Approved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80B01086A000900220030-7

JOHN ALEX MCCONE 612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET LOS ANGELES 90017 Executive Registry

6 February 1968

Dear Dick:

Arleigh Burke has asked me to comment on a series of articles on the Cuban Missile Crisis by Mario Lazo for possible publication in the Reader's Digest.

I have written my views on the articles and attach a copy of the letter. I can add nothing to what I have said in this letter, copy of which I have also sent to Dean Rusk.

Feeling that someone on your staff might at some point get into this question, I attach the complete file, including the chapters written by Mario Lazo which were forwarded to me by Arleigh Burke.

Warm personal regards,

Mr. Richard Helms
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C.

Melone

pproved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80B01086A000900220030-7 SENDER WILL CHECK CLASSICATION TOF AND BOTTOM UNCLASSIFIED ONFIDENTIAL OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP INITIALS DATE NAME AND ADDRESS то ī DD/P 2 3 4 5 6 DIRECT REPLY PREPARE REPLY ACTION APPROVAL DISPATCH RECOMMENDATION COMMENT FILE REYURN CONCURRENCE XXX INFORMATION SIGNATURE Remarks: Wasn't this Kirk's great friend? STAT FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO. DATE Richard Helms, The Director 8/2/68

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JOHN ALEX MS CONE 612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET LOS ANGELES 90017 Executive Re- 23

23 February 1968

Mr.	Mario	Lazo		

Dear Mr. Lazo:

This is a hurried reply to your letter of 12 February. In fact I am dictating this letter to you as I drive to the airport.

Understandably a book written by a man of your knowledge and connections and standing undoubtedly will be a valuable contribution to a public understanding of the developments in Cuba both before and after the Castro takeover. Also a discussion of the missile crisis quite naturally must be included in such a book. However, one is tempted — very tempted — to adopt the position that a military attack by air or indeed an invasion would be the best course to follow, but I am personally convinced that history would have dealt harshly with the United States had such action been taken.

I am confident that time will see Cuba restored to the community of nations of the Western Hemisphere and that she will again occupy her rightful position of importance and influence. I look upon the present period during which Cuba is going through the greatest of agony, with sadness, but I do not despair of the future.

With respect to the references to me personally, I am aware that a great deal has been written in periodicals and in books, including the book by Mr. Abel; therefore I take no exception to the references made to me with respect to the fears that I harbored long before the mid-range missiles were discovered; the warnings I issued and the fact that I, with others, took a "hard line". By itsued and that I felt that in one way or another the missiles must be removed if the United States was to remain secure.

Mr. Mario Lazo - 2

23 February 1968

I was convinced that the course adopted would in all probability accomplish our purposes and, furthermore, knew that if it did not then such actions as might be necessary to remove the threat would be taken. A sentence expressing my support of the actions taken would be satisfactory and you may, if you wish, add some reference to the possibility of further actions if the quarantine failed.

I would be delighted to see the final draft of your chapters and will look forward to reading your book. I have distributed only one copy of the chapters and that is in the hands of Mr. Helms, Director of the CIA -- with whom you are undoubtedly in touch. Incidentally, he and his associates in that organization hold you in the highest esteem.

I am leaving this morning for three weeks in the Bahamas and while I would be delighted to see you, such a meeting would have to take place late in March.

Yours very truly,

John A. McCone

STA

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MARIO LAZO	
	Executive Registry

February 12, 1968

The Honorable John A. McCone 612 South Flower Street Los Angeles, California 90017

Dear Mr. McCone:

Last Thursday I called Arleigh Burke to say I was about to write you that my wife and I would be glad to fly out to Los Angeles in case you would like to talk to me personally. He had just received your letter of February 6th., which he read to me over the telephone. I am afraid you have been unnecessarily disturbed over the material sent you. Permit me, please, to give you this background.

My plan originally was to write a book in Spanish which would be sold in Latin America as a paperback. Then one of my friends, a former client, suggested that it also appear in Portuguese for Brazil. He is the President of one of the largest American companies there and has a man who is qualified to make the translation. Finally the idea surfaced to have the book appear in hard cover in English. It has been completed except for the chapter on the Missile Crisis which will be one of about 25 chapters, perhaps 2 out of 26.

The book covers the Cuban events of the past decade but it has a lot to do with the history, culture and traditions of Latin America generally. Many of the leading personalities who participated in the Cuban events, both Cuban and American, are personal friends of mine. I have 3 chapters on the Bay of Pigs, the material for which I researched for five years. My conclusions are very different from those reached by Lyman Kirkpatrick. I am convinced that the invasion plan was a masterful plan and should have succeeded. We had many dealings with Castro and I once heard him say the invasion plan was excellent.

There was never any intention to publish the material you have in its present form. What you have was written hastily, as a first draft, and intended really to be a target to draw criticism. Nothing will ever be published over my name if I can be shown that it is not the truth. I have always felt that the greatest homage one can pay to truth is to seek it and adhere to it.

