

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPTION OF TAPE RECORDED INTERVIEW

PARTICIPANTS: ADMIRAL ROBERT O. WELANDER, JOHN D.
EHRlichman AND DAVID R. YOUNG

TIME/DATE: 1:00 - 2:12 P. M., December 22, 1971

PLACE: John D. Ehrlichman's office, White House, West Wing

E: I don't know if you realize, but since I came here I've been sort of the house detective.

W: Yes.

E: I started out as counsel and have sort of head this responsibility, and when Al Haig called me about this first Anderson story, I got into it. Of course David has been doing all the work, but I have been following it for the President while he was gone.

I really need an opportunity to visit with you about this and to get a feel for this man Radford. I just don't have the familiarity that David does with the procedure and I need to get a little feel for that, because we sort of are coming to a decision point on what to do about this.

So if you don't mind I'm going to tape this just so that I -

W: No hesitation.

E: It's alright with you.

First of all, I need to understand a little bit about the Joint Chiefs of Staff liaison operation and how that works. Now, you're regular Navy.

W: That's correct.

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E: And you're technically assigned to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I gather.

W: Technically.

E: By the Bureau of Personnel of the Navy.

W: Right.

E: Okay. And your role there is as a kind of a bridge or a liaison?

W: This position's been occupied for something like ten years. Now with the change of Administration, the character of the job has changed somewhat. Bob Ginsberg who had been here during the end of the Johnson Administration, 'of course, did much the same thing with Walt Rostow that Al does now for Henry.

E: I see.

W: But there's been a succession of people and Bob Ginsberg was the first flag or general officer that had the job. At that time actually there were two officers. There was a Lt. Colonel assigned with him - young Lemnitzer. With the change of Administration, when Al came on and everything else, Ginsberg was relieved by my predecessor, Rembrant Robinson, but after a short time Lemnitzer left and it was down to a one-man job. So I'd say, with this Administration that job has changed rather significantly.

E: I see.

W: Instead of being of a primary military advisor or assistant, specifically to the Assistant for National Security Affairs. Now it has taken on more of a liaison function.

E: I see.

W: I am regarded as a Senior National Security Council Staff member. I think Robbie established that function quite well. Technically I'm a member of the Chairman's Staff group. I have the title of Assistant for National Security Affairs to the Chairman of the JCS.

E: You have two hats.

W: I have two hats and two offices.

E: I see. And Robinson was a Navy Captain also.

W: But he was selected for Admiral in the job.

E: So he's an Admiral now.

W: Yes.

E: I see, I see, because I had always called him Captain.

W: He had been 27 months in the job, and during most of that time he was a flag officer.

Y: And Lemnitzer was with him most of the time?

W: No. I think about the first six months. I don't recall. If it is very significant I could get those.

E: Basically, what do you do?

W: I'm a two-way avenue of communications; I try and explain things to the staff, I mean some of the formal military positions, things of that sort. I'm an in-house military expert; if they need some things done quickly, I can go ahead and punch into the organization over there much more quickly and hopefully effectively, than if we go down through the formal mechanism.

E: Henry to the Secretary and all down through the -

W: Things of that sort.

E: I see.

W: I think you ought to talk to Al Haig really about some of the other things I do specifically for Henry, but many times there are things which he wants to come to the attention of the Chairman and things of that sort. I am an avenue for him to make his thoughts known and everything else directly to the Chairman, and vice versa. I do substantive work, often times I do get action on some of the

W: (continued) formal NSC papers when they have problems and things of that sort. I have been assigned to several of those, and there I act strictly as an NSC member.

E: Now, at your office over here.

W: That's correct. The EOB.

E: Of what does your office consist?

W: Of myself and one clerical type. Robinson initially had a girl, and then that didn't seem to work out too well, because there were problems of her getting home late at night - problems of that sort.

E: Was she a civilian?

W: She had been a civilian. GS 7 or 8, something of that sort. So shortly after, no it wasn't shortly, it was last November I guess, she had not worked out well so we decided to go to a Navy enlisted man - Radford was the first that had been assigned.

Y: A year ago last November.

W: Yeah.

E: That would be about thirteen months.

W: Thirteen months, something of that sort.

E: Were you in the Joint Chiefs operation at that time?

W: I had been, yes. The first of January, 1971, I went on down and I had one of the divisions in the Plans and Policy Directorate. And I worked closely with Admiral Moorer over a number of years and then with Admiral Zumwalt while I was on the Navy staff. And then when Robinson was anxious to leave - he wanted to go to sea - it was a question as to who was to take his place and everything else. The various nominations were made back and forth and both Admiral Moorer and Admiral Zumwalt settled on nominating me and my

W: (continued) nomination was made to Henry and he approved it. And the 1st of May I moved in with Robinson, we had about a month turnover period.

E: That was about the Cambodia time, wasn't it?

W: Right after it -
No, this was this past May.

Y: When we had Laos.

E: Oh, that's a year ago.

W: When we had Lamson 719.

E: Well now, you then didn't select Radford. He was selected by your predecessor.

W: That's correct.

E: And is that a process of interview and selection, or does the Bureau of Personnel just assign somebody to you?

W: No, the Bureau of Personnel screens and for any of those clerical positions, either as an Admiral's writer or specifically in the Chairman's office or in Zumwalt's office, anything of that sort, they're extremely selective. There is a record check, and often times they call people with whom the individual has worked. Then a number of people are nominated for the job, and they are interviewed and looked at and some judgment made as to who the best candidate might be. I don't know specifically what went into that.

E: Yeah, you weren't engaged in that process with regard to Radford. He was in place when you got there and was introduced to you I suppose, by Robinson, as a good man and so on. Then, tell me a little about him as you observed him. What sort of a person is he?

W: An unusual young man. Until last week - I mean, I think I told Dave and everybody that I just thought he was one of the finest young fellows that I'd been associated with. I mean, he was extremely conscientious, he would work any length of time, he'd do anything and was always right on the job and seemed to be completely selfless in the whole thing.

