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Vol. 1 OF 3

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
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R 1097

# The United States Senate

## Report of Proceedings

INVENTORIED

DN 2/14/77

BY BC

## Hearing held before

Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental  
Operations With respect to Intelligence Activities

The Department of State has no objection to the  
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Reviewed on 8/12/98 *myr*

Wednesday, September 10, 1975

Washington, D. C.

(Stenotype Tape and Waste turned over  
to the Committee for destruction)

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C O N T E N T S

TESTIMONY OF

PAGE

Richard N. Bissell

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EXHIBITS

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(Exhibits were retained by counsel.)

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1 Senator Hart of Colorado. Mr. Bissell, will you  
2 stand and be sworn.

3 Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give  
4 is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so  
5 help you God?

6 Mr Bissell. I do.

7 Senator Hart of Colorado. The same circumstances  
8 apply as applied under your previous experiences before the  
9 Committee. You have the right under our rules to have a  
10 member of the Committee present at all times if you choose.  
11 And you have also your Constitutional right to counsel if you  
12 so choose. You do understand?

13 Mr. Bissell. I understand.

14 Senator Hart of Colorado. We will be under way now.

15 Mr. Baron. You are appearing here voluntarily today  
16 without counsel?

17 Mr. Bissell. I am.

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TESTIMONY OF RICHARD N. BISSELL

1 Mr. Baron. Mr. Bissell, since we have talked with you  
2 last about the subject of the Congo we have taken testimony  
3 from a number of witnesses. The first that we would like to  
4 turn to is Bronson Tweedy, who in 1960 and 1961, as I am  
5 sure you will recall, was the Chief of the African Division.  
6 He indicated to us in his testimony that he had a number of  
7 talks with you, probably in the summer or fall of 1960,  
8 where the prospect of assassinating Lumumba was raised.

9 What can you tell us about those discussions?

10 Mr. Bissell. I am afraid I can't tell you anything.  
11 I don't remember the specific discussions with him. It seems  
12 to me, however, entirely to be expected that such conversa-  
13 tions took place. I think I testified previously, but in any  
14 case, I remember assigning Justin O'Donnell to study  
15 the possibilities and to make plans for the assassination or  
16 elimination of Lumumba. And since that was in the Africa  
17 area, I think it most unlikely that I would have done that  
18 without saying something to the Division Chief about it.

19 Mr. Baron. Mr. Tweedy's testimony was to the effect  
20 that he was in fact not being informed of some on-going  
21 operation or some instruction that was contemplated, but  
22 rather that you and he were discussing the feasibility of  
23 assassinating Lumumba.

24 Did such discussions take place?  
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1 Mr. Bissell. I don't happen to remember them, but  
2 it seems to me entirely probable that they did. And if he  
3 said so I would certainly accept that.

4 Mr. Baron. And would you assume that if such dis-  
5 cussions took place they would have taken place in the summer  
6 or fall of 1960?

7 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

8 Mr. Baron. Would such discussions have involved planning  
9 for an actual assassination mission?

10 Mr. Bissell. Yes, planning for, but not necessarily  
11 any authorization to take specific steps to implement such  
12 a plan.

13 Mr. Baron. Would planning discussions in the sense  
14 that you are using the term included sending instruments of  
15 assassination to the Congo?

16 Mr. Bissell. They might have, although again I  
17 don't happen to remember that. I am aware, I think, that  
18 there is a record that something was said, but I had no  
19 recollection that things went that far. But that still could  
20 have been included in what I mean by the term "planning and  
21 preparing".

22 Mr. Baron. Did you give Mr. Tweedy any specific  
23 instruction as to steps he was to take to further a plan  
24 to assassinate Lumumba?

25 Mr. Bissell. I may have. I don't remember them. The

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1 only clear recollection I have is of what I think was  
2 the initial discussion on this matter that I had with Justin  
3 O'Donnell. And I believe that he and I had that alone, in  
4 other words, that Mr. Tweedy was not present in the dis-  
5 cussion I had with O'Donnell.

6 Mr. Baron. We will turn later to filling out the  
7 details of your conversation with Justin O'Donnell.

8 For the moment, sticking with Mr. Tweedy's testimony,  
9 he also testified that during this same period of time he  
10 composed cables that went to the Chief of Station in Leopold-  
11 ville inquiring as to if the Chief of Station could gain access  
12 to Lumumba for the purpose of assassinating him.

13 Did you send such cable?

14 Mr. Bissell. I would think the record would show  
15 whether they were sent. If they were sent the record would  
16 presumably also show if I signed them. And I expect that  
17 if they were sent I would have signed them. But I don't  
18 happen at this distance in time to remember the specific  
19 cables.

20 Mr. Wides. If you had sent cables of that kind,  
21 Mr. Bissell, would they have gone in the normal channels out  
22 from the African Division, or might they more likely have  
23 gone on a restricted basis from yourself to the Station  
24 Chief without --

25 Mr. Bissell. I think it is very probable that it would

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1 have been the latter, although given the fact of conversations  
2 with the Division Chief, presumably he would have been on the  
3 distribution for these cables. But probably it would have  
4 been restricted to the Director or the Deputy Director or  
5 the Division Chief, and probably Mr. Helms' Deputy.

6 Mr. Baron. It was Mr. Tweedy's testimony that although  
7 he composed such cables, they went out, as far as he could  
8 recall, under your signature or from your office.

9 Mr. Bissell. That would be a very normal procedure.

10 Mr. Baron. Do you recall discussing with Mr. Tweedy  
11 the fact that he should write such cables, whether or not you  
12 recall the specific cables?

13 Mr. Bissell. I really don't.

14 Mr. Baron. Mr. Tweedy also testified that the cable  
15 traffic that he was sending to the Congo was part of a back and  
16 forth communication in which he was receiving information from  
17 the Chief of Station in Leopoldville about the kind of  
18 access that he could gain to Lumumba.

19 Did you read such cables from the Chief of Station in  
20 Leopoldville?

21 Mr. Bissell. I am sure I did. I don't remember it  
22 specifically.

23 Mr. Wides. Do you recall the question of access  
24 being one part of the exploration that you were doing?

25 Mr. Bissell. Yes, that indeed would have been a key

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1 part of it.

2 Mr. Wides. Do you recall that being so?

3 Mr. Bissell. I don't specifically recall it. But  
4 since I am clear that at least in the case of O'Donnell, and  
5 I now presume in the case of Mr. Tweedy, I authorized and  
6 indeed directed this planning and preparatory activity. A  
7 major part of this would have been a search for ways in  
8 which access could be gained.

9 Mr. Baron. And what kind of access were you looking  
10 for at that time?

11 Mr. Bissell. Obviously I would say the access of an  
12 individual who for one reason or another could get close to  
13 Lumumba.

14 Mr. Baron. In the summer and very early fall of 1960  
15 this would have been access to Lumumba for the purpose of  
16 assassinating him rather than snatching him from U.N. custody?

17 Mr. Bissell. Well, it could have been for the pur-  
18 pose really of eliminating him from his then political acti-  
19 vities. And that could have been assassination, or it  
20 could have involved some form of incapacitation, or it could  
21 possibly have been, in your words, snatching him so  
22 that he could be put into the custody of what we regarded  
23 as friendly authorities.

24 Mr. Baron. Would you have sought information from  
25 the Chief of Station on whether he could gain access to

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1 Lumumba for the purpose of poisoning Lumumba.

2 Mr. Bissell. It could very well have. That was one  
3 method of elimination, and that was obviously thought about  
4 at the time as part of the planning, and almost certainly  
5 we would have been in touch with the Chief of Station to see  
6 if he could gain access for that purpose.

7 Mr. Baron. Were you also in touch with the Chief of  
8 Station to seek access for the shooting Lumumba?

9 Mr. Bissell. I would guess that really the questions  
10 to the Chief of Station would have had to do with gaining access  
11 for whatever method -- an access that could be used for  
12 whatever method of eliminating Lumumba might be simple,  
13 practical and workable. And I doubt if the question would  
14 have been a different one, depending on the device or weapon  
15 to be used.

16 Mr. Baron. To retrace something you said a moment  
17 ago, if Mr. Tweedy had authored cables seeking information  
18 from the Chief of Station in Leopoldville about gaining  
19 access to Lumumba, you would have approved such cables?

20 Mr. Bissell. Yes, I would most certainly have.

21 Excuse me. Let me elaborate on that.

22 Given the procedures and relationships in effect, I  
23 think Mr. Tweedy, on the basis of an oral authorization from  
24 me, would have had the authority to send such a cable without  
25 my signing off on it. But in a matter of this sensitivity

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1 I think it highly likely that he would have drafted the  
2 cable, initialed it and sent it to my office for dispatch.

3 Mr. Baron. And you wouldn't dispute his testimony that  
4 he did so?

5 Mr. Bissell. Oh, no. His testimony seemed to me to be  
6 absolutely consistent with my recollections, which, alas,  
7 are somewhat inform. *infirm?*

8 Mr. Baron. Would your discussions with Mr. Tweedy have  
9 involved discussing the possibility of poisoning Lumumba?

10 Mr. Bissell. I suppose so.

11 Mr. Baron. We have also taken testimony from the man  
12 who was Chief of Station in Leopoldville during this period of  
13 time, from mid-summer of 1960 throughout 1961, and he testified--

14 Mr. Bissell. Would you remind me who it was?

15 Mr. Baron. Off the record for a moment.

16 (Discussion off the record.)

17 Senator Hart of Colorado. Back on the record.

18 Mr. Baron. While we were off the record we explained  
19 the arrangement under which the Chief of Station would  
20 testify before the Committee under alias. And we will refer  
21 to him here today as the Chief of Station, or by his alias,  
22 which is that of Victor Hedgman.

23 Mr. Bissell, when the Chief of Station testified before  
24 us he indicated that at some point in the late summer or  
25 early fall of 1960 probably toward the latter part of August

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1 or the very first days in September, he received a cable from  
2 CIA headquarters to the effect that a messenger will come  
3 to the Congo who you will recognize, and who will bring in-  
4 structions which you are to carry out.

5 Did you send such a cable to the Chief of Station?  
6 Mr. Bissell. I could have.

7 But I have perhaps a peculiar reason for questioning  
8 whether in this particular case I did. And my reason is  
9 the following.

10 You will notice that the cable you have just shown me  
11 that was sent out by the Director of Central Intelligence in  
12 late August, the cable was released by his initials. And  
13 it bears the notification that the only other distribution  
14 was to be to Mr. Helms, who was then, you will remember,  
15 Deputy -- my deputy.

