MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:
President Ford
William E. Colby, Director, Central Intelligence Agency
Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President
John O. Marsh, Jr., Counsellor to the President
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME:
Friday, January 3, 1975
5:30 p.m.

PLACE:
The Oval Office
The White House

SUBJECT:
Allegations of CIA Domestic Activities

President: I asked Phil and Jack to analyze the [Colby] report for me, but first, why don't you tell me where we are.

Colby: We have a couple of problems -- one within the agency and one with Congress. Already the two Armed Services committees, the two Appropriations committees, and Muskie want me to testify.

I think we have a 25-year old institution which has done some things it shouldn't have. On the dissidents, the major effort was to check if there were any foreign connections. But we held it so close there was unease within the Agency -- was it really done for the foreign connections or was it anti-dissident? We infiltrated some people so they could go overseas. That was okay, but in the course of training within the groups they wrote on the dissidents. We passed the information to the FBI and they passed information to us. But what happened is we would file the reports the FBI gave us. That, together with our reports from overseas, amounts to about 10,000. So we can't deny that, but I will have to try to clarify it.
President: When were the names gathered?

Colby: Beginning in '67. It was formally terminated in March '74.

President: When was the Schlesinger directive?

Colby: In May 1973. Schlesinger was concerned when things popped up—the psychological profiles, and letters from McCord about CIA and Watergate. So, to find everything, he put out this directive. My report has some of it; I will cover the others now. I briefed Neda in July 1973; I gave Stennis a general briefing and Symington a detailed one. [He showed the President a looseleaf book.]

President: What did the three say?

Colby: I said "Here it is; we are not going to do it again." I then gave specific instructions to the Department. In March 1974, we stopped the program and put it together with the dissident program and treated them as one. He mentions mail opening. We did have a New York and Los Angeles program in the 50's of opening first-class airmail from the USSR. For example, we have four to Jane Fonda. That is illegal, and we stopped it in 1973. In San Francisco we had one with respect to China, to find out who the contacts were. Some letters were opened. We did break in to some premises to see whether there were classified documents.

President: Were these former employees, or people on the payroll?

Colby: Former employees.

President: Had they been fired?

Colby: One had just left -- he wasn't fired.

President: Who would approve such operations?

Colby: I would think only the Director, but possibly at these times the Director of the Office of Security.

The third area is the fact that we surveilled some people to find out why they had classified information. Some of the names are pretty hot. [He mentioned a couple of reporters.] In 1971 we surveilled Mike Getler. He had run a story which was an obvious intelligence leak.
President: Who would have approved that?

Colby: I'm pretty sure it was Helms, but whether it was directed from higher up I don't know.

In 1972 at the time of the India-Pakistan war, we put a tap on Jack Anderson and three of his associates.

President: Who ordered it?

Colby: Helms. Whether on his own or not, I don't know. This was not illegal, but (perhaps) outside our jurisdiction. We also followed some of our employees or former employees. Unfortunately, one was Marchetti. Again, it was not illegal, but it's a highly emotional area.

President: Was this outside the Agency's charter?

Colby: Helms says this is a gray area. We have the responsibility to protect our sources and information.

President: What would you have done?

Colby: I said at my confirmation that I have the duty but not the authority. I would go to the FBI or somewhere like that.

We have also run some wiretaps. Most of them are on our employees, but not all. Edgar Snow, for example. Generally, from 1965, they were approved by the Attorney General. One other was a defector, but most of them were employees. I doubt that before 1963 we had Attorney-General approval.

These were from 1951 through 1965. The last tap recorded was in 1971.

None of these have anything to do with the Hersh story, but he lists all these activities as being part of the anti-dissident effort.

Marsh: But Hersh will say that out of the dissidents program came the IEC and this is where the Getler and Anderson taps are very worrisome. He will say we turned to the IEC for operations when we couldn't get action from the regular agencies.
Buchen: The directive was 9 May; the report was May 21. Isn’t that a bit short?

Colby: Most of these skeletons were around, but just in memory rather than on paper. It didn’t take much to get them on paper.

President: Who would have known of the dissident operation?

Colby: The Director, Karamassines, the Deputy Director, Ober -- 30 to 40 people were in the group.

President: Who assigned Ober over here?

Colby: When we terminated the program, I nominated him.

[General Scowcroft described how the NSC got him and what his normal NSC duties were.]

Colby: That’s about it. We did collect the names of some Congressmen--who weren’t in Congress when we got the names. [He gave the President a paper on this.] An "X" by the names means we ran a clearance for the purpose of collaboration with them; "Y" means the name came up in connection with a foreign country.

[The President leaves.]

Buchen: The last directives are undated. Why?

Colby: They were all issued at the same time.

Marsh: They will try to get this all linked with Watergate. Do you think there is a connection?

Colby: Watergate is a code word. Only that concern about dissidents and leaks may have been hyped by political concerns.

[Buchen and Marsh asked a series of questions. The President then returned.]

President: Is counterintelligence work suffering because of a lack of coordination with the FBI?

Colby: No. We are cooperating very well. I think NSCID 9 will formally regularize the arrangement we’ve had with the FBI since 1966.
Colby: We obviously have a problem since we lost four of our top people.

President: Tell me about them.

Colby: It has to be a highly compartmented activity.

Angleton is an unusual type and totally dedicated to his mission. He is very intense. I thought of asking him to retire when I took over. I didn't because of the human factors. He also handled the Israeli account. On Friday before the Hersh article appeared, I told him he could move or retire.

Of the other three, one had already decided to retire. His deputy told that he wouldn't be the chief and he retired. The third was younger, but he thought apparently he might get the job and he retired when he didn't.

Helms helped Hunt to get a job with Mullens when he retired.

