Carroll.

As with other questionable or illegal C.I.A. activities that were endorsed by top government officials, this account shows that **spying on reporters was approved at the highest levels of the Kennedy administration.**



UPDATE, 4:34 PM *Some added context from Tim Weiner of the New York Times.*

According to the transcripts of the tapes that **President John F. Kennedy** secretly recorded in the Oval Office, shortly after 6 p.m. on **August 22, 1962**, JFK and Director of Central Intelligence John McCone discussed a **plan for the CIA to wiretap members of the Washington press corps.**

“How are we doing with that set-up on the Baldwin business?” the president asked. Four weeks before, Hanson Baldwin, the national security reporter for The New York Times, had published an article on Soviet efforts to protect intercontinental ballistic missile launch sites with concrete bunkers. Baldwin’s highly detailed reporting accurately stated the conclusions of the CIA’s most recent national intelligence estimate.

The president told McCone to **set up a domestic task force to stop the flow of secrets from the government to the newspapers. The order violated the agency’s charter, which specifically prohibits domestic spying. Long before Nixon** created his “plumbers” unit of CIA veterans to stop news leaks, **Kennedy used the agency to spy on Americans.**

“CIA is completely in agreement with . . . setting up this task force, which would be a continuing investigative group reporting to me,” McCone later told the president.

The task force kept watch on Baldwin, four other reporters, and their sources from 1962 to 1965. By ordering the director of central intelligence to conduct a program of domestic surveillance, **Kennedy set a precedent that Presidents Johnson, Nixon, and George W. Bush would follow.**

The presidential recording program at the Miller Center for Public Affairs has audio and transcripts of these conversations [here](#).

Source: JFK White House tapes; Naftali, Zelikow, and May, The Presidential Recordings

['FAMILY JEWELS', 1963, 1971, 1972, HANSON BALDWIN, JOHN F. KENNEDY, JOHN MCCONE, JOURNALISTS, RICHARD NIXON, ROBERT KENNEDY, ROBERT MCNAMARA, SURVEILLANCE](#)

(F) [Spying on Reporters: Part II](#) By [PHILIP TAUBMAN](#) JUNE 27, 2007, 3:18 PM

[Read the Document \(pdf\)](#)

[The presidential recording program at the Miller Center for Public Affairs has the actual audio and transcripts of these conversations](#)

The “Family Jewel” documents **show in fine detail how the C.I.A., at the direction of high level officials in the Kennedy and Nixon administration, spied on journalists.** Top government leaders were infuriated by leaks of classified information to reporters – a view shared by subsequent presidents, including George W. Bush – and **instructed the C.I.A. to employ its full arsenal of spy techniques to hunt down the leakers.** In some cases, reporters’ phones were wiretapped, journalists were tailed and observation posts were set up near their offices to track their comings and goings and their visitors. **All this was done despite a legal ban on C.I.A. domestic spying.**

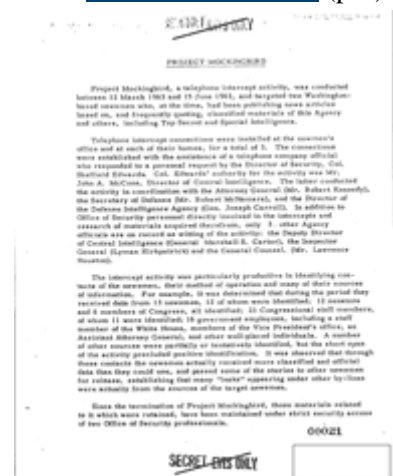
The degree to which senior officials were involved in authorizing the spying is powerfully evident in **tape recordings of White House meetings led by President John F. Kennedy on Aug. 1, 1962, and Aug. 22, 1962.** In the first session, Kennedy approves a plan proposed by two advisers, James R. Killian Jr. and Clark Clifford, to establish a special investigative group to spy on reporters. In the later meeting, Kennedy presses the director of central intelligence, John McCone, and Gen. Maxwell Taylor to update him on planning for the spy unit. In both meetings, Kennedy endorses the idea.

The “Family Jewel” papers describe C.I.A. monitoring of journalists in 1963, 1971 and 1972, including wiretapping and surveillance. It was a practice that the White House itself employed during the Nixon administration.