16 Now, it is virtually inconceivable to me, given my  
17 knowledge of and involvement in this operation, that the  
18 Director would have sent a cable, denied circulation to me  
19 and had it circulated to Mr. Helms, if I had been in  
20 Washington. And I suspect that we could establish on the  
21 record that I was on vacation when the message you have shown  
22 me was sent.

23 Mr. Wides. That was in early August?

24 Mr. Baron. Let's introduce as Exhibit No. 1 for  
25 this session the document that you are referring to, which

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1 is a cable dated August 26, 1960, from Allen W. Dulles to  
2 Leopoldville. And this cable includes the paragraph:

3 "In high quarters here it is the clear-cut conclusion  
4 that if LLL continues to hold high office inevitable result  
5 will at best be chaos and at worst pave the way for Communist  
6 takeover of the Congo with disastrous consequences for the  
7 prestige of the U.N. and for the interest of the free world  
8 generally. Consequently, we conclude that his removal must  
9 be an urgent and prime objective, and that under existing  
10 conditions this should be a high priority of our covert action."

(The document referred to was  
marked Bissell Exhibit No. 1  
for identification.)

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1 Mr. Baron. Mr. Bissell, would LLL refer to Lumumba  
2 in this cable?

3 Mr. Bissell. I believe so.

4 Mr. Baron. And isn't it unusual that this cable  
5 bears the designation Allen W. Dulles as opposed to Director?

6 Mr. Bissell. That is unusual.

7 Mr. Baron. What does that signify?

8 Mr. Bissell. I believe this cable was drafted by the  
9 Director himself. That would be my inference from the format.

10 Mr. Baron. And does this appear to be Mr. Dulles' initials  
11 which are blurred in the copy we have?

12 Mr. Bissell. They may be there, but in any event, the  
13 releasing signature is definitely his.

14 If I may complete the answer to your question, for the  
15 reason I have given you, my surmise is that I was not  
16 in Washington, and probably on vacation, when this was  
17 sent. I suspect that I might be able to dig out calendars  
18 and establish that if it became very germane.

19 If that is the case, it is quite possible that the  
20 cable you asked me about stating that a messenger would  
21 soon arrive in Leopoldville was sent also in my absence.

22 Mr. Baron. If such a cable was sent in your absence  
23 would you be apprised of it upon your return to headquarters?

24 Mr. Bissell. I suspect so, yes. In this case I would  
25 be almost certain that I would.

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1 Mr. Baron. And what would such a cable have referred  
2 to?

3 Mr. Bissell. Well, I suppose just what that said.  
4 Explicitly it refers, as you quoted, or characterized it, to  
5 a messenger with instructions to be followed.

6 Mr. Baron. And who was that messenger to be?

7 Mr. Bissell. I have no idea without digging back into the  
8 traffic.

9 Mr. Baron. And were those instructions related to  
10 the assassination of Lumumba?

11 Mr. Bissell. It certainly sounds as if they were  
12 related to his elimination in one way or another.

13 Mr. Wides. Why is that, Mr. Bissell?

14 Mr. Bissell. Just because the method of transmission  
15 is peculiar, and suggests high sensitivity. But it seems  
16 to me, on the basis of what you have told me of the message,  
17 it can be only inference.

18 Mr. Baron. And one means of eliminating Lumumba con-  
19 templated at CIA headquarters at this time would have been  
20 an assassination?

21 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

22 Mr. Baron. In the testimony of the Chief of Station  
23 who was in Leopoldville at that time, he made the representa-  
24 tion -- let me back track for a moment.

25 Did you ever discuss with <sup>Joseph G. ...</sup> Sidney Gottlieb the assassination

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1 of Lumumba?

2 Mr. Bissell. I think it is very probable that I did.

3 Mr. Baron. What would these discussions have involved?

4 Mr. Wides. Excuse me. Was Mr. Gottlieb at that time  
5 science advisor to yourself?

6 Mr. Bissell. I believe he was. I would answer that  
7 question definitely if the record shows that he had not yet  
8 taken that position. But I am almost sure -- I had better  
9 not say that. Assuming that he had assumed the position  
10 of science advisor, I think that my answer would stand, that  
11 I very probably would have consulted with him.

12 Mr. Wides. For the record, while he was science advisor  
13 to the DDP, was he also an official of the TSD component,  
14 or was that a separate --

15 Mr. Bissell. No, he was not. His assignment to my  
16 office was his full time and sole responsibility.

17 Mr. Baron. And you say that you probably did dis-  
18 cuss with Sidney Gottlieb the assassination of Lumumba.

19 What would have been the substance of those discussions?

20 Mr. Bissell. It would have been discussing with him  
21 possible weapons or other means to use. When he was my  
22 science advisor, I frequently used him as in effect liaison  
23 with the Technical Services Division, the person who had  
24 been a member of it. And he knew the personnel and he knew  
25 a great deal about their programs. I presume that if I had

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1 had such discussions with him I would have been asking him to  
2 give thought to ways and means.

3 Mr. Baron. And you were asking Mr. Gottlieb, then,  
4 to think about the technical means by which an assassination  
5 could be carried out?

6 Mr. Bissell. Correct.

7 Mr. Wides. That is an assumption that you were, or  
8 can you recall now?

9 Mr. Bissell. No, it is an assumption -- it is an in-  
10 ference, if you like, from the circumstances. I think it is  
11 quite likely that I would have had such discussions with him  
12 assuming, as I believe to be true, that he was the science  
13 advisor at that time.

14 Mr. Wides. But you have no recollection?

15 Mr. Bissell. No.

16 Senator Hart of Colorado. Excuse me, Mr. Baron.

17 I am going to have to go to vote, and I would just  
18 like the record to reflect your acquiescence that there is  
19 no committee member here if in fact that is the case.

20 Mr. Bissell. I do so acquiesce, and I am happy to  
21 continue.

22 Senator Hart of Colorado. With that understanding  
23 you are willing to continue?

24 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

25 Senator Hart of Colorado. Thank you very much.

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1 Mr. Baron. Did you have any other kinds of discussions  
2 with Sidney Gottlieb about the assassination of Lumumba?

3 Mr. Bissell. None that I remember.

4 Mr. Baron. Did you discuss with Mr. Gottlieb your  
5 conversations with Justin O'Donnell?

6 Mr. Bissell. I just have no recollection of that.

7 Mr. Baron. Did Mr. Gottlieb come to you and report to  
8 you on his conversations with Justin O'Donnell about the  
9 assassination of Lumumba?

10 Mr. Bissell. Again, I am sorry, I just have no  
11 recollection one way or the other.

12 Mr. Baron. Did Mr. Gottlieb make you aware that he had  
13 in his shop, or he knew how to obtain the means to assassin-  
14 ate Lumumba?

15 Mr. Bissell. Well, I certainly was aware in a general  
16 way that various means were available in the Technical  
17 Services Division. I don't know whether I obtained that  
18 information specifically from Mr. Gottlieb, but probably I  
19 did obtain some of it through him.

20 Mr. Baron. But however you obtained this information,  
21 you were aware that the means were available to assassinate  
22 Lumumba?

23 Mr. Bissell. I think you put it too specifically.  
24 I was aware that as part of it is on-going activity. The  
25 Technical Services Division did a lot of work in the develop-

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1 ment of various weapons of a sort appropriate for a clandestine service. And I was aware, I am quite certain, that  
2 these included poisons, type of firearms, and a whole range  
3 of capabilities. But my belief today, and my recollection,  
4 is that I was aware of these as the products, I repeat, of  
5 an on-going development program which itself was not targetted  
6 at any type individual or operation.  
7

8 Mr. Baron. And with whom did you have discussions of  
9 technical means that might be used to assassinate Lumumba  
10 other than Sidney Gottlieb?  
11

12 Mr. Bissell. I do not know. I could have had with  
13 Mr. Roosevelt, whom I think was still the head of the Technical Division. I don't believe it would have been any but  
14 those two.  
15

16 Mr. Baron. This would be Cornelius Roosevelt?  
17

18 Mr. Bissell. That is correct.  
19

20 Mr. Baron. Did Mr. Gottlieb express to you his  
21 reluctance to participate in an assassination plan?  
22

23 Mr. Bissell. I don't ever remember his so doing.  
24

25 Mr. Baron. Did Mr. Gottlieb appear to be willing to  
see what he could do to obtain or develop the means to be  
used in such a plan?  
26

Mr. Bissell. I really don't have any recollection that  
would enable me to answer that. I do believe that -- if  
he had demurred strongly, and urged its abandonment, or

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1 suspect that Cornelius Roosevelt would have known  
2 about it.

3 Mr. Baron. Did Mr. Gottlieb's trip have anything to do  
4 with the assassination of Lumumba?

5 Mr. Bissell. I don't know, since I don't remember the  
6 circumstances, I really can't say.

7 Mr. Baron. Would you assume that Mr. Gottlieb's trip  
8 have had something to do with the assassination of Lumumba?

9 Mr. Bissell. I think it might very well.

10 Mr. Baron. And again we are talking about the plot  
11 to assassinate Lumumba rather than Lumumba's ultimate demise?

12 Mr. Bissell. Correct.

13 Mr. Baron. If Mr. Gottlieb's visit related to the plot  
14 to assassinate Lumumba, would such a sensitive operation  
15 have been made known to Bronson Tweedy?

16 Mr. Bissell. I believe so, specially in the light  
17 of the fact that apparently this possibility had been dis-  
18 cussed with Bronson Tweedy more than once.

19 Mr. Baron. Is it possible that Bronson Tweedy would  
20 have been cut out of the actual mounting of an assassination  
21 operation despite the fact that the feasibility of an  
22 assassination had been discussed with him?

23 Mr. Bissell. Yes, it is possible.

24 Mr. Baron. Was that the case?

25 Mr. Bissell. I don't remember. But if you ask me to

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1 guess, I think I would -- I think my guessing would come down  
2 slightly on the side of his having been cut out rather than  
3 knowledgeable.

4 Mr. Baron. Why would that be?

5 Mr. Bissell. Well, I repeat, I am guessing about this,  
6 and the reasoning that leads me to make that remark is that  
7 my recollection is that my assignment to O'Donnell was very  
8 narrowly held. And I do not remember discussing that assign-  
9 ment with Bronson Tweedy. And so I think there is a real  
10 possibility -- and it is a guess, trying as best I can to recon-  
11 struct what was going on at the time, but not based on any  
12 recollection of actual discussions -- but my guess, as I say,  
13 would come down very slightly on the side that O'Donnell's  
14 assignment was not known to Bronston Tweedy, and that he, there-  
15 fore, was cut out of this phase.

16 Mr. Baron. And would have been cut out of knowledge  
17 of Gottlieb's visit to the Congo?

18 Mr. Bissell. Could have been, although that is  
19 more unlikely. It seems to me that if he was being cut out  
20 of knowledge of the specific operation, that he would have  
21 had to be knowledgeable of the visit, and would have been  
22 given an explanation of the visit other than the postulated  
23 true explanation.

