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The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

April 4, 1988

Professor Henry Bienen
Center of International Studies
Princeton University
Corwin Hall
Princeton, New Jersey 08544

Dear Professor Bienen:

Many thanks for sending me the final report for the Policy Conference on Intelligence. I'm impressed by the quality of the work and the sophistication of the analysis. I found the sections on the intelligence agencies, problems inherent in the nature of analysis and the producer/consumer nexus all to be insightful and well done. While there obviously are specifics with which I might disagree or have a different point of view, the analysis itself is as good as any I have read. Further, the recommendations are, for the most part, sensible and worthy of serious consideration.

I found the section on covert action, however, to be more uneven with a number of factual errors, some outdated information, and acceptance of newspaper allegations as fact. A few examples are worth noting:

- There is a suggestion on page 49 that the Deputy Director of Operations, the DDCI and the DCI should sign off on all covert actions as well as on periodic updates. Actually, for a number of years, those three officers have been required to sign off on all covert action findings as well as periodic updates. Beyond this, there are regular evaluations of these operations which are provided to these three officials and other senior managers.
- The paper says on page 53 that, "Since 1985 it has been known that Contras and Contra supporters are heavily involved in the US narcotics trade in order to earn cash to purchase weapons." At minimum, that is an unproven allegation; such a thing is not "known" at

this time. A number of investigations are under way to ascertain the validity of such allegations. We are cooperating fully in these investigations. In any event, such a sweeping assertion is unjustified, even on the basis of the allegations that have been made. (In this connection, the next sentence notes that, "In 1985 the AP carried a story on the largest cocaine seizure in West Coast history; the convicted smuggler said that the profits were meant to buy Contras arms." I would think that some skepticism might be expressed when quoting a convicted drug smuggler trying to justify or excuse his actions.)

- On page 55 the proposal is made to have covert actions submitted to the DDI and the State Department for review. Again, with the single exception of the Iran Findings, the DDI and State have reviewed all proposed covert action findings for at least the last seven years. And, as you may have read, DCI Webster has established new approval procedures for all Covert Actions that ensure the participation not only of the DDI but of other non-DO Agency officials such as the General Counsel, Director of Congressional Affairs, Comptroller, etc.
- On page 59 a recommendation warns the policymaker to be "extremely wary of employing covert action, for the future ramifications of large scale military secret operations can and often are extremely serious. Covert action is not practical" Experience would suggest that there are, indeed, often considerable risks attendant to paramilitary covert actions. However, there are a number of other types of covert action which traditionally have had broad bipartisan support on the Hill, have not leaked, and have been effective. Differentiating between the risks attendant to paramilitary covert actions and others would be a more accurate reflection of past experience.
- The paper asserts on page 64 that Casey prevented the IOB from fulfilling its mission by moving the CIA's General Counsel to a new office four blocks away from CIA Headquarters at Langley, thereby isolating it from many of his sources of information. In fact, the decision to move the General Counsel's office out of CIA Headquarters was made purely on the grounds that growth in the analytical and operations directorates -- whose officers need access to one another and senior agency managers -- required making available more space at Headquarters. It was CIA's senior professional management that recommended to Casey that the Office of General Counsel be temporarily relocated until our new

Headquarters addition is complete. The decision had absolutely nothing to do with the IOB or attempting to isolate the General Counsel from his sources of information. Indeed, Casey was reluctant to make the decision and did so only under considerable pressure from senior managers. (DCI Webster has determined that the General Counsel's office should be returned to CIA Headquarters as quickly as possible, and they are now scheduled to move into the new building complex next January. In the interim, the current General Counsel maintains his primary office at our Headquarters, as do additional lawyers who work closely with specific components of the four directorates.)

- With respect to the recommendations for the Inspector General on page 65, the recommendations were implemented some weeks ago by DCI Webster -- including rank equal to that of the Agency's deputy directors. The overall role and activities of the office are being strengthened along with new powers for investigation. Moreover, the IG can and does take matters to the IOB, just as the General Counsel brings matters to the attention of both the IOB and the Justice Department.
- Concerning the alleged crippling of CIA's interaction with academic resources and American business (on page 69), this is a vast overstatement. American business has never flagged in its willingness to talk to our people, volunteer information, and contribute to our analytical efforts. Moreover, I think it is fair to say this Agency now has more contacts than ever with universities on substantive issues, for recruitment and for consulting. It is indeed quite rare for academicians to turn down the opportunity to talk with us, particularly on analytical issues. Moreover, we have strong support for these contacts from university administrations across the entire country. Along these lines, I would cite your own invitations to CIA officers to participate in your conference, as well as the recent contract signed with the Kennedy School at Harvard University to provide training and education opportunities for our officers.
- Finally, from a purely personal standpoint, the description on page 50 of the Agency and the Iran/Contra affair is wrong in important particulars. Setting aside Mr. Casey's role, which is difficult to clarify because of his illness and death, neither I nor my predecessor were aware of any improper activities with respect to the Contras during the period when CIA support was severely restricted. Any discussion of the "Iran-Contra" affair must break it down into its

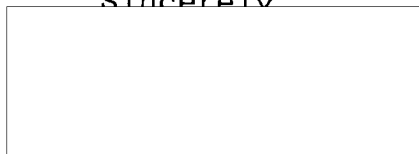
component constituent elements: proscribed support for the Contras in which this Agency was not involved (with the possible exception of one or two officers operating in violation of our rules), and the Iran affair, in which no allegation has been made of illegal or improper activity by the Agency -- however unwise the policy may have been. Furthermore, the lunch with North from my perspective was specifically to inquire whether he was aware of any CIA involvement in the private benefactor activity and in the crash of the plane that led to the capture of Eugene Hasenfus. In short, the discussion on page 50 is quite muddled and inaccurate.

As I said at the outset, I found the report in general to be of very high quality and most impressive. I mention the specific points above -- the most important problems, though not an exhaustive recitation -- only in the event that one or another of the participants might consider publishing the report in part or in its entirety and knowing that, as good scholars, they would want to ensure that it is as accurate as possible.