W: (continued)

We didn't have too much of a personal relationship. We have not seen him outside of office hours, but we drive back and forth when we have any free time together, and we chat about things. He impressed me as a very bright young guy, he had a wide range of interests and everything else. He spoke well, he seemed to be current with what was going on with things. He had a great facility for meeting people and he used to tell me about some house guest he was having, which kind of surprised me, a young guy, you know as having people who had been in the embassy or New Dehli stop by as house guests. You know, people of considerable consequence.

I've never met his wife but I talked to her on the telephone a number of times.

E: How would you happen to talk to her?

W: Oh, when she called the office or something of that sort. She did quite frequently.

Y: She called quite a bit, John.

E: Would it just be a perfunctory chat - how are you?

W: Yeah, something of that sort, or - How are things going? -

E: Dave's indicated that this fellow actually had some home problems. Were you aware of that?

W: It came to my attention about a month or so ago, about the time when he had his formal request for a transfer of duty. And when I got that we sat down and had a long talk. I said well alright, just let me wait for about a week or so before I take any formal action on this. You think about this thing a little bit, and if you still wish to formally request it I would do so. At that time my initial feeling was that I just couldn't spare him at this time until I'd been in the job a little bit longer and I felt that I would recommend that his request not be approved.

E: What did he want to do?

W: Well, to be assigned to some other duty that had less demanding hours.

E: I see.

W: He indicated that he was having problems at home with his family. He'd get up in the morning and leave before he had a chance to see his children. He'd be getting home at night -

E: Oh, he has kids, I didn't realize that.

W: Yes, yes.

Y: They were born in India too.

W: His wife doesn't drive and they just moved to a military housing here at Bolling Field, so when they want to take the children to the family dentist over in Arlington, that was a major problem, and with his schedule he couldn't get time off to drive her over there. When she had to go to the commissary or things of that sort, I mean, he wasn't there to help. So, on Saturdays he was hard put to take care of all his chores. And there had been a great deal of discussion.

Apparently his wife has indicated that she was going to take the children and go home to her family on the West Coast or something. So we tried to liberalize the schedule a little bit. I'd previously had another man cleared for duty here on the staff at the White House on the basis that we needed somebody in case Radford were sick, or we gave him leave or something of that sort, that was generally familiar with the operation here and who could come over and pinch-hit rather than I bring somebody over who hadn't been cleared or exposed to the thing.

E: Now you've gone through this procedure in getting that man, as you described.

W: Yes, some months ago.

E: Who's he?

W: Chief Sessoms, he's a Chief Yeoman.

E: Sessoms?

W: S-E-S-S-O-M-S, Sessoms.

Well, what we tried to do was liberalize his schedule so Radford could have a morning off when his wife has domestic things -

E: Did that satisfy him then?

W: It seemed to, and when I took formal action on it and forwarded it with my comments and recommended that it not be approved at this time, but perhaps six months in the future, he seemed to be fairly relieved and he said okay - well, really you know, now I've kept faith with my wife. She's been after me to get a change. At least now I can tell her that I have tried and show her the copy and that you recommended disapproval, and I think this will put a cap on it.

E: But he was not nursing a grievance.

W: Outwardly no. He felt that - okay, this would relieve some of the pressure.

E: In retrospect, do you think he was? Would that account for any of his conduct?

W: After I had formally recommended disapproval on his request, it went up through the chain over to BUPERS and nowadays, I mean all these things are looked at in the Bureau, rather than being settled locally, and the formal BUPERS action came out what, the Thursday or the Friday before this whole thing triggered off.

Looking at the time sequence when he knew that, you know, the final recourse of the Bureau where they had supported my position and regretfully that they couldn't transfer him at this time, there were no jobs available, etc. That may have had some impact on him.

E: Although, when you recommended against it and told him so, he must have known that the die was cast at that point.

W: Yes, there was only one in a million chance that that would be overturned.

Y: Just let me add one thing on the same subject - one of the other fellows that works in the office was asked about his wife and the transfer, and I said do you think he was that disappointed and he said the exact same thing. He was relieved, mainly, and said that at least now he could go home and tell his wife he had tried.

One other thing that goes into this, John, is the fact that even though he did get the time off, he would go to work someplace else.

W: Well this is something that disturbed me. Over Thanksgiving, he had asked for four days of leave, and I said fine, things will be fairly quiet and everything else. And he was supposed to be going up to Philadelphia to spend the time with some old friends of theirs - some old marine who was now out. So I said this was fine and I approved it and everything else, and again Chief Sessoms was supposed to pick up his part of the job Friday if anything was going on that we had to come on over here.

But Friday morning when I came into the office I was surprised to see Chuck there. I said, "Chuck, what the hell are you doing?" He said, "Oh well, I decided not to take the leave. The people came down from Philadelphia and are staying with us." About three days later Chief Sessoms came in and said, "Admiral, I feel I ought to tell you. You know, after you approved Chuck's leave chit and all I found out that Chuck has a part-time job and he has planned to work all that weekend. I guess Thursday, Friday and Saturday, and get overtime." And apparently the Chief had braced him with this because he as his Chief Petty Officer also has to approve such requests. And as a consequence Chuck had decided to withdraw his request.

I was a little bit provoked because, you know, I'd already made these other arrangements to go ahead and try and liberalize his time and give him time off and meet every, you know, request

W: (continued) for time off that he had because I was aware of his family situation. That disappointed me a little bit. It didn't sit very well. We don't like to be taken on something of that sort.

E: Well now, aside from those two men, then, you as the liaison officer have no other staff.

W: That is correct. I do not.

E: Or do you have staff over at the Pentagon?

W: No, Radford and I have been kind of a portable team. We both get over there in the morning, I go through my Pentagon things and everything else and the two of us jump in the car and come over here and open up the office. At the end of the day we go back over to the Pentagon -

E: You're the taxi squad..... Laughter.

W: Yes, indeed.

