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BAKER

This will be NSA Oral History 20-93 with Mr. Oliver Kirby. Mr. Kirby was a former Assistant Director for Production which later became a (1G) position. It later became DDO. He's visiting with us (3G). We're in the Center for Cryptologic History Conference Room in FANX III. The date is 11 June 1993. Classification is Top Secret Codeword unless otherwise indicated at the end of the tape. The host of interviewers includes Charles Baker, Guy Vanderpool, Dave Hatch, and (B% Margaret Peterson). (TR Note: period of silence here) (cuts in) a little about your background first.

KIRBY

I was born in Leroy in central Illinois. When my folks moved to Bloomington, Illinois - I grew up in Bloomington - I attended Bloomington High School. Among other things I worked for Frank Brother's Feed Company. It may seem incidental but actually turned out to be kind of important later on because I became at 18 the United States expert on white field corn and almost decided to go into agriculture. I went to the University of Illinois and majored in chemistry. I was one of the few fellows at the head of the class. I had a full deferment from military service and was scheduled to go to Cornell University and to take up a teaching scholarship in chemistry. I gave up my deferment to go into the service to the great amazement of my family, my teachers, and everyone else.

BAKER

This was when? About 1952?

KIRBY

Yes, at that time...and the reason was very simple. At that time almost all of the young men I had grown up with in Bloomington had volunteered for service and were in the army air force - which it was at that time - or the army. And, in fact, as a historical note, Bloomington, Illinois, was one of the places that caused the change in assignment of fellows who came from one place because of my football team, nine of the fellows were killed in North Africa because they all joined the same unit in the early days of the fighting in North Africa. And in fact, when I go back to my reunions there were only five members of the football team still alive. I did give up a deferment, and people asked...I've given talks and I've said, "I'm sure glad that I got involved in the military service." And people will look at me and say, "You didn't have a choice. You were drafted." But that's not true. I gave up a deferment. I went into military service. I did not go to Cornell University. And in fact, when I came back here years later in 1948 and got out of the Army Signal Corps I was planning to go back to Cornell because I had written, and they still were willing to take me back as a teaching fellow, but I had gotten so far away from chemistry and so deeply involved in the signals business. But that was much more fascinating, and I decided to stay there. So when people ask how did you get into this business, two things: 1) at the University of Illinois they did have...remember the

University of Illinois had the Army Signal Corps cryptanalytic course, and the University of Michigan, I believe, had the Navy cryptanalytic course. A lot of the early members of ASA came from the army ROTC course at the University of Illinois. It was just very fascinating. But while I was at the University of Illinois, the war started to happen, and we lost our instructors, so another fellow and I completed all the courses. We sort of worked together and went through all the lessons, and then we proceeded to teach the class as long as it lasted. And we completed that course. I graduated from the University of Illinois in 3 and one-half years with almost a master's degree in chemistry because I carried many, many more hours because I had reasonably high grades - 4.7 (sic) something average - and I was allowed to take as many courses as I wanted, and I completed a lot of proficiency courses. So I almost had a master's degree except for a thesis. However, I never went back and finished that out. But we did actually train one last class in the cryptanalysis course.

VANDERPOOL Who were some of these folks who went into ASA from the University of Illinois?

KIRBY Roy Johnson, Dale (B% Marston). I can't think of a lot of them. A lot of us were. As I go down the list, if I look at a list of personnel I can pick out about a third came from the University of Illinois. And I knew them because they were either the class ahead of me or behind me. Ahead of me; there was no one behind me because I think the course stopped after that. There were no instructors as we got into the war, and so the course was dropped. But these were the people who, I think, were some....and Roy Johnson, of course, was here in the Russian section until he died. He was here when I was here. And that was a switch. See, I worked for him and for Bill Bundy over in England during the war as a part of the 6813th Signal Detachment, and then when I came back here eventually I became the head of the Russian section, and then of course ADP, and Roy worked for me then from that angle. But he was a very, very good cryptanalyst.

BAKER Now when we go (2-3G). (laughs) We're getting back here too fast. When you decided to go on active duty where did you go? Did you go to Monmouth?

KIRBY I went to Monmouth because, yes. Well, you did not have the summer camps. So while I had completed the R (TR Note: tape cuts out here) I went to summer school and that's how I completed advanced ROTC at the University of Illinois. I completed the entire ROTC. So I was qualified for my commission, but there were no summer camps at that point, so I went to Fort Monmouth and went to OCS at Fort Monmouth. At that point it was very unusual. I actually had a commission, but it was not active until I had completed the summer camp requirement, and the summer camp requirement was OCS. I received double inspections from my company commander and the battalion commander since I was a commissioned officer and the rest of them didn't have commissions yet. And it was the most miserable time in my life. But also I had been in charge of the drill team at the University of Illinois, and they wanted to keep me as a "tac" officer. I kept calling the few people I knew at Arlington Hall Station saying, "Get me out of here when I complete this. I do not want to become a tactical officer at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey." So I did come back...(cut off by Baker)

BAKER So, you already knew people at Arlington Hall.

KIRBY Oh, yes. I knew a few at Arlington Hall because of being at the University of Illinois. And

then I did come down here when I completed it in May, 1943 or '44. I can't remember which now. When I completed OCS I did come down to Arlington Hall Station. I was put up in the Administration Building, and I knew German fairly well. I had been a translator of German chemical documents and all, and I had a major in German also from the University of Illinois. I had two majors: chemistry and German. And I made my way through school by translating for graduate students, translating German chemistry documents. (TR Note: telephone rings here. Recorder turned off momentarily) (cuts in) I had clearance problems. My mother came from Scotland. She had family, one of whom was a missionary who was in interior China, and nobody could find him. So I have little sympathy for people who cry about how long it takes to get a clearance, because I sat there translating German documents, learning German script, and doing all sorts of nothing jobs for many, many weeks while I was waiting for the clearance to come through. Then when I was cleared I went in to work for Dr. (B% Pattongill) who had a group of translators in, I think it was "A" Building at Arlington Hall Station. I worked with them, and that's when I began to figure out how you actually did some of the things you did in the SIGINT business. Because I started keeping copious notes on the things I would translate on ships' captains, the names of the ships, the numbers of the ships, and all sorts of incidental information. By the time I left, I was the font of knowledge of personnel, and identification of personnel. So I decided this was a really good thing, and I carried that with me the rest of my life. You'll probably find that I insisted on very strange kinds of records being kept wherever I went, but it helped in cryptanalysis. It helped in exploitation and everything else. But I learned that from finding that nobody had files like that when I first got to Arlington Hall Station, in the little area where I was. I did not want to be a translator. However, I was sent over to England with the idea that I would become a German translator on the four-rotor ENIGMA program. I flunked the only test I have ever flunked in my life deliberately. When they took me in to interview me I found that if I didn't do that - I had checked around enough to find that I could get into Hut 6, which is where they were doing the cryptanalytic work, and that's what I wanted to do. I did not want to sit there and translate. I did not like that at all.

HATCH Stuff that had already been decrypted.

KIRBY Yes, I wanted to get in to where you found out how things worked, and how you did it and really learn something worthwhile. I already knew how to translate. I didn't need to learn anything on that. I flunked my test.

BAKER About what time was this? When was this, sir?

KIRBY I went over in February. I went over on the Mauretania troop ship in February of 1943 or '44. I can't really remember. (In) 1944 I went to ETO.

BAKER Prior to D-Day.

KIRBY That's right. When I got there at Bletchley, and that's where I was sent. First in London, and then I was bombed out in London the first night I arrived there. The billet that I put my stuff in...I got up from the subway in time to see it blow up and all my stuff with it. So I ended up in London with nothing but the clothes I had on. All my stuff destroyed, and when I was sent to Bletchley Park I had to borrow clothes for a while until I could get back to London to get new uniforms. At any rate, I got there and lots of things hap-

pened. Then I did get assigned to Hut 6, and I did get assigned to working on the actual solution. To me, this was the fascinating part of it, and this is where you learned. I learned several things from the British: number one, it was an organization with no organization, and it worked wonderfully. You were assigned to jobs depending upon your capability. For the person working there the great accomplishment was to be designated head of shift. That meant that you were in charge of making all the decisions about the cribbing, what would be run on the BOMBE's, what would not be run on the BOMBE's, and all the rest. I also though, in the time that I was waiting for my clearance, had studied traffic analysis which was not classified. So when I went to England they tried to put me in a traffic analysis class, but I got up and gave a lecture on traffic analysis, and they decided to forget that. So they actually put me into a class on learning how the BOMBE's worked which was very, very helpful. But had limitations, and the navy BOMBE and the American BOMBE were just coming into being at that time, solution equipment. To me that was really a useful use of time. After about 2 months I was designated "Head of Shift" and later I became actually the head of the groups working on various shifts. You rotated around. It was not permanent. There would be say, Alice - and I can't remember her last name - would be the head of shift one night, and I'd be the head of shift the next couple. And then being an American with nothing else to do, I used to fill in for all of my British friends who had families and wanted to go on leave. I had nothing to do, so I did double shifts most of the time I was in England.

BAKER

You were still single.

KIRBY

I was still single. I was over there unaccompanied and....no, I was married. But I was over there unaccompanied, of course, and so I had nothing else to do, and I didn't like to go back to London particularly, so I did dual shifts most of the time and filled in for my British friends which is why I had so many friends in the UK. After the UKUSA conferences, after we did all our cooperation because most of them....(cut off by Baker)

BAKER

They owed you. (laughs)

KIRBY

Yes, they owed me, lots. And I actually then moved from...I was becoming familiar - not with the (1G) ENIGMA - the navy stuff - but with the scrambler work and with the Turing section. I was studying the computer-type equipment in Turing's area, and Arthur Levinson was there. I did not work with Arthur, but I worked with some other people in that area, and they were starting to educate me in that. That was even more complicated. Quite a bit more complicated than the ENIGMA. On the ENIGMA there were really just certain you did. You solved the ENIGMA messages by finding cribs, by fitting the cribs, by writing menus, and the menus had to follow certain rules, and then you could run them eventually either on American BOMBE's or the British BOMBE's, which were relay-operated BOMBE's, and you had to make those decisions on what you did.

BAKER

Did you have both type BOMBE's there? Were there some American BOMBE's in England?

KIRBY

No, no. You had to send it by message over to Arlington Hall Station or to NSG where the BOMBE's were run. And then the message...if they got a hit, they sent the hit back, and then you took the hit into the solution room which is where you took care of the other 150 trillion possibilities in about 15 seconds. Because the way it was done, the

way the machine was made, the Germans, by increasing the probabilities of the machine from about 100 trillion to 200 (trillion), made it so that it was a machine that no letter could come out enciphered as itself, but also they developed a phenomena which was known as a diagonal phenomena, which I helped to find at one point, and with those two things all of the massive, massive probabilities were supposed to stump you. It's what made it...it reduced to about 2 million possibilities, at the most, and it reduced this final solution to a hand solution that you could almost do by looking at it, by inspection, and get rid of all of the rest of the stuff that was there, which was not published until the end of the war, and now you've got all kinds of books out. But if you look at the diagonal, the whole thing just...those are the things that let us do it.

