

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS
ARE ATTACHED:
(Please do not remove)

ER 89-0435

ER 89-0435/1

PAO 0219 89

PAO 0221/1 89

PAO 0221 89

PAO 0227 89

PAO 0230 89

PAO 0235 - 89

ER 0435/2 89

ER 0435/4-89

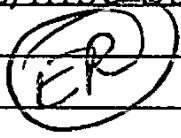
DDO - 2319 - 89

SUBJECT: **EIGHTH CIRCUIT**

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

ROUTING SLIP

TO:

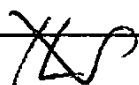
		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI		X		
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13	D/OCA				
14	D/PAO				
15	D/PERS				
16	D/Ex Staff				
17	Counsel/DCI		X		
18	SA/DDO		X		
19	C/Hist Staff/DCI		X		
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SUSPENSE _____

Date

Remarks

ER 89-0435/4


Executive Secretary

22 Nov 89

Date

3637 (10-81)

The Director of Central Intelligence

ER 89-0435/4

Washington D C 20505

22 November 1989

The Honorable Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C. 20543

Dear Justice Powell,

As promised in my letter of November 1, I have checked with the Agency's History Staff regarding the issues raised in [redacted] letter.

STAT

With regard to the Phoenix Program, I am told that subsequent Congressional and Executive branch investigations determined that the charge that the CIA was responsible for assassinations is simply contrary to fact. Phoenix was not a CIA program; rather, it was run by the South Vietnamese with assistance from several U.S. agencies, of which the CIA was one. From the outset of Phoenix, U.S. government personnel laid down strict guidelines forbidding assassination, torture or other extreme acts and did their best to prevent the South Vietnamese from resorting to such tactics. Unfortunately, despite such U.S. efforts, some South Vietnamese officials clearly did resort to killing suspected North Vietnamese collaborators. There is no conclusive evidence of the numbers of such killings, but the 20,000 to 40,000 figures are certainly overstated.

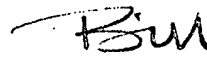
With regard to U.S. killings of Philippine civilians during the Philippine Insurrection, the Agency's Chief Historian consulted Professor Brian Linn of Texas A&M University, who recently authored The United States Army in Counter-Insurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902. According to Professor Linn, the figures of 600,000 or 946,000 are both far too high. (Incidentally, I have looked at Sterling Seagrave's book myself and note that he cites no authority for his figures.) Professor Linn states that a reasonable estimate of Filipino deaths -- both civilian and operational personnel -- attributable to the U.S. pacification efforts in the 1899-1902 period would be about 45,000.



Professor Linn does point out, however, that the Philippines suffered a devastating epidemic of cholera during the period of the Insurrection, and that in the ten-year period after 1896 the Philippines suffered a series of serious crop failures. These events caused many civilian deaths during the insurrection period that were unrelated to U.S. pacification efforts.

Hope you find this information helpful. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill", with a stylized flourish above the letters.

William H. Webster

STAT

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ER 89-0435/2

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

November 1, 1989

The Honorable Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C. 20543

Dear Justice Powell:

Many thanks for your letter and your nice words about my talk to the Eighth Circuit. I can't resist sending you another talk which I gave not long ago to the Los Angeles Council on World Affairs, in which I tried to identify an emerging and important area for intelligence collection. I'd welcome your comments.

I hope to have a response for you soon on the issues raised in [redacted] letter. The figures seem exaggerated, but I will be interested in what the analysts have to say. I'll be back to you with this shortly.

STAT

Hope to catch up with you at one of the Alibi dinners soon. Warmest regards always,

Sincerely,

William H. Webster

Enclosure

P. S. I enjoyed the nice article about you in The New York Times on October 18th.

P-309-1R



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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) DCI-Transcript of Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference
 Minneapolis, MN 21 July 1989

FROM: James W. Greenleaf Director, Public Affairs	EXTENSION	NO. PAO 89-0235
		DATE 27 July 1989

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
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	RECEIVED	FORWARDED		
1. ER	28 JUL 1989		<i>[Signature]</i>	
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3. DCI	31 July 1989	AUG 1989	<i>[Signature]</i>	STAT
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5. PAO				
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P-309-1R

PAO 89-0235

27 July 1989

JUDGE:

I have attached the transcript of your remarks to the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference on 21 July. Once you approve the transcript, we will submit it to Vital Speeches of the Day and an appropriate American Bar Association publication.