STA

STATOTHR

February 13, 1968

The Honorable John A. McCone 612 South Flower Street Los Angeles, California 90017

Dear Mr. McCone:

There are two items I forgot to mention in the letter I sent you yesterday:

- 1. Your views on the material Arleigh Burke sent you are fully known to the owners of the Reader's Digest. There was no hurry but I wrote them as soon as I heard from Arleigh.
- Although there is very little possibility that anything of mine on the missile crisis will appear in any magazine, I do not see how I can leave a corrected, documented account of it out of my book. Of course I will be more than glad to include the remarks you suggest -that you were a member of the Executive Committee, supported the course agreed upon, expressed no dissent and feel in retrospect that a delicate situation was handled properly.

The sole purpose of sending you the material was to have the advantage of being able to incorporate any suggestion you might care to make.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours.

STA

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JOHN ALEX MCCONE
612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES 90017

Executive Registry

U7-5241

November 3, 1967

Dear Dick,

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Attached are two documents prepared by George Lenczowski, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. Both relate to the current situation in the Middle East.

There is nothing in the papers that will be new to your area specialists, however, I thought they might add to your very considerable inventory of information on the Middle East situation and related problems.

With warm personal regards,

Simperel

Mr. Richard Helms Director Central Intelligence Agency Washington, D. C.

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Executive Registry

67-3914

15 August 1967

Mr. Terence M. Lee 612 South Flower

Los Angeles, California

Dear Terry:

Under separate cover I am sending you the book which is mentioned in the attached letter which you may wish to acknowledge.

Since rely,

25X1A

STAT

Executive Assistant

Enclosure

Distribution:

- 0 Addressee w/basic letter and book under separate cover
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(15 August 1967)

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Executive Registry

JOHN ALEX MS CONE
612 SOUTH FLOWER STREET
LOS ANGELES 90017

June 27, 1967

Dear Dick,

Coro Foundation is a local San Francisco/Los Angeles organization that does nothing but train young men and women to serve in Government positions -- Federal, State or local.

I suggest you pass this on to your personnel people who might not be familiar with this source (although a limited source) of administrative personnel with some training.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. Richard Helms
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD TELEGRAM

PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International
Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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ATTN MANAGER

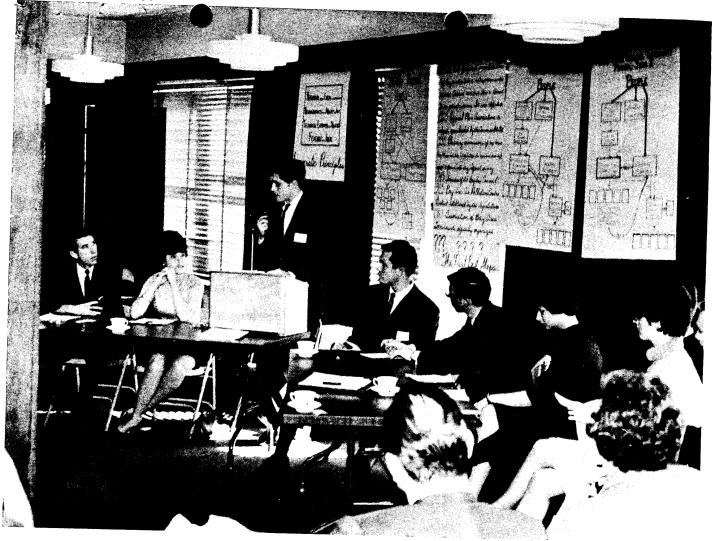
THE GROWTH AND NATIONAL ACCLAIM GIVEN CCRO FOUNDATION IS INDICATIVE OF ITS SUCCESS. BUT THERE IS STILL A GREAT NEED FOR OUR CITIZENS TO BE MORE AWARE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND PROGRAMS THAT FURTHER THIS AIM MUST BE ENCOURAGED. ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA, I EXTEND TO CORO FOUNDATION APPRECIATION OF ITS SERVICE AND BEST WISHES FOR MANY MORE YEARS OF SUCCESSFUL ACTIVITY. TO THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CORO INTERNS WHO ARE THIS EVENING CELEBRATING THE COMPLETION OF MANY HECTIC, EXASPERATING, BUT EDUCATION AND REWARDING MONTHS OF CORD ASSIGNMENTS, I EXTEND BEST WISHES AND MY HOPE THAT THEY WILL ENTER PUBLIC LIFE AND GOVERNMENT

SF1201(R2-65)

SINCERELY,

RONALD REAGAN GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA ..

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Since 1947 in San Francisco and since 1958 in Los Angeles, Coro Foundation has conducted its Internship in Public Affairs - the oldest continued internship of its kind in California.

Of the more than 300 graduates, some 55% are directly employed in government, political work and public affairs. But this is only part of the story. Other graduates, whether housewives or stockbrokers, are almost without exception, active citizens serving on school boards, state and local commissions, etc.

