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Governmental Affairs

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15, 1975

C.I.A. Ship Brought Up Part of Soviet Sub
Lost in 1968 but Failed to Raise Missiles

By SEYMOUR HERSHEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 14—The Central Intelligence Agency, financed the construction of a multimillion-dollar deep-sea salvage vessel and used it in an unsuccessful effort last summer to recover hydrogen-warhead-carrying torpedoes and codes from a sunken Soviet nuclear submarine in the Pacific Ocean, according to high Government officials.

The salvage vessel, constructed under disguise for the C.I.A. by Howard R. Hughes, the eccentric billionaire industrialist, did discover and recover the forward section of one-third of the submarine, the officials said, but the portion raised from the ocean bottom did not include either the ship's missiles or its code room.

Instead, the Government officials said, the C.I.A.-led expedition recovered the forward section of the ship containing the bodies of more than 70 Soviet seamen and officers who went down with the vessel when it mysteriously exploded in 1968 and sank in more than three miles of water. The Soviet submariners were buried at sea in military ceremonies that were filmed and recorded by C.I.A. technicians.

Although thousands of scientists and workers had security clearance for the program, known as Project Jennifer, the submarine salvage operation remained one of the Nixon and Ford Administrations' closest secrets.

Debate on Project

The Jennifer operation had provoked extended debate inside the United States intelligence community since the C.I.A. proposed to build the salvage vessel, with the cooperation of Mr. Hughes, first underwritten high-level evaluation in the early nineteen-seventies. Critics of the program have said that the value of the information that could be gleaned from what they depict as outdated code books and outdated missiles did not justify either the high cost of the operation or its potential for jeopardizing the United States's Soviet deterrent.

The program's defenders, who include William E. Colby, Director of Central Intelligence, have said that the successful retrieval of the whole submarine would have been the biggest single intelligence coup in history.

They argue that even a 1968 code book could provide the Government's signal experts a chance to evaluate all the Soviet submarine communications that were in existence then and perhaps for years before the ship sank. Recovery of the missiles also would help provide standards for judging the existence of new weapons as well as delve into the precise scrutiny of aerial photographs taken by satellites, Government experts have maintained.

In recent weeks, Mr. Colby has formally requested Secretary of State Kissinger for permission to stage another attempt next summer to salvage the rest of the submarine, which reportedly is lying in 17,000 feet of water about 750 miles northwest of Oahu, Hawaii.

Mr. Kissinger, who serves as head of the 40-member Secret Government panel that reviews and finances all intelligence operations, supported the efforts of the C.I.A. to salvage the submarine 11 years, the C.I.A. says, was kept secret until a decision could be made on continuing it. Privately, however, he is known to have dismissed the Jennifer program as not being of sufficient immediacy to require much of his personal attention.

It was the 40 Committee that agreed to secretly authorize funds to the Hughes organization to subsidize construction of what was described as the world's largest deep-sea mining ship, the Glaucus. Among the money used, the C.I.A. says, was a number of persons from the Hughes organization described as the world's largest deep-sea mining ship, the Glaucus. Among the money used, the C.I.A. says, was a number of persons from the Hughes organization.

The Glaucus, which took its name from the first three letters in the first two words of the company's name, is the company that had operated it for Hughes—Global Marine, Inc.

Following the publication of some information about the operation by the Los Angeles Times last month, The New York Times investigated the matter further. The New York Times was informed by the C.I.A. in the course of the investigation that publication would endanger the national security because the agency was considering an effort this summer to retrieve the remainder of the sunken submarine and publicly thwart any such effort.

The Times decided at that time to withhold publication until the C.I.A. could make another effort to retrieve the submarine or decide not to go ahead with the project. Some other publications and broadcasters also decided to defer publication.

The Times also informed the C.I.A. that it would publish a comprehensive article on the operation if it became known that others were about to disclose details publicly.

Another story the Times published was that the Soviet submarine was circulatizing widely in journalistic and Government circles in Washington. Publication of the story, the Times says, was intended to tip off the Soviet military to the purpose of the operation and to ensure that others would not disclose the information to the news media.

In addition, the Times reported that Hughes Aircraft Company and General Electric had been involved in the construction and development of space satellites for heavily classified intelligence purposes and also had a number of persons from the Hughes organization described as the world's largest deep-sea mining ship, the Glaucus. Among the money used, the C.I.A. says, was a number of persons from the Hughes organization.

Another factor behind the selection of Mr. Hughes, the officials said, was his patriotism.

The officials insisted that Mr. Hughes make very little money in the construction of the Glaucus. They also said Mr. Hughes was maintaining title on the ship only under a series of complex trust agreements with the C.I.A. and other companies that utilized the ship and technology for other proprietary purposes.

Government officials acknowledged that much more than the $750-million has been spent thus far on the Glomar Explorer and Project Jennifer, with the funds authorized at more than $350-million.

Senior members of the House and Senate were briefed on the program, the officials said, although it could not be learned which legislators were informed.

1958-Model Craft

Operation Jennifer was initiated shortly after the Soviet submarine, a 1958 model of the "Hotel" class that was believed to have sailed from the Soviet port of Vladivostok, sustained a series of on-board explosions and sank while cruizing in the Pacific Ocean.

American intelligence officials emphasized that the Soviet craft was not a "hotel" ship, but, through what was described as "passive" means—that is, not from signals or other communications intercepts—and there was no charge for the United States Navy to rescue any crew members.

Other sources said the Navy's sonar underwater listening devices apparently were able to detect the sounds of underwater explosions at depths far deeper than the Soviet Union could intercept and thus knew the specific location of the submarine on the ocean floor.

During the recovery attempt last August, as was reported, American technicians were successful in navigating and lifting the submarine from the ocean floor and raising it about halfway to the surface—roughly 8,000 feet when it sank—and then, a failure in the lifting devices and part of the ship fell. One official said the "overrun in" in connection with the failure of the lifting devices.

The salvage vessel was operated under subcontract for the Hughes corporation by Global Marine Inc., of Los Angeles, a firm known for its expertise in deep-sea operations.

Government intelligence officials noted that Global Marine has cooperated with the Soviet Union in a series of underwater research and experimental drilling operations and suggested that the programs might have involved the secret involvement in the submarine recovery operation would not only embarrass the firm but this might be interpreted as a case of "overrun in" in connection with the failure of the lifting devices.

Complicating the issue is the bitter dispute between officials of the Navy, whose research and development branch has been involved in the original planning to salvage the submarine, and the Central Intelligence Agency and technology office developed the concept of constructing the Glomar Explorer under cover.

The officials insisted that collaboration with the Navy was smooth, but a number of
submarine once it was brought up from the bottom. At such a speed, it was built to sink, towed and then retrieved. This capability was built into the design to help hide the submarine from the possibility of inadvertent detection by Soviet observation satellites.

Precisely how the Glomar Explorer was outfitted to accomplish the recovery of the Russian submarine could not be learned, nor could any accurate cost estimate be made for the vessel. One official of the Summa Corporation was in an interview that the Glomar Explorer alone cost more than $100-million. Some newspapers have put the price tag for the ship at $250-million. It also could not be learned whether the large vessels included the expensive dredging and dredging equipment utilized in the salvage operation.

New Technology

In recent interviews, high-level American intelligence officials seemed vague about the Glomar Explorer's potential for aiding American submarine operations. One official said it would "take some doing" for the Glomar Explorer to be "rejiggered" into a deep-sea mining vessel. Other officials have boasted in interviews, however, that the C.I.A. technology involved in the construction of the ship would provide breakthroughs in the feasibility of such mining operations. One official also noted that the C.I.A. was able to modify the deep-sea mining techniques that resulted from the construction of the Glomar Explorer and from its attempted submarine recovery.

It could not be learned how the C.I.A. accounted for any detailed data on the workings of the Glomar Explorer and the company's order to all subcontractors that nothing be used publicly during construction of the vessel did not raise suspicions because of Mr. Hughes' known eccentricity.

In recent interviews, a number of senior officials of the Summa Corporation still denied knowledge of the Glomar Explorer's mission and insisted the secrecy was needed to protect the industrial techniques they said were inherent in the ship's construction and mode of operation.

In addition to the Glomar Explorer, the salvage operation required a deep-diving barge that was constructed in 1971 and 1972 by the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company in San Diego and designed by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation's Ocean Systems Division. The 106-foot-wide barge, which reportedly was able to help provide boat access, was not directly utilized in the submarine salvage operation. Government officials said, although there were numerous newspaper accounts in 1973 and 1974 saying that the barge played a direct role in the deep-sea mining operations.

As explained by intelligence sources in the field: "the policy was that nobody talk about the Glomar Explorer other than the director of the National Reconnaissance Office. This is the very high-level group that runs the Air Force's secret programs that operate under cover inside the Air Force. —the Air Force being responsible for all of the research, development, production and targeting of America's satellites and other aerial intelligence programs.

The N.R.O. programs are divided into two executive committees: one, informally known at times as the ExComm, whose official name was the National Reconnaissance Board, in which Mr. Colby, as Director of Central Intelligence, and Mr. Albert C. Chandler, Jr., as Secretary of Defense for intelligence, other officials also participate in the board. It is a regular but ad hoc group, including a representative of the military. Mr. Chandler, Mr. James W. Plummer, the current Under Secretary of the Air Force, and Mr. Colby are the former directors of the National Reconnaissance Office.
A number of sources said that, in addition to the N.R.O.'s responsibility for aerial intelligence, the intelligence bureaucracy also maintains a secret office in the Navy for underwater intelligence reconnaissance programs.

It was this office, some sources said, that initially was responsible for financing the search into the problem the Navy suddenly found itself facing in 1968. Now it received a submarine in nearly 17,000 feet of water.

No Competitive Bidding

Because of the secrecy and the need for cover, none of the various contracts awarded to the Summa Corporation and its subcontractors involved competitive bidding. Government sources indicated. One official at the Office of the Office for what was described as a government "paid the minimal overhead fee" for construction of the ship, suggesting that work was done on what is known as a "cost-plus" contract, with the Summa Corporation getting a fixed percentage of the total construction costs.

The Glomar Explorer is now undergoing repair in anticipation of a second recovery effort this July in the Pacific.

Officials would not say with whom in the Hughes organization the C.I.A. initiated discussions about the secret project, but they specifically said that Mr. Hughes, now living in isolation in the Bahamas, was not directly involved in the C.I.A.'s satellite reconnaissance programs.

As recounted by a number of intelligence sources, the United States initiated the submarine recovery program only upon realizing that the Soviet Union apparently had not been able to fix the location of its sunken submarine.

After the sinking was confirmed and the location determined, Navy and intelligence officials watched through the periscope as the Russians conducted a wide-spread search for the submarine in the wrong area of the Pacific. At some point, apparently in 1968, the Russians withdrew their trawlers and stopped the patrols, which indicated that the search was over where the submarine had gone down.

"If the Russians knew where the sub had gone down," one former intelligence official said, "they would have stayed there all the time for patrol."

Ship Photographed

Although the C.I.A. is known to have taken extensive underwater photographs of the sunken vessel, there is apparent dispute over its classification. It has been established, however, that the vessel, which carries three missile launchers, is in the ballistic missile class.

According to the 1970-74 edition of "Jane's Fighting Ships," a standard naval reference work, it could contain missiles with ranges of between 350 and 650 miles. Some sources said, however, that modifications to the vessel apparently had been done by the Navy's ability to determine its specific classification.

The Government sources said that Navy engineers initially sought means of merely penetrating into the ship and not salvaging it—in an effort to obtain access to its codice_13 code and equipment, but were unable to develop a feasible concept before the end of the summer because it was in such deep water.

The Navy eventually brought the problem to the C.I.A.'s directorate of science and technology, headed by Dr. D. K. D. Porter. The Pentagon had become interested in the project, but only after realizing that the military "had gotten no place" in solving the technical problems that could prevent the recovery of the submarine's code and equipment.

The concept of building a deep-sea salvage vessel under cover of the Hughes oragnization reportedly caused many arguments inside the Nixon Administration throughout 1970 and 1971. At one point in 1971, deep trouble because there were all kinds of technical problems," one source said. In later months, there were serious cost overruns that led to even more controversy.

There were other kinds of problems, another source said, many of them revolving around official concern about the potential impact that public revelation of the secret project could have on the highly Soviet-United States detente, which was beginning to flourish in the early days of the Nixon Administration.

Legal Discussions

And, although Government attorneys knew of no international law barring such salvage attempts, there was extended debate about what the Russians legally would be justified in attempting to sink the Explorer if they happened to stumble onto or otherwise uncover the operation.

There was also some discussion of the role of salvage, of what to do with the bodies of Soviet seamen if any were aboard the sunken submarine.

Because of that, high officials noted, the C.I.A. had elaborated plans for protecting the rights, under the Geneva Convention, of any dead officers and men found aboard the ship.

The Glomar Explorer was equipped with refrigeration capacity for up to 100 bodies, and copies of the relevant Soviet and American burial manuals were taken along. The burial ceremony, when it did take place, sources said, was conducted in both Russian and English and recorded in color by C.I.A. cameramen.

One C.I.A. official said that four of the agency's deep-sea specialists who had returned to Washington after the failure to recover the whole submarine have been reassigned to flying back to the Glomar Explorer for the burial ceremonies. Despite the failure, the four men designated to receive special intelligence awards from the Ford Administration, the official said.

Prior to the actual recovery operation, other objections were based on a more practical consideration. Was it worth the hundreds of millions of dollars involved to learn what kind of equipment was being used by the Soviets? Was there any information available that would have justified the operation?

All these points were considered, one source said, and it was still determined that Operation Jennifer was worthwhile, "even if its chances for complete success were small."

One former White House aide, revealed the surprise inside the Johnson Administration, the Israelis captured some Soviet weapons after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

"We'd spent a lot of time making estimates on the capabilities of the Soviet weapons (that turned out not to be very accurate)," the former aide noted.

The capture indicated that too much reliance was being placed on the practice of compiling such estimates by the intelligence community, he said. Because of this, the official added, he believed that the salvage operation "would have been a real coup, a gold mine."

"It was an operation I personally would have endorsed if the cost was right," he added.

"Navy Was Not On It"

A former White House aide recalled that in the early nineteen-seventies Jennifer also was considered vital for the then pending United States' negotiations with the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitations talks (SALT).

"We thought that if we could get hold of it [the submarine] and disect it," the former aide said, "we'd have something to use as leverage in the negotiations. The Navy was really not on it."

Mr. Kissinger and his aides, however, were reliably reported to have been less enthusiastic about the project, although as President Nixon's national security adviser Mr. Kissinger theoretically had the authority to cut it off immediately if he chose to do so.

A former Kissinger aide recalled that "when we first heard of it, we said, 'Good God!'" the aide added: "I don't think we cared that much,
Project Jennifer

The Central Intelligence Agency’s assignment is to further the security of the United States by learning as much as it can about the capabilities and intentions of potential foreign foes, the most powerful of which is the Soviet Union. It has been common knowledge for many years now—at least since an American U-2 plane was shot down over Siberia fifteen years ago—that both sides use the latest technological achievements to spy on each other.

Soviet and American intelligence satellites course through the skies daily taking incredibly sharp pictures of earth 100 miles or more below. The late Premier Khrushchev once even publicly offered to exchange Soviet spy satellite pictures for corresponding American photographs taken from space. The most effective modern devices are much more likely to be electronic tronic engineers than Mata Hari.

It is against this background that the tale of the Glomar Explorer—the C.I.A. ship that masqueraded as the property of Howard Hughes—must be judged. The basic idea behind Project Jennifer—the code name used was certainly imaginative—to locate and raise a Soviet submarine that had sunk in 1968. After much behind-the-scenes debate, the decision to go ahead was taken; the Glomar Explorer was built and a specialized new technology was created; and then last year the attempt was made.

This really brilliant effort unfortunately fell short of full success, though it is still a major technological feat. A substantial portion of the sunken Soviet submarine was brought to the surface. If the full submarine could have been recovered (and it still may be), it would have been a master intelligence accomplishment.

This complex and fascinating technological adventure demonstrates that, once again, American technology has brought a hitherto inaccessible environment into the ambit of man’s future activity. It also underlines the need for a body of appropriate international law, so that economic activity—such as deep sea mining the Glomar Explorer was allegedly engaged in—can be carried out in the new environment and future clashes of rival national interests and power can be avoided.

The story is, furthermore, a useful reminder of how essential good intelligence is for the national security in a world of nuclear weapons, nuclear submarines and hydrogen bomb-tipped intercontinental missiles. The C.I.A. is only to be commended for this extraordinary effort to carry out its essential mission.
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
20 March 1975

Soviet sub salvage disclosure pits CIA against news diggers

Security agency’s indignation questioned; nuclear sub importance put in spotlight

By Dana Adams Schmidt
and Guy Halverson
Staff correspondents of
The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON
Chief among the questions raised here by the disclosure of the Central Intelligence Agency’s work with a Howard Hughes Corporation to salvage part of a Soviet submarine is this:

Do newspapers have the right to overrule CIA requests that information be kept secret?

After accounts of the CIA involvement were spread across front pages of New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Los Angeles Times, despite repeated CIA requests that no publication be made, one CIA man commented:

"Of course we are outraged. How outraged can you get? Does this mean that in the final analysis the newspapers will publish anything they can get their hands on, no matter how secret or important we say it is?"

At the same time, the entire episode throws a new spotlight on what analysts see as the vital long-range importance of the nuclear submarine to both American and Russian military strategy.

The salvage was performed by the Glomar Explorer, ostensibly a deep-sea mining ship, constructed by the Summa Corporation, controlled by industrialist Hughes. After the Navy, with super-sensitive sonar devices, had located the Russian sub, sunk in 1968, the Americans raised the ship from 17,000 feet of water in July, 1974. At 8,000 feet however, it broke and the Navy and CIA got only one-third of the ship, but without missiles or code machines.

According to the New York Times, a Times reporter first learned of the operation in late 1973, but ceased research after a request by CIA director William Colby in early 1974. Some information was then published by the Los Angeles Times last month; the New York Times resumed its research.

The CIA said, according to the New York Times Wednesday, that publication would endanger national security, since the agency was considering an effort this summer to raise the rest of the submarine. The New York Times held up publication until the CIA made a final decision on the salvage. So did other news media.

WASHINGTON POST
21 March 1975

Nixon Had Refused
To Christen Vessel

SAN DIEGO, March 20 (AP)—Former President Nixon inspected a sunken barge without knowing the vessel was destined to salvage part of a sunken Soviet submarine, The San Diego Union reported today.

Nixon inspected the 329-foot sunken barge in 1973 while on a tour of the National Steel & Shipbuilding Co. yards, where it was built, the Union said.

But he refused an invitation to christen the auditorium-sized vessel because no one at NASSCO would tell him what it was or what it was intended for. Union President Jack Murphy.

NEW YORK TIMES
19 March 1975

Wilson Vows Inquiry on C.I.A.
If It Is Linked to Britain

LONDON, March 18 (Reuters)—Prime Minister Wilson said today he would set up an inquiry into activity by the Central Intelligence Agency in Britain if there was evidence that its agents were operating in the country.

He was being questioned in Parliament about CIA men said to be operating from the American Embassy in London with diplomatic immunity.

One member of Parliament from the ruling Labor party had drawn a comparison with 1971 when Britain demanded the recall of 103 Soviet diplomats said to be involved in espionage. He asked: "Is there any evidence that the Soviet diplomat is operating in Britain?"

Mr. Wilson said that if any evidence of this came from the United States investigation or in the course of other inquiries, he would not hesitate to set up an independent British inquiry.

severe criticism for quite different kinds of operations, this feat might stir admiration among most Americans and serve as a reminder of the agency's wide-ranging services.

It is being said by supporters of the CIA that construction of the Explorer, which cost $200 million, might even open up new economic horizons in underwater mining. Some deep-sea mining sources, however, doubt this claim, saying that other systems have been shown capable of dredging minerals at great depths.

International law

The Russians are believed not to have known the location of their submarine from which 70 bodies were removed by members of the Glomar Explorer operation.

While the Russians would presumably be annoyed at the American feat in raising part of a Russian vessel, international law experts say that once a ship is lost at sea it is fair game for whoever can find it. In other words, there would not be a legal basis for a Russian protest.

For this reason the affair is not expected to damage U.S.-Soviet relations or to affect detente.

The U.S. relies heavily on a tripartite nuclear defense strategy of nuclear-equipped submarines, land-based intercontinental missiles, and nuclear carrying B-52 and F-111 aircraft. This recent annual report, Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger called the Folmar U.S. nuclear Poseidon submarine fleet the "least vulnerable element of our strategic triad."

Though the Soviets are ahead of the U.S. in overall numbers of submarines (315 for the Soviets versus 115 for the U.S.), the two superpowers are roughly equal in the numbers of nuclear-powered subs (115 for the Soviets, compared with 101 for the U.S.).
The Submarine Story

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

naturally have acceded to the wishes of the C.I.A., and in some cases, William E. Colby, the agency's director, apparently had to work hard to gain his objective. In the end, like the boy at the dike, he did not have enough fingers to plug all the leaks, and the story could not be contained.

Yet, all these major news organizations for a time took the same attitude. They accepted the contention that national security was involved in the raising of an obsolete Soviet submarine, and they agreed to withhold publication of the story until the operation either was completed or abandoned. The unanimity of the response seems to lend support to those who suggest that the press "establishment," if it is not really a conspiracy, still is so consistently of one general attitude that it is a monolith. But the nature of the response does not support those who claim that this monolithic press is anti-Government, anti-security, anti-conservative or "pro-leftist."

Reports suggest, moreover, that most of the news organizations were determined to publish the story if anyone else did. This is a variation of the old newspaper rule-of-thumb that if something is known "off the record" it can't be published; but if someone else publishes the same information, it is no longer "off the record." Can this be applied to "national security"? If a newspaper is withholding information in genuine fear of damaging the national security, is it then justified in publishing the information just because someone else does so?

Does publication damage the national security less, in such an event? And in fact, major elements of the submarine story had been published in the Los Angeles Times of Feb. 8.

Mr. Anderson suggested that one reason the story had been withheld was that the press itself was "shaken" by the fact that it had been instrumental in forcing the resignation of Richard Nixon, and that editors were trying hard, as a result, "to prove how patriotic and responsible we are, that we're not against the establishment, the Government, that we're not all godfathers."

That is plausible, even likely. So is the concern of an editor who is weighing journalistic duty and the public's right to know against a high claim of national security interest. Such decisions are not easily made and no responsible person should wish to abandon them to the abuse of power.

Still—here was more money ($350 million) being spent on a project of dubious value than President Ford now says would "save" Cambodia. Here was an exploit that could have been—and might yet prove—a provocation to the Soviets, without necessarily yielding vital intelligence information.

Here was a linkage between the wily C.I.A. and the shadowy Howard Hughes, with the C.I.A. going to extraordinary lengths to suppress the story. Here, too, at a time of international dispute on the law of the sea, was a clandestine enterprise that potentially could give the United States an enormous, if not exactly proper, advantage in underwater mining techniques. As is almost always the case with "national security" stories, in retrospect it is hard to see how a news organization—let alone so many—could have thought such a story ought to be withheld.

by DIANE EENRY

C.I.A.'s Clandestine Work Assailed at Meeting Here

Covert political activities of the Central Intelligence Agency in foreign countries have been largely unsuccessful and should be abolished, according to many of the participants at a conference here yesterday on the role of clandestine operations in a democratic foreign policy.

Among the 25 participants, including former historians, professors and people with experience in intelligence, was Arthur J. Goldberg, the former Supreme Court Justice and former United States Representative at the United Nations. Mr. Goldberg maintained that such operations "violate our promises of nonintervention into the internal affairs of other countries." In addition, he said, they "violate the constitution of this country."

Senator Abourezk said that Mr. Goldberg had given "undeniable war" and for the C.I.A., this illegal and unconstitutional. The conference, which took place at the City University Graduate School, is a yearly event held by Arthur M. Sieren and often meshed in C.I.A. Schlesinger Jr., the historian, activities.
NEW YORK TIMES
18 March 1975
The C.I.A. And Free Speech

By Tom Wicker

Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks have asked the Supreme Court to overturn an Appeals Court ruling that permitted stringent Government censorship of their book, "The C.I.A. and the Cult of Intelligence." If the Court refuses to intervene, or sustains the Appeals Court, one of the most extraordinary prior restraints in history will have been allowed to stand, and the ability of the Government to classify and withhold information from the public will have been greatly enhanced.

