

Tentative Schedule

CONFERENCE ON THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY AND COVERT ACTIONS

1202 New Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Thursday September 12, 1974

- 9:00 - 9:15 Organization of Conference - Robert Borosage, Director,  
Center for National Security Studies
- 9:15 - 9:30 Introductory Remarks - Senator Edward W. Brooke
- 9:30 -10:45 The Structure and Scope of the Intelligence Community -  
Victor Marchetti and John Marks, Co-Authors,  
The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence
- 10:50 -12:10 A Review of Covert Operations Abroad: To What End? -  
David Wise, Author, The Politics of Lying
- 12:15 - 1:30 Lunch Break
- 1:40 - 3:00 Covert Actions Abroad: A Review of the "Successes"  
Roger Morris, Director, Humanitarian Policy  
Studies Program, Carnegie Endowment for  
International Peace
- 3:10 - 4:30 Surreptitious Entry: Covert Operations in the United States -  
Thomas Ross, Co-Author, The Invisible Government
- 4:35 - 5:45 National Security Comes Home: The CIA and Watergate  
Walter Pincus, Associate Editor, The New Republic
- 6:00 - 7:00 Dinner Break
- 7:30 - 8:30 Covert Actions and International Law  
Richard Falk and Marc Blaseus, Princeton University

Friday September 13, 1974

- 9:10 -10:20 The Technology of Intelligence  
Herbert Scoville, Federation of American Scientists
- 10:25 -11:30 The CIA and the Constitution  
Robert Borosage

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- 11:35 - 12:45 Covert Operations and Decision-Making  
Morton Halperin, Consultant, Center for National  
Security Studies
- 12:50 - 2:00 Lunch Break
- 2:00 - 3:00 The CIA in Southeast Asia  
Fred Branfman, Director, Indochina Resource Center
- 3:10 - 4:00 The View From Langley  
William Colby, Director, Central Intelligence Agency
- 4:10 - 5:30 The Unnecessary Intelligence  
Richard Barnet, Director, Institute for Policy Studies

Adjournment

Conference Participants

Writers-Speakers:

Richard Barnet, Co-Director of the Institute for Policy Studies, is the author of numerous books and articles on national security questions, including The Roots of War and the forthcoming Global Reach (Simon and Schuster 1975).

Marc Blaseus is a Research Associate of the Institute for World Order.

Robert Borosage, Director of the Center for National Security Studies, is a Washington attorney formerly with the Institute for Policy Studies.

Fred Branfman, Director of the Indochina Resource Center, is an author of numerous articles on America's role in Indochina, Laos: War and Revolution and The Presidential War in Laos, 1964-70.

William Colby is Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. He was formerly Deputy Director of Plans, the Agency's Covert Operations Division.

Morton Halperin, formerly a staff member of the National Security Council and a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, is senior consultant for the Center for National Security Studies.

Victor Marchetti, a former staff officer in the office of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, is co-author of The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence.

John Marks, a former staff assistant to the Director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, is co-author of The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence.

Roger Morris, a former staff member of the National Security Staff, is presently Director of the Humanitarian Policy Studies Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Walter Pincus is Associate Editor of the New Republic and served as a Director of Special Investigations of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Thomas Ross, Chief of the Washington Bureau of the Chicago Sun-Times, is a co-author of The Invisible Government.

Herbert Scoville is a former Assistant Director for Scientific Intelligence of the Central Intelligence Agency and a former Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He currently serves as Secretary to the Federation of American Scientists.

David Wise is a writer based in Washington and co-author of The Invisible Government. His latest book is The Politics of Lying.

Panelists and  
Discussants:

Edward Brown is a consultant to the Center for National Security Studies.

Ivanhoe Donaldson is a former member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and is currently writing a book on American foreign policy.

Richard Holbrooke, the current Editor of Foreign Policy, is a former official of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Stanley Karnow is an Associate Editor with the New Republic, presently writing a book on aspects of America's involvement in Indochina.

Anthony Lake is a former staff member of the National Security Council and is presently Director of International Voluntary Services.

Terry Lenzner is former counsel with the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities.

Admiral Gene LaRocque (Ret) is Director of the Center for Defense Information.

Thomas McCoy, presently with Washington Information Associates, is a former member of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Robert J. Pranger, formerly Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, NISA, is currently Director of Foreign and Defense Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Harry H. Ransom, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, is the author of The Intelligence Establishment.

Marcus Raskin, Co-Director of the Institute for Policy Studies, is the author of numerous books and articles, most recently, Notes on the Old System.

