

Exhibit 4

HUGE C.I.A. OPERATION REPORTED IN U.S. AGAINST ANTIWAR FORCES, OTHER DISSIDENTS IN NIXON YEARS



Richard Helms



James R. Schlesinger



William E. Colby

FILES ON CITIZENS

Helms Reportedly Got Surveillance Data in Charter Violation

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21—The Central Intelligence Agency, directly violating its charter, conducted a massive, illegal domestic intelligence operation during the Nixon Administration against the antiwar movement and other dissident groups in the United States, according to well-placed Government sources.

An extensive investigation by The New York Times has established that intelligence files on at least 10,000 American citizens were maintained by a special unit of the C.I.A. that was reporting directly to Richard Helms, then the Director of Central Intelligence and now the Ambassador to Iran.

In addition, the sources said, a check of the C.I.A.'s domestic files ordered last year by Mr. Helms's successor, James R. Schlesinger, produced evidence of dozens of other illegal activities by members of the C.I.A. inside the United States, beginning in the nineteen-fifties, including break-ins, wiretapping and the surreptitious inspection of mail.

A Different Category

Mr. Schlesinger was succeeded by the C.I.A. by William E. Colby in September, 1973.

Those other alleged operations, in the fifties, while also prohibited by law, were not targeted at dissident American citizens, the sources said, but were a different category of domestic activities that were secretly carried out as part of operations aimed at suspected foreign intelligence agents operating in the United States.

Under the 1947 act setting up the C.I.A., the agency was forbidden to have "police, subpoena, law enforcement powers or internal security functions" inside the United States. Those responsibilities fall to the F.B.I., which maintains a special internal security unit to deal with foreign intelligence threats.

Helms Unavailable

Mr. Helms, who became head of the C.I.A. in 1966 and left the agency in February, 1973, for his new post in Tehran, could not be reached despite telephone calls there yesterday and today.

Charles Cline, a duty officer at the American Embassy in Tehran, said today that a note informing Mr. Helms of the request by The Times for comment had been delivered to Mr. Helms's quarters this morning. By late evening Mr. Helms had not returned the call.

The information about the

INFLATION QURBS CHRISTMAS SALES

Shorter Shopping Season Also Cited by Stores as Buyers Stretch Funds

By ISADORE BARMASH

Inflation, unemployment, layoffs and concern over what the national economy holds next year have produced generally disappointing Christmas sales, so far for merchants across the country.

With only three shopping days left, the nation's consumers have apparently approached their Christmas gift-giving in a sober, even somber mood. They are paring their shopping lists, keeping a tight rein on buying by using cash more than credit and by purchasing fewer holiday decorations.

"I'm spending less because of the inflated prices," Mrs. Diane Yemano, the mother of two young children, said in a Los Angeles shopping center. "and I'm only spending a certain amount for each person."

Many retailers hope they can

Continued on Page 23, Column 1

Extensive Abuses Found In Court-Hiring Practices

By RALPH BLUMENTHAL

The role of political patronage in the appointment of state-court aides and employes has come under official investigation in connection with the indictments of five law secretaries.

Alleged abuses cited by the State Bar Association and law-enforcement authorities include the appointment of political party officials and leaders and their relatives as \$26,000-a-year law secretaries, the selection of law secretaries without law degrees, and the naming of no-show jobholders who spend most of their time away from court.

Discretion Limited

The inquiry into criminal aspects of such abuses is being conducted by Special Prosecutor Maurice H. Nadjari, whose job it is to ferret out corruption in the state's justice system.

An informal check by The New York Times of a dozen State Supreme Court justices and a dozen law secretaries—close to 10 per cent of the city's total—has indicated that law secretaries are routinely screened and designated, or

"recommended," as judges preferred to say, by the local party organization before being hired by the judges.

Usually, the judge's only discretion is to reject his prospective employee. In such cases, the organization then provides him with another choice or several choices, the survey showed.

