

# A Comparison of News Account

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 10—The Rockefeller commission report on domestic activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, issued today by the White House, stated that the agency illegally assembled a "veritable mountain" of files on American citizens and groups "apparently unconnected with espionage."

The commission's 299-page report affirmed in virtually every respect an account in The New York Times last Dec. 22 of a "massive, illegal domestic intelligence operation against the antiwar movement and other dissident groups in the United States."

The report stated that "Operation CHAOS" the agency—title of a secret program conducted between 1967 and late 1973—and some other C.I.A. activities "were plainly illegal and constituted improper invasions of the right of Americans." The commission said it was convinced, however, that "the great majority of the C.I.A.'s domestic activities comply with its statutory authority."

According to the report, "The paper trail left by Operation CHAOS" alone contained about 13,000 files on subjects and individuals and produced a computerized index of the names of more than 300,000 United States citizens and organizations.

The commission called for "the drawing of reasonable lines" between the conflicting goals of individual rights and collective national security. Its report was, with few exceptions, worded in carefully muted terms that encouraged the continuation of a vigorous pursuit of intelligence within clear legal limits.

But the bulk of the report's scattered conclusions was a confirmation of the allegations contained in the Dec. 22, 1974, news account in The Times by Seymour M. Hersh. The commission was established by President Ford on Jan. 4 to inquire into those and subsequent published charges against the agency.

What follows is a comparison of the central elements of the Dec. 22 news account and excerpts from the various sec-

tions of the commission's findings that bear on the original allegations:

**FILES ON CITIZENS**  
NEWS ACCOUNT: "An extensive investigation . . . has established that intelligence files on at least 10,000 American citizens were maintained by a special unit of the C.I.A."

COMMISSION: "The paper trail left by Operation CHAOS included somewhere in the area of 13,000 files on subjects and individuals (including approximately 7,200 personality or '201' files); over 11,000 memoranda, reports and letters from the F.B.I.; and almost 3,500 memoranda for internal use by the operation . . . On top of this veritable mountain of material was a computer system containing an index of over 300,000 names and organizations which, with few exceptions, were of United States citizens and organizations apparently unconnected with espionage."

"Approximately 500 to 800 files were created on dissenting organizations and on individuals [in a separate effort by the C.I.A. Office of Security]. The chief of the special branch 'guessed' that somewhere between 12,000 and 16,000 names were indexed to these files."

**ILLEGAL METHODS**  
NEWS ACCOUNT: "Sources said a check of the C.I.A.'s domestic files . . . 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, wire-tapping and the surreptitious inspection of mail."

COMMISSION: "The commission's inquiry concentrated on these investigations [of news leaks by the Office of Security] which used investigative means intruding on the privacy of the subjects, including physical and electronic surveillance, unauthorized entry, mail covers and intercepts, and reviews of individuals of individual Federal tax returns."

"Five [of these investigations] were directed against newsmen, in an effort to determine their sources of leaked classified information, and nine were directed against other United States citizens."

"Even an investigation

within the C.I.A.'s authority must be conducted by lawful means. . . . The investigation disclosed the domestic use of 32 wiretaps, the last in 1965; 32 instances of bugging, the last in 1968; and 12 break-ins, the last in 1971. None of these activities was conducted under a judicial warrant, and only one with the written approval of the Attorney General."

"For a period of approximately six months, commencing in the fall of 1973, the directorate [of operations] monitored telephone conversations between the United States and Latin America in an effort to identify foreign drug traffickers . . . the monitoring of telephone calls, while a source of valuable information for enforcement officials, was a violation of a statute of the United States."

"An intercept project in New York City was the most extensive of [four] C.I.A. mail operations, and lasted for 20 years. [It] had expanded by 1959 to include the opening of over 13,000 letters a year . . . in the last full year of its operation, the New York mail intercept handled approximately 4,350,000 items of mail and examined the outside of over 2,300,000 of those items. Photographs were taken of the exteriors of approximately 33,000 items. Some 8,700 items were opened and the contents analyzed."

"While in operation, the C.I.A.'s domestic mail opening programs were unlawful."