Government Service Business, professions, journalism LL.B. & Ph.D. Candidates	33.1% 23.8	33.1%
Homemaking and volunteer work Civic & professional organizations Teaching & educational administration Party officials, campaign specialists Deceased or unaccounted for	8.3 9.2 11.3 7.7 3.3 3.3	11.3 7.7 3.3
	100.0%	55.4%

CORO FOUNDATION

RECORD OF

LOS ANGELES

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KAREN J. BAUCUS, '66 Social Worker County of Los Angeles

MARVIN R. BAXTER, '63
investigator
District Attorney's Office
Fresno County

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ROBERT F. BEYER, 164 Admin. Asst. to City Manager City of Menlo Park

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Director, Econ. Opportunity Council
City & County of San Francisco

F. JAMES BROWNE, '56 Community Relations Officer Bay Area Rapid Transit Distr.

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East Bay Municipal Utility Distr.

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County of Alameda

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Republican Central Comm., S. F.

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EDWARD GERBER, '60 Sr. Admin. Analyst County of San Diego

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Ass't to the Gen. Mgr.
Bay Area Rapid Transit Distr:

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Assistant General Manager
Oakland-Alameda Coliseum

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Assistant Planner
City Planning Department, Oakland

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 Comm. on Government Organization
 California State Assembly
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- O. James Pardau, '60 Consultant, Assembly Committee on Nat'l Resources, Planning & Public Wks. California State Assembly

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 Joint Legislative Budget Comm.
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 Office of Economic Opportunity
 State of California
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Eastern Region - Lockheed Aircraft

GEORGE W.F. CLIFT, '57 American Consulate General Guayaquil, Ecuador

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Administrative Assistant
Economic Devel. Institute
World Bank

HELEN DEWAR, '58
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Washington Post & Times Herald

H. GLEN FISHBACH, '52 Chief Administrator Peace Corps, Iran

CAPT. DONALD M. GRAYDON, '59 United States Army Viet Nam

SAMUEL T. HATA, '62 Fiscal Management Officer East-West Center, Hawaii

JOHN E. HEAN, '48

Management Analyst

Department of Public Health
District of Columbia

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Executive Secretary
Calif. Conservation League for
Legislative Action

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MARK GALLON, '59 Dir. of Special Events City of Hope

DANIEL P. GOODWIN, '59
Administrative Assistant
The Salvation Army Youth Center

DAVID JOHNSON, '51 Chief Educ'l Opportunities Grants Branch Office of Education, H.E.W.

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Office of Post Comptroller
Fort Meade, Maryland

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Farm Workers Opportunity Project
Oxnard, California

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Assistant to Director
Nat'l Instit. of Public Health
Washington, D.C.

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PATRICIA M. MC FEELY, '64
Pacific Coast Reg. Office Field Rep.
Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity

BARBARA J. MONAT, '62 Personnel Specialist Internal Revenue Service

EDWARD J. NICHOLAS, '65 E.D.P. Specialist Republican National Committee

LT. COL. ROGER L. RANCK, '49
Executive Officer, Director of
Surveillance & Reconnaissance;
Ass't Chief of Staff for Intelligence

HENRY SAMORISKI, '49 Consultant to Rep. of Indonesia A.I.D., State Department

ALEX A. SILVA, JR., '62 Administrative Assistant Nat'l Instit. of Public Affairs Washington, D.C.

RONALD F. THAHELD, '57
Program Coordinator
Mid-Willamette Valley
Community Action Program, Oregon

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Calif. Agricultural Conference

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Associate Director
Bay Area Health Facilities Planning
Association

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Peninsula Manufacturers Assn.

PAUL J. RICHARDS, '59
Executive Secretary
San Joaquin Co. Econ. Devel. Assn.

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GROVER SIMMONS, '58 Regional Manager Governmental Relations Calif. Assn. of Manufacturers

DOUGLAS E. STWEART, '62 Dir. Community Relations Planned Parenthood, Inc.

THOMAS W. SULLIVAN, '47 Assoc. Director United Crusade, Sacramento

BARBARA T. WILLIAMSON, '55 Staff Associate Taconic Foundation, N.Y.

February, 1967

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Helms via

Admiral Taylor

Attached is a proposed response to Mr. McCone about recruiting at the Coro Foundation.

Recommend your signature.

STAT

K. L. bannerman

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Approved For Release 2006/01/03 : CIA-RDP80B01086A000900220

FORM NO. 10 REPLACES FORM 10-101

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Executive Registry

67-3498

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

21 July 1967

Mr. John A. McCone
Joshua Hendy Corporation
612 South Flower Street
Los Angeles, California 90

90017

Dear John:

Rather than attempting to cover these points with you on the telephone, I am sending along the paper itself, which should be easier for you to handle. It is unclassified, as you will note, and was written at my request for a talk with you.

I assume that this is what you wanted.

Cordially,

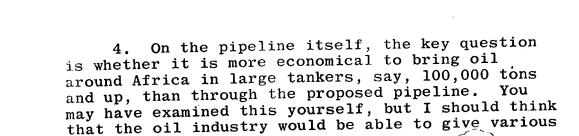
Richard Helms

Attachment - 1

ER).