The case arose when Mr. Marchetti left the employ of the Central Intelligence Agency in 1969—after 14 years—and began to write a book about it. C.I.A. officials learned of his plans and went into court, citing an employment contract he had signed pledging himself to secrecy about what he learned while working for the C.I.A. A temporary injunction against Mr. Marchetti was confirmed by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals on grounds that he planned an unauthorized disclosure of classified information. The Government's "need for secrecy in this area," the Appeals Court said, justified this prior restraint on publication.

The result was that Mr. Marchetti and his co-author, Mr. Marks, had to submit their manuscripts for clearance to the C.I.A., which deleted 330 portions totalling 7,500 words. Subsequent negotiations reduced this number to 168 deletions, but the authors nevertheless filed suit to have the injunction—hence the deletions—set aside.

In hearings before Federal District Judge Albert V. Bryan Jr. in Alexandria, Va., the C.I.A. failed to sustain its deletions, despite testimony by four deputy directors, except in 26 instances and parts of two others. Meanwhile, however, the book had appeared with all 168 deletions represented by black spaces. Then, on Feb. 7, the Fourth Circuit overruled Judge Bryan and upheld the Government's right to make the 168 deletions. That decision is the one now being appealed to the Supreme Court.

If upheld, it would vastly expand the Government's power to classify information. Appeals Court Judge Clement F. Haynsworth Jr., for example, based the majority's decision on what he called "a presumption of regularity in the performance by a public official of its public duty." Thus, he was able to rule that material subject to classification for national security and purposes, had in fact been classified, whether or not it had been specifically stamped with a classification. This effectively overrode Judge Bryan's finding that in numerous instances C.I.A. officials had officially classified information only when they found it in the Marchetti-Marks manuscript, not before; and it meant that certain general assertions—something like "the C.I.A. was active in Greece"—would be considered classified information, even though not specifically contained in any classified documents.

In several other instances, moreover, Judge Bryan had accepted Mr. Marchetti's testimony that he had obtained certain information only after he left the C.I.A.'s employ. But the Appeals Court ruled that if the C.I.A. had possessed and classified this information while Mr. Marchetti worked for the agency, whether or not he was then in possession of it, he still was barred from disclosing it when he learned of it later on.

The Appeals Court ruling apparently did not mean that the book author's pre-publication of intended classified material. Rather, it upheld an injunction against unauthorized disclosure of such information, maintaining that the Government's need for secrecy and the contract Mr. Marchetti had signed overrode his First Amendment rights. In effect, the court held that there was a lifetime restraint on his ability to disclose material that fell under the C.I.A.'s exceptionally broad definition of classified information, if that applies across the board to all the numerous Federal agencies that require such contracts of their employees—or those that may in the future—will prove to be a major new restraint on the flow of Government information to the public.

Yet it remains a singular fact that the practice of classifying information rests on no statutory authorization whatever—only upon a series of executive orders. Moreover, when the C.I.A. was obliged to prove its case for secrecy before Judge Bryan, its best witnesses were in most instances had been believed to be secret when the Government was obliged to prove to

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
20 March 1975
CIA and the sub

Was it stupid and wasteful? Or clever and justifiable?

The CIA's salvage of a part of a sunken Soviet submarine provides the stuff of movie drama. It has pushed Cambodia and the economy out of the banner headlines and will undoubtedly be talked about as a mystery-story relic from the gloomy news of the day.

Only intelligence experts can fully answer the above questions. But, on the face of it, the CIA was carrying out an operation well within its mandate.

This is a far cry from overthrowing legitimate governments or assassinating people. It was what many voices now demand the CIA confine itself to—gathering intelligence. Although Project Jennifer was unsuccessful, its avowed purpose was to obtain information about the Soviet Union's missiles and code systems. If the Russians had a chance to lay hands on an American nuclear ship, can it be doubted they would jump at it?

Detente, Americans should be reminded, does not end an adversary relationship with Moscow. Both nations engage in vigorous clandestine intelligence and counterintelligence activities. It would be negligent in the extreme if the U.S. failed to use every sensible means possible to determine Soviet strengths and intentions.

Moreover, the CIA's foresight in developing such a technologically advanced vessel for intelligence purposes will be admired by many. For a long time the Glomar Explorer, as a deep-sea mining vessel, roamed the seas looking for mineral nodules and no one, including the Russians, suspected its other mission.

Whether or not the Jennifer Project itself was worth the high cost is controversial and is bound to be studied by the congressional panels now scrutinizing the CIA. Is possible the judgment was a mistaken one. But surely the ship is not a total loss. Although the cover has been blown and it can no longer be used for intelligence gathering, it is said to have enormous spin-off value for the development of resources.

Of greater concern to many is the role of industrialist Howard Hughes, whose name has cropped up repeatedly in connection with Watergate-related activities. Have his various CIA ties protected him from government investigation of his mysterious business activities? Has the CIA been financing a bonanza for him?

A broader concern is that the current furor over the CIA will totally discredit the agency. It is now fashionable to publicize the CIA's uglier sides and questionable judgments—usually made with presidential approval—but it should not be forgotten that the CIA has successes to its credit also. The nation needs a strong, intelligent intelligence community, and it would be a disservice to the U.S. to keep a balanced perspective on the CIA as current investigations of the organization go forward.
NEW YORK TIMES
16 March 1975

Clean Sweep at C. I. A.?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON—The main hope for the survival of an effective Central Intelligence Agency in the United States now lies in a clean sweep of its present leadership and the creation of a powerful new joint committee of Congress to oversee its future activities.

The first rule of the spy business is that spies are expendable. If they embarrass the government, they are disowned. It is a hard, sometimes unfair, but often necessary rule, and there is no reason why it should be applied only to the spies and not to the men who give them their orders.

The C.I.A. has not failed, but it has been caught fiddling with the liberties of private citizens and has been an embarrassment to the Government. The best way to aggravate the embarrassment now and weaken the C.I.A. even more, is to prolong the current investigations, retain the present leaders, and publicize all the crimes of the past.

Foreign espionage is an essential but illegal activity, not to be confused with political espionage and sabotage of the Watergate scandals. It is a form of undercover war, and the Communists are waging it with a vengeance now in Portugal, while the C.I.A. is virtually helpless in its present condition to prevent the subversion of that strategically important country.

President Ford has handled the problem as if it were a common case of government corruption. He has all the evidence he needs to change the leadership of the C.I.A. which has been less than candid, and overhaul the whole espionage apparatus of the government, and he is now in favor of a strong joint committee of Congress to supervise all intelligence activities, but he has not yet acted, and for one mysterious reason William E. Colby, the head of the C.I.A., has not had the grace to resign.

Mr. Ford, when he was in Congress, was a member of the committee that was supposed to oversee the C.I.A., and was startled to discover, when he became President, that the agency had participated in espionage at home and in plots to assassinate political leaders abroad. Now he says he never suspected this sort of thing was going on and would not have approved if he had.

It is easy to say that now. But during the savage conflicts of the early cold war period, it was not so easy. The internal struggles for political control in key strategic countries such as West Germany, Italy, the Middle East, and even in Cuba often depended on providing money for guns, newspaper presses, clandestine radio stations, propaganda periodicals, and many other things which were essential to the struggle, but could not be disclosed to the general public without disclosing them to our adversaries and threatening the sources and even the lives of our agents.

All this is coming out now: the efforts out of Washington to overturn the governments of Diem in Saigon, Allende in Santiago, Castro in Cuba, and even the involvement of the C.I.A. in Watertower and other scandals including the opening of the mail of members of Congress.

The President says this sort of thing has now been stopped, but the underground war goes on, not only in Portugal, but all over the world.

Moscow has been comparatively quiet about the economic disarray in Western Europe, but it has been particularly active within the Communist apparatus in Spain, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and the Middle East.

This is not the sort of struggle that can be countered or publicized, but it also cannot be left to the C.I.A. alone or controlled by the weak Congressional committees that have failed to supervise it effectively in the past.

It was the fear of exposing the covert operations of the C.I.A. that led President Ford to appoint a "safe" committee under Vice President Rockefeller to investigate the domestic activities of the agency, but this had so little credibility in the country and the Congress that both the House and the Senate are now launching investigations of the whole U.S. intelligence community on their own.

In the confusion, there have even been cries to abolish the C.I.A., which make racy reading but no sense. The agency needs precise new rules limiting its domestic activities. It needs close supervision by responsible and discreet legislators who know in advance of any covert operation by any intelligence agents of the Government, and it needs new leadership.

On the question of the future direction of the agency, the recent habit of appointing directors from the ranks of the C.I.A. itself probably ought to be reconsidered. Men like Richard Helms, and William Colby, who have spent most of their lives in the service and atmosphere of the C.I.A., may know more about what the C.I.A. should be doing than outsiders, but they are not likely to be the best men at knowing what it should not be doing.

The C.I.A. has served the nation well throughout the cold war years, and this fact has undoubtedly been obscured because its successes can be publicized while many of its failures are. Thus it will always be the object of suspicion, and should be, but with a new charter, a new director and careful Congressional supervision, it can undoubtedly regain the confidence of the country and be allowed to get on with its essential work.
WASHINGTON STAR
20 March 1975

Q and A

Furor Hits
CIA Sources,
Colby Says

William Colby, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, was interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer Jeremiah O'Leary.

Question: Clark Clifford, who as counsel to President Truman participated in writing the law which estab-
lished the CIA, said recently that the ground rules need to be updated, to be renovated. Do you concur with that view?

Colby: Well, I've made certain recommendations for changing our act already. A year and a half ago when I was confirmed, I suggested that we add the word "foreign" to the word "intelligence" wherever it appears in our act, so it's clear it's foreign intelligence that's the job of this agency and not domestic. I recommended other things to clarify exactly what the CIA ought to be able to do in the United States and what it should not be able to do in the United States.

Q: That requires an act of Congress?

A: Yes. It hasn't been passed, but there was legislation last year -- I supported it -- and I'm sure these (congressional investigatory) committees will get into a rather fundamental look at some of these questions.

Q: Would you ever go out of the business of operating in terms of your own security within the United States, in places like New York where the U.N. is located, or in places like Miami, where there are many Cubans?

A: Well, I think, in the first place, that we ought to be able to collect foreign intelligence in America. I think we ought to collect it voluntarily from Americans, and we ought to be able to collect it from foreigners.

Q: Interviewing returned travelers?

A: That sort of thing, yes. We do a great deal of that, and there are an awful lot of Americans who very kindly help us and support us on this. We do make commitments that we won't expose them as our sources. That's going to be one of the things I'm insisting on -- that we not expose them in the course of these investigations. And I think I've received a very sympathetic response from Sen. Church on this. If there's a reasonable basis for our withholding an identity or something, he certainly has given every indication that he will give full consideration to that.

Q: Given the sensitivity of the Rockefeller commission, by several committees of Congress, by the press -- can the CIA operate effectively as a clandestine service under these conditions?

A: Well, it's having a hard time. We have a number of individual agents abroad who have told us that they really don't want to work for us anymore.

Q: Agents?

A: Foreigners, working foreigners. We have had a number of Americans who have indicated that they don't want to work with us anymore -- not employees, but Americans who have helped us in various ways. We have a number of foreign intelligence services that have indicated great concern about collaboration with us -- whether this will be exposed, and they will be subjected to intense criticism in their country. I think this is a serious problem for our country. We are in the process of losing some of the information that otherwise we would be getting.

Q: You mean that some of these other services and other individuals are no longer confident?

A: They're beginning to pull back, or some of them have just stopped working with us. And, of course, more serious and yet not measurable is the number who would have agreed to work with us, but now won't agree to work with us. I have seen a couple of cases where individuals had indicated they thought they would work with us, and then came around here very recently and said, "I know I did agree, but I don't think I will."

Q: Have your actual operations overseas been affected by the current furor?

A: Oh, yes, I think the current furor has laid a particular problem on us in that people exaggerate CIA. I see that in Mexico there was an accusation this week that we organized the excitement at the university; which, of course, we had nothing to do with. We also have the problem that CIA is used as a shibboleth to shout about in various countries around the world. And I think we have a more serious problem: We have to consider carefully whether we want to help somebody and take a risk of destroying him in the process of helping him. Because if it leaks that we helped him at this stage, we may destroy his political position entirely.

Q: What has been the effect of the furor on the intelligence work?

A: Well, I think that's absolutely unconscionable and reprehensible for an officer who served with us; accepted our discipline, agreed with our activities, signed a very warm and friendly letter on his resignation indicating that he valued highly his association with us, and that he would forever maintain the relationship as one of pride and trust, that if he could ever do anything for us he would be happy to. I've got an idea or so as to what he might do. He has named every name he could think of that was anyhow associated with us. There is at least one family who has been put under considerable pressure as a result of this.

Philip Agee, which gives names and a great number of identities?

A: Well, I think that's absolutely unconscionable and reprehensible for an officer who served with us; accepted our discipline, agreed with our activities, signed a very warm and friendly letter on his resignation indicating that he valued highly his association with us, and that he would forever maintain the relationship as one of pride and trust, that if he could ever do anything for us he would be happy to. I've got an idea or so as to what he might do. He has named every name he could think of that was anyhow associated with us. There is at least one family who has been put under considerable pressure as a result of this. A girl hounded out of school because her father's name appears in it. We have had to make rather massive changes in our situation in that area to prevent people being subjected to hardships because of this revelation. And the danger is that this kind of thing can go into the whole action of various terrorist movements. Mr. Mirion, as you know, was murdered in Latin America. There is a school of thought that says that was a patriotic act because he was alleged to be a CIA officer. He was not a CIA officer. And I contend that kind of a murder is totally unjustifiable. But Mr. Agee has put a number of people under direct threat of exactly that thing happening to them.

Q: A couple of years ago, there was a similar furor and public investigation involving the agency and IIT in Chile. What is the truth about the agency's role in Chile?

A: Well, the fact is, as I've said many times -- I don't want to talk about the details of our activity there -- CIA had nothing to do with the coup that overthrew Mr. Allende. It had nothing to do with the military at that time. We had a program of trying to support and assist some of the democratic forces looking to the elections of 1975, which we hoped they would win against Mr. Allende. The fact was, however, his policies were such that he generated so much confusion in the country -- not created by CIA -- that the military did move against him. If you ask whether that was a CIA success or failure, I think it was a failure, because the pro-
gram we had in mind did not take place, which was that the domestic forces would succeed eventually through elections in Chile.

Q: Was the agency aware that the Chilean armed forces intended to move when they did?
A: We had certain intelligence coverage of it and we had a series of alerts indicating that it was about to happen. They key to it was whether similar domestic forces would get together to do it, and we had several indications that they would on a certain date and then they didn't. And then they would on another date, and then they didn't. And then they would in September and October.

Q: Did the junta ask the United States or the CIA whether the new regime would be recognized?
A: They certainly did not ask the CIA, and I don't know of any other requests.

Q: There have been a number of reports that you gave a verbal addendum to President Ford after submitting your 50-page report involving the word "assassination." Did you make such a report?
A: I think I'll let the President speak for himself on that. It's possible on it, and I think it's appropriate. Otherwise, I frankly think that this is a subject that I would like to just stay in a total no comment position.

Q: Well, there have been a number of allegations that the agency either knew about or knowingly allowed discussions involving assassinations, the ones that took place involving the United States, Lumumba, and plans or plots involving Castro and Duvalier. What's your response to that?
A: Well, again, I really don't want to comment about that subject. It will be reported fully to the select committees. This is not a subject that I think we should do any good to the United States by talking about.

Q: Can you say fairly that the CIA has never planned or the assassination of any foreign leader?
A: Again, I just don't want to comment at all on it.

Q: You've discounted reports of sweeping CIA domestic activity but the issue remains very much alive. What's likely to be the upshot of that?
A: I think that the upshot of the investigation will rather clearly show that I'm right, that the programs that we undertook to identify foreign links with American dissident movements was not a massive one, in the numbers involved; was not a domestic one, because it was basically foreign; and it wasn't illegal because it was under our charter and our National Security Act. So it was neither considered illegal nor domestic. It was an intelligence operation.

Q: A great deal of the controversy focuses on files with the names of U.S. citizens. What steps have been taken, if any, to cleanse these files?
A: Well, some time ago — for the last three years — we have been cleaning some of these records. Some of our security files, some of the other things that had material in it that really should not have been in it. We obviously cannot do that now, because the investigations are under way and we cannot be in the position of destroying potentially evidence for these investigations. But I have directed that this kind of material be segregated. And I look forward to the day after the investigations when we have one large bonfire and destroy it all. Because I don't think that we ought to have it and I think that the best disposition is to get rid of it.

Q: Under the Organization Act of 1947, is mail cover in the United States illegal?
A: In my view, we should not do it. And that is why I recommended its termination in 1973 and it was terminated by Dr. Schlesinger.

Q: But that's not quite responsive. Is it illegal under the mandate?
A: Opening mail is, I believe, illegal. Reading the addresses off mail I think would depend on the authority of the organization in question. We're not doing it, but I could imagine that it would be legitimate to look at the addresses of people in contact with known foreign intelligence services or something of that nature.

Q: But is a mail cover a possible subject for criminal prosecution?
A: I do not believe so. And I do not believe that the people who are involved in the opening will be prosecuted.

Q: Have you encountered any cases in which it was necessary to discharge or seek the retribution for the employees for violating the legislative mandate?
A: No. The ones I think you're thinking of is a group that retired at the end of December. The facts of the case were that Mr. Johnson and I had discussions about various things about his work. I have the highest respect for the contribution he has made to counter-intelligence. I think he is an extremely fine public servant. We did have some differing views about the details of the matter. I determined that it was, I thought, desirable to make some changes, and I offered him another activity but said I thought it was time to put some successive leadership into his responsibility. He had the option of retiring, he took the option. He has agreed to stay around here a few months, he's still here now, helping us on the transition to the new management. The two officers who worked with him. I said I did not think they would succeed him as the chief, and they chose to retire. The fourth officer announced his plan to retire several weeks before the event.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, April 7, 1975

While the Central Intelligence Agency is under the spotlight of critical exposure in the U.S., its counterparts in the Soviet KGB—are still very busy. Known to the CIA, for example, are attempts by the Communist secret services to recruit about 400 Americans as spies in the last four years.
What's Wrong With the CIA?

Power, arrogance, and the “inside-outside” syndrome are what's wrong, says a former CIA executive who is worried about the challenge to the traditions of representative government.

by Tom Braden

Washington, D.C.

We are gathered, four of us CIA division chiefs and deputies, in the office of our agency’s director, an urbane and charming man. He is seated at his desk, puffing nervously on his pipe and asking us questions.

Allen W. Dulles is fretting this morning in the early Fifties, as, indeed, he has fretted most mornings. You can’t be in the middle of building an enormous spy house, running agents into Russia and elsewhere, worrying about Joseph McCarthy, planning to overthrow a government in Guatemala, and helping to elect another in Italy, without fretting.

But on this particular morning, Dulles is due for an appearance before Sen. Richard B. Russell’s Armed Services Committee, and the question he is pondering as he puffs on his pipe is whether to tell the senators what is making him fret. He has just spent a lot of money on buying an intelligence network, and the network has turned out to be worthless. In fact, it’s a little worse than worthless. All that money, Dulles now suspects, went to the KGB.

Therefore, the questions are somber, and so are the answers. At last, Dulles rises. “Well,” he says, “I guess I’ll have to fudge the truth a little.”

His eyes twinkle at the word fudge, then suddenly turn serious. He twists his slightly stooped shoulders into the old tweed topcoat and heads for the door. But he turns back. “I’ll tell the truth to Dick [Russell],” he says. “I always do.”

Then the twinkle returns, and he adds, with a chuckle, “That is, if Dick wants to know.”

The reason I recall the above scene in detail is that lately I have been asking myself what’s wrong with the CIA. Two committees of Congress and one from the executive branch are asking the question, too. But they are asking out of a concern for national policy. I am asking for a different reason. I once worked for the CIA, I regard the time I spent there as worthwhile duty. I look back upon the men with whom I worked as able and

honorable. So for me, the question “What’s wrong with the CIA?” is both personal and poignant.

Old friends of mine have been caught in evasions or worse. People I worked with have violated the law. Men whose ability I respected have planned operations that ended in embarrassment or disaster. What’s wrong with these people? What’s wrong with the CIA?

Ask yourself a question often enough, and sometimes the mind will respond with a memory. The memory my mind reported back is that scene in Allen Dulles’s office. It seemed, at first blush, a commonplace, inconsequential episode. But the more it fixed itself in my mind, the more it seemed to me that it helped to answer my question about what’s wrong with the agency. Let me explain.

The first thing this scene reveals is the sheer power that Dulles and his agency had. Only a man with extraordinary power could make a mistake involving a great many of the taxpayers’ dollars and not have to explain it. Allen Dulles had extraordinary power.

Power flowed to him and, through him, to the CIA, partly because his brother was Secretary of State, partly because his reputation as the master spy of World War II hung over him like a mysterious halo, partly because his senior partnership in the prestigious New York law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell impressed the small-town lawyers of Congress.

Moreover, events helped keep power flowing. The country was fighting a shooting war in Korea and a Cold War in Western Europe, and the CIA was sole authority on the plans and potential of the real enemy. To argue against the CIA was to argue against knowledge. Only Joseph McCarthy would run such a risk.

Indeed, McCarthy unwittingly added to the power of the CIA. He attacked the agency and when, in the showdown, Dulles won, his victory vastly increased the respectability of what people then called “the cause” of anti-communism. “Don’t join the book burners,” Eisenhower had said. That was the bad way to fight communism. The good way was the CIA.

Power was the first thing that went wrong with the CIA. There was too much of it, and it was too easy to bring
Allen Dulles once remarked that if necessary, he would lie to anybody about the CIA except the President. "I never had the slightest qualms about lying to an outsider," a CIA veteran remarked recently. "Does anyone need an outsider to know?"

So much for the lessons of memory. Power, arrogance, and the inside-outside syndrome are all wrong with the CIA, and to some extent, the faults are even necessary tools for the job.

But the evidence of the Cold War and the coincidence of Allen Dulles's having such enormous discretionary powers enlarged occupational risks until they became faults, and the faults created a monstrosity. Power built a vast bureaucracy and a ridiculous monument in Langley, Va. Arrogance fostered the belief that a few hundred exiles could land on a beach and hold off Castro's army.

The inside-outside syndrome withholds the truth from Adlai Stevenson so that he was forced to make a spectacle of himself on the floor of the United Nations by denying that the United States had anything to do with the invasion of Cuba. The same syndrome has made a sad and worried man of Richard Helms.

It's a shame what happened to the CIA. It could have consisted of a few hundred scholars to analyze intelligence, a few hundred spies in key positions, and a few hundred operators ready to carry out rare tasks of derring-do.

Instead, it became a gargantuan monster, owning property all over the world, running airplanes and newspapers and radio stations and banks and armies and navies, offering temptation to successive Secretaries of State, and giving at least one President a brilliant idea: Since the machinery for deceit existed, why not use it?

Richard Helms should have said no to Richard Nixon. But as a victim of the inside-outside syndrome, Helms could only ask Watergate's most plaintive question: "Who would have thought that it would someday be judged a crime to carry out the orders of the President of the United States?"

A shame—and a peculiarly American shame. For this is the only country in the world which doesn't recognize the fact that some things are better if they are small.

We'll need intelligence in the future. And once in a while, once in a great while, we may need covert action, too. But, at the moment, we have nothing.

The revelations of Watergate and the investigations that have followed have done their work. The CIA's power is gone. Its arrogance has turned to fear.

The inside-outside syndrome has been broken. Former agents write books naming other agents. Director William Colby goes to the Justice Department with evidence that his predecessor violated the law. The house that Allen Dulles built is divided and torn.