Again, I very much welcomed the opportunity personally to be involved in the Conference. I found the students extraordinarily well informed and would venture that there is nothing comparable to the work of the Conference on this subject that is as sophisticated as what I observed and now have read.

Congratulations on running a first-class program.


Sincerely



ROBERT M. GATES

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DDCI/RMGates/de/ 

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Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Eileen Roach Smith
Deputy Director, Public Affairs
(703) 351-2053

14 April 1988

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

Per instructions from D/PAO, we called Professor Bienen at Princeton University with a go ahead on the publication of the DDCI's letter to Dr. Bienen commenting on the conference report of the Policy Conference on Intelligence held last fall at Princeton. D/PAO discussed this with the DDCI.

[Redacted Signature]

Eileen Roach Smith

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The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

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ER-1317-88

4 APR 1988

Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20506

Colin
Dear General Powell:

I have reviewed the Department of Justice draft Executive Order on personnel security, which would establish government-wide policy concerning access to classified information. Further, I have reviewed the transmittal materials which would accompany the draft Executive Order. Based upon my review, I have concluded that certain provisions of the draft Order would erode the statutory responsibilities of the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) and are, therefore, unacceptable. Moreover, I believe that the proposed transmittal materials do not adequately discuss certain issues that have generated substantial disagreement.

Previously, on 18 March 1987, I informed the Attorney General of my concerns and suggested that our representatives meet to attempt resolution of our outstanding differences with respect to the draft Order. A meeting did take place between our representatives at that time, but the final draft Order forwarded to you does not accommodate my concerns.

The draft Order which delegates extensive "oversight" authority for personnel security matters to the Information Security Oversight Office (ISOO) to direct aspects of our security program, and to second-guess security policy and other determinations made by the DCI, would undercut the statutory responsibility of the DCI to protect intelligence sources and methods. The Order must expressly provide for oversight autonomy for the Central Intelligence Agency and, as appropriate, other intelligence agencies.

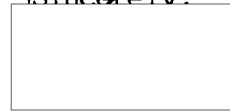
The Order also imposes, as mandatory, a set of administrative appeal procedures for the revocation of security clearances and approvals which must be followed unless the DCI personally certifies otherwise in each case. There is nothing in current law that requires this, and I consider such a requirement an unwarranted intrusion on the statutory discretion of the DCI, which carries with it a serious potential for protracted litigation with respect to the appropriateness of the DCI's certification in each case. Moreover, the Order ties the denial and revocation of clearances and approvals to the legal standard of "reasonable doubt," another invitation for the entire program to be drawn into unnecessary and debilitating litigation.

5

Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell

Considerable effort has gone into this endeavor, and the draft Order addresses important issues in an area in which revision and clarification are long overdue. It is imperative, therefore, that every effort be undertaken to reach a solution. In this vein, we will provide you, under separate cover, language to amend the draft Order. As I believe the National Security Council Staff may be in the best position to facilitate an agreement, I urge you to convene a staff-level meeting of the affected agencies upon receipt of this language. I am hopeful that a resolution can be reached under NSC auspices which accommodates our concerns.

Sincerely,



Robert M. Gates

Colin - This poses a real problem which, failing a solution, I believe the Det would want to discuss with the President.

24 MAR 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

VIA: Executive Director
Deputy Director for Administration
General Counsel

FROM:
Director of Security

SUBJECT: Proposed Executive Order to Govern Access to
Classified Information

REFERENCE: Memo for ADCI fm D/OS dtd 27 Feb 87, Subj:
Draft Executive Order to Govern Access to
Classified Information

1. Action Requested: Certain provisions of the Executive Order proposed by the Department of Justice to govern access to classified information remain inconsistent with important CIA and Intelligence Community prerogatives and, if approved, would seriously erode DCI statutory authority. You are requested to address this concern with Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and to notify him that we are drafting specific language to amend the Order. Attached for your signature is a letter to General Powell summarizing our objections to the proposed Order and requesting that the NSC convene a staff-level meeting of the affected agencies upon receipt of our proposed language. Meanwhile, an effort will be made to obtain the concurrence of two of the major participants in the drafting process--the Department of Defense and the Office of Personnel Management--in specific language that would amend the Executive Order and safeguard our equities. A second letter to General Powell containing the appropriate exempting language will then be sent forward for your signature.

2. Background: The Deputy Attorney General has forwarded to the President, through the NSC, the current draft of a proposed Executive Order on personnel security. In a covering memorandum to the President, the Deputy Attorney General cites

OS 8-5522

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five issues which require resolution and recommends to the President that these issues be resolved quickly to permit adoption of the Order. Issues 1 and 4 concern proposed oversight and appeals procedures. Each is severely misrepresented and falls short of reflecting Agency concerns. Issues 2, 3, and 5 address investigative standards, reinvestigations, and the need for a current review of Executive Order 10450. These issues are succinctly stated, and the related recommendations are reasonable.

3. Tab A is a copy of my memorandum to you dated 26 February 1987 identifying the issues of concern at that time. Tab B is a copy of your letter to the Attorney General dated 18 March 1987 wherein you emphasize the impact this Order would have on DCI statutory authorities. Tab C is the Attorney General's reply of 25 March 1987. Tab D consists of a copy of the Deputy Attorney General's 20 November 1987 letter to the President and the current draft Executive Order.

4. Regretfully, the follow-up meetings you suggested between representatives of the Department of Justice (DoJ), the Office of General Counsel, and members of my own staff, produced little in the way of substantive agreement. In particular, the concerns we had with respect to oversight by the Information Security Oversight Office (ISOO) and the procedures involved in processing security clearances continue essentially unresolved. I remain convinced that the intrusive aspects of these provisions warrant our continued vigorous opposition.