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR DCI'S USE IN CONVERSATION WITH MR. McCONE

- 1. I have had my people examine your proposal about a buffer zone running along the Egyptian-Israeli border. The reaction of most was that this would be a very difficult thing to get the Egyptians to agree to, because it would involve Egypt in giving up sacred Arab soil and would mean at least passively admitting the end of belligerency toward Israel. Some thought that the Egyptians would almost automatically look on a buffer zone proposal as a Western attempt to trick them into doing something which was favorable to Israel.
- Despite the political difficulties, it deserves further study. If such a buffer zone proposal were to be put into effect, the Egyptians would have to gain from it in some manner or at the very least not appear to lose. You mentioned that matters could be arranged so that the Egyptians would get considerable profits from the oil pipeline to be built across this buffer zone. This would be one element. The political angle is more important. For example, the major Arab participation in this international project might help; so would the incorporation of a slice of Israeli territory in this buffer zone. (The Israelis would probably refuse, though.) This could not run all the way from the Gult of Aqaba to the Mediterranean because at the lower end any strip of territory would have to include the Israeli Port of Eilat and that would be out of the question. The proposal would be more acceptable to the Egyptians if it came from European sources rather than from the United States.
- 3. The Egyptians are probably aware that the Israelis themselves have talked of building a pipeline from Eilat to the Mediterranean. Your proposal could be put to them as a way in which they could prevent Israel from building that pipeline, thus getting the profits from it themselves.



cost figures.

- In the matter of international facilities other than a pipeline, you are no doubt aware that this is one of the most barren and arid There is very little rainspots in the world. fall, and only a small population, along the northern coast between El Arish and the Gaza Strip. There is some underground water flowing north down from the mountains to the south. Any extensive agriculture work would require either large scale de-salinization or the discovery of underground water resources in quantities considerably larger than those known to exist. An Egyptian drilling program in recent years has brought in some more water from artesian wells. This could support some more people at substance levels, but not very The shortage of water would of course affect any other international facilities -- educational, research, free port, or whatever -- which might be constructed in this twenty mile buffer zone. Water problems of course are not insoluble. Kuwait supports a population of nearly one-half million almost entirely on de-salted sea water.
 - 6. In many ways a buffer zone along the Syrian-Israeli border would be easier to deal with in physical terms. This in an area which has a population, in normal times, of about 100,000 people. It has a certain amount of farm land, but it is by no means one of the more fertile parts of Syria. It would be entirely feasible to have surface connection between Northern Jordan and the sea through Lebanon through this area. This would be of benefit to Jordan because of assured access, even if longer than the direct route West from Aman, given Jordan's usually bad relations with Syria.

Executive Registry

1 4 JUL 1967

Mr. John Alex McCone
612 South Flower Street
Los Angeles, California 90017

Dear John,

STATINTL

	I have checked int	o the question of the delay in contact
with		which you referred to in your letter of
July	7. There has in fac	been an administrative delay which is
now	resolved and the app	propriate office will very shortly be
	ing in touch with	as you suggested.

STATINTL

I much appreciate your interest in this matter and thank you for calling the problem to my attention.

With warm personal regards,

/s/ Richard Helms

Sincerely.

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22 July 1963

Dear Mr. McCone:

I enclose the report of the committee of consultants which you appointed to examine the estimative process in the light of the Cuban experience and to make recommendations for improving it.

Sincerely yours,

/signed/

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

Dayton-Stockton Professor of History

Princeton University

Contents:

Introduction
Recommendations
Annex A, "Preconceived Notions"
Annex B, Rejected Proposals

Approved For Release 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B01086A000900220030-7 INTRODUCTION

- 1. On 17 May, 1963, the Director of Central Intelligence asked Professors Robert Bowie of Harvard, Klaus Knorr of Princeton, Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton, and Col. George Lincoln of the U. S. Military Academy to examine the estimative process in the light of the Cuban experience, and to make recommendations for improving it. Professor Bowie received a form of consultant's contract not compatible with his other committments and this mistake was not corrected in time to make it possible for him to serve on the committee. The other three members of the committee met for three days (8, 9, and 10 July 1963), in the office of ONE, exchanged draft proposals during the next week, and met again on 18 July to discuss the final form of their report.
- 2. It is obvious that no thorough investigation of the estimative process could be made in this brief period. A number of estimates dealing with Cuba and the USSR were read, two development files were studied, and a few members (or former members) of ONE were interviewed. As consultants, the members of the committee have read, over the past few years, a number of estimates, both in final and in draft form. In addition, Dr. Strayer was a member of the Board of National Estimates from July 1953 to September 1954. Nevertheless, none of us feels that he is in any position to make emphatic and final judgments about existing estimative procedures.

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- 3. Two of the committee believe that a study on depth of the estimative process by a small group of informed outsiders (not ourselves, we hasten to add) might yield valuable results. Such a study would require access to all constituents of the intelligence community and knowledge of personnel as well as procedures. It would take several weeks, if not months. For these reasons the third member of the committee believes the project is not feasible, and he doubts that it would be useful.
- 4. The discussion and suggestions which follow are only opinions offered by partially informed outsiders. Perhaps we are fairly typical consumers, and our report might be taken as representing the reactions of some consumers to estimates. But we should emphasize that we have not studied the problem in depth, and that therefore many of our suggestions may be superfluous, impractical, or just wrong-headed. We should also emphasize that our suggestions deal almost entirely with details of procedure, and that even the best procedure will not guarantee good estimates. The essential thing is to find and retain men who have wide knowledge, broad vision and good judgment. As long as the intelligence community has such men it will do a good job, whatever its procedures.

