TULANIAN
Tulane University (LA)
Fall 1982

Hostages, Hindsight & Life in the CIA

A Conversation with Stansfield Turner

by Garry Boulard

As snow fell in Washington that brisk Sunday morning in January 1981, Stansfield Turner, then head of the Central Intelligence Agency, sensed the mounting pressure and excitement as he and his wife neared the White House.

"I knew there really wasn't any reason for me to be there," the fifty-eight-year-old Carter appointee recalled. "There wasn't anything for me to do, but I just felt like I should be with the people I had worked with all those months in one of their most important hours."

An official White House photo released later in the day captured the drama of the moment: Turner, still in his overcoat, sits in a corner of the Oval Office, while such one-time heavyweights as Walter Mondale, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Ed Muskie, and G. William Miller await the latest word on the release of Iran's U.S. hostages—an ordeal that had plagued so many political careers.

In the middle of the photo stands the man who in two days would no longer be this country's commander-in-chief. Somewhat beleaguered, almost certainly tired, President Jimmy Carter appeared to be lost in thought.

Despite the high drama of the situation, Turner remembered a few funny and even emotional incidents that occurred before the hostages were released and Ronald Reagan was sworn in as the next president. "We were, for the most part, just sitting around, hoping for some new breakthrough, trying to remain calm. We'd all go into another room for coffee and to chat, then the phone would ring, and we'd all run back into the Oval Office. It got to be a little ridiculous after a while."

Even as Carter's final hours as president dwindled, he was still required to perform some of the ceremonial functions required of that high office. Turner was slated to receive the National Security Medal for his almost four years as chief of the ever-controversial CIA.

"I left a message with the White House that they didn't have to go through with the ceremony. I knew the president was tired and I thought they could just mail the medal to me," said Turner. But Carter was adamant. He wanted to personally thank the CIA director for his service to the country. For Turner, a man not given to sentimental display, the gesture was heartfelt.

In New Orleans this summer to address the Tulane Founder's Society, Turner, a devotee of twelve-hour workdays who seems to gain energy as the day wears on, held an hour-long press conference, appeared on a local television show, hobnobbed with local officials, and in between it all raced back to his hotel room to make several business calls to New York.

A graduate of Annapolis, where he ranked ahead of classmate Carter in 1946, Turner also graduated from Oxford University before assuming a variety of naval duties ranging from commanding a minesweeper to running a guided missile frigate.

After twenty years of naval service, he was promoted to rear admiral in 1970 and later became commander of the Second Fleet in the Atlantic. He became known as something of an innovator in that position and made a practice of checking up on the readiness of his ships by making surprise helicopter visits.

When Carter tapped Turner to head the CIA in 1977, that agency had just gone through one of the most difficult periods of its thirty-five-year history. A congressional investigating committee headed by former senior Democratic senator Frank Church had [illegible] sharp controls over what it viewed as the CIA's rampant abuse of the privacy of American citizens and the covert action taken against governments such as those of Cuba and Chile, where certain political movements thought to be anti-American were ruthlessly squelched or attacked.

One result of that congressional recommendation was the 1974 Hughes-Ryan Amendment, which stipulated that before the CIA undertook any operation which would involve it in the business of a foreign country, the president of the United States would have to justify that activity as essential to the security of this nation and then officially inform various congressional committees.

Such balance-of-power juggling acts would later prompt Carter to complain that every time he wanted to conduct any sort of covert action, he was obligated to inform seven or eight congressional committees.

Presently lecturing across the country and appearing on NBC as a military correspondent, the graying, physically fit Turner refutes George Bernard Shaw's description of top-level government officials as "people who have no souls, and are born stale."

On the contrary, in a wide-ranging conversation with *Tulanian*, Turner proved that he's not afraid to express his opinion, whether the subject is the press ("Most reporters are looking for that big Watergate-like story and if they don't find it they'll practically make one up") or the present foreign policy of the Reagan Administration ("It has been primarily one of poor planning and mixed signals.")

Tulanian: The battle for the Falkland Islands seems to be, for the time being anyway, settled. Were there any lessons for us to learn from this struggle?

Turner: There were a lot of them. First [illegible] get involved in a war when you don't have a vital interest involved.

ARTICLE APPEARED ON PAGE A-15
THE NEW YORK TIMES
31 AUGUST 1982

Book on Reagan Aides Cites Wealth and Links to Industry

By JUDITH MILLER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30 — A new book of profiles of top Reagan Administration officials shows a preponderance of millionaires and businessmen, including appointees from 23 different industries who now regulate or oversee the industries they came from.

The book, the subject of a news conference called today by Ralph Nader, a persistent critic of the Reagan Administration, contains short biographies of 100 officials. It also includes excerpts from interviews with 57 of them and information from financial disclosure reports and other data.

"Almost 30 of the top officials are millionaires, and many are multimillionaires who view the Federal Government as an instrument for the powerful and wealthy, unaccountable to the public," Mr. Nader said at the news conference. "It is a government of extraordinarily broad wealth, narrow vision and little compassion," he asserted.

Reagan Administration officials did not respond directly today to Mr. Nader's observations. However, the Administration has in the past taken pride in the number of officials it has recruited from the private sector, arguing that such people contribute management experience, pragmatism and a healthy skepticism about the role of government.

Much of the information in the book, "Reagan's Ruling Class," is not new. But the 747-page work, written by two of Mr. Nader's aides, Ronald Brownstein and Nina Easton, is the most comprehensive compilation to date of information about the almost exclusively male circle of officials who formulate and carry out President Reagan's policies.

Insights and Anecdotes

The book offers several insights and anecdotes about leading Administration members. For instance, it reports that while serving in the Nixon Administration, Interior Secretary James G. Watt prevailed upon an employee he was dismissing to pray with him.

The book quotes Roy Wood, who worked for Mr. Watt in the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, as stating: "Watt said, 'Let's pray about it' and down on our knees we went. We prayed on our knees and I could feel that steely knife twisting in my backbone."

Then, the book recounts, Mr. Watt spoke to Mr. Wood's wife. "He said he had talked with the Lord and the Lord felt that we should return to Georgia," Matilda Wood recalled in the book.

The book also notes that when William J. Casey, now Director of Central Intelligence, served as Under Secretary of State in the Nixon Administration, he advocated the development of "cooperative" energy projects with the Soviet Union, and is quoted as mentioning "gas companies going in to build pipelines," as an example. The Reagan Administration is now trying to block such a pipeline project.

Contradictions With Policy

In another contradiction with current Government policy, neither Edward Rowny, the chief strategic arms control negotiator, nor Deputy Defense Secretary Frank C. Carlucci support Mr. Reagan's assertion that the Soviet Union has a margin of nuclear superiority over the United States.

"I see some sort of parity now," Mr. Carlucci concludes in the book.

The book, saying there is a strong consensus in senior Administration circles about the need to bolster American military prowess, notes that 32 of the 100 officials, including Secretary of State George P. Shultz, were members of the Committee on the Present Danger, a private group created in 1976 to mobilize public opinion and military might against Soviet aggrandizement. Mr. Reagan was also a committee member.

The study also notes that two key officials responsible for domestic and international nuclear policy came from the atomic power industry. They are Deputy Energy Secretary W. Kenneth Davis, formerly vice president for nuclear development at Bechtel Corporation, one of the world's major nuclear contractors, and Assistant Secretary of State James Malone, who is responsible for nuclear nonproliferation and formerly a member of Doub & Muntzing, a law firm that has represented several foreign nuclear utilities.

"For the Reagan Administration, reversing the nuclear industry's fortunes has become a crusade, perhaps its single most cherished energy goal," concludes the book, which sells for $24.50.

Because, in part, of the heavy representation of individuals from what Mr. Nader termed "corporate enterprise," he added that surprisingly few Administration officials were drawn from "the far right wing of the Republican Party."

COCOA TODAY (FL)
31 August 1982

Freedom of information under attack again

Anyone who has been in the service probably has heard the phrase "need to know." In dealing with military secrets it is a convenient way of restricting information to certain categories of personnel. Such restrictions make it less likely that large amounts of information will be compromised at the same time. In general, it works well.

However, problems often arise when security categories of government agencies conflict with the public's needs for information. This conflict has become worse in the past few decades as government has sought to cope with the explosive growth of information of all kinds. Too often, material that is embarrassing or legally dangerous to the bureaucracy has been classified along with the genuine secrets.

The need for a uniform law relating to the release of information from all branches of the federal government became apparent to Congress in the mid-1960s. As a result, 17 years ago lawmakers drew up the Freedom of Information Act, which provides for a wide margin of public access to government material.

Since its inception the law has been under attack from critics who claim it its being used in "unintended ways that interfere with important government activities." Those activities reportedly include intelligence gathering, law enforcement, corporate security and others. The Reagan administration favors weakening the act and has been carrying on a campaign to accomplish that goal.

It no doubt is true that the information law makes it more difficult to operate clandestinely in this country. That can create problems for people who want to recruit spies or infiltrate organized crime, but those tasks were never easy.

In the long run the benefits of the act must be balanced against the disadvantages. It has not been that long since a certain breakin occurred at the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C., a crime that became the most famous "third-rate burglary" in history partly because reporters could rely on the information act, a valuable new legal tool.

Since the law took effect many abuses in government have been uncovered and subsequently corrected. Without the act most of that wrongdoing might well have never been discovered.

Recently CIA Director William Casey fired a new salvo of criticism at the law when he addressed a veterans group in Chicago. Casey, whose own business activities have come under close scrutiny by the press, told the group that the act is undermining U.S. intelligence operations. In fact, he went so far as to say that he doubts whether a secret intelligence agency and the act can "coexist for very long."

From here that sounds like so much rhetoric. There may be room for some modification, but generally the law works well and should be kept intact.

The test of leadership for any administration is how well it functions within the constraints of circumstances and the law. Reagan and his aides should halt their efforts to cripple this statute and get used to performing in the hot sunshine of public scrutiny.

ELKHART TRUTH (IN)
31 August 1982

Editorials

Both Security and Freedom

RUNNING AN intelligence agency in a free society means always working in a contradiction. Intelligence outfits have an easier time in totalitarian countries, where the intelligence chief often is the one to say what information people receive.

Here we don't operate that way. Our society starts with the presumption that an informed public is necessary to run a democracy — that people have a fundamental right to know what their government is doing. At the same time we do need intelligence gathering, and the secrecy that requires is constantly being weighed against the public right to be informed.

It's probably natural for an intelligence chief to privately wish he did not have this conflict. CIA Director William Casey expressed the wish in public, at an American Legion convention in Chicago. Casey said the Freedom of Information Act, which allows people who request it to get information from government agencies, is harmful to intelligence work.