**SHADOWING CITIZENS**  
NEWS ACCOUNT: "The C.I.A. authorized agents to follow participants in antiwar and other demonstrations."

COMMISSION: "In some instances, the agency identified leaders or speakers at a meeting [of dissidents] by photographing their automobiles and checking registration records. In other cases, it followed them home in order to identify them through the city directory. Photographs were also taken at several major demonstrations in the Washington area and at protest activities in the vicinity of the White House."

## and Panel's Findings

### INFILTRATING DISSIDENTS

**NEWS ACCOUNT:** "The C.I.A. also set up a network of informants who were ordered to penetrate antiwar groups."

**COMMISSION:** "[A project of the Office of Security] was initially aimed at monitoring public demonstrations which might develop into picketing of agency buildings. Almost from the outset, however, it became a project for placing 'assets' in suitable organizations in order to obtain information concerning intended demonstrations directed at C.I.A. properties. ('Asset' is a term used by the C.I.A. to refer to agents or informants other than employees.)"

"By late June, 1967, the agency sought to obtain whatever information it could regarding the sources and amounts of income of each of the infiltrated organizations. One infiltrator was sent to dissident rallies in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. One was called upon to maintain a continuous check on the movements and activities of certain prominent dissident leaders whenever they arrived in Washington, D. C. Infiltrators were charged from time to time with obtaining specific information on individuals, groups or planned demonstrations."

### MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

**NEWS ACCOUNT:** "At least one avowedly antiwar member of Congress was among those placed under surveillance by the C.I.A., the sources said. Other members of Congress were said to be included in the C.I.A.'s dossiers on dissident Americans."

**COMMISSION:** "The commission discovered no evidence suggesting that any of these investigations [involving physical and electronic surveillance] were directed at any Congressman, judge or other public official."

"The [C.I.A.] Office of Legislative Counsel maintains Congressional files for use in its legislative liaison duties . . . generally, these files contain the following types of documents: Correspondence between the member and the C.I.A., excerpts from the Congressional Record dealing with the member, constituent employment or personnel requests forwarded to the agency by the member, short biographies and political descriptions of the member and copies of all foreign cables containing the name of the member."

[Although the commission report is silent on dissident files kept on members of Congress, William E. Colby, the Director of Central Intel-

ligence, has testified that the names of four present or former members of Congress, including "at least a couple" antiwar members, were in C.I.A. files.]

### FILES DESTROYED

**NEWS ACCOUNT:** "Some sources also reported that there was widespread paper shredding at the agency shortly after [James M. Schlesinger, the director of Central Intelligence in 1973] began to crack down on the C.I.A.'s operations."

**COMMISSION:** "As part of a program to test the influence of drugs on humans, research included the administration of LSD to persons who were unaware that they were being tested. This was clearly illegal. One person died in 1953, apparently as a result."

"Unfortunately, only limited records of the testing conducted in these drug programs are now available. All the records concerning the program were ordered destroyed in 1973, including a total of 152 separate files."

"Collection of [Data on telephone calls between Americans and others abroad] was terminated in May, 1973, and the C.I.A. claims that all information obtained by the agency has been destroyed."

### SECRET UNIT

**NEWS ACCOUNT:** "Most of the domestic surveillance and the collection of domestic intelligence was conducted, the sources said, by one of the most clandestine units in the United States intelligence community, the Special Operations Branch of Counterintelligence."

**COMMISSION:** "The C.I.A., upon the instruction of the Director of Central Intelligence, established within the counterintelligence staff a special operations group in August, 1967, to collect, coordinate, evaluate and report on foreign contacts with American dissidents. The group's activities [later] came to be known as Operation CHAOS."

"The sensitivity of the operation was deemed so great that, during one field survey in November, 1972, even the staff of the C.I.A.'s Inspector General was precluded from reviewing CHAOS files or discussing its specific operations."

"There is no indication that the C.I.A.'s general counsel was ever consulted about the propriety of Operation CHAOS activities."

"Some domestic activities of Operation CHAOS unlawfully exceeded the C.I.A.'s statutory authority."

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