COL. GEORGE LINCOLN KLAUS E. KNORR JOSEPH R. STRAYER CHAIRMAN

The best way to remedy any deficiencies which occur in the estimative process is to have full and careful discussion of each problem. In theory the present machinery should ensure such a discussion. In practice, we believe that there are some obstacles and we offer the following suggestions as means of reducing or removing these obstacles.

1) Cut down the number of coordinated papers.

Men who have too much to do in too short a time may not see all possibilities or sense the full impact of changed conditions. Pressure to meet deadlines forces limitation of discussion. Effort devoted to trivial papers means less time and energy for major problems. It would require more knowledge than we possess to determine what papers should be eliminated, but we suspect that many "country papers" fall in this category. We also suspect that requests for coordinated papers are made, and accepted, too easily. But in any case, there is overloading and it has bad results.

(Note that we do <u>not</u> recommend any increase in personnel. The number of people now involved in the estimative process is about as large as can be used efficiently. More people would simply mean more specialization and more meetings. What is needed is the

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Approved F elease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010 A000900220030-7 overall view and time in which to develop and discuss it. This can be done only by a small group of carefully selected men).

- 2) Make sure that there are always men with a wide variety of views and experience on the Board of

 National Estimates. The present distribution of membership on the Board seems well designed to achieve this end.

 As we understand it, it includes a core of men with long experience in intelligence, other men who have worked in the foreign or armed services, and a younger group who will move on to other positions after a few years on the Board.

 We suggest that it might be helpful when there are vacancies to add two or three rotating members who would serve for only a year or so. These men could be borrowed from other branches of the government or from universities. If properly selected, they could contribute new ideas and encourage re-examination of accepted formulae.
- of the community are fully represented in contributions and coordination meetings. Here our knowledge is limited and our recommendations are only tentative. We believe that

Approved For Release 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010 A000900220030-7 that the pullem of overloading is even more serious outside CIA than inside. Some representatives apparently have little time to inform themselves or to think about the problems which they are supposed to discuss. We are also uneasy about the tendency to concentrate military contributions in the DIA. There are often sharp differences of opinion among the armed services. Expression of these differences can be very helpful in forming sound judgments.

- 4) Call in a small group of consultants when difficult problems are to be discussed. We advance this idea with some hesitation and we realize that it might cause more trouble than it was worth. But it might be a way of getting new points of view and of avoiding blind spots. Two or three consultants would probably have a greater impact than a single outsider who might hesitate to contradict the insiders.
- 5) Indicate in some way when earlier estimates are being quoted or paraphrased. There are many ways of doing this (footnotes, quotation marks, etc.) and any one would be satisfactory. But attention should be called to repetitions, in the hope that this would lead to re-examination of accepted positions.

Approved Felease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010 A000900220030-6) somewhat bolder in estimating the impact

of U. S. policy and attitudes on the rest of the world. This is a difficult and dangerous task because it can lead to implied criticisms of U. S. policy. But it seems to us that failure to do this is one reason why preconceived ideas (which are still correct) sometimes cause faulty estimates. To be specific: if the Kremlin in the early months of 1962 had reason to think that the posture and resolution of the U. S. were weak, then it should obviously have estimated that the risks of the Cuban adventure were not unduly high. Thus the accepted doctrine that the USSR would avoid grave risks was probably correct; the error was caused by the failure to estimate that the Kremlin estimate of U. S. policy had changed.

methods of foreign intelligence organizations available
to estimators. We believe, for example, that the Kremlin
attaches more importance to certain kinds of evidence, and
less to others, than the U. S. intelligence community would
do. We suspect that what information has been acquired
about Soviet intelligence procedures is not very widely
disseminated. But if the Kremlin does use a peculiar scale

Approved For Release 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010 A000900220030-7 in weighing evidence and if this is not generally known, then the result is bound to be a faulty estimate. One reason for inadequate estimates on Cuba in 1962 was that the intelligence community, as a whole, believed that Soviet leaders must realize how dangerous the introduction of IRBM's and MRBM's would be. Better knowledge of Soviet intelligence procedures might have made it possible to suggest that the Kremlin was undervaluing the evidence which should have led it to this conclusion.

8) Keep a constant watch for signs that a mutation in an existing pattern is about to take place. This is probably a superfluous and useless recommendation. Certainly everyone is on the look-out for such signs and it is much easier to identify them in retrospect than at the moment when they occur. Existing patterns can accommodate themselves to a large number of new ingredients and gradual changes bring about only gradual shifts in policy. But there are some new ingredients so large or so sharp that they may break the old pattern and it is not entirely impossible to identify these. Again to be specific, in 1962 the unprecedented situation in Cuba and the Sino-Soviet dispute were probably such ingredients.