HATCH Now, the traffic you were working, was it army ENIGMA, high command, "Wehrmacht," or what?

KIRBY It was..."Luftwaffe" was one of the principle things. The OKW (TR Note: probably short for "Oberkommando der Wehrmacht" - Army High Command) was not solved solidly until just before D-Day. And one of the former directors of GCHQ and I, sleeping on tables in the "Q," or Quiet Watch it was called, which is where you did the research. We had gone to work on the "Wehrmacht" stuff, and what they did was they used the machine correctly. They folded messages; they bisected messages; they hid the beginnings and the endings, and we did not solve that until a couple of operators on a logistics link (at) "Wehrmacht" Headquarters used it improperly, and they put the message beginnings at the beginnings where they should be and all, and we broke into that just in time to get Rommel's inspection report of the coastal defenses which was 10 days....it was a 21-part message - there are some things I still remember even after umpteen years - it was a 21-part message, and it was 2 weeks before the scheduled date for the landings.

BAKER Which you didn't know at the time.

KIRBY Oh no. And it gave everything. It gave totals. Rommel was a wonderful general; very, very good, and he gave a totally complete report. The only unit that was out of place at the landing was the 2nd Infantry Division just north of the landing area which had gone on a local, unscheduled maneuver before the landings. It's the only unit that was out of place when the landings took place. We also, of course, were able in that same message, and the same series of messages because he sent a couple of follow-ups, he was still disagreeing, and you'll find this written up, and I'm sure some of you folks know, dug in then. He'd always disagreed on where they put the reserve Panzers. He wanted them right behind what turned out to be the landing area. Oh, we used to just hold our breath. I arrived in England after Rommel had sent back his famous messages - but I read them - saying General Montgomery and the British can not be this smart. Somebody is reading my mail. Would you please look at this. And people were still holding their breath when I got there because...and then finally the answer came back (saying) we have looked at this, and the machine is such that it would take 200 years using the equipment now available in order to set a message. And so forget it. You have no problem at all. And of course, he was absolutely right. They were reading everything.

VANDERPOOL Ironic. They hear the same speech from my (B% math) people all the time.

KIRBY

Well, you can not believe this because the thing that is so fascinating about this is, the whole business here is one that Frank Rowlett used to say, "Young man, it is often better to be lucky than smart." And the other thing is, you never know the stupidity of the mistakes somebody is going to make. And you never know how you will be able to exploit the stupidity of the mistakes that someone makes, and he will never understand that you could do that. And this is the reason this business keeps going, because you live on mistakes of others. You live on the things that they don't see. The things...the German mathematicians...and I still with my friends who are mathematicians and engineers, I hate to tell them what our adages were in the early days, and that was we fervently hope that their very best mathematicians and their very best engineers in the business who knew nothing about solution of codes and ciphers would build the codes and ciphers we had to go up against, because we would probably solve them. Because there would be something they wouldn't know about that they would put in. And if you don't believe that, look at some of your recent things of about 10 years ago on the chips. They're supposed to be unsolvable. And who is our blind friend on NSAB who sat there and in his head solved how you would do that with a PC until you reduced the numbers of possibilities on the chips by about a half? And then they became very secure. Same thing. The numerical advantage killed you because you did the wrong thing. We read the ENIGMA. The air (TR Note: probably German Air Force) was one of the very high priority initially. We couldn't read the army, the "Wehrmacht." We did read the air, and then I was assigned to a little program called SILVER, and I forget what the other name was. Some very obscure transmissions that were coming from a place way up north known as Peenemunde. This was for...who was the British guy who was the advisor to Churchill, Smith?

HATCH

Jones?

KIRBY

Jones, Harvey Jones. Jones was hated by the people, the British, in GCHQ. Well, they hated him. They thought that he was a usurper; he was a faker; he had the ear of Churchill, and so no one ever volunteered to go to work on this stuff which he wanted to go to work on. I am the young American officer who went to work on this stuff along with a Scottish professor - McPherson, I believe, was his name. All I remember is he ate cheese and kippers for breakfast, and he never brushed his teeth. But anyway, I worked with him on these messages, and it turned out that this was the V1 and the V2 experimentation, and it was telemetry. And it was very, very...this fellow knew something about telemetry. I knew nothing about it. All I know was...and he explained to me this was all messages. I figured this is not possible to do anything with. But finally we decided that - and since I was a linguist - I decided they had to have some kind of addresses and all. And so we figure out what the addresses ought to be. And we figured it out wrong. However, one time one of them was wrong, worked, and we broke into the thing and we read it from there on. Better to be lucky than smart. Because I could say, "Oh, it was great intelligence we..." We didn't. We figured out the wrong thing, but we did break into it because where we used a date, they actually were folding this stuff slightly, and it happened to be a part of the telemetry, but it had the date. It actually had the day with September and the date all written out. And we were planning that it was a "Meldung von" and that was not right. But we got the date and we broke into the thing.

HATCH You were getting the actual telemetry from the missiles or while being passed from one station to another?

KIRBY Being passed from the ground station...they were passing the results back to Berlin. Part of the reason that the Germans lost the war was that when Rommel was in North Africa, he was required, as were all German generals, to send their plans back in detail to the High Command in Berlin ahead of time. Therefore, we always got advance notification of what was going to happen. Montgomery exercised against Rommel's attack on El 'Alamein before it ever happened because we had all of the information on how many tanks, what he was going to do. And because of Hitler's stance that he could run a war by really himself and wanted to check what the generals were doing, we always, always got information. What was happening here was they were sending detailed reports because it was a high-priority project of what was happening on the development of missiles, the V1's and the V2's. So these were very narrow, compacted reports. It was not the total telemetry. It was the telemetry that had to do with successful shots: altitudes, speeds - I didn't know what it was at the time - the weight of the explosives on board, point of impact, how close they came to the target, which was never very close. It was no where. I mean, those things just flew. That's all.

HATCH So it wasn't telemetry being recorded. It was the results of...(blocked by Kirby)

KIRBY The results, and they gave some telemetry. They would give the points of, say, on ascent and on descent, and then in-between there was too much stuff, and so they would simply say, you know, flew from A to...and then you picked up a data point over here, and then when it came down. Now that was principally on the big ones, the little airplane, the V2's. The V1's, my God. They just went anyplace.

BAKER They were already impacting in England by then anyway, the V2's.

KIRBY Well, this was before they started using them operationally. We were reading the stuff.

BAKER Was this either the V1 or...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY Both because they were attempting to...they started actually using them long before they knew what was going to happen, because I think they came to the conclusion you had to. There's something going to become a terrorism thing, so if you send them over and they land on the shore over there, that's hitting the target. And the others, you can do much better. You kind of figure out where they ought to hit. But the point of impact was wild. Believe me, you did not know within a mile and a half or so where those things were going to come in. That came out of the telemetry. The other thing, though, was the altitudes and the speeds. However, it took some kids developing cardboard slide rules for the guys in the aircraft to calculate the speeds of these things with the wind and all. That was really the weapon that was used by the anti-aircraft and all on the ground. Local calculations. All of this scientific data they had didn't really help much, except we knew that they were there and what they were going to do. They were not a surprise. But I was able to solve that, and Harvey has...I've talked to him since, and he identified me as the young American lieutenant who worked on the stuff. But I think the thing that we learned in England during that training period...and it was really terrific, was the fact that SIGINT...In the first place, you can not separate traffic analysis and cryptanalysis, and the second place is, there is no such thing as ELINT and COMINT.

We worked on SIGINT. We worked on anything that was available. We put it all together at the same time. I didn't know what fusion was. We hadn't invented that word, but I also didn't know about COMINT and ELINT, and I did not know about T/A as being a separate art. All I knew was that all these things you did in order to get a solution, and I have still felt that way. I felt that way back here. I couldn't believe that we were not working on signals, any signal that had to do with an event. So, as you probably are aware, in the work that I've done in Greeneville since, and I've been up here on NSAB, I have pushed for something you still haven't quite done. That is, to handle the signals having to do with events, all of them the same, in the area where you are looking at analysis, and prediction, and tracking of a specific event. You should have all the signals available there, be they navigational signals, be they part of the weapons control, be they messages having to do with command and control; whatever. You do it all the same way. And that was one thing that came through very, very loud and clear. And the other thing was, that the name of the SIGINT business was to find the simplest, most direct solution there was; to use the signals themselves as the basis for your solution effort. Not to throw stuff into later a big computer and crunch up everything and hope you could somehow or other figure out how to handle the mess that came out the other end and segregate it into something meaningful, which is what we so often do. But this was the thing. And the other two things that we learned was that you must know much more about the other man's signals than he knows himself. You have to know a lot more about his signal methods, his reasons, the systems he's using, traffic passing, traffic handling methods. You have to know a lot more about that than he does in order to actually do the job. But that and the simplicity of getting work done were two things that really...and the next thing was search. Only it was not called search. We called it discovery. I only learned about search when I came to the States. Search was when you had rotating cover looking for things that you knew should come up. That was search. Discovery is when you looked for new signals, and you spent about a third to a fourth of your assets looking for new links, new signals, new things coming up. And we (B% felt) new signals analysis, or tech signals analysis, which we were never able to really sell to our bosses when I got over here in...when we were developing our own signals intelligence business, that search was always something you fought and fought for, because most people wanted you to just find out all the unknown things in time to do something with them. And I believe that that is still a problem, a bugaboo of the signals intelligence business. You can not have a dynamic and viable signals intelligence business without a tremendous amount of search facilities so that you look for, find, and analyze these signals. Which was a very important part of the British operation.

VANDERPOOL Right. At the time, Mr. Kirby, were you aware of this organization called the Radio Security Service, or the RSS in England?

KIRBY Yeah.

VANDERPOOL Of course, (B% Barclay) Street worked with some of that traffic. Were you involved in that at the time at all?

KIRBY No, not directly. No. I became involved later on when I was here. I became involved just a little bit in some of the pre-TICOM. I know we worked with the OSS and the British Secret Service guys, and I became an advisor, because I could visualize the way things

ought to be and how things ought to work. It was a little bit of a strange assignment. This is one I've never talked about. But I did do some things that were strictly on a basis of personal capability and interest that I had. I knew about it. I was not directly and intensely involved.