"I question very seriously whether a secret intelligence agency and the Freedom of Information Act can coexist for very long," Casey said. The implied consequence is that the Freedom of Information Act should be dumped. We don't suppose Casey has considered the possibility that, if a choice had to be made, somebody might suggest dumping the secret intelligence agency.

That mustn't be done, for security reasons. But freedom of information mustn't be dumped, either, for reasons even more fundamental to the nature of this society. In this country, we don't make an either/or choice between security and freedom. We are in a constant process of adjusting the demands of each so that both can coexist.

Casey tells us nothing new when he points out the inherent contradiction. Nonetheless, that's the way we do things. A CIA director who can't accept this fails to understand the freedoms his agency is supposed to serve.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-2

THE WASHINGTON POST
31 AUGUST 1982

Nader's Latest Raid: Government Of, By, For the Well-Heeled

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ralph Nader, who crusaded against defects in the Corvair, duplicity in the Congress and dishonesty in Corporate America, has taken aim on a new target.

It is the Reaganites, portrayed by Nader as wealthy presidential friends "remote from the realities of life for most Americans" who look out for the welfare of big corporations but treat the poor with "mindless neglect."

"This is, unabashedly, a government of the wealthy," Nader concludes in his introduction to "Reagan's Ruling Class," a 750-page book written by Nader activists Ronald Brownstein and Nina Easton that attempts to profile the top 100 officials of the administration.

The Reagan "regime," Nader writes, "is foremost a homogenized government by elites. Even organized labor leaders are out; also gone are the minorities, the poor, the elderly, consumers and environmentalists."

News Analysis

At a press conference yesterday to promote the book's release, Nader described the administration as a government "of General Motors, by DuPont and for Exxon," run by people "who view the federal government as an instrument for the powerful and the wealthy, unaccountable to the public."

The result of a year's research into the background, convictions and decisions of the top 100 Reaganites, the book, which was published by Nader's Presidential Accountability Group and will sell for $24.50, follows a similar effort to profile members of Congress several years ago.

Brownstein, 24, and Easton, 23, said they conducted more than 500 interviews over 12 months for the new book.

Like the congressional study, which created controversy and was criticized for inaccuracies, Nader's latest effort is certain to draw fire as a one-sided view of an administration Nader finds the antithesis of his own pro-consumer, anti-corporate convictions.

Nader, the nation's best-known consumer activist, saw many of his proteges enter government during the Carter years and now believes their work is being undone in the Reagan era.

In their research, the Naderites found that, like President Reagan himself, many of the people brought into his administration have made an ideological journey to conservatism. They also found in the speeches and newspaper reports of the past activities of many Reagan appointees comments they would be unlikely to make today.

For example, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, once a liberal San Francisco Republican, told a seminar at the American Enterprise Institute in 1972: "The identification of a threat to security does not automatically require an expenditure in the defense budget to neutralize it. . . . The defense budget, in short, must be seen not only in terms of what we must defend ourselves against, but what we have to defend. The more we take from the common wealth for its defense, the smaller it becomes."

Of the 100 administration officials profiled by Brownstein and Easton, they said 98 were white, 95 were men and more than 30 percent were millionaires. Of the 100 officials, 57 consented to interviews, some conducted with Nader. Some sessions produced revealing moments, such as when CIA Director William J. Casey was asked about his greatest triumph, and replied: "If I get out alive . . . , after you've been shot down . . . , I'd say the thrill is to be still here."

But the volume suffers from a lack of access to top White House officials, none of whom agreed to interviews for the book. Nader, in his comments yesterday and in his introduction to the book, put great stress on the so-called "Kitchen Cabinet" of Reagan's friends.

CONTINUED

Associated Press
30 August 1982

By MIKE FEINSILBER, Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON

In a 750-page, $24.50 book profiling the Reagan Administration's top 100 officials, Washington gadfly Ralph Nader finds a government of narrow vision and little compassion that is "remote from the realities of life for most Americans."

Nader told a news conference Monday that he was shocked by the "cold-blooded atmosphere" he found when he helped the book's co-authors, Ronald Brownstein and Nina Easton, conduct interviews for "Reagan's Ruling Class."

He said he found the administration to be callously indifferent to the general welfare and to be intent on producing "a government of General Motors, by DuPont, for Exxon."

Of the 100 officials singled out as most influential, 57 granted interviews to Nader's colleagues. In those conversations, the writers uncovered some snippets of news.

Housing Secretary Samuel Pierce, asked if he sensed a commitment to civil rights in the Justice Department, hedged and became "visibly uncomfortable," the book said.

Rudolph Giuliani, who as associate attorney general is the No. 3 official in the Justice Department, discussed in an interview the value of undercover investigations such as those he conducted when he was a U.S. prosecutor in New York City.

The book said President Reagan's contention that the Soviet Union enjoys military supremacy over the United States drew no endorsement in interviews conducted with CIA Director William Casey, arms negotiator Edward Rowny and Deputy Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci.

"Some people judge it one way, some people judge it the other way," Casey said in a two-hour session with the authors. "I don't think you know."

The book was published Monday by a Nader spinoff, the Presidential Accountability Group. It resulted, Nader said, from a year's work by a dozen researchers who conducted 600 interviews to gather information about the men at the top.

CONTINUED

AKRON BEACON JOURNAL (OH)
30 August 1982

No special CIA shelter

CIA DIRECTOR William J. Casey is making public noises to the effect that America should "get rid of" the Freedom of Information Act.

"I question whether the CIA and the Freedom of Information Act can coexist very long," Mr. Casey told the American Legion national convention.

Of course there are some who would question whether a free society itself is compatible with an agency whose past functions have included spying on its own citizens.

We will give Mr. Casey and the CIA the benefit of the doubt on that idea, however. Regrettably, in this imperfect world of ours, the CIA performs a necessary function. There really are enemies out to get us Out There and we need to know what they are up to. Hence the need for a Central Intelligence Agency.

But we don't think such an agency should operate in a vacuum, with little or no controls. And the best safeguard, in our system, has been a public that knows what is going on. Hence the need for a Freedom of Information Act.

The two can "coexist" — perhaps uneasily — because they have to. In a free society, there is no other way. If that system makes officials like Mr. Casey uncomfortable, we have to assume it is working.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.
4701 WILLARD AVENUE, CHEVY CHASE, MARYLAND 20815 656-4068

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM The Today Show

STATION WRC TV
NBC Network

DATE August 30, 1982 7:00 AM

CITY Washington, DC

SUBJECT An Interview with Ralph Nader

JUDY WOODRUFF: We all talk about the Reagan administration as a whole. But any administration is made up of many individuals. And a new book called Reagan's Ruling Class is just out, which profiles a hundred of the President's top officials. It's just come out under the guidance of Ralph Nader. Mr. Nader is in our Washington studio this morning.

Good morning. Nice to have you with us.

RALPH NADER: Thank you.

WOODRUFF: Mr. Nader, the book concludes that the top people are very pro-business, that they are quite conservative, that they're trying to dismantle the traditional role of government. Isn't that what people voted for in 1980?

NADER: No, I don't think they voted for dismantling the health and safety programs, such as pollution control or auto safety. I don't think they voted for the use of government as an instrument for the wealthy and the powerful.

The elections were generally over the issues of cutting the deficit and making taxes less burdensome. But the government is doing so much more than that. As we know, the deficit is at an all-time record under the Reagan administration.

WOODRUFF: But they did vote for a lesser role for government in the lives of all of us, didn't they?

NADER: But not for a lesser role of government as a policeman against corporate crime, fraud or abuse, or monopoly.

THE BOSTON GLOBE
ARTICLE APPEARED 30 August 1982
ON PAGE 3

Reagan drive is planned to keep 'working coalition'

By Curtis Wilkie
Globe Staff

SANTA BARBARA, Calif. – With the fall campaign approaching, White House strategists are plotting a vigorous offensive for President Ronald Reagan to preserve the Administration's "working coalition" in Congress rather than simply try to elect Republicans.

Reagan is scheduled to be on the road two days out of every 10 after Labor Day, and the tempo will be increased in October, White House aides say.

Although the basic plan, which is still being developed, is aimed at holding down GOP losses, it also calls for Reagan to ignore, or at best give "lukewarm" support, to Republican candidates who have not fully embraced his economic program.

In some instances, officials at Reagan's vacation headquarters here say privately, they would prefer to see some conservative Democrats win.

Last year, when the President was soliciting help from a group of House Democrats from the South known as the Boll Weevils, he pledged not to campaign directly against them if they supported his economic package. Reagan said at the time that he might campaign for Republican candidates in their home states, but not in their congressional districts.

A ranking Administration official said last week that that commitment was being reassessed because a number of the Boll Weevils opposed Reagan in this month's struggle over the tax bill, but it is doubtful Reagan will campaign against his erstwhile Democratic allies.

In another manuever sparked by partisan politics, Reagan this month issued – at the request of Democrats who supported the tax bill – a personal "thank you" letter. The letter, according to one Reagan aide, "will give them something to wave" if Republican candidates attack them for voting for the bill.

A senior aide said Reagan may also seize on such issues as his bid to extend tax credits to families paying tuition for private schools in an attempt to win over Roman Catholic voters who are ordinarily Democrats.

The White House, meanwhile, is in the process of determining which GOP candidates will be able to serve as host of a presidential visit this fall. Some decisions will not be made until the results of polls conducted in early September can be studied. If the election looks close enough that a Reagan visit could make the difference, that would be an important factor, another White House aide said.

But he acknowledged that in some depressed areas, an appearance by Reagan might backfire, and therefore, Vice President George Bush or a popular Cabinet member might be used.

A heavy schedule of campaigning is beign drawn up for all Cabinet members, except those traditionally excluded from politicking – Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Attorney General William French Smith, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and William Casey, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The all-out effort is being made because the party in control of the White House traditionally loses seats in Congress. At this point, both Democratic and Republican tacticians figure the GOP will lose as many as 20 seats in the House, although they may build slightly on their margin in the Senate because many more Democrats are up for re-election this year.

WILLIAM CASEY

EXCERPTED

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United Press International
29 August 1982

Hatfield threatens to stall work on key military appropriations

PORTLAND, Ore.

Sen. Mark Hatfield said if Congress fails to override the president's veto of a supplemental funding bill he will be in no rush to handle defense spending requests before his Senate Appropriations Committee.

''I dont' plan to be in a hurry to handle higher-level defense spending requests,'' said the committee chairman, who often has criticized military spending. ''From my personal point of view, a continuing resolution is better because it (defense spending) is at a lower level.''

The Oregon Republican, who appeared at a news conference Saturday to speak on Reagan's veto, said there are just 16 congressional days left in fiscal 1982, which ends Sept. 30. He said Congress has yet to pass any of 13 major funding bills for 1983 and unless the logjam is broken the lawmakers are likely to decide to authorize spending by a continuing resolution, which maintains funding at 1982 levels.