24 Mr. Baron. In the light of that, Mr. Bissell, is it  
25 likely that the cable traffic that Mr. Tweedy describes going

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1 back and forth between himself and the Chief of Station  
2 in the Congo concerning gaining access to Lumumba could have  
3 unbeknownst to him related to gaining access to Lumumba for  
4 the purpose of an assassination plot that was further along  
5 the line than Mr. Tweedy knew?

6 Mr. Bissell. It could have. I would put it another  
7 way. It seems to me that the information gleaned in that  
8 interchange was probably an input to the planning -- the prep-  
9 atory activity that identify with O'Donnell.

10 Mr. Baron. To repeat for a moment, Gottlieb's  
11 visit to the Congo would have been known to the Chief of Sta-  
12 tion, yourself and Director of Central Intelligence, and  
13 possibly Bronson Tweedy?

14 Mr. Bissell. I think probably Bronson Tweedy, and  
15 almost certainly a few other people. I repeat, I think  
16 Cornelius Roosevelt would have known of it. I think Richard  
17 Helms would have known of it, and I think several others.  
18 I am making a distinction between those who would have known  
19 of the visit, an event that would not be easy to keep secret  
20 from a number of people in the Agency, and knowledge of the  
21 true purpose of that visit, if indeed its true purpose were,  
22 as was suggested.

23 Mr. Baron. Did you have any discussion with Richard  
24 Helms about the assassination of Lumumba?

25 Mr. Bissell. I don't remember -- wait a minute. No,

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I believe I did not with Mr. Helms.

Mr. Baron. You paused for a moment there. Was there some discussion that you were thinking about that could have related to Lumumba?

Mr. Bissell. Yes.

I think what came into my mind was a later and subsequent conversation with Mr. Helms sometime after. And this had to do with O'Donnell, and I seem to remember Mr. Helms making a remark that he was a somewhat -- on occasion a somewhat unsable person. And at that point the subject may have come up with Mr. Helms. But my impression is that any such conversation with Mr. Helms was a good deal later.

Mr. Wides. Mr. O'Donnell indicated that after he spoke to you and told you that he would not participate in the assassination effort, that he went essentially nextdoor to your office, to Mr. Helms' office, and recounted his discussion with you to Mr. Helms.

Do you recall any discussion about that time that Helms might have come back to you to find out about?

Mr. Bissell. Let me explain, the dim recollection that I have just voiced of a conversation with Helms after the termination of O'Donnell's assignment, and Helms comment on it. But I still believe that Mr. Helms did not know of this until after what I would refer to as the termination of

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1 O'Donnell's involvement, which was the occasion you have just  
2 referred to.

3 Mr. Wides. It was not described by Mr. O'Donnell as  
4 the termination of an assignment.

5 Mr. Bissell. All right, that is my phrase, but as I  
6 have already testified, my recollection -- and it is recollec-  
7 tion -- is that Mr. O'Donnell came in to me -- I thought it  
8 was a matter probably of at least several weeks, but I  
9 could be wrong on the timing -- after I had originally  
10 given him the assignment, and expressed both his personal  
11 reluctance to attempt to carry it out, and his belief that  
12 it was the wrong way to proceed. Whether he so stated to Mr.  
13 O'Donnell, it certainly was my decision at that time that it  
14 be dropped. And to the best of my knowledge and belief,  
15 no further action was taken.

16 Mr. Schwarz. By "it" in that example do you mean the  
17 assassination of Lumumba, or O'Donnell's involvement in the  
18 assassination of Lumumba?

19 Mr. Bissell. At any rate, O'Donnell's involvement,  
20 the project that he had been asked to plan and prepare for,  
21 that that would not be continued.

22 Mr. Baron. And that was the assassination of Lumumba?

23 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

24 Mr. Schwarz. You mean one officer comes in and gives  
25 you a negative, and then you decided to turn off something

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1 that you had been looking into for weeks because one  
2 officer says he wouldn't do it?

3 Mr. Bissell. To turn it off, or at least if it be  
4 continued, to change not only the people connected with it, but  
5 probably the whole modus operandi. And the reason for that  
6 decision, insofar as I can recollect it, is, my grave concern  
7 that, given O'Donnell's reaction, there was a risk that the  
8 planning of such an operation would be blown.

9 Mr. Schwarz. You mean if it was done he would expose  
10 the conversation?

11 Mr. Bissell. Something of that kind could happen,  
12 yes.

13 Mr. Dawson. Who were you worried about O'Donnell in  
14 that case exposing it to? Certainly not the press.

15 Mr. Bissell. I can't recall answer that, except by  
16 surmise, but I do remember that this had been in my mind  
17 a very sensitive assignment to him, limited -- with the  
18 knowledge of it to be limited very narrowly even within the  
19 Agency. And it is difficult to separate recollection from  
20 inference on occasion. But I seem to recollect that after  
21 this conversation with him I wanted this put very much on  
22 the back burner and inactivated for quite some time.

23 Now, that doesn't rule out the possibility that some  
24 action through completely different channels might have gone  
25 forward. But the best of my recollection is, I viewed this

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1 not only as terminating the assignment for him, but also  
2 as reason for at least postponing anything further along that  
3 line.

4 Mr. Schwarz. Who had knowledge within the Agency of your  
5 assignment to O'Donnell and its true purpose.

6 Mr. Bissell. I would guess that --

7 Mr. Schwarz. Not guess, who did?

8 Mr. Bissell. I don't know. What I was going to say is  
9 that I think the Director did.

10 Mr. Schwarz. Guess, think, don't know. You have got to  
11 have a basis, Mr. Bissell, for testifying to something.

12 Mr. Bissell. All right.

13 The basis is, as has been in so much of my testimony,  
14 how business was conducted within the Agency at that time.  
15 There had been, as the Exhibit 1 cable suggests, there had  
16 already been consideration at high levels in the Agency and  
17 elsewhere of the elimination of Lumumba. Obviously I had  
18 been involved in conversations with the Director on that sub-  
19 ject. Given the way business was conducted, I would infer that  
20 I would have told the Director of my assignment to O'Donnell.

21 Mr. diGenova. Mr. Bissell, you are telling us that  
22 you don't remember this, is that correct?

23 Mr. Bissell. That is right.

24 Mr. diGenova. You have seen this Exhibit No. 1 which  
25 says:

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1 "In high quarters here it is the clearcut conclusion  
2 that if LLL continues to hold high office inevitable result  
3 will be chaos".

4 And then it goes on and says:

5 "Consequently we conclude that his removal must be an  
6 urgent prime objective and that under existing conditions  
7 this could be a high priority covert action".

8 That is dated August 26, 1960, signed, according to your  
9 identification of his signature, by Mr. Dulles personally.  
10 And it follows by one day a meeting in the White House of the  
11 Special Group attended by the President of the U.S., where  
12 Dulles said he would proceed --

13 Mr. Baron. I don't think this meeting was attended by  
14 the President.

15 Mr. diGenova. Excuse me, attended by Mr. Dulles --  
16 where he said he would proceed as vigorously as the situation  
17 permitted. And it was agreed that the planning for the  
18 Congo would not necessarily rule out consideration of any  
19 particular kind of activity which might contribute to getting  
20 rid of Lumumba.

21 Does that in any way refresh your recollection about  
22 what was happening at that time?

23 Do you remember anything independently of what Mr.  
24 Dulles was talking to you about? We had trouble areas in the  
25 world, including Cuba, and the African Continent in particular.

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1 Does that refresh your recollection in any way  
2 independently?

3 Mr. Bissell. Well, my recollection, I think, is  
4 pretty clear about the atmosphere at the time. And I think  
5 it is quite eloquently described in the cable which you  
6 have just quoted. And I have already said that I think  
7 probably, from the evidence of the format of that document,  
8 I was absent from Washington at the time when it was sent.  
9 But I certainly would have seen that when I returned, and  
10 it certainly would have been the subject of conversation  
11 between Dulles and myself. It is for that reason that I  
12 draw the inference that Justin O'Donnell's assignment would  
13 have been reported by me to Allen Dulles.

14 Mr. diGenova. But you personally don't remember  
15 discussing this with Mr. Dulles?

16 Mr. Bissell. No.

17 Mr. diGenova. You conclude now that you must have be-  
18 cause of the physical evidence?

19 Mr. Bissell. Could I just interrupt for a moment to  
20 say, I used to see Mr. Dulles almost daily during these years.  
21 It was rare that we would meet without touching on perhaps  
22 several on-going operations or plans or prospects. And this,  
23 over a period of several years. It is not, I think surpris-  
24 ing that rarely have I been able in the course of my testi-  
25 mony to say, I specifically remember a particular meeting, and

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1 even roughly what was said of it.

2 Mr. diGenova. Mr. Bissell, that is somewhat important,  
3 obviously, because the idea is to try, if possible, to estab-  
4 lish what the precise facts were.

5 Now, I am sure you don't mean to say that the assassina-  
6 tion of a foreign leader blurs into the everyday activity of  
7 the Agency because it was so commonplace -- or is that what  
8 you mean to say?

9 Mr. Bissell. No, I don't. But I do mean to say  
10 that the Agency had put a top priority, probably, on a range  
11 of different methods of getting rid of Lumumba in the sense  
12 of either destroying him physically, incapacitating him, or  
13 eliminating his political influence. And a conversation  
14 about this particular facet of what was a many-sided attack on  
15 the problem doesn't stand out in my mind.

16 Mr. diGenova. What you are saying, then, is the de-  
17 tails of any specific day or meeting or cable you don't  
18 recollect, but you don't have any trouble recollecting the  
19 fact that the assassination of Lumumba, among others,  
20 was part of a strategy at that time, if needed?

21 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

22 Mr. Baron. And that was part of a strategy at the  
23 level of the National Security Council as well as within the  
24 Agency?

25 Mr. Bissell. I believe that the language quoted would

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1 so indicate, yes.

2 Mr. Schwarz. Did you attend any meeting of the National  
3 Security Council?

4 Mr. Bissell. I don't remember any on this subject,  
5 and I don't think I did. I very rarely attended the NSC  
6 as such, or its so-called planning committee. Robert Amory  
7 was the agency representative on that, and I have already  
8 said -- well, I did not by any means always, I would say not  
9 more than half the time, attended Special Group meetings.

10 And since I also think I was out of town when that was  
11 sent, it seems to me highly unlikely that I was at the Special  
12 Group meeting the day before that cable was sent.

