

F.B.I. Tied Tap Requests To Kissinger or Gen. Haig

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WASHINGTON, June 11 — Some of the "original requests" for wiretaps placed on 17 Government officials and newsmen came from Henry A. Kissinger or Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr., according to a summary of an inquiry last year by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The F.B.I. investigation, ordered by William D. Ruckelshaus, then the bureau's acting director, lasted for six days and included confidential interviews with more than 40 persons who had been involved in the highly sensitive wiretap program from its inception in May, 1969, until it was ended in February, 1971.

The 15-page summary, a copy of which has been obtained by The New York Times, says that the "specific requests" identified as coming "from either" Mr. Kissinger, then President Nixon's national security adviser, or General Haig, then Mr. Kissinger's deputy, were for the installation of wiretaps on individuals, and not simply for a general F.B.I. investigation of a particular official or newsmen.

Representative Joshua Eilberg, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, said today that information obtained by the panel in its impeachment inquiry showed that "Dr. Kissinger did participate in the initiation of some of those taps."

"I say to you flatly," the Pennsylvania Democrat continued, "that was what was presented to us."

The Judiciary Committee, which has been holding closed hearings on the possible impeachment of President Nixon, is believed to have received a copy of the F.B.I. summary report.

Mr. Kissinger, who is now Secretary of State, has maintained repeatedly that he never directly requested the installation of wiretaps on any of the 17 individuals, but confined his role to "supplying" to the F.B.I. the names of those with access to sensitive information that had been leaked to the press.

Mr. Kissinger has, however, acknowledged his presence at a White House meeting in early 1969 at which "the President ordered the use of wiretaps, and in which my contribution was to describe leaks that had occurred."

Mr. Nixon said in a statement in May, 1973, that he had authorized the controversial wiretaps on that occasion to halt what he termed "serious national security leaks," and that he left coordination of the program to Mr. Kissinger, J. Edgar Hoover, the late F.B.I. director, and John N. Mitchell, at that time the Attorney

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General.

In his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last September, Mr. Kissinger was asked by Senator J. W. Fulbright, the chairman, whether he had ever taken "the clear initiative yourself" on any of the 17 taps.

"Not in the sense that I said, 'Tap this individual,'" Mr. Kissinger replied, adding that "there could have been... a different perception by the F.B.I."

The Bureau's investigative summary does not contain the documents authorizing and summarizing the wiretaps, but Elliot L. Richardson, then the Attorney General, told the Foreign Relations Committee in September that those records "indicate that there were requests for wiretaps of identified individuals, in one case by Dr. Kissinger and in two instances on his behalf by then Colonel Haig."

May Have Acquiesced

Mr. Richardson added, however, "Discussions with Dr. Kissinger have convinced me that he was not the originator, in the fundamental sense of the word, of any of these taps."

The former Attorney General said in a telephone interview today that he believed that Mr. Kissinger had never said, "Hey, we ought to wiretap these guys." But he said that it was possible that Mr. Kissinger might have acquiesced to a suggestion from the F.B.I. itself to add a particular name to the group of those wiretapped.

In that case, Mr. Richardson explained, Mr. Kissinger's name would appear in the F.B.I.'s files as the originator of the wiretap.

The F.B.I. report, compiled at Mr. Ruckelshaus's direction after published accounts of the wiretapping of White House officials and newsmen, contains the results of an interview with William C. Sullivan, a former assistant to J. Edgar Hoover, the bureau's late director.

It was Mr. Sullivan to whom Mr. Hoover assigned the task of implementing the 17 wiretaps, which were put on in groups of up to four over the 21 months the operation was under way. Mr. Sullivan told the investigating agents that he had received requests for the wiretaps "both orally and by written communications" from the White House.

But Mr. Sullivan, according to the summary, "would not identify who at the White House had made wiretap requests, advising that such questions should be addressed to Mr. Haldeman."

Document Not Mentioned

The F.B.I. summary contains no reference to the document alluded to by Mr. Richardson, that names Mr. Kissinger as the "originator" of one of the wiretaps. Nor did any of the individuals interviewed along with Mr. Sullivan by the F.B.I. recall any requests by him directly.

Several, however, mentioned their knowledge of such wiretap requests from General Haig, then an Army colonel attached to Mr. Kissinger's office and now chief of the White House staff.

Helen W. Gandy, who served as administrative assistant to

Mr. Hoover at the time of the wiretap program, told the F.B.I. that "she believes [the] requests originated with Colonel Haig," according to the report.

A special agent, Robert H. Haynes, a supervisor in the bureau's intelligence division who served as White House liaison, told the agents that he was "reasonably certain that on one occasion" General Haig telephoned him "to request installation of a wiretap on an individual."

General Haig was also interviewed by members of the squad of agents assigned by Mr. Ruckelshaus to the investigation. The report states, however, that "with respect to the decision and request for installation of these wiretaps, General Haig said that he could not answer this because the action taken was the result of joint input."

There is no record in the report of any attempt by the F.B.I. agents to interview Mr. Kissinger about the matter.

The Secretary told the Foreign Relations Committee that General Haig had maintained a relationship with Mr. Sullivan during the wiretap program, but that it consisted only of his passing to the F.B.I. the names of those individuals singled out for investigation and the receipt from Mr. Sullivan of the reports on wiretaps subsequently placed by the bureau as part of that investigation.

However, a source with detailed knowledge of the wiretap program maintained today that the White House had never asked the F.B.I. to use any investigative technique besides wiretaps in attempting to find the leaks.

'Speaking for Someone'

The source went on to say that, in his dealings with Mr. Sullivan, General Haig would say, "We want a tap on, or the White House wants a tap on, so-and-so."

The source said that he did not believe that Mr. Sullivan ever spoke directly with Mr. Kissinger, but that General Haig made it clear that "he was speaking for someone" in making the wiretap requests.

Not all of the wiretap requests came from the office of Mr. Kissinger, sources have said. In addition to the six wiretaps placed on the home telephones of members of his National Security Council's staff, others were said to have been "generated internally" by the F.B.I. and, in two cases, requested by then-Attorney General Mitchell.

One tap, on Morton H. Halperin, a Security Council official who later became an adviser to Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of a Mine, remained in place for 21 months—longer than any of the others. The shortest duration of any of the taps was one month.