It is interesting to see in the description of Project Mockingbird, which describes C.I.A. wiretapping of two Washington reporters (unnamed) from March 12, 1963, to June 15, 1963, that **the intercepting of calls, executed under the authority of McCone, was done in coordination with Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and the director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Gen. Joseph Carroll.**

This account, along with the Kennedy tapes, makes clear that spying on journalists was endorsed by the very highest government officials, including the president himself. That was true with many other domestic spying abuses and assassination plots against foreign leaders described in the newly declassified papers. **The presidential hand may have been hidden in some cases – to give the president “plausible deniability” about highly provocative C.I.A. activities – but it was Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon who approved the operations or less directly made clear they wanted the C.I.A. to act.**

Additional reporting for this post contributed by Tim Weiner



(G) [Related Post: Spying on Reporters](#)

June 26th, 2007 [6:06 pm](#)

You undermine your own point when you bring in Pres. George W. Bush. Listening in on Al-Qaeda or Al-Qaeda related members during time of war who happen to call the U.S. hardly qualifies as “domestic spying.”

(It would also be interesting to know if Taubman has problems with the Minimum Wage Law — the government telling you that you cannot freely negotiate a salary. Such government intrusion has nothing to do with national defense, and yet it happens; if you’re not screaming about the Minimum Wage Law, then irritation about tracking Al-Qaeda, even when calling the U.S. is very hollow indeed.)

— Posted by Glen

June 26th, 2007 [10:40 pm](#)

As Attorney General, in 1963 Robert Kennedy also approved an FBI phone tap, mail interception, and physical surveillance of Bernard B. Fall and his family in an attempt to discredit Fall. (Although Fall was a citizen of France, his wife, Dorothy, was an American citizen.) Since the early 1950’s Fall had become an expert on Viet-Nam and counterinsurgency and had documented first French, then American folly in Indo-China, SE Asia and Viet-Nam through books, lectures and magazine articles in English, French and German. The US military often invited him to teach classes to officers and his book, “Street Without Joy” became required reading among officers being assigned to Viet-Nam. The FBI opened a file on Fall in 1963 because he was critical of US policies in Viet-Nam and was suspected of engaging in “intelligence activities for the French Intelligence Service.” (Bernard Fall: Memories of a Soldier-Scholar by Dorothy Fall.) Besides being dismissive of the “domino theory”, one of Fall’s cardinal sins was his insistence that the first American “illusion” in Viet-Nam was thinking that an insurgency is mainly a military operation, rather than a political problem. The FBI file quotes Fall in one instance as saying that top officials “do not know the kind of war we are in, what our goals are, or what ‘victory’ is.” The FBI called off its investigation in 1965 having discovered nothing of value.

— Posted by Phil

(H) [Beyond the Jewels, Unfinished Business](#) By [AMY ZEGART](#) JUNE 27, 2007, 10:44 AM

Releasing the family jewels is a big step forward for the C.I.A. But don’t revel in the glasnost just yet. There are still troves upon troves of documents that the C.I.A., F.B.I., and other intelligence agencies are keeping locked away. Dirty tricks from the 1960’s and ’70s make for interesting reading. But understanding what went wrong before 9/11 makes for better intelligence.

Here are my top three picks for the government’s declassification priority list:

1. **The C.I.A.’s internal 9/11 review**, which was completed nearly 2 years ago and hasn’t seen the light of day, despite **repeated and bipartisan requests by the Senate Intelligence Committee**.

2. The F.B.I.’s **MAXCAP 05 program**, a highly classified counterterrorism review that gave failing grades to all 56 F.B.I. field offices **just weeks before 9/11**. (the number of failing grades has, to my knowledge, never been officially revealed. I learned of it while conducting research for my forthcoming book from two F.B.I. sources who read the actual report). I am told that the MAXCAP 05 review was considered so embarrassing that only a handful of copies were ever made.

3) **General Brent Scowcroft’s intelligence reform proposal**, which was requested by President George W. Bush himself and presented to the White House in November 2001, just weeks after 9/11.

Officials familiar with the report say its reforms were radical, and included stripping several major intelligence agencies from the Pentagon and empowering the C.I.A. director to run them. **The report was immediately trashed by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld and deep-sixed**. If the family jewels are any

guide, **we can expect these documents sometime around 2041.** I'd like to be more optimistic, but I am not holding my breath. There are more classified documents today than ever before. Although citizens can request declassification through the **Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)**, the process is cumbersome and long. Last time I checked, **the average processing time for FOIA requests at the C.I.A. was 15 months. The longest was 14 years.** A 2003 National Security Archives audit found that the FBI's 10 oldest FOIA requests were between 3 and 16 years old. Given the range and uncertainty involved, few career-minded academics or journalists are willing to bet their careers on the hope that classified government materials are on the way. What's more, Cold War-era intelligence security procedures still strongly discourage contact with outsiders, even when it benefits the intelligence community. In 2004, for example, the C.I.A.'s Office of Security **called a senior intelligence official and asked why he had been speaking with so many outsiders.** The official explained that communicating with outside experts was part of his official job responsibilities set out by the director of central intelligence. He was brought in for questioning anyway and **spent four hours the next day taking a polygraph test.** "I didn't care," he later told me. "But imagine if I were a GS-13. No way would I be talking to anybody again. We keep hiring people and giving them titles like director of outreach. But nobody's told the security guys."