STAT

Jim Greenleaf *U*

Attachment:
As stated

Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

STAT

DCI/DDCI Executive Staff

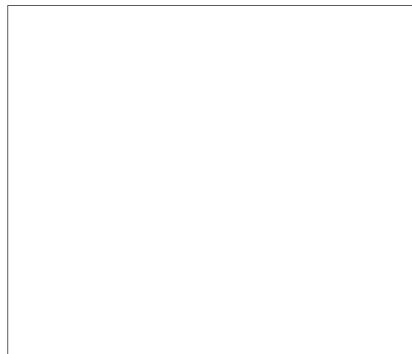
25 July 1989

STAT

NOTE FOR: DCI

SUBJECT: Publication of Your Speech to the Eight Circuit
Judicial Conference

Having now read the speech, I believe the options as far as publication vehicles are concerned are quite limited. [redacted] and I have discussed this at length and we agree that probably the only appropriate vehicle would be an ABA publication in which the speech would be printed as a speech and not converted into a standard article. The nature of the subject and the method of presentation are not the sort that one generally finds in general circulation journals of international affairs such as Foreign Policy or Foreign Affairs. Moreover, to publish it in a more specialized legal periodical would avoid some of the political hazards of a statement by you on this subject. Fritz Ermarth has some strong views on this last issue and he can convey them to you when he and Bob Blackwell give you a briefing on recent Soviet events, which we will schedule for sometime next week.



STAT

PAO 89-0235

27 July 1989

JUDGE:

I have attached the transcript of your remarks to the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference on 21 July. Once you approve the transcript, we will submit it to Vital Speeches of the Day and an appropriate American Bar Association publication.

[Redacted Signature]

Jim Greenleaf

STAT

Attachment:
As stated

STAT

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DCI/PAO/

[Redacted]

Distribution:

Orig. - DCI

1 - [Redacted]

1 - D/PAO

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STAT

1 - ER

1 - PAO Registry

1 - PAO Ames

1 - [Redacted] (Chrono)

1 - [Redacted]

STAT



R309-TR

REMARKS

BY

WILLIAM H. WEBSTER

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

BEFORE THE

EIGHTH CIRCUIT JUDICIAL CONFERENCE

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

JULY 21, 1989

Thank you very much, Judge Rosenbaum, Chief Judge Lay and all my friends. When I got in last night, the first people I saw were Judge Harper, Judge Devitt, and Alice O'Donnell, and I knew that I was really home. It's just great of you to ask me to come back each time, and I wouldn't miss it for anything.

I am especially pleased to see that you have on your program this morning Nina Totenberg, who once again is going to have to listen to this story, because she started it. A few years ago, I was addressing the Institute of Judicial Administration Breakfast at the ABA meeting in Dallas, and I got an early morning call from Nina. She said, "Judge Webster, I have a lot to cover this morning. Are you going to say anything important?" So once again, Nina, you have to wait and see.

I also want to say that you've been reading about Webster v. Doe and Webster v. Reproductive Health Services. I want to assure you that I am not pursuing a separate agenda in Washington.

Last year I talked to you about my first year in office as the Director of Central Intelligence. Much has happened since then.

In almost every corner of the world, events are taking place that are changing yesterday's political and military truths. At the same time that the United States and the Soviet Union are working to reduce nuclear arms, Third World nations are building arsenals of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. As the new Solidarity party struggles for a voice in Poland, democracy is endangered in Panama, a nation we have always considered to be a friend. East-West relations took a step forward as Hungary began removing the

barbed wire along its border with Austria. Yet we witnessed a tragic scene in Beijing, when the Chinese Government turned its army on its own citizens, who were demonstrating for democracy.

We are all working to keep up with events and to understand their significance -- for these countries, for the United States, and for the world. In particular, the Soviet Union, our traditional adversary, is undergoing unprecedented changes -- changes that appear to be shaking up the entire Soviet system and could have significant implications for the United States. These changes range from announcements by the Soviet leaders that more rubles will be spent on consumer goods and fewer on defense to the holding of the most open election since 1917. This election of representatives to the Congress of People's Deputies -- and the surprising degree of independence that new legislature is demonstrating -- are not politics as practiced in the Soviet Union even a few years ago.

As a nation, we have always been concerned with freedom and peoples' rights around the world, a point President Bush emphasized in a press conference last month. When there is promise of any such change in the Soviet Union, we watch with more than passing interest.

Until very recently, citizens of the Soviet Union had few real civil rights and little personal freedom. To a large degree, the law was used as an instrument of repression -- a tool to control the people.

Part of that picture is changing. In the past few years, we have seen significant change in the exercising of individual rights in the Soviet Union, although, certainly, many problems remain. Today I would like to talk more

about this change, what it may mean for the Soviet people, and the challenge these issues represent for American intelligence.

As long as the Communist Party dominates, the Soviet people will not acquire the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom to shape the decisions of government that we know in the United States. But, in certain key areas, the government is allowing more freedom than at any time since the 1920's -- in expression and information, in association, assembly, and religion. It has taken steps to provide better protection from arbitrary arrest and more rights to due process. It is allowing more opportunities for emigration and travel. There are limits in each of these areas, and the government has shown it will backtrack if the people go beyond those limits. But the liberalization we have seen is dramatic, important, and certainly applauded by all free people.