13 Mr. Baron. I think we should introduce for the record  
14 as Exhibit 2 the memorandum for the record of that  
15 Special Group meeting of August 25, 1960, which records Mr.  
16 Dulles being present, and does not list yourself as one of  
17 the participants. And it contains a paragraph substantially  
18 as Mr. diGenova related it where Gordon Gray, who was at  
19 that time Special Assistant to the President for National  
20 Security Affairs, commented that his associates -- and we have  
21 testimony by Thomas Parrott, the Secretary who took these  
22 minutes, that Mr. Gray's associate was a euphemism to refer to  
23 the President.

24 (The document referred to was  
25 marked Bissell Exhibit No. 2 for  
identification.)

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1 Mr. Bissell. Correct.

2 Mr. Baron. "Mr. Gray commented that his associates  
3 had expressed extremely strong feelings on the necessity for  
4 very straightforward action in this situation, and he wondered  
5 whether the plans as outlined were sufficient to accomplish  
6 this.

7 "Mr. Dulles replied that he had taken the comments re-  
8 ferred too seriously, and had every intention of proceeding as  
9 vigorously as the situation permits or requires, but added that  
10 he must necessarily put himself in a position of interpret-  
11 ing instructions of this kind within the bounds of necessity  
12 and capability. It was finally agreed that planning for the  
13 Congo would not necessarily rule out 'consideration' of any  
14 particular kind of activity which might contribute to  
15 getting rid of Lumumba".

16 Then the next day after this meeting Mr. Dulles  
17 sends out the telegram or the cable that we have already  
18 discussed.

19 Mr. Bissell. Right.

20 Mr. Baron. Would you assume that Mr. Dulles' cable,  
21 which was sent to Leopoldville, was a direct outgrowth of  
22 this meeting that he had attended the previous day?

23 Mr. Bissell. Obviously, sir.

24 Mr. Dawson. Do you know?

25 Mr. Bissell. I think there is no question on the

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1 basis of the documents.

2 Mr. Baron. Do you assume that assassination was one  
3 of the means of removing Lumumba from the scene that is  
4 contemplated within the language of Mr. Dulles' cable?

5 Mr. Bissell. Correct -- and also the language reported  
6 in the minutes of the Special Group.

7 Mr. Baron. And that would be in essence language--

8 Mr. Bissell. Could I just interrupt to say in  
9 elaboration of that point, you may remember that I perhaps un-  
10 fortunately used the word "circumlocutious" in earlier testimony  
11 to describe the way this kind of topic was discussed. This  
12 is a prime example of it. When you use the language that  
13 no particular means were ruled out, that is obviously what it  
14 meant, and it meant that to everybody in the room.

15 Mr. Wides. Meant what?

16 Mr. Bissell. Meant that if it had to be assassination,  
17 that that was a permissible means.

18 Mr. Baron. And that this was permissible in the eyes  
19 of the President, whose sentiments -- who was being repre-  
20 sented at the meeting by Gordon Gray?

21 Mr. Bissell. At least permissible by his representatives  
22 sitting in the room. You don't use language of that kind  
23 except to mean in effect, the Director is being told, get  
24 rid of the guy, and if you have to use extreme means up  
25 to and including assassination, go ahead.

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1 Mr. Baron. And in effect the Director is being told  
2 that by the President?

3 Mr. Bissell. Right.

4 Mr. Baron. Through his representative?

5 Mr. Bissell. Right.

6 Mr. Schwarz. Did Mr. Dulles tell you that President  
7 Eisenhower wanted Lumumba killed?

8 Mr. Bissell. I am sure he didn't.

9 Mr. Smothers. Did he ever tell you even circum-  
10 locutiously through this kind of cable?

11 Mr. Bissell. Yes, I think his cable says it in effect.

12 Mr. Smothers. Was this a thing that was clearly under-  
13 stood here by everyone? What was that in your experience with  
14 the Agency that had prepared you to understand this kind of  
15 coded dialogue, if you will? Was assassination something  
16 that was discussed fairly often?

17 Mr. Bissell. No, I would say really very infrequently,  
18 very infrequently even discussed, let alone attempted.

19 But I submit that the language just quoted from the minutes  
20 of the Special Group was not language internal to the Agency,  
21 it was language from a Cabinet level committee.

22 You may remember another document that was offered earlier  
23 in my testimony which was again minutes of a Special Group  
24 meeting, and it quoted Livingston Merchant, the State Depart-  
25 ment representative, again asking if there was no way to get

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Mr. Baron. Moving back now to the testimony of the Chief of Station who was in Leopoldville in 1960, he said that shortly after he received this cable that a messenger would come whom he would recognize and who would give him instructions to carry out. He received a visit from Mr.

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1 Gottlieb. And we have discussed that visit. He then goes  
2 on to testify that Dr. Gottlieb gave to him, or told him that  
3 he would very shortly thereafter receive, some lethal biological  
4 substances, and the tools for administering those substances,  
5 namely, a syringe, gauze masks, and rubber gloves.  
6 Were such lethal biological substances sent down to the  
7 Congo?

8 Mr. Bissell. I don't know. I assume the record shows  
9 one way or the other. I don't have a recollection of that.  
10 I was really rather surprised on the occasion of  
11 the earlier testimony to have it reported that they had been  
12 sent.

13 Mr. Baron. Would you assume now, hearing this testimony,  
14 that indeed such substances were sent to the Congo?

15 Mr. Bissell. I think what you have told me, repeating  
16 the evidence of the Station Chief, that Dr. Gottlieb told  
17 him to expect that, is that correct?

18 Mr. Wides. The testimony is that the materials were  
19 brought by Dr. Gottlieb or essentially arrived while he was  
20 there, and that he went over their use with the Station Chief.  
21 That doesn't refresh your recollection at all with regard --

22 Mr. Bissell. No, it doesn't. But I am sure if the  
23 Station Chief so testified it is correct, there is nothing  
24 in mind that I remember that would be in conflict with that.

25 Mr. Baron. It would not have been against the policy

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1 at that point for the AGENCY to have proceeded to the point  
2 of sending poison to the Congo?

3 Mr. Bissell. No, it would not.

4 Mr. Wides. You draw a distinction before between what  
5 you called the planning stage and the implementing stage. I  
6 take it it was not common to send lethal means by the use of  
7 such a highly unusual messenger to a foreign country and  
8 turn them over to a Station Chief as distinct from experi-  
9 menting in the laboratory in Washington?

10 Mr. Bissell. The phrase I used, or tried to use,  
11 most of the time was the phrase of planning and preparation  
12 versus the phrase of implementation.

13 Mr. Wides. By implementation do you mean simply the  
14 actual commencement of --

15 Mr. Bissell. Of an active assassination, yes.

16 To answer your first question as directly as I can,  
17 it was the practice, if I remember correctly, that devices  
18 or agents, biological agents, or other things of this sort,  
19 that some stocks of these were kept in certain major stations  
20 overseas. I would be very surprised if that were not the  
21 case, and had not earlier been the case in the [redacted] station  
22 at [redacted] 15-70 and in the Tokyo stations, because these were  
23 big organizations.

24 Mr. Wides. These were lethal biological agents?

25 Mr. Bissell. I suspect, yes.

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1 Mr. Dawson. And the purpose for these stockpiles would  
2 have been --

3 Mr. Bissell. In case there was a sudden need for their  
4 use, so that there would not be a logistic problem.

5 Mr. Dawson. To use for what? To kill people?

6 Mr. Bissell. I suppose so, if they were truly lethal  
7 agents.

8 Mr. Wides. You say you suspect so.

9 Do you have any recollection that you were at the time  
10 aware of such stockpiles abroad?

11 Mr. Bissell. If there were I am sure I was aware of  
12 it, and I seem to remember that in the two biggest overseas  
13 stations there were one or two or three staff members who in  
14 effect represented the Technical Services Division.  
15 I could be wrong on this, but that, for what it is worth, is  
16 my recollection of the organizational pattern.  
17 Now, to come back to your question again, however, it would  
18 indeed have been rather unusual to send such materials --  
19 a specific kit, if you like, of this sort -- out to a rela-  
20 tively small station, unless planning for their use were  
21 quite far along.

22 Mr. Wides. Is it fair to say, then, that your  
23 dichotomy between planning and your use of the term imple-  
24 mentation would mean that if -- let us take a different  
25 example -- a sniper rifle and special bullets were sent

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1 to the city where they were to be used, and there was re-  
2 connaissance, and every step necessary to actually carry out  
3 the execution, that the implementation as far as your use  
4 of the material would not start until someone actually picked  
5 up the rifle and pointed it at him?

6 Mr. Bissell. Let me try to sharpen it by reference,  
7 if my memory serves, to the Dominican Republic. It is there,  
8 if I remember, that submachine guns were sent down to the  
9 Station by CIA. The State Department never authorized the  
10 release of those to the anti-Trujillo plotters. And I  
11 believe they never were released.

12 Now, in that case, to take that example, I would say  
13 that implementation would have started at the moment that you  
14 turned those over and they passed out of our control. I  
15 would say that as long as any weapon of any kind remained  
16 securely within the Agency's control, that you were still  
17 short of what I would call --

18 Mr. Schwarz. Doesn't that turn on the nature  
19 of the order to the Agency personnel who has them?

20 Mr. Bissell. It does, right.

21 Mr. Schwarz. In the Lumumba case, was the AGENCY  
22 person who had the lethal agents authorized to use them to  
23 kill Lumumba?

24 Mr. Bissell. To that question I do not know the answer.  
25 Clearly the Station Chief had been not only authorized but

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1 encouraged, as we have developed -- as you have developed --  
2 in this testimony to seek out individuals who might have  
3 close access to Lumumba for the purpose of hostile action  
4 against him. Clearly the Station Chief was then sent, or  
5 a kit was then brought out to him and put in his possession,  
6 presumably so that if and when an individual with suitable  
7 access and other appropriate circumstances materialized and  
8 authorization was given, if it was still required, the  
9 operation could proceed.

10 Mr. Baron. Let me see if I can refresh your recollec-  
11 tion on that one point, whether authorization had been given.  
12 The Chief of Station testified that when Sidney Gottlieb  
13 gave him poison or instructions in the use of poison, he  
14 also made it very clear that these were for the purpose of  
15 assassinating Lumumba, and that he should proceed to carry  
16 out the assassination of Lumumba if it were possible, that the  
17 use of poison was not a sine qua non to the assassination,  
18 if he could find another way to do it, that would be fine,  
19 but that it was clear that he was to proceed with an assassin-  
20 ation operation if he could find a way to do it successfully.

21 Mr. Bissell. Accepting that testimony, then, the  
22 authorization was given.

23 Mr. Schwarz. But we are dealing with your testimony,  
24 Mr. Bissell. WE have his testimony, and your comments on his  
25 testimony doesn't add much to the record.

