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Margold
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7/1/91 notes
untaped
if more
copies needed
also 7/3/91

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Mr. Thomas Mangold
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Dear Mr. Mangold:

Until I read your "Cold Warrior" I wondered from time to time why you are so different from most of the British reporters I've known over many years. Not one was not polite and well-mannered and almost all were thoughtful and responsible. You behaved badly. You imposed upon me. You asked an ageing and ill man for help, said you'd be in touch, and when you were not and he wrote, telling you he did not want to waste any more of the limited time he has left and asking if you still wanted that help, you did not respond. You were not even decent enough when you reached that decision to write or phone to say so. As a result, I did spend a lot of time and waste the cost of considerable xeroxing for you. I did wonder about this bad behavior. It is not what most of us expect from the British or have experienced from Britishers.

As I began to read your book, which is informative and I think will be well received - maybe I also should say and read uncritically by most reviewers - I did, initially, regret that you did not have what I had copied for you and more that I'd not copied.

But the more I got into it the more I came to understand what you have done, the more content I became to have had no connection with your book. Also, because on a personal level you are a stinker.

The idea I was beginning to get became a certainty in my mind when I came to your lying about what Nosenko told the FBI about Oswald. As well as your omission of some of what he'd said and of all that confirms what he said.

It is beyond reasonable question that when he was in CIA captivity, it questioned him about this, but you omit that from your book, too.

This lying and these omissions, Dr. Faustus, serve only your Mephistopheles.

There are, of course, many, many other omissions of what is so relevant to your book about Angleton/Golitsyn/Rocca/Helms et al. and the Commission, particularly about Nosenko.

Including my FOIA suits for those Commission transcripts, particularly those relating to defectors in general and to Nosenko in particular.

You knew about this not only because Jim Ešsar represent@d me but because you make selective quotation of a Briggs affidavit in it. (I don't want to address you as you should be addressed so I resort to this euphemism, "selective.") Your assistant, Jeff Goldberg, passes himself off as a subject expert so he also should have known.

Without checking my files I recall what I think even you can understand I'll never forget, what Briggs did swear to as the initial basis for the withholding of the Commission's Nosenko executive session transcript, that the CIA's treatment of him was a "model" to entice others to defect!

Even in your moderated version of what that "model" treatment the CIA swore was so wonderful others would be standing in line to defect to enjoy it - what the CIA (other than Angleton) admitted to is monstrous. And knowing this you omitted that CIA's attestation in court?

(You did not go into the various means of killing Nosenko considered, put on paper and made public by the CIA.)

It is not hard to see why so many former CIA employees were not worried about being punished over their violations of their CIA employment contracts and talked to you: they had nothing to worry about.

You have written a book that serves the CIA's interests and there certainly appears to have been this payoff for you. To the degree possible you have exculpated the CIA as an institution as well as all of those with bureaucratic authority over Angleton who were responsible along with him.

For what other reason would you lie about what Nosenko told the FBI about Oswald being suspected as a U.S. agent and omit all the so much that confirms and relates to it, including even the fact that Helms personally added to the Angleton pressure through Rocca and others for the Commission not to question Nosenko even in secret?

For what other reason would you ignore the disclosed proposed CIA questions to be addressed to the government of the USSR, questions clearly designed to be so insulting the State Department would be afraid to send them or, if sent, would assure offense to the USSR and thus, either way, the known and existing KGB records on Oswald would be kept in the USSR.

The very records you lie about, the records stating that Oswald was suspected of being an American agent in place or "sleeper," the records that state he was openly anti-Soviet when in the USSR - what you censored for the CIA from your book.

The Angletonian approach was to persuade the Commission not to exercise its own judgment but to accept his and not listen to Nosenko. Of course the Commission, had it not been cowardly or already determined to whitewash the assassination, could have heard Nosenko anyway, as it knew it should have. Or when it got those FBI interview reports it could have asked the State Department to ask the USSR for its Oswald files. But it got Angleton's message (for the CIA, not only personally) that it should not want anything from Nosenko because it could point back to the CIA. So it did not mention even Nosenko's name. But then it published only about 10,000,000 words so it had no space for this name that had been in all the papers.

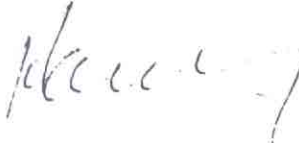
I find your citation in your notes of those FBI reports a bit odd. The first book to use them was my 1975 "Post Mortem." Only you could not cite that, could you, because it makes clear that you lied for the CIA. So instead you credited them to HSCA's later use of them.

Or didn't you know that they were available in the Archives, where I got them, so you could have cited that only?

Likewise is it odd that in your brief references to the scheme you attribute to Angleton alone in the CIA, to get rid of Harold Wilson, you do not include in your notes and bibliography the book, "The Wilson Plot." Is this because it points at more in the CIA than the safely-dead Angleton? I've given my copy away so I can't check. (In the text you focus on Wright in England. He was hardly alone in it there.) Or do you have British sources to serve, too?