Hatfield said he has told Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of State George Shultz, CIA Director William casey ''and others who had very important programs in the 1983 budget'' that these programs are on hold.

EXCERPTED

ARLINGTON HEIGHTS HERALD (IL)
29 AUGUST 1982

Information act needed

24-1

CIA Director William Casey, speaking this week to the American Legion convention in Chicago, urged that his agency be exempted from the Freedom of Information Act.

The CIA believes that statutes which promote openness in government should not apply to, and indeed are inconsistent with, a spy organization.

While we agree that this nation must have an effective intelligence-gathering apparatus, we do not agree that the FOIA compromises our security. As it stands, the act provides adequate safeguards for sensitive information.

The FOIA exempts nine categories from disclosure. The CIA uses two of these to protect information it deems sensitive. One protects information relating to our national defense and foreign policy. The other is a catchall which protects information specifically exempted by statute.

In April President Reagan signed an executive order which toughens the classification process. It goes so far as to allow the reclassification of some information which had been public. That order took effect Aug. 1. In addition, the courts generally side with the CIA and other intelligence-gathering agencies when it comes to keeping information secrect.

During the Ford and Carter years the FOIA was used to obtain information about the CIA's mind control experiments and "Operation Chaos." During that operation, the CIA tried to link anti-Vietnam War dissidents with foreign espionage and compiled hundreds of thousands of files on American citizens in violation of its charter.

Both Presidents Ford and Carter ordered restrictions placed on the CIA and other agencies, but in December President Reagan removed many of the restrictions with a new executive order which, for the first time, allows the CIA to engage in domestic spying and the infiltration of American organizations without a warrant.

At that time Reagan said: "There is no inherent conflict between the intelligence community and the rights of our citizens.... This is not to say mistakes were never made and that vigilance against abuse is unneccessary." We agree. The Freedom of Information Act is a valuable tool for maintaining that vigilance

MORNING (CA)
29 AUGUST 1982

A million secrets

CIA Director William Casey told the 64th annual convention of the American Legion in Chicago the other day that the Freedom of Information Act ought to be abolished because the nation's security will continue to be threatened unless we get rid of it.

The 1966 law, which allows the public to inspect government records except those classified for reasons of national security, gives foreign intelligence agents "legal license to poke into our files," Casey claims.

The CIA director's fears seem a bit unnecessary, in our opinion, especially when the trend in recent months has been in the direction of greater government secrecy, not less.

On April 2, President Reagan signed an executive order giving federal officials broader authority to withhold information from the public on the grounds of national security. "The order has a direct and immediate impact on the availability of information under the Freedom of Information Act," according to a report of the House Committee on Government Operations which sees no justification for the new restrictions.

A New York Times story recently quoted federal estimates of 800,000 to 1,000,000 documents classified each year. That is bound to increase under the new executive order, which even makes it possible for federal bureaucrats to reclassify a document that already has been declassified and made public.

With a million secrets classsified annually, the problem has to be of a qualitative bureaucratic nature — not quantitative — if Soviet agents still are managing to hit the jackpot copying leftover documents. Blanket censorship won't solve it.

BOISE STATESMAN (ID)
29 AUGUST 1982

It's Casey vs. the sheep ranchers

CIA Director William J. Casey's reasons for wanting to repeal the Freedom of Information Act — detailed in a recent Statesman article — might have sounded pretty good if you failed to turn the page and read the latest on a 30-year-old lawsuit in which Utah ranchers claim 4,400 sheep were killed by radioactive fallout.

Casey told the national convention of the American Legion that "unless we get rid of the Freedom of Information Act" the nation's security will continue to be threatened. "Secrecy is essential," he said.

Funny, that's pretty much what the now-defunct Atomic Energy Commission said when those Utah ranchers tried to get to the bottom of what killed the sheep grazing downwind from atomic bomb tests back in 1953.

Where atomic tests were concerned, the AEC classified everything but the kitchen sink as secret. In some cases, the agency went so far as to classify the notes of its own investigators so that the investigators themselves could not even look at the notes later. Secrecy, they said, was essential.

As a result, the sheep ranchers were not able to come up with enough evidence to support their suit against the government. In 1956, U.S. District Court Judge Sherman Christensen threw out the case.

A few weeks ago, Christensen reopened the case, pointing out that the plaintiffs had provided new evidence showing the government systematically covered up the truth during the original trial.

How did the plaintiffs come up with the new evidence? You guessed it. The Freedom of Information Act played a vital role in busting open the secret files on atomic energy.

No, Mr. Casey, we don't need to do away with the Freedom of Information Act. What we need is a careful balance between government secrecy and government openness. We have that now under the FOI Act and the rules for classifying secrets truly vital to national security.

What we also need is for a lot of Americans to start wondering why guys like Casey want to get rid of the FOI Act.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
29 August 1982

Secrecy and security

Sixteen years ago, during the Vietnam War, Congress passed the Freedom of Information Act, which allows scholars, journalists and citizens in general to obtain government records and find out what their government is up to. Eight years ago, in the wake of Watergate, Congress broadened the act to prevent the kind of abuses that the Nixon administration perpetrated in the name of "national security."

The Reagan administration has been trying — so far, fortunately, without success — to persuade Congress to put sharp limits on the act. Comes now William J. Casey, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, advocating that the act be abolished.

"I question very seriously whether a secret intelligence agency and the Freedom of Information Act can coexist very long," Mr. Casey declared in an address to the American Legion convention in Chicago.

FOI, he asserted, gives foreign intelligence agents "legal license to poke into our files. . . . Secrecy is essential."

Essential to what? It is essential to some aspects of foreign policy, law enforcement and intelligence, but the fact is the CIA and other federal agencies can and do protect information that should be classified. Obviously, some operations are and ought to be secret — the identity of CIA informants or the movement of troops in wartime, for example — and in wartime even democratic governments censor the news.

But what has been happening through the years, reaching alarming proportions in the Johnson and Nixon years, is that too many of the secrets that public officials wanted to keep from the public on grounds of "national security" had to do with everyday operations — matters that the officials believed would be embarrassing or inconvenient, to them, if revealed — their mistakes, abuses of power, lies.

Even with FOI, the public is not allowed enough access to the workings of the federal government. The law, however, has resulted in disclosures that might not — probably would not — have gained public attention without FOI requests. They range from secret memos from the late J. Edgar Hoover ordering the FBI to expose and disrupt black and white groups whose activist politics Mr. Hoover didn't like to records concerning methods used to evict gold miners from federal forests. Other FOI disclosures revealed that 10 nursing home patients in Philadelphia died while they were the subjects of a drug experiment and heavily censored documents on CIA assassination plots against Fidel Castro.

Was American democracy better off because those things could be done in secret? Or is it better off because, thanks to the Freedom of Information Act, it will be harder in the future for public officials to do such things and lie about them and get away with it?

The question is to what degree a democratic government, accountable to the people, can coexist with secrecy. If there is no simple answer, the right answer is surely not in giving the CIA or any other federal agency, however small or insignificant, license to operate without the expectation of public accountability.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 12

THE BOSTON GLOBE MAGAZINE
29 AUGUST 1982

MYSTERY MAN OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

In the middle of a snowy night in 1942, an FBI agent slipped into a US Army barracks at Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont, and tiptoed down an aisle of sleeping recruits. Stopping at one bunk, the FBI man gently shook one of the soldiers awake and showed him his badge.

"What will you do for your country?" the man asked.

"Anything," the sleepy soldier replied.

Thus began what Lieutenant General Vernon A. Walters would describe years later as "my first intelligence assignment," a mission to infiltrate a group of Nazi spies broadcasting to German submarines from the nearby Stowe ski area. Walters was president of the ski club at the Army base; he had been educated in Europe and spoke German.

"I performed this mission to the satisfaction of the FBI," he recounted in his memoirs, *Secret Missions*, published in 1978. "Later they were to send me a cryptically worded letter of commendation. It arrived at the battalion two or three days before I was to leave to go to Officers Candidate School. I thought that it would do me much more good to receive it there than at Fort Ethan Allen and arranged to have it strategically delayed a few weeks."

Today, after thirty-four years in the US Army and a four-year stint as deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Walters is one of the Reagan administration's most important foreign policy officials, a kind of Lone Ranger for the new "quiet diplomacy." But Walters has also become the mystery man of American foreign policy, avoiding the congressional spotlight, refusing on-the-record interviews with journalists, and constantly traveling the world for behind-closed-doors meetings with presidents, dictators, and revolutionaries.

Walters aides turned down repeated requests for interviews with him. "It just makes his job more difficult," one of them explained. "He likes to move around discreetly."

"He works alone," retired CIA officer Dino Brugioni, a Walters admirer, says. "But when he goes out, he's prepared. He doesn't do anything in a halfway fashion. He's a real pro."

Since joining the State Department as ambassador at large early in the administration, Walters has secretly been a key back-channel emissary to Zaire, Kenya, Morocco, Ceylon, India, Nepal, Angola, El Salvador, Argentina, Zambia, and other countries. He has been a key participant in sensitive negotiations over Central America, the Falklands, and Southern Africa. In March, he slipped off to Havana for a four-hour chat with Fidel Castro.

"Hell, he probably just took out his American Express Gold Card and rented a plane in Miami," says Miles Frechette, head of the State Department's Cuba desk, with a laugh. "Of course," he quickly adds, "we're not confirming that he even went there."

By Jeff Stein

Walters' rise through the ranks is, on the face of it, amazing. He is a retired general who never commanded troops. He was a deputy director of the CIA though he never graduated from college. And he became one of the country's most trusted diplomats before he had spent a day in the State Department or an hour as a Wall Street lawyer — the usual route to the diplomatic service.

Walters speaks at least eight languages, maybe more. Within those eight are many dialects he is said to have mastered. It is reported that he likes to slip into a country unannounced before a meeting with a head of state so he can ride the buses around and pick up the local slang and intonation. In his memoirs, Walters explains the importance he places on language. "In the unending struggle for freedom," he writes, "we must be able to communicate with those who wish to be free. Too long have we expected all our friends to speak English."

WALTERS' DIPLOMATIC ASSIGNments since the first months of the Reagan administration suggest that his principal mission has been to interpret the renewed American attitude of friendship to Latin American military dictators. His appointment was in fact the clearest possible signal to these regimes of a policy reversal from the human rights years of the Carter administration.