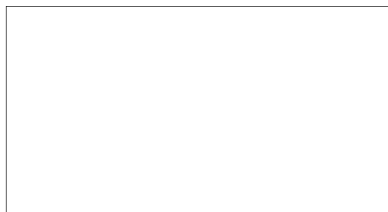
5. To reiterate, Issues 1 and 4 cause grave concern. Specifically, Issue 1 addresses oversight of government-wide personnel security programs and would delegate extensive oversight authority for personnel security matters to ISOO. As stated in your 19 March 1987 letter to the Attorney General, "The sweeping oversight provisions..., which effectively permit ISOO to direct aspects of our security programs and second-guess security policy and other determinations made by the DCI, conflict with the statutory responsibility of the DCI to protect intelligence sources and methods." Oversight autonomy for either the Central Intelligence Agency or other appropriate intelligence agencies has not been expressly provided for in the current draft. Also, a series of Agency proposals to moderate ISOO oversight in a manner consistent with Agency interests proved futile. In short, we are back where we started relative to oversight.

6. Issue 4 would establish security clearance appeal procedures for all on-board Agency personnel and extend the right of appeal to contractor employees with access at the collateral classified level. Not only would this provision override existing DCI authority, it would clearly establish procedures that do not now exist and are not required by law. With respect to the contractor world specifically, I would add, parenthetically, that appeal procedures do exist, to be sure, but are confined to the SCI environment only under the circumstances as mandated by DCID 1/14.

7. I am informed that representatives of the Office of General Counsel have alerted NSC legal officials to our concerns and that the Order is now on hold pending formal word from the Agency. In view of earlier unproductive efforts through DoJ to incorporate alternative language into the Order, a different approach is needed. Specific language exempting the Agency and other intelligence agencies, as appropriate, from oversight and appeal procedures is, in my view, a prudent next step in our efforts to gain relief from this unwarranted intrusion on the discretionary authority of the DCI.

8. I believe it is essential that the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs clearly understands the equities at stake and the need to resolve the substantial disagreements which remain. Therefore, you are requested to sign the attached letter to General Powell advising him that specific language to amend the draft Order will be forthcoming and requesting that the NSC Staff convene a meeting of the affected agencies upon receipt of our proposed language. A second letter to General Powell, transmitting the appropriate exempting language, will soon be forwarded for your signature. If you wish to be briefed further on this matter, please contact me at your convenience.

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Attachments

cc: Director, Intelligence Community Staff

SUBJECT: Proposed Executive Order to Govern Access to Classified Information

CONCUR:

STAT
General Counsel

25 March 88
Date

STAT
Deputy Director for Administration

30 March 88
Date

STAT
Executive Director

31 March 1988
Date

With so many people biting at our ankles, it's a wonder we're able to get anything done. I support proposed approach. This is ludicrous.

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With so many people biting at our ankles, it's a wonder we're able to get anything done. I support proposed approach. This is ludicrous.

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JT

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The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

April 4, 1988

Mr. James L. McCullough

[Redacted]

Dear Jim:

I was saddened to hear of your mother's death. While I know she had been ill for a time, one can never prepare for the passing of a parent. While sympathy, support and prayers of friends cannot really lessen the pain, they do provide comfort and sustenance. I certainly found this to be true when my Dad died last year and I hope you will find it so as well.

Becky's and my thoughts are with you and your family. I know that you will find comfort in many years of happy memories.

With friendship and sympathy,

[Redacted]

Robert M. Gates

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←←: D/PRO
17 Apr 79

Princeton University

Center of International Studies

Corwin Hall
Princeton, New Jersey 08544
Tel: (609) 452-4851/6404

Henry S. Bienen, *Director*
James S. McDonnell Distinguished
University Professor

April 8, 1988

Mr. Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director
The Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Gates:

On behalf of the students in the policy conference, I want to thank you very much for your detailed comments and criticisms, as well as your praise for parts of the conference Report.

I hope you realize that this Report does not reflect either my views nor my understandings. I, too, thought that parts of the Report on covert activities were not always accurate. Indeed, I have differences with parts on the producer-consumer nexus too. My role was to provide a context for the conference, provide information and bibliography where I could, and arrange the participation of key policy makers like yourself. I did not want to impose my own views or analysis on the student conferees.

We are going to publish the conference Report as an occasional paper of the Center of International Studies. I would very much like to also publish your letter as a comment on the Report if you agree. I ask your permission to do so. Perhaps someone from your office can call me or perhaps Art can do so.

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I enclose a comment from one of my colleagues on the report. Andy Marshall also called me with his comments.

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Again, many thanks for your comments and your efforts which got us off to a great start. I am glad that you were able to put your talk to us before a wide audience.

Sincerely,

Henry Bienen

HB/gak
Enc.

WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

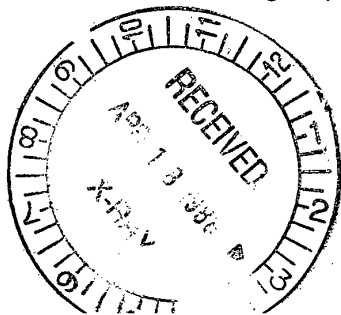
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Princeton University

Woodrow Wilson School
of Public and International Affairs
Princeton, New Jersey 08544



Mr. Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director
The Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505



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The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

Executive Registry
88-1338

April 4, 1988

Mr. Jack Nelson
Bureau Chief
Los Angeles Times
1875 I Street, N.W., Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Jack:

I just wanted to thank you and the Los Angeles Times for inviting me to the Gridiron dinner again this year. In addition to seeing and talking with you and others from the Los Angeles Times, sitting next to Jim Lehrer was a special treat (particularly when we discovered we both were born in the same hospital and grew up within a few blocks of each other in Wichita).

I thought that this year the Gridiron entertainers themselves were better and funnier than the speakers. Maybe it says something about this election year more generally.

In any event, I really enjoyed myself and look forward to seeing you again soon.


Regards,



Robert M. Gates

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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

4 APR 1988

Mr. Harry J. Middleton
Director
Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
2313 Red River Street
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear Mr. Middleton:

I accept with pleasure your kind invitation to address the Austin Foreign Affairs Council at the LBJ Library on May 26th. I will look forward to meeting with you and members of the Council and also attending the dinner party following the reception. A member of the Public Affairs staff will be in touch with you concerning the arrangements.