Even public information is frequently not publicly available. Intelligence agencies retain a great deal of discretion over what information they release, and to whom. There's an old joke that former C.I.A. Director William Casey wouldn't tell you if your coat was on fire unless you asked him.

This gatekeeping role, combined with a natural penchant for holding information closely, has created **a universe of information that is technically unclassified but effectively off limits.** In November of 2004, I called the F.B.I. director's office and requested some unclassified documents from the 1990's that I suspected contained embarrassing information about the bureau's failure to adapt to terrorism during before 9/11. I was told they would be forthcoming. I am still waiting.

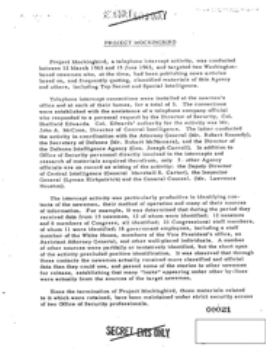
(I) [Yuri Ivanovich Nosenko](#)

By [JAMES BAMFORD](#) JUNE 27, 2007, 10:40 AM

[Read the Document](#) (pdf)

A Russian defector held in a secret CIA prison in the U.S. to determine whether he was a legitimate defector or a Russian intelligence plant. Nothing new. The tale has been told in numerous books and articles over the years.

It is somewhat heartening to see that in the early 1970s the CIA considered holding a Russian defector, Yuri Nosenko, in a secret CIA prison was both illegal and an outrage. More recently, however, the agency had dozens of suspected terrorists in secret prisons at height of its post-9/11 imprisonment and interrogation program, not in the U.S. but in foreign countries, some with reputations for torture. Yet there is little outrage today.



(J) [Restless Youth: Spying on Americans at Home](#)

By [AMY ZEGART](#) JUNE 26, 2007, 7:28 PM

As a card-carrying professor, documents about **C.I.A. surveillance of college students** tend to get my attention. Here, the family jewels appear to provide more color to the existing portrait. We already know from **the bipartisan Church Committee that the C.I.A., the FBI, the Army, and the National Security Agency engaged in deliberate, systematic and long-term programs to spy on Americans during the 1960s and 1970s,** with a particular focus on campus protest movements.

But it is one thing to know about a domestic spying program; quite another to get a first hand glimpse at memos considering how to keep them secret and acknowledging that they are — what's the word? — illegal.

Exhibit A: **The C.I.A.’s Restless Youth study**, which appears to have been commissioned in the late 1960s to **examine radical American college students**. In a meticulously worded 1973 memo, the C.I.A.’s deputy director for intelligence details exactly which version of that study went to whom. Notably, **the president, his national security adviser and the deputy secretary of defense got the fully loaded version that included the agency’s highly sensitive investigations of American students**. Other Cabinet members got versions without the U.S. student radicals section. And Attorney General John Mitchell got an even more abbreviated edition in March 1969.

There’s more: an unsigned 1968 memo on the next page explicitly notes that Restless Youth violated the C.I.A.’s charter AND that it was conducted at the behest of the national security adviser at the time, Walt Rostow.



[Read the Document \(pdf\)](#)

I met Rostow years later, when, ironically, he was teaching at a university — apparently, the youth weren’t too restless for him anymore.

(K) [Angleton’s Secret Police](#) By [TIM WEINER](#) JUNE 26, 2007, 7:20 PM

[Read the Document \(pdf\)](#)

A rare gem among the family jewels: a pair of detailed reports signed by James J. Angleton, the legendary chief of the C.I.A.’s counterintelligence staff from 1954 to 1974. They describe an aspect of a **longstanding worldwide American program to create and exploit foreign police forces, internal security services, and counterterrorism squads overseas**.

Mr. Angleton had been the C.I.A.’s man in charge of the overseas training program since it was had gotten under way in the mid-1950s. **The C.I.A. and other American agencies trained and equipped foreigners to serve their nations — and, in secret, the United States**. Once the Americans set up a foreign service, **the foreigners could both help carry out American foreign policy by suppressing Communists and leftists, and gather intelligence on behalf of the C.I.A.**



The program, according to recently declassified American government documents, had **trained hundreds of thousands of foreign military and police officers in 25 nations** by the early 1960s. **It helped create the secret police of Cambodia, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Peru, the Philippines, South Korea, South Vietnam, and Thailand**.