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9) Make a few validity studies in deput. At present,

validity studies usually involve only a comparison between a new estimate and the immediately preceding estimate on the same topic. Often there has not been enough change in the interval between the two papers to reveal errors or biases. Our experience in studying the Cuban series of estimates leads us to believe that there would be some value in making, from time to time, a validity study of a whole group of related papers. This might expose persistent biases, rigidities, and inconsistencies. We know that one such study of a group of Soviet estimates was made some years ago. We suggest that more exercises of this sort would be useful, but with the caveat that if they became too frequent (say more than one or two a year) their value would sharply decrease. We also suggest that some of these studies be made by consultants, both to reduce the burden on the ONE Staff and to ensure a fresh point of view.

Next to the problem of full discussion comes the problem of communication. It seems to be fairly well agreed that estimates often leave less impact than they should, and that important ideas are missed by hasty readers. Nothing can be done to change the fact that everyone

Approved For Belease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010 A000900220030-7 in government had on much to read and that hasty eaders will always miss significant points. No one style or form of presentation will be equally effective with all readers. But perhaps something can be done to make it easier for most consumers to read estimates with more understanding.

- 1) Put key sentences at the beginning of each section of the estimate, e.g. "We believe that the food problem in Cuba is (is not) causing unrest." Reasons for the statement should follow. At present many important statements are made only after a long list of pro's and con's and thus lose their full impact. Conclusions, as now written, do not always remedy this fault. Perhaps a string of key sentences at the beginning of an estimate would be better.
- which might have serious consequences, even if the estimate is that they are highly unlikely. Too many readers think that "probably not" equals "never," or that "the possibility cannot be excluded" actually means that it is excluded.

 Positive rather than negative formulae would help, but we must confess that we are not very good at devising them.

 Perhaps a phrase such as "there is at least a twenty per

Approved For Belease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B01086 A000900220030-7 cent chand hat" approaches what we need And perhaps a little more argumentation showing the advantages which might result from the adoption of unlikely courses of action would make the consumer take them more seriously.

- readers find much that is familiar in estimates, especially in the larger estimates. This lulls them into missing useful new material.* Perhaps some typographical device (e.g. side-lining) could be used to indicate places where significant new ideas and facts are introduced. Or perhaps more of the historical and purely descriptive material could be put in annexes.
- 4) Make sure that the consumer is reminded of key items in other estimates. This is probably an

^{*}For example, there was a very important change in the Cuban estimate of 19 September, 1962 (SNIE 85-3-62). Up to that time, all estimates and memoranda had asserted that the USSR had little to gain by placing MRBM's or IRBM's in Cuba. SNIE 85-3-62, on the contrary, pointed out that the Kremlin might see decided advantages in such a deployment. But no emphasis was put on the fact that this was a changed estimate and we suspect that few readers noticed the shift. One of our group reading the Cuban estimates seriatim (which few consumers ever have time to do) still failed to observe the fact that there had been a change on this highly significant point.

Approved For elease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B0108 000900220030-7 unnecessar caution, but there is some darker that drafters

of an estimate will assume that consumers remember related estimates as well as they do. For example, in SNIE 85-3-62 a little more emphasis might have been placed on the fact that the estimate of the number of operational Soviet ICBM's had recently been sharply reduced.

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"Preconceived Notions"

In response to one of the requests put before us, we have examined the estimates on Cuba from January 8 to September 19, 1962.

It is generally acknowledged that there was a failure of intelligence, in the sense that USIB did not warn the government that the Soviets might be planning to place offensive ballistic missiles in Cuba, and indeed suggested that such a decision was unlikely, though not impossible.

This failure has been widely attributed to the presence of "preconceived notions" which prevented ONE, and in fact the entire intelligence community from making a proper judgment. We therefore find it useful to make some observations on the function, utility and drawbacks of such preconceived notions. To do so is in fact indispensable to any search for remedies designed to minimize these drawbacks.

In dealing with a major country, intelligence officers approach their task with a set of expectations of likely patterns of behavior.

This is especially true in the case of the Soviet Union, the most frequent target of intelligence. This set of expectations, sometimes called preconceived notions, is based on a professional knowledge of political structures, processes and personalities in the country concerned. It is the distillate of years of experience and has been tested by, and refined through, repeated intelligence estimates. It must be understood

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Approved For Belease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B01086A000900220030-7 that the formulation such a set of expectations about a country's likely patterns of behavior is both inevitable and indispensable. It is inevitable that, in doing their job, professionals will, more or less deliberately, build up the set. It is indispensable because the set is a most valuable tool in producing timely, coherent, articulate and, on a probability basis, accurate intelligence. If no pattern can be established, then prediction is almost impossible, and significant variations can be demonstrated only by comparison with an already accepted norm.