VANDERPOOL The reason why I ask that question is I'm trying to find out how the Russians and the Chinese Communists got along before the Korean War; what their relationship was. And as a subset of that, of course I'm looking into the communications that existed between those two entities, and I've read Brigadier Tiltman's manuscripts about the Comintern communications in the thirties and how that evolved and so forth. So that's where I'm coming from.

KIRBY We could talk about this a little bit more later, but basically, let me tell you what part of the problem was. Yes, I did know about this. I could have learned a lot more, but I wasn't interested. I was only interested in the stuff that would get the war over and get me out of uniform and back here to the States. I had no intention to become a career anything, except get back and get back to chemistry. And I'll tell you that's what lay behind a lot of things I did, and I wish I had done differently now - or didn't do - that I wish I'd done differently. I had a chance to get very much involved in what little was known about the Comintern, the NKVD, the liaison with the Chinese which was going in some fashion. What became of the Chinese Communists...remember they didn't exist then. It was only the guerillas in northern China that existed then because the Chinese Nationalists were running the thing. These were the guys in the hills. Now, you'll find a fair amount of information about what happened at the time they took over from the Soviet M211 that we were reading in 1948 when the Russians were rounding up all sorts of equipment, and munitions, and guns, and everything else to turn over to what became the Chinese communist groups as they moved down from northern China into mainland China. We were reading that stuff in the Hagelin machine that was being used by the Soviets at that time.

VANDERPOOL They were discussing turning it over to the Chinese?

KIRBY Man, the orders were there, what they were to round up and that they were to turn over. It's all there. We read the stuff pretty regularly. I mean, read a lot of it. We had broken into it, and we were reading it quite regularly. So if you look at the '47-'48 period, the M211, which is what it was called by them. It was really a version of the old...(blocked by Vanderpool)

VANDERPOOL Do you remember what the ^{25X1} code was? The ^{25X1} Or was it?

KIRBY Sure. Well, we did exploit some of that. We did turn...(cut off by Vanderpool)

VANDERPOOL Well sir, that's a real revelation. You knew about that then?

KIRBY Oh, yeah. And that was the time that I was still working with Waldo (B% Duberstein), and I remember these things quite clearly. My memory and the specific dates sometimes is bad, but that I remember very specifically, and then it died along with everything else in '49 when apparently we had been...(cut off by Hatch)

HATCH 1947 or '48.

KIRBY Yeah, but in '49 remember we had the big turnover when the Russians...(cut off by

Hatch)

HATCH Yeah, but that was in August of '48.

KIRBY Was it '48? Believe me. See, there's where my...(cut off by Hatch))

HATCH (2G). But you'd already said we know it from your speech a couple years ago.

KIRBY Yeah, but this stuff we were reading, and that was one of the main things. That was the high-priority stuff that was in it, was the rounding up of equipment and all to supply what later became the Chinese communists.

VANDERPOOL And that was known...(B% what is) quote, the Special Cream Category that was issued?

KIRBY Yeah.

VANDERPOOL They reference that category.

HATCH But they had the ^{25X1} on every one of the messages they'd send, the cards you kept, which I want to get into, but we're getting ahead of you.

KIRBY Well now, by the way, this was a part of my old problem of keeping track of what you were doing, and what you were reading. It was hard to instill this. And remember, we were just beginning to put machine records in, which was totally against what everybody here wanted to do. When we took hand worksheets away from people and made them use machine runs, you could have heard the screams out here at Fort Meade from Arlington Hall Station. But I figured there had to be records - because I had tried to find things in the manual records that weren't kept - on things I thought were fairly important. But you see, my big problem, even when I was on the TICOM stuff, was I had very little...I did what I was supposed to do. I rounded up people who had worked on Yugoslav, and Russian, and we found the Germans who had worked on Russian stuff. It wasn't until very recently that I realized I had picked up one of the copies of the codebooks that led to VENONA, and I didn't even realize it until Lou Benson told me about it. And I found my...I don't know. It's on the back of a laundry slip, or something. He's got my original thing that I had written the information about going out and talking to a member of the "Forschungsamt", the Goebbels group, about this. And I didn't even realize that's how little it meant to me. I was very interested still in finding out about all the German stuff we didn't know about, but the rest of this stuff I just did it, because I was coming back and getting out and was going to do something else.

VANDERPOOL Well, in the war then, you were aware of this RSS and the Comintern collection back then?

KIRBY Yes. You see, the RSS, there was a station right near Bletchley. I had a good friend who was there, and I used to go out and wait in the anteroom. They were as ticklish about letting you near that facility. Now, there were some OSS guys who worked in there, but it was an RSS facility, and there was cooperation; I can tell you that. But I don't know what was going on because I never tried to find out.

HATCH It was kind of compartmented.

KIRBY Boy, was it compartmented. Sure. That's the first time I...you know. Everything where

we worked at Bletchley, I guess, was compartmented, but I didn't think much about it. And you went out there, and man; you couldn't get beyond the little anteroom which was outside the reception room while you waited for somebody. This was an RSS facility. Now, I could have gotten access to it. I was invited at one point. They had something they wanted to have looked at, and I didn't want to get involved in anything else. So I said, "No." I was not the least bit interested. I knew nothing about it. I obviously couldn't help them, and I sure as heck wasn't going to learn because I could tell that the war was going to get won by us at that point. I just wasn't interested in anything else.

BAKER This outfit was intercepting Soviet traffic?

KIRBY Yes, it had to.

VANDERPOOL It existed for the purpose of collecting clandestine communications. It started out with German, enemy...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY Agent traffic. They worked on agent stuff. ^{25X1}

^{25X1}

^{25X1}

As I said, there was American participation in something at the station, but this was an RSS station.

VANDERPOOL There were OSS people?

KIRBY There were OSS people who had access to some place there.

VANDERPOOL Do you think that was primarily against the Germans, or was that also...it didn't include the Russians at that time, you don't think?

KIRBY It was against the Germans. I believe that facility included Russian. The only reason I knew about Russian prosign's and prosigns is because I had learned it from somebody who came over and gave us a lecture on that from that facility.

VANDERPOOL Okay. They evidently copied Soviet communications back in...(TR Note: tape goes blank here.)

KIRBY (cuts in) Are you on again? Okay, I believe the OSS folks were probably involved in German agent stuff. But I do know they had people there who were experts in other communications, because as I say, at one point we were using some of the facilities being used against the Germans after D-Day. Some of those facilities were being used to copy Russians which we never saw, but we were given a lecture so that if something came through (and) we didn't know what it was, we could identify it from the prosigns. See, we were all TA and linguists and everything, and you did the whole thing. And so we were then going to be the TA sorters if something came through in a batch of unknown stuff and turned out to be Russian. One of those things. We could tell what it was, mark it, and ship it out of Bletchley to wherever they were taking it.

VANDERPOOL So this lecture occurred by the RSS folks while you were still at Bletchley.

KIRBY At Bletchley, yes. Absolutely. And (B% they probably) went off on TICOM. The only rea-

son I knew about the TICOM was because I had already had this lecture, which I paid some attention to just because it was interesting.

- BAKER** (TR Note: Said while Kirby is speaking above) Sometime in '44.
- HATCH** TICOM was in '45.
- VANDERPOOL** So they came and talked about the Comintern?
- KIRBY** They came and talked about Russian communications.
- HATCH** But I'll bet that was in '45, not '44.
- KIRBY** Could be. Could be.
- BAKER** Not all TICOM was '45. Some of it was in '44 right behind the invasion.
- KIRBY** No, no. Yeah, indeed, because it was after the TICOM...some of the things were organized, and there were some activities to pick things up from those islands off the coast which was not TICOM, but was later related to TICOM.
- HATCH** I guess so. Pre-TICOM, but TICOM, I thought, didn't get it organized until after the German surrender.
- KIRBY** That was right. That one became TICOM then. So you got your cards, and...(cut off by Hatch)
- HATCH** But that similar effort kind of followed the forces probably.
- KIRBY** There was the same effort from SHAPE Headquarters had begun before TICOM.
- VANDERPOOL** This effort by the RSS...whatever they did, of course, was secret, but this effort against the Soviet communications and the Comintern communications were obviously then compartmented during the war. Did it continue to be that way after the war was over?
- KIRBY** Yes. Well, I believe we did not really talk freely about...we started talking about Soviet agent communications on a very tentative basis after I was at Arlington Hall Station and had become involved in the Russian program for about - oh, let me see. I believe that the Russian program started over on this side in about '45. Then I arrived here in July of '45, I think it was. No, that was when I was over in England. The new program start...it was later than '45 when I came back here. I have a timeline I've drawn up at home, and I didn't bring that because it's too...(cut off by Vanderpool)
- VANDERPOOL** I think it's in your article. It's in here someplace.
- KIRBY** Yeah, it'll be on that. We started as we began to get away from the "A" Net and the "B" Net. Originally all we had on the Russian was the "A" Net and the "B" Net. The "A" Net was principally what you would now call the long-haul, HF military, and the "B" Net was the diplomatic stuff and agent, which was all over. And they used basically the same communications. You didn't know whether it was agent or whether it was just straight "dip."
- HATCH** The "A" Net was your military service traffic?
- KIRBY** That's right. And they used a lot of U.S. equipment. That's how we figured out which was which. The "B" Net was - and I believe I'm correct in remembering it that way - was

of less interest to us, but it was the "dip" and the agent stuff. We began to talk a little bit about it, but whenever we would get into anything that looked like it was really active in some of the places, we would often find that our British friends knew absolutely nothing about it, and then we'd talk about it. At that point we were not in that position. We didn't have any background in these things at all. We had started working on the diplomatic traffic at the behest of Carter W. Clarke, McCormick, Graham, and a guy named Fomey who was the guy who worked for Carter W. Clarke, and these guys knew a lot about Russian agents in this country. And that's the reason we started working on some of these things, was because they had this vast interest, and they figured somewhere in this traffic there's something about the Russian agent activities in this country which we ought to be able to find out about. As we began to collect...remember, the original collection, we had almost no assets in the right place in Europe to do hardly anything against the Russians. All that we could collect was long-haul HF stuff. Anything that went across the USSR we could also pick up from the stations that had been used for the Japanese out in the Pacific, the navy stations and a few army stations. So we were just reconfiguring. And when we would find something, which we found scraps of here and there, we would talk about it with our UK friends. That's before we had our agreement or anything else. But still, most of us had a lot of friends, and we knew by person, and nobody told us we couldn't do it. So we did correspond. It was slow. It was not efficient, but we had the (2G). (TR Note: partially blocked by a cough)

VANDERPOOL

There's a memorandum in the file, so I brought a copy if you'd like to look at it. It's a memorandum by Mr. Duberstein. This is in July 1946, and he said in effect we've just found some traffic that the [REDACTED] and it's called (B% [REDACTED] ISCOT) traffic [REDACTED] And from that the memorandums started going back over to Mr. Manson and...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY

Somebody brought this batch of stuff in, and I knew it was Russian traffic, and so we got some folks to go and work on it until we discovered...but we did find out what it was called. So that much we did know. And yes, I remember that very well, and I told you we had these little tentative things that would happen now and then. And the ISCOT traffic was of great interest to us.