The program put the C.I.A. on “dangerous ground,” said Robert Amory, chief of the C.I.A.’s intelligence analysis directorate under Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy, in an oral history interview for the Kennedy presidential library. **“You can get into Gestapo-type tactics.”**

The documents evidently were **included in the family jewels** because one part of the program included a **two-day course run by the bomb squad of the Dade County Police Department** in Florida in April 1973.

Mr. Angleton was dismissed from the C.I.A. about 20 months later, after the first glimmerings of the family jewels started coming to light.

A footnote: **the man who wrote the manifesto for the overseas training mission** — “a democratic, unselfish, often unconditional approach to helping other countries to help themselves” — was

the C.I.A.'s own **Al Haney**, the Florida-based **field commander for Operation Success, the 1954 C.I.A. covert action that overthrew Guatemala.**

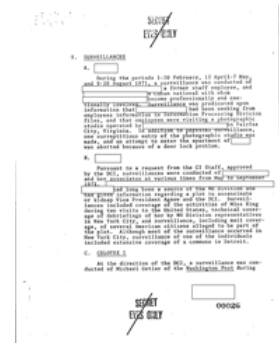
“**There have been charges that it is morally wrong for the U.S. to aid undemocratic regimes** to strengthen their security systems, thereby serving to entrench them in power,” Haney argued 50 years ago. **But “the U.S. cannot afford the moral luxury of helping only those regimes in the free world that meet our ideals of self-government.** Eliminate all the absolute monarchies, dictatorships and juntas from the free world and count those that are left and it should be readily apparent that the U.S. would be well on its way to isolation.”

(L) [Redface I](#) By [JAMES BAMFORD](#) JUNE 26, 2007, 6:08 PM

[Read the Document](#) (pdf)

In July 1970, the C.I.A. surreptitiously entered an office in Silver Spring, Maryland, of a former defector working under contract to the C.I.A. This involved bypassing a guard and a sonic alarm system, entering a vault and a safe within a vault to determine whether the person had classified material in his possession.

It would be interesting to see if any of the agency people involved in the entry were later involved in the break-in at the Democratic National Headquarters at the Watergate or the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, which led to the Watergate affair.



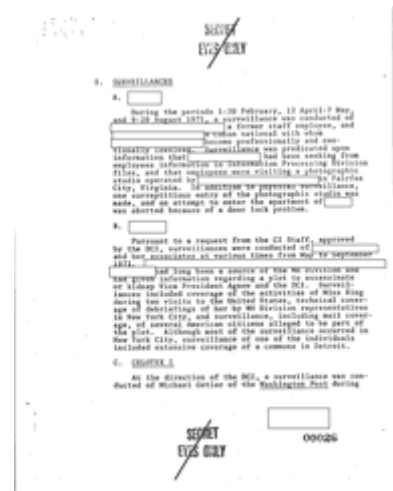
(M) [Operation Merrimac](#)

By [JAMES BAMFORD](#) JUNE 26, 2007, 6:06 PM

[Read the Document](#) (pdf)

From February 1967 to November 1971 **the C.I.A. recruited several agents and assigned them to penetrate anti-Vietnam War groups in the Washington, D.C. area.** The agents were so convincing that **the group turned one of the undercover agents over to the FBI for possible arrest.**

What is interesting is that another secret government unit, the **Pentagon's Counterintelligence Field Activity**, has been accused of **doing almost the same thing today**, but targeted against anti-Iraq War protesters. That **program, called TALON**, was reportedly **canceled by Secretary of Defense Robert Gates** shortly after he took office.



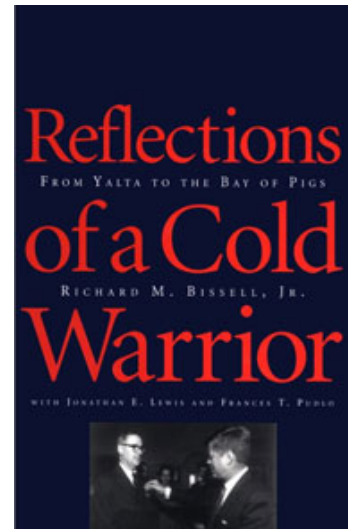
(N) [The Atmosphere of the Agency](#) By [PHILIP TAUBMAN](#) JUNE 26, 2007, 5:35 PM

Reading through the litany of C.I.A. domestic spying abuses and other questionable activities during the cold war years, including plots to assassinate foreign leaders, it's hard not to wonder what the men and women of the C.I.A. (mostly men, in those days) were thinking as they wandered far afield from the C.I.A.'s own charter. **The 1947 founding document banned the C.I.A. from domestic spying.**

Assassination plots against Fidel Castro and other foreign leaders, at a minimum, presented tricky legal and ethical issues for anyone involved.