Y: I know Robinson wanted to get back to the sea, but is this job generally considered a good assignment in the Navy?

W: Yes it is. It is very much in demand. It is supposed to be the finest job for a flag officer.

E: Career enhancing.

W: Yes, indeed.

E: And you're Academy, are you?

W: That's correct, yes.

Y: Are you a submariner, surface or what?

W: I'm a destroyer officer.

E: Well, let me get back to Radford. Now your job is to keep both ends of your conduit informed of what is going on at the other end. And his job, I take it, is to develop in writing anything which you feel has to be transmitted.....

W: When I dictate or hand draft or anything else, he is the guy that writes for me, he maintains my files, I have a set of files over here in the Executive Office Building with things I most frequently am asked about over here, so I can go back and research and do a quick paper or something like that to satisfy the immediate need. I have a set of files over on the other side which again more or less relates to ongoing JCS actions so if I again have to do a little paper like - where do we stand on so and so - I've got most of the references.

E: He keeps that file.

W: He keeps both sets of them.

E: Okay, now you don't have an administrative assistant or anything of that kind. Does he perform any of those kinds of functions? Do you put him in a car and send him over there to.....

W: Frequently yes, to pick up stuff or chase things around. He kind of acts like a junior aide - He also takes care of a few personal things and what have you.

E: Okay, now in your role, I think it, you report to what, four men, five men, or do you report to the Chairman? Just to Admiral Moorer?

W: There's nobody between me and Admiral Moorer. I mean it's a direct personal liaison.

E: I see. And so your job is to keep him informed and then if he wants to share that with the rest of the Joint Chiefs that's up to him.

W: That's his decision.

E: Uh-huh, I see.

W: To the point where this has caused, I must say, a good bit of anguish. Because obviously alot of the information I have is very sensitive and given to me many times as a personal privilege of the Chairman. And when he is out of town, people who are generally aware of my function, you know the Acting Chairman, feels he should have this information, and I've had some knock-down and drag-out fights.

E: It's a hard and fast rule where that's concerned. Nobody has access to your material except the Admiral.

Y: But as an Acting Chairman you don't, unless it's so pertinent and relevant that he has to have it....

W:that he has to have it. And then I very carefully paraphrase it or just give him exactly what he needs to have to act as Chairman.

Y: During the week actually that the meeting that was reported by Anderson, there was a sort of musical chairs. There were about three or four days in a row that there was somebody else there.

W: That's right - Westmoreland, Ryan and I think on one occasion Bud Zumwalt.

Y: Does it go one day each? 24 hours per -

W: No, it depends upon their mutual schedules. All these people are fairly heavily committed well in advance to things they can't get out of. So then there is an intricate little schedule worked out from a certain hour of a certain day. The senior man has it and as soon as he flies off on some commitment then whoever else is around picks it up. It works on a seniority basis.

Y: It does go on seniority.

W: Yes. The Senior Chief.

E: Now, is there a comparable arrangement at this end of your conduit? That you report to one man, or a set of people, or. . .?

W: I report to Al Haig and Henry.

E: And nobody else?

W: Nobody else.

E: Okay.

W: I mean, the things that I do are outside of the correspondence system unless it's a formal NSC Staff action given to me. 9/10ths of the things that I do I give to Al, and then it's a matter of his judgment whether or not it goes to Henry. On some occasions where I know there's other interest, Dick Kennedy gets copies of things, John Holdridge, or other principal staff officers, and we know over the course of time that the things that I'm giving them come from the essentially privileged sources. That is, things that have been held very very closely within the military; private communications to the Chairman - things of that sort.

Everybody knows the basis on which I give them these things, its essential background that they have to know, so that they can fill out their part of the picture over here.

E: Well then, as your alter ego this Yeoman was at a very critical crossroad, so to speak, in the transmission of information in the national security apparatus.

W: I have access to everything the Chairman sees.

E: And he has access to virtually everything there is, I take it.

W: And I don't specialize in one area. I cover the whole waterfront so I have an unusual accumulation of things.

E: You see CIA memoranda and cables and you see State Department stuff and the whole gamut.

W: I see things from the Office of the Secretary of Defense, everything from the Joint Staff -

E: Yeah, yeah, okay. Now, I take it from what you said about his leave, that you more or less set this man's schedule for him, Radford, as to when he comes to work, when he goes home, what he does while he's there, is all by assignment.

W: Yes, he works exclusively for me.

E: Is he the kind of a fellow that's a self-starter, or is he an enlisted man who waits for orders before he does something, or what kind of a person is he?

W: We've established a routine. I mean, we process a hell of a lot of paper you know, and we're in a hurry. He'll get in early and will try to sort things out, you know. I'll give him some broad guidance - like Laos is of primary concern now - and anything we've got I have to see immediately so that I'm ready to respond etc. -

He uses his judgment and initiative in those regards - to try to keep the things that are important in front of me. - The maintenance of my files - we've kind of set that up - and I indicate the things I want to keep and what files I want it to go to. So as he gets time he puts those things in the file - and organized, and what have you. That's about the extent of any necessity for independent judgment or actions.

E: Otherwise, his initiative is a plus, I take it. If he's doing those things that you've assigned to him - and taking dictation.

W: Yes, and within the broad guidance he takes care of all those kinds of things. He kind of runs my little porthole office as set up in two places.

E: Yeah, yeah, I see. Aside from the family problems that you told me about, does he have any other emotional problems or hang-ups that you've noticed, or any prejudices or quirks that sort of define his personality for you?

W: Not really. My impression is that he is a very serious young guy. We've not philosophized a great deal in our discussions or anything. I know on one occasion, I forget what we were talking about, either the war in Vietnam or something, - I know he kind of closed things off with a statement, "Well, I'm a man of principles too." And this came to mind the other day.

E: Is he hung-up on India?

W: Not to my knowledge. We never discussed the pros and cons of the current situation. We've just been running too fast to sit down and think about it. He's never volunteered anything to me one way or the other and we have not discussed how things

W: (continued) are going - nor have I asked him how do you see things.

