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28 September 1984

## *Analyst Reported to Leave C.I.A. In a Clash With Casey on Mexico*

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27 — The senior Latin America analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency resigned in May after William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, insisted that he revise a report on Mexico so it would support Reagan Administration policy, intelligence officials asserted today.

The officials said Mr. Casey wanted the intelligence report to portray the economic and political problems of Mexico as a threat to its internal stability as well as an indirect danger to the overall security of Central America and the United States.

The officials said that when the analyst, John R. Horton, refused to revise the report on the ground that intelligence data did not support such an alarmist conclusion, Mr. Casey had the report rewritten by another analyst.

### 'Pressure From Casey'

Mr. Horton asserted today, "There is pressure from Casey on subjects that are politically sensitive to jigger estimates to conform with policy."

He declined to comment further about his departure from the C.I.A., saying he was preparing an article on his views for publication next month.

A spokesman for the C.I.A., Kathy Pherson, said that Mr. Casey would not comment on the Horton case and that the agency could not discuss specific intelligence estimates because they are classified. She confirmed that Mr. Horton left the agency in May, but said he did so after his contract expired.

Other intelligence officials said Mr. Horton's contract would ordinarily have been renewed, but that he decided to leave the agency.

In general, Mrs. Pherson said, "any estimate on a difficult subject involves considerable give and take among analysts and intelligence agencies."

"Often there are disagreements on the appropriate questions as well as the

weight given to various judgments and that's the way it should be."

She added, "All estimates are approved by the National Foreign Intelligence Board, which is chaired by Mr. Casey and includes the heads of all intelligence agencies."

Mr. Horton is the second Latin America analyst to break publicly with the agency this year contending that intelligence information was slanted at Mr. Casey's direction to support Administration policy.

### Relations Strained

Relations between the United States and Mexico have been strained over a variety of issues, with Administration officials long irritated by Mexican behavior that they consider excessively accommodating to Cuba and Nicaragua and insufficiently attentive to domestic problems.

Administration officials said that Mr. Casey wanted a tougher report from Mr. Horton, in part to help persuade the White House to approve a program of covert and economic American pressures on Mexico to induce its support for United States policies in Central America.

President Reagan, according to the officials, rejected the program in May because Mexico seemed already to be backing away from its strong support of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and guerrillas in El Salvador.

"Since Mr. Reagan met with President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico in Washington on May 15, Administration officials have said they sense an encouraging change in Mexico's policy on Central America.

### Protective of Rights

Internal C.I.A. disputes rarely become public. The charges made by Mr. Horton and the other analyst, David C. MacMichael, have directly challenged Mr. Casey's contention that intelligence estimates are not contaminated by politics or policy.

Intelligence analysts, as a group, are protective of their right to prepare reports without political interference. Intelligence estimates, theoretically, are

supposed to provide a neutral base of information and analysis for policy makers, according to current and former intelligence officials.

Mr. Casey, who was chairman of President Reagan's 1980 election campaign, has been a leading architect of the Administration's policies in Central America, including American aid to Nicaraguan rebels, according to White House and State Department officials.

Mr. Horton, according to Mrs. Pherson, was hired out of retirement in May 1983 to be the National Intelligence Officer for Latin America. He had worked for the C.I.A. in the operations division from 1948 to 1975, according to former colleagues.

Unlike Mr. MacMichael — who worked for the agency from 1981 to 1983 and openly criticized Administration actions in Central America for the first time in June — Mr. Horton generally supported Mr. Reagan's policy, intelligence officials said.

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CLIPPER A-15WASHINGTON POST  
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# Analyst Says He Quit CIA When Casey Altered His Report to Support Policy

By Joanne Omang  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A former senior intelligence analyst for the CIA says he resigned his post because CIA Director William J. Casey rewrote an intelligence report "over my dead body" to make it support U.S. policy.