The end is not in sight. Various committees now investigating the agency will doubtless find error. They will recommend change, they will reshuffle. They will adjust. But they will leave the monster intact, and even if the monster never makes another mistake, never again overreaches itself—even, indeed, if all some other government agencies, it never does anything at all—it will, by choice,
go right on creating and perpetuating the myths that always accompanied the presence of the monster.

We know the myths. They circulate throughout the land wherever there are bars and bowling alleys: that the CIA killed John Kennedy; that the CIA crippled George Wallace; that an unexplained airplane crash, a big gold heist, were all the work of the CIA.

These myths are ridiculous, but they will exist as long as they exist.

The fact that millions believe the myths raises once again the old question which OSS men used to argue after the war: Can a free and open society encounter in covert operations—not, at any rate, in the kind of large, intricate covert operations of which the CIA has been capable.

I don’t argue solely from the box score. But let’s look at the box score. It reveals many famous failures. Too easily, they prove the point. Consider what the CIA does its successes: Does anybody remember Arbenz in Guatemala? What good was achieved by the overthrow of Arbenz? Would it really have made any difference to this country if we hadn’t overthrown Arbenz?

And Allende? How much good did it do the American people to overthrow Allende? How much bad?

Was it essential—yes even granted the sticky question of succession—to keep those Greek colonels in power for so long?

We used to think that it was a great triumph that the CIA kept the Shah of Iran on his throne against the onslaught of Mossadegh. Are we grateful still?

The uprisings during the last phase of the Cold War may have been failures; but in the streets of Poland, East Germany, and Hungary: to what avail?

But the box score does not tell the whole story. We paid a high price for that box score. Shame and embarrassment is a high price. Doubt, mistrust, and fear is a high price. The public myths are a high price, and so is the guilty knowledge that we own an establishment devoted to opposing the ideals we profess.

IN OUR MIND, we have maintained a secret instrument erected in contradiction to James Madison’s injunction: “A popular government without the means to popular information is a farce or a tragedy, perhaps both.”

As I say, the investigating committees will prop the monster up. I would suggest more radical action. I would shut it down. I would turn the overt intelligence function over to the State Department.

Scholars and scientists and people who understand the railroads run in Sri Lanka don’t need to belong to the CIA in order to do their valuable work well.

I would turn the paratroopers over to the army. If, at some point, we could ever:

Marquis Childs

The Wild Rumors About the CIA

Washington.

Recipe for how to make things worse than they are. Start with a large order of paranoia, stir in with groundless rumors and wild charges, bake with a strong infusion of CIA flavoring.

In this charged atmosphere all the old suspicions about the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, are being revived. This can be put down partly to what is little better than cheap publicity-seeking by those who think it is a sure way to garner a headline.

But reports from around the country show that the wildest of the rumors are taken seriously by those who, given even a little rational thought, should know better:

The CIA planned the assassination of the two Kennedy brothers. This has taken hold not only with the crazies but among the young who want to believe anything evil about the “establishment.”

The commission that investigated President Kennedy’s assassination was headed by the late Chief Justice Earl Warren who accepted the assignment reluctantly after arm-twisting by President Lyndon B. Johnson and Rep. R. Ford, then Republican leader in the House of Representatives, was a member of the commission. After sitting with a capable staff every scrap of evidence, rumor and report, including the charge of conspiracy was involved, the commission found that Lee Harvey Oswald, the lonesome, was the killer. The report is the President as he passed by in the motorcade in Dallas.

As for Robert Kennedy, witnesses saw Sirhan B. Sirhan fire the fatal shot as the young senator passed through the outdoor of a hotel kitchen in Los Angeles. After a lengthy trial, Sirhan was found guilty and sentenced to death. Since his conviction he has waited on death row in San Quentin pending judicial decision on the legality of the death penalty. Naturally, members of his family are eager to exploit the agitation to reopen the case.

There seems at times a competition to see who can swallow the biggest myth, with the Central Intelligence Agency the prime bait. In a suburb of Los Angeles, the Orange County Bar Association heard at a luncheon meeting Philip (Dave) Thomas describe how he had carried out 22 assassinations in the Soviet Union as a CIA agent. One newspaper headline said “CIA Assassins Tell Lawyers of Exploits.”

The speaker went on to say that to escape the RGB after his latest killing he had seized a Pan American 747, using his American Express Card, to fly late to safety.

Even though the story is wildly improbable, the CIA searched its files. No such name nor anything resembling it came to light.

No matter what is eventually proved to have been going on by the CIA, the rumor-mongering is contributing to the erosion of the agency’s status. Many critical of the covert side—the dirty tricks department of the CIA—believe that its overt operations, intelligence-gathering and intelligence-information, are invaluable and its destruction would be a severe loss.

An organization most active in promoting the conspiracy theory of the CIA is the National Caucus of Labor Committees, a militant labor organization that links the CIA with the KGB in a giant brainwashing operation.

Members believe in a “cover-up plot” they must ever be possible to frustrate. Was a story appeared in the Washington Post on the consternation the CIA had declined comment, Director William E. Colby said that while he thought it was a dramatic matter and the inquiry should have been directed to the FBI, he was replying to say that while the charge were mere “twisted by your circulation of them forces CIA to deny them as false.”

But before we give a trial and tribulation the same witches’ brew of fact, suspicion, haunting truth—After President Harry S. Truman’s assassination in 1951 at the end of World War II, the rumor persisted beyond the fact that the abrasive Stanton had been at odds with Secord as the conduct of the war. Latter-day scholars have dismissed the rumor as unsubstantiated.

Hopefully we will recover from the present phobia, which is more virulent than that of a century ago. The sensation-mongering is no novelty in our time of troubles.
CIA Latin Chief Is Quitting to Take on Critics

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

The chief of Latin American operations for the CIA is leaving the agency effective May 6 to organize former American intelligence officers in an effort to defend the organization against those who attack it.

He is David A. Phillips, 52, who has been in charge of the Western Hemisphere Division for two years and is a veteran who has been CIA station chief in the Dominican Republic, Brazil and Venezuela. Phillips recently informed CIA Director William E. Colby of his decision to retire and that he intends to organize an association of retired intelligence officers from all American services.

The Washington Star learned that Colby told Phillips he would rather he remain in his present job but accepted Phillips' decision with good wishes when the official made clear his decision was final.

Phillips told the Star he was not impressed with the lack of determination to defend the agency as a private citizen, as he could not do while on the agency's payroll.

Much of the recent criticism of the CIA has focused on its area of responsibility in Latin America.

THE CIA has been linked with operations against the Marxist regimes of the late President Salvador Allende in Chile and allegations of assassination plots against Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba, the late President Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic and the late President Francois Duvalier of Haiti.

The association of retired intelligence officers does not yet exist, but Phillips has sent an open letter under that heading to 250 former CIA officers with whom he is acquainted.

The letter says in part:

"As chief of Latin American operations, I have been deeply concerned about the decline of morale at Langley (CIA headquarters) and abroad. Snowballing insub-endo, egregious stories and charges, and even honest concerns have presented us with the basic dilemma of issues either a general statement which reassures few but preserves security, or a comprehensive accounting which satisfies some but at expense of operations and agents.

"Under the circumstances, there is little doubt that a thorough congressional review is the best, if not the only solution, even though some leakage of sensitive details on foreign operations seems almost inevitable. A few of our older documents from the Cold War period will make for pretty heady reading today. As for our present activities, I am convinced we have no problem.

"IN THE meantime, our capabilities abroad are being damaged. More and more of our agents and friends — many of the finest people who cooperate on the basis of ideology — are saying thanks but no thanks. Friendly liaison services are beginning to fall back away from us. The Marchetti and the Aces have the stage and only a few challenge them.

"Victor Marchetti and Phillip Agee are former CIA agents who have written critical exposes of the agency.

Phillips said he is leaving the CIA because he wants to fill the gap and intends to challenge Marchetti to a series of college campus debates. He also will go on a lecture tour and do some writing to explain why the United States needs an intelligence service.

Phillips said he was concerned that people might think he was still working for the agency when he gets started with the association's efforts. He said, "I wish to make it absolutely clear that the CIA management has not had, and will not have, a hand officially or unofficially in this organization and its efforts."

Phillips said he will receive $15,000 a year as a retired employee compared with his present salary of $36,000. The association, he said, will be financed by $10 a year dues to be used for stamps, paper and similar expenses but not for salaries. He expects to provide for his own income through lecture fees.

Soviet hints CIA helped kill Faisal

MOSCOW — Moscow Bureau of The New York Times

The Soviet Union has previously suggested last night that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency had plotted the assassination of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia because of growing friction between the Moscow and Washington over the price of oil and terms of a Middle East settlement.

The government newspaper Izvestia stopped short, however, of an open accusation, but left no doubt that it believes the CIA planned and probably helped carry out Faisal's assassination.

In a short article headlined "Who Fired?" Izvestia cites Arab papers in Beirut, Cairo and Rabat, Morocco, to imply the United States was in the assassination. Tass, the official government news agency, also has carried stories in the last two days suggesting that the Central Intelligence Agency was involved.

Radio Riyadh in Saudi Arabia has said the assassin, a nephew of the King, was mentally deranged and acted alone.

But Izvestia and Tass quote the Beirut newspaper Al Ikhwan as saying that the United States had concluded that a reduction in oil prices was "impossible to achieve during Faisal's lifetime" and thus decided to assassinate the monarch, who is characterized as increasingly "disappointed with American policies."

The Moroccan newspaper L'Opinion is quoted as saying that the basic American decision to remove the King came after the 1973 oil embargo. "There is no need to indicate who did it... The events in Chile and in Cyprus give sufficient ideas as to who masterminded the crime."

The American intelligence agency is blamed here both for the coup d'etat that overthrew the Cuban administration of President Salvador Allende in 1973 and the ouster last summer of President Massadouk from Cyprus.

Izvestia pointedly recalls that Henry H. Kissinger, the United States Secretary of State, had warned in January that the U.S. might find it necessary in "extreme circumstances" to intervene militarily in oil-producing countries. Saudi Arabia, the paper indicates, would be a principal target.

"At the end of last year," Izvestia wrote last night, the American magazine Newsweek published an ominous cartoon —leaders of oil-producing countries, being shot at from around a corner. Are these threats not becoming a reality?"

Earlier, Tass had suggested that the new King and crown prince in Saudi Arabia were even more pro-American than King Faisal had ever been, leaving the implication that the United States had gained greatly from the assassination.

Tass also suggested that the Arabian-American Oil Company, known as Aramco, may have been involved in the plot to assassinate King Faisal because of its recent actions to nationalize the firm.

These charges were in great contrast, however, to the generally mild Soviet comments on the collapse of Mr. Kissinger's efforts to mediate a new Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula.
Went fishing

Washington, DC

Plenty of people blame the press, the bearer of bad tidings, for the long string of embarrassing disclosures that has put the Central Intelligence Agency in a corner for its bureaucratic life.

The manner in which the true mission of that celebrated deep-sea fishing, the Hughes Glomer Explorer, was disclosed last week puts on its newspapers the editors in a different light. Successive disclosures in the past year showed the CIA in an equivocal relationship to some of the illegibilities of the Nixon Administration, meddling in the politics of the Chads, indulging in domestic espionage, and under suspicion of complicity in real or attempted foreign political assassinations.

The Glomer Explorer is a different case entirely. When a Soviet submarine exploded and sank in the Pacific in 1968, the American undersea tracking system established where the wreck occurred, while the Soviet system failed to do so. Eventually the Nixon Administration approved the building of a special ship, with a huge covered satellite barge, which arrived on the ship's last year and picked up the Soviet submarine from its position on the sea bed, three miles down. The operation was bizarre, complex, financially prodigious. Its legality gave rise to lively argument among the government lawyers, it involved deception of the public, and it involved the co-option of the public by a financier, Mr. Howard Hughes, whose complications with the Nixon Administration were of arguable propriety in other ways. Still, as a genuine effort to gather foreign military intelligence, the operation did fall within the proper function of the CIA.

The press handled it quite differently from the agency's alleged trespasses and indignations. After the Glomer Explorer sailed in 1973 from the Atlantic port where it was built, one or two reporters picked up hints that the mission might be something other than scraping up a sailboat from the ocean floor, but the CIA was able to persuade their editors, as a matter of public interest, not to pursue the question. A labor dispute that broke out over the manning of the ship had some features not easily explicable in a normal commercial vessel that drew some attention. Last summer the offices of Mr. Howard Hughes's holding company in Los Angeles were broken into and quantities of its files removed, including files to do with the Glomer Explorer and the company's relations with the CIA. An attempt at what is described as blackmail of Mr. Hughes refused to pay, and last month a grand jury in Los Angeles began an investigation.

By now the hints and rumours were fairly thick, and indeed the Los Angeles Times published on February 8th a version that had the Glomer Explorer searching for a sunken submarine, though in the wrong ocean. A quick intervention by the CIA got the report curtailed and moved to an inside page.

Mr. William Colby, the director of the CIA, got busy briefing editors, usually telling them more than they knew, explaining that the ship had not finished its job but that to return next summer to collect some more pieces of submarine, and appealing to their public spirit not to spoil the game. The New York Times, the Washington Post, the Washington Star, Time, Newsweek and at least a dozen radio and television networks had heard about it and all agreed to hold their hands, with the reservation that if others published it, they would have to. The dam broke on March 18th.

On that evening the New York Times got word from Mr. Jack Anderson, who continues the muck-raking column of the late Drew Pearson, that Mr. Anderson was going to use the story not in his column but in his regular radio talk, and it decided that it had to go ahead and publish.

Against publishing the story was the argument that the Russians did not know what those weird vessels were doing in that spot in the Pacific, Mr. Melvin Laird, who was Secretary of Defense at the time the costly project was launched, has said he would guarantee that they did not know. Even so, it is possible to argue that knowing something is, for the Soviet government, a different matter from having to take cognizance of it officially. The lessons of the U-2 affair in 1960 have not been forgotten, and hence the Administration was careful not to say a word.

One thing that is clear is that the Glomer Explorer will not be returning to the spot to look for more bits of submarine. A rather valuable ship, equipped to recover objects from the deep sea-bed, looks like coming on the market, unless the circumstances of Mr. Hughes took the precaution of getting a first option on it. Estimates of the cost of the whole Glomer Explorer operation are in the range of $350m.

Senator Frank Church of Idaho, the chairman of the Senate's committee on intelligence activities, lost no time in saying that the expense was too much: "No wonder we are broke," he said. Few others are willing to join him publicly in his judgment. There are reports that the lost Russian submarine had a strange profile, which might indicate a secret modernisation, making ships of its type subject to the strategic arms limitation pact, and other reports that one or more of its torpedoes, which may have been nuclear-tipped, were recovered. Where, if not with the CIA, can such reports originate? Yet the CIA is also assiduously guarding the version that the submarine's missiles and its coding apparatus were not, definitely not, among the articles recovered when the wrecked ship fell back into the ocean. The reasoning is not to be expected to say it was true, and also if it were not.

Intriguing, in a country that is so widely said to have succumbed to self-doubt, become daunted by power, and lost the feel for greatness, is the generosity of the praise that is being heaped on the, in other respects harassed, CIA for the boldness and technical excellence of this exercise in science fiction. What other country would think of such a project, would find the money for it and would carry it out so flawlessly? Where else are the technological resources sufficient to such an adventure to be found? Which naval power lost the submarine from view (the Soviet Union), and which power tracked it in its grave in the deep ocean? Good intelligence work as a guarantee of national security and a preponderance of effective arms control are celebrated by the New York Times and the Washington Post, with expressions of thankfulness that the CIA has not fallen, demonstrated its pre-eminence in the work which it was legitimately called into existence to do.

COLBY COMES IN FROM THE COLD

Congressional investigators looking into the CIA may get more than they expected from their demand that spymaster William Colby turn over the report he delivered to President Ford last Christmas in Vall Col., on his agency's domestic operations. Colby has told Sen. Frank Church, head of the Senate probe, that various in-house CIA task forces have from time to time reviewed the agency's internal workings. He volunteered to turn over a list of these studies to the Congressional investigators.

U.S. News & World Report
24 March 1975

The Central Intelligence Agency is known to feel that its secrets will be safe with only two of the three groups that are now investigating its activities—the Rockefeller Commission and the Senate probes. CIA officials worry about possible leaks of sensitive material from the House panel.
Mr. G. was certainly not thinking of his own death as he hurried down the corridor to his hotel room in Guatemala. His mind swarmed with the details of smuggling rifles and machine guns to a band of Communist-backed revolutionaries in Mexico. They had money to pay for weapons and wanted delivery at a secret point on Mexico's eastern coast. A fishing boat captain from Grand Isle, La., was to make the delivery.

Mr. G. was thinking of the sizable profits he would make from the deal and barely noticed a thin, well-dressed young man step out of a room down the hallway. The young man coughed, covering his face with a handkerchief. The two men drew abreast.

"Are you an American?" the young man asked.

Mr. G. turned and his eyes widened with fright. He stared into the barrel of an eight-inch long aluminum tube. Click! A strange vapor spurted from the metal device, surrounding Mr. G.'s face.

"What the hell—" he stammered, breathing the sour fumes into his lungs.

He crumpled to the floor, his face turning purple. The young man placed the aluminum tube in his pocket and casually walked down the hall and into the lobby.

It took exactly 72 seconds for Mr. G. to die. He died just as the young man walked out into the street. Several minutes later, a hotel maid found the body and screamed her alarm. It was another 20 minutes before an ambulance arrived. That evening, a death certificate was prepared.

Heart attack was the verdict.

The examining doctors knew nothing of a colorless, odorless poison carefully sealed in a thin capsule and shot out of a hemispherically sealed aluminum tube. Bizarre poisonings are seldom discussed at medical meetings. Few coroners know that such a capsule fired no more than 24 inches from the victim's face, will produce almost instant death.

The deadly vapors are breathed into the lungs. Arteries that carry blood to the brain are paralyzed instantly. Within seconds, the victim begins to die. Within minutes, all traces of the poisonous vapor disappear, long before an autopsy can be performed.

The poison was developed in a Russian laboratory in the late 1950s and brought to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in 1961 when Bogdam Shashinsky defected to the West. Shashinsky, a trained assassin for the KGB (Komitet Sotsialisticheskoi Oborony Bezopasnosti or Soviet Committee for State Security), knew the vapor was an effective murder weapon. He had eliminated two anti-Soviet exile agents in West Germany before surrendering to U.S. counterintelligence.

Mr. G. was just one of many victims of the poison since then. A member of the shadow world of international manipulation, he was a clever soldier of fortune who specialized in subversive operations, dope smuggling, and political intrigue. Like his fellow entrepreneurs, he fed on revolt and revolution, hurrying to the world's hottest trouble spots in order to fatten his bank balance.

The assassin with the deadly aluminum tube was an illegal, or "black" agent in the "Piano" section of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. He is attached to "Staff D," an obscure department known inside the agency as the "Kill Squad." Equipped with the latest in weaponry and gadgetry, these agents kill the enemy on order. Their victims are those persons considered a threat to the national security of the U.S. In the example above, a Communist-inspired revolution south of the border would be a threat to the U.S., hence it was necessary to "eliminate" Mr. G.

Members of the "Kill Squad" are the glamour boys of the CIA's 17,000-man spy organization. They are the true professionals in the back alley battles of Cold War espionage. Cold-blooded they can murder a double agent in Berlin, liquidate a person who may jeopardize U.S. security, or arrange for an assassination squad to kill the political leader of an unfriendly country.

Naturally, many of these projects are surrounded by the highest secrecy. There are stiff penalties to prevent present or former, agents of the CIA from discussing their experiences. "I've been out of the 'Company' for two years," remarked an ex-agent. "However, if they knew I was talking, I could be taken into custody without a warrant, held indefinitely, and brought to a secret trial. More than one person has been whisked out to the 'Mansion' for interrogation after they talked in public."

The "Mansion" is the CIA's top secret 65-acre private estate located a few miles from Oxford, Md., along the Choptank River. The Mansion and grounds are protected by high, electrified fences, armed guards and a patrol of vicious German shepherd dogs.

However, despite all this official secrecy, many persons in and out of the agency have become disenchanted with the CIA.

At this very moment in Washington, D.C., a blue ribbon panel, headed by Vice President Rockefeller, is investigating the organization and is preparing a report for President Ford. In light of the fact that much has been exposed concerning the CIA's activities in our own country and the operation of the now defunct Selvador Aligned in Chile, there are those who feel that the deadly and frightening results of the "Kill Squad" should also be revealed to the public.

Others seek power through office politics. Like any other bureaucratic group, there are cliques inside the CIA struggling for supremacy over the vast spy network. Some inside the agency are recruited, trained, sent into the field and quickly become disillusioned by the realities of espionage. "It looks good only in the movies," remarked one source.

From interviews developed over a span of many months, considerable data on the CIA was obtained. Despite the secrecy, the agency constantly bubbles with wild stones and fantastic rumors; separating the fact from the fantastic was no easy task. The information cannot be verified officially, every effort has been made to insure accuracy within these limitations.

My information includes:

- An aborted assassination plot against Fidel Castro during his visit to New York for an appearance before the United Nations;
- The formation and training of parapilitarian assassination squads staffed by Cubans;
- "Kill to protect" orders on the U.S. spy plane;
- Persistent rumors concerning the possible murder of several U.S. citizens; and
- Details on the latest weaponry and gadgetry.

Get Castro: Like some ancient
bearded demon, Fidel Castro is a satanic figure to CIA agents. He is satan incarnate, a living reminder of the agency's failures in Cuba, the Bay of Pigs, and other fiascos," reported a former agency officer. "This man tried to get Castro nothing worked."

Originally, the agency was lax in determining Castro's political beliefs. A CIA briefing to President Eisenhower's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities in late 1950 reported Castro as being a "political enigma." A still secret report declared that Castro did not become a Communist until after the Bay of Pigs. "Prior to that time, public statements did not reflect Marxist directions," the report stated.

Nevertheless, there were those in the CIA who did not trust Castro, even in 1960. "If he talks, talks, and acts like a Communist I say yes one," a crusty CIA official declared. Others agreed, and, when Castro announced his intentions to visit the United Nations, an assassination plot was formed. "A visit to the U.S. by a foreign leader is a good opportunity to obtain information," explained a former agent.

"The CIA almost always maintains a hospitality suite for the American police force, a visit to a foreign dignitary. We then the officers go off duty, they drop in for free food and drinks. We debrief them through casual questioning. Surprisingly, we often pick up important intelligence data."

"When Khrushchev visited the U.S., the police report he was hitting the bottle," he said. "He was also abrupt and he treated his associates in a demeaning manner. This indicated a possible power struggle that ended when the old boy was ousted."

Castro was in New York in 1959 and the CIA opened a hospitality suite at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Duty policemen assigned to guard Castro were offered the finest in food and drink, served and poured by CIA agents.

But the assassination plot was aborted. Why? One agent said, "there were just too many complications."

Shortly after Castro's visit to New York, the CIA selected several Cuban exiles to staff CIA-financed assassination squads. "The idea was that a four-man team would return to Cuba, set up posts in Havana, and kill him in a crossfire from high-powered sniper rifles equipped with bullets that exploded on impact."

Another team was assembled to "hit Castro when and if he made a public appearance."

The assassination squads were trained in the Florida Everglades, under the direction of a graduate of the OSS assassination school. Marine officers, assigned to the CIA, assisted in the training. "Several squads were trained, but Castro's intelligence men learned of our existence," an ex-agent said. "There are rumors of at least two attempts made on Castro's life. Both failed. I don't know if this was our CIA squads or some ordinary Cuban citizen."

What happened to the remaining assassins? "There is always work for a man schooled in murder," concluded my informant. "At least one of these men was at the Bay of Pigs. Later, he flew some of the old B-26 bombers for the CIA in the Congo rebellion. He got a filthy job in the Congo after being ordered to fly over native villages and indiscriminately fire on civilians. He dropped out of sight after that."

"Some critics of the CIA, particularly those with the dispute the "inner assassin" verdict in the death of Pres. John Kennedy, believe the CIA is responsible for the murder of several world leaders."

"A group of independent, self-financed investigators have been sifting the facts in several assassinations for several years. They are concerned with what are considered similarities in the deaths of the Cuban, Dag Hammarskjöld, Sen. Robert Kennedy, Pres. John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X. "There are certain patterns in these murders to warrant further investigation, one investigator reported.