E: You've had a chance to think alot about this whole episode on this Anderson stuff. Can you account for it in any way?

W: Well, I mean I've constructed a theory.

E: Alright.

W: And I did as of last Tuesday when I first saw Al and subsequently you Dave and everyone else. And to my mind as I read this whole series of things, I know it all comes from my files.

E: There's no question in your mind?

W: I'm morally certain about it. And yesterday I gave Stewart over on the other side another piece of information.

Y: Yes, he called me yesterday.

W: Chuck had typed it for me. It was a little think piece I had just kind of done on scratch paper for a conversation I was going to have with Al.

Y: That's on the sequence of leaks - planned leaks - as the ship came through. And that'e what is in yesterday's article.

W: And again, that is something unique. Nothing else was out in the formal bureaucracy -

E: Didn't go to the Pentagon, didn't really -

W: It was an original and one copy, both of which I have had to the best of my knowledge in my personal possession. I never gave one to Al - we talked about some of these things and alot of other decisions had been made which -

Y: How was that sent out? When Al took that thing, then how did you get word out to leak it out at particular places.

W: We didn't, we didn't, this was my own think piece.

Y: It never was done?

W: No.

Y: I didn't realize that.

W: The decision was pending on which ships we were to send and we talked about a generalized game plan on this whole thing and everything, so I sat down at home at night and got some random thoughts down. You know, how do you want to play this thing? What the possibilities are. - then to see what the full game plan was - and what was to be developed the next day - and everything.

And looking at how we could manage for some weeks and how we could get the signal across - that we seemed to be wanting to send at that time and yet do it in a way that would not be overt or anything else. So these were just top-of-my-head thoughts.

E: Did you hand that paper to anybody?

W: The next morning I gave it to Radford to type up my scratchings and he made an original, I say, and xeroxed a copy. And I was going to leave a copy with Al, but by the time I got to see him later on that afternoon, the decisions had been made after the meeting that day to send Enterprise and a few other things, and the rest was to be held in abeyance. So I said, you know, there are other ways we could do this whole thing - with P3 surveillance and a number of other things which would be immediate and send immediate signals - well, we just never got into it in any detail because you know other things were going.

Y: Don't you think he would have known that it was not discussed and that it was not transmitted?

W: No.

E: Did you bring both copies back with you?

W: That's correct, the original and the one copy. And I say, they have been in my personal possession in a sealed envelope in my briefcase ever since.

E: In a sealed envelope?

W: Yes.

E: The only way he could have gotten a copy then would be to make two xeroxes I take it.

W: Or have kept my hand scratched original.

E: Yeah, yeah. Because you had the two work copies in your possession ever since - as far as you know.

W: Yes.

Y: One thing, John, that we did go into on the hand-scratched notes - we thought that perhaps - do you write secret on your hand-scratched notes or do you figure he is automatically going to know enough to put the classification on it?

W: No, usually I indicate what it is.

Y: You do. Okay.

W: In a similar case I didn't.

Y: Yeah, alright, good. It really wouldn't matter except that it would be easier on his conscience if he got the handwritten note and it doesn't say what classification.

In any event, he then takes it, supposedly tears it up, because, he says, he usually tears it in fours, and puts it in the burn bag. We went all through this the other day in trying to find out if the one that involved "Tartar Sam" was in the burn bag, and we tried in the interrogation to draw him out on that and to say we were in the process of checking all the burn bags and we had not been able to find that memo. He wasn't phased too much, but he said, well, I'm sure, you know, as best I can remember I'm sure I put it in there. I always put them in the burn bag. Now I don't know if that is a --

E: Is he pretty methodical about that?

W: Yes, we keep the burn bag there and everything else -

Y: Do you see him ever doing it?

W: Well, we work in adjacent offices.

Y: That's right, and he would go out and the burn bag would be in his section.

W: The burn bag is in his section, and as I cull through traffic and everything else, I put a green mark across the front that I don't want to keep it or anything and he would pick it up periodically from my outgoing basket. I can hear them tearing it up out there. And the last thing we do before we close up the office over here at night; I ring for the elevator, and he runs across to the other office and puts our burn bag in the big pick-up thing over there in I and L.

E: Well, let me ask you to go back now to your theory of the case, so to speak. Why did he do this?

W: I knew he had some amount of money problems. I mean just living here and everything else, and I really thought that he had some kind of Ellsberg syndrome about the Indian thing. I know he has had Indian friends visit with him and everything else. I know he always regarded that as the finest tour of duty he had ever had. He was delighted when he had a chance to go back there with Henry on this last trip and to see old friends there in New Dehli and all the rest of the business. Money, that and I thought there was some disappointment about having to stay on in the job.

E: Is that the sum and substance of what you've come up with?

W: Yes.

E: When he would go on a trip like that with Henry, for instance, you were not along.

W: No, I was not.

E: And then I take it what you've done is turned him over to your - a principal.

W: I just made him available and in the first case when he went with Henry, I did not have Chief Sessoms cleared. I brought one of our temporary office girls over to the office. That just didn't work out. Then I got Sessoms cleared by a telephone call to come on over and be with me in the office. And it was at that time that I decided that I would formally get a backup man cleared and ready for occasions like this.

Y: Admiral, what did Robinson do when he let him go with Al a couple of times? The same thing - did he get a backup girl - ?

W: A backup girl, yeah, we had access to the temporary pool over there if one of the men is sick or anything else - these gals are all security cleared and everything else.

E: Now when he would come back from a trip like that there would be alot of writing up to do I suppose for Henry, and would he move out of your office to do that or ---

W: Depending upon where it was being done. In the instance of when Henry came back from his trip, I think there was about a day's clean-up stuff that Radford had done, but everything else was being done by the gals. You recall we were all out in San Clemente and everything else - the operation was going there.

E: Yeah, I see.

