

Exhibit 4

HUGE C.I.A. OPERATION REPORTED IN U.S. AGAINST ANTIWAR FORCES, OTHER DISSIDENTS IN NIXON YEARS



Richard Helms



James R. Schlesinger



William E. Colby

FILES ON CITIZENS

Helms Reportedly Got Surveillance Data in Charter Violation

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21—The Central Intelligence Agency, directly violating its charter, conducted a massive, illegal domestic intelligence operation during the Nixon Administration against the antiwar movement and other dissident groups in the United States, according to well-placed Government sources.

An extensive investigation by The New York Times has established that intelligence files on at least 10,000 American citizens were maintained by a special unit of the C.I.A. that was reporting directly to Richard Helms, then the Director of Central Intelligence and now the Ambassador to Iran.

In addition, the sources said, a check of the C.I.A.'s domestic files ordered last year by Mr. Helms's successor, James R. Schlesinger, 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, wiretapping and the surreptitious inspection of mail.

A Different Category

Mr. Schlesinger was succeeded by the C.I.A. by William E. Colby in September, 1973.

Those other alleged operations, in the fifties, while also prohibited by law, were not targeted at dissident American citizens, the sources said, but were a different category of domestic activities that were secretly carried out as part of operations aimed at suspected foreign intelligence agents operating in the United States.

Under the 1947 act setting up the C.I.A., the agency was forbidden to have "police, subpoena, law enforcement powers or internal security functions" inside the United States. Those responsibilities fall to the F.B.I., which maintains a special internal security unit to deal with foreign intelligence threats.

Helms Unavailable

Mr. Helms, who became head of the C.I.A. in 1966 and left the agency in February, 1973, for his new post in Tehran, could not be reached despite telephone calls there yesterday and today.

Charles Cline, a duty officer at the American Embassy in Tehran, said today that a note informing Mr. Helms of the request by The Times for comment had been delivered to Mr. Helms's quarters this morning. By late evening Mr. Helms had not returned the call.

The information about the

INFLATION QURBS CHRISTMAS SALES

Shorter Shopping Season Also Cited by Stores as Buyers Stretch Funds

By ISADORE BARMASH

Inflation, unemployment, layoffs and concern over what the national economy holds next year have produced generally disappointing Christmas sales, so far for merchants across the country.

With only three shopping days left, the nation's consumers have apparently approached their Christmas gift-giving in a sober, even somber mood. They are paring their shopping lists, keeping a tight rein on buying by using cash more than credit and by purchasing fewer holiday decorations.

"I'm spending less because of the inflated prices," Mrs. Diane Yemano, the mother of two young children, said in a Los Angeles shopping center. "and I'm only spending a certain amount for each person."

Many retailers hope they can

Continued on Page 23, Column 3

Extensive Abuses Found In Court-Hiring Practices

By RALPH BLUMENTHAL

The role of political patronage in the appointment of state-court aides and employees has come under official investigation in connection with the indictments of five law secretaries.

Alleged abuses cited by the State Bar Association and law-enforcement authorities include the appointment of political party officials and leaders and their relatives as \$26,000-a-year law secretaries, the selection of law secretaries without law degrees, and the naming of no-show jobholders who spend most of their time away from court.

Discretion Limited

The inquiry into criminal aspects of such abuses is being conducted by Special Prosecutor Maurice H. Nadjari, whose job it is to ferret out corruption in the state's justice system.

An informal check by The New York Times of a dozen State Supreme Court justices and a dozen law secretaries—close to 10 per cent of the city's total—has indicated that law secretaries are routinely screened and designated, or

"recommended," as judges preferred to say, by the local party organization before being hired by the judges.

Usually, the judge's only discretion is to reject his prospective employee. In such cases, the organization then provides him with another choice or several choices, the survey showed.

In many of the cases checked, the law secretaries were known prior to the survey to have had a history of Democratic or Republican political activities on a club or county level. At least three were identified as district leaders and two as county committeemen.

The survey also found that seven of the law secretaries checked had private law practices listed in the telephone directory. Law secretaries here are supposed to work full-time and are barred from working privately on any case under litigation in any court.

However, with the permission of the Appellate Division, they may work on uncontested matters in Surrogate and Supreme

Continued on Page 32, Column 4

93d Congress Set Historic Precedents

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21—The last two years were tumultuous ones politically, and the 93d Congress, which adjourned last night, was in the center of the storm.

It will go down in history as

the Congress that helped expose and depose a President and, in the process, set precedents for investigation and impeachment that will outlive the members of the Congress themselves.

History will also record that it was the 93d Congress that first used the procedures of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution—to confirm Gerald R. Ford and then Nelson A. Rockefeller as Vice President.

Because of the political turmoil, the legislative accomplishments of the last two years received less attention than they might have otherwise. But Congressional leaders believe that some of the laws that were enacted may also prove to be historic.

For example, while the nation's attention was focused on Richard M. Nixon's resignation,

States armed forces to foreign hostilities without Congressional approval.

The law, enacted over Mr. Nixon's veto, was designed to prevent "another Vietnam."

Moreover, by using its power to withhold funds, Congress forced Mr. Nixon to accept a compromise and end the bombing of Cambodia in August, 1973.

Congress also took steps to improve its own machinery for dealing with the federal budget and enacted legislation that alters the traditional method of financing political campaigns through large private contributions.

Also of importance to long-

Continued on Page 27, Column 1

Raiders, Vikings Victors

Continued on Page 28, Column 1