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1 Mr. Bissell. No.

2 Mr. Schwarz. Did you or anybody else, as far as you  
3 know, authorize him to do the act?

4 Do you recall any fact which bears upon that? Or is  
5 your mind ablank on that subject?

6 Mr. Bissell. I am afraid, as far as recollection is  
7 concerned, that my mind is a blank on that subject. I know  
8 the Committee doesn't find inference particularly helpful,  
9 but I would strongly infer in this case that such an author-  
10 ization did pass through me, as it were, if Sid Gottlieb  
11 gave that firm instruction to the Station Chief.

12 Mr. Baron. You say passed through you. From what  
13 source would it have passed?

14 Mr. Bissell. From the Director. As I would recon-  
15 struct the sequence of events, the Director, after the meet-  
16 ing and the cable in late August, made it clear that this was  
17 to go forward -- to me that this was to go forward if and  
18 when feasible circumstances permitted it, and it was on that  
19 basis that I would have authorized Gottlieb to deliver by  
20 word of mouth such instructions from the Station Chief.  
21 That is a highly unusual procedure, even in a sensitive  
22 matter of this sort.

23 Mr. Schwarz. What is unusual about it?

24 Mr. Bissell. That the authorization should have been  
25 by word of mouth rather than by cable. I don't mean a cable

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1 setting it forth in as many words, with you this would have  
2 been identified with a project name by this time, and it is  
3 most unusual that even with a highly sensitive project that  
4 the nature is known to very few, probably only to the Station  
5 Chief itself.

6 What I would have expected is an authorizing cable saying,  
7 implement project such and such.

8 Mr. Schwarz. But in the normal course of CIA  
9 assassination activity, if I may use that term --

10 Mr. Bissell. In the abnormal course.

11 Mr. Schwarz. -- you would have been instructed by  
12 Mr. Dulles to do something?

13 Mr. Bissell. Instructed or authorized.

14 Mr. Schwarz. And then you would have spoken to or  
15 cabled some other officer?

16 Mr. Bissell. Correct. And knowing Mr. Gottlieb,  
17 it is literally inconceivable to me that he would have acted  
18 beyond his instructions.

19 Mr. Baron. The Chief of Station, to be fair to his  
20 testimony, indicated that he was greatly surprised when he  
21 received such instructions, and he was doubtful about the  
22 practicality of pulling off such an operation, at the  
23 least he was convinced it would be difficult. But he did  
24 say -- he added that as a fairly junior Chief of Station he  
25 might have checked back before he could have mounted such an

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1 operation. But he added that he believed the assassination  
2 was expected of him, and he left Mr. Gottlieb with the im-  
3 pression that he would proceed to try to perform such a mission.

4 Mr. Wides. He also cabled.

5 Mr. Baron. Now, the next step that the Chief of  
6 Station took after Mr. Gottlieb departed from the Congo,  
7 according to his testimony, was to cable to headquarters  
8 for confirmation of such an extraordinary mission.

9 Did you receive such a cable from Leopoldville?

10 Mr. Bissell. The record would have to show that. I  
11 don't remember it.

12 Mr. Baron. The Chief of Station also testified that  
13 he shortly thereafter received confirmation back in cryptic  
14 fashion to the effect that he was to proceed with the in-  
15 structions to carry out the instructions he had been given.

16 Did you sent such confirmation to him?

17 Mr. Bissell. I assume so, if the cable went out.

18 Mr. Baron. And that confirmation would have come  
19 from yourself directly as opposed to Bronson Tweedy or anyone  
20 else in the African Division?

21 Mr. Bissell. Probably.

22 But again, if you have that cable, the initials would  
23 show who signed off on it, and so on.

24 Mr. Schwarz. These cables have not been found.

25 Mr. diGenova. The Committee is making an effort to find

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1        them, and the AGENCY has not been able to produce them yet.

2                Mr. Bissell.     If it is any help for me to say, this  
3        sounds highly likely as an account if it is established, as  
4        evidence seems to have established, that Dr. Gottlieb brought  
5        such instructions, I would expect the Station to seek con-  
6        firmation. And I would expect, given the background, that  
7        that confirmation would have been forthcoming. And I would  
8        also be almost certain that I would have signed off on such  
9        a cable, or signed such a cable, initialled it, even if it  
10       had been going to Mr. Dulles for final approval.

11               Mr. Baron. These events occurred in early September,  
12        which was prior to your conversations with Justin O'Donnell  
13        about the assassination of Lumumba?

14               Mr. Bissell.     Yes.

15               Mr. Baron.     So at that point an assassination mission  
16        had in effect been mounted in the Congo?

17               Mr. Bissell.     Right.

18               Mr. Baron. After you spoke with Justin O'Donnell,  
19        did you send a cable to Leopoldville to stand down the  
20        assassination mission?

21               Mr. Bissell. Again, I would have to go back to the  
22        record.

23               Mr. Wides.     Was it your testimony earlier that you  
24        have no recollection of discussing with Mr. Gottlieb the  
25        possible assassination of Lumumba?

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1 tion for this mission was equally as specific. And he probed  
2 Dr. Gottlieb on the source of the authorization, and said --  
3 something to the effect, who authorized this mission.

4 The answer was, it came from the top, or something to  
5 that effect.

6 And then the Chief of Station pushed on to pin it down.  
7 And the response he got from Dr. Gottlieb was, something to  
8 the effect that --

9 Mr. Schwarz. Will you read the exact answer?

10 Mr. Baron. I will read you from Mr. Hedgman's testi-  
11 mony. At page 30, quoting from the testimony of the Chief  
12 of Station in the Congo at that point, testifying under the  
13 alias of Hedgman, the Chief of Station said:

14 "In essence I must have -- and again I am guessing  
15 as to what my wording was -- must have pointed out that this  
16 was not a common or usual Agency tactic, and I may have  
17 probably said that I had never heard of it being done -- which  
18 I had not, never in my training or previous work in the  
19 Agency had I ever heard any reference to such, in my recollec-  
20 tion at least, such methods. And it is my recollection, I  
21 asked on whose authority these instructions were issued.

22 "Mr. Wides. And what did Mr. Gottlieb reply?

23 "Mr. Hedgman. It is my recollection that he identified  
24 the President -- and I cannot -- the President of the U.S. --  
25 and I cannot recall whether he said the President or whether

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1 he identified him by name".

2 Then the testimony proceeds to the bottom of page 31:

3 "Mr. Wides. Can you recall whether he said 'the Presi-  
4 dent' or 'President Eisenhower'?

5 "Mr. Hedgman. I cannot recall whether he just said --  
6 whether he said the President or whether he said President  
7 Eisenhower.

8 "Mr. Wides. But it was one of those two, is your  
9 best recollection?

10 "Mr. Hedgman. I would say almost certainly".

11 Further down the page Mr. Hedgman continues:

12 "I have tried to go back in my mind on that, and I  
13 think, I believe -- but again now this one is pretty loose in  
14 my mind -- it was something to the effect that the President  
15 had instructed the Director".

16 And then on page 33 Mr. Dawson says:

17 "You are not the least unclear whether or not you  
18 came away with a very clear impression that the President's  
19 name had been invoked in some fashion?

20 "Mr. Hedgman. Yes, I came -- certainly that is my  
21 recollection".

22 Did Mr. Gottlieb make you aware at this point that he  
23 had made such a representation to the Chief of Station?

24 Mr. Bissell. I have no such recollection.

25 Mr. Baron. Was Mr. Gottlieb authorized to make such

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1 a representation that the President of the U.S. had authorized  
2 the assassination of Lumumba?

3 Mr. Bissell. I can't answer that question. But what  
4 probably occurred was --

5 Mr. Dawson. Wait a minute. Let's not do it that way.

6 Is there any doubt that you would have undertaken --  
7 assuming that you did so instruct Mr. Gottlieb to carry this  
8 poison into the Congo -- that you would have done this with-  
9 out Mr. Dulles' authority?

10 Mr. Bissell. There was no possibility.

11 Mr. Dawson. Is there any doubt in your mind that you  
12 would have then assumed that Dulles had received the  
13 President's okay to do so?

14 Mr. Bissell. Well, I might well have believed that the  
15 Director was proceeding under the mandate of the Special  
16 Group as reported in the minutes of the meeting.

17 Mr. Schwarz. Did you tell Gottlieb anything about  
18 President Eisenhower?

19 Mr. Bissell. I probably did, but I don't remember.

20 Mr. Schwarz. Did Dulles tell you anything about  
21 President Eisenhower?

22 Mr. Bissell. He almost certainly would have told  
23 me a good deal about that meeting.

24 Mr. Schwarz. By that meeting --

25 Mr. Bissell. The Special Group meeting.

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1 I think it is probably unlikely that Allen Dulles would have  
2 said either the President or President Eisenhower even to me.  
3 I think he would have said, this is authorized in the highest  
4 quarters, and I would have known what he meant.

5 Mr. Baron. And you have communicated that to Mr.  
6 Gottlieb?

7 Mr. Bissell. I could very easily.

8 Mr. Schwarz. Is all of that line that we have just  
9 went through could and would and might, and inference, or  
10 is any of that recollection?

11 Mr. Bissell. I am afraid it has to be described as  
12 inference.

13 Mr. diGenova. But you didn't make up the minutes of  
14 the Special Group meeting on August 25 and you didn't make up  
15 the cable which Mr. Dulles signed either, did you?

16 Mr. Bissell. No.

17 Mr. diGenova. So that was actually sent out, wasn't  
18 it?

19 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

20 Mr. diGenova. And Mr. Dulles wasn't one who used  
21 highest quarters, was he?

22 Mr. Bissell. Yes -- and also the minutes of the  
23 Special Group referred to Mr. Gray's associate.

24 Mr. Wides. And your testimony a moment ago in response  
25 to Mr. Dawson's question was, even though this fell within

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1 told the members of the clandestine service to make plans  
2 and develop the capability so to do if it were approved and  
3 ordered."

4 Now, in regard to your answer that no one had told you  
5 to tell Mr. O'Donnell to take steps to move toward assassinat-  
6 ing Mr. Lumumba, I take it that reading that now in the  
7 context of other information we have, that answer was not  
8 intended to mean that -- page 54 -- you were not then testi-  
9 fying affirmatively that no one had spoken to you at a higher  
10 level about trying to assassinate Lumumba, but merely in  
11 regard to your discussion with O'Donnell, which you did recall?

12 Mr. Bissell. My recollection -- and this I will des-  
13 cribe as a recollection, it may be faulty -- is that it was  
14 my own idea to give O'Donnell this assignment. He had, I  
15 believe, recently completed some other, or there was a change  
16 of position of some kind, and he was available. And given  
17 the background which has here been established this afternoon,  
18 I believe it was my notion to give him this assignment in  
19 parallel to any other things that were still going forward.