W: With Al's most recent trip on out there, Al had a temporary aide that the Navy had provided him before the trip. A youngster Bud Zumwalt had recommended to me and I made available to Al. And then Radford and he worked I guess for about a day cleaning up some of the hangover things. But after that I guess Al's gals finished up the other stuff.

E: Well, now, when he comes off a trip like that, does he visit with you about the trip?

W: Yes.

E: Does he kind of fill you in on what all went on and everything? Does he show you the work that he's done on the trip?

W: I was a little bit surprised the first trip he came back from with Henry. Before he went out he said what are you interested in? I said obviously we'd be interested in whatever Henry's observations are of the situation in South Vietnam and things of that sort. So anything you hear about that - why I'd be very much interested in.

The Chairmand and I flew out to the NSC meeting out in San Clemente and - that was the day that the announcement was made about Henry's first trip to Peking. So I only had a chance to talk with Radford very briefly. He stayed out there another day or two and flew on back. And when he came back he had an envelope full of things, and he said perhaps you might care to go through some of these things - they may be of interest to you; and I started to go through them - and I was very much startled.

E: What was it?

W: I said, "Chuck, where did you get these things?" He said, "Well, I used to take the burn bags out for disposal and things of that sort and I'd kind of go through them and as far as typing I'd keep a flimsy or whatever."

E: On the trip?

W: On the trip.

E: Hmmmmm.

W: And there were portions of MFR's uh....

E: What does that mean?

W: Memos For the Record.

E: Oh.

W: Memcons, things of that nature. Spare copies of incoming messages and what have you. And I spent a night culling through this and 90% of it I just had burned. There were a few things that gave some fairly significant insights on some things that were going on - which I assembled and made some comments on a cover sheet and I showed to Admiral Moorer - and when he had read them we discussed them. Then he gave them all back

W: (continued) to me and I have them all locked in my personal safe over at the Pentagon.

I then asked Radford "just how did you get all of these things? He said, "Well I just kind of came across them and I thought maybe they might be of interest so I kept them for you."

When Al was going out on his trip - he said, "Is there anything of particular interest?" I said - "Look, we're concerned about the troop withdrawal rate and anything else in any discussions Al may have with General Abrahms or Ambassador Bunker or President Thieu. I said, "Chuck, I don't know what you're doing on this thing, but come on now, you know, there's a confidence here and everything else, I don't want you to, you know, go peeking, but if you hear of anything, fine."

When he came back he again had a couple of the memcons and some of the messages and what have you which he made available. Of those there was only one significant - which was Al's discussion with President Thieu about some forthcoming plans. That I made available to the Chairman on the same basis and he back to me.

E: Has he ever done that before with anything that he'd come up with that had not been generated in your office?

W: Every now and then he runs a messenger service, when he comes over to deliver something over here (White House).

I guess the gals give him some stuff to drop off at I and L - and he would say "Admiral - is this of any interest to you." And I would scan it and say no -

E: If it were something of interest, did you take it out?

W: I would look at it and occasionally I'd say - "Okay Chuck, would you make a xerox of this portion of it"-- or something of that sort.

E: And sent it over to the Chairman?

W: (nodded yes).

E: So he has had some access that is outside of your ordinary channels -- so he would be bird-dogging occasionally and bring you things.

W: I'm obviously not very happy about have to relate that.

E: I understand -- but he, of course, has gone into this in his testimony and he testified that he had actually delved into people's briefcases and came up with material which he had duplicated and turned over to Captain Robinson in some cases. Has he ever done that with you?

W: Robbie had told me that Chuck had been very useful when he has gone on the trips. I never delved into it, you know, to find out specifics or anything.

And as I say, the first time he went out with Henry, he asked me what I was particularly interested in - and I was aghast, you know, that it was this kind of stuff. I thought it would be, you know, all oral - What went on and everything, what he had seen and what have you.

E: Did he have stuff in Henry's handwriting?

W: I don't know. There were annotated first drafts of things and things of that sort. But he assured me that he got this out of burn bags and everything and this seemed to be consistent since there would only be portions of things - hand-scratched drafts of portions of memcons.

E: To your knowledge has any of the stuff that he has ever brought you here, other than his trip proceeds, come from brief cases or people's offices or anything of that kind?

W: No. I mean I heard, you know, since this investigation had started he had penetrated Henry's briefcase.

E: Does that jibe now with anything that you may have seen that he has brought you? That conceivably could have come from a source like that?

W: Not from Henry's briefcase .

E: Anybody else?

W: Maybe some of the things, I had complete copies of memcons from Al's recent trip. Some of these things he himself had typed.

E: Al?

W: No. Radford for Al. Where you know he had made a flimsy copy or something else. But that would have come directly from busting into somebody's luggage or something, no, I can't think of anything in that regard.

E: But there isn't any question in your mind, though, that he has brought you stuff from time to time that has been obtained from --

W: Surreptitiously and everything else.

E: Now, does Admiral Moorer know that this kind of source has been available to the JCS?

W: I have shown him, as I say, some of the most significant things that I felt that he had to know.

E: Sure, but again he is aware that the source is irregular.

W: He knows that Radford picked this up on a trip.

E: Now, as far as you know, Radford is in possession of recollections of a tremendous amount of Top Secret material?

W: That's correct.

E: Knowing him and knowing his frame of mind and the makeup of his personality, do you have any recommendations as to what the disposition of his case should be?

W: I don't see where he has any further utility to me, regardless of what the ultimate findings are of this whole investigation. It's a

W: (continued) complete loss of confidence and everyone else in the office has kind of survised what's going on in view of the fact of all of their interrogations and everything else.

I could not in good conscience, in view of the conclusions I've drawn, recommend that he go to any kind of a sensitive position in the Navy.

Personally, I can't understand people who would, either for money or some other reason, divulge things of this sort. I frankly think the man ought to be prosecuted if there's a case against him.

E: Are you concerned if he is prosecuted that he might divulge secrets that he knows?

W: I'm more concerned that if he's not prosecuted - that all the stuff can dribble on out.