Richard M. Bissell Jr., who directed C.I.A. operations during the late 1950s and early 1960s, offered a partial answer in his memoirs, **“Reflections of a Cold Warrior,”** published in 1996, after his death. (Yale University Press.) He noted that it was difficult to know if the privileged world from which he and many early C.I.A. officers came, including elite boarding schools and Ivy League colleges, had influenced their behavior.

“Many of us who joined the C.I.A.,” Bissell wrote, “did not feel bound in the actions we took as staff members to observe all the ethical rules that we would have observed and regarded as valid before we joined. But in a larger sense, the patriotism, the belief in the need for the United States to play an important role in the world had some of their roots in our upbringing and education, and they certainly did affect the atmosphere in the agency.”



(O) [The First 150 Pages](#)

By [BURTON HERSH](#) JUNE 26, 2007, 5:06 PM

[Read the Document](#) (pdf)

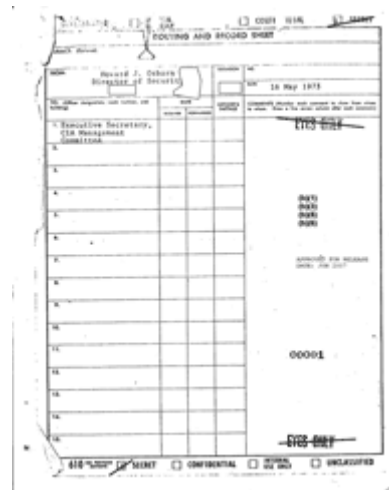
I have now been through the first 150 pages of the documents in the C.I.A. Family Jewels archive. They are largely a disappointment. A **great deal has been whited out**, and many of the disclosures are bureaucratic buckpassing to explain away interagency favors done that might blow back, especially in the United States, by law then and now not the agency’s domain.

The **involvement of Robert Maheu**, best known as Howard Hughes’s alter ego, **in lining up three top syndicate gangsters to ice Fidel Castro** has been well known since the time of the Church Committee hearings of the middle 1970s. A Mafia intermediary, Johnny Roselli, is the key operator here, a syndicate personality whom Maheu was acquainted with long before these documents would suggest. I know because he told me.

Most interesting is the disclosure on pg. 13, in which **Al Capone’s heir, Sam Giancana, proposes** as the go-between selected **to slip a poison capsule into Castro’s drink “Juan Orta**, a Cuban official who had been receiving kickback payments from the gambling interests [Giancana is referring to the Tampa mobster **Santos Trafficante**, the third among the **top gangsters the Agency recruited**], who still had access to Castro, and was in a financial bind.”

Like Jack Ruby in later years, Orta was vulnerable. The problem would soon be that **Trafficante** himself, who evidently struck a private deal with Castro to hold on to his own drug-running interests while in one of the dictator’s prisons, **seems to have betrayed the plot to Castro**, as Roselli himself would later maintain. See my recently published book Bobby Kennedy and J. Edgar Hoover.

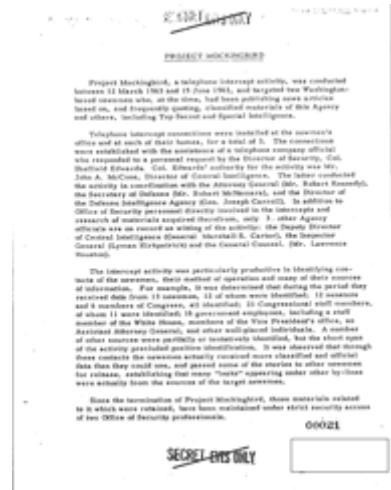
Another interesting sidelight appears on pg. 15. “On 2 February the Director of Security briefed the Attorney General, **Robert Kennedy**, on the circumstances leading to Maheu’s involvement in the wiretap.” **Giancana had pressured the C.I.A. to tap and bug the hotel room of comedian Dan Rowan in Los Vegas** and his wireman got caught. Giancana suspected that **Rowan was involved with his serious girl friend, the singer Phyllis McGuire**. To placate Giancana, “At our request, prosecution was dropped.” As Bobby and J. Edgar establishes, this would not be the last time Bob Kennedy would go into



the tank to protect Sam Giancana, just then America's foremost mobster¹, who shared a lady friend, Judith Campbell Exner, with John F. Kennedy.