"Another investigator was more outspoken. "I am convinced that a clique within the Central Intelligence Agency, or a CIA-linked group, is responsible for several assassinations," he reported. "I just find it too incredible to believe an agency of the U.S. government would cold-bloodedly murder President Kennedy, or assassinate some of the best minds in the modern world simply because the victims did not believe in the Cold War."

However, these independent investigators are not overly optimistic about the results of their investigations. "If we had everything down in black and white, hard evidence, no one would believe it," one man concluded. "The facts are few, the theories are numerous."

The U-2 Murders: "Intelligence flights over unfriendly countries started as early as 1932 or 1933, using the early U-2 planes under CIA jurisdiction," a former CIA agent revealed. "The U-2 flights have continued to this day, despite the photographs we obtain from our spies in the sky."

"The U-2 planes flown over Russia were highly improved aircraft. Their range was tremendous and their altitude was high," he continued. "The CIA was charged with protecting these planes from anti-aircraft and an English civilian was 'eliminated' when he attempted to take pictures of the U-2 at Lakenheath, England."

"I heard of another incident that allegedly occurred at Atsugi Airport, near Tokyo, in the fall of 1959. A Japanese teen-ager slipped onto the base and snatched a few pictures, which he hoped to sell to newspapers or magazines. Word got back to someone, and the next evening, the teen-ager drowned himself. Naturally, I assume he had very little choice and was probably held under the water by an agent," he concluded.

Are the assassinations of civilians cleared through channels? Must prior approval be obtained?

"Absolutely not! An agent in the 'black' section is trained, and, charged, to make his own decisions," the informant said. "An agent may be out of contact for some considerable periods of time. If security is compromised, they will remember that dead men tell no tales. Also, a request for permission to kill indicates an agent may have slipped up somewhere along the line. Your superiors in the agency do not like mistakes. Do you what you must do to protect the national security and you do it well. An agent might request a professional assassin if he is confronted with a particularly complicated job. Then, the agent could send a pro or two out into the field."

It was essential that the U-2 project be protected by "kill orders."

Despite his braggart's shouts, Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev and his predecessors knew the CIA had a big role in an important coup in the Cold War. The following information was obtained from a former U-2 pilot and was verified by other sources. "The U-2 was a beautiful plane," the pilot said. "There were several windows built into the bottom of the craft, designed to photograph enemy installations from high altitudes. This was an important function of the flights over Russia and China."

"However, there was another gadjet in the plane and a system of pushing the button at certain points along the flight," he continued. "These buttons activated a recording device that made a tape imprint on the tape of the plane's flight over the Earth. We obtained a flight pattern on the tape. After processing, the tape could be locked into an atomic missile. The missile guidance system is set up to follow the exact pattern on the tape, from launching until strike-down. The missile might deviate off course, but it has to come back and seek out the pattern on the tape."

"It is a foolproof system for directing an atomic missile directly on target without missing by an inch," he said. "Once that missile is launched, nothing other than a shoot-down could stop it from hitting directly on target."

"When Francis Gary Powers crashed and Nikita Khrushchev discovered we had missiles homed in on his head, he almost went nuts," the pilot continued. "He knew there was absolutely nothing he could do. We've been zeroes in for years on every important target in Russia and Rumania."

"Some intelligence people believe the crash of Powers' U-2 plane was no accident. "The whole thing has just never added up," the pilot concluded.

Things are never what they seem in espionage. A secret weapon unless the enemy knows about it. If Powers did play such a role in a "set-up" crash inside Russia, it would
be the most incredible espionage story in
history.
He Was An Idealist: Central Intel-
ligence Agency trainee is called
JOT's, Junior Officer Trainees, during the
tensive training program. Some
trainees receive underwater and jungle
warfare training at a secret CIA camp in
a Southern state. Others are given
training at a CIA base located near Las
Vegas, Nev.
White assassination is seldom dis-
cussed openly by the instructors, it is
present in CIA classes by implication. A
former agent told of an instructor's
remarks to the class one afternoon
during his training. "A U.S. citizen
happened to stumble onto a base
where the 'Company' was training
Cubans for the Bay of Pigs invasion. He
took several photographs of equipment
with U.S. markings on the side," the
instructor said. "This was before the
markings were to be removed for the
actual invasion. If the photographs
were published, it would have been a
very serious breach of security at the
Bay of Pigs.
"He arrived in New York and was
stopped and interrogated. Offers were
made to purchase the pictures and buy
him off. He was an idealist and refused
to cooperate," the instructor said. "He
was crossing a street when a truck
turned out of control, struck, and killed
him. And fellows, those pictures and
negaives just plain disappeared during
all the confusion." Trainees also hear of an old, grizzled
desert gold prospector who unknow-
ingly wandered into a restricted military
area with top secret installations. "The
'Company' man knew there was a 99
percent chance the old boy would keep
his mouth shut," trainees were in-
formed. "But no chance could be taken.
The prospector was eliminated and
buried in an unmarked grave.
"The CIA's assassination squads
operated in Vietnam were known as the
Intelligence, Coordination, and Exploita-
tion unit. Trainees were told of ICE
terrorists, trained by Special Forces
and Green Berets, who had been
successful in capturing, or killing,nun-
cers and Communist sympathizers.
"CIA agents worked very closely with
the Green Berets and UDT teams in
Vietnam." Almost every ex-agent has a story
involving the death of a U.S. citizen who
unknowingly jeopardized national secu-
rity in one way or another. These
stories frequently concern someone
who stumbled onto a secret military
base on U.S. soil. These unsubstan-
tiated tales include stories of people
who wandered into a Cuban training
camp operated by the CIA in the Florida
Everglades. "Those cuts in there are
don't damn trigger-happy," said an
agent. "A few got into an argument
between themselves ending with a
shout-out that brought the county
sheriff into the brawl. It took some real
fancy footwork to keep that incident
off the front pages.
Mental instability, nervous break-
downs, and mental aberrations with
paranoid schizophrenia are an occupa-
tional hazard for the CIA agent. "You
got to be a bit paranoid if you're in this
business for any length of time," a
former agent said. A number of
agents have freaked out, chasing their
wifes or girl friends with knives or guns.
One poor soul took an eight-inch
butterfly knife and decided to carve up
his landlord. A larger than usual
number of employes are arrested in
Washington, D.C, or the neighboring
communities in compromising situa-
tions involving morals charges.
"A dubious fringe benefit is a private
sanitarium," the agent said. "Security
might be compromised if an agent was treated
by an outside psychiatrist. This sounds
good, but it can backfire. A young
analyst requested to be relieved of his duties;
he felt the pressure was too much.
The agency did not act. Finally, James
Woodbury and his wife, Dorothy, made a suicidal
pact and leaped off a bridge at Great Falls,
Va. Our suicide rate is much higher than
that for the average population.
What frightens this agent, and many
others, is the nagging fear that an agent
in the field may someday go berserk. "A
single man with training in explosives,
knives, and every type of dirty warfare
could disrupt an entire metropolitan
area," he said. "Some day we may wake
up and find such an incident on our
front pages.
"Weaponry: Like their fictional
counterparts, the agents at the CIA
have a fascination for sophisticated
weaponry. Very few of the bizarre items
in their spy arsenal conform to the
Geneva Conventions regarding modern
armories; many are so secret that few
people outside the CIA know about
them.
"One diabolical device is a candidate
for the 'ultimate weapon.'
"This is an electronic gadget that
changes the role of electrical insulators
and conductors. An insulator becomes a
conductor and vice versa. The device
can be attached to an automobile, a telephone,
or an electrical appliance, and the victim
is electrocuted.
At present, the device works only on
a single appliance. "The laba hope to
come up with a pyramidal system," the
informant said. "The device could
then be attached to a point in a city's
electrical grid system. The entire city's
electrical grid would be transformed
from positive-negative to negative-
positive. All the humans would be
electrocuted, while the building and
physical facilities would be unharmed."
On an even darker side, CIA
agents have developed a new nerve
gas which contains two chemicals
which are not poisonous themselves.
However, when the chemicals are
mixed with ether, a deadly nerve
gas results. "These are common
chemicals. They're stored in two
separate compartments of a bottle
which breaks on impact," my source
said. "This makes it easy to carry a
nerve gas, without danger."
Poison is a favorite weapon among
the CIA's "black" agents. The most
useful poisons are those of the curare
culture, a CIA favorite. Crystalline curare
is extremely powerful; only 0.023 grams
are required to kill a person. One
gadget used by agents is a curaretipped
dart fired from a small blowgun,
which resembles a cigarette; a cigarette
lighter can also be used as a powerful
mechanical dart gun, shooting a
poisoned dart across a room.
Other weapons include the traditional
silencer-equipped machine guns, pis-
tols, and burp guns. These are usually
equipped with custom-made ammuni-
tion that explodes on impact. "What-
ever the dark side of man can conceive,
we have in our arsenal," a former
agent said.
"What can we conclude about the
CIA and the use of 'Kill Squads'?
Although a newcomer to international
espionage, the Central Intelligence
Agency has become one of the world's
leading—perhaps the best—intelligence
gathering agencies. However, the
basic weakness in any spy organiza-
tion is that it is not a precise, untruthful,
unsupervised system that makes the
perfect agent. The perfect agent can
always be dangerous to a democratic
society, unless held in check. We have
focused on a single aspect of the CIA;
there are many achievements and
several failures.
Today when we are so closely
examining the CIA after seeing how the
Executive Branch of government tried
to—and did—use this organization, we
must make sure that it can never
happen again. It's a small step from
obtaining disguises to "eliminating"
the opposition. The CIA was formed to
preserve the freedom of the people of
the U.S.—we must never give it the
opportunity to become our master.

EDITOR & PUBLISHER
22 MARCH 1975
High court petition
The U.S. Supreme Court has been
petitioned to overturn an appellate
court ruling which sustained the CIA's
right to suppress writings of former
employees about what they learned
while working for the agency. The
petition for a high court hearing was
made by Victor L Marchetti and John
D. Marks, co-authors of the partly
censored book, "CIA and the Cult of
Intelligence," joined by publisher Al-
fred A. Knopf Inc.

Approved For Release 2001/08/08 : CIA-RDP77-00432R000100360006-2
Marchetti
Appeals to High Court

WASHINGTON POST
16 March 1975

By John P. Mackenzie
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court was asked yesterday to decide whether the Central Intelligence Agency has broad power to suppress writings by former employees about what they learned while working for the CIA.

Vicente L. Marchetti and John D. Staniland, compilers of the partly censored book, "CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," joined publisher Alfred A. Knopf, in seeking a high court hearing.

The Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals said last month sustained the CIA's right to enforce its secrecy agreement with Marchetti, a former high-ranking agency employee, in order to relax the "safeguarding" proving that deleted passages from the book contained classified information.

The low court held that the agreement "prostrated itself before the terrors of national security," the petition said, "and completely ignored the compelling public interest in free speech and free press, which are guaranteed by the Constitution.

In addition to the constitutional battle, the petition challenged the CIA's right to obtain an injunction preventing publication of the disputed passages on the ground that Congress had not authorized such court orders despite the agency's requests.

The authors and publisher had won a significant victory last year when District Judge Albert V. Bryan Jr. in Alexandria rejected the CIA's claim that more than 200 items of information had been classified.

Bryan said the agency appeared to classify the information on the spot when it screened the manuscript.

But the court of appeals held that information should be determined classified if it was "classifiable" and appeared anywhere on a government document, that is, a classification at the time the court said there was a presumption of regularity in performance by public officials that government secrets, so that it an item could have been classified if it was in fact classified.

Melvin L. Wulf and Floyd Abrams, attorneys for the authors and publisher, said the appellate court ignored evidence that government classified

LONDON TIMES
22 March 1975

CIA cooperating with British secret service in fighting terrorism and subversion despite some friction

By Louis Heren

An American newspaper report that Britain's Secret Intelligence Service is upset because the Central Intelligence Agency has failed to pass on the results of its operations in Britain has been dismissed as fiction by those in a position to know.

The two agencies have always cooperated closely, each other, and both the SIS has been concerned with the CIA in the past. Moreover, it was said, the CIA does not operate in Britain.

There is, of course, a CIA station in London, but no information was available from official sources. If so, the British security services could be expected to cooperate. According to sources there has, however, been some friction but the two agencies are in agreement about the cooperation, although there is said to be less friction between the two intelligence agencies than between the Foreign Office and the State Department.

The second is that the SIS and indeed other friendly intelligence services, is beginning to feel that the CIA can no longer be trusted with secrets by the defection of Marchetti and Agee are likely to publish their book. There is also some apprehension that they could be revealed during the course of impending congressional investigations into the CIA.

The staff of the CIA station in London have been busy checking the purpose of the book. They may have been happy to disclose it to the new American Ambassador, Mr. Elliot Richardson.

The main interests of the CIA and the British intelligence and security services, in addition to a variety of information from third countries, is the detection of defections in the upper reaches of governments. Another is the struggle against international terrorism.

The latter obviously requires the cooperation of the CIA with friendly intelligence services, especially since the terrorist groups have established links with the Mafia and other criminal elements.

A third is subversion. Lord Chalfont spoke about this renewed threat in a recent document. The Times reported last year that the CIA was investigating subversion plans in the USA. The Times denied these, but there is no reason to believe that the report was not accurate.

The extra CIA men then reported to be in Britain are experts in the use of advanced surveillance techniques. They have been involved in helping to train members of British security services.

In the Lords debate, Lord Chalfont said: "There are also a number of people known in the jargon of intelligence 'sleepers.' They did not pursue their work at this moment any extremist or subversive actions, but when the time came we would be activated and do whatever we had to do in order to protect a set of standards."

"The 'sleepers' are said to be placed in varying states, such as public utilities, the police and the various communications systems, as well as elsewhere. It is said that the event of a national emergency they could bring the services of a standby team.

This may sound overly dramatic, but it appears to be a real possibility, but level-headed, only in Britain, but in the United States and other Western countries.

There is a small market for interest and excitement for what can only be regarded as 'sleepers' among those individuals, the ideological struggle that has been long evident, but it helps to explain why governments want close cooperation between their intelligence services.

Such cooperation is as essential to 'intercept' in the detection of international crime.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
19 March 1975

CIA Woes Congress

By JOSEPH VOLL and FRANK VAN RIPER

Washington, March 18 (News Bureau)—The Central Intelligence Agency, apparently trying to win over free

man congressmen, invited the 75 newcomers to breakfast in the well guarded spy shop today. But the director, William E. Colby refused to answer detailed questions about alleged assassination plots.

Only about 20 freshmen law makers showed up for the agency's head

quarters in nearby Langley, Va.

Many of the freshmen said they had been 'disappointed' at the reception. Colby reportedly gave only one definite response during the hour-long session, that at times he was surprised at the interest he was shown. The Times noted that he was asked if the CIA had anything to do with the JFK Kennedy assassination.

"No," the director replied.
CIA deserves praise for Project Jennifer

BY SMITH HEMPSTONE

WASHINGTON — When Jack Anderson blew the CIA's cover on Operation Jennifer, he compromised not only a possible second attempt to raise the rest of that Russian sub from the floor of the Pacific but other potential similar salvage operations that could have contributed to our national security.

It is impossible to say what might have been recovered this July from the Golf class boat that sank 700 miles off Hawaii in 1980, if only because it is not clear what precisely was salvaged last summer.

Most of the reports imply that the $500 million operation recovered the forward third of the diesel-electric submarine containing the remains of some of the Russian crew but neither hydrogen-warhead missiles nor coding machine.

Had a second salvage attempt, now almost certainly precluded by Anderson's radio broadcast and the press reports that followed it, been successful, the results certainly would have been worth the money.

Had the salvage of the Golf class boat been completed in secrecy, would it have been possible for the CIA ship Glimmer Explorer to retrieve the remains of the nuclear-powered November class Russian submarine that is believed to have sunk off Spain in April, 1979? Recovery of that whale-shaped boat's nuclear plant would have been an intelligence coup of the first order.

With the perfect vision of hindsight, the CIA's critics maintain that Project Jennifer was both stupid — since it conceivably could damage relations with the Soviet Union — and wasteful.

But a couple of points have to be made:

- The operation was well within the CIA's mandate. It was subjected to intense scrutiny within the government, approved by the “Forty Committee” of the National Security Council chaired by Henry Kissinger and okayed by Presidents Nixon and Ford. Key congressmen including Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Rep. Lucien Nedzi, chairman of the House Select Intelligence Committee, were briefed on Jennifer.

- Given the continuing Soviet arms build-up and the uncertainty of the Kremlin's intentions, the CIA would have been derelict in its duty had it not made the effort to gain the intelligence in that sunken sub's crushed hull.

The CIA is wide open to criticism on some matters. But, that members of Congress and other people should attack the agency for conducting an imaginative project for which it should be praised, shows what a topsy-turvy world this is.

Jack Anderson won the Pulitzer Prize in 1972 for revealing the American "tilt" toward Pakistan during the Indo-Pakistani War. For blowing the cover on an ongoing, important and legitimate CIA operation, he ought to get the Daniel Ellsberg Award for 1975.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 2 April 1975

CIA denies this one

By the Associated Press

MIAMI — A former mortgage broker says his office connected peso mortgages which netted $3 million on $4 million on behalf of what he believed was the CIA, the Miami Herald said in recent editions. The CIA said it was not involved in the scheme.

Andres Cristo told the Herald a story of intersected shabbiness that ended when his license was yanked and he started running to avoid people who had been debarred, the newspaper said.

"The CIA made me do it," Mr. Cristo told the Herald.

But the Herald quoted a CIA spokesman saying, "This poor guy's been taken, and it's none of our doing whatsoever. This one ain't on us, dad.'"

The Herald said at least the federal grand jury was investigating the fraud scheme and Mr. Cristo was under investigation by several federal agencies.

The scheme involved doubling mortgages by selling good ones along with forged ones to raise money fast, the newspaper said.

Mr. Cristo said he believed he was dealing with the CIA because one of the men involved was ante-pelo Yglesiis, who has a long history of CIA connections dating back to the 1951 Bay of Pigs invasion, the Herald said.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1975

British M.P.'s Link to 10 Attachés to C.I.A.

I N D I A N A P O L I S — A British Member of Parliament said yesterday that 10 officials listed as attachés at the United States Embassy here were linked with the Central Intelligence Agency.

A motion presented to the House of Commons by 34 members, most of them associated with the left wing of the government, demanded the immediate expulsion of the officials unless the United States Government could substantiate that they were truly diplomats.

One of the signers: Dennis Skinner, now a diplomat in Moscow, said he had been insufficient to be withdrawn from Britain.

Mr. Moyer is known to be the CIA station chief in Brazil, although he is listed in the Foreign Office's London Diplomatic List as "attaché." He is understood to be due for retirement in August.

Others Listed

- The motion named the other nine as:
  - Benjamin J. Price, John W. Coffey, Sidney Bearman, A. Spencer Braham, William McHone, Joseph C. Thoen, Joseph P. Sherman, George Ford II and John A. Reed Jr.

The motion says the CIA has interfered in the internal affairs of many countries and the subversion and overthrow of governments in Guatemala, Iran, Guatemala, Chile and other countries.

It asks the government to inform the United States that evidence exists to indicate that the 10 acceded diplomatic credentials are associated with C.I.A. work and adds, "Unless, this can be disproved forthwith, each must be regarded as persona non grata and withdrawn from Britain immediately."

Prime Minister Wilson was asked in the Commons yesterday whether he would take action against C.I.A. activities in this country. He replied that he was awaiting the outcome of the inquiry into the C.I.A. being held in the United States and would not hesitate to hold an independent inquiry if evidence were found that its agents were operating in Britain under diplomatic cover.
A CRIPPLED CIA—
AS U.S. SEEKS
CRITICAL ANSWERS

Seldom has this country had greater need of an efficient intelligence service overseas. Yet, experts report: Never has the CIA been in such disarray as it is today.

America’s worldwide espionage apparatus is being shaken to its foundations by the crisis currently gripping the Central Intelligence Agency.

A “damage assessment,” based on information from top CIA officials and Allied intelligence authorities in Europe shows—

- Foreigners serving as secret agents are frightened that they will be exposed by leaks in Washington—which could be fatal. Result: A number of veteran spies are curtailing their activities or quitting altogether.

- Recruiting of new foreign agents overseas is falling off sharply. Some who volunteered have since changed their minds. They regard the risk as too great.

- Intelligence services in friendly countries are worried about continued collaboration with the CIA. They are fearful that their secrets may be compromised or their governments embarrassed.

The London Times reports: “The SIS [Britain’s Secret Intelligence Service], and indeed other friendly intelligence services, are beginning to feel that the CIA can no longer be trusted with secrets.”

- American companies that in the past had extended invaluable assistance to the CIA overseas now are getting cold feet. They fear that their activities in this field—for example, providing “cover” for American agents abroad—may be exposed. That could be disastrous for their foreign enterprises.

Three probes. This is only a preliminary inventory of the impact on America’s overseas intelligence network of the latest—and most serious crisis in the 28-year history of the CIA.

The full effect will not be measurable until completion of the three separate investigations that are examining the Agency’s operations—one conducted by a “blue ribbon” presidential commission and the other two by Senate and House select committees.

These unprecedented investigations were triggered initially by charges last December that the CIA had engaged in illegal domestic spying on a massive scale—mainly against groups opposing the Vietnam War, and other protest movements.

The scope of the inquiries has been steadily expanded to encompass new allegations that have surfaced recently.

One claim that Agency officials rejected—but did not carry away—assassinations of three foreign leaders. President Ford is said to have received a verbal report on these incidents from CIA Director William E. Colby.

Another allegation put on the agenda of the three investigating bodies: According to Chief Postal Inspector William James Cotter, CIA agents sent for 20 years to open mail to Russia and other Communist countries in violation of postal laws—until he issued an ultimatum in 1973 ordering them to desist.

Even the CIA’s latest coup—the salvaging of part of a sunk Soviet missile submarine in the Pacific Ocean—is to be investigated.

The chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Senator Frank Church (Dem.), of Idaho, has questioned the expenditure of a reported $350 million dollars on this project—which included the secret construction of an ocean-mining vessel able to lift a portion of the submarine from 3-mile-deep ocean waters.

Fears of “witch hunt.” The men who run the CIA now express the fear that what started as a legitimate investigation into alleged wrongdoings may be turning into a witch hunt that could destroy this country’s secret intelligence organization. CIA Director Colby put it bluntly:

“The almost hysterical excitement that surrounds any news story mentioning CIA, or referring to any perfectly legitimate activity of CIA, has raised the question whether secret intelligence operations can be conducted by the United States.”

Mr. Colby is concerned not only about the damage to America’s overseas intelligence setup but also the devastating effect on morale and discipline at the CIA’s headquarters in Langley, Va., across the Potomac from Washington. Most of the Agency’s 18,000 employees are stationed there.

Double problem. A survey indicates that morale is being affected in two ways.

Among one group of CIA officials, there is dismay—and bitterness—caused by the disclosure of the Agency’s involvement in improper, and possibly even illegal, activities. The Agency operates on a tightly compartmentalized basis, and this group was largely ignorant of the operations that led to the current crisis.

“Those people are asking bitterly how we could have done these things, how they can explain it to their children,” says an official responsible for monitoring staff morale.

They blame officials dealing with covert operations—the dirty-tricks department—and counterintelligence for the Agency’s troubles.

Another group of CIA staff members are demoralized—and bitter—for a different reason. They feel that the Agency is being “victimized” because of the atmosphere created by Watergate. Their attitude is described by an authoritative source: “These men believe that they have done their duty during these years, that they have been dedicated citizens. Now they are told that they may need a lawyer.”

They complain that they are victims of a “time lag.” In the words of one officer with a lifetime career in intelligence: “We are being judged by the ethics and security needs of 1975 for actions that were considered necessary in the cold-war climate of the 1950s and 1960s. Junior officers in the CIA are asking whether they will be called upon in 1990 to explain what they are doing today.”

Work priority. A major problem for top CIA officials is to keep both of these groups working effectively while investigations unfold and new sensibilities are splashed in the newspapers.