"He is an example of the importance this administration puts on getting along with military dictatorships," says retired US Navy admiral Gene LaRocque, head of the Washington-based Center for Defense Infor-

CONTINUED

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
27 AUGUST 1982

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 10

Mr. Casey makes it all easy

In the view of CIA director William J. Casey, the Freedom of Information Act is plain idiocy, a proof of the American "propensity to shoot ourselves in the foot." Mr. Casey told an applauding audience of American Legionnaires in Chicago that Congress should get rid of the law, under which individuals and businesses, including foreign nationals, can request and get information from government agencies.

The effect, said Mr. Casey, is to give foreign intelligence agents "legal license to poke into our files." He added ominously: "I doubt whether the CIA and the Freedom of Information Act can coexist very long."

This simplifies things a great deal. As Mr. Casey sees it, there is really only one side to the equation that has concerned this government for so long; the problem of balancing secrecy against accountability should not be a problem at all. Secrecy is essential, an informed public is not, so efforts to keep the CIA reasonably answerable for its actions are not merely foolish but suicidal. The answer is to stop trying.

This is a bit worrisome. A director of intelligence must deal with complex and subtle problems; Mr. Casey's simplistic approach to this one indicates that he is not aware a problem exists. He does not, in fact, seem to have noticed a striking fact about the government he is employed to defend: that it is obliged by its own Constitution to protect its citizens' access to information. To point out that in some instances it is inconvenient to do so is to state the problem, not the solution.

The challenge is especially tricky in the case of the CIA, whose operations must be largely secret if they are to be effective at all. That is the reason for the current tug-of-war between the Reagan administration and Congress over a sweeping executive order giving the Justice Department and the CIA virtually autonomous powers to classify information.

Mr. Casey all along has insisted that the CIA should have blanket exemption from the requirements of the Freedom of Information Act. He now seems to be going beyond this and demanding that the act itself be scrapped—that citizens' right to information about their own government is too petty a concern for government to worry about. For an intelligence director, that's a strangely unintelligent argument.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES
27 August 1982

'Get rid of' information act?

Central Intelligence Agency Director William J. Casey told clapping Legionnaires here this week that the country should "get rid of" the Freedom of Information Act.

The law, designed to let Americans know more of what their government is doing to them, gives foreign agents "legal license to poke into our files," Casey said.

He added a few other exaggerations, as he did earlier this year before Congress gave up on attempts to change the law. He'll probably add more next year; he says he wants to gear up another assault on the law.

But his blustery half-truths don't stand up in the face of the facts.

Casey *didn't* tell the Legionnaires that the law already is written to prevent the release of classified information and a wide range of other data, including businesses' trade secrets.

He didn't note that the law already exempts identities of informants.

And he didn't point out that if any such information has slipped out (and Casey claims it has, though he's notoriously short on proof), it's the CIA's fault, not the law's.

The CIA, after all, has broad powers to edit the documents it releases, and the law itself shouldn't be blamed for the mistakes of incompetent or ignorant CIA workers.

Casey's fond of saying that the law makes foreign intelligence agencies skittish about cooperating with the CIA. Yet only reluctantly will he admit that this country's worst recent intelligence mistake—Iran's capture of Israeli spy data in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran—was a pure CIA blunder. It misdirected the stuff to Iran in the first place.

"Get rid of" the law? Get rid of the incompetents. And get rid of those who'd hide the dagger behind a thicker cloak.

TAMPA TRIBUNE (FL)
27 August 1982

Save the Patient, Too, Doctor

If William J. Casey, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, were a physician he would typify the apocryphal doctor who said, "The operation was a success, but the patient died".

In an address to the American Legion's annual convention this week, he aired CIA complaints against the Freedom of Information Act, and concluded that the nation should "get rid of it".

He complained — justifiably — that terms of the act giving foreigners access to CIA data demonstrate a national "propensity to shoot ourselves in the foot". There is an increasing need for allied intelligence agencies to have confidence the CIA will protect their sources from which it receives information, he added. That confidence, he said, "will continue to dwindle unless we get rid of" the Freedom of Information Act.

Granted, the citizens' right to know what his government is doing (often to him) and the needs of national security are often in conflict. But a basic premise of the Founding Fathers was that the Constitution and the laws of the nation should be constructed to protect the individual from governmental abuse, and the Freedom of Information Act over the years has been highly effective in doing that.

While it cannot replace journalistic initiative, it is a tool to help investigative reporters uncover illegal acts and waste in government. It is of immense help in cases in which citizens must go to court to establish their rights or seek redress to the wrongs of government. It has been the means of disclosing questionable ties between members of all three branches of the federal government and special interests.

In this 193rd year under the Constitution, the citizen still needs protection from abuses by government, just as the government needs to provide for "the common defense". The answer to Casey's problem is not to eliminate the former to assist the latter. Rather, it is to change the act to exempt sensitive CIA information from the law, while perhaps strengthening Congressional oversight of its activities. That way, the CIA can operate more successfully but domestic freedom will survive.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-20

THE WASHINGTON POST
27 August 1982

"SHAME ON YOU, RUNNING AROUND LIKE THAT — QUICK, PUT THIS OVER YOUR HEAD"

MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL
26 August 1982

Casey's Foot

WHEN CIA DIRECTOR William Casey went before the American Legion's national convention the other day and told a crowd of cheering Legionnaires that America should get rid of the Freedom of Information Act, he indulged in the sort of political tomfoolery one usually associates with county fairs.

Had he been a Democrat, President Reagan no doubt would have been tempted to shake his head and repeat the remark he made about President Carter during the pre-election debates: "There he goes again!"

But Casey is neither a Democrat, nor a candidate, nor a private citizen, and his attack against the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) before a politically-minded audience is inexcusable.

It is one thing for the director of the CIA to go before a congressional committee and testify about the effects of proposed legislation, but it is another thing entirely for him to hit the campaign trail in an effort to drum up support for changes in a law.

What a short memory Casey must have.

When the FOIA, which was passed in 1966, was amended in 1974 to correct abuses of power by such agencies as the CIA and FBI, it was hailed as one of the positive legacies of the Watergate era.

When the 1974 amendments were added, they were approved by voice vote in the Senate and passed a roll-call vote in the House with only two dissenting votes. That's how popular the act was then. The overwhelming belief was that politics and official secrets don't mix. It is a belief Casey apparently doesn't share.

By flaunting his opposition to the act before the Legionnaires, Casey has demonstrated once again why such laws are necessary.

The only way a citizen can be certain that agencies such as the CIA and FBI are not being used to further the political or financial interests of government officials is to have access to the information those agencies have gathered about him.

Casey is wrong when he suggests the act has crippled the CIA, and he is wrong to see strength in secrecy. Of course, the CIA must operate in secrecy to further the nation's military and diplomatic interests. But the CIA's right to conduct secret operations against hostile foreign nations is not what is at issue in the debate over changes in the FOIA — and Casey knows that.

CASEY'S COMMENTS didn't just happen. They weren't off-the-cuff remarks. They were meant to focus attention on legislation proposed by Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), and supported by the administration, which would water down the act to the point where it could again become fashionable to gather secret information on American citizens.

Hatch's bill was shot down in quick order, but he agreed on a compromise bill that has stalled in the Senate and has been ignored altogether in the House.

Casey told the Legionnaires the FOIA demonstrates our national "propensity to shoot ourselves in the foot."

We disagree. Rather, we think Casey's comments demonstrate the propensity short-sighted politicians have for shooting their foot in their mouth.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC
4701 WILLARD AVENUE, CHEVY CHASE, MARYLAND 20815 656-4068

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM CBS Evening News STATION WDVM TV
CBS Network

DATE August 26, 1982 7:00 PM CITY Washington, DC

SUBJECT Changes in the White House Staff

DAN RATHER: In its public talk about economic programs the Reagan Administration's phrase of the year has been "mid-course correction". But there's another kind of mid-course correction insiders talk about privately. It has to do with changes in White House staff and the cabinet when the President starts the second half of his four-year term next year.

Start with the inner circle at the White House and Chief of Staff James Baker. He wants out of his job while he's still ahead. He'd like a cabinet post, badly wanted Al Haig's old job, but was disappointed when George Schultz got it instead. Baker would also like to be Attorney General, but there's no opening there and doesn't look like there's going to be one anytime soon.

Baker probably could have William Casey's job as CIA Chief, but Baker's not so sure that that's a good enough stepping stone for him.

National Security Advisor William Clark would be under heavy pressure to become Chief of Staff if Baker leaves, but Clark, our sources say, doesn't want it, thinks it's a dull, detailed job.

Michael Deaver, probably the most influential man in the Reagan inner circle. Deaver is once again telling skeptical associates that he won't be there next year. He's quoted as saying he has to make some money while Reagan is still President.

Deaver denies it, but some insiders suspect from this that Deaver doesn't expect Reagan to serve a second term.

Counselor Ed Meese. If Deaver leaves, our sources say, Reagan will want even more to have this old and trusted friend in a room across the hall.

Just outside the inner circle stands Budget Director David Stockman. Discussion focuses not on whether but when he leaves. There is no clear successor.

No likely changes in the top four cabinet posts at State, Defense, Treasury, and Justice. But there are quite a few in the cabinet whose departures are expected sooner rather than later. UN Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, the senior woman. Nobody wants her to leave but it's widely reported she hates the job, doesn't like being Madam No in a posts that bores her.

Energy Secretary James Edwards is already leaving. His Deputy, Kenneth Davis, would be a logical successor, but he's another former Bechtel Corporation employee. The Senate would probably reject him on those grounds alone. That leaves Interior Undersecretary Donald Hudell as a front runner.

Other posts expected to be open sooner rather than later? Terrel Bell's at Education, Ray Donovan's at Labor, if it can be made to look like he's not quitting under fire. A likely successor, Drew Lewis at Transporation, but he carries the heavy baggage of having fired 11,000 air controllers last year. Lewis is on other lists as well, OMB Director, National Party Chairman, or even White House Chief of Staff, if Baker leaves.

That's the talk. The action, the shifting, hiring, and firing is expected shortly after November's elections, and from all indications it may amount to something more than simply a mid-course correction.

MADISON CAPITAL TIMES (WI)
26 AUGUST 1982

Becoming our adversaries

WILLIAM CASEY says he isn't sure whether the Central Intelligence Agency and the Freedom of Information Act "can coexist very long." The real question is whether the CIA and a democracy can coexist very long.

If our chief spook has his way, the landmark law that opens most government documents to public scrutiny would be done away with. Casey says the FOIA gives foreign intelligence agents "legal license to poke in our files."

But he fails to point out that the CIA and other agencies already have the authority to restrict the flow of certain information whose release could harm national security.

CASEY'S EFFORT to shut off the information spigot altogether is part and parcel of his larger agenda for unleashing the CIA. He would return us to the days when this agency was a government unto itself, free to open mail, tap telephones, bug houses and infiltrate political organizations — while individuals found it all but impossible to find out what the government was doing to them.