Best wishes and please give my regards to Bob Inman.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

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Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

2313 Red River Street Austin, Texas 78705

March 18, 1988

accept

Mr. Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Gates:

On behalf of the Austin Foreign Affairs Council and at the suggestion of its president, Bob Inman, it is my pleasure to extend this invitation to you to speak at the LBJ Library on May 26.

The format we propose is a presentation at 6:00 P.M., followed by a reception. If you are willing, we would then like to cap the evening with a small dinner party in the Library.

We will, of course, cover your expenses and try to make your time here interesting.

If you are receptive to this invitation, I will be delighted to work out the details with any member of your staff.

Sincerely yours,

Harry J. Middleton
Director

HJM:lam

The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, D. C. 20505

5 April 88

Dear Bill -

Thanks for your invitation to the reception celebrating publication of Stan's book. I really would like to attend, but will be out of town to fulfill a longstanding commitment.

I appreciated getting a copy of the book + was especially pleased and complimented by Stan's inscription. The reviews are good; I hope the sales are too.

I feel badly that this is the second Jamestown function I have had to miss. I look forward to our next dinner here - the 28th - and hope this is the last invitation from you I must regret. Give Stan my best wishes.



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STAT

*Have me call on
Mandel*

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

March 21, 1988

William Geimer
President
Barbara D. Abbott
Executive Vice President
Donald F.B. Jameson
Vice President
Lt. Gen. James A. Williams (Ret.)
Vice President
Myron J. Mintz
General Counsel

**Mr. Robert Gates
Deputy Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505**

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is a copy of Stan Levchenko's new book, inscribed to you.

On the evening of April 13 Jamestown is hosting a small reception to celebrate the publication of the book. An invitation and map are enclosed. Stan and I very much hope that you'll be able to join us on that occasion. It should be an enjoyable opportunity for you to talk with some Jamestown clients and supporters. Hope to see you there.

Sincerely,



William W. Geimer

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Enclosure**

The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

Executive Registry
88-1388

April 5, 1988

Dr. Charles A. Deacon
 Dean of Admissions
 College of Arts and Science
 Georgetown University
 Washington, D.C. 20057

Dear Dean Deacon:

An outstanding young man from my home state of Kansas, Mr. Mark Roeder, has applied to Georgetown and has been informed he is on the waiting list. I have come to know Mr. Roeder in connection with a history project he has been working on at Topeka West High School and I believe that he would bring to Georgetown the intellect, character and active interest in community and campus affairs eagerly sought after in Georgetown students.

While it has been some years since I received my own degree from Georgetown (Ph.D., Russian history, 1974), I believe that the values of a great university like Georgetown are unchanging. In my judgment, Mr. Roeder reflects those values. I hope that you will give every serious consideration to admitting Mr. Roeder as he would bring to the University substantial intellectual calibre and high personal integrity. Both he and Georgetown would benefit.

Sincerely



Robert M. Gates

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bcc: Mark Roeder

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GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

April 28, 1988

Robert M. Gates
The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. Gates:

I would like to thank you for your letter of recommendation for Mark Roeder whose application has been placed on the Waiting List. I will be certain that your letter is placed directly with this candidate's file for the review of Admissions Committee.

Candidates on the Waiting List will be reviewed between May 1-15 for whatever spaces may remain following responses from those initially admitted. The Waiting List is not ranked in advanced so additional information such as you have provided will be considered by the Admissions Committee should spaces be available.

We are please to receive the additional information that you have provided about Mark. He is a strong candidate and it is our hope that further consideration will be possible.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Charles A. Deacon".

Charles A. Deacon
Dean of Admissions

CAD:jbc

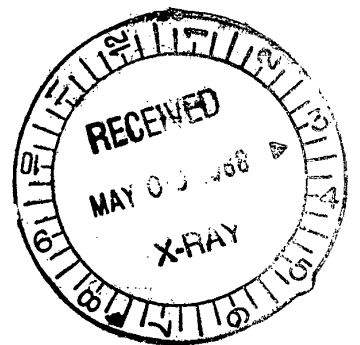
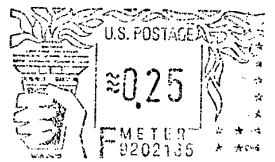
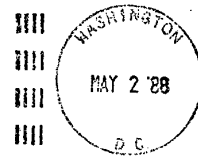
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GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Office of Undergraduate Admissions
Washington DC 20057

Robert M. Gates
The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, DC 20505



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Executive Secretary

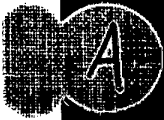
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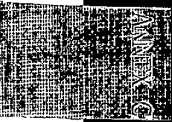
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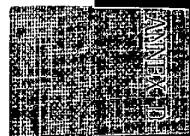
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Remarks

*Sent out over
Baker's name
de 8 Apr 88*

STAT

Executive Secretary
7 Apr 88

Date

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Mr. Sol W. Sanders

STAT

Dear Mr. Sanders:

Jim Hackett kindly has sent me a copy of your book proposal and outline.

While we obviously are in no position to provide classified information on the subject of technology transfer, there is a good deal of information available on technology transfer that we and others in the Executive Branch have made public over the last several years. I am enclosing those documents in the event you do not already have them. I hope you will find them of value -- especially some of the specific cases, examples and targets.

Additionally, I noted in your book proposal that you intend to address the Trust. There was an unclassified study done on the Trust in this Agency some years ago and I also enclose it in the hope it may be of use to you.

I remember meeting you several years ago when you were working on your Mexico book and I was the Deputy Director for Intelligence. I hope the enclosed materials will be of help.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Gates

Mr. Sol W. Sanders

STAT

Dear Mr. Sanders:

Mr. James Hackett of the Heritage Foundation recently sent the Deputy Director a copy of your book proposal and outline.

While we obviously are in no position to provide classified information on the subject of technology transfer, there is a good deal of information available on technology transfer that we and others in the Executive Branch have made public over the last several years. I am enclosing those documents in the event you do not already have them. I hope you will find them of value -- especially some of the specific cases, examples and targets.