“You must understand how all of this is affecting the culture pattern of intelligence,” declares a ranking officer. “People in this business feel that they are supposed to lead secret lives, hidden away out of the glare of publicity. Imagine how damaging it is to morale when they read stories almost daily in their newspapers about the secret operations of the CIA and when many of them are called to testify before congressional committees.”

The CIA’s operations at its Langley headquarters are adversely affected in another way by the current furor. Director Colby is compelled to spend more than half of his time defending the Agency before various investigating bodies and dealing with other problems unrelated to his job of gathering and analyzing intelligence.

A paper problem. Besides the demands of the official investigations, top CIA officials are also being forced to devote more and more time to handling requests for documents under the new Freedom of Information Act.

Because of the exceedingly sensitive nature of intelligence operations, these requests must be processed by senior officials.

Mr. Colby says that one specific request would require the agency to search through and review 900,000 files. He adds:

“A good-faith attempt to comply with the spirit of the new Freedom of Information Act will have a serious impact on this Agency.”

Among CIA officials, there now is a consensus that in spite of the danger of compromising secrets, a thoroughgoing investigation is essential to restore Agency morale and public confidence.

It’s felt that there is no other way for the Agency to make its case. A high-ranking officer who is resigning in order to organize a campaign to defend the...
William F. Buckley Jr.

CIA Has to Lie Until The Leaks Get Plugged

Henry L. Stimson, the former secretary of war, is often quoted as having said, in the manner of a character in a P. G. Wodehouse novel, that "gentlemen don't do other gentlemen's mail." That observation which aborts an inchoate Central Intelligence Agency and left us all feeling very good about the natural aristocratic habits of our secretary of war, does not seem to have had something to do with failing to abort a world war — which left us feeling very bad, particularly those who died fighting that war. It is only true that gentlemen don't read other gentlemen's mail in a world in which gentlemen can be counted on not to launch wars against one another.

It is highly improbable, as Lincoln said in his most famous address, which is intoned but never analyzed, that self-governing republics can last very long in the tumult of history. There are many reasons for this, but one of them is the insistence that knowledge of everything that goes on always leads to an improvement in the general situation. It might be called the Masters and Johnson approach to political democracy. It is in very full flower at the moment, and the investigations of the activity of the Central Intelligence Agency are a case in point.

Miles Copeland, the author who was once with the CIA and still speaks and writes about it more authoritatively and engagingly than anyone I know, has written an essay called, "Is There a CIA in Your Future?" Consider, please, a most remarkable passage in it.

"Almost all the agency people I talked to" — Copeland is referring to a recent visit to Washington (he now lives in London) — "assured me unashamedly, almost proudly, 'Of course we are going to lie to the congressional committees.' They felt that as loyal Americans they cannot do otherwise — except in the unlikely event that the members of the committees can be held accountable for their leaks, impossible in the present atmosphere.

"Let me give an example. Let us suppose (I'm not saying he is, but let us suppose) that Algeria's President Boumendie is cooperating hand in glove with the CIA in its pursuit of the terrorists who have received sanctuary or training in his country, while harassing the Palestinians and his own extremists by pretending publicly that he hates us. And let us suppose that some member of Sen. Church's committee asks Bill Colby, 'Mr. Colby, is it true that President Boumendie is secretly cooperating with the CIA?'

"Well, Mr. Colby will at that moment have before him three alternatives. He can say, 'Yes, Senator, that is so' — in which case, past experience tells him, the whole world will be able to read his answer the next day in the New York Times, and either Boumendie's cooperation or Boumendie himself will be finished.

"Or he can say, 'Sorry, Senator, but that's top-secret information' — with the same result, since such an answer will be interpreted as a 'yes' by the American press, the American public, the Algerian public and, of course, the members of the committee. Or he can say, 'Who? Did you say Boumendie? My God, I never heard anything so ridiculous!' A lie. For the good of all of us, including the congressmen who must take the blame for any leak.

"Let us hope that Bill Colby lies. Our mutual friends at the agency assure me that he will — or that if he doesn't, he will be finished, and that some of those who will be first in line calling for his head will be those very congressmen who were supposed to be beneficiaries of his candor."

I cannot imagine a better example of the kind of thing we face. Congress begins by failing to enact a law which effectively punishes someone who perpetrates a leak. Can't do it, some of them say. Then they claim that the members of the committee can be held accountable for their leaks, impossible in the present atmosphere.

WASHINGTON POST
1 April 1975

CIA Monitoring Urged by Four

The four appeared at the 12th weekly meeting of the commission, which was attended by President Ford to investigate charges of illegal domestic spying by the CIA and to recommend possible changes in the agency's charter to more clearly prohibit domestic activity.

Arthur R. Miller, a Harvard law professor, said that the CIA could set up its own board to review its activities. But William W. Van Alstyne, a Duke University law professor, said he did not hear from a CIA official who such a board would be "publicly reassuring."

Edward J. Bloustein, president of Rutgers University, said he also favored an independent agency named by the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

The fourth witness, Dr. Orlando R. Fomin, president of the Foundation for Child Development, New York City, and an expert on individual privacy, said he also believed in an independent body.

In addition to the four professors, the commission also heard from a CIA official whose name was not named for security reasons.
NATION
5 APRIL 1975

BOOKS & THE ARTS

CIA: Can We Reform It? Can We Afford It At All?

1. Watching the Watchmen


Rep. Michael J. Harrington

Like corpses sent to the bottom of a river, stories of CIA wrongdoing were bound to come to the surface eventually. But few critics would have predicted that so much incriminating evidence could float to the surface in just half a year. It has been about that long since revelations of CIA activity in Chile first made front-page news, coinciding with numerous articles and books attempting to penetrate the fog surrounding the U.S. intelligence community. Since then, accounts of widespread domestic surveillance have stimulated the public's interest, all the more, finally provoking the Congress to take action.

The Central Intelligence Agency, for its part, took the counteroffensive early. When The CIA: The Cult of Intelligence was in print, the agency had portions censored, claiming that the authors, John Marks and Victor Marchetti, were not allowed to use certain information because of the secrecy oaths they signed when they were on the inside. As a result, the book was published with gaps of white space where sensitive information was deleted.

Now another damning book by a former CIA agent has come out, but this one requires no filling-in of the blanks. Unlike the Marks-Marchetti book, it couldn't be censored because the author, Philip Agee, gave the publication rights for the first edition to a British publishing company and does not plan to return to the United States until it is published there—which it will be, because publishers don't sign secrecy oaths.

When it appears in American bookstores, Inside the Company: CIA Diary, even though it is long and detailed, will probably be as successful as it has been in the British Commonwealth. In fact, it may be for just this reason that it has succeeded. Public curiosity has been aroused but far from satisfied by the limited accounts available thus far.

To those who have followed the CIA or U.S.-Latin American policies more than casually, much of Agee's information is at least predictable. For the exceptions, much was common knowledge. Almost since the beginning of the Republic, the United States has manhandled Latin American nations, and the potential dimensions of CIA activity have been recognized since the agency was created at the start of the cold war in 1947. What shocks us in Agee's book are the specifics. Based on the quality and quantity of the CIA's operations in just three Latin American nations, the worldwide possibilities are staggering.

Written in diary form (though the author admits to having reconstructed his twelve-year association with "the Company"), Agee traces his development from a Midwestern Catholic university through tours with Air Force intelligence, to the beginning of his CIA career at specialized covert training, assignments in Ecuador, Uruguay, Washington, D.C., Mexico, and ultimately, to his estrangement from the agency. The concluding chapters, describing the tribulations of writing the book with CIA harassment, demonstrate the CIA's lesser-than-official attempts at censorship.

Agee's stories of the life of an agent run from the mundane to the bizarre. Hours of sit-spe to opening and reading mail; intricate plans are made to coerce potential informants. And, like every organization man, Agee tells of playing golf with the boss and worrying about promotions.

Of course, each bureaucracy has its stories to tell, but behind the anecdotes in Agee's account lies a bigger story—one of buying and selling state officials (Agee lists four Latin American presidents) and of governing governments (Agee relates the CIA's manipulation of Ecuador's political parties, press and military which resulted in the 1963 coup).

Agee tells it, his first years in the service were satisfying, and he worked hard. It wasn't until the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and his own awakening to the brutality of CIA-supported governments that he began to question what he was doing. His disenchantment, which stemmed from assignments such as infiltrating the Olympic Games in 1968, led him to general conclusions about U.S. foreign policy.

Even with its focus on personal history, the book illustrates fundamental dilemmas about our foreign relations. What ought the United States to do abroad? What tactics should guide our decisions?

Last December President Ford, in explaining U.S. involvement in the so-called "destabilization" of Allende's government in Chile, gave an answer that reflects official thinking since 1947. "Our government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security."

At the bottom of this response is an "anything goes" mentality that fails to draw a distinction between intelligence gathering and most intervention. Congress shares the blame for the repercussions of this thinking. Neither the House nor the Senate has seriously pondered the implications of lumping benign intelligence activity with aggressive subversion. In fact, oversight committees, by refusing over the years to ask pertinent questions about CIA operations, have not faced the fact that both exist.

Consequently, CIA operations have been guided by only one rule: don't get caught. The result has been intervention such as Agee describes in Ecuador and Uruguay, neither of which poses even the remotest hemispheric threat to our national security.

Olin Robinson of Bowdoin College has explained the phenomenon simply: "The CIA suffers from a syndrome which might be labeled "all dressed up and nowhere to go." It is an organization with extraordinary capabilities employing some of the most talented people in government service (the Watergate personalities notwithstanding). The natural bureaucratic tendency is toward self-perpetuation, and no large organization is likely to change its policies and operations without external pressure to do so."

Since Agee started his book three years ago, the serious threat to the nation's well-being posed by the existence of an intelligence agency that is armed for cold war has increased. It is clearly up to the Congress to put the heat on the CIA, or it will not frustrate efforts for détente.

This is the only realistic approach. The ability of the United States to dictate to the rest of the world, including Latin America, has diminished. And it has become increasingly obvious that where we have intervened in the affairs of other nations, we have not necessarily improved the quality of life for their citizens but rather supported repressive regimes such as that of the Chilean junta.

With increasing economic interdependence of nations, international opinion carries more weight and demands that the United States treat its neighbors civilly.

A re-evaluation of the Central Intelligence Agency in the light of these foreign policy considerations should be one of the main tasks of the Congressional select committees that will be investigating intelligence in the coming months. While the CIA may not be able to promote civil liberties, as Agee suggests, its policies certainly are anarchistic. And there is reason to believe that company men as dedicated as Agee seems to have been will be valuable...


JAMES HICKS

If it is true, as world figures of the "Socialist camp" have recently been suggesting, that the international struggle between the two superpowers is shifting from the military confrontation to ideological confrontation, then why are we still spending billions for the CIA? Under scrutiny, these questions are answered by the authors, who have placed the CIA in the most public position since it was created as a secret, unaccountable, globalCamouflage of operators and operations in 1947. That is, to say, the Central Intelligence Agency was founded on cold-war premises, assigned to fight against the bad guys by book or crook, advised that the proceeds of "national security" would be employed in the highest good, to justify any damn thing that went right or wrong, in short, to serve as roving agents of the policy of corporate geographical expansionism which had its origins in the Westward Ho era of the 19th century, initiated almost as soon as the Civil War came to an end.

It has to be clear: that the CIA has misdirected, underemployed by billions of public money to be sure, in behalf of private economic interests—of what used to be called simply big business. It is not made clear, however—not "perfectly clear" perhaps one should say—in much of what has so far been written about the CIA. Exceptions, let me quickly add, can be noted. For example, material published by NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) and by certain other radical and liberal institutions has been informed by the CIA-big-business perspective. I gather, too, that the book by the former CIA officer Philip Agee, already released in England with proper warning, is scheduled for U.S. publication here, by Straight Arrow Books (Rolling Stone), reflects such a point of view. Agee discussed his book, Inside the Company: CIA Diary, in an interview with John Garafl, carried by a weekly, The Washington Post, on the issue of February 19. "I have learned over the years," Agee said, the medium of expression of Seymour Hersh of The New York Times, Lawrence Stern of The Washington Post, and Jack Anderson, all of whose reports on the CIA no doubt contributed to the Congressional decision, among others, Rep. Michael Harrington of Massachusetts, Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho. Church, by the way, heads the Select Committee of the Senate, whose chairman used to chair the Senate Intelligence Committee. In any case, the story of the journalistic exposure of the role of the CIA in world affairs begins much earlier with The Nation's special issue devoted to that very subject, written by the veteran journalist, Fred J. Cook, and published June 4, 1961.

At any rate, the Prouty and Marchetti-Marks books, and the Philip Agee account are different from books about the CIA written in the past. This is when it became evident that the cold war, and its attendant devilry of communism, were being toned down. The rationale for earlier semi-official documentaries by leaders of the agencies, such as Dulles, who is listed as author of The Craft of Intelligence, and Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, writer of The Real CIA, no longer applied, politically speaking. This gives their books, already, a flavor of ancient history. And even though the same cannot be said for some other books rooted in that period—The Invisible Government by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, an ambitious and valiant job of investigative reporting; The Secret War by赛区de Gramont; Stepan's Operation Splinter Factor, and Miles Copeland's Without Cloak or Dagger—the fact remains that these were done by outsiders. Whereas Prouty, Marchetti and Agee were insiders, whose rethinking of their lives, their roles, the nature of the agency's "operations", could not have occurred, in my opinion, until big business switched the foreign policy signals. This switch also accounts for the distinction between the objectives of Marchetti and Prouty on the one hand and Agee on the other.

All three have horror stories to tell. But Prouty and Marchetti, first on the scene with their books critical of the CIA, concentrate mainly on the famous "atrocities." I have just placed in a bookish category: "operations." Both mention Harry Truman's 1963 remark: "I never had any thought when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peacetime cloak-and-dagger operations." Marchetti and Prouty are more specific, using former CIA Director Richard Helms as source: "Operations involve overthrowing foreign governments, subverting elections, bribing officials and waiting "secretly" for the CIA to make the point that "the Watergate scandal has also opened up the CIA to increased scrutiny." Undoubtedly has: Whether or not Watergate was...
CIA "operation," who yet knows? But if the word "foreign" is omitted from the Helms-derived description of what the CIA has been up to for more than a quarter of a century, the words come pretty close to fitting as much as we so far have learned about the Watergate affair.

The Secret Team and The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, as I get their message, argue that in practicing cloak-and-dagger operations all over the world, the CIA has ruthlessly expanded its 1947 legal mandate and become a law unto itself. It has converted, in other words, a legitimate commission to collect information into the kind of gangster-style activity to which Helms refers and with which many of us are now familiar, from Iran and Guatemala in the early 1950s to Chile in 1973. Prouty and Marchetti imply that if only the CIA could be re-restricted to the gathering of intelligence, it might still serve a useful purpose. Agee, in his interview with Gelasio, says: "If the American people could learn this [the overthrow of Salvador Allende in Chile was financed chiefly by a CIA front, the American Institute for Free Labor Development] and all the other frauds perpetrated on them by the CIA ... I am convinced that the clamor would be so great that Congress would destroy the CIA." If, as I am speculating, the new 1971 tack in U.S. foreign policy toward the Soviet Union and China caused disturbances within the CIA, it is plain that Agee's disillusionment has brought him to political conclusions more drastic than those of Prouty and Marchetti—and of a number of others in the Congress and in public life, who continue to envision a safer and more respectable CIA, one, so to speak, from whose hands the guns will be removed.

But what does big business envision? Well, the violent counterrevolution in Chile several years after competitive coexistence had been announced as the international aim of the United States offers a clue. As does, also, CIA endeavors to suppress and then censor the Marchetti-Marks book—which they and their publishers, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., assisted by the American Civil Liberties Union, are still fighting in the courts. The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, the first book the U.S. Government ever attempted to censor by legal action before publication, finally appeared with 168 pages in the text where only the word "DELETED" is to be found. The context makes evident that certain key deletions refer to Chile.

Our September 4, 1974, a Hersh report in The New York Times began: "The director of the Central Intelligence Agency has told Congress that the Nixon Administration authorized more than $8 million for covert activities by the agency in Chile between 1970 and 1973 to make it impossible for President Salvador Allende Gossens to govern." Could this news have been one of the "DELETED"'s from Marchetti's book? I think so. Anyway, by September 16 there were 16 other news packs, and by no less than President Ford, who, in reply to a press conference question, started out by saying, "Let me answer in general." He did so: "Our government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security." He then went on to say that as he understood it there was no direct U.S. involvement in the "co-op" (of September 11), but there was involvement that "in a period of time, perhaps three to four years ago," an effort was made to help preserve "opposition newspapers and electronic media ... and opposition politics" in Chile. I think," said the President, "this is an area of interest to the people of the United States and certainly in our own interest." Here is where background reading in Marchetti-Marks, Prouty, the Agee interview and, for that matter, most literature on the CIA, comes to the aid of anyone trying to fathom the serious political complications that would cause a chief of state, administering a foreign policy of coexistence, to take on the responsibility of attempting to give war to conduct that contradiction by writing their own case histories of the CIA.

Their books furnish evidence for the rationality of their decision. But the Ford Administration, faced with the same contradiction, persists in irrationality. No wonder the government went about to delete all references from the Marchetti-Marks book. No wonder Ford had to step (be pushed?) forward to repeat, as in an echo chamber, national security nonsense to support a case for CIA interference in Chile, once the deleted matter came to light in reports by Hersh, Stern and others. The point is that Chile, at one and the same time, implied the old national security argument to have been a historical lie—a big lie, to use the words once applied to Nazi deception, the German big business in Germany sought domination of world resources and people—and also threatened to reveal that under cover of competitive coexistence with the giants of the Socialist camp, the CIA and its masters intended to continue playing dirty tricks wherever possible, their aims being necessarily less grand than the Nazis', and their techniques more sophisticated, but both aims and techniques comparable in design to what Hitler's backers had in mind.

This substantially explains why CIA intervention in Chile, together with the more recent disclosures that the CIA was keeping tabs on thousands of U.S. citizens—if deception appears to be failing, better prepare plans for counter—have at last convinced members of Congress to investigate the agency and its works. It thinks it is significant, too, that according to a Gallup poll many people believe that the Germans' commission established by President Ford and chaired by Vice President Rockefeller has been rushed into action to absolve and save the CIA. A plausible suspicion, no doubt, considering the conservative character of the commission. The stage has been set, in any event, for a contest between a relatively progressive Congress and a big-business-dominated executive branch on the question of the past, present and future of the CIA.

I am unable to find reasons to expect the result to be its abolition, as J. P. Stoner, in typical tauty prose, recommended in the February 20th issue of The New Review of Books. More likely the hearings will develop an issue which should have high priority in the political campaigns of 1976, although that, of course, depends on how plain the issue is made to the people by those in charge of the hearings, those who report them, and those still within the ranks of the CIA—or having connections with it—who may follow the courageous trail blazed by such as Prouty, Marchetti, Marks and Agee.

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WASHINGTON STAR
March 20 1975

CIA, FBI Relay Data on Nazis to INS

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is investigating 33 cases of alleged Nazi war criminals in the U.S. using information provided by the CIA and FBI, INS Commissioner Leonard F. Chapman Jr. told a House immigration subcommittee yesterday.

Deputy Commissioner James Greene said the CIA and FBI were asked for information in 1973 after the immigration agency received the names of 70 to 80 persons who may have had Nazi connections. The INS found 17 were dead and no proof was found to link several others to major war crimes.
Liberal Morgan Hits CIA Secrecy

Clarence Morgan, Washington director of the American Civil Liberties Union, was interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer Robert Kemper.

Question: It has just been reported that the CIA contracted for an underwater ship with a cover story that it belonged to Howard Hughes. You have been sharply critical of this arrangement. Why?

Mr. Morgan: The problem to me is that the execution was not the same as the conception. The press reports that we’re training the army in Saudi Arabia, we’ve got a ship roaming around someplace out there. Well, good heavens, to turn a ship like that over to Howard Hughes! I should add one thing. These views are my own. There are folks in the ACLU that would disagree with me and on much of what I may say the ACLU has no position.

Q: You say the ship was turned over to Hughes. Wasn’t the Hughes connection just a cover story to conceal CIA involvement?

A: How do I know it’s not turned over to him? So, (CIA Director William J.) Colby says it isn’t. Who can you believe in that agency? Twenty years they’ve spent learning to lie. They lie by rote. Is there a difference between Hughes and the CIA?

Q: Is there? Are you saying they are the same?

A: I don’t know. We ought to look into it.

Q: Do you have any indication other than this recent situation with the ship that there is a connection?

A: Well, certainly, certainly. (Former Hughes aide Robert) Mather testified, according to the Washington Star, in his deposition in his lawsuit against Hughes that in 1958 he was asked by Hughes to form a link between the CIA and Hughes Tool. He then pulled and said that he did not do that. Secondly, he said that he’d been working on an intelligence mission in 1958 in Miami and Hughes had tried to summon him back to Los Angeles, Las Vegas, or somewhere and he refused to go. He did identify the agency — the Central Intelligence Agency. He wouldn’t go into what he’d been working on but I think the people of this country are entitled to know.

Q: But how much control does Howard Hughes have over what this boat does?

A: I have no way of knowing. I don’t even know if there is a Howard Hughes. All I know is that I’ve got to make several assumptions about it. If there is a Howard Hughes, then I have to assume that he is either sane or insane or something else. If I assume him to be insane, then I have to assume him to be the most secure person in the United States. If I assume him to be insane, then we have turned a very highly-risky operation over to a man who is an alleged nut. Now I don’t want him out there picking up free hydrogen bombs, or walking around with anything else or risking that my country gets into war. Now if it’s not Hughes, and not Hughes’ crew, and there is a risk that we may go to war over that ship, then that’s even worse.

Q: Do you believe the CIA has a right to contract with private corporations to engage in any of the covert activities that the CIA engages in?

A: Let me go back just a little bit. In 1967, we were shocked when we found out the CIA was funding the National Student Association. Now I have an equal shock when I find out the CIA is funding Howard Hughes. Now when I look around at the kinds of things that have happened to Hughes that an average citizen couldn’t get consideration on for the past several years: an antitrust exemption for the Dunes Hotel, a tax exemption for his medical foundation, non-extration from the Bahamas, Great Justice Department efforts to keep a United States grand jury from indicting him in Nevada. I look at that and I say to myself, “What are we paying that fellow for?” Secondly, if you have covert operations through an American corporation, where’s the check on that? Who runs the war? Does Hughes run the operation, or does the CIA? Or do their interests merge? What happens when they go off and get into trouble? Do we go out and defend them? Is it a war contracted for by the CIA secretly, without the taxpayers’ knowing where their money went, without any control at all by the executive or anybody else? That’s the problem.

Q: You ask some interesting questions. Do you know any of the answers?

A: I think the questions answer themselves. I think we should investigate and find out about it.

Q: Do you have any indication that the Glomar Explorer was engaged in any activities for the CIA other than the Russian submarine caper?

A: Well, I would say without any knowledge of any other than the public documents and public records, we are putting a remarkable amount of American money overseas ventures. We’ve got ships roaming loose, small submarines, tiny things built by corporations over here, the Defense Department and everywhere else. And I don’t really know what we’re doing in the sea. All I know is that we are doing something there. I assume we are doing it undercover and the reason that we’re doing it is because apparently we’re doing something wrong. If we’re doing something right we ought to tell everybody about it and tell them what it costs.

Q: If we could get back to the Glomar Explorer. Do you know of any other covert operations conducted by that ship?

A: I just don’t know about that. I read an article in the March 1973 American Legion Magazine. It’s a perceptive article. It ends up saying that Hughes’ ship is the only ship that’s ready to go to mining underwater. If 75 percent or 50 percent of the mineral wealth of the world is underwater and that ship does also mine, then we have financed a ship to mine underwater and violate a U.N. resolution as I understand it about the ownership of the underwater. Are we in such a tremendous hurry in this country to give away every piece of land under the sea and on land to private corporations to make a fortune on it? Is that ship being used as kind of a symbol over the head of countries negotiating now on a law of the seas agreement over in Geneva? I don’t know what other uses that ship has, but I’ll tell you one thing — if that ship was a one-time, pick-up-a-submarine kind of venture, then it is worse than a Spruce Goose. The same sauce for the Spruce Goose was the sauce that got the Spruce Goose going, and that sauce is money.