On pg. 21 there is a discussion of Project Mockingbird, a tap on two Washington-based newsmen who were picking up on too many administration secrets, between 12 March and 15 June 1963. Among others signing off on this wholly illegal invasion of privacy was "Attorney General Robert Kennedy."

So new and/or substantiating material does break through here and there. The use of C.I.A. specialists to bug the political conventions in 1968 and 1972 at the respective presidents' request amounted to another violation of the Agency's charter. See pp. 34, 143. The agency supplied E. Howard Hunt with gear for his exploits with the Plumbers (pg. 107). Not news, but reinforced



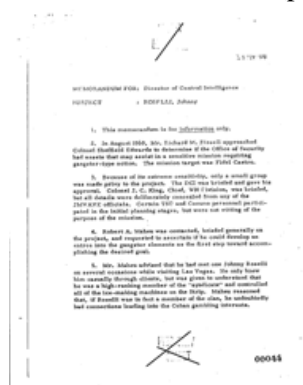
[Read the Document \(pdf\)](#)

(P) [The C.I.A. and the Mob](#)

By [PHILIP TAUBMAN](#) JUNE 26, 2007, 4:19 PM

In a memo recounting the C.I.A.'s involvement with Mafia figures as the agency plotted to assassinate Fidel Castro, Howard J. Osborn, the agency's director of security, recalls the qualifications of John Roselli as a potential partner for the C.I.A. It's difficult to divine from the memo how well C.I.A. officials understood the inner workings, and alliances, of the mob. At one point, Osborn reports that Robert A. Maheu, a Howard Hughes aide who served as an intermediary between the C.I.A. and the mob, knew Roselli slightly but had been told he was a high-ranking member of the "syndicate." As a further sign of Roselli's power, Maheu said Roselli controlled all the ice-making machines on the Strip.

[Read the Document \(pdf\)](#)



(Q) [A Memo From the Inspector General](#)

By [TIM WEINER](#)

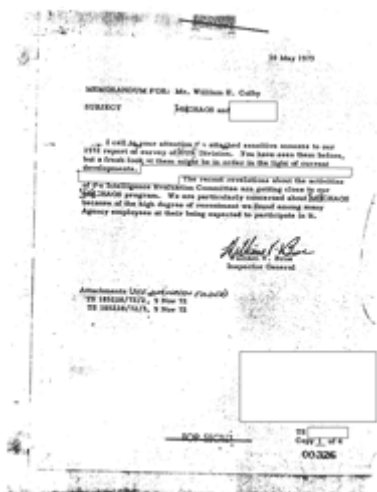
JUNE 26, 2007, 4:55 PM

This is a poignant memo that captures the spirit of the times.

Sent to Bill Colby, then the director of central intelligence-designate, from Bill Broe, the C.I.A. inspector general, it reflects the imminent exposure of the CIA's spying-on-Americans program, which began on President Lyndon B. Johnson's orders in 1967. Broe was calling Colby's attention to an internal report of deep unhappiness among clandestine service officers within the C.I.A.'s Europe division. They were part of the large operation code-named Chaos, which went on for almost seven years under Presidents Johnson and Richard M. Nixon.

Helms had created a new Special Operations Group to run Chaos, which was led by a Harvard man named Richard Ober. Some officers grew long hair and infiltrated peace movements in the United

[Read the Document \(pdf\)](#)



¹ Pandillero / Mitglied einer Clique

States and Europe. Others spied on individual political dissidents Some of the C.I.A.'s officers took to the job.

Others clearly despised it.

This memo discusses a 1972 internal C.I.A. report that recorded “the high resentment we found among many agency employees at their being expected to participate” in Chaos. The political climate was obviously shifting, and opposition to the Vietnam war and the White House was growing within C.I.A. by 1972 and 1973.

(R) ‘Hunt Requests a Lockpicker’

By AMY ZEGART

JUNE 26, 2007, 3:56 PM

[Read the Document \(pdf\)](#)

So here’s my favorite jewel so far: “Hunt requests a lockpicker.” It’s listed in a memo to the C.I.A.’s deputy director for management and services detailing questionable agency activities.

Hunt, of course, is the infamous E. Howard Hunt, the C.I.A. Cold Warrior-turned Nixon hatchet man who orchestrated the bungled break-in of the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate hotel in 1972. The break-in triggered the Watergate investigation and ultimately brought down President Nixon.