President: We plan to do three things: One, early next week, all the intelligence chiefs will come in and I will say "You know what the law is and I expect you to obey." Two, I'm going to appoint a Blue Ribbon Committee to look into all of this. Three, I am going to suggest to the Hill that a joint committee is the best way for them to go to investigate.

We don't want to destroy but to preserve the CIA. But we want to make sure that illegal operations and those outside the charter don't happen.

Colby: We have run operations to assassinate foreign leaders. We have never succeeded. [He cited Castro, Trujillo, General Sneider of Chile, et al]

There's another skeleton: A defector we suspected of being a double agent we kept confined for three years.

There is one other very messy problem: After the ITT-Chile Congressional investigation, there was an allegation that our testimony was not all kosher. I don't think there was any criminal action, but there was some skating on thin ice. There is an old rule that to protect sources and information you could stretch things.

But the White House hasn't been told about my book of skeletons.
Parked. I hope just to know you express from me, not
and upon the very place.

6. We have a number of children who have a large

7. Theirs is the only child that I should have.

8. An individual in a special part of foreign

9. connection, that he did not realize that

10. was unable to join in a program, was it not

11. the foreign connection or anti-connection. We

12. simple-minded people, so they could go

13. That he met a number of people who were

14. group they were exposed to. But

15. we proceeded to be interested that what

16. happened is we would lose a report of the year

17. That, of some sights from someone about

18. an area. So we can't deny that, but

19. I could limit try to explain it.

20. Where was a second gathered?


22. Where was the report? destination?

23. May 73. Should have someone standing for our

24. stop. I am talking. I believe from the kind 63-64.

25. So, to find everything to put it to another. In my report, I had

26. These things were delightful. July 73 gave

27. I desire more. I'm going for adulation

28. I traveled for lovely job.
To Dept. In Mar '74, we stopped a proc & part out specific information on deadly def & America.

Then in another faction when we collected & checked, that was some vital training in our security.

Office thought the threats of some of these rep. at least were difficult even to detect them now.

He mentioned misleading & did have a N w.L. Rep. in 1974 from a Chinese 15th of June from USSR. For ex: we have 69 from FDR.

That is almost one at J-55 in '75. If FDR are done. W/Agent to China, to point out who writes some - some better agents.

We did break in to some premises to see whether there were classified docs.

P like three former employees even forged

C famous P Ford.

C had just left... not paid.

P who could approve such ops.

C should think only a Dry but partly at this time

c Director of Off. Security.

The 3rd time I first we cancelled some piglet &

found out why they had classified info. Some of c

machine party hit. A complex weird in

1971 with cancelled Hyde但它. He still same story

which was nonsense until back.

P who wrote it guard that

it I think some being written directly from lawyer by

I don't know.

Jan '74 at time of Khrushchev-Rockefeller, a pseudo

Trojan Jack Anderson & opponent

P the ord & I.
Secret call

C Helene is better on his own & not In the house
This not illegal but it goes against our jurisdiction.
We also followed what same everyone's same
employee. Unfortunately, same areas. Again,
not illegal but highly unethical now.

F Went outside dinner.

C Helene says this a group case, is that we
have easy to protect because & wish.

F What would you have done?

C I said at 4 p.m. when I don't have any
conversation, is going to EOC a conversation like
that.

We have also seen some meetings that are
employees, but not the Edgar Trent. For
example, that were for expedited approval
by Mary Cast, are often more disputes, but most
were employees. Indeed, that before 63 we had
attorney general's approval.

These meetings from 6 to 7, about 10

Aren't these have any... to be HR? Shiny thing that
she wrote all this activities re being part of examina-

C But, how will see that out of these customer cases

C TEC & other is where & Carter & Anderson type

There are very unrealistic. He will say we continued
to TEC for years when we couldn't get autom-

B The deadline was Thursday. The report is May 26.

Funt that's not short.

C Trusty these titles now abound, but just
in another with Tom on paper. Dick T. C. may
much help them on paper.
I wonder how many of defendant went to Darby Lake, Ohio, 1960-62, now in a group.

Was everyone at Darby Lake?

When did Savannah grow, beginning with what he said?

Think about it. We did collect names of same Congressmen. We suggest illegal action.

If the number of names we have is a problem for purposes of elaboration of their names being incorporated in document, it's a serious problem.

(Please)

The best direction is unclear. Why?

They were all around at same time.

If they will try to get this all worked out together.

Do you think there is a conspiracy?

What's in it for each voter to help that person out?

I don't think there is a conspiracy.

(The rest read several questions)

(please return)

Is it community work taking care of family work with social?

Do we have cooperatively we will think NSCDQ will formally recognize an agreement with local

We obviously have a lot since we lost 4 years.

Tell me.
It has to a largely compartmental activity.

One thing in one compartment type is totally isolated from the others, but in some situations, looking inside this box, it is not a very

It is the compartment that is essential for the success.

Our feeling can't be. I would like to hear more about this.

This story is about how, in some situations, we might get confused about the situation.

We need to keep this in mind when we discuss this.

P. we have a Trump: (1) Every night, with all intel

Chief will come in. I will try to know what a leader is doing and get to the story. (2) The situation, it

I suggest still a joint venture in the way to go to investigate.

We don't want to destroy but picture C.

We want to make sure that illegal move that entire

Chairman don't happen.

We have to keep some awareness this foreign leader.

We have never met him. Pitot Carter, Turjika,

Anon, Chubina: a defect we suspected being

Don't you want we keep confined for ages.

One thing many foreign policy. After IT, which long

investigation, there was no one allegation that ever

attacking were not all leaders. I don't think there

was any criminal actions but that was some

situation, when two sides. There can only rule for

to protect ourselves for info, you can't stretch it.

Chair...
White House doesn't even tell about any cooking that time.