20 It would have been unusual to have advised anybody  
21 outside the Agency of a specific assignment to an individual  
22 of that sort.

23 Mr. Wides. And the implication of the lack of authori-  
24 zation from above yourself, or discussion with anyone above  
25 yourself, was confined simply to the giving of the assignment

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1 to Mr. O'Donnell?

2 Mr. Bissell. That is correct.

3 And it is my recollection, as I have testified in  
4 part earlier this afternoon, that when O'Donnell came later  
5 and declined the assignment and expressed the view that this  
6 was not the way to solve the problem, that I shut off the  
7 O'Donnell operation completely.

8 Mr. Wides. Let me go back to that if I can. Mr.  
9 O'Donnell's testimony, which I believe we went over with you  
10 when you testified, we might ask you to see now if you have  
11 any different recollection.

12 In essence it is the following: that you called  
13 him in and asked him to go to the Congo for the purposes  
14 of trying to see if Lumumba could be assassinated, that  
15 very evening you asked him, right at that moment, and it was  
16 toward the end of the day, as he recalled it, you asked him  
17 to see Dr. Gottlieb; that he expressed reservation about  
18 assassination, but did go down to see Dr. Gottlieb. And  
19 (Dr. Gottlieb discussed with him several lethal means, and he  
20 immediately came back to your office and said, I won't  
21 do it, and raised legal questions, moral questions --

22 Mr. Dawson. I don't think he testified that he imme-  
23 diately came back.

24 Mr. Schwarz. The same day.

25 Mr. Wides. Same day -- and that he then went next

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1 door, as I say, and discussed it with Mr. Helms.

2 This is Mr. O'Donnell's testimony.

3 Mr. O'Donnell further testified that he told you he  
4 would be willing to go to the Congo to explore the possibility  
5 of neutralizing him in other ways, and that shortly thereafter  
6 in the space of a few days went to the Congo. And I believe  
7 the record suggests that he was there from October through  
8 December, and that while he was looking into the possibility  
9 of trying to get Lumumba out of the property away from effective  
10 custody of the U.N. with the thought that if the  
11 Central Congolese Government obtain control of him, they might  
12 try him for capital crimes, and this might result in his  
13 physical removal. And this was mooted by Lumumba's escape and  
14 recapture and death, and he then came back.

15 Is it still your recollection that there was a period  
16 of several weeks between the time you broached the subject  
17 of an assassination and the time that Mr. O'Donnell  
18 expressed his opposition to it?

19 Mr. Bissell. I shouldn't be firm on the several weeks.  
20 But my recollection of the course of events differs in, I  
21 think, only one -- or is inconsistent with his recollection  
22 as you reported it in only the one respect, that the impression  
23 I carried away was that at a minimum some days -- and  
24 I had thought a period of at least a week elapsed between  
25 my giving him the assignment and his coming back to decline

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1 the assignment and recommend a different approach. What  
2 you further quote from his testimony I had not remembered, but  
3 it does now seem to me that I do remember -- part of my  
4 original recollection was that when he came back to me I have  
5 several times used the phrase, this was not the way to deal  
6 with the problem of Lumumba. And that is wholly consistent  
7 with his having proposed other means of neutralizing Lumumba  
8 short of using physical violence on him directly. I do seem  
9 to recollect that.

10 And although I had not remembered it, I do now seem to  
11 recollect that he went out there and with the assignment,  
12 most of it in his recollection rather than mine, of looking  
13 at other ways of neutralizing Lumumba. But my recollection  
14 simply differs from his on the matters of the timing and how  
15 soon he came back.

16 Mr. Wides. Do you recall when you proposed to Mr.  
17 Harvey, in what I think we concluded was most probably very  
18 early 1961, that he explore executive action capability,  
19 and that two people who had been cut in in some way on earlier  
20 considerations or explorations of assassination, and two  
21 people whom therefore he might discuss this with, were Mr.

22 <sup>03</sup>  
~~Arnold Silver~~ and Sidney Gottlieb?

23 Mr. Bissell. I can't say honestly that I recollect  
24 that. But especially with respect to Gottlieb, this would  
25 have been absolutely -- I am reasonably sure that is what

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1 I would have done.

2 Mr. Wides. But you don't recall suggesting -- or if  
3 he brought it up, approving -- his discussing it with them, in  
4 part from a security angle, because Mr. Gottlieb had already  
5 been cut in, so to speak, with regard to prior considerations  
6 of assassination possibilities?

7 Mr. Bissell. Well, I am sorry to have to retreat  
8 the inference. I think I would have encouraged him to talk  
9 to them myself. And I don't think I would have particularly  
10 worried at that point about the security implications.

11 Mr. Wides. Do you recall why you would have encouraged  
12 him or suggested that he speak to Arnold Silver OS

13 Mr. Bissell. No, unless Arnold Silver had had some  
14 connection with this operation. And I don't remember what  
15 the circumstances were.

16 Mr. Baron. Do you recall an agent who went by the  
17 cryptonym of QJWINN that I believe we discussed in your  
18 earlier testimony?

19 Mr. Bissell. I dimly remember that there was such,  
20 yes.

21 Mr. Baron. Do you recall that he worked for O'Donnell  
22 in the Congo and was sent there by Arnold Silver who had  
23 recruited him in Europe? OS

24 Mr. Bissell. I didn't recollect that.

25 Mr. Wides. Does it ring a bell of any sort?

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1 Mr. Bissell. Well, there was an agent recruited in  
2 Europe who was used against the Lumumba faction in the  
3 Congo.

4 Now, the agent I have in mind, he was extremely success-  
5 ful. He made a deep penetration of not only the Lumumba  
6 sympathizers, but also of those individuals physically lo-  
7 cated in Europe who were supplying Lumumba with money, and in  
8 some cases giving him logistic support. This agent was ob-  
9 viously engaged in an extremely hazardous business, because  
10 if his cover had been blown he certainly would have been,  
11 I think, killed.

12 Now, this may be the agent in question. I do not  
13 remember that agent ever being put under O'Donnell's control.  
14 But if O'Donnell was given the assignment to find ways of  
15 neutralizing Lumumba, given that assignment to O'Donnell  
16 when he went out there, it is very possible that this  
17 agent would have been put in touch with him.

18 Mr. Schwarz. Why did you pick O'Donnell, incidentally,  
19 for the initial assignment, the part that was killing him,  
20 as opposed to other methods of neutralizing him?

21 Mr. Bissell. My recollection is that I regarded him  
22 as highly competent in the craft, I think correctly. I  
23 regarded him, I think incorrectly as the events turned out,  
24 as a very tough guy in the sense this guy Harvey had, that  
25 such reputation, and I think with hindsight deserved it.

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1 And I suspect -- I have some recollection that about that  
2 time, in the fall of 1960, O'Donnell became available from  
3 some previous assignment.

4 Mr. Wides. And you had had contact with him in regard  
5 to his being Station Chief in [redacted] during the U-2 program?

6 Mr. Bissell. Yes, I guess so. And other contacts. I  
7 had known him in the agency.

8 Mr. Baron. Let's see if this refreshes your recollec-  
9 tion on the use of QJWINN. He subsequently became the  
10 principal asset in the ZRRIFLE program under Harvey's  
11 direction?

12 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

13 Mr. Baron. And Harry apparently arranged with [redacted]  
14 [redacted] Silver, who was supervising QJWINN in Europe, to have QJWINN  
15 spot potential assets for the ZRRIFLE program in Europe.

16 Does that refresh your recollection as to QJWINN's  
17 mission in the Congo?

18 Mr. Bissell. It suggests to me that the man I had  
19 in mind was not QJWINN, but a different agent. And I don't  
20 remember, I don't remember a thing about it.

21 Mr. Baron. What was QJWINN's mission in the Congo?

22 Mr. Bissell. I can only surmise that he had some  
23 connection -- that either he had the means of "getting close  
24 to Lumumba", or that he had connections that might provide --

25 Mr. Baron. I will represent to you that there is a

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1 memo on November 2, 1960, sent by William Harvey in his  
2 capacity as Chief of Staff D to Arnold Silver with a copy  
3 going to Bronson Tweedy that describes QJWINN, and talks at  
4 great length about his mission in the Congo, without pin-  
5 pointing it. The memo talks about the fact that it is an  
6 extremely sensitive operation, and that QJWINN himself wouldn't  
7 be told the purpose of it before he is sent down there.

8 Does that refresh your recollection about his mission?

9 Mr. Bissell. I am afraid not.

10 Mr. Baron. If there were a mission in the Congo at  
11 that point for Staff D purposes, what would that mission have  
12 been?

13 Mr. Bissell. The Staff D was concerned with communications  
14 intelligence, as you know. And I would surmise that a Staff  
15 D connected mission in the Congo would have involved  
16 planting means of listening to conversation or traffic or in  
17 some other way intercepting communications. That is the  
18 competence of Staff D and its responsibility.

19 Mr. Baron. Planting by means of surreptitious entry  
20 or by other means?

21 Mr. Bissell. Yes, although Staff D wasn't concerned  
22 with bugging people's rooms or this kind of thing. It is  
23 concerned with true communications intelligence, or it was  
24 at that time.

25 Mr. Baron. If you had informed William Harvey at the

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1 point when executive action was being sent up that Arnold Stu  
2 Ver was already cut in on the discussions of an assassination  
3 capability, would you assume that that referred to Arnold  
4 Silver's supervision of QJWINN.

5 Mr. Bissell. Well, it could have. It sounds that  
6 way.

7 Mr. Baron. When you told Harvey that Gottlieb had  
8 already been cut in on the discussions of an assassination  
9 capability, fit that refer back to Gottlieb's activities in  
10 reference to the Congo?

11 Mr. Bissell. Well, it probably referred to those -- and  
12 perhaps to earlier discussions or more generalized discussions  
13 with Gottlieb in his capacity as science advisor, and there-  
14 fore someone who would be knowledgeable of weapons of various  
15 kinds.

16 Mr. Schwarz. Did you have such discussions with him?

17 Mr. Bissell. I believe so.

18 Mr. Schwarz. And that, now, is a recollection, I  
19 take it from the way you are speaking?

20 Mr. Bissell. It is closer to that than most  
21 of what I have to say.

22 Mr. schwarz. What is your recollection of the dis-  
23 cussion with Gottlieb?

24 Mr. Bissell. Over a considerable period of months  
25 when he was in that capacity --

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1 had great respect for his judgment. And especially given  
2 this Congo involvement, I certainly would have discussed with  
3 him, probably on a number of occasions, the availability of  
4 means of incapacitation, including assassination.