Nevertheless, these sets of expectations have their limitations and drawbacks. The history of intelligence is full of instances in which an opponent achieved surprise by adopting a course of action that seemed unlikely in view of the set of expectations dominant among intelligence officers. The Japanese attack in Pearl Harbor is one of the most conspicious examples. We are not concerned here with what may be called "technical surprise." A "technical surprise" is not incompatible with the prevalent set of expectations. The surprise occurs because the opponent was successful in concealing a particular capability or in keeping a particular course of action secret. We are concerned with an opponent's behavior that surprises because it is incompatible, or seems to be incompatible, with our prevalent set of expectations.

There are three possible causes of this type of surprise.

First, the opponent's basic pattern of behavior may change as a result of changes in leadership or various other important conditions,

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Approved For elease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010 000900220030-7 and our set of expectations may not register this challe quickly and correctly. Our set, in other words, is out-of-date. Intelligence professionals must obviously be on the alert for such changes and, generally, take care that their working set of expectations does not become obsolete, stale or unduly rigid.

Second, the opponent may act irrationally. Irrational behavior is, of course, very difficult, if not impossible to predict. It may take all sorts of directions that make no sense to the rational mind. Only if a country's leadership has a record of frequent lapses into irrationality will this observed fact become incorporated into our set of expectations. But even then the estimate of future behavior will be extremely difficult.

Third, the opponent may adopt a course of action that seems to us to be in conflict with our set of expectations, but actually is not.

A set of expectations is based on the attitudes and predispositions that, we have learned, strongly affect the opponent's behavior. The important point to note is that attitudes, though they shape behavior, do not determine it. Behavior also depends upon the information which the opponent possesses. It is this information which brings his attitudes into play and which gives him a basis for calculating the advantages and disadvantages of a course of action. Hence, we may go wrong in an estimate, not because our set of expectations is faulty, but because we assume that the opponent acts

Approved For elease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B0108 000900220030-7 this source of possible intelligence failure, we require not only a good set of expectations but also some idea of the information that the opponent uses in his cost-gains calculus.

We do not think that the failure of the intelligence community to predict the Soviet deployment of medium range missiles resulted essentially from its set of "preconceived notions" about the Soviet Union. In our opinion, the community's set of expectations was, at that time at least, sophisticated and realistic. According to the set, the Soviet Union was considered unlikely to depart from its cautious behavior in the military field or to undertake actions involving a high risk of war with the United States. That this expectation about Soviet behavior was basically correct was, after all, confirmed by the great caution with which Khrushchev acted when the missile crisis broke in October.

Nor do we believe, as some experts have suggested, that the Soviet decision was largely irrational. It is true that the Berlin statement, Chinese criticism, and possible differences of opinion within the Soviet leadership had put Khrushchev under some pressure to score a success in foreign policy. It is also true that during the last year he has seemed somewhat less sure of himself than before and has abruptly reversed himself on several issues. But while he and other members of the top leadership may have been perplexed by current difficulties there is no evidence to suggest that they became reckless gamblers. At the

Approved For Belease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010864000900220030-7 they would have beet under other circumstances. A strong case can be made for arguing that Soviet behavior was entirely compatible with rational decision-making.

We believe that more important factors in the Soviet decision were inadequate information and, resulting from this, an erroneous assessment of the situation. They did not have the fund of information about the mood and temper of the US government and people which the intelligence community thought they must possess. They saw the balance of advantages and disadvantages differently from the way Washington officials thought they should see it. It is in this area that the intelligence community failed although we defer for the moment the question of the extent to which the community can be held accountable for the failure.

It is fairly clear in retrospect that the intelligence community both underestimated the gains that Moscow believed it could derive from introducing offensive missiles in Cuba and overestimated the risks which the Kremlin thought it ran in adopting this course of action. In reading the various estimates seriatim, we were struck by the fact that, although the question of the deployment in Cuba of Soviet medium-range missiles was raised in a Memorandum to the Director of January 8, 1962, it was concluded repeatedly until early September that the Soviet Union could not thereby add substantially to its strategic capabilities. The reason given was that targets in the United States capable of being reached by medium-range missiles from Cuba were already covered by ICBM's

Approved For elease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010 000900220030-7 deployed on Soviet territory. Only on September 6 were doubts raised about this conclusion. The Special NIE of September 19, conceded that Soviet planners might see some advantage in deploying IRBM's and MRBM's in Cuba in order to supplement the limited number of ICBM's believed to be operational in the Soviet Union. The delay in coming to this conclusion is surprising in view of the fact that it had been estimated several months earlier that the USSR had only a small number of operational ICBM's. In this situation one obvious way for the Soviet Union to supplement its small force of ICBM's was to deploy a proportion of its large supply of mediumrange missiles within appropriate striking distance of the United States. We are not, in fact, sure that such a deployment constituted, objectively, a substantial improvement of their strategic position, though Soviet planners, of course, may well have thought so. We are sure, however, that the Soviet Union would have gained enormously in prestige and, indirectly, greatly in the military balance of power and deterrence, if it had succeeded in installing "offensive" missiles in Cuba and maintaining them there. Soviet leaders, like all rational leaders, must be expected to accept a higher level of risk for great gains than for small gains. We note that this was not acknowledged in the estimates we examined.