John R. Horton, 64, resigned in May as Latin American specialist for the National Intelligence Council, the unit that coordinates drafting of intelligence evaluations among the CIA, FBI, National Security Agency, State Department, Defense Intelligence Agency and the armed forces intelligence units.

In a telephone interview from his Maryland home, Horton said his account of his resignation was quoted accurately in the Portland (Maine) Press-Herald Sept. 7, and he refused to elaborate on it.

In that article, Horton said he gave Casey a detailed estimate on the military, economic, political and diplomatic situation in "a major Latin American country" last spring, but Casey returned it because "he wanted it to come out a certain way . . . . There was constant pressure on me to redo it."

"I refused to do it, so he finally had the thing rewritten over my dead body, so to speak," Horton said. He then quit.

Such pressures are "not widespread" in the agency as far as he knows, Horton said, "but when the administration has a very strong ideological feeling about one policy or a domestic political impetus on a policy, then you have this tension." As a result, he said, "discussions are

too much limited by ideological prejudices . . . . People are reluctant to talk."

Horton declined to identify the country or the policy issue involved in the event that led to his resignation, but he said neither concerned Central America.

In the Press-Herald article, Horton said that arms shipments from the leftist Sandinista government in Nicaragua to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador are "no secret" but added that the U.S. effort to stop the arms flow by backing "contra" rebels in Nicaragua "hasn't worked and can't work." Discussion of other options, such as offering to reduce contra military pressure in return for a halt to the arms flow, has tended to be suppressed, he said.

Horton said "very bright people" in the Reagan administration, including U.N. Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick and Defense Undersecretary Fred C. Ikle, "are either against any type of compromise with the Sandinistas or, if not against it, [they are] suspicious that State can't handle it."

"There's a real distrust of the State Department" at the White House, Horton was quoted as saying. "There's this feeling in the administration that 'State is soft.'"

Through a spokesman, Kirkpatrick responded that the charge was "absurd. The goals of President Reagan and his administration in regard to Nicaragua are very clear and consistent . . . and are shared by all members of the administration." Ikle was unavailable for comment.

A senior State Department official involved with Central America denied that discussion is limited by political considerations. "I know of no option related to Central America that hasn't been discussed . . . . John certainly was never timid about bringing them up," he said.

He added that Horton "did a good job . . . ; he added a great deal to the debate" on Central American policy. Another State Department official called Horton "a true professional, one of the best." CIA sources close to Casey echoed that view, saying Horton had been highly respected.

CIA media relations chief Kathy Pherson said she was "not interested in getting into a debate with Horton in print" but noted that "often there are disagreements . . . , a lot of give and take" on intelligence estimates.

Another CIA analyst who recently resigned from the National Intelligence Council, David McMichael, recalled Horton as "extremely well-regarded" at the CIA, to the point "that the word was he was such a class act he wouldn't last long."

Horton emphasized that he supports the administration's overall Central America policy and that political pressures to "massage" data did not begin with the Reagan administration. He said he worries that cramped discussion of options eventually could harm the country and the CIA.

"If any cans get hung around anyone's neck for Central America, it won't be Reagan's or Casey's—it's going to be the CIA's," he said.

ASSOCIATED PRESS  
28 September 1984

CIA EXPERT SAYS HE QUIT OVER REPORT ALTERATIONS  
WASHINGTON

A VETERAN CIA AGENT SAYS HE RESIGNED LAST SPRING BECAUSE THE AGENCY'S DIRECTOR, WILLIAM J. CASEY, PRESSURED HIM TO REWRITE AN ANALYSIS OF LATIN AMERICAN CONDITIONS TO SUPPORT REAGAN ADMINISTRATION POLICIES.

JOHN R. HORTON, 64, SAID HE RESIGNED IN MAY AS A COORDINATOR OF AN IMPORTANT STUDY OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC CONDITIONS IN A MAJOR LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY, WHICH HE DID NOT NAME.

