

# INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

## SENATE RESOLUTION 21

---

---

# HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

## SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

OF THE

## UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

---

VOLUME 7

---

COVERT ACTION

DECEMBER 4 AND 5, 1975



Printed for the use of the Select Committee To Study Governmental  
Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

67-146 O

WASHINGTON : 1976

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office  
Washington, D.C., 20402 - Price \$2.30

Stock Number 052-070-03264-2

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS  
WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

FRANK CHURCH, Idaho, *Chairman*

JOHN G. TOWER, Texas, *Vice Chairman*

PHILIP A. HART, Michigan

HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., Tennessee

WALTER F. MONDALE, Minnesota

BARRY GOLDWATER, Arizona

WALTER D. HUDDLESTON, Kentucky

CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR., Maryland

ROBERT MORGAN, North Carolina

RICHARD SCHWEIKER, Pennsylvania

GARY HART, Colorado

WILLIAM G. MILLER, *Staff Director*

FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARZ, JR., *Chief Counsel*

CURTIS R. SMOTHERS, *Counsel to the Minority*

AUDREY HATRY, *Clerk of the Committee*

# CONTENTS

## HEARING DAYS

	Page
Thursday, December 4, 1975-----	1
Friday, December 5, 1975-----	49

## LIST OF WITNESSES

### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1975

Miller, William G., staff director, Senate Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities-----	3
Bader, William, professional staff member of the Senate Select Committee-----	7
Inderfurth, Karl, professional staff member of the Senate Select Committee-----	10
Treverton, Gregory, professional staff member of the Senate Select Committee-----	13
Dungan, Ralph, former U.S. Ambassador to Chile-----	23
Meyer, Charles A., former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs-----	26
Korry, Edward M., former U.S. Ambassador to Chile-----	29

### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1975

Clifford, Clark, Counsel to President Truman; former member and Chairman, President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board; former Secretary of Defense-----	50
Vance, Cyrus, former General Counsel, Department of Defense; former Secretary of the Army; former Deputy Secretary of Defense; former Special Representative of the President; former member of the delegation to the Vietnam peace negotiations in Paris-----	54
Phillips, David A., former officer, Central Intelligence Agency; president, Association of Retired Intelligence Officers-----	55
Halperin, Morton H., former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs; former Assistant for Planning, National Security Council staff-----	57

## HEARINGS EXHIBITS

No. 1—Chart showing covert action expenditures in Chile by technique, 1963-73-----	95
No. 2—Handwritten notes by Richard Helms taken during a meeting on September 15, 1970 with President Nixon-----	96
No. 3—October 20, 1975 letter from Gregory Treverton to Edward M. Korry-----	97
No. 4—October 23, 1975 letter from Edward M. Korry to Senator Church-----	100
No. 5—September 29, 1970 Department of State cable from Ambassador Edward Korry to the Secretary of State <sup>1</sup> -----	128
No. 6—Chart showing covert action expenditures and 40 Committee approval of funds for Chile, 1962-74-----	136
No. 7—May 29, 1961 letter from President Kennedy to all U.S. Chiefs of Mission-----	137
No. 8—October 25, 1961 letter from Clark M. Clifford to President Kennedy with attached memorandum re Central Intelligence Agency--	139

<sup>1</sup> This exhibit, with declassification stamp and deletions, was given to the Select Committee by Ambassador Korry.

IV

APPENDIX A<sup>1</sup>

"Covert Action in Chile, 1963-73." Staff Report of the Senate Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities -----	Page 144
---	-------------

APPENDIX B

The National Security Act of 1947, as amended-----	210
--	-----

APPENDIX C

The War Powers Resolution of 1973-----	226
--	-----

APPENDIX D

Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act as amended in 1974 (the Hughes-Ryan amendment)-----	230
---	-----

---

<sup>1</sup> Since the December 4, 1975 hearing the Select Committee has, in the course of its continuing investigation received new information which supplements the following sections of the Staff Report on Covert Action in Chile: Section III.A.4, the Role of Multinational Corporations; Section IV.B.1.e, Intelligence Estimates and Covert Action; and Section IV.C, Congressional Oversight. All pertinent information on the above will be reflected in the Select Committee's Final Report to the Senate.