Y: Is his memory such or have you ever seen an example of where he could sit down after reading something and then quote it or come up with a very accurate recounting. I'm just wondering how, you know, whether his mind would --

W: have instant recall? No, I've not seen any evidence of that.

But what does concern me is that I've got stuff up in my safes which is of ten times more consequence than anything that's been leaked out in the Anderson articles right now.

E: And he's had access to it?

W: He's had access to it and when we go back to the Pentagon at night --

E: Can you give me a rough idea of the kind of things that you're talking about?

W: I've got everything about SALT; I've got everything about an operation which is currently planned which has been deferred due to weather -- I don't know whether you're a part of that or not.

E: You don't need to say anymore about that.

W: No, but that has, you know, lives to be lost if this kind of stuff is leaked. I've got a full recount on our involvement in Cambodia from Day-1 which would make the Pentagon Papers - pale by comparison; the full recount of almost our complete involvement in Southeast Asia. You name any other sensitive area --

Y: How about any of the secret negotiations or secret channels that Henry has - do you have any of that?

W: No, I've not been a party to any of that -- except for one piece of paper which came back when he was with Henry on the trip.

E: That this fellow produced for you?

W: (nodded yes).

E: So he advised you of something that you were not privy to, I take it.

W: That's right - nor to the best of my knowledge had the Chairman been privy to it.

E: So Radford developed superior knowledge of that by reason of his contact with Henry on the trip.

Have you ever had any occasion to instruct Radford to obtain information for you that you wouldn't ordinarily be on the distribution list for?

W: On one recent occasion. There was a staff action going on and I knew the Navy was highly interested in it. I had talked to Phil Odeen on what their position was going to be because I had been routed info on the staff action sheet. He indicated that at the present time we were going to play it low key - I mean it was between State and DOD on the basing of some of our ships in Greece.

And as time went on I just got buried in some other stuff. I said, "Chuck, would you run over to the I and L and find out if the staff has completed action on this thing, because I would be interested in finding out what if anything they're recommending

W: (continued) to Henry on it.

He came back in about five minutes with a copy of Phil's memo to Henry which essentially was what Phil had told me orally, - but I knew that action had been completed so I just set it aside.

Y: Who decides the distribution?

W: On?

Y: On papers coming out of IL.

W: Jack Murphy.

Y: Does Jack Murphy do all of it?

W: Jeanne Davis would do some of the highly sensitive things.

Y: Jeanne would act on the most sensitive things.

W: Yeah.

Y: Because for instance in Monday's article you remember there were two cables that made that one up, and I called up to get copies and each has a stamp on the side with the line drawn through the names of the distributees, and I just wondered who actually does draw the lines on that.

W: That would be the people in the cable room.

Y: Fairly low level.

W: Fairly low level.

Y: Simply on the basis of area.

W: Pretty much so.

Y: Not to cut people out of stuff.

W: Robbie had pretty much set it up so that people knew his areas of interest, and I just kind of inherited those. And the

W: (continued) ground rule is that I get anything up to Exdis over there at the NSC side.

E: Now when you took over from Robbie, did he say in effect about Radford that this guy's a pretty good bird dog, or something to that effect?

W: No- ah... he said occasionally you're going to get a request from Al to go on a trip or something else -- and I've found it worthwhile to go ahead make him available to them and everything else. He does a fine job, he's a good image for the Navy and everything else. Sometimes he could be very helpful to you.

E: And by that he implied that you could get some information back.

W: Yeah. I didn't press for details, you know, especially --

E: But you understood that's what he meant --

W: Yeah, you know, I figured he'd keep his ears open, his eyes open, being a fairly bright young guy and everything else. He would obviously be exposed to things which would be of interest.

E: Do you have anything else David?

Y: I was wondering whether anyone else might be aware of Radford operating sort of this way. To some degree, you know, from what you say it seems like it's a rather a regular thing. I've tried to put in my own mind after listening and talking with him and the polygraph operator -- especially after he broke down that night and I called you and he went into this particular part of it -- what sort of quantity or flow he is talking about. I haven't the foggiest idea whether he's talking about one paper every two months when he goes on a trip or whether he was able to get things almost at will.

Did he make a practice, so that you could say every day or two he might drop by and say I just picked this up. Is he exaggerating or is he --

W: Well, he's made the two trips. I would say that on about four occasions he played messenger bringing the stuff back here for IL when he's shown me folders and so on that are going back to files.

E: What do those initials stand for?

Y: Information and liaison. I and L.

E: I see.

W: It's their correspondence center, it's right across the hall from my office over there in the EOB.

Dick Kennedy makes available to me the books which are prepared for the various meetings over here so I can go ahead and make sure the Chairman is prepared to talk at the various meetings and what have you. If it is a particularly complex subject or something of that sort, I will have Chuck xerox a copy of the staff comments and Henry's talker. So that we can go ahead and generate the answers to the questions which have been posed for the Chairman. This is fairly frequent. I mean, whenever we have a meeting - Dick will call....

E: I think Henry knows that and that would be assumed.

W: Yes, certainly.

Y: In any event, Kennedy is the one who is responsible for it in terms of overseeing preparation and I think by the same token often coming back the other way they say this is going to be their talker - their plan.

W: I have provided JCS papers which is contrary to all JCS instructions simply because these staff people have to have the god damn things. - Rather than getting part of the picture in the working groups the thing is of consequence and they have to know what the JCS rationale is and what their thinking is, what their position is. And I have showed it to them on a privileged basis.

E: But on David's point, these things other than the whole file that he might give you to flip through, do you find things in your reading or does he bring you things from time to time that he's abstracted here and there?

W: No, no. I get things in my regular distribution from the NSC staff and everything else. 75% of it is duplicated, I mean, from what I get over at my Pentagon distribution --

E: So basically his operation would be on trips - that's where he's most effective.

W: Right.

Y: Do you think Al is in any way aware that when he was on a trip with him that he might come back and bootleg a copy and give it to you?