HORTON TOLD THE PRESS HERALD OF PORTLAND, MAINE, IN AN INTERVIEW ON SEPT. 7 THAT CASEY "WANTED THE ESTIMATE TO COME OUT A CERTAIN WAY." CASEY "KEPT CONSTANT PRESSURE ON ME TO REDO IT," HORTON SAID, "I REFUSED TO DO IT, SO HE FINALLY HAD THE THING REWRITTEN OVER MY DEAD BODY, SO TO SPEAK." THEN HORTON RESIGNED.

THE WASHINGTON POST REPORTED IN TODAY'S EDITIONS THAT HORTON CONFIRMED THE ACCURACY OF THE PRESS HERALD INTERVIEW. THE NEW YORK TIMES TODAY QUOTED THE FORMER ANALYST AS SAYING, "THERE IS PRESSURE FROM CASEY ON SUBJECTS THAT ARE POLITICALLY SENSITIVE TO JIGGER ESTIMATES TO CONFORM WITH POLICY."

SUCH PRESSURES ARE NOT WIDESPREAD IN THE CIA, BUT "WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION HAS A VERY STRONG IDEOLOGICAL FEELING ABOUT ONE POLICY OR A DOMESTIC POLITICAL IMPETUS ON A POLICY, THEN YOU HAVE THIS TENSION," HORTON SAID IN THE MAINE INTERVIEW.

HE COMPLAINED THAT "DISCUSSIONS ARE TOO MUCH LIMITED BY TECHNOLOGICAL PREJUDICES... PEOPLE ARE RELUCTANT TO TALK."

DISCUSSION OF OPTIONS HAS BEEN LIMITED BY "CONSTANT CRUNCHING BACK AND FORTH," BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATION AND "PRAGMATIC PEOPLE" AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

"THERE'S A REAL DISTRUST OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT" HORTON SAID, ADDING THAT THERE IS FEELING IN THE ADMINISTRATION THAT "STATE'S SOFT."

"AT SOME POINT, REAGAN AND CASEY ARE GOING TO BE IN SOME OTHER WORLD OR RETIRED FROM PUBLIC LIFE. IF ANY CANS GET HUNG AROUND ANYONE'S NECK FOR CENTRAL AMERICA, IT WON'T BE REAGAN'S OR CASEY'S - IT'S GOING TO BE THE CIA'S" HE SAID..

THE PRESS HERALD ARTICLE SAID HORTON WAS A CIA EMPLOYEE FROM 1948 TO 1975, PARTICIPATING IN OPERATIONS IN EUROPE, THE FAR EAST AND LATIN AMERICA AND WAS RECALLED TO DUTY IN 1983.

HE SAID THAT IN HIS RECENT JOB, HE WORKED FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE COUNCIL, THE UNIT THAT COORDINATES INTELLIGENCE EVALUATIONS AMONG THE CIA, FBI, NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY AND THE ARMED FORCES INTELLIGENCE UNITS.

HE SAID HE HAD NO PARTICULAR QUARREL WITH THE ADMINISTRATION'S TOUGHNESS TOWARD THE MARXIST GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA. THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES WOULD BE JUST AS POORLY SERVED BY AN ADMINISTRATION THAT REFUSED TO CONSIDER TOUGH OPTIONS, HE SAID.

AND DESPITE HIS CRITICISM, HE CREDITED CASEY WITH REBUILDING THE CIA AFTER BUDGET, FUNCTION AND PERSONNEL CUTS DURING THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. DURING CARTER'S TENURE, HE COMPLAINED, "OUR CIA STATION IN SAN SALVADOR WAS CLOSED DOWN COMPLETELY, FOR ECONOMY REASONS."

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SENIOR CIA ANALYST QUILTS OVER MEXICO REPORT, PAPERS SAY  
 WASHINGTON, SEPT 28, REUTER - A SENIOR U.S. INTELLIGENCE ANALYST RESIGNED IN MAY BECAUSE CIA DIRECTOR WILLIAM CASEY INSISTED THAT HE REVISE A REPORT ON MEXICO TO SUPPORT REAGAN ADMINISTRATION POLICY; ACCORDING TO REPORTS PUBLISHED TODAY. THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST REPORTED THAT ANALYST JOHN HORTON CONFIRMED HE LEFT THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA) AFTER THE DISAGREEMENT.