In many of the cases checked, the law secretaries were known prior to the survey to have had a history of Democratic or Republican political activities on a club or county level. At least three were identified as district leaders and two as county committeemen.

The survey also found that seven of the law secretaries checked had private law practices listed in the telephone directory. Law secretaries here are supposed to work full-time and are barred from working privately on any case under litigation in any court.

However, with the permission of the Appellate Division, they may work on uncontested matters in Surrogate and Supreme

Continued on Page 32, Column 4

93d Congress Set Historic Precedents

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21—The last two years were tumultuous ones politically, and the 93d Congress, which adjourned last night, was in the center of the storm.

It will go down in history as

the Congress that helped expose and depose a President, and, in the process, set precedents for investigation and impeachment that will outlive the members of the Congress themselves.

History will also record that it was the 93d Congress that first used the procedures of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution—to confirm Gerald R. Ford and then Nelson A. Rockefeller as Vice President.

Because of the political turmoil, the legislative accomplishments of the last two years received less attention than they might have otherwise. But Congressional leaders believe that some of the laws that were enacted may also prove to be historic.

For example, while the nation's attention was focused on Richard M. Nixon's resignation,

States armed forces to foreign hostilities without Congressional approval.

The law, enacted over Mr. Nixon's veto, was designed to prevent "another Vietnam."

Moreover, by using its power to withhold funds, Congress forced Mr. Nixon to accept a compromise and end the bombing of Cambodia in August, 1973.

Congress also took steps to improve its own machinery for dealing with the Federal budget and enacted legislation that alters the traditional method of financing political campaigns through large private contributions.

Also of importance to long-

Continued on Page 27, Column 1

Raiders, Vikings Victors

Huge C.I.A. Operation Reported Against Antirwar Forces in the United States

Continued From Page 1, Col. & Personal Background. It could not be learned whether that act was done by a third party. C.I.A. came as the Senate's Armed Services Committee issued a report today condemning Mr. Schlesinger's reforms were being done in a "back channel" by the National Security Council, but for an outsider.

Mr. Colby, these men said, were continuing the "back channel" programs initiated by his predecessor, as viewed by some as "the saving force" at the agency because of a former high-ranking official himself in the C.I.A.'s clandestine service. He had the respect and power to ensure that the programs would continue.

Some have also reported that there was widespread paper shredding at the agency because Mr. Schlesinger began to crack down on the C.I.A.'s operations. Asked about that, however, Mr. Schlesinger said that they could "guarantee" that the domestic intelligence files were not destroyed.

"There's certainly been a lot of shredding," one of the sources said. "When confronted with the Times' information about the earlier domestic operations, I earlier in the year, I was authorized agent to follow and photograph participants in anti-war demonstrations. The C.I.A. also set up a network of informants who were ordered to follow all anti-war groups, the sources said."

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.

At least one source said that a member of Congress was placed in the White House by the C.I.A. to influence the sources said. Other members of Congress were also placed in the White House to influence the sources said.



The Central Intelligence Agency building is in Langley, Va. The agency's emblem symbolizes vigilance, directed to all points of the compass.

The C.I.A. and the Times sources say they believe can be unraveled only by extensive Congressional hearings. The C.I.A. domestic activities during the Nixon Administration were directed, the sources said, by a former high-ranking official in the C.I.A. who was not named.

As head of counterintelligence, Mr. Angleton is said to have been in charge of maintaining the C.I.A.'s "sources and methods of intelligence," which means that he and his men must ensure that foreign intelligence agents do not penetrate the C.I.A.

The Times sources, who included men with access to first-hand knowledge of the C.I.A., said that they had seen a sharp exception to the official suspicion that such activities were most common during the 1947 legislation, Mr. Colby said.

"My interpretation of that particular provision is that it gives me a charge but does not give me the authority to give the job of identifying any problem of protecting sources from the event," Mr. Colby said.

"So really see less of a gray area [than Mr. Helms] in that regard. I believe that there is really no authority under the law that can be used to identify any problem of protecting sources from the event," Mr. Colby said.