Q: Why should the CIA be so concerned about underwater research?

A: I don’t know what you do with all these nuclear submarines and all these scientific ships and ventures going on. Maybe we’re just in collision with private oil companies and private mining companies doing research for them and finding out where
minerals and oil are.

Q: You've spoken informally of underground explosives. Jacques Cousteau in this context. How does he fit into this?

A: As I understand, Cousteau in November 1974 showed up in Pensacola, Fla., in his ship, the Calypso. He said he came for research into the red tide. The unfortunate part about that venture is the world's outstanding oceanographer got there at the season when the red tide isn't a problem. You go beyond that and he does say he is doing research on a U2 type of camera used in 1970. He's talking about electric sensors through the gulf, studying pollution. I didn't know a Cousteau was good for the government of the United States, but I do now. So, I can't answer the question. I just know the story's there.

Q: Does the Hughes contract with the CIA violate any Securities and Exchange Commission regulations?

A: I have read some documents filed with the SEC and they don't seem to make full disclosure of this kind of transaction and this kind of operation that is going on, with respect to prospective stockholders in Global Marine, Inc. (The Hughes company that owns the Glomar Explorer.) It may very well be that in other documents they do. The one that I have been over look to me like they merit an investigation.

Q: Is there any way that a prospective stockholder would be damaged by not having full information about the contract with the CIA?

A: When you have full disclosure in corporate documents, you can say, 'What a minute, if that ship's out in the middle of the ocean and it is being watched by satellites and the Russians know it is there, and it's got a risk factor that it may go, I've got a pretty risky investment.'

Q: You have been stressing the secrecy that surrounded the submarine matter. You tried to interest several newspapers in the story but they withheld it because of national security considerations until columnist Jack Anderson used it. Do you think the press should withhold information like this?

A: Of course not. Newspapers are supposed to do their own job. Newspapers are charged with the duty of getting out the truth and the news. They're not national security agents, they're not official bureaus of the state. The press is supposed to be separate from the government. When a person telephones who you know has been paid for 20 years to be a liar and tells you to kill a story, why would you believe him, unless your experience has been such that you believe you're supposed to cover for the United States government.

Q: Why do you suppose this story was held out of print?

A: The problem is cowardice. The higher one goes in a bureaucracy, the more he is able to rely on "responsible" to rationalize his fear. Newspaper owners and executives learn as they move up that there is less risk in not being responsible for stories they don't print than for stories they do print. So, when the CIA or some other set of trained liars comes to them, they are inclined to suppress legitimate news.

Q: Surely a newspaper executive has a responsibility to decide what goes into print.

A: Newspaper owners and executives should limit their power to overruling decisions not to publish. They should recognize cowardice as inherent in the bureaucracy and eliminate their power to kill a story. The 1st Amendment means nothing unless there are news people with the spirit and courage to use it. The wall between the government and the press should be absolute. Otherwise, you wind up with house organs for the CIA. If The New York Times had run the Bay of Pigs story in 1961 there wouldn't have been a Bay of Pigs (invasion) and the nation would have been spared that absurdity.

Q: Are you saying that newspapers should ignore the national security implications of what they print?

A: I believe that our only national security is to tell the truth. I think for 35 years we have lost the people of the world, continually and regularly, by not telling the truth to ourselves or abroad. I've noticed over a 35 year period that when I bring up the fact that somebody lies in Washington, people just shrug their shoulders, like everybody lies. Well, that's okay in a Machiavellian government. That's okay with a prince. But it's not okay in a democracy. We've gone from front cover stories to cover-up, and that's mighty easy for a Watergate conspirator to Magruder.

Q: I'd say it's easy for Magruder. But the CIA presumably should have more reason to lie than the CRP (Nixon campaign committee). Are you saying that the CIA should lay all of its cards on the table?

A: I'm saying we should live by the Constitution. That all the pragmatism and pragmatic arguments I hear are so unreal for a democracy. If we live by the Constitution of the United States, the world would be clamoring to come our way. There have been revolutions fought all over the world for the things we profess to believe in. And what happens is that the policy and practice from the highest level comes down to lying.
U.S. Ambassador to Portugal Protests Article Citing CIA Tie

By Miguel Aescoc Special to The Washington Post

LISBON, March 28—U.S. Ambassador Frank Carlucci officially protested today to a newspaper in Portugal, alleging that he was a Central Intelligence Agency “strategist and operator” and that the CIA was behind a Spanish-based, right-wing guerrilla organization plotting to topple the leftist Portuguese government.

The ambassador’s démarche followed an Information Ministry statement yesterday that the controversial Argentine president was “persona grata” in Portugal and expressing approval of “irresponsible and unfounded speculation” about him.

Accompanied by visiting U.S. Sen. Edward Brooke whose home state, Massachusetts, has many Portuguese residents, Carlucci called on Prime Minister Vasco Concelves this evening. He remained to make the protest after the senator left.

The ambassador said the session between the ambassador and the premier was “frank,” which in diplomatic terminology usually means there was a difference of opinion.

In leaving, the ambassador said, “I have no comment to make on the meeting. If he wants to comment, let him.”

Generalissimo also gave the impression that the meeting had been stormy, but did not elaborate.

Tuesday, just before Concelves formed a new coalition cabinet increasing the number of Communist ministers to two and the number of Marxists to four, Carlucci told President Francisco da Costa Gomes of American concern with Portugal’s leftward shift.

At that time, according to informed sources, the president rejected Carlucci’s warnings of increased political violence, the danger of a leftist takeover and a growing anti-American campaign. Costa Gomes reportedly told Carlucci that there was less anti-Americanism in Portugal than in other countries, and that fewer than five persons have been killed since leftist officials deposed the rightist dictatorship last year.

Carlucci has been in the headlines here since the rightist military uprising against the leftist ruling military collapsed March 11. He was placed in the limelight by Brig. Gen. Octavio de Carvalho, commander of security forces, who stated that because of the coup attempt, he could not guarantee the ambassador’s safety.

The ambassador, who spoke on the phone with Gen. Carvalho immediately afterward, has reportedly been trying to meet the outspoken young revolutionary officer ever since. President Costa Gomes sources said, promised Carlucci an early encounter with Carvalho.

The newspaper story that aroused the ambassador’s formal protest of a “personal” campaign appeared Wednesday in a Lisbon afternoon newspaper under a banner headline saying “The CIA acts in Portugal.”

Sen. Brooke said in a press conference that during his widening discussion with Premier Concelves he had expressed concern that Carlucci had been called a CIA agent.

“It’s been wide circulation of this sort of thing, that has created unfortunate relations between us,” added the senator.

The senator asked for understanding of Portugal’s revolutionary process, adding that neither the United States nor any other country “should dictate in the internal affairs of a sovereign state such as Portugal.”

Brooke said he had suggested to the prime minister that this is not the time to cut relations with Portugal and for Portugal to cut and run from the U.S.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese Communist Party announced that one of its leaders had made a quick trip to Moscow to discuss political developments here with Soviet Communist Party leaders. The Portuguese party has been sharply criticized by Western European Communists because of tactics that their critics believe have damaged their electoral prospects by arousing fear of a Communist takeover.

Los Angeles Times
16 March 1975

Art Buchwald

How the CIA Got Mafia to Hit Fidel

WASHINGTON—Two Robert Kennedy aides revealed the other day that the CIA had plans to assassinate Fidel Castro, and they were going to give the contract to the Mafia to do the job. The question is how did they approach the Mafia about it and what was said. This is only conjecture since the files are sealed.

It probably happened during the wedding of Don Corleone’s daughter, Hagen, the counselor, and Sonny Corleone brings the head of the CIA into Don Corleone’s library.

The CIA chief kisses Don Corleone’s ring. “Godfather, may I speak to you alone?”

Don Corleone shakes his head. “I trust these men with my life, I cannot insult them by sending them away. What do you want?”

The CIA chief introduces him briefly. “Our honor in Cuba has been violated. This man Fidel Castro acts on us and insults us publicly, we must have justice.”

“Why do you come to me?” Don Corleone asks.

“You and the Air Force in Cuba are doing a good job, and the Navy and the Air Force like good citizens, and they just laugh at us. You, Godfather, are the only one we can turn to.”

“Do you want me to do anything?”

“Do you want me to do anything?”

The Don looks up gravely. “That I cannot do.”

The CIA chief says desperately, “I will pay you anything.”

Don Corleone rises from behind his desk and speaks coldly. “We have known each other many years, but until this day you have never come to me for counsel or help. I am your friend, but have you ever invited me to your home in McLean? Has your wife ever invited my wife for as much as a cup of coffee? Your children refused to play with my children. And once when my son wanted to borrow some camera equipment and a red wig, you turned us down. Let us be frank. You spurned my friendship. You feared to be in my debt.”

“The CIA chief wipes his forehead with a handkerchief. ‘We never invited you because we didn’t think you could.’

The Don holds up his hand. ‘Don’t speak. When you wanted something you went to the government—to the White House, the FBI and the U.S. Post Office. You did not need Don Corleone. Very well, my feelings were wounded, but I am not the sort of person who thrusts his friendship on those who do not value it. Now you come and say, Don Corleone, I give you justice against Castro.’ But you do not ask with respect. And you say, ‘I will pay you anything.’ And do you do this on your daughter’s wedding day? I do not want to have anything to do with your kind.”

The CIA chief goes on his knees. ‘Forgive me. Godfather, I thought we could count on the armed forces for justice. I tried to work through the system. But Castro still lives. Grant me this one favor and you and your wife can come to our home any time you want. We want your friendship. We really do.”

Don Corleone goes over to the CIA chief and puts his hand on his head. ‘Good, then you shall have your justice. Someday, and that day may never come, I will call upon you to do a service in return. Until then, consider this favor a gift from my wife who, as you know, is G. Gordon Liddy’s Godmother.’

The CIA chief is overcome with gratitude.

Don Corleone picks him up gently and says, ‘Now give me a kiss on the cheek, so I can get back to the wedding.’

The CIA chief kisses Don Corleone on the cheek and says, ‘If you ever want us to read anything in my mail for you, let me know.’
The blows of March

Once again, the Americans have learnt the limits of their power. They also have to face the fact that there is no substitute for the power they have. It is more difficult than that. There has been a large element of ideology in American policy for the past 30 years, because the emergence of Soviet power after 1945 brought the issue of ideology into the centre of world politics. The United States could have ducked that issue, but only by retiring within its own frontiers; and no other nation that shared its ideas about politics, but lacked its power, would have invited it to do that. It can try to contain the dangers of conflict with Soviet power, as successive presidents since John Kennedy have tried to do. It can even ignore ideology when there is something to be gained by that, as the semi-alliance with China since 1971 has done. But so long as two very different ideas about the organisation of society remain the centrepiece of international politics—and only the Soviet government can decide how long that will remain true—the dispute between them will be the starting-point of American policy.

The only American policy that would not involve a retreat to the America of the 1930s is a policy designed to support those countries where the ideas of liberal and pluralist politics have taken root, or where the conditions exist in which they might take root. That would be a complex enough business in itself, but it is not even as simple as that. The support of such countries requires policies to be drawn up for dealing with other areas which these countries depend upon for economic reasons, or have cause to be concerned about for military reasons. Once the United States has stepped outside its own borders, it finds itself inevitably entangled to some extent with the special interests of its friends. That is why no neat geographical limit can be set upon the area of American policy; there is no major part of the world in which, directly or indirectly, such a policy has no interest at all. There are no entirely watertight political limits, either: the support of a liberal friend sometimes calls for the toleration of a less than liberal friend of that friend. The business of being a power in the world sends a whole series of ripples spreading out from the dropped anchor.

When the limits narrowed

What the Americans have discovered from the shocks they have experienced in the past few years is not that these things have ceased to be true. It is that their power to carry out the policy that history has landed them with is limited, and when they exceed the limits of what they can do they damage the policy itself. They discovered that when they realised that they could not keep their armed forces big enough to be able to fight a major war in Europe and another in Asia, and a brushes war somewhere else too, at the same time. The result of that was the reorganisation of defence policy carried out by the Nixon Administration, which set narrower limits on what America's soldiers might be asked to do. This was a matter of military and economic necessity more than anything else: the growth of Soviet armed strength, and the spread of new weapons which the United States itself had helped to distribute to other places around
the world, put a two-and-a-half-war strategy beyond the reach of the American economy. It was one part of the re-examination made inevitable by the changing balance of power in the 1960s.

The other part was the lesson of Vietnam. What the Americans learned in Vietnam was the danger of over-commitment to an outlying part of their main policy. The Vietnam war could have been a substantial counterweight to China; but they would have had to realize that by the mid-1950s, which is when they first committed themselves against Ho Chi Minh, and at that time the split in the communist world which gave Ho Chi Minh his chance to be a counterweight had not yet taken place. The war might have been shortened if the Americans had understood in time just how good North Vietnam's army was; but by the time they discovered that in the mid-1960s their own troops were already in action, and the fear of an American defeat that would limit American effectiveness elsewhere in the world—as it has—had entered into the calculation. The lesson of Vietnam is not that it was not worth a substantial expenditure of American effort to keep the possibility of a pluralist society alive in southern Vietnam. It is that to keep on increasing the expenditure while the possibility was diminishing did so much damage to America itself.

Mr Kissinger and Mr Nixon had seen that when they drew up the Guam doctrine in 1969, which said that in future countries like South Vietnam would be helped to defend themselves without direct American military intervention. That put the clock back to the Truman doctrine of support of Greece and Turkey in 1947, which was also done without American troops. It marked the end of an interlude of over-confidence in which America thought it could do it all itself.

The danger is that this retreatment of means could now spill over into a retraction from the attempt to run any kind of coherent international policy. The need for a coherent policy, if you live in one of the many countries that depend upon American consistency, is as great as ever. Without the United States, there is unlikely to be a Middle East settlement in which Israel can be persuaded to withdraw from most of the territory it occupied in 1967, and the Arabs can be persuaded to accept the existence of this reduced Israel. Without the United States, it is likelier that the left-wing authoritarianism that has been fastened on to Portugal will spread to other European countries. Without the United States, it is doubtful whether there can be even a half-reasonable settlement in Cyprus. Even in South Vietnam the last remaining hope of a political settlement between the two rival governments—a settlement based on some sort of coalition, with an election date fixed for the not too distant future—depends upon some American aid continuing to get through to the Saigon administration.

That is not much of a hope, but it would be better than watching the North Vietnamese army pursue the refugees all the way into Saigon. All these things require an Administration in Washington that goes on trying to pick up the threads of policy, and a Congress and public opinion which accept that there is no escape from the need to have a policy.

The only doorstep around
For a country in America's position there are bound to be defeats, and there ought to be shifts of position designed to avoid unnecessary defeats; there have to be compromises, and the striking of new balances, and the other unplanning of great-power diplomacy. The Americans have not occupied their present position in the world long enough, and perhaps their temper is not yet sufficiently tempered by experience, for this sort of thing to come easily to them. There are many Americans who would like, if it were possible, to withdraw into the simplicities they associate with an earlier period of that country's life—perhaps into the simplicities of an America-centred Realpolitik, perhaps into a determinism which leaves the world to sort out a new balance of power without America. Life was indeed simpler for the Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. But the conditions of that time are unrepeatable, because the powers that left America with so much freedom of action then—above all, British power—no longer exist. The consequence of King Faisal's death, of the failure of Arab-Israeli peacemaking and of the collapse in Vietnam come to America's doorstep because that is the only place that people can see to lay them. They can be turned away, but only if Americans are willing to live in the sort of world that is going to produce.

NEW YORK TIMES
17 March 1975

C.I.A. Report Says Worsening World Grain
Shortages Could Give U.S. Great Power

BY HENRY WEINSTEIN
Special to The New York Times
SAN FRANCISCO, March 18—
A research report of the Central Intelligence Agency has concluded that world grain shortages, which are likely to increase in the near future, "could put the United States in the position of a measure of power it had never had before—possibly an economic and political dominance greater than that of the immediate post-War World II years."

Written in August, 1974, shortly before the World Food Conference, the report predicts that "in bad years, when the United States, which could not produce enough grain, is a major world consumer of grain, the enemy of most would-be importers, Washington would acquire virtual life-and-death power over the fate of the multitudes of countries. Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz has also referred to the way food could be used as a bargaining lever with oil-producing countries."

"Food Is a Weapon"

In early November, Dr. Butz said: "Food is a weapon. It is not one of the principal tools in our negotiating kit."

The C.I.A. report, prepared by the agency's office of political research, says that the trends in grain production will put the United States an "enhanced role as a supplier of food" coming decades that will provide "additional leverage of influence, but at the same time will pose difficult choices and possibly new problems for the United States."

Whichever choice the United States makes in deciding where its grain should go, it will become a whipping boy among those who consider themselves left or given only short shrift," says the report, titled "Potential Implications of Trends in World Population, Food Production and Climate."

The report contained a disclaimer at the bottom of its first page that says: "This study was prepared by the office of political research of the Central Intelligence Agency. It does not, however, represent an official C.I.A. position. The views presented represent the best judgment of the authors and are not other interpreta-
The Problem of Poppies

The opium poppy is one of nature's contradictions. It gives us the substances—mainly codeine and morphine—that can ease the intolerable pain of cancer and tuberculosis. Yet it is a crop grown for no other material. At the same time, with a slight alteration in process, it can produce heroin, a substance that has caused untold suffering and is blamed by some for a substantial proportion of the urban crime rate.

Now, the governments of the United States and several other countries are faced with this perplexing problem: How can the people of the world maintain the supply of opium necessary to ease suffering and yet prevent the kind of oversupply that floods our cities with deadly heroin?

The situation is becoming serious in the view of American drug manufacturers because for several years there has been a shortfall between demand and supply. The government has eased the shortfall some by putting part of its strategic reserves into circulation; but that is no long run solution. Many of those concerned have attributed the shortage to the fact that Turkey, under great pressure from the United States, went out of the opium producing business in 1972. But in the last three years of its production before the ban, Turkey supplied only 7 per cent of the legal opium used in the United States. India is in fact the country on which the United States has traditionally relied for its opium. The country in recent years has been unreliable. Drought and other climatic conditions have been part of the problem. The other difficulty is that India and the United States have not been able to come to clear terms as to how much of India's output the United States could expect to receive each year.

All these are elements in the dwindling of the U.S. supply of morphine and codeine. What can be done? The tendency among many in the drug industry is to point out that Turkey has decided to grow poppies again and to argue that Turkish opium gum is the solution—never mind that Turkey, unlike India, has shown itself almost incapable of controlling the destination of its output. This view holds that drug abuse in the United States is not going to be eliminated by banning Turkish opium, that it is a local social problem and that it should not be mixed up with the overall medical needs that are met by legal drugs.

In light of the Turkish experience and "The French Connection," that answer is a bit too easy. There was a serious problem in the past with Turkish opium, and the best informed police in the field say they can see a reduction in serious heroin-related crimes in the period since it was taken off the market. In announcing that it was going back into business as a "matter of national sovereignty," Turkey also announced that it would see to it that its opium was produced in a form that would make the transition to heroin less likely. How successful that effort will be remains to be seen.

There have been several attempts to develop experimentally a strain of opium poppy from which it would be nearly impossible to produce heroin. The experiments were carried on at Boltsville, but little has been heard of them after a promising start. It makes sense for the United States to explore that avenue as a long-term strategy to the problem of easing pain, while keeping the half-killer agent from becoming a social menace.
WASHINGTON STAR
17 March 1975

Burma Rebels Offering U.S. Opium Crop at Cut Prices

NEW YORK (AP)—Army rebels in Burma have offered to sell their annual opium crop to the U.S. government for a fraction of its black market value, according to Rep. Lester Wolff.

Wolff, chairman of the House narcotics subcommittee, said he met secretly last week with leaders of the rebels from Burma’s Shan State during a fact-finding tour in January.

In an interview aired last night on CBS-TV’s “60 Minutes,” Wolff said the rebels offered to sell the annual Shan opium crop—400 tons—a tenth of its black market value. If the opium were to enter illegal channels as heroin, it would have a street value of $2 billion to $3 billion, Wolff said.

The New York Democrat said he relayed this offer to government officials in Washington, but the reception by the White House has been cool. He said the rebels use the money they get from the narcotics traffic to carry on their rebellion against Gen. Ne Win, president of Burma.

But Wolff said the rebels are already using drug traffic money to buy arms and ammunition to fight the Burmese government.

Wolff also said he met with Gen. Li, a Nationalist Chinese who controls a massive opium crop in Thailand, and Li indicated he had made enough money and was willing to get out of the drug traffic.

“‘To indicate his sincerity, he offered two of his children as hostages to the United States government to prove that he would not engage in opium traffic any further,’” Wolff said.

Wolff was to submit a report on his trip to Congress today.

Baltimore Sun
9 March 1975

A new kind of crisis

BY HENRY L. TRIMWICK
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The reason the State Department no longer issues an annual state of the world report, an official there says dryly, “is that we can’t bear to write it or read it.”

The real reason—that the reports were too time-consuming for the small staff they shed—one is less clear. The report, in any case, was released.

For across the range of political opinion, specialists agree that the United States, and therefore the other capitalist industrial nations, are in special kind of crisis, in fact a struggle for survival.

They do not agree on all the reasons, where the threat lies, or what ought to be done about it. To Dean Rusk, the former secretary of state, the American crisis is one of confidence and will. To Richard J. Barnet, historian and critic of a generation of policy, the situation is now the result of the harvest of arrogance and must change its approach to the world.

For the moment the focus of crisis is on the economy at home and worldwide, blighted so that it touches every American. By most accounts, however, the central problem is even broader, calling for a new national sense of direction.

At the heart of it, as James R. Schlesinger, the Secretary of Defense, views it, is erosion of the power and stabilizing force the United States exercised over post-World War II development.

The report, says Schlesinger, perceives clearly in all this the end of an era. It was the period from World War II to sometime in the recent past, when the United States exercised over the security, and in varying degrees the politics, of the industrial West, Japan and much of the poor areas of the globe. Never before, he says, has there been “an era of greater security,” such limited conflict, of economic growth, of trade expansion—and may I add, of civil liberties more generally widespread than ever before.

Shan Now that role is changing; how much no one is certain. What is certain is that the nation has come to a benchmark as important as the abandonment of isolationism by the United States after World War II. It is uncertain exactly what the United States would now do again as it did over the past generation to real or perceived crises.

The considerations behind such doomsday language are a mixture of the obvious and the subtle. A wide consensus lists them, with first things first:

- A combination of inflation and recession, magnified by high oil prices, leaving the industrial nations reeling.
- The rise of Soviet power, threatening to overturn that of the United States, with China stirring on the horizon.
- The worldliness of the United States, with the war in Vietnam and its outcome as part cause, part effect.
- The prospective loss of Cambodia and South Vietnam, Communist advances in Southern Europe, the fragmentation of the North Atlantic alliance from the leftward turn of Portugal and the Greek-Turkish conflict over Cyprus.
- Continuing danger of exploitations in the Middle East, with its overlapping politics of oil and Arab-Israeli confrontation.
- A widespread uncertainty everywhere, in the belief in all these things, of the strength and direction of the United States.

What Mr. Schlesinger, the Secretary of Defense, perceives clearly in all this is the end of an era. It was the period from World War II to sometime in the recent past, when the United States exercised over the security, and in varying degrees the politics of the industrial West, Japan and much of the poor areas of the globe. Never before, he says, has there been "an era of greater security," such limited conflict, of economic growth, of trade expansion—and, may I add, of civil liberties more generally widespread than ever before.

One of these crises is Mr. Barnet, of the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington. Instead of power in the use of force, he says, the larger history of the United States has been one of expansionism.

"The high-water mark was in Viet- nam," he says, "when some of the assumptions of the postwar period turned out to be unworkable. The Nixon administration was the first since that of Roosevelt to recognize that the U-
Mr. Dulles to be a victory for globalists, who thought in terms of a worldwide security structure, over pragmatists who thought more modestly of selected vital interests. Mr. Schlesinger believes the pragmatic course would have left the nation in both shape to meet its current challenges.