5 Mr. Schwarz. And those discussions are prior to your  
6 Harvey assignment?

7 Mr. Bissell. Yes, I believe so -- yes, they would  
8 have.

9 Mr. Schwarz. Would have been or were?

10 Mr. Bissell. Well, Harvey's assignment wasn't until  
11 January of 1961, so they obviously were.

12 Mr. Wides. Mr. Bissell, with regard to the earlier  
13 discussion with your sense of authorization, you said that  
14 you do recall the discussions with O'Donnell, and that although  
15 you can't remember specific discussions with Tweedy, in  
16 general you recall that you were looking into the possibility  
17 of exploring and planning the possible assassination of  
18 Lumumba?

19 Mr. Bissell. Right.

20 Mr. Wides. In the light of the documents from the  
21 group and Mr. Dulles' cable that have been read, do you have  
22 any recollection now wheher you thought at your level you  
23 had sufficient authority that even though you had not done  
24 so you could direct people below you to carry from the  
25 planning stage into the implementation stage an assassination

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1 of Lumumba at that time?

2 Mr. Bissell. I probably so believed. I think, how-  
3 ever, given the context, it is very unlikely that I would  
4 have taken such a step without clearing it with Allen Dulles.

5 Mr. Wides. You say you probably so believe. Is  
6 that based at all on a recollection, or simply inference?

7 Mr. Bissell. It is the way my mind worked then, and  
8 probably still does. You are asking me a question about whe-  
9 ther I believed I had authority?

10 Mr. Wides. Yes.

11 Mr. Bissell. A good many years ago, and I am saying  
12 that given the evidence here and the background as it has  
13 been developed here this afternoon, it is my recollection that  
14 given the way my mind works, I probably did think I had  
15 authority.

16 But it is also very unlikely.

17 Mr. Schwarz. There are two parts of your answer which  
18 were at war with each other. On the one hand you say, based  
19 upon having seen some Special Group minutes and a cable,  
20 both of which say in effect that killing should not be ruled  
21 out as a matter of consideration --

22 Mr. Bissell. Right.

23 Mr. Schwarz. On the one hand you say that based upon  
24 those two items, you probably believe you had authority to  
25 order action?

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1 Mr. Bissell. Right.

2 Mr. Schwarz. Move from contemplation to action or  
3 consideration of action?

4 Mr. Bissell. Right.

5 Mr. Schwarz. On the other hand you say, well, yes,  
6 although I probably believed that, on the other hand I  
7 probably spoke to Mr. Dulles about it, or would have spoken  
8 to Mr. Dulles about it.

9 Mr. Bissell. You will recognize that here again I am  
10 talking about the pattern of my relationship with him and the  
11 way the Agency worked.

12 Now, here was a matter in which the authorization, such  
13 as it was, had come down clearly from the Special Group to  
14 Mr. Dulles personally.

15 Mr. Schwarz. Now, we are talking about the exhibits  
16 which show an authorization -- assuming you read the words  
17 as meaning killing --

18 Mr. Bissell. Not excluding, yes.

19 Mr. Schwarz. -- an authorization to consider that.

20 Mr. Bissell. Right.

21 Mr. Schwarz. And that had come down?

22 Mr. Bissell. It had come down to me via Allen  
23 Dulles, and in terms that Allen was in effect being strongly  
24 encouraged to pursue the course of action outlined in the  
25 exhibit. I think under these circumstances that I would have

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1 gone back to him with, for instance, any cable of authoriza-  
2 tion or other instruction before sending it out even if I  
3 did believe him.

4 But let us say in his absence from Washington I had the  
5 authority to send.

6 Mr. Dawson. You say unlike the case of the White House  
7 where you would not take details back, in the case of Mr.  
8 Dulles you would discuss the details of a specific operation?

9 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

10 Mr. Schwarz. But it is not really a matter of details,  
11 Mr. Bissell. That is an important distinction. We have  
12 been talking about a chain that starts with two memos, or three  
13 memos. We have talked about contemplation or consideration,  
14 don't rule out killing, it doesn't use the word killing, but  
15 it could be read to mean killing, don't rule out killing from  
16 the items to be considered.

17 Now, moving from doing it is not a detail, is it?

18 Mr. Bissell. No, I wouldn't call it a detail by any  
19 manner of means, but I would read that language as authorizing  
20 any decision by the Director or the Director's authority.

21 Mr. Schwarz. You would read the language of the two  
22 exhibits, one of which comes from the Administration  
23 and one of which is the Director cable --

24 Mr. Bissell. Right.

25 Mr. Schwarz. You would read the language of the Special

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Mr. Bissell. It is my belief on the basis of the cable

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Mr. Baron. For the sake of the record, let's introduce as an exhibit the memo that I referred to earlier as November 1960. And I will ask you one question about it. This is a memo going from the Chief of KUTUBE/D. And that

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1 is the Foreign Intelligence Division, which would have been  
2 William Harvey at that time.

3 Mr. Bissell. I believe so.

4 (The document referred to was  
5 marked Bissell Exhibit No. 3  
6 for identification.)  
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1 Mr. Baron. This is a cable that we reviewed, Mr.  
2 Bissell, before we began your testimony today. And I will  
3 turn your attention to the paragraph that says:

4 "It is still difficult to determine whether Mobutu  
5 had sufficient control army to enforce decisions announced  
6 night 14 September. Station advised" --

7 And then there is a sanitized paragraph --

8 "Station advised two moderate Congolese politicians  
9 'try work with key Congolese contact' in effort eliminate  
10 Lumumba. Fear UN protection will give Lumumba opportunity  
11 organization counterattack. Only solution is remove him  
12 from scene soonest".

13 Now, the night of September 14 was the night of a coup  
14 in the Congo where Mobutu took power, is that correct?

15 Mr. Bissell. Correct.

16 Mr. Baron. And does this cable refresh your recollec-  
17 tion as to the attitude at the Agency toward Lumumba even  
18 after he was in U.N. custody?

19 Mr. Bissell. Yes. It seems to say rather clearly  
20 that it was still desirable to eliminate him.

21 Mr. Baron. Was it still your recollection, then, that  
22 there was a continued sense of urgency about eliminating  
23 Lumumba after he was in U.N. custody?

24 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

25 Mr. Baron. And this would account in part for the fact

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1 that there was no clear order to stand down the assassination  
2 mission after Lumumba was in U.N. custody?

3 Mr. Bissell. That is correct.

4 Mr. Baron. There is a set of NSC minutes from September  
5 21, 1960, that I would like to introduce as Exhibit 5.

6 (The document referred to was  
7 marked Bissell Exhibit No. 5  
8 for identification.)

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1 Mr. Baron. You are not listed as a participant at the  
2 meeting, although Mr. Dulles is present, and the following  
3 paragraph relates a remark of Mr. Dulles:

4 "Nobutu appeared to be the effective power in the  
5 Congo for the moment, but Lumumba was not yet disposed of  
6 and remained a grave danger as long as he was not disposed of".

7 Does that accord with your understanding of the policy  
8 of the National Security Council toward Lumumba even after  
9 he was in U.N. custody?

10 Mr. Bissell. It does.

11 Mr. Baron. And the language "disposed of" would contem-  
12 plate assassination at least as one means of disposing of  
13 him?

14 Mr. Bissell. As one means, as one possible means, if  
15 necessary.

16 Mr. Baron. I have one further exhibit which we  
17 will mark Exhibit 6, that is, a cable dated December 17, 1960  
18 sent to the Director from Leopoldville.

19 (The document referred to was  
20 marked Bissell Exhibit No. 6  
21 for identification.)  
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1 Mr. diGenova. Mr. Bissell, I want to switch, unfortunately,  
2 from the Continent of Africa and go to Cuba. This is the same  
3 time period, however, it is July of 1960.

4 I had a conversation with you on August 6 over the  
5 telephone. You may recall the conversation. I have in front  
6 of me a cable which we will mark as Exhibit No. 7.

7 (The document referred to was  
8 marked Bissell Exhibit No. 7  
9 for identification.)

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1 Mr. Baron. And this is a cable sent from headquarters  
2 to the Havana Station dated July 21, 1960. The first  
3 sentence of the cable reads:

4 "Possible removal top three leaders is receiving  
5 serious consideration at headquarters".

6 The cable is signed by E. H. Hinkle by direction Tracy  
7 Barnes for DDP, and about E.H. Hinkle by direction J.C. King,  
8 Chief, Western Hemisphere Division as authenticating officer.  
9 Releasing officer was Tracy Barnes.

10 Do you have any independent recollection of that cable  
11 and what surrounded its issuance at headquarters?

12 Mr. Bissell. I don't remember it until you mentioned it  
13 to me in the telephone conversation to which you have alluded.

14 Mr. diGenova. Having had some time to think about it  
15 since we spoke on August 6, does it ring any bell at this  
16 juncture?

17 Mr. Bissell. It does not, I am afraid.

18 Mr. diGenova. It is apparent that this cable was  
19 sent out at a time when you were having conversations in the  
20 summer or the fall of 1960 with Mr. Tweedy and Mr. O'Donnell  
21 concerning Mr. Lumumba, is that correct?

22 Mr. Bissell. Correct.

23 Mr. diGenova. Did Mr. Dulles at any time during this  
24 period or prior to it or subsequent to it ever issue a directive  
25 assigning assassination as an agency action?

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1 Mr. Bissell. Not to my knowledge.

2 Mr. diGenova. Do you have any knowledge as to whether  
3 or not Mr. Dulles knew about the issuance of this cable which  
4 stated that the possible removal of the top three leaders in  
5 Cuba was receiving serious consideration at headquarters?

6 Mr. Bissell. I don't have knowledge of that, no.

7 You yourself quoted internal evidence from the cable and  
8 the one that was sent, a followup the following day, suggesting  
9 that he may have ordered it countermanded.

10 Mr. diGenova. The duty officer at that particular time,  
11 that evening, indicated that he had sent this cable, and that  
12 he had been instructed, as he recalled it by Mr. Barnes, to  
13 send this cable, and that the wording came from Mr. Barnes.

14 Now, the duty officer also said that the next day when  
15 he came in there was a cable, which we have, and we  
16 will mark that as Exhibit No. 8, which in toto said:

17 "Do not pursue reference, would like to drop matter."

18 And that was signed singly by Tracy Barnes.

19 (The document referred to was  
20 marked Bissell Exhibit No. 8  
21 for identification.)  
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1 Mr. diGenova. Now, the duty officer who had issued the  
2 first cable about serious consideration, he had no personal  
3 knowledge, but he had heard that Mr. Dulles had countermanded  
4 the original cable, talking about the possible removal,  
5 and authorizing the approach to the asset, the Cuban pilot,  
6 who actually attempted the crash of the plane which would  
7 carry Raol Castro from Prague to Havana.