W: You can only ask Al - I've never discussed it with him. Obviously if to take a man along on a trip like Al makes out in the boondocks it's alot easier, and Radford does alot of other chores and everything else which are very helpful on the trip that one of the girls couldn't do. Were I in the same case and having borrowed the Yeoman might have been exposed to would in turn be exposed to the guy he normally works for. But as I say that's something you'll have to talk with Al about - I don't know.

I've never discussed any of these things with Al or anything else.

E: You've been very fair with us and I appreciate it.

W: Well, I agonize a hell of alot over this thing. I agonized mostly last Tuesday, you know, when I first saw this whole thing laid out and it is very personally embarrassing to me, and I think it could be potentially embarrassing to Admiral Moorer whom I think the world of.

E: Well, it's simply a question of what the facts are at this point.

W: But as I saw it there is no choice in the matter, I mean, too much else is at stake.

E: In anticipation we have developed a statement, largely based on the testimony of the Yeoman, but I wonder if you'd look at that and tell me whether that's a correct statement of fact.

W: "Internal White House political dealings"- I can't think of anything that would. . . . Well maybe I don't understand what you mean by political dealings.

E: Well, that's taken out of his testimony. He says that he has, and this covers not only your period of time, but Robinson's as well, and that at some point in time and not fixed by the testimony apparently, some of the matterial which he produced involved non-factual data relating to political decisions and political discussions or inner-White House meetings or conversations; the kind of thing that typically could be involved would be Henry's notes of a meeting with the President where the President was noted in the notes as saying Israel would not have jets or that kind of thing. Now that's a guess or a hypothetical on my part.

W: Well, I don't know from my personal knowledge about any of those kinds of things. I know the inner-play between Secretary Laird and Henry and the President and the Chairman and everything else I've been deeply involved in and anything I find out about this is, of course, of interest to Admiral Moorer, but that has been the extent of it. But, I mean, any other what I would have termed political --

E: Now how would that be evidenced? Would that be evidenced by memos between say Haig and Kissinger, or Kissinger and the President, or --

W: Well, my conversations with Al -- my point is that I've relayed these things often times - you know --

E: But of the things that this fellow produced out of the I and L files or otherwise --

W: To my recollection, there has never been anything of that sort.

E: Or from trips?

W: But what I was going to say though is that often times based on my discussions and sense of things, if I can't get to see the Chairman to make an oral report, I will dictate something, a little memo with information and so on --

E: Which then Radford types.

W: Yeah.

E: Now, I'm directing your attention specifically to documents that he might have had appropriated from some source outside of your office and brought to you.

W: None to my recollection - in that particular area.

"Memcons of private top-level meetings" - yes, from his trips.

"Internal White House political dealings" - not aware of.

"Secret negotiations with foreign governments" - from the trips.

"Contingency plans" - I'm not aware of any that he has brought to me.

I mean, Al Haig has cut me in on what we've been thinking about on the most recent thing -- and given me a copy of game plans and so on.

E: Sure, sure.

Y: Most contingency plans originate with you anyway.

W: Yeah.

E: You see that is right out of his testimony again --

Y: He does seem or tend to exaggerate - and this has been one of our problems in his whole testimony.

E: Well, bear in mind he is talking about service to two different officers here too - that might not relate to the Admiral.

Y: That's right - that's true.

W: "Political agreements" - in the international sense - you mean Al's most recent trip and his discussions with Thieu.

E: Exactly.

W: "Troop movements"

Y: Or I suppose you could say movements of withdrawals--with-
drawal rates --

W: Nothing very significant came up that I saw from Al's last trip.
We knew pretty much what the game plan was going to be --
Al related to me orally his discussions and some observations
that the staff people had made - that he had turned around about
the most recent troop announcements.

"Telcons" - I can't think of any - unless there were from the
trip or something of that sort. I think on one occasion there was
some reference made in a message to a telephone conversation
with the White House and Ambassador Smith with regard to the
SALT negotiations.

E: That wouldn't have been on the trip, though, would it?

W: Yeah - apparently the cable had been sent to Henry.

Y: Yes, when Henry's away alot of the cable traffic is forwarded
to him.

E: Oh, I see.

W: But not a copy of a telcon from Henry's office.

Y: You know how they transcribe calls down there.

W: Yeah.

Y: It would be very easy for somebody to pick those up out of the in-
boxes.

W: I've never seen one of those.

Y: Maybe he's picking them up and reading them himself.

W: "Secret channel papers" - I don't know what you mean by that.

E: Well, I don't know what he meant by that.

Y: Well - the only thing I can think of is that Henry does meet without the knowledge of Defense or State with particular Ambassadors of major countries, and they are done in a very, very quiet way - with only Al, Henry, Coleman and possibly Jon Howe knowing. And I would think there is a tremendous volume of stuff generated from these - talking points....

E: Have you ever run across any memoranda of such meetings outside of the normal distribution?

W: Well - I say, Haig's with Thieu, again, there's one indication of a meeting Henry was to have had in Paris when he came back from his recent swing out there.

E: That was generated off the trip?

W: Well, as I understood the situation - this had been set....

E: I mean your man Radford generated it on the trip.

W: Yes - and as I say the significance was that this was the first indication we had that this avenue was open - over in Paris.

"Secret channel information" - I think what he could be talking about there is that much of the information which I provide over here comes out of what we call Specat Exclusive message category which is eyes only between the military originator and the Chairman and a few other people and I make these available to people over here - as I did yesterday and as I did this morning --

Y: I was thinking more in the sense of talking points for meetings with Dobrynin and things like that....

W: Like I said, I've never seen any of those.

Y: And I think alot with the Paks this last year.

W: "Defense budget papers"

Y: Who's going to get what - stuff like that.

W: We have done some work for Al and Henry last year in that regard - which you will have to talk to them about. I did some work for them this July and August --

E: This would be information moving the other way - from here over to the Pentagon.

