

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM: John M. Maury
Legislative Counsel

EXTENSION

NO.

DATE

4 December 1973

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

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Attached, for your review and return, are the transcripts covering two days of testimony by St. George and your testimony on 16 November before the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Your testimony covers pages 65-94 and suggested deletions to sanitize the transcript, corrections and insertions for the record occur on the pages clipped. If they meet with your approval, we will make up a set of the transcripts for the Committee.

Also attached is a memorandum covering some of the major points developed.

JOHN M. MAURY
Legislative Counsel

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4 DEC 1973

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Secret transcripts of Senate Armed Services Committee for Friday, 16 November and Wednesday, 21 November 1973 testimony of Andrew R. St. George and Mr. Colby on the former's article in the November issue of Harper's Magazine, "The Cold War Comes Home".

1. Allegations

The Senate Committee focused on two of St. George's allegations.

- a. The Agency had prior knowledge of the breakin because Eugenio Rolando Martinez, an informant on retainer with the Agency for a considerable time before and up to the breakin, was infiltrated by CIA to report on the activities of the Plumbers;
- b. A conversation occurred between a young Agency watch officer and Helms at 0700 hours on the morning of the breakin (17 June 1972) which corroborates or strongly implies that Helms indeed had prior knowledge of the activities of the Plumbers' group if not on the actual breakin itself. This in turn validates the thesis of the article that the Intelligence Community was aware of a program by the White House to obtain complete control over domestic activities through a group of loyal political followers in the federal bureaucracy.

2. Martinez Connection

St. George provided no proof that Martinez was an Agency "plant", but did allege that:

- a. Martinez was on the Agency payroll at the time at full salary (\$8-9,000 per annum), not the \$100 per month reported by Agency officials;
- b. Martinez had been instructed by his CIA case officer in Miami to join the Hunt/Liddy team when asked to do so by Hunt but on the condition that Martinez systematically report to CIA on the activities of the group as if this were a regular intelligence project.

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St. George's sources for the above are:

- a. Sturgis, who claims that Martinez confessed to his cohorts on his CIA role immediately after their arrest, including the maintenance of a "contact diary",
- b. sources "within CIA".

3. Helms/Watch Officer Conversation

St. George refused to identify either the source of his information or the watch officer involved, refusing to answer any questions about either on the basis that he would be giving away their identities on a piecemeal basis and standing on his first amendment rights.

Although St. George did not identify his source he did give possible clues indicating:

- a. that he had known the source a long time;
- b. "...Regulations would have prevented him (the watch officer) from commenting. We have no reason to expect that the man who signed an oath of the secrecy as a precondition of his employment would answer a question coming out of the blue from someone he did not know."
(Reflects argumentation in Marchetti case)

St. George admits that the gap in the record on the identity of the source and proof that the conversation took place is the "Achilles heel" in the story but excuses himself from seeking to obtain corroboration either from the watch officer or the Agency on the grounds that in his long years of journalism he never was successful in obtaining CIA comment on anything. (He admits knowing of Angus Thuermer.)

When pushed by members of the committee on how he could be "absolutely sure" of the accuracy or veracity of his source, St. George, on the advice of counsel (Bernard Fensterwald) quoted Helms' testimony that he had no "recollection" as to when he first heard of the breakin but admitted that if Helms specifically denied that the conversation ever took place then he (St. George) would have to reevaluate his information. Subsequently, when informed of Helms' specific denial St. George intimated it put a different light on his information but eventually stood by the accuracy of his quotation.

St. George claims to have many other quotes of Helms which he did not use which tends to corroborate the quote that he did.

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St. George also made the following points:

- a. The watch officer was one of several men on duty,
- b. "more than one operations center is active on holidays and overnight" and
- c. with respect to the conversation St. George said he "gathered" it was by telephone.

4. Cover up obstruction of justice

Per St. George, much of his information comes from Sturgis, with whom he had a confidential agreement for collaboration on a book, a magazine article, and a television program. The relationship started shortly after the arrests and continued up until the trial. On 10 January 1973 Henry Rothblatt, the attorney for Sturgis and the other Miamians, objected to St. George about this arrangement in a discussion in the presence of Jack Anderson. Anderson, Rothblatt and St. George then returned to one of the four apartments leased for the Miamians in the Arlington Towers. Rothblatt excused himself and after returning from one of the other apartments, told St. George and Anderson that "someone" had just offered the four \$1000 a month for silence plus clemency if they pled guilty; per St. George this is what Rothblatt told him. The Senate Armed Services Committee pushed St. George hard on whether CIA was involved in the bribe or coercion. St. George said he felt the indicted probably felt so since per Rothblatt "one of those involved in the attempt is a CIA guy" (later identified as Hunt) and "the other one is a former Bay of Pigs commander wearing a pistol" (probably Barker) "who said I guarantee on my word as a Bay of Pigs commander that this money will be paid." St. George said he had testified on this fully before the Grand Jury.