Additionally, I noted in your book proposal that you intend to address the Trust. There was an unclassified study done on the Trust in this Agency some years ago and I also enclose it in the hope it may be of use to you.

Sincerely,

William Baker



A tax-exempt public policy research institute

31 March 1988

Honorable Robert Gates
Deputy Director
The Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Bob:

Sol Sanders is a former foreign correspondent and senior editor of Business Week magazine, now living and writing in New York. His most recent book was "Mexico, Chaos on our Doorstep." Sol is a dedicated anti-communist and a perceptive analyst of foreign issues.

He is now writing a book with the title "How the Communist System has been Living off the West." Needless to say, this could be very useful in publicizing how technology transfer, untied credits and other financial transfers help the Soviets. He is seeking assistance from the Agency, such as examples or case histories of high-tech transfers or other trade activities that have benefitted the Soviets.

I think it is a worthwhile undertaking, but I have no idea what kind of information the Agency might be able to make available, or under what procedures. Since the natural instinct of any organization is to decline requests for information, I am sending his letter directly to you, in the hope that you can pass it on to the appropriate staff with a request to do whatever they can to be helpful. An outline of his book is attached.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

James T. Hackett
National Security Editor

p.s. his phone number in New York is:
(212) 714-9661

enclosure

JTN:tsm

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STAT

March 18, 1988

James T. Hackett
Editor, **National Security Record**
The Heritage Foundation
214 Mass. Ave., NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Jim:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation this afternoon, I am sending you a copy of my book proposal/outline.

As I told you I have funding now and am going ahead. My thesis is that the Soviet system has a built-in stagnation mechanism, that it staggers from megacrisis to megacrisis and survives only because of what it can beg, borrow, and steal from the West. I argue that it has been ever thus and the book will be about half a review of Soviet economic history (the NEP, the 30s American and West European import program, Lend-Lease, Detente) and half a review of the contemporary scene.

As I told you, I believe I could get a lot of help from CIA-- particularly on some case histories of successful violations of our embargo on hi-tech to the Soviets or successful U.S. attempts to block them, analyses of Soviet trade patterns, etc. But with Casey gone, I am fresh out of contacts there at the top. And I assume it would have to be a decision pretty high up to let me have any of this stuff. If, as you suggested, you can give a hand, I would appreciate it.

Also I would welcome any comments you have on the whole idea. I am well-launched--now in the period of a crash course on Russian and Soviet history. I hope to get off to Europe two or three times this year--especially Germany--to follow up leads there on what is happening just now. (I hear that there are 250 proposals for joint companies on the boards in West Germany alone!)

All the best and keep up the good work--I don't know how much you know how we all depend on your letter.

Sincerely,



Sol W. Sanders

enc:

STAT

MEMORANDUM FOR: Hank

*Delivered
to DOA
Registry
7 April 88*

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Attached sent to you by

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was sent via T/C, thus no signature by D/OL.

Formal version forthcoming.

Sue

Date 30 Mar 88

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The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D. C. 20505

4-11-88

Dear Pete -

Just a note to congratulate you on your selection as Deputy Director of OSWR.

It is a well-deserved step up in recognition of past contributions, overall talent, & promise for the future.

Well done,



STAT

The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

17

April 12, 1988

The Honorable Lee H. Hamilton
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear ~~Mr.~~ Hamilton:

Enclosed is a copy of my speech on the Soviet Union we discussed last night. I hope you find it of some interest.

Again, appearing on the same platform with you last night was both a pleasure and an honor. While I regret the long drive roundtrip from Latrobe to Indiana, I greatly enjoyed the conversation and the company.

Regards,



Robert M. Gates

Enclosure:
As Stated

DDCI/RMGates:de  (12 April 88)

Distribution:

- Original - Addressee w/att
- 1 - D/OCA w/att
- 1 - ER w/att
- 1 - DDCI Chrono w/att



DALLAS COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS
19 JANUARY 1988

WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE SOVIET UNION
BY ROBERT M. GATES
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

INTRODUCTION

THE SELECTION OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AS GENERAL SECRETARY IN THE SPRING OF 1985 SIGNALLED THE POLITBURO'S RECOGNITION THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS IN DEEP TROUBLE -- ESPECIALLY ECONOMICALLY AND SPIRITUALLY -- TROUBLE THAT THEY RECOGNIZED WOULD SOON BEGIN TO HAVE REAL EFFECT ON MILITARY POWER AND THEIR POSITION IN THE WORLD. DESPITE ENORMOUS RAW ECONOMIC POWER AND RESOURCES, INCLUDING A \$2 TRILLION A YEAR GNP, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP BY THE MID-1980S CONFRONTED A STEADILY WIDENING GAP WITH THE WEST AND JAPAN -- ECONOMICALLY, TECHNOLOGICALLY AND IN VIRTUALLY ALL AREAS OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE.

AS A RESULT OF THESE TRENDS, THE POLITBURO RECOGNIZED THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD NO LONGER RISK THE SUSPENDED ANIMATION OF THE BREZHNEV YEARS, AND COALESCED AROUND AN IMAGINATIVE AND VIGOROUS LEADER WHOM THEY HOPED COULD REVITALIZE THE COUNTRY WITHOUT ALTERING THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET STATE OR COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

18

April 13, 1988

The Honorable Edward P. Boland
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Boland:

I was sorry to read in the newspaper that you intend to retire at the end of this session of Congress. Your dedicated, straightforward, and judicious service as the first Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and your important role in the rebuilding of CIA and the U.S. intelligence community will be long remembered.

On a personal note, while I had relatively few contacts with you as Deputy Director for Intelligence and you had left the Committee by the time I became DDCI, I witnessed the fruits of your efforts and was always impressed by the enormous regard in which you were held by my predecessors as DDCI -- Frank Carlucci, Bob Inman and John McMahon.

We in intelligence have seen only a small part of your overall contribution to this nation through your service in the Congress and I just wanted you to know that we in CIA, along with many others, will miss you and especially your common sense and good humor.

