

APPENDIX-A

94TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

**S. RES. 21**

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 21, 1975

Mr. PASTORE submitted the following resolution; which was ordered to be placed on the calendar (under general orders)

JANUARY 27, 1975

Considered, amended, and agreed to

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**RESOLUTION**

To establish a select committee of the Senate to conduct an investigation and study with respect to intelligence activities carried out by or on behalf of the Federal Government.

- 1       *Resolved*, To establish a select committee of the Senate  
2 to conduct an investigation and study of governmental op-  
3 erations with respect to intelligence activities and of the  
4 extent, if any, to which illegal, improper, or unethical activ-  
5 ities were engaged in by any agency of the Federal Govern-  
6 ment or by any persons, acting individually or in combination  
7 with others, with respect to any intelligence activity carried  
8 out by or on behalf of the Federal Government; be it further  
9       *Resolved*, That (a) there is hereby established a select  
10 committee of the Senate which may be called, for con-

1 venience of expression, the Select Committee To Study  
2 Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Ac-  
3 tivities to conduct an investigation and study of the extent, if  
4 any, to which illegal, improper, or unethical activities were  
5 engaged in by any agency or by any persons, acting either  
6 individually or in combination with others, in carrying out  
7 any intelligence or surveillance activities by or on behalf  
8 of any agency of the Federal Government.

9 (b) The select committee created by this resolution  
10 shall consist of eleven Members of the Senate, six to be  
11 appointed by the President of the Senate from the majority  
12 Members of the Senate upon the recommendation of the  
13 majority leader of the Senate, and five minority Members of  
14 the Senate to be appointed by the President of the Senate  
15 upon the recommendation of the minority leader of the  
16 Senate. For the purposes of paragraph 6 of rule XXV of the  
17 Standing Rules of the Senate, service of a Senator as a  
18 member, chairman, or vice chairman of the select committee  
19 shall not be taken into account.

20 (c) The majority members of the committee shall select  
21 a chairman and the minority members shall select a vice  
22 chairman and the committee shall adopt rules and procedures  
23 to govern its proceedings. The vice chairman shall preside  
24 over meetings of the select committee during the absence  
25 of the chairman, and discharge such other responsibilities

1 as may be assigned to him by the select committee or the  
2 chairman. Vacancies in the membership of the select com-  
3 mittee shall not affect the authority of the remaining mem-  
4 bers to execute the functions of the select committee and  
5 shall be filled in the same manner as original appointments  
6 to it are made.

7 (d) A majority of the members of the select committee  
8 shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business but  
9 the select committee may affix a lesser number as a quorum  
10 for the purpose of taking testimony or depositions.

11 SEC. 2. The select committee is authorized and directed  
12 to do everything necessary or appropriate to make the in-  
13 vestigations and study specified in subsection (a) of the  
14 first section. Without abridging in any way the authority  
15 conferred upon the select committee by the preceding  
16 sentence, the Senate further expressly authorizes and directs  
17 the select committee to make a complete investigation and  
18 study of the activities of any agency or of any and all persons  
19 or groups of persons or organizations of any kind which  
20 have any tendency to reveal the full facts with respect to  
21 the following matters or questions:

22 (1) Whether the Central Intelligence Agency has  
23 conducted an illegal domestic intelligence operation in  
24 the United States.

1           (2) The conduct of domestic intelligence or coun-  
2     terintelligence operations against United States citizens  
3     by the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other  
4     Federal agency.

5           (3) The origin and disposition of the so-called Hus-  
6     ton Plan to apply United States intelligence agency  
7     capabilities against individuals or organizations within  
8     the United States.

9           (4) The extent to which the Federal Bureau of In-  
10    vestigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other  
11    Federal law enforcement or intelligence agencies coordi-  
12    nate their respective activities, any agreements which  
13    govern that coordination, and the extent to which a lack  
14    of coordination has contributed to activities or actions  
15    which are illegal, improper, inefficient, unethical, or con-  
16    trary to the intent of Congress.

17          (5) The extent to which the operation of domestic  
18    intelligence or counterintelligence activities and the  
19    operation of any other activities within the United States  
20    by the Central Intelligence Agency conforms to the leg-  
21    islative charter of that Agency and the intent of the  
22    Congress.