5. Miscellaneous comments

Bernard Fensterwald: was former staff chief of former Senator Long's Administrative Practice and Procedure Committee and in that capacity was helpful in getting inserted in the Omnibus Crime Act of 1968 that provision of the Act which provides statutory recognition and approval for wire-tapping in foreign intelligence cases

: was also James McCord's lawyer and heads up the Committee to Investigate Assassinations (CIA).

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St. George: denied that he had ever worked for any other country except the United States in any capacity, including casual jobs;

: CIA sanctioned the invasion of Haiti.
 : Martinez reported to CIA but can't say he reported to Helms.
 : Alfred C. Baldwin III, (a former FBI agent) may have been a double agent.
 : The four Miamians thought of Hunt as a "CIA guy".

: His source has provided other information to him on CIA matters.
 : To clear up conflicts about the quotation and Martinez, suggested that the committee obtain a copy of the "contact diary", interview Martinez and Sturgis. He will submit other suggestions to the committee.

: Works for the London Sun-Telegraph (distributing syndicate)
 : Never was employed by Sweden
 : Never was under a Honduran passport
 : Contacts with Sturgis and interest in the case goes back to 4 October 1972.

: In describing the pressure on Sturgis not to collaborate with St. George, Hunt told Sturgis "you know what happens to traitors in our group". As a result Sturgis told St. George that he (Sturgis) feared for his life.

: Maintained he had done a number of articles on CIA, some of which CIA liked, such as one on Che Guevara.

: The main point is not the Helms quote ("I had no thought I would ruin Helms' reputation") but the major malfunctions of CIA/DIA.

Senator Stuart Symington (D., Mo.) referring to Fensterwald: my "old and respected friend".

Jim Woolsey, Senate Armed Services Committee staff:
 In effective response to St. George's plea that the root of the problem is that CIA has never opened up to journalists even "one inch", pointed out that St. George had not gone "one inch" towards finding out from the Agency about the purported conversation, etc.

Sen. Symington: Tribute to the importance of the Agency and character of Helms "...what protection does a man in a position that Mr. Helms is in, where he has open knowledge of the American people running a covert agency which is considered essential the way the world is today, and because of the strength of certain other countries and the importance of obtaining as much information as possible about those countries, in order to frame our own budget as to what we

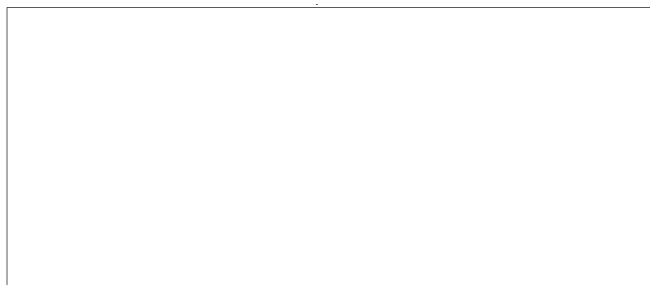
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should or should not build and what we should or should not do in the defense of the United States, now the man who was assigned that position has been in it all his life, and the people without any exception, that I have known in the intelligence business, have recommended this man before he was appointed, which was relatively recently to the position of Director, as being the best man in this field. Nothing like 15 years ago, he was not the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. The question that Senator Nunn asked you, what protection does a man who is willing to undertake this position for his country, what amounts to be a covert operation, what protection does he have from slander and yellow journalism if anybody decides to try to destroy him, what is his protection?"

: was quite effective in showing the weakness in St. George's theory that international misadventures by federal agencies enhances the power of those agencies

6. Correction and Sanitization of Agency Testimony

Mr. Colby's testimony covers pages 65-94 in the 16 November transcript. Changes and deletions have been made on the pages clipped.



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Associate Legislative Counsel

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available to the comm see to summarize

Senator Symington. Make them part of the record.

Mr. Colby. Yes, sir.

Senator Symington. Any further questions from any member of the committee before he proceeds?

Will you proceed.

Off The Record

Mr. Colby. With respect to Mr. St. George, Mr. Chairman,

I have some raw information which consists in great part of allegations by individuals about Mr. St. George in the long past. These are not conclusive proved facts about his record but it is the kind of trace --

Senator Tower. Raw data?

Mr. Colby. Yes, that intelligence communities use in judging whether ^{to} ~~it should~~ do business with a man or not in the future.

"Andrew St. George, whose name was originally Andrew Rudolph Szentgyorgi, was born on October 5, 1923 at Budapest, Hungary. From 1942 to 1944 he was a reporter for a Budapest newspaper. In October 1944 he was arrested by the Germans but claimed he escaped. He worked briefly in the Swedish Legation in Budapest in November 1944, was again arrested by the Hungarian Government in December 1944 but was released when the Russians encircled Budapest.