There is another outfit that operates this way. It is called the KGB. What a curious exercise Casey proposes: We fight an alien way of life by adopting it.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 15

THE BOSTON GLOBE
26 AUGUST 1982

CIA chief scores law

CHICAGO – William J. Casey, the director of central intelligence, said yesterday that the nation's security is suffering and its intelligence network losing effectiveness because security agencies must comply with the Freedom of Information Act. Casey was addressing the 64th annual national convention of the American Legion. (UPI)

UP017 25 August 1982

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CASEY

CHICAGO (UPI) -- CIA DIRECTOR WILLIAM CASEY SAYS THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT SHOULD BE RESCINDED BECAUSE IT GIVES FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENTS THE 'LEGAL LICENSE TO POKE INTO OUR FILES."

"I QUESTION VERY SERIOUSLY WHETHER A SECRET INTELLIGENCE AGENCY AND THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT CAN COEXIST FOR VERY LONG," HE SAID TUESDAY AT THE 64TH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION.

CASEY SAID THE EASE WITH WHICH THE SOVIET UNION CAN GAIN INFORMATION HAS ALLOWED THEM TO BYPASS RESEARCH AND IMMEDIATELY PRODUCE DEADLY WEAPONS THAT THREATEN THE UNITED STATES.

'THEY HAVE ACQUIRED TECHNOLOGY WORTH MANY BILLIONS BY PURCHASE -- LEGAL AND ILLEGAL -- BY THEFT, BY ESPIONAGE, BY BRIBERY, BY SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES AND BY EXPLOITING OUR OPEN LITERATURE AND OUR FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT,' CASEY SAID.

"THE DAMAGE TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY BECOMES ALL TOO OBVIOUS AS WE FACE THE NEED TO SPEND BILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO DEFEND OURSELVES AGAINST SOVIET WEAPONS, WHICH HAVE CLEARLY LEAPFROGGED DEVELOPMENT STAGES AND ACHIEVED NEW POWER AND ACCURACY THROUGH USE OF OUR GUIDANCE AND RADAR SYSTEMS, OUR BOMB DESIGNS AND OUR PRODUCTION METHODS."

HE SAID U.S. SECURITY WOULD SUFFER AND INTELLIGENCE NETWORKS WILL LOSE EFFECTIVENESS IF THE COUNTRY CONTINUES TO RELEASE CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION.

"THE WILLINGNESS OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES TO SHARE INFORMATION AND RELY ON US FULLY, AND OF INDIVIDUALS TO RISK THEIR LIVES AND REPUTATIONS TO HELP US WILL CONTINUE TO DWINDLE UNLESS WE GET RID OF THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT."

HE SAID SECRECY IS AN ACCEPTED WAY OF AMERICAN LIFE IN THE MEDICAL AND LEGAL PROFESSIONS AND IN BUSINESS AND SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE "INTELLIGENCE BUSINESS" AS WELL.

UPI 08-25-82 09:44 AED

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.
4701 WILLARD AVENUE, CHEVY CHASE, MARYLAND 20815 656-4068

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM The Daily Drum STATION WHUR Radio

DATE August 25, 1982 6:00 PM CITY Washington, DC

SUBJECT Director Casey/Freedom of Information Act

GLORIA MINOT: Tuesday, CIA Director William Casey claimed the Freedom of Information Act should be rescinded because it gives foreign intelligence agents, quote, "legal license to poke into our lives." Casey made his remarks at the annual National Convention of the American Legion. But, as we hear in this report from Libby Lawson, there's another side to the story.

LIBBY LAWSON: The CIA Director said he questions very seriously whether a secret intelligence agency and the Freedom of Information Act can coexist for very long. William Casey cites an example. He says the ease with which the Soviet Union can gain information has allowed them to bypass research and immediately produce deadly weapons that threaten the United States. He said US security would suffer and intelligence networks would lose effectiveness if the country continues to release confidential information, and that secrecy is an accepted way of American life, such as in the medical and legal professions and should be applied to the so-called intelligence business as well.

While Casey feels there's a certain amount of validity to this argument, there's a flip side to the issue. Supporters of the Freedom of Information Act say it should be preserved and enforced to prevent US government abuses such as the Watergate scandal.

In the book, Former Secrets, complied by Evan Hendricks of Privacy Times, it lists several instances whereby government agencies, including the CIA, try to suppress information that presently has to be disclosed under the Freedom of Information Act.

One example from the book cites that in 1974 the CIA tried to recover a Soviet submarine that had sunk, to search for documents and the like. Well, the book indicates the CIA asked US newspapers not to mention the incident, and it so happened they did not. The New York Times was particularly mentioned. However, the incident was reported later in the Washington Post.

Libby Lawson, WHUR News.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-11

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL (R.I
25 AUGUST 1982

U.S. spy agencies recruit in New England's ivory towers

By SUSAN PERCIVAL
Daylight News Service

The Central Intelligence Agency will be on New England campuses this fall looking for men and women to serve their country — with cloak and dagger.

So will the top-secret National Security Agency, which has been described as the government's "ears" abroad. The National Security Agency gathers intelligence from foreign broadcasts and also is responsible for making sure all U.S. government communications are secure.

Both have representatives permanently stationed in Boston. National Security Agency recruitment chief Bernard Norvell said the agency opened its Boston office in 1980 because of the number of colleges in New England.

"They've been a very good source for recruitment in the past," Norvell said.

At the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, CIA recruiters usually have been booked solid when they visited the campus during the past four years.

"There's always a waiting list" for CIA interviews, said Arthur Hilson, director of the University Placement Service.

★ ★ ★

IN RECENT YEARS, the presence of intelligence recruiters on campus has caused controversy at some colleges. But with the job market tight, there are always students who are interested.

"If 20 or 30 students are concerned (with the CIA being here), you've got several thousand others who are concerned about getting a job," said Hilson.

"If you don't want to be employed by the CIA, you don't have to go over and be interviewed," said Ray Boyer, a spokesman for Williams College.

CIA recruiters say they don't want "James Bond" types, but college graduates with backgrounds in computer and physical sciences, economics, engineering, languages or foreign studies. They are also looking for mathematicians and photo interpreters.

The National Security Agency is seeking graduates in electronic engineering, computer science, math and Slavic, Middle Eastern and Asian languages.

Applicants for the jobs must be U.S. citizens and have at least an undergraduate degree.

★ ★ ★

THE CIA OFFERS new employees a starting salary of $15,000 to $16,000. More experienced experts in some fields start at $25,000. National Security Agency salaries fall into the same range.

Robert Weatherall, director of career planning and placement at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, noted that those starting salaries are not as high as some in private industry.

Both the CIA and National Security Agency recruit every year at MIT. "Students aren't scrambling to see them, but there are undoubtedly students who want to talk to them," Weatherall said.

★ ★ ★

HOWEVER, the acceptance of intelligence recruiters isn't universal. At Clark University in Worcester, a spokeswoman said the CIA hasn't been on campus since the late 1960s because of the controversy at that time.

The National Security Agency visited Harvard University for the first time last year, according to John Pollack, associate director of placement. The CIA did not recruit at Harvard last year.

However, CIA recruiters did make several visits to meet students at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Medford.

"It's a pretty common occurrence here in the fall," said Pat Savignano, of the school's placement office.

How many Massachusetts students actually are hired by the spy agencies isn't known. At the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Marjorie Fernald, coordinator of career planning, estimated that one student a year might have been hired by the National Security Agency.

Fernald said she hadn't seen any increase in intelligence recruiting in the past few years.

However, a CIA official said that in addition to the agency's regular campus recruiting, it has started seeking candidates for intelligence jobs through radio and newspaper advertisements.

"These are the times to put your training and ability to work where it really counts," says a radio commercial for the CIA prepared by a New York advertising agency. "The qualifications are high but so are the rewards to come," the ad says.

SO FAR, the radio commercial has not run in Massachusetts, but similar newspaper ads have run in Boston and other cities.

They are part of a CIA recruitment drive designed to beef up the agency's staff, fulfilling a Reagan campaign pledge.

CIA budget and personnel figures are classified. However, Director William Casey has been quoted as saying the CIA has more money this year, after several years in which its budget had lagged by comparison with inflation.

Charles Jackson, chief of recruitment for the CIA, said the advertising campaign has produced a lot of resumes but wouldn't say how many — that's classified. He said, however, that campus recruitment is successful.

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ON PAGE A-14

THE WASHINGTON POST
25 AUGUST 1982

Information Act Injures Security, CIA Director Casey Tells Veterans

CHICAGO, Aug. 24 (UPI)—CIA Director William J. Casey today warned that the nation's security is suffering and that its intelligence network is losing effectiveness because security agencies must comply with the Freedom of Information Act.

Casey, addressing the 64th annual national convention of the American Legion, said the act gives foreign intelligence agents "legal license to poke into our files," forcing the United States to adopt "budget-busting" programs to protect itself.

"I question very seriously whether a secret intelligence agency and the Freedom of Information Act can coexist for very long," Casey said.

"The willingness of foreign intelligence services to share information and rely on us fully and of individuals to risk their lives and reputations to help us will continue to dwindle unless we get rid of the Freedom of Information Act."

Casey said the FOI has enabled the Soviet Union to steal or purchase information that has helped it improve the accuracy and power of weapons.

"Secrecy is essential," Casey said.

He said secrecy is an accepted way of American life in the medical and legal professions and in business and should be applied to the "intelligence business" as well.

Casey said Soviet influence has doubled in the past decade. In 1972, he said, 25 nations were under Soviet influence and the number now has grown to 50.

He described U.S. intelligence as a way to help Third World governments in resisting Soviets efforts to undermine stability through propaganda, terrorist activities and proxy troops.

Casey said emerging countries do not need big weapons. They need small arms to defend themselves, "good police activities and the ability to keep up with the hit-and-run tactics of terrorists," he said.

He said U.S. training of government troops enabled El Salvador to survive insurgent attacks and allowed the nation's citizens to vote.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

4701 WILLARD AVENUE, CHEVY CHASE, MARYLAND 20815 656-4068

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM CBS Morning News

STATION WDVM-TV
CBS Network

DATE August 25, 1982 7:00 A.M.

CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Freedom of Information Act

CONNIE CHUNG: CIA Director William Casey says the Freedom of Information Act is also being used for purposes of espionage, and Casey wants the act rescinded. Speaking at the annual American Legion convention, Casey said the Soviet Union has acquired secret technology worth billions of dollars by exploiting the act, which he says could threaten the existence of the CIA.

United Press International

August 24, 1982

Casey calls for abolition of FOIA

CHICAGO — —

CIA Director William J. Casey says easy access to U.S. technology has enabled the Soviet Union to skip the necessary research and produce deadly weapons that are threatening our very existence.