The idea that containment was based on an undercurrent of cynicism draws support from surprising places, however. Ray S. Cline, former deputy director of central intelligence, suggests "of course there was a perceived threat of communism," but that containment was intended more to preserve markets abroad.

"I believe it was thought that the image of the Communist threat was the best way to make people understand the problem," he said.

Whatever the mix of surface and background motives, the drive lasted through a great series of crises, in which the Soviet Union more often blinked and the U.S. prevailed—until Vietnam, in its confrontations with lesser nations. Mr. Schlesinger, the historian, argues that the U.S. in fact reached its peak of interventionism during the 1960's.

In great measure, he said, the extent of intervention then was concealed by the "frequently calm facade of that era" and by the secret use of the CIA as the prime weapon. The last great example, he argues, was the planning for the Bay of Pigs invasion, inherited by President Kennedy.

Most analysts, however, regard Vietnam as the high point of U.S. assertiveness. Certainly the war there became the focus of a national agony that left all the post-World War II assumptions of power in question. And beyond any doubt was damned military involvement in any form for millions of Americans.

Former President Nixon issued the impolitic disclaimers with the policy revision that soon was labeled the "Nixon Doctrine. In effect, he said, allies and client states would have to carry more of their own security burden. Implicit in the doctrine was the theme: "No more Vietnams."

Now Mr. Kissinger has crafted the further doctrine of interdependence. In part it is a product of withdrawing up America's allies to recognize that power, after all, is limited, yet their interests tie with the U.S. But it lacks the ring of containment and the galvanizing effect of a visible and immediate threat.

Or perhaps it needs simply to be put more clearly, as Mr. Humphrey argues: "Now we are in a period of withdrawal," he says, "and we are groping trying to decide where we are. People want to know what our policy is.

"In the past we somehow equated power with knowledge. Sometimes our power got in the way of our good judgment. We were a world power with a half-world knowledge."

If Mr. Kissinger has not made his policy clear to Mr. Humphrey, then he obviously still has a difficult task selling it to a weary public. One of the lessons of Vietnam is that not matter what it takes to win public support for foreign policy, no policy can succeed without it.

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America’s ‘Dismal’ Policy on Portugal

BY DON COOK

LISBON—One of the sadder aspects of the complex side of events in Portugal this past year has been the dismal diplomatic performance of the United States, ranging from being immobilized most of the time to being just plain inept.

Immobility took hold in Washington at the outset last April when one simple obsession about the Portuguese situation gripped Secretary of State Kissinger (and presumably the Central Intelligence Agency)—the emergence of the Communists.

There was certainly nothing wrong with worrying about how the Communists might seize the golden opportunity opening up for them in Lisbon with the overthrow of 50 years of Fascist dictatorship by the Portuguese armed forces.

But the diplomatic problem was how the United States could best move to counter this threat. And here Kissinger, who took personal control of policy decisions and instructions for Lisbon and has remained in control even from his airplane, became so immobilized by the appearance of the Communists that he did nothing for his friends.

Instead of taking the line "what can we do to help" in Lisbon, the attitude adopted in Washington toward the regime was that American support would be doled out only if the regime stiffened its back against the Communists.

This was completely against the recommendations being sent to Washington at the time from the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon.

The embassy assessment was simple. The revolution was clearly popular, and its direction in those early days was in the hands of moderate officers, not one of whom was identified with the Communists.

A revolutionary government had been formed with these moderate military officers and experienced liberal civilians. The pledge to end Portugal’s African colonial wars was clearly in the interest of the United States and world conditions generally. The end of Fascism had come about in Portugal with far less bloodshed and a great deal more relief and stability than anybody could have foreseen.

The regime deserved and needed American endorsement and support to cope effectively with the problems ahead, including the country’s Communists.

But this assessment, in which the embassy’s top political officers unanimously concurred, was reportedly not “tough enough on communism” to suit Kissinger and the State Department. Every one of the political officers who were involved in those original recommendations to Washington last April has now been transferred far from the Lisbon scene. Such are the rewards of speaking one’s mind to the State Department.

To take one simple example of how the embassy in Lisbon sought to play the hand, it recommended that the United States promptly lift the old embargo dating from the early 1960s forbidding the Portuguese to use any American-supplied arms or military equipment in operations in its African territories.

Remarkably enough, the Portuguese did indeed stick to this rule, and while they continued to receive U.S. arms for North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense purposes, they did not use those arms in Africa.

With Mario Soares, a Social Democrat at the Foreign Ministry in Lisbon, busy negotiating independence agreements for the African possessions, and with cease-fire orders in effect in Africa, it would have made common sense for the United States to put Soares and the Portuguese on the back burner by announcing with a fanfare that the arms embargo was being lifted. But, according to sources here, Kissinger wouldn’t play it that way because the Portuguese government included a Communist, and he urged that they get rid of him first.

Today the arms embargo is still in effect, and any popular diplomatic appreciation which the United States might now gain by lifting it is totally gone.

Kissinger’s reaction to the early policy recommendations from Lisbon was little short of humiliating to the officials of the embassy here. He dispatched from Washington a special team of Foreign Service officers to "assess" the quality of the diplomatic reporting that he was getting. This meant that he wasn’t getting the kind of advice he wanted.

In the wake of this mission to Lisbon, about three months after the April revolution word began to leak out in Washington that the embassy was not alert enough to the Communist danger and was taking too optimistic and positive a line about working with the new regime.

Meanwhile, the Communists were making inroads steadily in the trade union movement, in control of the press and elsewhere, outside the government itself.

Next to arrive on the scene from Washington was the deputy director of the CIA, Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters, who speaks Portuguese (along with nine other languages) and who leaves footprints as big as manhole covers wherever he goes. It really ought to be obvious to most backward politicians in Washington by now that if you want to help another government having difficulties these days you do not send the deputy director of the CIA to take its pulse and examine its health.

Walters passed through Lisbon about the time that Gen. Antonio de Spinola was engaged in his power struggle with the young officers of the Armed Forces Movement last
August. Four weeks later, at the end of September, Spinoza was out.

At this point, the regime leaked the fact of Wallenberg's death, and the left felt jilted and behind every trouble that erupted for the regime. This continues today, and the ineptitude of Washington has been a big help.

But worse was to come in a fresh public humiliation for the embassy. Kissinger fired Ambassador Stewart Nash Scott in December on the ground that he needed an ambassador who could speak Portuguese and get closer to the regime. Scott was a Nixon political appointee, well above the average in the judgment of a number of people who have comparisons to go by. But he was anxious to try to work more positively with the revolutionary regime instead of continually lecturing Lisbon, on Kissinger's instructions, about its Communist problem.

A year later the Communist problem in Lisbon is infinitely greater than it was when party leader Alvaro Cunhal came back from exile in Moscow and Prague to take charge of the party in the wake of the revolution. A year later the United States has no visible friends or supporters or sympathizers of any influence in the top echelon of the revolutionary military regime. A year later if the regime gets into any kind of trouble it immediately blames it all on the Americans and the CIA.

Perhaps things would have turned out this way anyway, but Kissinger didn't even let the American Embassy give it a good try in the crucial months of 1975.

**Baltimore Sun**
3 April 1975

**Brandt finds U.S. unsure of its role**

By Gene Osher

Bonn—After returning from a visit to the United States, former Chancellor Willy Brandt told a press conference yesterday that he has never seen America so uncertain of its role as a world power.

At the same time, Mr. Brandt said the current period of "painful self-examination" in the U.S. is temporary and we should not make any "false connections" between the developments in Southeast Asia and the U.S. commitments to Europe.

Mr. Brandt has been in the U.S. several times, but his last visit coincided with the deterioration of the military situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia and the continuing foreign policy differences between the Ford administration and Congress.

"I have never before experienced such a situation of internal irritation and uncertainty about the world political role of the United States in any of my previous visits," Mr. Brandt said, adding, "My advice is that while we should not underestimate the possibility of isolationist tendencies in the United States we can assume that the United States will continue, under changed conditions, its role as a Western world power."

The former chancellor, who remains national chairman of the ruling Social Democratic party, appeared to be trotting out a growing concern among Europeans that the U.S. is becoming a less reliable ally.

A recent opinion poll, for example, showed the U.S. slipping in esteem with the West German public, though it is still ranked first place. Asked whose friendship was most important to it, Germany, 60 percent picked the U.S., as compared to 62 percent a year ago.

"We would do well," Mr. Brandt said, "to reconcile the material [resources] and moral energy the United States possesses.

He said that a "constructive dialogue" with the U.S. at this time would have a special importance and that Europeans couldn't leave their "great ally" in the lurch at this critical phase or to allow themselves to be gripped with mistrust.

**London Times**
8 March 1975

**Americans wary of using troops**

From Our Own Correspondent

Washington, March 7

If West Europe were invaded, only 28 percent of the American public would favour military involvement, including the use of troops, according to an opinion poll. The main trend in the survey, however, suggests that the public is turning isolationist and aware of the need for economic self-reliance.

Produced by the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, the survey attempts a study of American attitudes towards foreign policy, and the results were provided by the National Opinion Research Center in Chicago, which conducted the survey.

The public is depicted as overwhelmingly preoccupied with domestic economic issues. Foreign policy questions rank low on an agenda in which it was thought government action was necessary.

At the top of foreign policy priorities were cutting foreign aid and the oil situation. The four leading targets for cutbacks in government expenditures were foreign military aid, defense spending, and Control Intelligence Agency secret operations.

The view is that it would be best for the future of the country to take an active part in world affairs, as 80 percent said yes and 24 percent said no—proportions similar to previous results since the Second World War.

A noted change in attitude is that the sacred cows of the Cold War are more. Continuing contamination wages in a list of foreign policy goals; Promoting the development of democracy and capitalism abroad came bottom, 17 and 18 on the list.

"Leaders" wanted to spend less on defense but a majority of the public were in favor of increasing spending at least at its present level. Although there was a reluctance to use troops in Europe, 71 percent of the public sample agreed that a communist takeover there would be a threat to the United States.

Asked what to do with another oil embargo, only 6 percent favored invading the oil producers and 40 percent favored sharing oil with Europe and Japan. But asked a different question, on willingness to deal with an oil shortage, 25 percent favored military force against the producers and taking the oil "out of the hands of the Arabs". President Ford will be surprised to learn that 79 percent of the public sample said it would accept petrolium rationing.

The public was asked to say how closely it had followed a list of foreign issues. At the bottom of a table was the British election: 6 percent claimed "very closely", 20 percent "somewhat closely", and 72 percent "not very closely".
Measuring the damage of Vietnam

When France fell before Hitler’s armies in 1940 General Charles de Gaulle declared that: “France has lost a battle, but France has not lost the war.” That war was eventually won by others, and France shared in the general recovery of the West which followed the great victories of 1945. The recollection of that story of the fall and recovery of France in World War II can be helpful in setting into accurate perspective what has been happening in Southeast Asia.

The United States has certainly lost a battle in the sudden collapse of the armed forces of South Vietnam in much of the country controlled from Saigon. The collapse of the whole seems to be the more likely, rather than the less likely, end result of the process proceeding ever at such startling pace. A transition in Cambodia is also coming swiftly. The long American effort to set up and sustain anti-Communist governments in those countries is obviously near its end.

To minimize the loss would be almost foolish as to exaggerate it. There has indeed been a bitter loss in the pride of the United States, some loss to its prestige, some loss of its influence, and another heavy drain on weapons which were given to the South Vietnamese and are now swelling the arsenals of the Communists. In China in 1950 the advancing Communists called Chiang Kai-shek’s soldiers their own “American supply line.” The weapons given to Chiang’s men to fight the Communists became the major source of weapons for those same Communists. That story has been repeated massively at Da Nang.

But none of this reduces or impairs the fact that the U.S. remains today the wealthiest and most powerful of the great powers. The quality of its leadership over the past 15 years is in question, not the power which improved leadership could command. There was failure, but Washington consistently misread the quality and persistence of political forces in Asia from 1945 right down to today. It overestimated the range of its own raw power. It underestimated the tenacity and determination of little men walking through the jungles barefaced in black pajamas. But the failure was at the top command level in Washington, not in the human and industrial foundations.

There is no reason to be found either in the reaction of other countries to their present circumstances in Washington or in common sense as a logic for thinking that American influence in the world will be seriously harmed either immediately or in the long run. Moscow has gloated — a little, quietly — but done nothing aggressive. The Chinese have been a bit cool, but done nothing of significance. The European allies commiserate publicly, and are quietly thankful in private. Consider that last point — the attitude of friends and allies. To them, the American commitment in Southeast Asia was always a folly and a useless drain on American energies in what they regarded as the wrong place. Not one of them ever thought that Southeast Asia was worth a penny of its own resources or a drop of their own blood. They watched with dismay as it undermined America’s capacity and will to play a continuing role in Europe and other places.

West Germany was particularly unhappy about American soldiers and weapons being drained away from the defenses of Western Europe.

In terms of the balance of power the American commitment in Southeast Asia has long been an asset to the Soviet Union and a liability to Japan and Western Europe.

No truly great power ever won all its battles and succeeded in all its policies. Maturity begins with learning the limitations of power. America has lost a battle. Its pride has been humbled. It will be more careful in the future about judging other peoples and other unusual things. In the future it will probably be more respected and a more influential ally because it will act with more restraint and more wisdom. It has not lost a war.

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Retreat

By Robert Thompson

LONDON—There are two fashionable myths about the current North Vietnamese offensive in South Vietnam—that the South has more men and more guns than the North, and that the North is more highly motivated than the South.

Not only are the Russian guns far better than the American guns, but because the South is defending known fixed positions, towns and installations, the North Vietnamese Army’s artillery cannot miss. The South Vietnamese Army in reply can fire thousands of rounds without being certain of hitting anything.

Moreover, it is estimated that the North has twenty months’ supply of ammunition at an intensive combat rate whereas, because of Congress, the South has enough for only a few weeks.

In addition to superior firepower, the North Vietnamese Army, by rapidly deploying six reserve divisions to the two northern regions, also achieved overwhelming numerical superiority at the point of attack.

Cost of the principal North Vietnamese Army stems not from motivation but from the fact that it holds the strategic initiative. Like all Soviet clients, Hanoi is in a can’t win, can’t lose position and, since the Paris Agreement, has not had to spend either manpower or resources on defense whereas the South has had to string out its forces and its limited ammunition stocks down the whole length of the country and adopt a solely defensive posture.

Insofar as motivation is a factor, it is not the case that the other side is more devoted to its cause than the other side. The Bavarians but rather that the South Vietnamese were unlucky enough to get the Americans while the North got the Russians.

Blessed also are the excuse-makers for they have destroyed the credibility of the United States. It is, so they say, only a corrupt, repressive regime in Saigon. But in that case why are the poor people of Vietnam fleeing yet again from the Communists? The people are voting with their feet. What has happened to all those lovely newspaper stories of the refugees fl ed only from American bombing? What has happened to all those stories of great tragedy unfolding, will be outraged by the slaughter? They also say that it would be wrong to put money after blood. That line has already cost us the 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the energy crisis.

Now, for the sake of $1 billion or $2 billion it will cost the United States $50 billion to $100 billion more annually in defense costs if credibility is to be restored.

Incidentally, will many remember all those fascinating newspaper articles on what the $25 billion a year to be saved from the Vietnam war could be spent on? Where has it gone?

Israel, having been compelled, on the Soviet Union’s demand, to accept a cease-fire, has been asked to make further concessions vital to her security in return for an American guarantee. But a guarantee has only one meaning—the willingness to spill blood. It is hardly surprising that Secretary of State Kissinger’s attempts at a settlement have failed. Israel realizes that an American President’s guarantee is worthless. After all, five of them, from Dwight D. Eisenhower to Gerald R. Ford, pledged support for Vietnam.

With the southern flank of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization crumbling the Soviet Union to the Azores, both Europe and the moderate rulers of the Middle East are threatened. The moderates in the Soviet Union have united the United States for two certain future events: the death of Mao Zedong and the death of Marshal Tito. In either China or Yugoslavia can be coerced back into the Moscow fold, the Soviet

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Union will further strengthen the security of its base and the can-win, can't-lose strategic initiative both for itself and its allies.

The American retreat from Moscow, like that of Napoleon, is beginning to litter the route of corpses. Henry A. Kissinger has been vainly trying to save the regime by standing guard with no army, no air force, no navy and no money.

The Administration can no longer conduct a credible American foreign policy. But, do not worry, a new foreign policy line has already been laid down by Congress: If you surrender, the killing will stop. It is a clean message, to the world, of the object, surrender of the United States.

Sir Robert Thompson, the British expert on guerrilla warfare, was an advisor to President Nixon on the war in Vietnam.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
2 April 1975

U.S. Intelligence Failed to Foresee Viet Collapse

BY OSWALD JOHNSTON
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—For nearly two weeks the Ford Administration has been consistently surprised by the sweeping Communist successes in South Vietnam, and the second-guessing has already begun.

But a consensus is emerging in the intelligence community that the failure was not in neglecting to predict that Hanoi would launch an attack but in ignoring the possibility that Saigon's resistance would collapse as rapidly as it has.

The result has been a near-paralysis in government, as far as Vietnam is concerned, as Administration policymakers try to grasp the scope of the debacle, and why it happened so quickly.

Much now depends on the ability of the fact-finding mission headed by the Army's Chief of Staff, Gen. Frederick Weyand, to report back from Saigon with a coherent account of events.

Weyand took with him the Chief of the Central Intelligence Agency's elite in-house intelligence analysts, George G. Carver, and reported from Saigon now indicates that the mission may delay its return until early next week.

In a separate effort to make sense out of chaos, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is sending its own two-man investigating team to Saigon this week. The committee representatives, staffers Richard M. Moore and Charles F. Meissner, last visited Vietnam in May, 1974, when they warned in a report that Hanoi's troops were poised in the most dangerous threat to Saigon of the entire war.

In general, the main component of the intelligence community shared this view right up until the threat became a reality a few weeks ago. The only uncertainty was timing. World Hanoi strikes in 1974, 1975, or 1976?

During the fall of 1972, according to one highly placed intelligence source, a national intelligence estimate representing the formal consensus of the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the State Department's intelligence arm, and other intelligence components — predicted with virtual unanimity that Hanoi's big push would come in the winter 1974-75.

But analysts recall an informal consensus in the community about the time Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger returned in triumph from Paris with the January, 1973, peace accord that the time of testing would come in about two years.

More recently, it had become the conventional wisdom in the intelligence community to predict that Hanoi's climactic offensive would not come until 1976. The CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency in particular are reported to have pushed this point of view.

Now that the climax is undeniable, there is quiet recrimination within the community over the failure to keep to the original, apparently correct, prediction.

There was a strong resistance to calling it a countrywide offensive, one source remarked Tuesday — implying that the resistance, shared by such top Administration officials as Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, came from a reluctance to admit that the Paris accords had fallen apart.

A more serious failure, analysts now agree, was the lack of any serious, in-depth estimate during the whole Nixon-Kissinger-Ford era of Saigon's ability to survive on its own.

There was widespread doubt among CIA experts during the late 1960s whether a regime could ever be put together in Saigon that could withstand a Communist onslaught without massive American aid, or even American intervention.

Even when the 'nation-building' of the Johnson years became supplanted as a slogan by the 'Vietnamization' of the Nixon Administration, those doubts were never articulated in a formal intelligence document of the sort that would claim top Administration attention.

During the past week, informed sources said Thursday, a CIA report has been put together estimating the ability of President Nguyen Van Thieu to survive and of a non-Communist regime to defend Saigon and the Mekong Delta.

But that report may be too late. During the winter, the focus of intelligence experts was Hanoi — whether a full-blown 'spring' offensive would be launched, whether all six of North Vietnam's strategic reserve divisions would be committed.

Ignored was the ability of Thieu's forces to resist any pressure after the fall of Phuoc Long province in January was greeted by only a perfunctory protest note from Washington to the signatures of the Paris accords. As recently as two weeks ago, analysts greeted Thieu's decision to abandon the Central Highlands as 'strategically sound' — without anticipating the military and social disintegration that was a direct result of that decision.
Military Aid for Vietnam and Cambodia? No.

WASHINGTON—As one member of a Congressional delegation of eight, I went to Vietnam and Cambodia on a fact-finding mission. It was a sobering, highly educational, experience.

Cambodia gave the first clear lesson. She is so near the tragic conclusion of her drama that the only remaining question is how to achieve an orderly transfer of power, and the basic reality is China.

China supplies arms to the Khmer Rouge, which now controls 80 percent of the country. The tottering Government of Marshal Lon Nol cannot last. There must be a structure that will protect the people in the crowded capital, Phnom Penh, and the voluntary agencies caring for them.

But unless this has the backing of China, the killing will continue. The obvious one is Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and he recently sent a cable to the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield, offering friendly relations with the United States and amnesty to all Cambodians except Marshal Lon Nol and his closest advisers. This could be the start of a controlled and stable situation.

Marshal Lon Nol intimated his willingness to resign when we met with him. The United States should certainly be in a position of disposing of or installing chiefs of foreign states, but we should at least propose our good offices on behalf of any plan that gives hope.

Further military aid to the Lon Nol Government would be useless and might, in fact, be misunderstood as continuing support for Lon Nol and a rebuff to Prince Sihanouk.

Cambodia provided a second lesson. Americans have always given generously to people in trouble. Long before foreign aid was thought of, ordinary citizens were sending help to the victims of war and disaster from Russia to the Yangtze River. Cambodia now shows us that when we give food and medicine to people in need, we should do as much as possible through the voluntary agencies of which there are such shining examples in Phnom Penh—World Vision, Catholic Relief Services, CARE, and the Lutheran Services are charged with all the responsibility of feeding and caring for these people. The diseases are terrible. Malaria, plague, cholera, typhoid fever, rabies and other illnesses of malnutrition are rampant.

The children are so famished that they must be fed intravenously before their bodies can accept food. We have never seen or imagined such human suffering and the first thought that comes to mind is "stop the killing." Vietnam is a far more complicated case than Cambodia because the crisis is farther away, but there is an ominous feeling that Cambodia's fate may sooner or later be duplicated. The people to whom we listened were all opposed to a Communist government.

Even those in opposition to President Nguyen Van Thieu, though they hoped to see him out of office, wanted a Communist government. They wanted free elections and were confident that a "third force" would win.

It seems most unlikely that either of these could come along with the victory of the P.R.G. and North Vietnam, but the lesson here is that it must be their choice—not ours. A few days or weeks or years in a country do not give a foreigner the right to believe that any view can be better than that of the people to whom the country belongs.

In the case of both Cambodia and Vietnam, I think we must face the fact that military aid sent from America will not succeed. It will only delay the development of the kind of stable situation—whatever form that takes—that will at least stop the horrible suffering of war. We have no alternative. Those who sent arms to North Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge may well continue to do so for the next thirty years. The citizens of the United States will not. It is not only that we feel we have many problems at home that need attention. We also feel that we should not be in the business of maintaining endless and futile wars.

There will be some who feel that the prestige and status of the United States will suffer in such a denouement. I do not agree. We must have a solid capacity for defense. We must have a clear foreign policy, soundly based on public debate and consensus about our responsibilities. With these firmly in hand, we should concentrate on a sincere concern for all people, and sensible actions to express that concern. Prestige and status could have no function more secure.

Millicent Fenwick, a Republican, represents New Jersey's Fifth District in the House of Representatives.

A SAIGON ANTI-RED SAYS WAR IS OVER

Political Foe of Thieu Puts Blame on Policy of the U.S.

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

Political in The New York Times

SAIGON, South Vietnam, March 31—One of South Vietnam's most influential political experts says that he believes that the Communists have won the war.

Ton Thai Thien, a prominent anti-Communist opponent of President Nguyen Van Thieu, said in an interview that he saw no possibility of negotiating a settlement for a coalition government in Saigon.

"Why should the other side be interested in coalition or negotiations now?" he asked. "They have won." Mr. Thien held ministerial rank in the government of the late President Ngo Dinh Diem and later served as an adviser to Gen. Duong Van Minh, the general who overthrew Mr. Diem in 1963. Mr. Thien has championed the idea of a third force, free of domination by either the Communists or the Americans.