VANDERPOOL

Did you ever get any U.S. collection on this [REDACTED] There never was any...it was all British then?

KIRBY

The British could collect things that our guys could never even hear. So they had collection capabilities, and we never knew where it came from basically. And probably RSS who, by the way, took some of the very best of the professionals, civilian operators, among other things, and so where they put them, I don't know. We got the idea for the [REDACTED] from the British. Now, how some of these things happened, I have never...nobody's ever told me I shouldn't discuss those things, but we had a [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and if you've been able to trace back far enough, you'll find it goes way, way back right at the end of the war. That was one of the first [REDACTED] things I know about. I was talking to Lou Tordella the other night, and he wasn't aware that it ever happened that way.

BAKER

But not during the war.


KIRBY Not during the war. The end of the war, right at the end of the war.

BAKER That would be sort of a natural with the Russo-Finnish...(B% staring) right across the border, if you just thought about it.

KIRBY Yeah, but ISCOT, I remember that. I remember it was very interesting. Oh believe me, young man, coverage? Hell, we didn't have a capability to cover what was the biggest traffic-carrying thing going which was the Soviet radioteletype, the Baudot stuff; 2-, 6- and 9-channel. We had no capability whatsoever.

VANDERPOOL The thing that apparently upset Mr. Duberstein, or at least whoever wrote the...of course, he might not have written the memo, but he signed it anyway.

KIRBY Waldo signed it. See, I was getting ready to get out. I didn't give a damn.

VANDERPOOL Anyway, apparently the upsetting part about this development was^{25X1}
^{25X1}


KIRBY That's right, but you see the agreement to exchange was a very looseygoosey type of thing. It depended on what you felt like you wanted to exchange. Until '48 that's basically what it was.

VANDERPOOL Sir, do you...as I've been able to recover anyway, the British did give the United States beginning about that same time, right after that, what they had published^{25X1}
^{25X1} traffic. Was that distributed to U.S. customers? Did you take that around and show that...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY It was distributed to U.S. customers. But no, it did not come to the SIGINT organization. That was intelligence organization distribution. There was a difference. Remember, the distributions in those days...the British during the war held their distribution to the commanders and to a key staff member of commands. And we basically did the same thing. You did not have any ten-thousand person lists of distribution. It was very small. They were to be action officers only. The decisions were made who those action officers were. And those distributions all happened through an intelligence chain. The Brit's and everybody else set up these offices which were intelligence offices, which controlled the distribution of the material that came from the SIGINT exploitation. Nobody could confirm where it came from.

BAKER Yeah, and in our army that was the Special Branch.

KIRBY The Special Branch.

HATCH And I have questions along that line, if I could get into it. In fact...(cut off by Baker)

BAKER Can we...are you still working World War II?

HATCH No, but we're talking product, and I only have a few questions, and it doesn't look like we're ever going to get there.

KIRBY Well let's get there. But that was intelligence distribution.

HATCH I know it's out of sequence, but I have a quick...I think he should be able to get rid of it in a little bit. That's the problem. I've been working the Soviet problem, the BOURBON Project, from '45 to '48, and I'm having trouble finding product. The British were producing as early as '45, these translations, just to kind of ring your memory. And they had a distribution on it. We're in the Soviet problem, okay? And they produced a translation. This one happened to be number 3, and they were serialized, and dated. They had distributions. I can't find any equivalent of American other than these 5x7 cards. Does that ring a familiar? Was that intelligence? Did you just give these cards to G2?

KIRBY That's right.

HATCH So you didn't put a distro on them? They have a serialization, but you just kind of handed them, and then they produced intelligence for distribution?

KIRBY No. We did not list the distributions of any of these things.

HATCH So these were essentially the product? And the navy was similar.

KIRBY That's the product. The product in some cases was the worksheet. The worksheet itself with the translation on it was the product, and you turned it over to the Special Branch people. Later you turned it over to the State Department folks who came in here and the various other intelligence users, and this was your record of what had been (B% distributed). (Blocked by Hatch)

HATCH If you had more than one person to show it to you, how did you do that? If you sent one of these cards to...you just made copies, or retyped them and made copies and sent them to the State Department and that kind of thing?

KIRBY The guy was here. We didn't send them anywhere. They came in and got them.

HATCH Oh, he was sitting in the same shop. Okay, you only had one card, and then people would come in and read them and then write their notes and stuff.

BAKER By "here," you mean Arlington Hall.

KIRBY Yeah. Special Branch got copies of everything, and they were the brokers. At one point they brokered to everybody. And then finally it got to the point that we didn't like the way they were brokering, and so we started a new policy, which was earth-shaking, of going around and taking initial results of stuff ourselves and waving it in people's faces and saying, "Would you be interested in this?" That was an enormous policy change.

VANDERPOOL Do you remember when that was?

KIRBY 1946. Sure do. I got kicked out of...(cut off by Hatch)

HATCH What were you taking? These little cards?

KIRBY We were taking...not even the cards. We were taking extracts of stuff because we didn't show any tech data. We didn't show where it came from or anything. Just said, "Would you be interested in this kind of messages?"

HATCH So then you were starting to take the tech data out, because there's a lot of tech data in these cards.

KIRBY There was no tech data. These cards did for everything. It was a worksheet; it was the record of where it came from; it was the TA record. It's all there.

HATCH Okay, everything you needed to know was virtually there.

KIRBY You see later, even with the Special Branch, we said we ain't going to give you guys this because they would try to use it and do TA, and they would misinterpret it, and they'd screw things up royally.

HATCH Which is how it evolved into the product report which took out the technical data, because they would...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY Yes, which took the tech data completely out. They would try to use it, and they wouldn't come back and ask, and it would be wrong. So we got tired of answering the dumb questions that came to us based on wrong interpretation of what was being put out.

VANDERPOOL Mr. Kirby, when you got a piece of British product like this one here, did you also give that to G2, and the State Department, and these other people?

KIRBY No. That was our exchange.

VANDERPOOL We got four copies though, so we probably shared them.

KIRBY We had copies which we then used bu....now, at a later date we did distribute, but earlier when we got the stuff, that was our...that was the technical exchange, and we used it for our own purposes. The intelligence exchange was directed to an intelligence user from the Brit's, and they didn't like that.

VANDERPOOL In other words, the British would have been giving that directly to the G2 as a product.

KIRBY Yes. See, we and ASA and all, we did not get involved in negotiations of setting up exchanges and stuff like that; not until 1948. We just didn't. That was done elsewhere by the McCormick's, and people like that. That was all done at a different level by the Chief of Staff Army. Read what happened before the BRUSA Conference of '48 and you'll find...now, Joe Wenger got involved on the navy side. They had a little bit different way of handling things. But still, he did not get involved in the government...(cut off by Vanderpool)

HATCH We had a Joint Coordinator for Operations, and you had a Liaison Group. They were all SIGINT'ers.

KIRBY The JIC and ANCICC. They didn't do a thing. That was useless. Totally useless. They did nothing. ANCICC and those other things were...they existed, the coordinating groups. That was '45. No, they didn't do a thing. We never even knew they were there. I don't know what they coordinated. They didn't bother us at all.

BAKER Just look at all that paper I've got. Well, that's it, see. You're looking at the paper register. There's a paper trail of an ineffective...(cut off by Hatch)

HATCH May well be.

KIRBY Because I was thinking maybe I might even have a note on one of my sheets of paper about...I'll bet I do. (TR Note: Kirby apparently looking through some papers.) No I don't. No, I know about them, but when we were looking at unification, we studied them

in great detail and how come they weren't worth a blankety blank. I will not ever do that again because they were coordinating groups without any agreement behind them to coordinate. And that was because of Roosevelt. Was only because of things he had done...that he wanted. Remember, he limited who would do SIGINT.

HATCH Yeah, and we were trying to get our act together so we could speak with one voice to the Brit's. That was part of the motive for creating the ANCICC.

KIRBY Right, but they were there, and they existed as symbols, but that's about what they were.

HATCH They weren't as effective. Of course, that's why we came along with AFSA. I'd like you just to quickly take a brief look at this. This was produced by AFSA in '47 and is called "A Traffic Analytic Fusion Air Item." Would this be considered a product or a technical report in your view?

KIRBY Technical report.

HATCH This would be a technical report. Okay. Not a product per se.

KIRBY A technical report because - let me tell you when the things became product - mid 1948. Beginning in 1947 we had started putting together reports involving pulling together a lot of materials. First it was in the TA area, because there we had already convinced people to stay out of our backyard. This was our regime. So we began to put together the reports that correlated what was going on and said this is an air district; they're doing the following...you know, military district.

HATCH And it wasn't as sensitive as the cryptanalytic...release a little bit more.

KIRBY No, it was not as sensitive initially as that. It was Top Secret. But no. It was not as sensitive, and those reports, nobody argued about. It was not until mid-'48 - and I don't remember the exact date - but I know it was mid-'48 that Olan Adams, and Jake Gurin, and I convinced Frank Rowlett to let us start putting together reports using a lot of messages on a given subject. And that was...(cut off by Hatch)

HATCH You started combining messages instead of producing translations on individual...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY You couldn't produce translations. It didn't mean anything.

HATCH Yeah, and you started to start putting several translations together and writing...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY Right. You didn't even translate. You started putting together the guts of a series of messages which you listed the messages, and you kept them together as the source material, but you analyzed them, and you put out a report.

HATCH It was mostly on plaintext, I'll bet you.

KIRBY This was plaintext. This is the way it started. It was plaintext. These were the ones that we did on...the only thing we did there was on TA, the externals on the others. But on plain language, on plaintext, we started doing it because we were beginning to get the atomic energy system together with Olan Adams and with the lend-lease information that was down in Washington, and we convinced people that we could put this together.

We had also had a...(laughs) CIA had sent an expert over who wanted us to convert the Russian Cyrillic messages into the English equivalents, and then he found that, hey you know what? It still doesn't read English. And then, I kid you not, this was the greatest joke that we ever had for many years. And he came back and he says, "It still doesn't make any sense." And we said, "It is Russian, and Russian is different from English, like German is different from English. And you must translate it, and we've got the translators. You don't have the translators. And if you want the information, we had better put these things together and give you the information." Now, the initial thing that carried us was the spy-handling stuff, the spy-handlers. The next was the plain language. The atomic energy plus all of the Soviet production stuff which went on for a number of years. You see, I am not a cryptanalyst for cryptanalysis sake. I was a SIGINT'er to keep SIGINT alive, and I believe that any source of information was a valid source of information, and we should use it.