Casey, addressing the 64th annual national convention of the American Legion Tuesday, said the Freedom of Information Act has given foreign intelligence agents ''legal license to poke into our files,'' forcing the United States to adopt ''budget busting'' programs to protect itself.

''They have acquired technology worth many billions by purchase - legal and illegal -- by theft, by espionage, by bribery, by scientific exchanges and by exploiting our open literature and our Freedom of Information Act,'' Casey said.

''The damage to our national security becomes all too obvious as we face the need to spend billions of dollars to defend ourselves against soviet weapons, which have clearly leapfrogged development stages and achieved new power and accuracy through use of our guidance and radar systems, our bomb designs and our production methods.''

He said U.S. security will suffer and our intelligence network will lose effectiveness if we continue to release confidential information.

''I question very seriusly whether a secret intelligence agency and the Freedom of Information Act can coexist for very long,'' he said.

''The willingness of foreign intelligence services to share information and rely on us fully and of individuals to risk their lives and reputations to help us will continue to dwindle unless we get rid of the Freedom of Information Act.''

He said secrecy is an accepted way of American life in the medical and legal professions and in business and should be applied to the ''intelligence business'' as well.

Casey said Soviet influence has doubled in the past decade. In 1972, he said, 25 nations were under Soviet influence and the number now has grown to 50.

The Soviets undermine stability in Third World nations by the use of propaganda, terrorist activities and proxy troops, Casey said, adding that the United States can combat such instability by providing Third World governments with effective intelligence.

Casey said emerging countries don't need big weapons. They need small arms to defend themselves, ''good police activities and the ability to keep up with the hit-and-run tactics of terrorists,'' he said.

He said U.S. training of government troops in El Salvador enabled that government to survive insurgent attacks and allowed the nation's citizens to vote.

NEAR NORTH NEWS (IL)
21 August 1982

Vp Bush, CIA's Casey will address Legion

Vice Pres. George Bush and central intelligence director William J. Casey are among the speakers scheduled to address the 64th national convention of the American Legion next week in Chicago.

The U.S. flag will be displayed proudly and frequently as the nation's largest veterans organization parades down Michigan av. from Wacker to Van Buren st. beginning at 2 p.m. tomorrow.

After a military guard-of-honor, all 58 departments of the Legion will march. In 1st place will be the department of France, home of the mother post of the organization, Paris post 1.

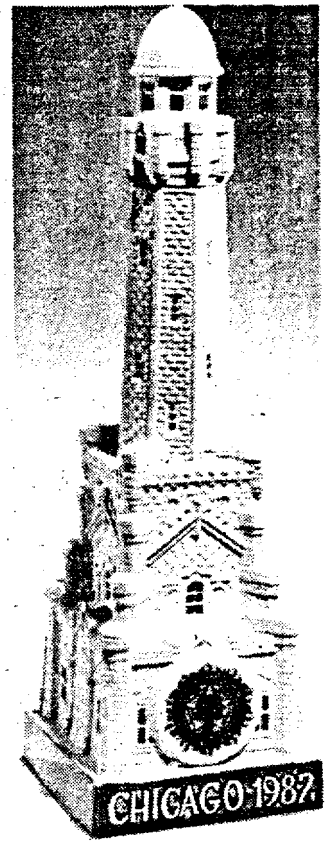
Headquarters for the convention is the Conrad Hilton hotel. Delegations are staying there and at the Palmer House, Midland, Essex Inn, Hyatt Regency, Bismarck, Ascot and the Americana Congress. Delegates from the District of Colombia are staying at the Knickerbocker hotel, 163 E. Walton.

Vp Bush will address the convention at 11 a.m. Thursday in the international ballroom at the Conrad Hilton. He will represent Pres. Ronald Reagan (NNN, July 31). Casey will speak at 10:25 a.m. Tuesday.

More than 20,000 Legionnaires and guests are in town. This is the 7th time since 1933 that the Legion has held its national convention in Chicago.

Replicas of the Water Tower at Chicago and Michigan are available at selected outlets as keepsakes of the convention. The Legion commissioned Ezra Brooks to create "limited edition" porcelain decanters in the tower's image.

Each decanter is made of Heritage China, accented with 24 kt. gold leaf and filled with straight bourbon.



U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
16 AUGUST 1982

Washington Whispers.

Friends say White House Chief of Staff James Baker, who earlier wanted to be Attorney General, now talks of heading the Central Intelligence Agency should William Casey leave. Associates figure fellow adviser Edwin Meese would have the inside track if Atty. Gen. William French Smith leaves.

FAYETTEVILLE TIMES (N.C.)
14 August 1982

Power Grab

Senator Jeremiah Denton, R-Alabama, thinks the FBI needs greater license to spy on groups it suspects of harboring impure thoughts that might lead to terrorist violence.

Sen. Denton is a patriot, a former prisoner of war, a true American hero. All of which qualifies him to make this kind of judgment in the same way that it qualifies him to perform brain surgery.

The senator's perspective is not rooted in any inside information to which he is privy as chairman of a Judiciary subcommittee on terrorism. He brought it with him to Capitol Hill when he became a senator.

The man qualified to judge — who, in fact, used to be a judge — is FBI Director William Webster, who has restored both the morale and the credibility of an agency sullied by abuses spanning several presidencies, and compiled a solid crimefighting record as well.

Webster's judgment is that the post-Watergate reforms so despised by officials in the CIA, the Secret Service and the military intelligence agencies have NOT hindered the bureau's anti-terrorist activities, that no major reordering is needed. Since Webster's anti-terrorism record is unsurpassed, that poses a problem for those who would return to the good old bad days.

Sen. Denton and many others in Congress and the administration are determined to give all the agencies as much rein as they can.

Giving the nation's spies additional power is apt to be embarrassing with Webster insisting that his own highly successful agency has about the right amount already. If the FBI doesn't need it, people may ask, why can't the others do without it, too?

With not much else to go on, Denton and company are trying to shout down the opposition and bulldoze the skeptical.

Contradicting Webster's assessment of his own agency, Assistant Treasury Secretary John M. Walker (Treasury being the parent of the Secret Service) claims before the committee that "the FBI has been hindered in collecting certain vital information."

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THE WASHINGTON POST
10 AUGUST 1982

Marcos Plans Trip

Philippine Chief's 2nd U.S. Visit in 17 Years

By Donnie Radcliffe

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos has been in office for almost 17 years, but his state visit next month will be only his second official trip to Washington.

To prepare for it, Marcos sent his wife Imelda to town last month to confer with Vice President George Bush and CIA Director William Casey. Bush's office called it a "courtesy call." The presidential visit will mark her fourth trip here in less than a year.

Washington Ways

The Philippine first lady, governor of metro Manila, minister of human settlements in her husband's government and new member of the committee that will assume power in the event of his death, also was in the Soviet Union last month on a "working visit."

About a month ago, Marcos also sent his wife's younger brother, Benjamin Romualdez, to Washington as the new Philippine ambassador. Romualdez, who helped arrange Marcos' 1966 visit, succeeds his cousin, Eduardo Z. Romualdez, and is one of a quartet of Filipino diplomats with ambassadorial rank assigned to the embassy. The others are here temporarily, just to work on the visit.

Also in preparation for his absence from the Philippines, Marcos announced on Sunday the formation of a 1,000-member special police force to patrol Manila. He said his action was in response to "intelligence reports that there is a plan for a nationwide strike, which will be accompanied by nationwide bombings and assassinations" in September, and perhaps while he was away.

Meanwhile, instead of hiring an American public relations firm to do something about the Marcos government's image problem as an authoritarian state, the embassy has beefed up its press operations here and since late spring has been publishing an English-language weekly newspaper called Philippine Monitor.

"Our side of some issues made against our president hasn't been heard," says one source. "We're trying to counter that."

About a dozen staffers have been pulled in from around world to serve as correspondents. They file their stories directly to Manila, where they say printing costs are cheaper. The tabloid is then flown by government-owned Philippine Airlines to the United States.

Right now the press run totals 50,000 copies, which are distributed free of charge among the 1 million Filipino-Americans who live coast-to-coast. Once Marcos returns home, the Monitor will go commercial and solicit advertising and paid subscriptions.

Another commercial venture with Marcos government backing is a Georgetown restaurant. "We're encouraging private businessmen and we're lending assistance by helping them get food items," says an official. The restaurant is as yet unnamed, but a location has been chosen. If all goes according to schedule the restaurant will open for business in time to feed members of the Marcos' official party and any others who hanker for Philippine cuisine, which the official described as "a blend of Polynesian with Chinese fare, as well as Spanish dishes."

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LOS ANGELES TIMES
5 AUGUST 1982

Reagan Calls on Begin to Restore Truce

By OSWALD JOHNSTON
and GEORGE SKELTON,
Times Staff Writers

WASHINGTON—Angered by what Administration officials believe has a direct contradiction of Israeli promises to give U.S. diplomacy in Beirut a chance to work, President Reagan sent a personal message Wednesday to Prime Minister Menachem Begin demanding that a "strict cease-fire" be restored around the Lebanese capital.

A White House statement issued in Reagan's name also said that the President told the Palestine Liberation Organization, in a message delivered through other Arab governments, not to delay its withdrawal from Beirut any longer.

But officials made it plain that the President's statement, issued after two high-level White House meetings to consider how to respond to the renewal of heavy fighting in Beirut, was aimed primarily at Israel.

No Threatening Gesture

While the contents of Reagan's personal message to Begin were not disclosed, it was learned that the President was careful not to phrase his remarks in a threatening manner.

At the same time, sources said, Reagan pointedly reminded the Israeli leader that U.S.-supplied weapons must be used only for defensive purposes. The President also was said to have implied that any full-scale invasion of Beirut could jeopardize the long-standing U.S. Israeli relationship.

Administration officials stressed Wednesday that both Reagan and Shultz believed Shamir had given them the assurance they sought.

The heavy fighting in West Beirut continued to frustrate Reagan and occupy his mind during the day, even during crucial meetings with congressmen on taxes. House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), after one such meeting, said that Reagan seemed "pretty distressed" by new reports of increased violence. "I could see it was troubling the President," Michel said.

Shultz spoke to Shamir at least once early Wednesday and received what Israeli sources said was an assurance that the movement of Israeli tanks into West Beirut was not the assault on the city the Administration had reportedly urged Israel not to launch.

Later, Shultz called in Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arens to emphasize the seriousness with which the Administration viewed the new breakdown of the cease-fire.

Top aides to Reagan—including Shultz, national security adviser William P. Clark, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, CIA Director William J. Casey, and U.N. Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick—met early Wednesday as the Administration's Special Situation Group, chaired by Vice President Bush.