23          (6) The past and present interpretation by the  
24    Director of Central Intelligence of the responsibility to  
25    protect intelligence sources and methods as it relates to

1 the provision in section 102 (d) (3) of the National  
2 Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 403 (d) (3)) that  
3 ". . . that the agency shall have no police, subpoena, law  
4 enforcement powers, or internal security functions. . . ."

5 (7) Nature and extent of executive branch over-  
6 sight of all United States intelligence activities.

7 (8) The need for specific legislative authority to  
8 govern the operations of any intelligence agencies of  
9 the Federal Government now existing without that  
10 explicit statutory authority, including but not limited to  
11 agencies such as the Defense Intelligence Agency and  
12 the National Security Agency.

13 The nature and extent to which Federal agencies  
14 cooperate and exchange intelligence information and  
15 the adequacy of any regulations or statutes which  
16 govern such cooperation and exchange of intelligence  
17 information.

18 (9) The extent to which United States intelligence  
19 agencies are governed by Executive orders, rules, or  
20 regulations either published or secret and the extent  
21 to which those Executive orders, rules, or regulations  
22 interpret, expand, or are in conflict with specific legis-  
23 lative authority.

24 (10) The violation or suspected violation of any  
25 State or Federal statute by any intelligence agency or

1 by any person by or on behalf of any intelligence agency  
2 of the Federal Government including but not limited  
3 to surreptitious entries, surveillance, wiretaps, or eaves-  
4 dropping, illegal opening of the United States mail, or  
5 the monitoring of the United States mail.

6 (11) The need for improved, strengthened, or con-  
7 solidated oversight of United States intelligence ac-  
8 tivities by the Congress.

9 (12) Whether any of the existing laws of the  
10 United States are inadequate, either in their provisions  
11 or manner of enforcement, to safeguard the rights of  
12 American citizens, to improve executive and legislative  
13 control of intelligence and related activities, and to re-  
14 solve uncertainties as to the authority of United States  
15 intelligence and related agencies.

16 (13) Whether there is unnecessary duplication of  
17 expenditure and effort in the collection and processing  
18 of intelligence information by United States agencies.

19 (14) The extent and necessity of overt and covert  
20 intelligence activities in the United States and abroad.

21 (15) Such other related matters as the committee  
22 deems necessary in order to carry out its responsibilities  
23 under section (a).

24 SEC. 3. (a) To enable the select committee to make  
25 the investigation and study authorized and directed by this

1 resolution, the Senate hereby empowers the select committee  
2 as an agency of the Senate (1) to employ and fix the com-  
3 pensation of such clerical, investigatory, legal, technical,  
4 and other assistants as it deems necessary or appropriate,  
5 but it may not exceed the normal Senate salary schedules;  
6 (2) to sit and act at any time or place during sessions,  
7 recesses, and adjournment periods of the Senate; (3) to hold  
8 hearings for taking testimony on oath or to receive docu-  
9 mentary or physical evidence relating to the matters and  
10 questions it is authorized to investigate or study; (4) to  
11 require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance as witnesses  
12 of any persons who the select committee believes have  
13 knowledge or information concerning any of the matters  
14 or questions it is authorized to investigate and study; (5)  
15 to require by subpoena or order any department, agency,  
16 officer, or employee of the executive branch of the United  
17 States Government, or any private person, firm, or corpora-  
18 tion, to produce for its consideration or for use as evidence  
19 in its investigation and study any books, checks, canceled  
20 checks, correspondence, communications, document, papers,  
21 physical evidence, records, recordings, tapes, or materials re-  
22 lating to any of the matters or questions it is authorized to  
23 investigate and study which they or any of them may have  
24 in their custody or under their control; (6) to make to the  
25 Senate any recommendations it deems appropriate in respect