"The problem is that it was handled in a very sticky way. If you're an agent spying in Paris and you're asked to find out whether Jane Fonda is being manipulated by foreigners, you're not supposed to tell intelligence services you've found out you're spying on her."

"Oh, my God," he said, "oh, my God." Mr. Helms, a former high-level F.B.I. official who operated in domestic counterintelligence areas since the late 1940s, was then asked to find out whether Jane Fonda is being manipulated by foreigners, you're not supposed to tell intelligence services you've found out you're spying on her."

"We had an agreement with them that they weren't to do anything unless they checked with me first," he said. "They did not check with me at all." He said he had never been asked to spy on anyone in the intelligence community of the alleged domestic operations.

Mr. Huston, now an Indianapolis attorney, said in a letter to the Times yesterday that he had not been asked to spy on anyone in the intelligence community of the alleged domestic operations.

Mr. Huston said there was no agreement with them that they weren't to do anything unless they checked with me first, he said. "They did not check with me at all." He said he had never been asked to spy on anyone in the intelligence community of the alleged domestic operations.

Mr. Huston said there was no agreement with them that they weren't to do anything unless they checked with me first, he said. "They did not check with me at all." He said he had never been asked to spy on anyone in the intelligence community of the alleged domestic operations.

Mr. Huston said there was no agreement with them that they weren't to do anything unless they checked with me first, he said. "They did not check with me at all." He said he had never been asked to spy on anyone in the intelligence community of the alleged domestic operations.

Yale graduate who once edited poetry magazine there. He was repeatedly described by former C.I.A. officials as an unrelenting cold warrior who was convinced that the Soviet Union was playing a major role in the antiwar activities.

One former high-level C.I.A. official said he recalled seeing a "spook mentality" who saw conspiracies everywhere. The official said that Mr. Angleton's efforts to reach by telephone this week at his home in Washington were denied that his counterintelligence department operated domestically.

"I know our jurisdiction," Mr. Angleton told of a report from a United States agent in Moscow who was relying on information to the C.I.A. on the underground and radical bombings in the United States during the height of the antiwar activity.

A source in Moscow said the intelligence was not acquired in the United States, Mr. Angleton declared. "It came from Moscow. Our source there is a very good and productive; the opposition still doesn't know."

"That's really the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

"I was a member of the deep snow section," one high-level intelligence expert said of the unit, which was active in the United States intelligence community. The source said that the unit was active in the United States intelligence community.

White House. "We dealt with Ober and Helms in the past. We dealt with them over these studies, went over them point by point," the official said. "Mr. Angleton, while not directly involved in the study, was certainly involved in the intelligence Department."

The former C.I.A. official said that he could not recall any evidence of foreign involvement, while being involved in an elaborate and secret domestic security operation on root out alleged foreign activities in the antiwar movement. The results of the studies were forwarded to Henry A. Kissinger, then President Nixon's national security adviser.

A number of former F.B.I. officials said in interviews that the C.I.A.'s alleged domestic wiretaps and similar illegal counterintelligence operations undoubtedly reflected, in part, the long-standing mistrust between the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. Mr. Hoover reportedly ordered his bureau to break off all but formal liaison contact with the C.I.A. after the lower level C.I.A. and F.B.I. officials to make clandestine arrangements to exchange information to exchange intelligence.

The F.B.I. said, all but contact with the C.I.A. for the two agencies on counterintelligence and counterespionage. "The C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"Cutting throats" "We were constantly cutting the throats of the C.I.A. and dealing with them. If the White House knew about it, they were too afraid of Hoover to do anything about it." The former side chief of a case in the late sixties in which Mr. Angleton turned to F.B.I. for a domestic investigation because he "believed four or five guys were agents, including two guys still in the agency [C.I.A.] and three or four who had been high-level."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."

"You know," said one member of Congress who is involved in intelligence agencies, "the former C.I.A. was never affiliated with the F.B.I. and I can't blame them for the former official said. "We did historical jobs."