HATCH

25X1

KIRBY

Heck, it had dried up in '48.

HATCH

25X1

KIRBY

We were exploiting a bunch of stuff, and it had dried up, and we were just getting our collection in line on printer which looked like it would be the real, great source of all kinds of material. And also in late '48 we had someone in here who invented the synthetic language for sorting by machine the plain language traffic, which we still use; the same kind of thing (but) much more refined. But now, on the material. Translations were the medium of exchange. The translations were given directly to users, and we had lists of who got what translations. They went directly to the intelligence users. You will find no notations on these of what anything means.

HATCH

Well, sometimes they had annotations or comments.

KIRBY

But related to another piece of traffic.

HATCH

Oh all right. You never referred back to another piece of traffic. You might expand on an abbreviation within that...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY

That's it. That's all. No annotations that were intelligence context because we had people all over us with both feet and clubs. There were many who tried to do that because, after all, we were going to put them out of business if we started doing intelligence interpretation.

HATCH

We've had that war going on ever since.

KIRBY

Of course you have. We started it, and you guys will someday finish it. (laughter) But yes, it has been going on ever since. Plain language was the first time we had the right and privilege (B% do not do it) and always reserve to start doing something. Milt Zaslav and some of the guys later tried to actually take encryption and stuff like that and amalgamate that, and believe me, the fight got so intense that I always felt that was a lost cause. I forget. They threw that stuff away and did their own thing anyway. They'd use it as a guide but wouldn't give you any credit for it. To me the rule was if nobody else could do it, and you had to extract the data and put it out in a written and annotated form, you were allowed to do it because nobody else could do it. If anybody else could

come close, it was never going to be your right and privilege. And I believe you'll probably find...I don't even have to look. I can believe that's probably still the situation as long as anybody else has any people.

HATCH Okay, that's the only questions I had. Appreciate...I know we were out of sequence.

BAKER Yeah, I'd like to step back to...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY Oh by the way, this goes back a long time. GCHQ basically did the same thing. We turned out translations of ENIGMA, from scrambler. Sometimes if they were important enough, the Prime Minister would call down to Hut-3. Remember Hut-3 was a combination of intelligence guys, and translators. It was not SIGINT translation, per se. It had intelligence people there who were able to make the interpretations and then to pass the information on. So it was a little bit different. Their distribution system was a little bit different from our's - a lot different, I should say.

BAKER I want to step back to the times of the invasion, D-Day. While you were at Bletchley, were you ever involved in the teletype traffic with Turing and...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY You bet. Yeah, that's why I was working over in the Turing area. That's where we exploited the teletype traffic. And I was learning about it because, I told you, I wanted to know how these things worked, and so I figured - it was a big area - that I would like to learn about because it was much different from the ENIGMA, and I wanted to know how this stuff worked.

BAKER Did you work with Turing himself?

KIRBY No, I saw Turing. I think you'd have had a great deal of trouble with Turing himself. This guy was something else.

BAKER (laughing) Didn't really work with anybody. He was in his own little world.

KIRBY He was a very unstable guy. My little Scotch professor that I worked with on the stuff from the German ranges was a stable, honest-to-goodness, regular citizen compared to Turing. Turing went off his rocker occasionally, and had to be sent out to be stabilized again. He was called to a mental institution and then brought back to go to work again. And the little girls - the Waves - who worked over there looked for all the signs all the time so that they could try to catch him before he went off the deep end. I'm sure I would not have been able as an ordinary farmboy from Illinois who just happened to have a memory - I could remember everything at that point. I can't any more - But I would not have been able to discourse with him at all. I could with the rest of the people, with Brigg, and all these other folks, Joe Hooper and some of them, but Turing...I'm sure Turing was on a different wave length. I did meet him, and I realized I would not be able to talk much with this man. But he was very brilliant. So what I was learning was how the scramblers worked, what they did, the degree of exploitation (and) the kind of stuff...and by the way, when people stand up and talk about the Hitler messages. They never came out of ENIGMA. Any Hitler messages or any of that came out of the scramblers. They did not come out of...(cut off by Baker)

BAKER By scramblers, you mean the teletype that they started sending in...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY The messages back to the headquarters from Rommel and all, they were in ENIGMA.

But, believe me, stuff coming back from Berlin did not come (B% on the machine).

BAKER How did we intercept those? Was it radio?

KIRBY Oh yeah, it was radio. Sure, and we intercepted it. It was radioteletype. Where there were radio links you intercepted on the radio, and in the process of doing this, at one point some folks - and I helped do this - got the idea that why don't we use something simpler? I would like to see what the data train looks like taken on a recorder. The only thing you had was "Hellschreibers", so "Hellschreibers" were used, and that's when they discovered that there was leakage in the mixer. If you looked at "Hellschreiber" recordings of certain links, you could see the plain language underneath as spikes. And we did that with the Russians too in the early days.

BAKER Okay, you say you were using "Hellschreibers." This was captured equipment?

KIRBY It was like "Hellschreibers." Part of what we do is when we captured and talked to the Germans, "Hellschreibers" had been used - oh my - they were used on automatic Morse and stuff like that for I don't know how many years. It's a piece of tape, up and down tapes...(cut off by Baker)

BAKER With squiggly lines.

KIRBY Right, and if you had leakage, if you intercepted teletype, "Here's one with spikes." Well, something had been mixed with that. "Oh, there's a little spike down here." Something leaked through, and you could guess that that was the plaintext message being mixed with the key generated by the machine, and if it read plain, guess what? You were reading plain language out from under the scrambler. So that much I learned in the process of being over there which was sort of a new thing. Turing would have been far above that. He would not have been the slightest bit interested. All he wanted was his...and they were computers. He was inventing and using computers.

BAKER The COLOSSUS.

KIRBY Right, which is much different from the BOMBE's which were simply relay-operated multiple-bank machines. Quite a different thing. And we were not ready for computers yet because those dang things didn't work a lot. But the plain language was a great shocker.

BAKER Okay, that helped with the exploitation obviously.

KIRBY That helped with the exploitation. I don't know how much because I didn't work that closely that much.

BAKER Were they in fact exploiting a lot of that traffic, or was it a limited amount?

KIRBY Oh, yes. No, don't forget. I don't think we ever went much above five percent total exploitation in any of the stuff.

BAKER Even the ENIGMA.

KIRBY Right. If you looked at the total traffic, you looked at the message counts and all, we did not exploit a lot. We exploited only certain links on nets, but we also were very careful to look for...this is why traffic analysis and why analysis of product was important. You looked at the ones that produced what you wanted.

BAKER So you hoped that five percent was the important five percent.

KIRBY Oh, that would turn out to be reasonably important because it sort of kept track of...when anybody says there was a hundred percent exploitation, forget it. It was not. It was a very small percentage. And that used to be our argument with the budget people. "Oh, you can only get so many percent." Percent means nothing. What's the percent from, is what counts. And after all, of all the traffic on the air we have never intercepted but a small percent.

BAKER Right. That's true. It's true today.

KIRBY I mean, you try to intercept what's important. And so when I hear people today bemoaning the fact there's all this mass of stuff, and we can't get it, I think, "Fellows, you just gotta get smart, and you have to have somebody telling you or figure out yourself what's important, and then you go after that." If you can do that I still don't believe the numbers mean an awful lot. Because it could be one percent that was important. Of what we read of the KGB traffic...but don't ever figure out the percent. It's so small it would scare you to death, but it produced some very interesting information.

BAKER At what point were you selected to participate in the (B% TICOM thing)?

KIRBY I'm not sure. I was talking with Paul Neff about that two nights ago. All I know is that I knew German, (and) I was willing to go do anything. I volunteered for things that are not written up anywhere on my record.

BAKER A cardinal failure in the military. (laughs)

KIRBY I volunteered for joint operations where I was willing to do things that were not anywhere on my job description as a 9600, or whatever the devil I was as a cryptanalyst, along with a couple of other of my British friends. So I don't know. I'm not sure whether I volunteered, or whether our bosses volunteered, and neither is Paul Neff. We were talking about that two nights ago. All I know is that one day I was told you are going to participate, and I was given an explanation of this operation, and I'd been so used to being told what I was going to do that I just said, "Fine. That sounds good to me." But I was very willing to volunteer for an area where other people did not want to go.

BAKER And this was early '45?

KIRBY Yes, which was up in north Germany, and I was very happy to go into...(cut off by Baker)

BAKER Was there some sort of training you got (B% for it)?

KIRBY No. An explanation of what the thing was. Now, we were one of the few teams that had a specific list of things to do. They were not SIGINT, all of them. We were to look for the GOLIATH VLF system; we were to look for COURIER, the burst transmission system; we were to look for any German nuclear scientists who might be running around because they'd supposed to have been up in Denmark and Norway and places like that; we were to look for any information that the Germans had on any Soviet equipment that we didn't know about. That was the only one that we were not to ever talk about to anybody. And then there was a specific list of people of interest. We were not to pick them up. We were to find out where they were, if we could. And I find that that is

the only TICOM team that had guidance. The rest of them just were over there looking for stuff. Talking to Neff, that's what he tells me, and I wasn't a member of another team, so I don't know.

BAKER And you didn't have any sort of communications with these other teams?

KIRBY No. We had communications back to London. We had our own radio operator with us. In fact, what I did in order to help find some of this stuff, two fellows were there from the U.S. Navy as a part of a team like TICOM, up in that area, and they were my former professors of German from the University of Illinois. So I knew both of them real well. We would swap; I could authorize them to use our radio operator and our link back to London, and we could send their messages, and then they would put their messages in the proper navy channels to get them to the guys they were talking to.

BAKER But they weren't part of TICOM.

KIRBY They were not part of TICOM. They were not part of anything having to do with me. They were part of the U.S. Navy.

HATCH TICOM wasn't exclusively army!

KIRBY Oh no, no. TICOM was everything. TICOM was SHAPE.

HATCH It was multi-service, and navy had it's own thing going.

KIRBY It was SHAPE. It was under the SHAPE Headquarters. The navy had a thing going on technical collection, and when I'd find things that I thought were of interest to the navy I'd turn them over to these guys. They were the ones that sent back the one codebook I found - that the Forschungsamt guy had found - sent it back to an address I had that was valid, a navy address in Washington, D.C. And I was going to have trouble getting back and getting this into the TICOM channel, and so I gave it to them to send, and they even got a receipt back over our communications that said that the thing had gotten there.

BAKER Where did you enter the comms net? Did you go in at Bremerhaven?

KIRBY I'm not sure. No, I think our operator went right back to England.

BAKER No, no. When you first got them comms...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY Oh, I went into Brussels, and then on VE night flew in a Camel up to Flensburg which is where the British Royal Marine Commando - the amphibious assault unit - was located, and joined them there as the single American with the group. I was the only American, and I was also the medical guy.