Kissinger is Assailed

Asked whether he felt an anti-Communist government in Saigon stood a chance at this point, he replied: "You cannot throw people into a carafaret and then ask them what they plan to do to save themselves. Kissinger wanted peace in 1973 and he got it. Now we are suffering the consequences of what Kissinger did to us in Paris. At this point the other side has the entire initiative. It's up to the Vietcong to decide what will happen to us.

"This is the result of a politics of defeat, of so-called peace with honor. It was incredible that Kissinger could have signed the Paris agreement without getting guarantees from the other side. "We did it, of course, to help the Nixon campaign. Now Kissinger stands exposed as a fool, of course, but with Vietnam on the brink, it hardly matters to us. It will be the same with Israel, although perhaps the Israelis are stronger and smarter.

"But the point is, no one believes in America anymore, certainly do not." "Throw the Rest Away" Looking back over the events of the last few weeks, Mr. Thien said: "Thieu made a mistake at the Peace Talks, but that was no reason to throw the rest away. From there, they went on to provoke a panic that couldn't be stopped. It's too late to do anything about it now. Nothing any military man or civilian could do would help much."

Mr. Thien referred to the quick and almost bloody defeat suffered by Saigon forces at Ban Me Thuot in the Central Highlands three weeks ago, and President Thieu's subsequent decision to abandon the entire region.

The politician, who has been described as "walking into a Vietcong trap" by installing Mr. Thieu in the presidency, and failing to permit a change in the elections of 1971 and 1973. Washington's support for President Thieu prevented the kind of flexible policy that might have enabled a non-Communist government in Saigon to survive, he said. "Thieu had the Americans, but the Americans left, Mr. Thien said.

"Do you know that despite their colonial past, the French; were a lot better to us than the Americans?" he added.
Cambodia Papers Open
Anti-American Attack

By H. D. S. Greenway
Washington Post Foreign Service

PHNOM PENH, March 19—"This war was created by the Americans," an article in the daily newspaper Areyathor said this morning.

Today's headline in the Koh Santhep, another Phnom Penh daily, said: "Congressmen, don't misunderstand. Cambodia helps America, not America helps Cambodia." The article went on to say that, if the Americans abandon Cambodia, America will have lost its "honor" and will become a bad name all over the world.

In the last few days the Cambodian-language press has taken on a strident, anti-American tone that has not been seen hitherto, and it represents a growing tension and anxiety in this capital as the debate over emergency aid for Cambodia drags on in the American Congress.

When asked if the articles represented the attitude of government officials, Information Minister Chiang Song said: "You can take it that it does, otherwise I would have closed the papers down."

The press has more freedom here than in Vietnam but "as these stories are just speculation I have the authority and could close them down for three days as a warning," Chiang Song said. "But how can I suppose that is the true feeling of the people here?"

Chiang Song said that the articles represented a general "psychosis" here caused by the growing fear of abandon- ment and the feeling of helplessness among educated Cambodians.

"We used to be rich in rice. Now we have to beg for it. The war is going badly for us and every day we get these evacuation orders. People are tense and worried."

The articles are not at all consistent or realistic. One paper speaks of Cambodia being turned over unwillingly to the communists, while another says Cambodia should release themselves from the clutches of the Americans so that they can turn to another superpower—the Soviet Union. But taken together they do represent a growing resentment of Americans.

There are other Cambodians in the city who feel that the Congress would be right to refuse aid to the Lon Nol government, and they think that would be best to end the war and make accommodation with the insurgents.

But these people do not have access to the newspapers to put forth their views and their clumusly printed tracts are pushed underneath doors in the dark of the early morning hours.

There is concern here that this anti-American resentment might one day explode into demonstrations against foreigners. Spontaneous demonstrations are not likely, but if a frustrated leader chose to organize one, "I could start a riot in 15 minutes, and it would be March all over again against your embassy," an official told me recently.

March 11, 1970, was the day when the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong's Provisional Revolutionary Government embassies were sacked here by an organized mob. That action began a train of events which led to Cambodia joining the Indochina war on the American side.

The Cambodian papers have already reported that American embassy officials are burning their pastas and sending their effects out of the country. But the local press makes it sound as if the embassy was preparing to close in the near future instead of treating the matter as a contingency plan.

To calm such fears the American embassy reduced the planned evacuation of 15 Catholic Relief Service workers to four.

The Cambodian papers also have announced that the former commander in chief of the armed forces, Gen. Sosathe Fernandez, left for Paris two days ago. The papers said he had gone for a threemonth health cure. Knowledgeable sources, however, said that he had wired a friend in Paris to find a permanent apartment for himself and his family.

Students Call for End to U.S. Aid

PHNOM PENH, March 19

A thousand university students held a rally on their campus Wednesday to urge the U.S. Congress to halt aid to Cambodia and to call on President Lon Nol's government to step down.

Police blocked an anti-Lon Nol student demonstration on Tuesday by sealing off the site for which it was planned. But there was no interference with the meeting today.

A student leader said, "Any more aid will only lead to a peaceful settlement but will only prolong the war." He charged that American aid "went only to the high-ranking officers and officials."

The students said they would back "any government—Communist or not—as long as it brings peace."

NEW YORK TIMES
18 March 1975

A Relief Official in Cambodia
Denounces U.S. Military Aid

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia, March 17—A high international relief official who has worked with Cambodian refugees for more than a year under the American program spoke out yesterday against United States policy here.

"Military aid must be stopped now to end this senseless war," she said.

She is Dr. Gay Alexander, a Scot who is medical director for Catholic Relief Services, the largest international relief group operating in Cambodia. She asked to have her views recorded in an interview because "one must do one's best to try to stop this situation."

Dr. Alexander was the first to work today along with other relief officials as part of a reduction of relief agency personnel ordered by the United States Embassy.

This was the first time that any official working in a United States Government-financed program had spoken for publication against American policy.

Catholic Relief Services had the biggest program of all the humanitarian groups here—spending perhaps $5-million a year to feed, shelter and provide medical care for hundreds of thousands of refugees.

"They use and manipulate the ordinary people of this country," Dr. Alexander said. "They hold back rice for the highest bidder, while hundreds are dying of malnutrition every day. Economic aid with no U.S. strings attached should continue, but military aid must be stopped now."

A number of relief officials and foreign governments in Phnom Penh, including Americans, have in private expressed opposition to American policy here, and one with the status of Dr. Alexander, however, made such a public declaration here in the first years of warfare.

Some of the heads of other relief organizations here, which also support on United States funds and which include CARE and World Vision, apparently do not share Dr. Alexander's views. They have lobbied privately with Congress for more military aid. They argue that without more military aid, economic aid alone would be useless, because if the Lon Nol Government does not get more arms assistance, it will come collapse and the Cambodian insurrection will take over.

Dr. Alexander said that she had written a personal letter last year to the American Ambassador, John Gunther Dean, telling him of the reports she had heard about government corruption and of her concern over these activities and their destructive effect on the Cambodian people. "I never got an answer or an acknowledgment," she said.

The Catholic Embassy said it had "no comment" on Dr. Alexander's views or on her letter to the Ambassador.
When a policy fails

Mr Richard Nixon had a word for it. "Cambodia", he said in 1971, "is the Nixon doctrine in purest form." But the Nixon doctrine did not save Cambodia from its present plight: Phnom Penh under siege, the Lon Nol government visibly losing its grip, half the Cambodians displaced and starved, and the Ford administration and Congress facing, from different sides, the ghastly choice between sending more supplies to prolong the war and letting the Khmer Republic die. It could indeed die while the various committees of Congress wrangle over the different amounts of help they might provide.

The doctrine was, as Mr Nixon stated it, to keep American troops out of Cambodia but to help it to help itself. There was an acknowledged exception, the incursion in 1970 in search of North Vietnamese bases on Cambodian soil close to South Vietnam, and an unacknowledged one, the B-52 bomber raids that had gone on secretly from March, 1969. Neither would have happened if the North Vietnamese had not been there first, and by the ordinary rules the North Vietnamese, not the Americans, were to blame if Cambodian neutrality was injured. For all that, the outcome of the events of 1970 has not been the restoration of Cambodia's new extension of the ruinous Indochina war into Cambodia. What went wrong?

On the kindest theory, this American failure results from a simple case of mistaken identity: in giving to Lon Nol's Khmer Republic the support which it withheld from Sihanouk's kingless kingdom, the Nixon administration accidentally picked the wrong Cambodia to help. Unfortunately that won't wash. The war in what is now Vietnam but has been going on for just 30 years, and through all that time that the only Cambodian political issue of any consequence has been how best to keep Cambodia out of it. Prince Sihanouk chose neutralism, though a neutralism that involved turning a blind eye on the presence of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong in his eastern territories and on the subsequent attempts of the American bomber squadrons to destroy them there. His prime minister, Lon Nol, decided differently: that the right thing to do was to drive the Vietnamese intruders out. This was something Cambodia alone never remotely possessed the force to do. Still, Lon Nol took advantage of one of Sihanouk's frequent absences in France to remove him from power in 1970; and the Americans went in to try to "clean out" the communist sanctuaries.

It didn't take hold

But Lon Nol, it turned out, did not command the country. The present civil war is the result. The mistakes of 1970 produced a coalition against Lon Nol that was ill-assorted, but fully strong enough to beat his government. The main components of the coalition are Sihanouk's personal following, the Khmer nationalists and socialists, the various groups of regional insurgents whom Sihanouk himself labelled Khmer Rouge when he used to hurry them, and the disciplined cadres trained long ago in Hanoi with their ethnic Vietnamese recruits.

What nobody knows is the kind of Khmer state and the particular ruling group that will emerge when the defeat of the present Phnom Penh government has been completed. Prince Sihanouk sits in Peking, but voluble as ever. But who can tell whether he will count for anything when the insurgency is over? Men like his old minister Khieu Samphan, now a Khmer insurgent leader, and Ieng Sary, the head of the Hanoi faction, have plenty of old scores against him and they have more troops than he. Thus there can be no return to the bland comfort and nepotism of the old Sihanouk system. But his political abilities have been astonishing in the past and might even amount to something again. There is a Khmer interest in establishing a Khmer state that is neither an American nor a Vietnamese puppet, if that can still be done.

If something like that, together with an orderly transfer of power and a programme of humanitarian relief, are now the outside limit of what can be hoped for, the public words and visible actions of the Ford administration are not yet aimed at that objective. As President Ford listed the issues at stake last week, one, the humanitarian need, is a real one. The second, "whether the problems of Indochina will be settled by conquest or by negotiation", is a valid question of principle but in Cambodia has probably been answered by events. The third, "the reliability of the United States", seems to assume the existence of an American promise to support the Khmer Republic through thick and thin. Congress, in granting aid, has always specifically ruled out any such commitment and the administration has never admitted having made one. The difficulty is that Mr Kissinger believes the United States, having helped the Khmer Republic come into existence, has at least a moral obligation to provide it with the means to go on fighting so long as its army is prepared to do so. Since Mr Kissinger is at the moment apparently being asked by President Sadat of Egypt to provide an American guarantee that would make it possible for the ceasefire between Egypt and Israel to continue, he does not want to see even a moral obligation abandoned in one part of the world just when a lot could depend on the validity of American commitments in another part.

Still, there may be a better way to end it than the barren scenario superficially in prospect: President Ford standing pat on his principles, Congress refusing the money, and the two branches glaring at each other while Phnom Penh is overrun. The real American interest, an honestly Khmer regime which will not take outside orders and will not willingly serve as a base of attack on South Vietnam and Thailand, is not incompatible with the real Khmer interest. American friendship and aid are not unattractive to a devastated country. Mr Kissinger, who wanted to supply reconstruction aid to North Vietnam two years ago, might think it worth while to aid not one party in Cambodia, but the country as a whole, after a negotiated truce and a transfer of power to a new government that is bound to be a coalition. Congress might well be willing to vote money to help a settlement which it will not vote to keep a hopeless civil war going. The condition is that the new government should offer a reasonable prospect of being one that tries to keep Cambodia out of south-east Asia's other wars. There may just be time for a new approach to work. But, as President Ford said last week with some understatement, "time is running out". Perhaps it
Americans Say South Korea Impairs Its Credibility by Exaggerating Red Threat

By RICHARD HALORAN

STAR-ADVERTISER

SEUL, South Korea, March 29—Authoritative American military officials here have said that South Korea’s credibility has been seriously damaged by exaggerated fearful reports that it faces a serious military threat from North Korea.

In addition, Western diplomatic sources here say that the image of President Park Chung Hee’s regime has been tarnished by his repressive political measures and by his use of the Communists threat from the North to justify them.

American officials have privately warned the South Korean Government that continued exaggeration of the North Korean threat can endanger the security of South Korea. The United States, South Korea’s major ally, may be skeptical of the North Korean hostility is genuine and thus be reluctant to respond in a crisis, they say.

Warlings Unheeded

So far, however, such warnings seem to have gone unheeded. There was a notable exception last week after the discovered of a second tunnel dug by the North Koreans under the demilitarized zone that separates the two sides. The South Korean Defense Minister, Shuh Chung Chul, told Korean newsmen:

“Regular warfare, the North Koreans can dispatch division-strength forces in a single hour through it, capture strategic positions behind the forward defense line and completely isolate the advance defense units.” It should be noted that North Korea, which has completed initial preparations for an attack, built the tunnel for cover purposes, South Korean officials said.

“This, I conclude, is an act of war,” Mr. Shuh said.

American military officers and Western diplomats took a much more alarmist view. They pointedly refrained from publicly endorsing Mr. Shuh’s position and privately they firmly disagreed with his assessment.

First Tunnel Found Last Year

They said that the tunnel, the first of which was alleged to have been discovered just before President Park visited South Korea last November, were probably intended for small commando or guerrilla teams to infiltrate South Korea.

The military sources said that intelligence reports showed an increase in training activity and equipment of North Korean forces similar to the American Special Forces, whose duties include guerrilla warfare, sabotage and espionage.

The tunnels, which were reportedly developed by the North Korean military, were used to train their soldiers in special tactics that would allow them to operate behind enemy lines in the event of a war. The sources estimated that the North Korean military had several such tunnels, some of which were several miles long.

Basic Threat Acknowledged

Western diplomats also said that the North Korean threat was real and that the United States should take steps to deter the North from launching such attacks.

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By Guy Halverson

Staff correspondent of

The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

The possibility of a forced U.S. troop pullback from Thailand within the next year is expected to bolster the Pentagon’s case for the strategic importance of current U.S. bases in the mid-Pacific and Japan.

There is deepening concern in the Pentagon that a full pullback from Thailand could intensify efforts on Capitol Hill for broader-based U.S. troop withdrawals from the Pacific region.

All told, there are 125,000 U.S. troops in the Far East, along with about 300,000 troops in Europe.

At least two lawmakers, Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D) of California and Sen. Alan Cranston (D) of California, are calling for overseas troop cuts of roughly 100,000 personnel. Similar legislation did surprisingly well in Congress last year, though not enough for passage.

Pullback Requested

Congress, however, did ask for a pullback of 12,500 overseas troops in what some Pentagon analysts see as an indication of a rising tide of “isolationism” in Congress.

The United States, which currently has 25,000 troops and 350 aircraft in Thailand, had in fact planned to keep that contingent somewhat during the next year. Premier Rikrit Pramoj has proposed that U.S. troops be pulled out of Thailand within the next year.

The new seven-party Thai political coalition, concerned by developments in neighboring Cambodia and South Vietnam, also has indicated that Thailand will seek diplomatic relations with China and talks with North Vietnam.

Beyond the troops in Thailand, main U.S. military strength in Asia is in Japan and Okinawa (62,000); South Korea, 42,000; the Philippines, 16,000; Taiwan, 5,000; and afloat with the U.S. Seventh Fleet, 27,000.

Forces Pruned Back

The United States also has 11,000 troops on Guam, and hefty contingents in Hawaii and Alaska.

Japan, where 65,000 U.S. forces have been pruned back during past months, and the Philippines, are now seen here as having added strategic importance.

Yet, there is some question here about how long the United States will be able to maintain large forces there, given pacific political feelings in Japan, and that country’s increasing links with the third world, particularly oil-producing nations.

Japan, moreover, has had strong reservations about use of its territory as a “staging base” for U.S. military action — such as air strikes — in Asia. Indeed, Thailand was used as a staging base during the direct American involvement in Vietnam and is currently used as a main transportation base for the airlift into Pinem Penh.
CASTRO OUT OF THE COLD

By DEAN MILLS

Washington—Henry A. Kissinger said yesterday that the United States "will consider changes in its bilateral relations" with Havana if the Organization of American States lifts its 11-year-old embargo on Cuba.

And the secretary of state, in a speech delivered in Houston, suggested that the US might go along with a move, backed by a majority of OAS members, to end that boycott.

Mr. Kissinger said the "guiding principle" of American policy is "to prevent the Cuba issue from dividing us from our hemispheric neighbors."

Noting that more than a decade has passed since the OAS voted to sever all diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba, Mr. Kissinger suggested that the embargo may have outlived its usefulness:

"The countries of Latin America have successfully resisted pressure and subversion that in the early Sixties felt most threatened by Cuba. Now, revolution violence no longer feels the menace so acutely."

"This situation has generated a reconsideration of the OAS sanctions and raised questions about the future of our own bilateral relations with Cuba."

At a meeting in Quito last November, 12 OAS members voted in favor of lifting the economic sanctions. That was two votes short of the two-thirds required under the terms of the Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

Since that vote, in which the United States abstained, OAS members tentatively have agreed to amend the Rio treaty so that sanctions could be lifted by a simple majority vote. Those members favoring an end to the Cuba boycott want to apply that change to the Cuban boycott.

Mr. Kissinger said he would consult with Latin American foreign ministers during a trip he plans to the area in April, "with the attitude of finding a generally acceptable solution."

American officials said yesterday that the United States probably would go along with the idea "if there is considerable sentiment for it" in the Latin capitals.

The officials said the boycott could in theory be lifted almost immediately if there is sufficient support for doing so. But as a practical matter, they said, it would probably take at least several months for the action to work its way through the OAS parliamentary process.

American officials have been saying privately for several months that the United States is interested in moving toward normalization of relations with Cuba. But yesterday's statement by Mr. Kissinger is the most explicit official expression of interest.

"If the OAS sanctions are eventually repealed," he said, "the United States will consider changes in its bilateral relations with Cuba and its regulations. Our decision will be based on what we consider to be in our own best interests, and will be heavily influenced by the external policies of the Cuban government."

"We see no virtue in perpetuating any kind of antimissile buildup between the United States and Cuba."

Mr. Kissinger noted that the United States has "taken some symbolic steps" to indicate that we are prepared to move in a new direction if Cuba will.

U.S. officials yesterday said those "symbolic steps" included the recent loosening of travel restrictions on Cuban diplomats assigned to the United Nations and the granting of permission to American firms to participate in business deals with Cuba. State Department spokesmen have previously insisted that such actions were isolated except to the extent that they were necessary, rather than signals of possible change.

At the same time, Mr. Kissinger said America's "historical relationship with Cuba must continue to be based on the principle that Cuba and the United States are not in a position to dominate each other."

The anti-Cuba ban has also become a cold war anachronism. The state of detente between Washington and Moscow may occasionally be wobbly, but a missile crisis like the one of 1962 is now almost impossible. In addition, any movement by the US towards Cuba must open the possibility of Cuba being prised away from the Soviet influence which the US helped build up by making Cuba a pariah. There will be stern bilateral differences to sort out between Washington and Havana: among them American property nationalised and the question of withdrawal from the base at Guantanamo. There are deals to be done on ideology, for Cuba has had success in brandishing the sanctity of the 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco among the Third World to the disadvantage of the US. More open relations will permit Cuba more easily to modernise its sugar industry and to restore more normal trading and political links within the area. The US will also have access to a market — and this was one more sign of the growing irrelevance of the ban — which has already been penetrated by the Argentinian and Canadian subsidiaries of American firms.

The device is significant for American relations with the OAS, for the US will be seen to be operating on a more equal basis with other Latin-American States. Often in the past it has been accused of using the OAS as its creature. Dr Kissinger has reached the position where he can both revive a frozen relationship and overthrow attitudes to neglected neighbours.

WASHINGTON POST
3 March 1975

Kissinger softens on Cuba

Kissinger links better relations, end of embargo

By DEAN MILLS

WASHINGTON — As the United States considers changes in its bilateral relations with Havana if the Organization of American States lifts its 11-year-old embargo on Cuba, the secretary of state yesterday suggested that the US might go along with a move, backed by a majority of OAS members, to end that boycott.

Mr. Kissinger said the "guiding principle" of American policy is "to prevent the Cuba issue from dividing us from our hemispheric neighbors."

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At the same time, Mr. Kin-
singer expressed concern about Cuba's "military relationships with countries outside the Hemisphere"—a reference to the military aid given Cuba by the Soviet Union and Communist countries.

And the secretary said that a "fundamental change cannot come... unless Cuba demonstrates a readiness to assume the mutuality of obligation and regard upon which a new relationship must be founded."

American officials said that would mean Cuban recognition of international standards of law and adherence to a standard of non-intervention in other countries' affairs. The United States has often cited Havana's self-proclaimed role as an exporter of revolution as one reason for maintaining the boycott.

But American diplomats have been saying for the last few months what some Latin officials have been saying for down its policy of encouraging revolution in the rest of Latin America.

And U.S. officials yesterday cited the favorable comments being made by Cuban officials about President Ford and Mr. Kissinger as encouraging signals from Havana.

In the speech yesterday, delivered to a luncheon meeting of several Houston-area civic clubs, Mr. Kissinger also said the United States is "ready to acknowledge that it is reasonable' for Panama to exercise jurisdiction over the Canal Zone and to participate in the operation of the canal."

From a Brazil Correspondent

Brazil's tentative steps towards liberalization have been accompanied in the past three or four weeks by a fresh wave of arrests and illegal detentions. More than 20 people are known to have disappeared during this period into the hands of the security forces, and numerous allegations of beatings and electrical torture have seeped through to the press. The victims have included doctors, lawyers and journalists.

One explanation for the reversion to official violence is that elements in the army are determined to keep the liberal tendencies of General Geisel's administration in check. This army pressure is directed as much against the president himself as against the opponents of illegal government. It could also provoke a test of strength within the army between hard-line and moderate factions.

The president, anxious not to break ranks, wants to crack down on "subversives" but he has promised to try them properly. His civilian justice minister, Mr. Armando Falcão, has been told to round up identifiable radical organisations. So far a Communist party printing press has been discovered in a Rio suburb, 23 people have been sentenced for forming a Maoist offshoot of the Communists, and no fewer than 120 alleged members of the National Liberation Alliance, a guerrilla group, are standing trial in São Paulo.

Although the question of human rights and the treatment of prisoners is no longer taboo in Brazil, it remains the sticking point in the process of political evolution. The Brazilian Democratic Movement—the opposition in congress—has been persuaded to avoid a confrontation on the issue. Two weeks ago opposition deputies came as close as they could to an outright clash over political detention, seeking to call Mr. Falcão to testify on the documented cases of 19 people who have been missing since last year and are feared dead. The justice minister's earlier written reply was that they had either been released or had left the country.

The government party, Arena, insisted that it would defeat any move to grill Mr. Falcão in congress, and cautioned against calling a commission of inquiry.

The leaders of the Democratic Movement backed down. They had little choice, knowing that in the face of more extreme pressures General Geisel remains their best ally. They have been given some concessions on other issues: a congressional inquiry into foreign investment in Brazil and a change in the system of fixing the minimum wage. Control of the unions and newspapers has been relaxed. But questions involving what is loosely termed "security" have been ruled out of bounds.

The hopes engendered by last November's election, when General Geisel held back the army and accepted an advance on all fronts by the opposition, have by no means been entirely crushed. But it has not taken long for the new congress to chart out its limits. Even some of the government importantly are not convinced of the value of political participation, a cornerstone of General Geisel's reforming strategy. The Arena leader in the lower house, Mr. Bonifácio, tried to defuse the human rights debate by stating that liberalization concerned only the elite. "The people are not interested in that," he declared. "Only we, politicians, journalists, the elite, are preoccupied. The people keep on going to the cinema and to football games."