So, please accept my thanks for and appreciation of your bad behavior and for your sparing me what would be a great embarrassment, any connection with such impressive dishonesty in the book from which you will reap your reward of wealth and fame here and elsewhere.

I do not envy you wealth and fame gotten the way you get it.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'H. Weisberg', written in a cursive style.

HAROLD WEISBERG

Tom Mangold, his "Cold Warrior", James J. Angleton - 7/1/91

a few additional comments and observations on completing the book.

Newspaper reporters, at least in theory, do not include opinions in their news stories and are not supposed to. In theory opinions and most interpretations are for the editorial and op-ed pages. However, a reporter who writes a book in which he deals with events and people both arcane and of great significance, ^{has no such restrictions imposed upon him. If} for which he is qualified to undertake such a book he has to be at the very least quite well informed, ^{He is an expert on the subject. He} assumes additional obligations. These include, for a work like this book, explanations, interpretations and opinions where called for. The reader lacks the ability to do this for himself. ^{And the} reader is looking for more than ^{even a book} pleasure in reading, ^{field} for more than facts. He is looking for understanding of what is a mystery to him. It can also be fairly said that given what Mangold recounts, sometimes in considerable detail, he owes his reader his personal judgments along with a statement of where he stands, what he believes, what his political views are, so the reader can, ^{the author} assuming honesty, make his own evaluation of Mangold's judgement. ^{He} avoids ^{any} judgement, and on interpretation, ^{where he has it, such as the} illegality of some of Angleton's projects, like Operation Chaos, ^{spying on} sowing disunity and making other trouble for the anti-war movement, and ^{CIA} the mail-interception program (which Mangold mentions almost only in passing, considerable understates and in which he entirely eliminates the fact that the actual interception was by the FBI), he quotes others as saying that it was illegal. Without any explanation of why or how. Or for that matter, given the fact that it was by government agencies, whether or not it violated the Constitution.

My own beliefs and opinions grew and became clearer the farther I got into the book. I recall nothing I wrote several days ago that I think should be withdrawn. I am more convinced that he cast himself as Dr. Faustus and, having done so, showed nothing but respect for his Mephistopheles, the CIA as an institution.

If he made the deal I believe he made and withholds any inkling of it from his reader and his publisher he is dishonest.

This does not mean that what he reports is not accurate. But it assures questions ^{and why he does not report it.} about what he does not report, and this also gets to what I say above that is missing entirely from this book.

As I read I annotated the book and made a few handwritten notes in a notebook that will be in the file and I do not here take time for.

One omission that surprises me is what Mangold could and should have learned from OSS people, particularly those who served in Italy. Angleton was X-2, or counterintelligence there. Reports that passed through my hands when - was in OSS, in that day when there was less practise of the "need-to-know" concept, reported that the Nazis had penetrated OSS Italy to the extent that it was not uncommon for intelligence teams to be captured as soon as they were in the field.

This does indicate that Angleton's performance there was not good. If not worse.

I think it may also indicate something else about what he was doing then, and I wondered more about this the farther I got into the book. I think he then was a political operator and that past the enemy Nazis he saw the bigger enemy, all the world he regarded as "red". (In mentioning Angleton's friendship with the ex-patriot poet Ezra Pound I do not recall that Mangold reported that Pound was pro-Mussolini, as he was.)

There is no indication of Angleton's political views and beliefs and the farther I got into the book the more I came to think that he was an authoritarian. The two projects referred to above are only partial indication of this. It is Ollie North-clear on 351 where without comment or explanation of any kind where Mangold refers to the question asked of ^{Angleton} ~~him~~ by Senator Richard Schweiker of the Church (intelligence-activities) committee, why the CIA's stock of very dangerous shell-fish toxin had not been destroyed:

"Angleton made this extraordinary reply: 'It is inconceivable that a secret intelligence arm of the government has to comply with all the overt orders of the government'."

This response could have come from the Gestapo or the KGB that Angleton hated. It is an anti-american, anti-Constitution response.

Mangold does say it is "extraordinary." But he does not say or even indicate why or how. Or that it says anything at all about Angleton and the principles by which he lived and worked - controlled what should have been and wasn't (which Mangold also does not say) counterintelligence for the U.S. government and its people.

That Angleton was a practising and believing authoritarian could not have been lost

on Mangold and certainly could not have been on those above ^{Angleton} ~~him~~ throughout his entire CIA career. I separate superiors from the innumerable CIA employees not his superiors because his superiors had added obligations, above all to live within the law and to see to it that those under them did.