1 to the willful failure or refusal of any person to answer ques-  
2 tions or give testimony in his character as a witness during  
3 his appearance before it or in respect to the willful failure  
4 or refusal of any officer or employee of the executive branch  
5 of the United States Government or any person, firm, or  
6 corporation to produce before the committee any books,  
7 checks; canceled checks, correspondence, communications,  
8 document, financial records, papers, physical evidence,  
9 records, recordings, tapes, or materials in obedience to any  
10 subpoena or order; (7) to take depositions and other testi-  
11 mony on oath anywhere within the United States or in any  
12 other country; (8) to procure the temporary or intermittent  
13 services of individual consultants, or organizations there-  
14 of, in the same manner and under the same conditions as  
15 a standing committee of the Senate may procure such serv-  
16 ices under section 202 (i) of the Legislative Reorganiza-  
17 tion Act of 1946; (9) to use on a reimbursable basis, with  
18 the prior consent of the Committee on Rules and Adminis-  
19 tration, the services of personnel of any such department  
20 or agency; (10) to use on a reimbursable basis or other-  
21 wise with the prior consent of the chairman of any sub-  
22 committee of any committee of the Senate the facilities or  
23 services of any members of the staffs of such other Senate  
24 committees or any subcommittees of such other Senate com-  
25 mittees whenever the select committee or its chairman deems



1 that such action is necessary or appropriate to enable the  
2 select committee to make the investigation and study author-  
3 ized and directed by this resolution; (11) to have direct  
4 access through the agency of any members of the select  
5 committee or any of its investigatory or legal assistants  
6 designated by it or its chairman or the ranking minority  
7 member to any data, evidence, information, report, analysis,  
8 or document or papers, relating to any of the matters or  
9 questions which it is authorized and directed to investigate  
10 and study in the custody or under the control of any depart-  
11 ment, agency, officer, or employee of the executive branch  
12 of the United States Government, including any department,  
13 agency, officer, or employee of the United States Govern-  
14 ment having the power under the laws of the United States  
15 to investigate any alleged criminal activities or to prosecute  
16 persons charged with crimes against the United States and  
17 any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United  
18 States Government having the authority to conduct intelli-  
19 gence or surveillance within or outside the United States;  
20 without regard to the jurisdiction or authority of any other  
21 Senate committee, which will aid the select committee to  
22 prepare for or conduct the investigation and study authorized  
23 and directed by this resolution; and (12) to expend to the  
24 extent it determines necessary or appropriate any moneys

1 made available to it by the Senate to perform the duties  
2 and exercise the powers conferred upon it by this resolution  
3 and to make the investigation and study it is authorized by  
4 this resolution to make.

5 (b) Subpenas may be issued by the select committee  
6 acting through the chairman or any other member designated  
7 by him, and may be served by any person designated by  
8 such chairman or other member anywhere within the borders  
9 of the United States. The chairman of the select committee,  
10 or any other member thereof, is hereby authorized to admin-  
11 ister oaths to any witnesses appearing before the committee.

12 (c) In preparing for or conducting the investigation  
13 and study authorized and directed by this resolution, the  
14 select committee shall be empowered to exercise the powers  
15 conferred upon committees of the Senate by section 6002 of  
16 title 18, United States Code, or any other Act of Congress  
17 regulating the granting of immunity to witnesses.

18 SEC. 4. The select committee shall have authority to  
19 recommend the enactment of any new legislation or the  
20 amendment of any existing statute which it considers neces-  
21 sary or desirable to strengthen or clarify the national secu-  
22 rity, intelligence, or surveillance activities of the United  
23 States and to protect the rights of United States citizens  
24 with regard to those activities.

1       **SEC. 5.** The select committee shall make a final report  
2 of the results of the investigation and study conducted by  
3 it pursuant to this resolution, together with its findings and  
4 its recommendations as to new congressional legislation it  
5 deems necessary or desirable, to the Senate at the earliest  
6 practicable date, but no later than September 1, 1975. The  
7 select committee may also submit to the Senate such interim  
8 reports as it considers appropriate. After submission of its  
9 final report, the select committee shall have three calendar  
10 months to close its affairs, and on the expiration of such  
11 three calendar months shall cease to exist.

12       **SEC. 6.** The expenses of the select committee through  
13 September 1, 1975, under this resolution shall not exceed  
14 \$750,000 of which amount not to exceed \$100,000 shall be  
15 available for the procurement of the services of individual  
16 consultants or organizations thereof. Such expenses shall be  
17 paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers  
18 approved by the chairman of the select committee.