HATCH Because you knew some chemistry, huh?

KIRBY No, I knew some medical stuff. You ask did I have any training? I did have one set of training, if you're interested. And so I became...what do you call the guys that go around today in ambulances and all?

HATCH Paramedic?

KIRBY I became the paramedic. I became like a paramedic. Once again, it's not on my record, but I was.

HATCH How many on the team?

KIRBY The team was composed...there were two British officers (cut off by Baker)

BAKER Theses were Royal Marines?

KIRBY Yes. There were no career officers or men of any kind in that unit, because this was a unit that violated boundaries right and left depending on their assignments. They did not want any career personnel who would go into an area and raise cane and later, as a part of their career, be confronted by a colonel or somebody who'd been the guy that they went into his area and messed things up, and he'd know about it. So there was no career officers. The team was about...there was about 16 enlisted men and three of us who were officers. Remember, this was still part of an AAU, and they never changed it.

HATCH AAU?

KIRBY Amphibious Assault Unit.

HATCH How would you proceed? If you were looking for some general...you had a list of people you were looking for, how would you look for them?

KIRBY That was left up to you. Free reign. I'd go into the closest British headquarters, and after they decided not to kick me out because I was an American in the wrong area, and they would recognize the thing from SHAPE Headquarters that said that TICOM was something valid that they knew nothing about, but they would check and find that, okay, they shouldn't send me back to the American zone, then I could start asking people about...did anybody know where there were German prisoners from...and I had a list of units.

HATCH I assume you had a list of German field stations which you knew were COMINT centers.

KIRBY Oh, I knew them by heart.

HATCH You knew that. So then you would be going to those places and people who worked...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY No. I was looking for people.

HATCH The people who worked there?

KIRBY I figured those stations were long since gone. There would be no interest whatsoever in those stations. And so that's not what I looked for. I looked for supply dumps; I looked for supply centers, but I looked for prisoners and where were their high-level prisoners? I mean majors and above. Guess what! Every Schloss in Germany is what Paul Neff was telling me last night. They found them down south too. They were in the castle, and it was a prison. Schloss Glucksburg, up north, was British 8th Army, and they had high-level people from Forschungsamt, OKW, Luftwaffe; all of the folks who were pretty high-level were in those places. Dr. Huettenein, who some of you have had - NSA's had dealings with - who became the head COMSEC guy in Germany, was a prisoner in Schloss Glucksburg. I bailed him out, put him in an inn in town, and I had the authority to do that. I signed for these guys as prisoners, bailed them out, took them away from the prison where they were subject to interface with "200 percenters" who felt that any-

body talking to a British or an American was a traitor. And we had a number of quote, suicides that we weren't sure were suicides. And also this place had a lot of amputees. Flensburg was a center for people who had lost one or both legs, arms and things like that. And that inn had tents and all behind it. There were a lot of amputees there. There was good food and no rabid Nazi folks there. But I bailed these people out, put them in the inn to get them away from the Schloss and kept the receipt on them, and then when I bailed out another guy I'd take these and dig up some other stuff to get him away from the Forschungsamt, which is Goebbel's unit and was a research unit. I did not put him back in the Schloss, because he said he couldn't talk to me unless I could guarantee him he would not have to go back, because they might do him bodily harm if he went back. When I left Germany, I went south and I found Dr. Huettenhein's family for him. I already had gotten my message which said return to "Uncle, Sugar, Able" as soon as you can arrange it. That was my orders. And I went south and found the family, and then later on when we began to get into U.S. German work and in fact at E Systems where we did the (B% BESPEAK) problem, Huettenhein and these people were...I already knew them all. They were all my friends and guys in various places.

BAKER Did you ever swap tales about this time with Howard Barlow? I think he had a similar experience.

KIRBY Yes, and I went back about 5 years ago. I took the chit from British 8th Army, and I delivered it to Dr. Huettenhein and told him he was no longer my prisoner. And he framed it and put it on his wall. But I delivered it back to him.

VANDERPOOL Did the TICOM mission predominantly have a Russian flavor to it?

KIRBY No. As much German as anything else. We were looking for German radar; we were looking for German radio collection equipment, transmission equipment, but one of the big things was radars and anything else in the way of new types of transmission systems. The very low frequency was submarine, and the COURIER which was submarine. The reason we did it up north was because the submarine base is at Kiel, and the GOLIATH was just out of Kiel over across in the Russian zone, the transmitter itself. This was the one that broadcast in part into the ground.

VANDERPOOL Do you know who levied these requirements on you?

KIRBY I have no idea. They came from SHAPE Headquarters. I'm sure there was a scientific group there that had a bunch of scientific requirements. But we didn't get all of them. A lot of those would go to like the navy team. If it was navy gear having to do with something like (B% ASDIC) sonar, or something like that, I'm sure that they would get that. Propulsion systems, we didn't get anything on that.

VANDERPOOL I wonder where this Russian requirement came from?

KIRBY Oh, the Russian requirement. There was a heavy requirement. It was there behind everything.

VANDERPOOL It was included, but it wasn't exclusive.

KIRBY It was included, but it was not exclusive.

VANDERPOOL But I wonder where that came from? Who generated that?

KIRBY No idea, except I already knew they were collecting Russian stuff so I wasn't surprised.

VANDERPOOL Why?

KIRBY I mean, you expected it. I didn't have much interest in it. I didn't know that much about it.

HATCH The Russians...we were allies. Why were you...(cut off by Baker)

BAKER You gotta remember there's a...their close association with the British, and the British never trusted the Russians.

HATCH I know. I'm just trying to make a little sense of that.

KIRBY Oh, the Russians were our allies.

HATCH Did you feel you didn't trust the Russians, or they were the next set of bad guys? You didn't feel that at the time?

KIRBY No, I didn't. I had had no contact with the Russians except at one point in Minden, Germany. While I was still at Bletchley, we had read a couple of messages when major German headquarters up in that area were folding up. One of them I remembered very well because, you see, I didn't always have to wait for Hut-3 to translate the messages. I read the ones I was interested in myself. I had read a message which said that a headquarters had a "Bahn" something. I swear to this day I can't remember what it was. When it folded up they had put a lot of records and all...and these were records of Russian agents' stuff that they had...what was it, the "Red Church?" Well anyway, they...(cut off by Hatch)

HATCH "Red Orchestra."

KIRBY Okay, they had..."Rot Kapella" is what they called it. They had read a lot of stuff. This was a group that was doing that, and they had put all this stuff in tins, sealed and wrapped, waterproofed and put down a well. Okay, well remember, we had the authority to do a whole bunch of things, and you never asked a question because you might not get the answer you wanted. So the left lieutenant and I decided we would go into the Russian zone. He spoke Russian. We had a driver who was Polish, and he spoke enough Russian, and we'd be fine. We decided we would go into the Russian zone, and it wasn't too far down to this place, and we would go down there and see if we could pick that up. We understood the Russians were really not much in that area. They were...and our intelligence was all wrong. They were all through there. The minute we crossed the border our friendly Russian allies greeted us, and man, they escorted us every foot of the way. So we very quickly decided we would go to another place where we would tell them that what we were wondering about - it was a place that had a small airbase - that we understood that they had some strange, new types of helicopters. I forget what the lie was. So we went there. We did not go to the place we intended.

HATCH You didn't want the Russians to know you were going after...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY They were with us every inch of the way. They escorted us back to the border. When we got back to the border they liked to took our weapons carrier apart. At that point I decided these are not really very friendly guys. They took it apart, and they had been with us every inch of the way. But they were convinced somehow or other we must

have picked something up, and we were hiding something. They made us lay out everything in our duffle bags; everything. They searched everything.

BAKER So all this material is probably still down a well someplace.

KIRBY Now, somebody has asked, "Do you remember?" I don't remember where it is. I truly have forgotten because...but this made me decide this was a dumb idea. Then we realized we were in the Russian zone. Nobody really knew where we were when you got right down to it. If they never let us go back nobody would ever know what the devil happened. So this was not a good idea.

VANDERPOOL Did you actually talk to some of the Germans who had been intercepting the Russian communications?

KIRBY Yes I did. I talked to one. Oh, I talked to several. Colonel (B% Keppler) was one. You'll find him...we interrogated him on a lot of things. But he didn't know much. He'd been an administrative officer, a colonel in charge of some of the intercept units and communications units that had worked...but we talked to some of his people. He told us who the various people were who had worked on Hungarian, who had worked on Yugoslav, and worked on Polish - the guys who were against them - who had worked on Russian operational stuff, the tanks and the army, the troops. And then I found this one gem from Forschungsamt who had worked on the NKVD and the - what do you call it, the (B% Augku)? - the guys that surveilled the troops. And basically that's where the normal stuff came from; they had picked up from Petsamo.

VANDERPOOL That's where you got the crypto system then.

KIRBY Yeah, that's where we got their system. In fact, it wasn't until Lou Benson mentioned the name Petsamo a couple years ago. It never occurred to me I had knew anything about any of that. I didn't know I had picked that up. But when he said that, that rang a bell. Yeah, I had gone to this fellow, and he was the only one that would talk to me. And he said they had been using some of this stuff and that the books and all they brought north with them, and he could take me to where they had their cache. He thought there was traffic and there was a codebook. Well I figured, gee, a codebook. I didn't find many neat things like that. Really, you found lots of junk. But all the places you went, if you went to a station it was a shambles. Most of the stations either the Germans and all had been through it, or in that area the displaced persons: the Czechs, the Russians, and the Poles who were DP's had been through every place. Anything they couldn't use they tore up. In fact, they'd shoot at you too. It was very bad to be around them, because they thought you were coming to run them up, and they did not want to go back home. They all said they were going to be killed. It turned out later, they were probably right.

BAKER There were a lot of armed DP's?

KIRBY Oh man. All over the place. Yeah, see, they were all turned loose.

BAKER So this is not a part of (1G)?

KIRBY Oh, they were all turned loose. There were DP's running all over the place. The British were starting to round them up because they were going to send them back. And both the DP's and the captured Soviet soldiers said that their families had been put in prison,

or sent to Siberia, or killed, and they would be killed because anyone who had been outside the USSR, and if you were a Soviet and taken prisoner, you were done for.

BAKER Okay, so the Russian troops expected to...(cut off by Hatch)

HATCH They did not want to go back to Russia.

KIRBY They did not want to go back to Russia, and the DP's said, "Hey, the fact that we've been outside Russia and in a zone which is British or American, they will send us to a prison camp, or they'll kill us when we go back." So they had every reason, and they had picked up...oh, you would run into munition dumps and all, and there were guns. There were all sorts of things available if you really wanted them. Yes, our biggest problem was...we got a bullet right through the windshield of our jeep, between the British lieutenant and myself one time driving out to a place, and somebody took a shot at us. Luckily they weren't good...but they were a pretty good shot.