Very best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

[Signature Box]

Robert M. Gates

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DCI
EXEC
REG

DDCI/RMGates:de [] (12 April 1988)

15 April 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Intelligence
Deputy Director for Operations
Deputy Director for Science and Technology

FROM: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Allocation of FY-1988 Senior Intelligence Service (SIS)
Ceiling Increase

25X1

1. As you know, I recently approved a higher SIS ceiling for each of the directorates-

As you also know, we have been examining the possibility of expanding the so-called dual-track career system within the Agency, and this concept was widely endorsed by employees who commented on the recent Human Resources Modernization and Compensation Task Force proposal on this and other matters.

25X1

2. I would like you to take this opportunity to move further toward this dual-track concept by assigning a portion of this additional SIS ceiling to deserving experts or specialists in your career services during the next promotion cycle. I have asked the Office of Personnel to monitor your use of the new SIS ceiling and to report the results to me. In general, I believe about one-third of the additional ceiling should be used for this purpose.

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[Redacted signature box]

Robert M. Gates

cc: D/OP

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CONFIDENTIAL



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18 April 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, DCI Administrative Staff

SUBJECT: Payment for Charges Incurred by the
DDCI for Representational Purposes

Payment from U.S. Government funds for representational expenses incurred by the DDCI for the purpose of conducting official business of the United States Government is authorized under the policy set forth in (Official Reception and Representational Expenses) for the following functions:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Organizational Affiliation</u>
88.03.07	Robert M. Gates (host) Jim Cannon	DDCI Friend of the Administration
88.03.09	Robert M. Gates (host) Bill Baker Georgie Anne Geyer	DDCI Chief, Public Affairs Office Syndicated Columnist
88.03.11	Robert M. Gates (host) Amb. Ron Lehman	DDCI Asst. Secy of Defense for ISA
88.03.14	Robert M. Gates (host) William F. Martin	DDCI Deputy Secy of Energy
88.03.15	Robert M. Gates (host) Robert Timberg	DDCI Baltimore Sun
88.03.16	Robert M. Gates (host) Jim Hackett	DDCI Heritage Foundation
88.03.22	Robert M. Gates (host) Gen. William Odom	DDCI Director, NSA
88.03.30	Robert M. Gates (host) Maurice Liebman	DDCI Attorney

O/DDCI

20

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Washington, D.C. 20505

ER 88-1682

April 22, 1988

Mr. Shelby Coffey
Deputy Associate Editor
Los Angeles Times
Times Mirror Square
Los Angeles, California 90053

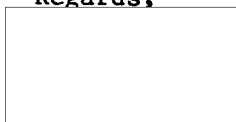
Dear Shelby:

Just a note to extend warmest congratulations on your selection as Executive Editor. Your prospective elevation in preference to others who have been at the paper much longer is a real tribute to you and your vision of the future.

I have thoroughly enjoyed our several conversations over the past few months and look forward to staying in touch.

Again, congratulations and best wishes.

Regards,



Robert M. Gates

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21

DCI
EXEC
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Washington, D.C. 20505

ER 88-1680

April 22, 1988

Mr. Craig Whitney
New York Times
1627 I Street, N.W.
7th floor
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Craig:

I just want to thank you for your invitation to the dinner last night. It was good fun, with a most enjoyable mix of people at the table. Now, bread and circuses behind us, back to Ligachev watching....

Again, many thanks for a delightful evening. Let's stay in touch.

Regards,



Robert M. Gates

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Washington, D.C. 20505

ER 88-1681

April 22, 1988

Ms. Judith Miller
New York Times
1627 I Street, N.W.
7th floor
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Judith:

Just a note to thank you for the invitation to the White House Correspondents dinner. It was a most enjoyable evening, made all the more so by the opportunity to meet Robert Mossbacher. (Trust me: the secret saga of the crossed correspondence is safe with me.)

I also enjoyed the lunch, although as I told Bill Safire, I'm glad the silverware didn't have the Agency seal on it.

Thanks again for a nice evening. We'll stay in touch.

Regards,



Robert M. Gates

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DCI
EXEC
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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

26 APR 1998

Mr. Charles W. Muller
Administrative Director
The American Ditchley Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Muller:

I accept with pleasure your invitation to participate in the Ditchley Foundations Conference to be held October 7-9 at Ditchley Park. It will be good to meet with you and the other members of the group to discuss "The Oversight of and the Limits on Intelligence Work in a Democracy." A member of our Public Affairs staff will contact you concerning the arrangements. Mrs. Gates may also accompany me on the trip.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

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DCI
EXEC
REG



Washington, D.C. 20505

27 APR 1988

OCA 88-1300

Mr. John H. Buchanan, Jr.
Chairman
People for the American Way
2000 M Street, Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Buchanan:

I very much appreciate your inviting me to participate in your People for the American Way conference on 13 June 1988. You have picked a challenging and important subject for discussion. Unfortunately, my schedule will not permit me to attend. Thank you again for thinking of me.

Sincerely,

/s/ Robert M. Gates

Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

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EXEC
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D/PTU
Reaction
18 Apr 88
via ER

April 11, 1988

The Honorable Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director of Intelligence
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Gates:

I am writing to invite you to participate in People For the American Way's conference on government secrecy and the Congress entitled, "Does Congress Have a Need to Know?" It will be held in the Russell Senate Caucus Room from 11:30 am until 2:00 pm on Monday, June 13, 1988.

Last December, People For the American Way released a comprehensive study entitled Government Secrecy: Decisions Without Democracy (a copy is enclosed). It documents a rise of lifetime publication restrictions on current and former federal employees; a dramatic increase in the classification of documents; the growth of 400% over seven years in the Pentagon's "black budget"; new restrictions on the free flow of scientific and research data; and the proliferation of National Security Decision Directives.

We at People For the American Way are concerned about how this trend effects citizens' ability to be informed participants in their government, and whether it compromises our system of checks and balances. These issues are especially important in the aftermath of the Iran-Contra affair and in this election year as the agenda for a new administration is debated.