THE TIMES SAID THE INTELLIGENCE REPORT IN QUESTION INVOLVED MEXICO. THE POST SAID IT WAS A MAJOR LATIN AMERICAN NATION. INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS TOLD THE TIMES CASEY WANTED THE REPORT TO PORTRAY MEXICO'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS AS A THREAT TO ITS INTERNAL STABILITY AND AN INDIRECT DANGER TO THE SECURITY OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE OFFICIALS SAID THAT WHEN HORTON REFUSED TO REVISE THE REPORT ON THE GROUND THAT INTELLIGENCE DATA DID NOT SUPPORT SUCH AN ALARMIST CONCLUSION; CASEY HAD IT REWRITTEN BY ANOTHER ANALYST.

"THERE IS PRESSURE FROM CASEY ON SUBJECTS THAT ARE POLITICALLY SENSITIVE TO JIGGER ESTIMATES TO CONFORM WITH POLICY," HORTON WAS QUOTED AS SAYING.

A SPOKESWOMAN FOR THE CIA, KATHY PHERSON, SAID CASEY WOULD HAVE NO COMMENT ON THE STORY. SHE SAID HORTON HAD LEFT HIS POST AS A SENIOR LATIN AMERICA INTELLIGENCE ANALYST AFTER HIS CONTRACT EXPIRED.

THE TIMES SAID ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS SAID CASEY WANTED A TOUGHER REPORT FROM HORTON; IN PART TO HELP PERSUADE THE WHITE HOUSE TO APPROVE A PROGRAM OF COVERT AND ECONOMIC AMERICAN PRESSURES ON MEXICO TO INDUCE ITS SUPPORT FOR U.S. POLICIES IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

REAGAN; ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIALS; REJECTED THE PROGRAM IN MAY BECAUSE MEXICO ALREADY APPEARED TO BE BACKING AWAY FROM ITS STRONG SUPPORT OF THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT IN NICARAGUA AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT GUERRILLAS IN EL SALVADOR.

MEANWHILE; TWO KEY U.S. SENATORS YESTERDAY INTRODUCED LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS TO REQUIRE THAT TOP CIA OFFICIALS BE PROFESSIONAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS AND NOT POLITICAL APPOINTEES.

THE BILL WAS FILED BY CHAIRMAN BARRY GOLDWATER AND VICE CHAIRMAN DANIEL MOYNIHAN OF THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE.

IT WAS AN OUTGROWTH OF THE CIA'S FAILURE THIS YEAR TO NOTIFY THE COMMITTEE IN ADVANCE OF ITS DIRECT INVOLVEMENT WITH ANTI-GOVERNMENT REBELS IN THE MINING OF NICARAGUAN HARBOURS.

MOYNIHAN QUESTIONED IF THE "MISADVENTURE" WOULD HAVE HAPPENED IF CASEY; WHO HEADED REAGAN'S 1980 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN; HAD BEEN A CAREER CIA OFFICER.

"OUR NATION IS BEST SERVED BY APPOINTING PEOPLE TO THESE POSITIONS WHO DO NOT REQUIRE ON-THE-JOB TRAINING," MOYNIHAN SAID.

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PORTLAND PRESS HERALD (ME)  
7 September 1984

# 'Covert plots' described as small part of CIA

By CLARK T. IRWIN JR.  
Staff Writer

For a lot of people — including some congressmen — the phrase "CIA operations" conjures up images of assassinations, clandestine armies and sinister plots.

Those "covert operations," such as the famous plan to slip Fidel Castro a poisoned cigar, "are the most discussed, but probably the least important of all," according to retired CIA officer John R. Horton.