19       **SEC. 7.** The select committee shall institute and carry  
20 out such rules and procedures as it may deem necessary to  
21 prevent (1) the disclosure, outside the select committee, of  
22 any information relating to the activities of the Central In-  
23 telligence Agency or any other department or agency of the  
24 Federal Government engaged in intelligence activities, or-

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1 tained by the select committee during the course of its study  
2 and investigation, not authorized by the select committee  
3 to be disclosed; and (2) the disclosure, outside the select  
4 committee, of any information which would adversely affect  
5 the intelligence activities of the Central Intelligence Agency  
6 in foreign countries or the intelligence activities in foreign  
7 countries of any other department or agency of the Federal  
8 Government.

9       **SEC. 8.** As a condition for employment as described in  
10 section 3 of this resolution, each person shall agree not to  
11 accept any honorarium, royalty or other payment for a  
12 speaking engagement, magazine article, book, or other en-  
13 deavor connected with the investigation and study under-  
14 taken by this committee.

15       **SEC. 9.** No employee of the select committee or any  
16 person engaged by contract or otherwise to perform services  
17 for the select committee shall be given access to any classi-  
18 fied information by the select committee unless such em-  
19 ployee or person has received an appropriate security clear-  
20 ance as determined by the select committee. The type of  
21 security clearance to be required in the case of any such  
22 employee or person shall, within the determination of the  
23 select committee, be commensurate with the sensitivity of  
24 the classified information to which such employee or person  
25 will be given access by the select committee.

## APPENDIX B

### PREVIOUSLY ISSUED REPORTS AND HEARINGS OF THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

#### *A. Reports*

1. Senate Report: "Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders", November 20, 1975.
2. Staff Report: "Covert Action in Chile, 1963-1973", December 18, 1975.

#### *B. Hearings*

1. "Unauthorized Storage of Toxic Agents", Volume 1, September 16, 17 and 18, 1975.
2. "Huston Plan", Volume 2, September 23, 24 and 25, 1975.
3. "Internal Revenue Service", Volume 3, October 2, 1975.
4. "Mail Opening", Volume 4, October 21, 22 and 24, 1975.
5. "The National Security Agency and Fourth Amendment Rights", Volume 5, October 29 and November 6, 1975.
6. "Federal Bureau of Investigation", Volume 6, November 18 and 19, December 2, 3, 9, 10 and 11, 1975.
7. "Covert Action", Volume 7, December 4 and 5, 1975.



## APPENDIX C

### STAFF ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: FINAL REPORT ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND THE RIGHTS OF AMERICANS

The volume of the final report which summarizes the Committee's inquiry into domestic intelligence activity and sets forth its findings and recommendations was written and edited, along with the supplementary detailed reports, under the supervision of Chief Counsel Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr., and Counsel to the Minority Curtis R. Smothers. The work of the entire staff of the Committee—over the long course of investigation, research and hearings—was channeled into the final report. The staff members listed below made major contributions to the writing and editing of this volume.

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## SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILED REPORTS

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- COINTELPRO: The FBI's Covert Action Programs Against American Citizens. Barbara Banoff, assisted by Phebe Zimmerman and Mary DeOreo.
- The FBI's Efforts to Disrupt and Neutralize the Black Panther Party. Arthur Jefferson, Gordon Rhea.
- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Case Study. Michael Epstein, Gordon Rhea, assisted by Mary DeOreo and Dan McCorkle.
- CIA and FBI Mail Opening. James Dick, Paul Wallach, assisted by Thomas Dawson and Edward Griessing.
- Warrantless Electronic Surveillance. James Dick, John Elliff.
- The Use of Informers in FBI Intelligence Investigations. Robert Kelley, assisted by Jeffrey Kayden and Thomas Dawson.
- Warrantless Surreptitious Entries: FBI "Black Bag" Break-ins and Microphone Installations. Frederick Baron.
- The Development of FBI Domestic Intelligence Investigations. John Elliff
- The Internal Revenue Service: An Intelligence Resource and Collector. Walter Ricks, Arthur Harrigan, assisted by Thomas Dawson.
- National Security Agency Surveillance Affecting Americans. Peter Fenn, Britt Snider, James Turner, assisted by Judi Mason.
- Improper Surveillance of Private Citizens by the Military. Britt Snider, assisted by James Turner.
- CIA Intelligence Collection About Americans: The CHAOS Program and the Office of Security. Burton Wides, assisted by Jeffrey Kayden.
- National Security, Civil Liberties, and the Collection of Intelligence: A Report on the Huston Plan. Loch Johnson, assisted by Margaret Carpenter and Daniel Dwyer.

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