W: No, I've again dictated memoranda based on my conversations with Al and some other things which I've picked up in the normal course of my talking with people on the staff.

E: Do you have any sources in the Office of Management and Budget that this fellow might have exploited?

W: No - I personally know Ken Damn who I would have sat down and tried to talk with. But I sit in the staff meetings down there and know that things are being generated and that there is going to be meeting until ump- but I don't know the particular subject. So often times I relate what I surmise to Admiral Moorer and I dictate it - and kind of sitreps on actions I see shaping up - what have you.

[reading from statement] I have in fact either shown or discussed these papers with Admiral Moorer, as I say, not with the Acting Chairman at the time. I might orally brief or I will go through these things and dictate a little memo usually - based on my conversations with the NSC staff - I believe you will be asked the following questions at the gizilch meeting this afternoon. And then I may paraphrase the questions --

E: That would be to an Acting Chairman?

W: That's to an Acting Chairman.

Y: Yeah.

W: The literal papers and everything else, I only show to Admiral Moorer.

E: Well, I don't think a statement of this kind is necessary -- I'm not going to retype that and submit it to you, but I thought it would be a useful reference in comparing his testimony.

Anything else?

Y: I have only a couple of other things. If it came to the point where they didn't prosecute him on the outside in a criminal trial but they could possibly go after him on a Court Martial - I'm just wondering. What's your reaction to that?

W: I think the man has to get out of the service. As a Yeoman and everything else - I mean he's almost useless unless he's cleared for security.

E: Unless you put him to work counting socks someplace.

W: And I do feel that some punitive action ought to be taken if in fact there is a substantial case against him.

Y: My point is that if punitive action is taken - to what extent do you want to risk his turning around and saying - I did all this other stuff.

W: Well, he can say these sorts of things - but what really concerns me is how much else has he xeroxed -- and have stashed away.

E: Think about this though. Supposing he says I didn't feel too badly about turning this stuff over to Anderson because I was a spy for the Joint Chiefs. I used to turn stuff over to them all the time. And the morals involved in one is about the same as the other as far as I'm concerned.

W: He could rationalize it that way --

E: That would obviously create an impairment of relationships that would be very difficult to live with in the future.

Do you have qualms about that? (laughter)

That's a leading question isn't it. - We have qualms about that.

W: I've had qualms about it ever since last Tuesday morning. I really mean it. And I know that Mr. Laird is going to take a very dim view of this - I'm sure he has seen the transcripts of the investigations and things of that sort.

E: Not from us.

W: Well, his people are working on it.

I mean, it exposes some very, very sticky relationships and the function here that has been going on.

E: Could the function go on without the liaison office existing?

W: Not really.

E: Some substitute would have to be developed.

W: Really, I think you ought to talk to Al Haig on this. It's been a two-way street - it's been valuable both ways -- You always have another guy sitting at the other side that you can call up on the telephone. Many times you have to have a long discussion - and I'd go back and have a long discussion with Admiral Moorer.

Y: I think that alot of this explains your making the distinction at least with the polygraph guy between "uncleared" and "unauthorized".

W: That's correct.

E: What's that?

Y: Like, well, in the series of questions when he was asked: Did you receive any material or give material to unauthorized persons? Bob said - "I don't want to say unauthorized because maybe somebody wasn't on a distribution list." - Because obviously when he brought back the thing on Henry's secret negotiations that was unauthorized though I think everyone would agree that if the Chairman isn't 'cleared' then....

E: Then there isn't anybody. Yes - I follow.

Y: That's the only thing. The one final thing, Bob, -- remember we hit on this over there (the Pentagon) - and I think also when we first talked - and after I met this guy Hagar who's apparently his best friend down there and is quite effeminate - Hagar is - whether or not there was any grounds for suspecting that Anderson might have a handle on him in any way like that.

E: You mean sexual deviation?

Y: Yeah.

E: Have you seen any indication of that?

W: Chuck is not the big manly type or anything else - you know - high-pitched voice and he kind of prances but 9/10ths of the Navy Yeomen are that way.

E: Really.

W: Who else wants to be a typist --

So I would not consider him unusual - he's married - has children... He's not my kind of guy, you know, our relationship, ideas, and whole personality is different. But I don't like to point a finger and say he's a possible homosexual or anything else.

E: No evidence of that to speak of.

W: No evidence.

Y: You know it's just so hard.....I mean I agree with you, Bob -- We put together the motives - maybe he needed the money - a feeling toward India - family. But if it does turn out and he really is the guy and he could have had access to everything for the past year.

W: What the heck could be the common thread between the releasing of a letter from King Hussein - and seeing that the Indians look good - or whatever else came out in this last year. You know part of it may be that there's a handle on him that defies any common thread. And that could be money - it could be something in the church - and it could possibly be something he's blackmailing him with.

E: Or it could be just a sense of inadequacy if his wife is putting him down -- I mean, it's sort of an Ellsberg syndrome.

Y: Yes - that's right.

W: That would be a real....

Y: Yeah.

I suppose also just antagonism to the President.

Remember I asked - or maybe we talked a little about his attitude toward Henry, and you said - well Henry introduced him to his girlfriend one day when he was walking through..... and they had a passing relationship but you never got into a long discussion on it.

I asked him, you know, what he thought about Henry and he gave me a very interesting answer, in that - there was a long pause, and then he said "I have mixed feelings. I think he's a brilliant professor, but I've seen him throw temper tantrums which I thought were unnecessary." And he went into quite a bit of detail describing Henry's personality. And it was an either/or, 50/50, six of one, half dozen of the other answer. And I wonder if you've seen any indication at all that he really might not just be 50/50 but really down on him.

E: Harboring a resentment or something?

Y: Yeah.

W: I just can't recall anything.

Y: You see the problem. I wonder if he got close enough and was disillusioned. -- I think that's all I have.

W: I don't know.

But as to where to go with him -- boy -- I don't know.....

E: Thanks alot Admiral.

W: Yes, indeed.