Interestingly, the lockpicker request was made “sometime in the spring of 1972,” probably between March and May — BEFORE the Watergate burglary on June 17th. The lockpicker candidate whose resume was forwarded to Hunt, a Mr. Thomas Amato, apparently never got the job. Instead, he got lucky. For Watergate junkies, this little tidbit raises intriguing what ifs: after all, the Watergate burglars were caught because an alert security guard named Frank Wills noticed a door to the parking garage had been taped so that it would remain open. If only Hunt had been able to hire a good lockpicker....

On a more serious note, the lockpicker request sheds some interesting light on just how much the C.I.A. operates like any other business. The agency actually had a job placement service for its former employees — called the External Employment Assistance branch — which took job requests, vetted candidates, and passed on resumes to potential employers. A kind of Korn Ferry for spooks.

UPDATE, 5:08 PM Some added context from Tim Weiner of the New York Times.

Howard Hunt, who had retired from C.I.A. barely a year before, had reconnected with the Agency while working for the White House in July 1971.

So the lockpicker could have been for another job — the Ellsberg job.

In June 1971, The New York Times began publishing long excerpts from the Pentagon Papers, the secret Vietnam history commissioned by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara four years before. The source was Daniel Ellsberg, a former Pentagon whiz kid whom Henry Kissinger had hired as a consultant to the National Security Council and invited into President Richard M. Nixon’s California compound at San Clemente. Kissinger raged about the Pentagon Papers and The New York Times, sending Nixon into a greater fury. The president turned to his domestic policy chief, John Ehrlichman, to stop the leaks. He assembled a team called the Plumbers, led by a very **recently retired CIA officer who had played prominent roles in Guatemala and the Bay of Pigs: Everette Howard Hunt, Jr.**

Erllichman, President Nixon’s right-hand man, telephoned Nixon’s hired hand inside the C.I.A. — the deputy director of central intelligence, General Robert Cushman — on July 7, 1971 The president’s aide told Cushman that Howard Hunt would be calling him directly and asking for assistance.

“I wanted you to know that he was in fact doing some things for the president,” Ehrlichman said. “You should consider he has pretty much carte blanche.”

Hunt’s demands escalated — he wanted his old secretary back, he wanted an office with a secure telephone in New York, he wanted state-of-the-art tape recorders, he wanted a C.I.A. camera to stake out a

break-in at Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office in Beverly Hills, Calif., and he wanted the C.I.A. to develop the film. Cushman belatedly informed Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms that the agency had given Hunt a set of disguises: a red wig, a voice-altering device, fake personal identification.

Then the White House demanded that the agency produce a psychological profile of Daniel Ellsberg. That was a violation of the C.I.A.'s charter against spying on Americans. But the C.I.A. complied.

(S) [Keeping Track of All the Redactions](#) By [AMY ZEGART](#)
JUNE 26, 2007, 3:11 PM

ENTIRE CATEGORY OF ACTIVITIES STILL CLASSIFIED

There appears to be an entire category of activities still classified — the whole section from pages 8 to 10 is redacted. Given all the illegal activities actually listed in this document, the hidden sections are all the more disturbing.

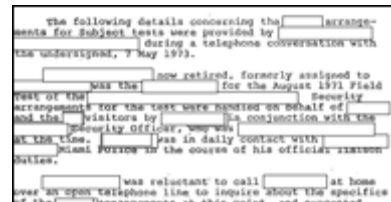
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SURVEILLANCE OPERATION

This document lays out C.I.A. involvement in a range of surveillance activities, from monitoring journalists to breaking into the apartments of defectors. In this case, two entire sections — points “E” and “G”— are redacted. Notably, point “G” comes immediately after discussion of surveillance of dissident groups.

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SECRET 'EQUIPMENT' FIELD TEST NEAR 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

According to a May 15, 1973 memo, the C.I.A. tested some unspecified equipment in four Miami hotels just before the 1972 Republican national convention. The location, timing, and security assigned to the field test all got my attention. At least one of the hotels was a block from the convention hall. Security arrangements appear to have been tight; one of the people involved was reluctant to call another over an open telephone line. Arrangements were run by a security officer. And, according to the document, one person in the operation was in “daily contact” with the Miami police department as part of his “official liaison duties.” The memo contends that **the activity was “completely innocent”** but “subject to misconstrual.” **But if this is true, why blacken out key details about the nature of the equipment, its purpose, and the peculiar timing and location of the field test?**

(T) [A Plot to Assassinate Castro Was Approved By C.I.A. Director Allen Dulles](#)