The primary focus of the conference will be a panel discussion on Congress's "need to know" and the limits on Executive decision-making under our constitutional system. I would like you to serve on the panel. Your vast experience and knowledge would be bring an invaluable perspective to the discussion.

Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute will be the moderator. William Colby, Rep. Lee Hamilton, Rep. William Dickinson, and Scott Armstrong of the National Security Archive have agreed to participate on the panel. Others we have invited are Sen. George Mitchell, Clark Clifford, and Cokie Roberts of National Public Radio.

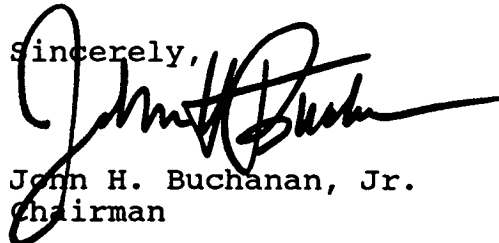
The panel will be the centerpiece of the conference. It is structured to provide ample opportunity for discussion and

debate. We are not asking for prepared speeches. Instead, the moderator will pose questions for you and your colleagues' response and comment. You will be free to debate among yourselves, questioning and challenging each other. As the discussion develops, the moderator will draw out different points of view and raise new issues, but the primary focus of the panel will be set by you and your fellow panelists.

We have reserved the Russell Caucus Room in the Russell Senate Office Building for the event. Once again, the date is Monday, June 13, 1988 from 11:30 until 2:00 pm. We expect an audience of over 250 government officials, congressional staff, research institution specialists, scholars, and information specialists. We anticipate C-SPAN coverage and national press attention. The proceedings from the conference will be published and distributed widely to the media and the public.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or suggestions about the conference, or if we can be of assistance. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John H. Buchanan, Jr.", written in a cursive style.

John H. Buchanan, Jr.
Chairman

JHB:DCC:me
Enclosures

The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

April 28, 1988

General John W. Vessey

STAT

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your note concerning my Foreign Affairs article. We face an odd dilemma in our business in the respect that the number of graduate level university courses in intelligence is growing by leaps and bounds at a time when there continues to be a serious dearth of responsible literature on the subject. As I suggested in the article, most of those writing have either never been in the intelligence business or a user of intelligence. And most have a very evident agenda they are trying to work. So I undertook the article in the hope of making intelligence a little more intelligible to some poor graduate student.

This town gets crazier by the year and, of course, that downward curve is accelerated in a presidential election year. You should be grateful for being well away from it. For those of us still in the fray, kind thoughts and encouragement from those who have fought earlier battles are welcome and a real morale booster.

It was good to hear from you. If at some point you're back in town and have time for a sandwich, please let me know.

Regards,

STAT

Robert M. Gates

STAT

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26

THE
AMERICAN
DITCHLEY
FOUNDATION

477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022
Phone (212) 752-6515
Telex 236554

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April 6, 1988

Mr. Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director
CIA
Washington, D. C. 20505

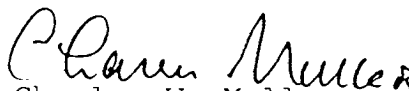
Dear Mr. Gates:

The Ditchley Foundations will hold a conference, "The Oversight of and the Limits on Intelligence Work in a Democracy", October 7-9, 1988 at Ditchley Park in Oxfordshire, England, and I am writing to invite you to participate.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Hunt of Tanworth will chair the meeting and a draft terms of reference is enclosed.

I would appreciate your advising me if you can attend. We would very much look forward to having you at Ditchley Park.

Sincerely,


Charles W. Muller

The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

ER 1781-88

April 28, 1988

Mr. Robert Timberg
The Baltimore Sun
1627 K Street N.W., Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Bob:

I finally got around to reading the Jim Fallows' article you sent me from the Washington Monthly, "What Did You Do in the Class War, Daddy?". You may be amused to know that I was two-thirds of the way through the article before I realized that it was written more than a dozen years ago.

I found it a very insightful, self-revealing and thought-provoking piece. By the same token, it brought out my historian's instincts. For example, while World War II may be an exception, I wonder if a similar article could have been written in 1866 or in 1919 about the class status of those who had served and those who did not. I wonder about the degree to which the level of popular support for a war correlates with broad participation across lines of class and wealth (e.g., WWII).

And in that respect, it seems to me that Fallows' article ties in directly to Stockdale's speech on "Our Personal and National Resolve." To what degree do America's own leaders establish the pre-conditions for the kind of class phenomenon described by Fallows when they involve the country in a controversial conflict, or one in which the purposes are unclear, or one in which the strategy is muddled, or one in which chicanery is used as a means to shoehorn a nation into the conflict. And do the more politically astute or informed simply better grasp these problems of leadership and strategy, and act accordingly?

The articles individually are quite interesting. But I wish I had the time to pursue the historical and philosophical connections in the articles taken together. I envy you your opportunity to take on even a part of that challenge.

It was good to see you at the White House Correspondents dinner. Stay in touch.

Regards,

Robert M. Gates

- STAT DDCI/RMGates/de [redacted]
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27



THE BALTIMORE SUN

Robert Timberg
White House Correspondent

1627 K Street NW
Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20006
202 452-8250
301 229-8214 Home

A Times Mirror
Newspaper

What Did You Do the Class War, Daddy?



by James Fallows

Many people think that the worst scars of the war years have healed. I don't. Vietnam has left us with a heritage rich in possibilities for class warfare, and I would like to start telling about it with this story:

In the fall of 1969, I was beginning my final year in college. As the months went by, the rock on which I had unthinkingly anchored my hopes—the certainty that the war in Vietnam would be over before I could possibly fight—began to crumble. It shattered altogether on Thanksgiving weekend when, while riding back to Boston from a visit with my relatives, I heard that the draft lottery had been held and my birthdate had come up number 45. I recognized for the first time that, inflexibly, I must either be drafted or consciously find a way to prevent it.

In the atmosphere of that time,

James Fallows is a contributing editor of The Washington Monthly.