Horton served in the CIA from 1948 to 1975, returning to duty in 1983 to supervise preparation of intelligence estimates for Latin American countries.

He participated in covert operations during that career: recruiting East German spies and monitoring Cuban and Soviet links to the American peace movement from his Mexico City post during the Johnson and Nixon administrations, for instance.

He has served in the Philippines and Japan and was "chief of station" in Hong Kong, Montevideo and Mexico City; "Espionage and counter-espionage was mostly what we did."

However, "The CIA, as far as I know, has never assassinated anybody," Horton said.

"But there were a lot of assassination plans that did not originate with the CIA. They originated with John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and so on down the line," Horton said.

"They were more than contingency (plans)," he said. Various political leaders "wanted people killed, like Castro, Lumumba" — the latter reference being to the late Patrice Lumumba, a Congolese war leader of the early 1960s.

But such plans are a minor part of the CIA's

duties, Horton noted. "The greatest number, by far" of CIA employees work in Washington and are concerned with the agency's other three roles:

- ✓ Intelligence-gathering, whether from spies, conversations, satellite photos, communications monitoring or reading other nations' newspapers and technical journals.

- ✓ Intelligence analysis, or evaluating the information.

- ✓ Producing national intelligence estimates that synthesize information on particular countries to judge capabilities and intentions of interest to U.S. policy.

The CIA gets the most press, Horton noted, but the largest American intelligence operation is the National Security Agency, which specializes in codes and electronic intelligence-gathering. The Defense Department, the armed forces, the FBI and even the Commerce and Treasury Departments also have intelligence sections.

Whether the United States should indulge in covert or paramilitary operations may simply reflect the political tastes of a particular administration, Horton said.

But all modern American administrations have supported basic espionage and counter-espionage efforts.

"If we had open societies around the world," Horton said, "there probably wouldn't be any need for espionage, for secrecy."

In the meantime, he added, the only way to determine whether countries like the Soviet Union are abiding by arms control treaties, for example, is to spy on them.

PORTLAND PRESS HERALD (ME)  
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# 'Zealotry' called CIA crimp

By CLARK T. IRWIN JR.  
Staff Writer

American policy in Central America is being decided in an atmosphere where White House "zealotry" and "very strong ideological clamps" prevent full discussion of options, a former Central Intelligence Agency officer said Thursday in Portland.

In his first interview since resigning as Latin American specialist on the National Intelligence Council in May, John R. Horton told the Press Herald that "Where there's a strong political feeling in the administration, there's pressure to skew intelligence estimates."

Horton was interviewed at the home of his son, lawyer Mark Horton, before a talk for the World Affairs Council of Maine.

Despite his resignation, Horton said he has no policy fight with the current administration.

"I think our broad policy in Central America is completely correct," he said, describing that policy as supporting a restoration of democracy and civilian government in El Salvador, resisting rebels supported by Nicaragua and Cuba and "opposing the attempt of the Sandinistas (the Nicaraguan revolutionary junta) to close their society up completely."

His objection, he explained, is to political pressures for intelligence officers to massage their "national intelligence estimates" to conform to political goals and the "inferior quality of discussions" resulting from the souelching of some points of view.

CIA Director William Casey called Horton out of eight years of retirement last year to help prepare intelligence appraisals of Latin American countries for

the National Intelligence Council. The council's members represent the CIA, the State Department, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the armed forces.

As chairman of the team doing Latin American estimates, Horton gave Casey an estimate on the political, economic, military and diplomatic strength and capabilities of a major Latin American country important to U.S. policy concerns.

But the CIA director "wanted the estimate to come out a certain way" to strengthen the case for administration policy, Horton said, "and kept constant pressure on me to redo it."

"I refused to do it, so he finally had the thing rewritten over my dead body, so to speak," at which point Horton resigned.

That experience, he added, is not typical of the estimating process, which he believes is producing more and better readings than during the Carter administration.