Even when it was admitted that the Soviet Union might secure possible strategic advantages by employing IRBM's and MRBM's in Cuba (SNIE 85-3-62, September 19, 1962), the conclusion remained that the Soviets proved the Release 2006/01/63 2006-1009-20080-7 at

Approved For glease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010 000900220030-7 and acceptance of sorreat a risk would represent a arp departure from Soviet practice. This was the crucial view that prevented assigning any high degree of probability to the course of action that the USSR pursued. However, this view was justified only if the Kremlin assessed the risk factor approximately as it was assessed in Washington. The intelligence community thought that the risk was very high. It knew it to be so. Yet it is fairly clear in retrospect that the Soviet leaders did not share this knowledge, that they assessed the risk at a lower level and that, given this assessment, their deployment of "offensive" missiles in Cuba, did not seem unduly risky to them. In that case, their action did not, as they saw it, constitute a sharp departure from their normally cautious military behavior.

The extent to which the intelligence community can be held accountable for neglecting the possible gap between their information and our information is not clear to us. Such gaps are a possible source of intelligence failure to which the professional should be alert. In retrospect it would certainly have been better if the possibility of this gap, and its possible implications, had been acknowledged in the estimates. If it had been, it might have qualified the impact of an erroneous conclusion.

On the other hand, it is patently very difficult for our intelligence services to have sufficient knowledge of Soviet intelligence to ascertain or predict intelligence failures in the Soviet Union. Moreover, there Approved For Release 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B01086A000900220030-7

Approved For Release 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B0103 A0000900220030-7 is reason to believe that much of the intelligence continuity, including ONE, is not provided with such knowledge of Soviet intelligence activities, and their organization as is available to a part of the community. Yet this is the kind of knowledge which would have been required for a correct prediction of the Soviet move in Cuba.

Moreover, the intelligence officer is also handicapped in speculating about national differences in estimating the risk of particular courses of action as long as he may not take relevant United States policies fully into account, and have adequate information about these policies and their implementation to the extent that they are known, or must be assumed to be known, to the Soviet Union.

However, even if these handicaps were removed, or at least appreciably diminished, the consumer of intelligence would be wrong to expect the intelligence community to be able in all cases to obtain sufficient information on the opponent's estimates of the advantages and disadvantages of contemplated courses of action. For this reason alone, and not necessarily as a result of "preconceived notions," the best intelligence service cannot help failing from time to time. It would be unfair and utterly unrealistic, in our opinion, to expect otherwise.

On the other hand, the inevitability of occasional failure does not justify either complacency or resignation. No organization stays at the same level of performance over a long time -- if only because

Approved Formelease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B010 000900220030-7 of changes in personnel -- and there may always be com for improve-

ment. There are good reasons for reviewing institutional practices from time to time with a view of raising the batting average by a few per cent.

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Rejected Proposals

We have considered, and have rejected as impractical, the following proposals.

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- I) "Devil's advocates", professional dissenters, etc.

 We hope that the intelligence community will always include tough-minded, skeptical individuals who will advance unpopular ideas and who will query accepted doctrine. But any attempt to institutionalize this function would be self-defeating. No one can be skeptical all the time and the views of a man who was being paid to act as a professional dissenter would not carry great weight.
- 2) Dual or multiple estimates. For example, one group might make an estimate from the Soviet point of view while another estimated the same problem from the US point of view. The difficulty here is what to do in case of disagreement. Either some higher group would reach a final decision, in which case we would be back where we started, or the consumer would make a final estimate, in which case the community would have abdicated its responsibility. Moreover, there is certain artificiality about this procedure which would probably erode its value very quickly.

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estimates, and encourage dissents. It is possible that under pressure of time some dissents which might have been helpful are never made. But while a few footnotes are useful in alerting the consumer to the difficulties of a problem a steady diet of footnotes would blunt his attention. If there were too many points on which agreement could not be reached the consumer would have to make his own estimate and the community would again have abdicated its responsibility. In short, dissents on minor points should not be encouraged, and it seems unlikely that dissents on major points are, or could be suppressed. We note that in the Cuban estimates of 1962 (and in others which we can remember) the worst mistakes were not caused by suppressing disagreements or by watering down correct judgments in order to obtain an agreed text. They were caused by mistaken judgments which were held almost unanimously throughout the intelligence community.

4) Make more effort to keep estimates up-to-date by issuing frequent revisions. Carried to an extreme, this would obviously lead to a confusion between estimates and current intelligence. Even a moderate increase in the number of revisions would probably do more harm than good by forcing

estimators to concentrate on minor fluctuations in policy rather Approved For Release 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B01086A000900220030-7

Approved For elease 2006/01/03: CIA-RDP80B0108 A000900220030-7 than on longer ange problems. When an estimate has been overtaken by events nothing can be gained by issuing a hasty revision which simply says that the preceding estimate was wrong. When a situation has gone operational revision of earlier estimates should wait until there are some firm indications of new policies and courses of action. At this point current intelligence will give policy-makers the flow of information which they require. To refer once more to our case study, we doubt that more frequent revisions of the basic estimates on Cuba between 1 August and 19 September, 1962 would have changed the opinions held by the intelligence community in any important way.

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