HATCH Either very good or very poor.

BAKER If that was a warning it was very good.

KIRBY Whatever happened, we did not complete our mission that day. We turned around. Now, you asked (about) the method of operation. The method of operation was first to find the people in the various prison camps and all. That was a very good source. The next thing was to find installations. If you could find installations like the dumps and all, you would look for addresses and things like that. Then when you found people, they would tell you where things had happened. For instance, on the navy very low frequency and on the COURIER up in Flensburg a navy enlisted man who had used the burst - the COURIER, that magnetic thing on a wheel that they ran by a reading head - he said he had been on PT boats that were using that and that one guy who was...and in fact, he invented it for the PT boats, not the submarine. They did too. But that the man who knew a lot about that was now a guard and sort of a caretaker at the navy munition dump in Flensburg, and we should go there and talk to him. I went there in a jeep, and at that time they were unloading sea mines from a German minelayer, and they dropped one and the entire dump blew up and killed the guy I was supposed to talk to and blew my jeep off the road into the ditch, which was the luckiest thing that happened, and then it burned. And the "Patria," the ship we were staying on, was being shelled by exploding shells that were lobbing stuff. Oh, it was a beautiful fireworks display. So that was the major war damage that Flensburg suffered. Another time was a MOSQUITO when he was going back hadn't expended all of his canons, 20-millimeter ammunition, and shot up a church steeple as he flew over. That was basically it. But it blew up the entire dump, and so I never talked to this gent. Later the man who was in charge of the German Navy SIGINT organization in north Germany...we were over there and I met him, and he was the guy I was looking for who had helped invent and apply COURIER to the submarines. But he was a PT boat man, and he said they did invent it for PT boats - the burst transmissions.

BAKER So how long were you engaged in TICOM activity?

KIRBY From about May...not long. Just a couple three months. From late April probably of '45 until officially I got my authorization to return to the States. I did look this up. I did find the laundry slip or whatever I wrote that important information on. At the end of July of

'45, and I returned to the States actually at the end of July of '45. I flew. I wrote my orders to get me down into the American zone, and they accepted my handwritten orders (and) British authorization with my message which said I could return...I was American Army, and I could return to USA. They accepted that at the airdrome in...I forget but it was in Germany, maybe Frankfurt. I don't know. One of those places, and I flew back to the States in an airplane, the northern route, of course.

HATCH Why were you pulled out so precipitously? You say you got the orders to return to Uncle-Sugar-Able. Why was that?

KIRBY Basically, what we had said was we've done all...I wrote one back to England which said, "Hey, we've sent you all the stuff we can send you. This is getting to be repetitious. I can send you a carload of crypto gear. You've already got half a carload. I can send you more instructions. I found the ENIGMA (B% Uhr) (TR Note: German for clock.) We've sent you that. We've found all kinds of code and cipher instructions for other countries. We've interrogated these various people. I don't think there's anything else we can do." So we suggested our usefulness is over here. And that was my feeling that it was over. Besides that, I wanted to get the heck out of there. But then I did receive a message back which said you are authorized to return to the USA. I was to come back and stop near Bletchley, at the little (B% brick hill), and then I would get my further orders. Basically that's what I did. I stopped at little (B% brick hill), but I knew that they still accepted my British orders. They didn't write me new ones. They may have; I don't remember. But then I went into London and from London to someplace else, and that's where I caught the airplane to go back to the States.

BAKER This whole time while you were involved in TICOM, were you actually detached from the 6813th? (Yes.) So you had to come back through and process out.

KIRBY Yes. I was assigned to the British Royal Commando Unit

BAKER But you were still actually a member of the 6813th ?

KIRBY Yeah. Just like when I was here at NSA I worked for CIA and the State Department several times. I was seconded to them, and I got their per diem. That was nice. I wished they'd do that all the time. Our per diem here at NSA is pretty chintzy compared to CIA's special per diem. I was anxious to do that any time I could find the excuse.

VANDERPOOL Mr. Kirby, I'd like to return to this Comintern Moscow-Chinese stuff. Here are some of those British translations that I referred to earlier. I got those from Lou Benson. He gave them to me.

KIRBY Oh yeah. These began in '44 and ran up through, what? '47?

VANDERPOOL Yes sir. Well, actually, this series here ends in '46, but the State Department evidently got some dated 1947, and they're not in this collection.

KIRBY Yeah, they ran through '47. That's why I said '47.

VANDERPOOL Yeah, you sure did. I wonder where they came from? Would they have come direct from the British also?

KIRBY Yeah. Don't forget now, the British organization...if you look at it you'll find that during war time the Foreign Office really kind of took over the exploitation because that's

where the GCHQ organization sort of fell under that, but there were still several intelligence organizations in the British government. And one of them was another Foreign Office, diplomatic. They were the ones that were handling this stuff.

VANDERPOOL And what was their title? Do you remember?

KIRBY God Almighty. I don't know, but it's in one of the books that's been written about it. It's in that sort of lousy book - it's just come out - about the deals prior to...wait a minute. I'll tell you what it is.

HATCH Smith book?

KIRBY Smith! Yes.

HATCH "The ULTRA Magic Deals."

KIRBY Deals; that's right. Okay, and they mentioned the one thing that he's correct about. There's not many other things he is. One thing he's correct about - and there were some things that obviously came from NSA influence; that was correct - is that he lists the various intelligence organizations and the internecine warfare that went on. It was one of those other intelligence organizations that handled this agent stuff, rather than military intelligence, which became the big thing during the war. But there was another British intelligence handling organization. I don't remember now what they called. I should, but I don't remember.

VANDERPOOL I've seen references in this...actually it's another batch of material I didn't bring with me. I left it in the office. It's like handwritten logs by this man Scott, who produces stuff for us. He refers to a meeting at Barnet (spelled). Does that ring a bell?

KIRBY That's probably one of the stations. Barnet does ring a bell. I've heard it, but I don't remember where it is.

VANDERPOOL That wouldn't have been an RSS station...(blocked by Kirby)

KIRBY It could very well have been. It sounds to me like it was a station. Remember my problem is that's just about 50 years ago, and I find my memory does have holes in it, especially in the things that I was not - well, let me be honest - not truly terribly interested in. I sort of remember almost everything having to do with details. You ask me how you write out a menu for a crib. Man, I can do that today; split, or (B% sillies, or sib's). I remember all those things, but I don't remember some of these others.

VANDERPOOL So those translations there would have come to the British G2, or would they have come to you folks in ASA?

KIRBY We got some of this stuff long after it had been exchanged with somebody over on this side.

VANDERPOOL After it had been exchanged. They said they sent over a batch of this material in 1953, but before then, of course, this had already been distributed.

KIRBY They had already been using this stuff with whoever they had a deal with over here, and we were not part of it at that point, really.

VANDERPOOL That's an important point.

KIRBY We were not part of it. We knew in the 40's; we knew about this stuff. That's the Duberstein memo. We picked it up in some of the early discussions when we were talking to people about would you like this? And somebody showed us, and I said, "We'd like some more of this." That's how we found out about part of it. Then as a result of inquires, it was sent to us. Now, if you ask me of the channel, who sent it to us and all? I'm damned if I know.

VANDERPOOL There sure seems to be a lot of interest in that. I suppose that's because of General Marshall's mission to China.

KIRBY Let me tell you. After I got back here in '45, and I knew about the Soviet program. I was interested in anything having to do with the Soviets (and) with anything communist. So that's why we went to work on the Russian M211 in the interior areas where they were having contact with Chinese irregulars of various sorts. And so we put our own priority on that, and we started working on that. Also, it was problem some of us already knew about. We knew how to do Hagelin.

VANDERPOOL Why?

KIRBY (laughing) (1G) had a little...

VANDERPOOL Well sir, on this material, the Russian 211 you talked about, whatever that was, was there anything you had on this Moscow-Chinese relationship, Chinese irregulars, guerrillas, that later turned into (B% communists)? (cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY This was strictly operational stuff, like from lower-level units out there reporting back, and so there was not...it was simply the order to round the stuff up...was being relayed.

VANDERPOOL Turn it over to the communists.

KIRBY That's right. That was very clear. We had to work weekends when that thing came to light. That's while Waldo was still here, and I was running that particular program.

VANDERPOOL Yes sir. How did these customers - The State Department and other customers - react to that kind of reporting? What did they think of it?

KIRBY To this stuff?

VANDERPOOL Yes sir, on this other...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY To the M211 they reacted like everything else. They got the messages. We told them they could ask questions about where they came from and so forth. So they received the cards and translations just like everybody else did on that, (2G) we turned them out. And if we had partial messages...we would get sometimes a mission laid on us to produce even scraps or parts of stuff, so we assumed they had something else, like this.

VANDERPOOL There was a lot of interest in it then.

KIRBY Oh yes there was, of course. The big, political upheaval was happening, and they knew that Nationalist China was about to get its tail whipped, and there was going to be a big turnover. I mean, you bet there was a tremendous interest. So that was one that we just had to look at the newspapers to know we had a lot of interest in that, anything we could produce. And we did not have much. That ^{25X1} was the major thing that I recall...ah, plain language. Now plain language was...but that had to do with...(cut off by

Hatch)

HATCH

But that evolved a little later though in '47.

VANDERPOOL

But the Hagelin stuff, [REDACTED] stuff, that was related to the Chinese.

KIRBY

Yeah, but on the commercial...we had changed some of our priorities, and we were getting a lot of Far East traffic at that time, but our method of processing was pretty slow. But that had a very high priority, particularly in terms of commercial shipment and transfer, and there was a lot of military stuff even in the plain language. That had picked up a very, very high priority at that point.

VANDERPOOL

The atomic energy...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY

There wasn't any atomic energy. It was actually a lower level; military equipment and such which was being lined up to go to the Chinese. That didn't happen until a fair amount later, but we were doing pretty well. 1947 is when we had our big push on picking up linguists, and that's when we found Olan Adams and those people in that OSS unit downtown. At that point we had a lot more than we knew how to handle. After those guys got here then we had this one, specific high-priority was the military activity in the Far East MD and with the Chinese.

BAKER

So you started about when, 1947?

KIRBY

Yes.

VANDERPOOL

But this material here, you never knew that that was getting to any U.S. customer, kind of like from the British...one technician...analyst-to-analyst kind of thing.

KIRBY

Not until later. That's right.

VANDERPOOL

This is very interesting stuff. It shows a high-level relationship between Moscow on the one hand and, of course, the Chinese Communist Party in the north. But it showed that the Chinese Communist (Party) was a strong, confident, well-funded by Moscow, extremely...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY

That's right. Plain language showed that. The plain language stuff showed that there was a very, very vigorous exchange of stuff, and also somehow or other the Chinese were paying for a bunch of stuff.