The Washington Monthly/October 1975

each possible choice came equipped with barbs. To answer the call was unthinkable, not only because, in my heart, I was desperately afraid of being killed, but also because, among my friends, it was axiomatic that one should not be "complicit" in the immoral war effort. Draft resistance, the course chosen by a few noble heroes of the movement, meant going to prison or leaving the country. With much the same intensity with which I wanted to stay alive, I did not want those things either. What I wanted was to go to graduate school, to get married, and to enjoy those bright prospects I had been taught that life owed me.

I learned quickly enough that there was only one way to get what I wanted. A physical deferment would restore things to the happy state I had known during four undergraduate years. The barbed alternatives would

... people and ...
duces exhaust emissions
oxide by about 50% from
1974.

for pocketbooks and for
EPA figures, it helped
city driving by 28% on

ou money in fuel bills and
it's one of those extraor-
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operation about the same
muffler, and far lower
of the exhaust manifold.

atic converter comes with
M cars as standard equip-
esh air from GM, a world
lution control technology.

Motors

Buick, Cadillac, GMC Truck



Washington Bureau
March 28, 1988

Return to me

Dear Bob--

Enjoyed seeing you at the Gridiron. Kind of a strange institution but a charming one, I think. Thought Cuomo's remarks about Reagan were especially gracious and touching. Assume you and Senator Cohen had a pleasant chat. Figured things had been smoothed over since the unpleasantness of early '87, but you never know so I split.

Enclosed are a couple of pieces I mentioned to you Saturday night. The Fallows article, written in 1975, strikes me as perceptive and illuminating. Forgot until after we separated that you were at the NSC when he was writing speeches for Carter. Admiral Stockdale's speech is both trenchant and passionate, especially at the top of the last page.

In my book, I hope to explore that generational faultline created by Vietnam (Fallows argues, pretty persuasively, I think, that social class played a major role). But I also plan to look into its corrosive effect on our national resolve, perhaps the state of our integrity as a nation. The key to doing so successfully, though, is not to rub the reader's nose in the theme, but to bring it alive through the personalities and experiences and actions of the central figures. For the moment, I find myself both excited and intimidated by the project. But I know if I just hold it together for awhile, sheer panic will set in, I'll feel right at home and get the damned thing done.

Thanks for giving me a copy of the speech you gave in Dallas. I was particularly taken by the section on glasnost and the potential problems even a minimally successful Gorbachev could create for the United States. I passed on copies to Steve Broening, our diplomatic correspondent, and Frank Starr, our bureau chief. Both are old Moscow hands. Didn't think you'd have any objection.

Thanks again for lunch. Hope to see you soon. If you're at the White House Correspondents dinner, please stop by our reception. No Fawn Hall this year, but our guests include Holly Hunter and Donna Rice.

Best regards,

Bob Timberg

James Bond Stockdale

speaks on

**Our Personal
and National Resolve**

to the

American Society of Newspaper Editors
San Francisco, California

April 8, 1987

PAO 88-0148 *Chono*

28 April 1988

DDCI:

RE: Speaking Invitation
Commencement Address
Defense Intelligence College
Bolling Air Force Base
Friday, 17 June 1988

On behalf of the Defense Intelligence College (DIC) Lieutenant General Leonard H. Perroots, USAF has invited you to be the commencement speaker and to receive the Honorary Doctorate of Strategic Intelligence degree at the Graduation Ceremony on Friday, 17 June. The ceremony will be held in the Defense Intelligence Analysis Center (DIAC) auditorium on Bolling Air Force Base from 10:00 - 10:45 a.m. The proposed format is 10 - 15 minutes of remarks on the "Role of Strategic Intelligence" or any topic of your choice.

After nine months of postgraduate studies, 75 mid-career intelligence professionals from the military services and the intelligence community will receive diplomas. In addition, Master degrees will be awarded to 35 of these students who have successfully completed the Master of Science of Strategic Intelligence program. Although the Agency has several part-time students at the college, none will be graduating with this class. Senior military foreign nationals who are also graduating may be included in the ceremonies.

You could expect an audience of 400 which will include graduates, family members, faculty, and distinguished guests. The media is not invited to cover the event.

Representative Louis Stokes was the commencement speaker in September and General Robert Herres last June. Dr. Edward Teller was the honorary degree recipient in 1987.

I recommend that you accept this invitation and have attached a letter of acceptance for your signature.



Bill Baker



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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

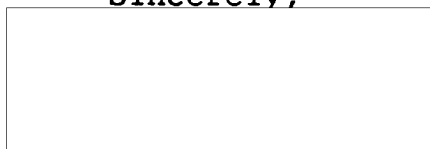
29 April 1988

Lieutenant General Leonard H. Perroots, USAF
Director
Defense Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Lenny:

I am honored by and accept with pleasure your invitation to give the commencement address at the Defense Intelligence College on Friday, June 17th at Bolling Air Force Base. I look forward to participating in the graduation ceremony of these outstanding intelligence officers. A member of our Public Affairs Staff will be in touch concerning the arrangements.

Sincerely,



Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

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DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

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7 APR 1988

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Mr. Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Gates: *Bob*

On behalf of the Defense Intelligence College, I am pleased to extend an invitation to you to address our Graduation Ceremony on Friday, 17 June 1988. The commencement will be the culmination of 9 months of postgraduate studies for a group of mid-career intelligence professionals from the Services and other elements of the Intelligence Community. Additionally, we will award Master's degrees to students who have successfully completed the Master of Science of Strategic Intelligence program.

We will begin with a coffee for VIP's at 9:30 a.m. which will be followed by the commencement at 10:00 a.m. in the auditorium of the Defense Intelligence Analysis Center (DIAC) on Bolling AFB. Following the ceremonies, at about 11:30 a.m., the College will hold a brief reception for the graduates and their families.

Your views on intelligence and national security, as they present challenges to intelligence professionals, will be of great interest to the graduates, faculty, and guests. I sincerely hope that you will honor us with your presence on 17 June.

Dr. Hugo Keesing is the College point of contact. He may be reached at 373-3346.

Sincerely,

LEONARD H. PERROOTS
Lieutenant General, USAF
Director

You would be great - if one you