8 Do you have any personal knowledge as to why Mr. Dulles  
9 would have countermanded, assuming that he did?

10 Mr. Bissell. I don't have any recollection. I could  
11 surmise lots of things.

12 Mr. diGenova. What I want to ask you is this: do  
13 you have an independent recollection that any assassination  
14 efforts against the Cuban leaders which were being considered  
15 contemplated simultaneous action against all three, other-  
16 wise it would be useless action?

17 Mr. Bissell. The only evidence I know of, hard evidence,  
18 is the Special Group minute to which I referred earlier,  
19 which was an exhibit in earlier testimony.

20 Mr. diGenova. You are referring to the Merchant cable  
21 exchange of November 3, 1960?

22 Mr. Bissell. That is correct.

23 Mr. diGenova. Now, Mr. Hinkle, the duty officer,  
24 has no personal knowledge about the rescission of that cable.

25 Does it seem to you upon reflection, knowing what you

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1 know -- for example, Mr. Dulles cable to the Congo personally  
2 authorizing, apparently, the assassination of Mr. Lumumba,  
3 and \$100,000 to do it -- is it inconsistent to your way of  
4 thinking that he would have authorized that assassination and  
5 would have rescinded this cable that would have apparently  
6 authorized the assassination of Raol<sup>u</sup> Castro.

7 Mr. Bissell. Not inconsistent at all. I think it may  
8 well have embodied a judgment on Mr. Dulles part that this  
9 effort concerning Raol<sup>u</sup> Castro was altogether too risky, and  
10 technically not sufficiently likely of success.

11 Mr. diGenova. During our initial telephone conversa-  
12 tion on August 6 you speculated, and you clearly identified it  
13 as mere speculation, that one of the reasons that Mr. Dulles,  
14 assuming he did, ordered that initial cable countermanded was,  
15 first, too many innocent persons on the plane would have  
16 been killed, and second, that it was so risky because there  
17 had been just an initial approach of the asset and it wasn't  
18 known whether or not he was a double agent, and thirdly, it  
19 appeared that the contemplation of all three, the assassina-  
20 tion of all three was being considered, and, therefore, since  
21 only Raol would be on this plane that it would have resulted  
22 in the dilemma that they sought to avoid, that is, if  
23 he had been killed there would have been two left over, and  
24 there may have been a reason that he ordered the countermand.

25 Would you take by that as a form of speculation at this

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1 point as one of the reasons that he would have countermanded  
2 that cable?

3 Mr. Bissell. I would.

4 Mr. Schwarz. Could I follow up on the Congo, Exhibit  
5 2, the Dulles cable to Leopoldville.

6 Now, we apparently read to you when I was out of the  
7 room the first paragraph at least, which talks about the clear-  
8 cut conclusion:

9 "If he continues to hold high office the inevitable  
10 result would be chaos and at worst pave the way for Communist  
11 takeover. Consequently, we conclude that his removal must  
12 be an urgent and prime objective, and under existing conditions  
13 this must be a high priority of your covert action".

14 And you have read that language as meaning killing, right?

15 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

16 Mr. Schwarz. I want to ask you if you continue to  
17 read it as killing in the light of the third paragraph of  
18 the cable which reads as follows:

19 "To the extent that Ambassador may desire to be con-  
20 sulted you should seek his concurrence. If in any particular  
21 case he does not wish to be consulted you can act on your  
22 own authority where time does not permit reference here.

23 "Paragraph 4, this message has been seen and approved  
24 at competent level of the Department of State".

25 Do you still believe in the light of the authorization

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1 to discuss the matter with the Ambassador that assassination  
2 was involved?

3 Mr. Bissell. Yes, especially since there is evidence  
4 here that it was discussed with and approved at State, and  
5 in the light of the background in this Special Group.

6 Mr. Schwarz. You don't think this is referring to  
7 a coup?

8 Mr. Bissell. I don't think so. But I can't be  
9 perfectly certain. But I think it refers to more than that.  
10 I think actually it is saying, his removal by some means or  
11 other is the very high priority objective. I would infer  
12 from this that what we know was discussed at least in the  
13 Special Group, and that is that removal might be by the means  
14 of assassination, although obviously others would be preferred.

15 Could I add one word in answer to that question. I am  
16 almost certain I am correct, that the then Ambassador to  
17 the Congo was Edward Gullion.

18 Mr. Baron. I believe it was Timberlake.

19 Mr. Bissell. I think Gullion had arrived by this  
20 time. But certainly in Gullion's regime there was extremely  
21 close collaboration between the Ambassador and the Chief of  
22 Station. And the Ambassador was an individual who would have  
23 been quite prepared to contemplate this kind of action.

24 Mr. Wides. Mr. Bissell, just to make sure the record  
25 is complete in terms of your efforts to analyze that, if I

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1 represented to you that at the time there was traffic between  
2 the station and headquarters in the normal African Division  
3 channels regarding U.S. efforts to influence President  
4 Kasavubu and others to dismiss Lumumba from political power as  
5 premier, and also traffic relating to a takeover of the real  
6 power by certain military figures such as Mr. Mobutu, would  
7 your reading of that cable still be that it suggests authori-  
8 zation of assassination as opposed to possibly discussing  
9 only authorization of removal of him from political power?

10 Mr. Bissell. I think it authorizes removal. And I  
11 think that probably Mr. Dulles would have said, if you  
12 can possibly really remove him through political power, that  
13 is obviously the preferred course of action.

14 But I think this authorizes the whole tone of it very  
15 strong measures indeed.

16 I say in support of that, there had been a record  
17 established that even after Lumumba had been removed from  
18 political power and had taken refuge in the U.N. he was  
19 still widely regarded as a menace.

20 Mr. Dawson. I would like to follow very briefly on  
21 this. I would like to ask you about this agent that you did  
22 have a firm recollection of being President of the Congo. He  
23 was described as being a well-placed or a very good agent,  
24 was he not?

25 Mr. Bissell. I think he was a very good agent, and

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1 also he made an effective penetration of Lumumba's supporters  
2 both in the Congo, and as it were, in the line of funding  
3 and supply in Europe.

4 Mr. Dawson. So, he was in place, so to speak?

5 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

6 In other words, he was a dual agent.

7 Mr. Dawson. Did he have access directly to Lumumba?

8 Mr. Bissell. I think he did, yes.

9 Mr. Dawson. Do you remember having been told that he  
10 sometime in November or December went to Stanleyville?

11 Mr. Bissell. I don't remember the specific case, but  
12 it fits the pattern very well. What I do remember is one  
13 operation. But he knew of, he was close enough to -- he  
14 was used as a courier from Lumumba, I think, first in the  
15 capitol, and then later from Stanleyville to Europe. And  
16 on one occasion, because he had penetrated so effectively, he  
17 was aware that a large amount of cash was being taken by two  
18 other couriers down to the Congo, and as a result of his  
19 awareness of that, and all the details of that trip, that  
20 shipment was intercepted.

21 Mr. Dawson. The Chief of Station testified about  
22 having an agent that had access.

23 Would this have been the agent that he believed he  
24 would have access to?

25 Mr. Bissell. I believe he would have, yes.

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Mr. Dawson. Thank you.

Mr. Wides. Mr. Bissell, touching briefly on Indonesia when you testified to the Rockefeller Commission, and this was reviewed very summarily when he testified before us, that you recalled some possibility -- some planning of a possibility of assassinating Sukarno, progressing as far as the identification of an asset who might be recruited for this purpose, but the plan was never reached and never perfected to a point where it was decided to go ahead.

Do you recall anything, or do you have any information that would be relevant to our information that a Moslem asset from the Middle East was recruited who was considered for an operation in Indonesia against Sukarno with the crypt <sup>02</sup> operation, and an operation that in regard at least to the assassination aspects had been started by Kim Roosevelt because of his ties with the Mid-East?

Does that ring a bell at all?

Mr. Bissell. No, sir. That one I don't remember at all.

I remember enough of the plan that I referred to know that what you speak of was a different activity.

Mr. Wides. And the one you referred to involved indigenous Indonesians?

Mr. Bissell. I think it involved -- I don't know what nationality the asset, but I think it involved a member of an air crew on a commercial airline, -- not on a

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1 commercial, I will take that back, on a flight that might  
2 be chartered, for Sukarno.

3 Mr. Wides. Either when you became DDP or before,  
4 whether or not you were personally involved, did you ever hear  
5 anything regarding any efforts by the CIA to assassinate Nasser  
6 and to send teams, assassination teams into Egypt for that  
7 purpose?

8 Mr. Bissell. No, I never did. I could almost go so far  
9 as to say that that was one that was never even thought of.

10 Mr. Schwarz. We forgot to ask you a question which we  
11 ask almost all the other high people who come down here to  
12 testify.

13 Looking back on things, now, -- and I hate to use the  
14 word get rid of, but let me --do you think the U.S. should get  
15 rid of assassination as a tool?

16 Mr. Bissell. I think in today's atmosphere the answer  
17 is yes.

18 Mr. Wides. Why do you think that?

19 Mr. Bissell. I think that to use means for the  
20 advancement of policy of such a sort that in the pre-  
21 vailing climate these days would be almost certainly dis-  
22 approved of by a large majority of the legislative arm, and  
23 the public at large, and everybody else, is unwise unless  
24 you can have absolute confidence of total security. And by  
25 security I mean that outside of the two or three people who

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1 undertake the effort, nobody else will ever know about it.

2 Now, that circumstance doesn't obtain today, it never  
3 has, but it certainly doesn't today. And I think the climate  
4 is as I have described. And I, therefore, would eliminate this  
5 method.

6 Mr. diGenova. I just have one question. I apologize for  
7 jumping around, but part of this is to get you out of here.

8 When the phrase "receiving serious consideration" in  
9 headquarters was used in that cable that we alluded to in  
10 regard to the attempt to kill Raol Castro, what does that mean  
11 to you when Tracy Barnes authorized that sort of language  
12 to be used in a cable?

13 Mr. Bissell. It means that he had fought and talked  
14 about this, and almost certainly that I have. And it  
15 may refer to considerations with Allen Dulles. I can't  
16 tell how wide ranging they would be. They would probably  
17 have involved J.C. King, the head of that division.

18 Mr. Schwarz. Did Barnes work for you?

19 Mr. Bissell. Yes, he did.

20 Mr. Schwarz. He is now dead, isn't he?

21 Mr. Bissell. Yes.

22 Mr. diGenova. But that was not light language when  
23 it was sent to a station?

24 Mr. Bissell. No.

25 It was sent to encourage careful planning.

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Mr. Schwarz. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 4:25 p.m., the hearing was concluded.)

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