As the officials met, reporters were told that sanctions against Israel were under consideration.

OLYMPIA OLYMPIAN (WA)
5 AUGUST 1982

The report on El Salvador: whitewash for a filthy record

A Washington-based public-relations firm, it was reported last week, has signed a $200,000 contract with the government of El Salvador to promote the regime's image in the United States. But at this point, the Salvadoran government's best image-maker is the Reagan administration itself.

Under a law passed by Congress last year, the administration is required to report every six months on the state of human rights, land reform and democracy in El Salvador. If significant progress isn't being made in those areas, the law calls for a cutoff of U.S. military aid to the civil-war-torn nation.

Last week, the administration reported that progress was being made on all fronts. In the report, and in subsequent congressional testimony, Reagan officials acknowledged that serious problems remained. But they stressed that conditions had improved since the United States became intensely involved with the tiny Central American nation, and especially since the national elections last March.

Some congressmen and human-rights groups disagree. Democratic Sen. Christopher Dodd, for instance, called Reagan's report "a sham."

Amnesty International, the highly respected private watchdog on human-rights abuses, reported in July that there had been "no improvement" in El Salvador since the elections. "Reports of human rights violations involving the official security forces continue unabated," according to an Amnesty release.

Amnesty acknowledges what the administration stresses — that some of the violence against civilians emanates from the leftist guerrillas that the government is trying to stamp out. "However, analysis of all available data suggests that the majority of the reported viola

ance,' and deliberate, cold-blooded killings, have been carried out by the security forces, and have been directed against people not involved in guerrilla activities."

Just as crucial to the longterm prospects for peace in El Salvador is the issue of land reform. Just before the administration's certification of Salvadoran progress, a University of Washington law professor who was involved in the effort to develop plans for redistribution of land to the Salvadoran peasants presented a detailed indictment of the new government's program in The New Republic magazine. Roy L. P sterman wrote that, "Unhappily, the fuct is that under the far-right coalition that gained control of El Salvador's Constituent Assembly in the wake of the March 28 elections, there has been extensive regression, not 'continued progress,' in the land reform program." AS RECEIVED

The legitimacy of the much-vaunted March elections is itself open to challenge. Evidence has surfaced that the impressive vote totals cited by Reagan officials as evidence of the Salvadoran people's overwhelming rejection of the guerrilla movement may have been inflated.

And in what may be one of the biggest tactical blunders since Richard Nixon decided not to burn the Oval Office tapes, CIA Director William J. Casey revealed that his agency got involved in the election process.

The agency, Casey said, provided the Salvadorans with "information and capabilities" to help fend off threats to the elections from guerrillas and to help reduce the flow of arms into the country from Cuba and Nicaragua. The CIA also provided invisible ink for marking the wrists of voters, to ensure that they wouldn't try to vote twice, and to help prevent guerrilla reprisals against them.

CONTINUED

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE (CA)
2 AUGUST 1982

Passing Grade For El Salvador

THE DECISION BY the Reagan administration to certify to Congress that El Salvador was making sufficient progress in human rights to warrant continued military aid for the next six months has been criticized in Congress. But it was really the only feasible conclusion for the administration to come to. The U.S. government was not saying: "Here is a perfect democracy." Far from that. It was saying that some advances were discernible, and, with continued American aid, human rights violations will probably diminish.

"It was a close call," said Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for human rights. He went on to make the point that "Democracy is the central issue in El Salvador. Its strengthening will lead to a further reduction of human rights violations."

THAT SEEMS to us a fair statement. Violence and instability have characterized El Salvador for a long time. So the progress that occurs may appear minimal by our terms. Nevertheless, despite charges that the government inflated the number of votes cast in the March election, the fact remains that a sizable turnout did demonstrate a strong desire for peace. And the results of this balloting have been largely uncontested.

In connection with the election, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, William J. Casey, has been forthcoming to a praiseworthy degree in discussing his group's role. After former ambassador to El Salvador Robert White accused the agency of having "meddled" in the vote, Casey wrote a letter to the New York Times to set matters straight.

The agency, he said, lent its efforts toward safeguarding the democratic process by providing invisible ink that election authorities stamped on the wrist of each voter to prevent anyone from going to the polls twice. This assistance was provided because election officials there "had a problem they didn't know how to cope with."

So these matters must be viewed in the focus of reality. Mention of the CIA appears to raise one ex-diplomat's hackles. But it turns out the agency was trying to assure an honest vote. By the same token, "progress" in civil rights must be fairly weighed in the context of the turbulent times that mark El Salvador.

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER (WA)
2 August 1982

CIA confesses

What the Central Intelligence Agency does tell us can be more mystifying than what it refuses to tell us.

Most of the time its comment on everything is, "No comment." That was CIA Director William Casey's response last week to questions about whether his agency even discussed the possibility of sending funds to help Christian Democrat Jose Napoleon Duarte in El Salvador's elections last March — let alone whether such funds were actually sent. The CIA would be absolutely wrong to send money to help the cause of any political candidate in any free election. So the agency refused to shed light on the most critical accusation against it.

One thing the CIA did admit to doing was providing intelligence to the Salvadoran government about guerrilla tactics, including specific plans by insurgent forces to disrupt towns on the eve of the elections. So it pleaded guilty to sharing intelligence to save lives.

The CIA's most mystifying confession was that it supplied invisible ink for stamping the wrists of Salvadoran voters, to prevent anybody from voting twice. Surely this technology is not so rare that only the supersecret CIA can provide it. Why didn't the Salvadorans turn to the overt entrepreneurs who supply invisible ink to high school dances? Or Disneyland?

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THE WASHINGTON TIMES
2 AUGUST 1982

As one general takes over another bides time

By Jeremiah O'Leary
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

Panama is noted for its bloodless coups, and last week's overthrow of civilian President Aristides Royo was no different. The new order in Panama, for the foreseeable future, spells a shift to the right that will not be pleasing to Fidel Castro or the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and with no anticipated effect on the Panama Canal treaties with the United States.

The real power in Panama always has resided with the Guardia Nacional, the 10,000-man combined army and police force. Further down the road, U.S. officials anticipate an election between now and 1984 that will be won by the present guard commander, Gen. Ruben Dario Paredes. The only question is how long the guard leaders intend

NEWS ANALYSIS

to let former Vice President Ricardo de la Espriella retain the presidency.

Royo, a 42-year-old lawyer with no troops, was hustled out of office either because of Panama's economic problems and social discontent or because he was perceived as being too prominent in calling for a post-Falklands conference of Western Hemisphere nations including Cuba but not the United States.

Lurking not so obscurely in the wings is the swaggering figure of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, the guard's intelligence chief and the most feared man in Panama. Noriega, who looks startlingly like the late Edward G. Robinson, seems a cinch to succeed Paredes as guard commander when Paredes moves up to the presidency.

Many observers believe Noriega is already the real power in Panama. One U.S. official has said of Noriega, "You can't buy him but you can rent him." Administration officials have said that they believe Noriega is willing to bide his time but that his ultimate ambition is to achieve the status of the late and all-powerful Omar Torrijos.

It is a mystery to U.S. officials why Paredes would prefer to give up the real power of the guard command for the empty honor of being president. Royo had no important decision-making role, and the change in leadership will have no real meaning for the 2 million people of Panama.

A U.S. official said yesterday, "Superficially it is great news." While Royo was engaged in flirtations with the left, Paredes is considered to be pro-U.S. and disposed to abide by the treaties by which Panama gradually takes over the former Canal Zone with total possession coming in the year 2000.

Noriega is more of an enigma. He reportedly has ties "as close to (CIA Director William) Casey as he does to (Cuban President Fidel) Castro," according to one Washington official.

While the U.S. policy is to accept governments as it finds them, officials already are looking beyond Royo and Paredes and wondering what the future holds when Noriega reaches the top in name as well as in fact.

The name of the policy game will be to keep the guard leaders reasonably happy and hope that the tea leaves do not some day prompt Panama to demand acceleration of the stages of the treaties in the next 16 years.

THE WASHINGTON POST
2 AUGUST 1982

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Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

Mubarak's Message

The real message from Cairo, shrouded by polite terms and not put to paper, warns President Reagan that a U.S. failure to stand up to Israel will thrust the Middle East into a malignant era, with the influence of Washington and its moderate Arab allies reduced to near zero.

Reagan administration officials easily recognized that warning between the lines of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's letter to Reagan. Delivered Saturday by Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali, the letter's precise and pointed message was that the Camp David "peace" process will end beyond hope for revival if the United States does not get Israel out of Lebanon.

The president and George Shultz, his so-far silent secretary of state, face these alternatives: take on the pro-Israeli political lobby in the middle of the congressional election campaign or give Israel its head to nullify remaining U.S. influence and prestige throughout the Mideast.

Israel's freedom from U.S. restraint in its Lebanon operation has saddened Cairo and the moderate Arab world. Reagan seemed to flash another green light to Israel when he failed to react to a report from CIA Director William J. Casey last week that Israeli civilians were taking over occupation duties from the military in Lebanon.

Other indications of Israeli intentions to stay in Lebanon considerably longer than the White House wants are piling onto the president's desk. All shipping into and out of the ports of Tyre and Sidon, Lebanese cities devastated in the Israeli invasion, is being shifted to the Israeli port of Haifa. A new macadamized highway between Israel and Lebanon is used by Israel trucks to transship cargoes.

A new office for El Al, Israel's state-owned airline, has just opened in Sidon. El Al is using an old PLO airfield with a new runway for monopoly service in densely populated southern Lebanon. The standard currency there has become the Israeli shekel.

These are signs of Israeli intentions to solidify economic and military control over the border regions and to prove to Arabs Israel can defy the United States without fear of punishment.

But the Egyptians see another motive: narrowing the Camp David autonomy talks to the United States and Israel alone. Mubarak has told the Reagan administration it is inconceivable for Egypt to negotiate with Israel on West Bank-Gaza autonomy while Israeli troops remain in occupation of one square foot of Lebanon.

That makes a prolonged Israeli stay in Lebanon all the more attractive to the designers of what Prime Minister Menachem Begin calls "eretz (greater) Israel." Begin has warned Reagan face-to-face that Israel never will negotiate West Bank autonomy except under the Camp David umbrella. If Egypt refuses to join those talks, Begin will charge Mubarak with sabotaging Camp David.

This chain of events distresses Mubarak and other pro-American Arab leaders. For Mubarak, the distress goes beyond Lebanon and the Palestine problem. Without spelling it out in morbid detail, Mubarak wants Reagan to remember that Anwar Sadat was killed by Moslem fanatics who believed he had sold his Arab birthright. That was long before Lebanon. Today, U.S. refusal to expel Israel from Lebanon could give Moslem fanaticism irresistible force.