VANDERPOOL

They were. That's right.

KIRBY

They were paying for it.

BAKER

Paying the Russians or buying it on the open market?

KIRBY

Yeah, paying the Russians. But also the other thing that came out, and this later came up from my uncle who had been over there as a missionary...(cut off by Baker)

BAKER

So they finally found him, huh?

KIRBY

Yeah, they found him. That's when he got returned. But he had watched the local military and mayors taking American aid stuff and selling it to the Chinese Communists, to the guerrillas, everywhere, whatever it was; trucks, anything; selling all this stuff to the anti-nationalist forces.

HATCH It was supposed to go to the nationalists, but the...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY The nationalists were selling it.

HATCH Oh, and the nationalists would sell it to the communists!

KIRBY They were selling it. They'd receive the stuff. They were nationalists. I'm sure at that point they decided to join the winning side.

BAKER Everybody had their own operation.

KIRBY But they were selling the stuff. He appeared before congress here in the States and testified about that after they finally got him back. But anyway, a lot of things like that. Now, we did not get a details. We simply got the Russian shipments of a lot of stuff to the Chinese and the fact that they were paying for it.

VANDERPOOL Sir, do you believe that this material here was considered compartmented? (Yes) This is very hush-hush, this...(cut off by Kirby)

KIRBY Yeah, it was considered compartmented. It was also considered to be agent-like, and therefore not to have to fall under existing agreements for exchange. Now, we got it before the UKUSA started, but there was a series of things that happened that told us this material was there. That's why you saw Waldo's memo, because we did finally get a batch of the stuff, and it dated back and it went on up to '47 too.

VANDERPOOL Do you recall seeing anything from the thirties?

KIRBY I don't recall. No. All the stuff I recall...I knew that it had gone back to the thirties.

VANDERPOOL Right.

KIRBY How I know that, I don't know. But I knew that.

VANDERPOOL You don't recall seeing the messages?

KIRBY I never saw messages. There may have been some even, but I never saw them.

VANDERPOOL In one of these Manson memo's that he wrote back here, he said that he was aware that the British...I think he said (B% Josca) had been handing this material to Colonel Clarke.

KIRBY That's right.

VANDERPOOL Actually he gave it to Admiral Stone who got it to Colonel Clarke. Now, when that began, it doesn't say, but he wrote that memo in 1946, so it must have been for some time.

KIRBY Carter Clarke was the broker for anything. Carter Clarke did things that you will never find out about that would surprise the devil out of you, and would me because I worked very closely with him for a long time. And whenever he would feel it was to his advantage to bring you in on something he would do it. But when someone asked me, Lou Benson, how come ASA started working on the Russian, it was because of Carter Clarke. And they knew a lot about Russian agents in this country; a bunch. And when they first saw the messages from Meredith Brooks and stuff about 1947, they knew exactly that these were agents, and these were the agent covernames. They even knew a couple of covernames. Nobody ever told us how, why, or anything else. To this

day I don't know.

VANDERPOOL They had to have been keeping a book on all that.

KIRBY But they knew what it was, and they said this is great stuff.

VANDERPOOL It's interesting that you mention that because Mr. Duberstein's memo does say...and I saw the one you wrote, but anyway, it does say that we from the G2 Special Branch just received a translation, and it refers to this kind of stuff here. So that was one of those things that triggered you all to start asking questions about this.

KIRBY That's right, but we were supposed to. At that point...you ask how did we do TICOM stuff? You did it. At that point Carter Clarke said, "Now, go after this." I don't know what "go after it" meant. But we knew where it had to come from, and we started going after it. Eventually we did get the stuff, but we did get...yeah, but I didn't know anybody had ever said where it came from. I didn't see that part. I don't remember. Maybe we did.

VANDERPOOL Well, let me make sure that I'm remembering correctly, but...

KIRBY I'll tell you this. I would know it came from Carter Clarke. Everything we got in those early days, if it was guidance of any kind, all came from Carter Clarke.

VANDERPOOL Well, actually it doesn't say Carter...here's this memo, by the way, from Mr...(TR Note: does not finish sentence as he hands the memo to Kirby)

KIRBY Okay. I couldn't remember the other name. (B% Book)-47. That's what it was after that.

VANDERPOOL About half way down the page it says they got a translation from MID. I don't know where that...I said Carter Clarke. I'm not sure that that would have been him or not.

HATCH He was the chief at that point.

KIRBY Yeah, that would have been him. Yeah. (TR Note: reading from the memo): Routed through LSIC; routed through MID, to (B% Dick) Hayes. Right. (TR Note: period of silence here while Kirby looks at memo) Yeah, okay. Well, this is the stuff all right. And yeah, that was to Carter Clarke. I remember this pretty well. And Larry (B% Sheehan) was brought in, right? Yeah, yeah.

BAKER You said (B% Larry) (1G)?

KIRBY Yeah. Larry was on the navy side, and I was with Waldo over on the ASA side when we were first starting up with the two units, and we were just beginning to realize you had to collaborate on something. And really, the navy was totally out of the mission because the army had done some of the stuff.

HATCH As long as we're on the subject of Carter Clarke, could I ask an off-the-wall question about him? There are some people here who believe without any documentation to prove it, and there's probably no documentation anywhere that would prove it, but they believe that he was surreptitiously feeding information about Soviet agents, or about communist influence to some of the famous anticommunist senators who were conducting investigations. Do you know anything about that?

KIRBY Now, will you tell me again so I can listen real good.

HATCH There are some folks who believe without any hard evidence that Carter Clarke was

surreptitiously feeding information, or tidbits, about Soviet agents or Soviet influence to some of these senators who were conducting their anticommunist campaigns. Can you shed any light on that? You said he did surprising things.

KIRBY

Well, let's put it this way. That's all I can tell you. There were certain of the senators and political people who held the proper clearances. They were briefed in private on as much of the material as would be of interest to them, but which would convince them about what was going on, because at that time the State Department and the Secretary of State was totally convinced that the Russians, because the President had said they are our glorious allies, and from certain offices in the State Department anyone talking about Soviet espionage and all was threatened with losing their heads. So there was a campaign to properly educate those who needed to know, and they were cleared verbally and no questions were asked. And somebody went around and briefed them in great detail on the parts that had been decided they should know about in order to convince them that this was a real thing in our own backyard. So I will tell you this, that the answer is it wasn't surreptitious. It was simply done with great secrecy, with great selectivity, and at that time was totally legal, and it did happen. And I briefed them.

BAKER

Okay, so we're talking in the Truman years.

HATCH

Would this include Senator McCarthy, by any chance?

KIRBY

(B% Can't tell you. I don't know.)

BAKER

Was he always viewed as dangerous?

KIRBY

By these guys (he) was seen as wild, and crazy, and dangerous, and untrustworthy, and a climber, and not even a patriot.

BAKER

Would not have been one of those cleared.

KIRBY

No, I assure you. Somebody else might have briefed him. I didn't.

VANDERPOOL

Were these senators from both parties?

KIRBY

You bet. Believe me, this was above politics. This had nothing to do with politics. This had to do with who needs to know about certain things for good. Now, let me point out one thing, and Lou Benson has heard this. The guy in charge of making specific decisions, the fall guy for the political and policy decisions was Chief of Staff Omar Bradley. He in effect made the decisions. Very few things were written because it was not a good idea to write things down, but you received verbal instructions which were like gold, and you then went and did them. I used to be called at any hour and told tomorrow you are going to go, and it wasn't always just senators and all; there were some other folks who also were briefed. You were told this has been approved. You will go see so-and-so at six o'clock tomorrow morning, or twelve o'clock tomorrow night in their home or wherever it was, and you will brief them on the following things and report back to me when you've done this.

VANDERPOOL

Were any of the briefs, sir, on this material here, this Moscow-Yidun stuff?

KIRBY

No. This was strictly what was happening in our own backyard, the espionage. Now, somebody else may have done it. I know nothing about that. I did not. When we found out about this material we found out about the like-materials. I was looking to see if you

have it, and you've got it in here, of the Polish stuff that was...but see, this had started way back where the Russians had folks who had infiltrated these various places were working with them, and the guys who had been taken over didn't even know they had been taken over, but they were all part of the network.

VANDERPOOL Well sir, what I don't quite understand from actually working on this material here, is this.

KIRBY I'll come clean in a minute and tell you something. I've been thinking about it. Okay, we had very good information that the LSIC had as a matter of policy decided that we should not get this stuff. We knew that. We knew that that had happened. That's all right. We had some stuff we didn't tell them about, that to this day we may not have told them about. So that was not a bad thing. It wasn't until there was mutual advantage. It was totally understood, but this stuff was not considered to be something that was exchangeable at all. The fact that it eventually leaked out on the intelligence side...and otherwise I think that even the intelligence exchange was because of accidental revelation. So I can't tell you when it started.

VANDERPOOL Do you have any idea why the British didn't want to do that?

KIRBY Yeah, I can tell you why. The British had at one point been dealing with the Chinese. They had also been dealing with the Russians. They had also been dealing with Japan. After all, they were the imperial power in that part of the world. The general feeling was the damned Americans had no business knowing anything about this. And any of these things that had to do with...remember, this was the propaganda exchanges; this was a bunch of stuff that again, even when we knew about it, it was the kind of thing you would expect of an ambassadorial type, or an intelligence type, and it was a whole mixture of things. Remember, I've not even looked at the traffic. I remember basically, and it related to some other things in other areas. But they just figured it was none of our business, and we had no need to know about it. Very truthfully, I don't know who in this country had a vast interest in it when we finally got it. It took us a long time to find anybody who had an interest in the agent stuff. It wasn't until Bob Lamphere came along in about '47, and the stuff had been laying on the shelf at FBI and some other places for a year or year and a half, and nobody except Carter Clarke had said, "This is great stuff. We gotta do something with it." But nobody did anything with it. So to me this was just the fact that, okay, we were beginning to look at agent stuff. And we really were, but we knew from something that happened...remember I've lived with Josh Cooper and all these folks for a long time, and I felt that I could go confront them directly on anything I wanted to. And if they felt that honest-to-God they couldn't tell me, they'd tell me that, and I'd drop it right there. Otherwise I would say, "You know, I will understand this, but somebody else is going to cause us all kinds of troubles if you do this." But we knew that LSIC had said we're not going to exchange this stuff. This says this in one of the memo's. It says this in the memo that was written. I think you'll find that it does say that we knew...it says, "there was evidence that." There wasn't evidence that...(cut off by Baker)

BAKER Would somebody expand LSIC?

HATCH It was GCHQ. It was just a covername for it. London Signals Intelligence Center used