Helms in particular shares responsibility for Angleton's innumerable and endless illegalities - really subversions, *ranging from The Constitution to The Warren Court decision*

Mangold treats Helms kindly and omits what was relevant and of which he knew, how he testified to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, what he said on leaving the court when he was convicted of the much lesser crime with which he was charged for his own offenses. Helms made it clear that he and Angleton stand side by side on the CIA's immunity from the laws of the land and was even indignant and did not hide it when it was suggested otherwise and when he was charged and convicted with a wrist-slap only. (Joined in by his prestigious counsel Edward Bennett ^{ett} Williams, who had been a member of the Presidents's Foreign Intelligence Board. It was supposed to oversee what the CIA did and it never did anything about what the Helmses and ^{Angletons} were doing and it had to know they were doing or it did not meet its obligations.) Mangold cites the HSCA records and the newspapers when it served his interest.

Here he did not when it served his readers' interest. Or his own integrity's.

(He has nothing further about this and other toxins or the many other such activities but ^{if} he had, he'd not have found it as easy to exculpate all those above Angleton who for all practical purposes encourages and protected him - agreed with what he was doing.)

That Angleton had a political agenda is obvious to the informed reader who takes the time to think and analyze. But most readers are not informed and are not in a position to make these kinds of judgements. The head of counterintelligence has every right to his own political beliefs but he has no right to impose them on his duties and actions. I think one writing about them has no right to entirely ignore them, as Mangold does.

In this regard, he ^{was} ~~has~~ a name I've never heard used before and I think is of his own creation for his own purposes. He refers to the Angletonians in the CIA as "The Fundamentalists." They were in fact the conservatives in the CIA. If as I've come to believe Man-

gold is a British Conservative, this abnormal use of the word that in this country has been reserved for those of the religious right extreme is explained. (He makes no mention, often as he refers to Peter Wright, of ^{Wright's} similar political views - says though that he and Angleton were friends.)

It is Wright, as Mangold knows, who made first ^{public} mention of the plotting by his fellow British Angletonians (Conservatives in Britain) of which Wright was part to overthrow the elected Prime Minister, ^{it began with Angleton/Colby} Harold Wilson. For that matter, in his passing reference to this, despite all the notes he has Mangold omits much, such as citation of the books he knew had been published holding such information, particularly one on it, "The Wilson Plot."

Accident? Carelessness? I think not.

I do intend to suggest that Mangold has his own political agenda in this book.

It would be unfair to hold any author to account for all of what can be regarded as omissions in a book like this but some cannot be easily explained. For example, with the great importance of Yuri Nosenko in and to this book and particularly because as I have already noted Mangold lied about what Nosenko told the FBI about Oswald and the KGB, how can the CIA liaison role with the Warren Commission be entirely omitted? (Much of it handled by Raymond Rocca, mentioned a couple of times only by Mangold, buttressed by Helms when buttressing was needed, as the CIA believed with Nosenko it was.) How ^{can} the ~~total~~ total lack of mention of this role and what CIA said and did be ignored with honesty of intent?

I think this again gets to Mangold as Faust. He did not do what he had not to do for his ^{ph} Nephistoles, the CIA. Without which he would not have had this book.

In many ways it is a fine and informative book and will tell readers much, entirely new to most of them. It is informative, very informative.

But as with Colby and those "crown jewels" when as DCI he understood that some confessions were inevitable, could no longer be avoided, what Mangold evolves serves the CIA's interest. It cleans the CIA's skirts while still hiding much of its dirt. It exculpates the CIA as an organization, exculpates those above Angleton who were responsible and were not ignorant, and the rest is buried now.

For any who in the future may read this and not know, when CI for the CIA talked the

Warren Commission out of taking secret testimony from Yuri Nosenko what it was really doing is keeping the Commission from having informed testimony that Oswald was suspected of having a United States intelligence connection, the Oswald accused of assassinating the President, and that contrary to the picture of Oswald painted officially, of him as a "red", he was in fact anti-Soviet and anti-American Communist.

Had Nosenko testified it would have been close to impossible if not impossible for the official solution ^{to be} given to the world by the Warren Commission.

This is not to exculpate the Commission. The first "dirty rumor" it got was that Oswald did have such a connection. I've published two of its executive session transcripts relating to this.

With any testimony from Nosenko the Commission would have had great difficulty keeping it secret on the one hand and ignoring it on the other.

This gets to two other of Mangold's omissions of what those who worked with him knew about and he also should have known about.

One of these is the "analysis" of this assassination prepared for the CIA, read Angleton, I think at his request, by an unidentified Russian defector, read Golitsyn. (It is utterly irrational, a political diatribe.) The other is the proposed questions to

be addressed to the USSR, as I've indicated guaranteed to infuriate and insult it and so terribly outrageous they could not be sent or asked. After that others feared asking the obvious questions. Thus, although the FBI and CIA and Commission knew of the existence of fairly voluminous KGB files on Oswald and what they held they were not requested. Because they were not requested, the USSR could not send them.

This is to say that the Mangold who lied about what Nosenko said continued covering the CIA by his omission of what is so very relevant to his Angleton/Golitsyn/CIA book.