Yet the Reagan administration has opposed Egypt's appeal to use the Beirut crisis as a lever to encourage concessions from both Israel and the PLO in hopes of forcing a Palestine solution. As the Arab moderates see it, there can only be one reason: the United States cannot bring itself to confront Israel head-on, even though failure to do so threatens future domination of the region by anti-Western fanaticism.

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NEW YORK TIMES
1 AUGUST 1982

The World
In Summary

El Salvador Gets a Low but Passing Grade

Progress on human rights and land reform in El Salvador wasn't great, but it was "tangible," the Reagan Administration said last week. "I am quite sure that there are unfortunate things that are going on," the President said at his news conference. But "they legitimately and in good faith are making progress." So, as expected, the Administration requested a Congressional green light for $142 million in military aid for Salvador this year and next.

Senator Christopher J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, called the certification "a sham" and Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of New York, called it "unwise and unjustified."

Congress requires the President to certify human rights and land reform progress every six months as a condition of aid. But Mr. Reagan, distancing himself from Congressional criticism, let Secretary of State George P. Shultz sign last week's report. It conceded that "severe civil strife... continues to produce serious and frequent violations of basic human rights committed by leftist guerrillas, right-wing terrorists and members of the Government's military and security forces."

Government security men murdered most of the 400 to 500 civilians a month killed from January to June, Salvadoran rights organizations said, only half as many as last year. "A slow downward trend," Assistant Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders called it. Land reform went through a dicey period after the March 28 elections when the new rightist coalition tried to reverse the process. Pressure from Washington has turned things at least partly around, but 140,000 peasants are still waiting for land titles.

William J. Casey, the director of Central Intelligence, confirmed reports that the C.I.A. had done its bit in the elections. But he insisted the assistance was limited and benign, such as supplying invisible ink to stamp voters' wrists, and sensors to alert troops to guerrillas who opposed the voting.

The Senate last week added a further requirement for the next report — certification that Salvadoran authorities are making progress on bringing to justice the killers of four American churchwomen and two labor advisers in 1980 and 1981.

Milt Freudenheim
Katherine J. Roberts
and Carlyle C. Douglas

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THE ATLANTIC
AUGUST 1982

TEGUCIGALPA

HONDURAS ON THE EDGE

This poor country has escaped many of the problems of its neighbors, but U.S. policies may be propelling it into the regional crisis

THE HIGH POINTS of Honduran history are few and far between. In ancient times, the area occupied by the modern country was something of a southern buffer for the Mayan empire. That past is still in evidence at the stunning ruins of Copán, in the northwest, where, long before Columbus and Cortés, sophisticated astrologers worked out the precise Mayan calendar. In the sixteenth century, after conquistadors had pushed south from Mexico to claim Central America for the Spanish crown, Honduras experienced a brief fame because of the silver in its mountains and the gold dust suspended in its tropical streams—until the ores ran out, early in the 1600s. Then, in the early nineteenth century, after the Spanish had left the area in the wake of Mexican independence, it was a Honduran, Francisco Morazán, who served as second and last president of the short-lived, independent Federal Republic of Central America. The latest moment of notoriety occurred in 1969, when Honduras went to war with neighboring El Salvador following a disputed soccer match between the national teams.

Outside of these infrequent moments of renown, Honduras, a land the size of Ohio that stretches across the Central American isthmus from the Caribbean to the Pacific, has slumbered in relative obscurity. With its ores depleted centuries ago, the population of 3.7 million has been reduced to dependence on the export sale of bananas, coffee, beef, and lumber. The per capita income of $565 a year makes Honduras the poorest country in the Americas with the exception of Haiti. Aside from Morazán, who resigned in 1839 after his dream of a viable subcontinental federation had splintered into the independent states of Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and

been governed by a desultory lot of in[illegible] fective, often corrupt, too frequently r[illegible] pressive rulers: civilian politicians of o[illegible] or another conservative stripe, or authoritarian generals or colonels who, as in so much of Latin America, have made the coup d'etat the most common instrument of political change. Since the Spaniards abandoned Honduras to its own impoverished resources, the country has weathered 126 changes of government, sixteen different constitutions, and 385 separate uprisings and coups.

Ironically, the land's precarious existence as a poor and unstable backwater has proven almost as much a blessing as a curse. Staggering national poverty spared the people the oppressive plantation feudalism that Spain imposed on Honduras's better-endowed neighbors, Guatemala, El Salvador, and, to a lesser extent, Nicaragua. Derived from the early *encomiendas*, which had been created by the Spaniards to exploit native cacao crops with Indian slave labor, the iniquitous plantation system spawned, in its turn, the rapacious Central American oligarchies that have sought to perpetuate their monopoly of economic and political power throughout this century. The oligarchs, who have been challenged in recent years by a growing middle class and an emboldened peasantry, have resisted violently any and all reforms. That, more than the opportunistic machinations of Cuba's Fidel Castro, is the root of the social upheaval now destabilizing Central America and panicking Washington.

Vast tracts of Honduran banana lands are owned and were dominated until quite recently by U.S. firms such as United Brands and the Standard Fruit & Steamship Company. This foreign presence has created its own internal tensions, but because of Honduras's historical lack of a greedy oligarchy, and an army conditioned to serve the oligarchs rather than the state, the country has been spared the acute social cleavages that have led its neighbors into revolution and civil war. In Honduras, the question has been one less of sharing the nation's wealth than of sharing its poverty. In this sense, Honduras has been far more just and evenhanded with its popu[illegible] its borders—at least until 1979, when the Sandinista revolution drastically al[illegible]

depend has been monopolized by the very few; in Honduras two thirds of the people who use the land either own it outright or have legally guaranteed rights to its use.

HONDURANS ARE understandably proud of the things that set them apart from their neighbors. They boast of the boldness of at least some of their newspapers, the autonomy of the national university, and the openness of political dialogue. The unfettered trade unions have gained enough muscle in the past decade to rein in the power of the U.S. fruit companies that long influenced the politics in Tegucigalpa, the hilly national capital. A visitor traveling through this volatile region is quick to note that, despite a long tradition of military involvement in politics, Honduran cities and towns have significantly few of the oppressive signs of martial dominion and sinister secret-police extremism that are so prevalent in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. Incidents of political terrorism, though on the rise, remain the exception rather than the rule.

Most important, *Hondureños* point out, is the nation's return to democratic civilian rule this year after eighteen years of military-controlled governments. The change was initially prompted by pressure from the Carter Administration, which was eager to see Honduras avoid the problems of its undemocratic neighbors. Last November, a military junta, led by Brigadier General Policarpo Paz Garcia, went through with national elections that had been mandated by a new constitution drawn up a year earlier by an elective constituent assembly. Despite encouragement from some of his fellow officers and civilian conservatives to postpone the elections—on the grounds that the pressure for change had been lessened with the advent of the Reagan Administration, which is openly more concerned with anti-communism than with civil rights—General Paz Garcia kept his word and guaranteed the choice of the electorate, [illegible] defeat of his longtime civilian ally Ricardo Zuñiga Augustinus, the presidential candidate of the conser-

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MONCADA
Cuban Ministry of Interior Publication
August 1982

GOOD BYE, BOBBY

por: Reynaldo Lugo

La renuncia del subdirector de la Agencia Central de Inteligencia: un capítulo de las contradicciones internas del gobierno de los Estados Unidos.

La última administración norteamericana ha sido pródiga en cuanto a mostrar las costuras de sus contradicciones internas. Al cabo de año y medio, los integrantes del equipo Reagan continúan inmersos en la turbulencia de una no declarada lucha por la elevación del poder personal.

Richard Allen, ex-asesor de Seguridad Nacional y Alexander Haig, ex-secretario de Estado, ambos en los más altos estratos de la formulación y ejecución de la política exterior, perecieron en última instancia, a consecuencia del mismo mal.

Otros, menos notables, también han caído en las constantes querellas palaciegas.

Una historia increíble aconteció tras las almenas y torreones de la Agencia Central de Inteligencia, un combate de corte medieval, verdadera "guerra oculta" entre los más altos dirigentes de la CIA.

Las revelaciones acerca de los negocios fraudulentos del director William Casey, que motivaron su cuestionamiento por el Congreso y que "casi" le cuestan el puesto; la dimisión del jefe de Operaciones Max Hugel y la renuncia del subdirector Bobby Inman, son escenas ilustrativas de las pugnas que desgastan a la Agencia.

LOS CONTENDIENTES

Bobby R. Inman. Para el colega Robert Sam Anson, quien en mayo pasado publicó un extenso artículo apologético, adornado con las desnudeces de las "conejitas" de **Playboy**, el ex-segundo de la Agencia encarna la **kalokagatia** (el ideal de perfección humana de los antiguos griegos).

¿Fuma? No Fuma. ¿Bebe? No bebe? ¿Es inteligente? Casi una computadora —mejor aún para Anson—. Se opuso a lo malo dentro de la CIA y no pudo resistir la tentación de retirarse para educar a sus dos hijos varones en edad de estudiar en la universidad.

El "más ingenioso de los espías" ha llevado una apacible, doméstica y clandestina existencia durante sus cincuenta años de vida, buena parte de ellos dedicados a la actividad de inteligencia.

Su ascendente carrera tuvo su punto más alto en los años en que fungió como director de la Agencia Nacional de Seguridad, NSA, la multimillonaria hermana de la CIA encargada del espionaje electrónico.

¿Su aspiración? Ser jefe de la "Inteligencia Central", o sea, de toda la "Comunidad de Inteligencia", puesto reservado a quien ocupe el trono en la CIA.

Entonces, ¿su aspiración? Ser director de la CIA. Y por poco lo es, si no fuera por... Casey.

Bobby Inman casi se convierte en el director de la CIA...

...pero William Casey se lo impidió.

Apoyado por numerosos congresistas, a la llegada de Reagan a la Casa Blanca, Inman era el más fuerte candidato. Pero, los "duros" de Reagan consideraban que el vicealmirante [illegible] la "nueva política" en perspectivas, un conservador incapaz de entender la necesidad de soltar las manos a la CIA para la realización de inteligencia doméstica, según ellos era un técnico y nada más.

No obstante, después de muchos "pensar y pensar" —según el decir del colega Anson—, aceptó el puesto de sudirector de la "Compañía".

Como buen analista, al fin y al cabo, Inman pensó que una vez dentro y contando con su tan alabado y mal digerido talento, podría liquidar a Casey... y comenzó a destilar veneno.

William Casey. Fue a parar a la CIA pero igual hubiera podido ser nombrado secretario del Tesoro... [illegible] íntimos del presidente.

Cuando Ronald Reagan pasó lista en la puerta del Despacho Oval, se