"From June 1945 to December 1946 St. George worked as an interpreter and investigator for the American Military Mission"

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(AMM) of the Allied Control Commission (ACC) in Budapest,

1 gathering data on war crimes perpetrated by Hungarian civilians
2 against Allied airmen downed in Hungary during World War II.
3 During this period a Hungarian criminal police official stated
4 that St. George was engaged in smuggling stolen automobiles
5 from Vienna to Budapest and crossed the border into Hungary
6 with these automobiles by wearing an American uniform. A
7 partner of St. George in this enterprise was arrested by the
8 Hungarian Police but was released when St. George vouched for
9 him as an investigator for the AMM. In December 1946, St.
10 George was arrested by the U.S. military authorities in Vienna,
11 Austria but later released.

12 "In June 1947 St. George left Vienna for Switzerland,
13 France, and Italy on a Honduran passport. On 14 July he was
14 arrested by the Belgian Police on suspicion of forgery and had
15 in his possession a false Honduran passport. St. George was
16 released to the custody of the American Military Counter-
17 intelligence Corps (CIC) in Vienna by the Belgian Police. He
18 apparently worked thereafter for CIC in Vienna and in January
19 1953 he came to the United States. St. George subsequently
20 worked as a free lance newspaper reporter and contributed to
21 various magazines. In May 1957 he was in Cuba developing a
22 story for Life magazine about Fidel Castro. He later did
23 stories on raids by Cuban exile groups into Cuba, the death
24 of Che Guevara, and worked for CBS covering an exile group
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invasion of [redacted] iti. He is not a United States citizen.

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2 "There are numerous allegations that St. George worked
3 for the Soviets. A wealthy Hungarian stated that in 1945,
4 four days after the Soviet occupation of Budapest, St. George
5 armed and in Soviet uniform together with Russian soldiers
6 robbed the Hungarian in his home. He was not prosecuted,
7 according to a Hungarian police official, because he was being
8 protected by the Soviets. In May 1946 an employee of the AMM,
9 who confessed under interrogation that she was an agent of the
10 Hungarian Military Intelligence, said that the Hungarian officer
11 who directed her mentioned St. George as a man who had a
12 criminal past, was a Gestapo collaborator during the war,
13 and was working for the Soviets as a penetration of the ACC.
14 In early 1946, after St. George had admitted to his Soviet
15 Intelligence connections, he was played back against the
16 Russians by an American Intelligence officer in the AMM in
17 Budapest. This officer later became convinced that St. George
18 was under control of the Soviets even while professing to work
19 against them. He cited instances of meetings with Russian
20 Intelligence agents which St. George did not report, the lack
21 of worthwhile information from St. George on his Soviet contacts
22 and indications of fabrication of reports as leading to his
23 conclusion."

24 Senator Symington. Senator Tower, have you any questions?

25 Senator Tower. Of course I am sure that, for example,

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1 documented. That alone gives the lie to the assertion he had
2 never worked for any other foreign government or any other
3 government other than the United States.

4 Mr. Colby. I can't document these right at the moment.

5 Senator Tower. But it is pretty good evidence he worked
6 for a little bit of everybody.

7 Mr. Colby. It is rather clear that he was one of the
8 people floating around Budapest at that time.

9 Senator Symington. It is always a pleasure to give the
10 CIA information on these matters that they did not know.
11 We are now able to report to you that he is operating under
12 a Brazilian passport which has expired.

13 Mr. Colby. Thank you.

14 Senator Symington. Otherwise, he has perjured himself.

15 Senator Tower. You mentioned that he came to the United
16 States on a Honduran passport in '53?

17 Mr. Colby. No, I don't know what passport he came on in
18 1953.

19 The Hondurian passport was in '47. He came to the United
20 States in January 1953 and I don't know what kind of passport
21 he had at that time.

22 Senator Symington. Could you find out?

23 Mr. Colby. I would think we could, yes. I am pretty
24 sure we can and I will. We have not made any special investigatio:
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on this. This is just the material that is in our files. I

think I could ask the FBI and they could run it down.

Senator Tower. He has been a Hungarian, a Hondurian, and a Brazilian.

Senator Symington. He has been a Swede, almost been a Swede, and he wants to be a United States citizen.

Mr. Colby. He worked for the Swedish Legation. That does not necessarily mean he --

Senator Symington. Yes --

(END OFF THE RECORD)

Senator Tower. I do not really have any further questions

Let me establish -- I think it has already been established actually -- this man suggests that it is conceivable that the CIA arranged for a trap at the Watergate, but I think that is pretty well covered when Helms states flatly he had no prior knowledge.

Mr. Colby. We had no prior knowledge of it in the agency.

Senator Tower. You don't know of any subordinates in the agency?

Mr. Colby. No other knowledge of that event.

Senator Tower. Who did Martinez report to in the agency?

Mr. Colby. Well, he reported to a variety of people down in Miami from 1961 to 1969 when we had him on an \$8,100 a year contract relationship relating to [redacted]

[redacted] In 1969 we terminated that project. We carried him for a bit in that pay status but

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