The more general concern, he said, is that incomplete discussion of options for carrying out policy could lead to decisions that will eventually harm the country's intelligence services.

For example, he said, "It's no secret" that Cuba and Nicaragua are supplying arms, communications assistance and espionage data to the leftist rebels in El Salvador.

Since "Interdiction (military attempts to cut support) hasn't worked and can't work," and since no one is seriously proposing to remove the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua forcibly, Horton argued, it might be prudent to discuss offering Nicaragua a deal of reduced pressure if they stop supporting the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

But Casey's final vote at National Foreign Intelligence Board meetings — this being a group which reviews the National Intelligence Council's estimates — and "constant crunching back and forth" between the administration and "pragmatic people" at the State Department tends to suppress such discussion, Horton said.

On the administration side, he said, there is a group of "very bright people" including U.N. Ambassador Jean Kirkpatrick, Casey and Undersecretary of Defense Fred Ikle, "who are either against any type of compromise with the Sandinistas, or if not against it, suspicious that State can't handle it."

"There's a real distrust of the State Department," Horton said, "this feeling in the administration that 'State's soft.'"

Aside from the risk of the country's being given flawed policy decisions because of unexamined options, Horton said, there's the "institutional risk" that the CIA will be left holding the bag.

"At some point," he continued, "Reagan and Casey are going to be in some other world or retired from public life. If any cans get hung around anyone's neck for Central America, it won't be Reagan's or Casey's — it's going to be the CIA's."

That could lead to a repeat of the post-Watergate, post-Vietnam backlash against the agency and again impair the country's ability to supply its decision-makers with the best intelligence information and analysis possible, Horton fears.

A registered Democrat, Horton also said, "I want to be fair about this thing. . . . It's not just this administration."

When the Sandinistas seized power in Nicaragua in 1979, he said, President Carter's National Securi-

Continued



ty Council decided to seek continued economic aid and amiable relations in hopes that the Sandinistas might be kept out of a "marriage" with Cuba and the Soviet Union.

"It was worth trying," Horton said, but the CIA was even then reporting the Sandinistas were seeking "very close ties" with the Soviet bloc aid and displaying pronounced Marxist tendencies.

The Sandinistas, he said, "are probably not all Marxist-Leninists, but they're certainly putting a Leninist form of government in Nicaragua as fast as they can."

However, "The people in the NSC during the Carter time did not want this reported" in the CIA's National Intelligence Daily lest it outrage Congress, which was still voting aid to Nicaragua.

The CIA refused to suppress its findings, he said, but agreed to a compromise that restricted publication to a more limited-circulation typewritten report.

Horton also said his quarrel with Casey and other administration officials is not simply that they resist discussion of unpalatable "soft" or "pragmatic" options toward Nicaragua. The intelligence services and national decision-making would be just as poorly served by an administration that refused to consider "tough" options, he said.

However, he also praised Casey for rebuilding the CIA after budget, function and personnel cuts during the Carter administration.

Many of America's problems in Latin Central America, he argued, result from a diminished presence of intelligence officers, diplomatic personnel, military attaches and U.S. Information Agency officers.

During the tenure of Carter administration CIA chief Stansfield Turner, "our (CIA) station in San Salvador was closed down completely, for economy reasons," Horton said.

Such non-partisan criticism, he cheerfully admitted, reflects "my own institutional bias. As an intelligence officer, I don't work for an administration, I work for the government."

Horton also cheerfully said his resignation required "no sacrifice," he is "no martyr," since he merely resumed life as a retired CIA official. Aside from admiring his grandchildren, his only current duty is harvesting the crop of red grapes at his Maryland home.

In his CIA career, however, Horton's duties included recruiting spies from the ranks of disaffected Soviets and East Germans, running CIA missions in Mexico City and Montevideo, Uruguay, and rising to the post of deputy chief of the Latin American Division at the CIA's Langley, Va., headquarters.

His work has earned him the Distinguished Intelligence Medal.