By [AMY ZEGART](#) JUNE 26, 2007, 2:19 PM

[Read the Document](#) (Photo: Associated Press)

For years, the public has known that the C.I.A. spent part of the 1960s concocting [plans to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro](#). **None of these plots ever succeeded, and many** — one explored the feasibility of sending Castro a poison-laced diving suit, another tried to rig exotic exploding seashells — **seem ridiculous in retrospect**. One of the \$64,000 questions from that time is whether these plots were known and authorized by various C.I.A. directors and others outside the agency, including the president. The **Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities**, better known as the **Church Committee**, spent months in 1975 and thousands of pages of testimony **examining who knew what, and when**. The committee found that the evidence

suggested that higher-ups inside and outside the C.I.A .knew about the various assassination plots, but it was not conclusive.

Now, the “family jewels” documents show that **at least one plot to kill Castro** — involving underworld figure Johnny Roselli — **was directly approved by C.I.A. Director Allen Dulles.** The jewels document notes on page 12 that in 1960, Richard Bissell, Director of the C.I.A.’s covert operations branch, began searching for “assets” to assist in a “sensitive mission requiring gangster-type action” against Castro. According to the document, **the C.I.A. Director “was briefed and gave his approval.”**



UPDATE, 5:13 PM Some added context from Tim Weiner of the New York Times.

On December 11, 1959, Richard Bissell (the new Deputy Director for Operations as of 1/1/59, same day Castro took power) sent Allen Dulles a **memo suggesting that “thorough consideration be given to the elimination of Fidel Castro.”**

Dulles penciled in a crucial correction to the proposal. He **struck out elimination**, a word tinged with more than a hint of murder. He **substituted removal from Cuba** — and gave the go-ahead.

Authorship of the memo itself is credited to J.C. King, then in his ninth year as chief, Western Hemisphere Division, Deputy Director for Operations)

Source: Jack Pfeiffer, “Evolution of CIA’s Anti-Castro Policies, 1951-January 1961, Vol. 3, “Official History of the Bay of Pigs Operation,” CIA, National Archives and Records Administration.

(U) [The Early Sections of the Documents](#) By [James Bamford](#) June 26, 2007, 12:51 pm

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SECTION 1

It is interesting that **the first item in the “Family Jewels” was deleted in its entirety** — including even the title. Let’s hope there is a leak somewhere along the line — **if it was illegal then, it’s illegal now.**

SECTION 2: JOHNNY ROSELLI

In the early 1960s the C.I.A. hired members of the Mafia, including mobster Johnny Roselli, to help in the assassination of Fidel Castro in Cuba. The operation never panned out. I found the section interesting in that **it shows the crazy extent of the C.I.A.’s thinking in those days.** I also found it somewhat uplifting that **Richard Helms did not lift a finger to help Roselli after he was arrested** and threatened to go public with the details of the plot. But there was nothing really new in this item that hadn’t come out either in the news articles, the Church Committee hearings or the press three decades and more ago.

By [PHILIP TAUBMAN](#)

The "Family Jewels" are responses by C.I.A. officials to a 1973 directive James Schlesinger, right. (Photo: Consolidated News Pictures/Getty Images)

The New York Times has assembled a **panel of intelligence experts and historians to review and comment on documents made public today** by the Central Intelligence Agency that describe a series of intelligence operations, mostly involving domestic spying, that first came to light in the 1970s. They also include some discussion of assassination plots against foreign leaders. The C.I.A. account of these



activities, running nearly 700 pages, is **known as the "Family Jewels."** It consists of responses by C.I.A. officials to a 1973 directive from the Director of Central Intelligence, James Schlesinger, to inform him of any activities that might violate the agency's charter. Many pages of the material made public today were excised by the agency. Many of the operations were disclosed in press reports in the mid-1970's beginning with a [Dec. 22, 1974 story](#) in The New York Times by Seymour M. Hersh. A commission appointed by President Gerald R. Ford and headed by his Vice President, Nelson A. Rockefeller, investigated the C.I.A. activities, as did a Senate committee, chaired by Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, and a House committee, chaired by Rep. Otis Pike, Democrat of New York. The actual text of the responses to Mr. Schlesinger remained classified and unavailable to the public until today.

Text: The C.I.A. Documents

THE PANEL

- [Philip Taubman](#)
- [Tim Weiner](#)
- [James Bamford](#)
- [Burton Hersh](#)
- [David Robarge](#)
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[Download all documents as one file](#) (pdf, 21 mb).

[Family Jewels Timeline](#)

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