## Background

The Center for National Security Studies (CNSS) is concerned with the ominous growth of state power in the name of "national security." The Center's primary objective will be to contribute to a public re-appraisal of the purposes and policies of our national security institutions - exemplified by the National Security Council, the military establishment, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

For over twenty-five years, we have witnessed the alarming growth of national security institutions, and the expansion of Executive power and prerogative. Through five administrations, these institutions and the policies which they implement have led to repeated intervention and war abroad, and to the erosion of our liberties at home. Indochina and Watergate are shameful monuments to the widely shared assumption that matters of "national security" are above the limits of law, and beyond the control of the Congress or the people. And while the Watergate revelations have encouraged some to question Presidential claims to national or internal security prerogatives, neither the reduction of our involvement in Indochina nor the removal of a President has greatly circumscribed the powers of the Executive or the license of our national security institutions.

The Center has been established to help foster public consideration of national security issues. The Center will seek to work with other groups and with concerned citizens to expose policies decided in secret to public discussion and questioning. Only if citizens demand a restructuring of these institutions will we be certain that these institutions do not become a permanent threat to the liberties and security they claim to protect.

The Center for National Security Studies is funded by grants from the Abelard Foundation, the Field Foundation and the Stern Foundation. It is sponsored by the Fund for Peace, a non-profit institution concerned with world peace and justice.

## The Functions of the Center

The Center for National Security Studies will engage in the following activities:

- sponsor conferences, assemblies, and public meetings designed to open national security issues to public discussion
- co-ordinate the efforts of numerous citizens groups and concerned citizens to foster a broad public debate on selected national security issues

Earl Ravenal is a former member of the office of the Secretary of Defense, and is currently a professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

Roberta Salper holds a resident fellowship at the Institute for Policy Studies and has written extensively on Latin American affairs.

Neil Sheehan is a free-lance journalist, currently working on a study of America's involvement in Vietnam.

R. Harris Smith is a Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley, and is the author of The OSS.

Laurence Stern is a reporter with the Washington Post.

Jeremy Stone is Director of the Federation of American Federation of Scientists and has written extensively on national security matters.

Tad Szulc is the consultant to the Rolling Stone Washington supplement, and Contributing Editor to the Washingtonian magazine.

Paul Warnke, a Washington attorney, is a former Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Melvin Wulf is General Counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

- develop alternative policy proposals, suggesting ways in which these institutions may be made accountable to the Congress and responsive to the people
- challenge assertions of Executive prerogative, and provide a constant voice against a military definition of security
- serve as a resource and information center for concerned citizens, the press, and the Congress

### Current Projects

Over the next year, the Center will be working, either independently or in conjunction with other groups, on the following projects:

- Project on Militarism in the Community: An investigation of the growing intrusion of the armed forces in civilian affairs. The project will focus on the impact of military recruitment, public relations and domestic action programs on the young. The Center will initially provide alternative information to professional, civic and educational organizations currently subject to intensive armed forces public relations campaigns.
- Project on Intelligence and Covert Actions: This project will encompass an extensive investigation on the activities and objectives of our intelligence institutions. A conference on the CIA and Covert Action will be held in Washington on September 12 and 13. An intelligence policy working group has been established to study the entire intelligence community. Independent research and writing on the Agency continues.
- Project on the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration: The Center will monitor the activities of the IEAA, focusing on the development of computerized data banks, and the distribution of military armaments to local police. Work will be done with local communities to inform them of the new programs of their police departments.
- Study on Classification and Secrecy: The project will detail the extent of secrecy in academic and industrial research and development. The Center will encourage professional associations to explore the effects of secrecy on academic freedom.
- Project on American Police and Military Aid Abroad: The Center will be sponsoring research and writing on the nature of American aid to police in other nations, and the trade and aid in armaments throughout the world.
- Project on National Security and the Constitution: The Center will foster continued debate on the proper scope of Executive power over questions of national security. A conference on the law of national security will be held at Duke University in the spring, co-sponsored by the Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs.

--Citizen's Projects on National Security: The Center will work with a broad spectrum of citizen's groups to design ways in which national security issues can be placed before the public. The emphasis will be on designing a forum in which concerned citizens might discuss various questions. Town meetings, workplace seminars and regional conferences are a few of the methods which will be explored.

Staff of the Center

Director:	Robert L. Borosage
Administrative Assistant:	Connie J. Hooker
Associates:	Sarah Carey
	David Cortwright
	William Florence
	John Marks
	Robert Musil
	Nicole Szulc
Project Consultants:	Edward Brown
	Morton Halperin

In addition to full-time staff, the Center is sponsoring research on topics related to its concerns. At present the Center is supporting research by Sean Gervasi, Jack Nelson and Neil Sheehan.