Under glasnost, we have observed unprecedented freedom of expression and information. In May and June, reformers elected to the Congress of People's Deputies criticized the highest levels of Soviet Government on live TV -- a spectacle we could not have imagined a few years ago. The Western world has been startled by changes in the information available to the Soviet people. Moscow is no longer jamming Radio Liberty, a station it has consistently denounced as hostile and has jammed since 1953. Statements of Western leaders, even those critical of the Soviet Union, are reported in the press. In fact, the official media are reporting on a number of issues that were previously taboo: social problems like alcohol and drug abuse, corruption in the government, even charges that Soviet psychiatry has been used to suppress dissent.

Yet, the party remains in control, setting the limits of glasnost and penalizing those who go too far. The authorities still confiscate literature they fear is politically threatening. Demonstrators who express support for fundamental political change, such as a multiparty state, are frequently picked up and harassed. Although laws are being prepared that will protect at least some of the new rights to expression and information, the drafts under review do not allow as much as reformers had hoped. Furthermore, it remains to be seen whether such laws will be enacted, and, if enacted, consistently enforced.

The people are being allowed more freedom to associate. The ability to participate in political debate has led to an explosion in the number of informal organizations within the Soviet Union. Tens of thousands of groups have formed -- literary, cultural, even political discussion groups. The government has been remarkably tolerant of their activities. In fact, some of these groups were influential in getting reformers elected to the Congress of People's Deputies in March.

Here, again, the limits of government tolerance are being tested. One group, the Democratic Union, has called for a multiparty state, which Gorbachev has made clear will not be tolerated. As a result, its members are frequently arrested and harassed.

As is the case with freedom of expression and information, laws are being prepared that will define the rights of groups. These laws will indicate how far the government is willing to go in allowing people the freedom to associate.

The openness allowed under glasnost has also encouraged people to exercise unprecedented freedom of assembly. Under Gorbachev, the number of protests and strikes has increased geometrically over previous years. Hundreds of thousands of people have demonstrated for a wide range of causes, from human rights to ethnic identity, with less fear than at any time in the past. Up to a million people participated in nationalist demonstrations in Armenia last year. And if you've been watching television, you've been seeing an exercise of that assembly and expression in the protests of hundreds of thousands of strikers in Siberia and in the Ukraine.

There are limits to official tolerance, and we're seeing those. Authorities are given wide latitude to deal with demonstrators at the local level, and often crack down with heavy fines and arrests. You may recall that in Soviet Georgia in April, troops used shovels, clubs, and toxic gas to crush a protest for national autonomy, leaving at least 20 dead. The national government concedes that was a mistake. But the government's authority remains.

Changes in the law in the last year place greater restrictions on holding demonstrations -- a signal that the government is not going to relinquish control. This backtracking greatly worries Soviet reformers because it shows how reversible their gains can be.

In freedom of religion, we have seen a remarkable shift in the government's stance. In the last few years, hundreds of churches and mosques have opened in the Soviet Union. Hundreds of thousands of Bibles have been allowed into the country -- a significant increase, though far from enough to

meet the current demand. The government is allowing Jews to study Hebrew and to open Jewish cultural clubs. In 1988, during a celebration of the millennium of Christianity in Russia, Gorbachev met with Christian patriarchs -- the first time that Moscow has given them such prominence since World War II.

The government's tolerance of religion does not extend to groups it considers a political threat. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, which has been linked to nationalist causes, is still outlawed despite thousands of believers presenting petitions to their government.

New laws are being considered that could protect the rights of believers and relax the criminal codes traditionally used against them.

In addition to allowing greater freedoms -- ranging from expression and association to religion -- the Soviet Government has taken steps that provide greater protection from arbitrary arrests and improve some guarantees of procedural due process. In the past, criminal defendants have not had the right to legal representation during investigations. A law to change this is now being considered. Another law, already passed, gives citizens the right to challenge some government decisions. Yet another law makes it more difficult for the government to suppress dissidents by sending them to psychiatric institutions. This year, in fact, Moscow allowed a US delegation of psychiatric experts to visit Soviet hospitals in an attempt to prove it was eliminating such practices.

All of these are encouraging developments. And they represent a decided -- though not necessarily permanent -- shift within the Soviet Union.

Another indication of this shift is the increased opportunity for emigration and travel. Soviets are emigrating in record numbers. In 1988,

almost 78,000 Jews, ethnic Germans, and Armenians were allowed to leave -- a twofold increase over the previous year and more than 40 times the number in 1986.

And more people are being allowed to travel to the West -- a benefit that is especially welcome to Soviet intellectuals and scientists. Ordinary citizens have benefited as well. The number of trips to the United States by Soviet citizens has increased tenfold since 1986.

The Soviets have drafted a law that would legalize the more liberal situation, although government approval will still be required for a citizen to leave the country.

We do not know how permanent these changes will be or how far the Soviet Government will ultimately go in granting its people more freedom -- whether it be greater freedom within the system or freedom to leave it. But today's leaders appear to understand that their system is faltering largely because it has not given the people enough breathing room -- room to inquire, room to innovate, room to unlock creativity and initiative. In fact, Gorbachev has acknowledged that improving citizens' rights is an important part of a greater strategy -- he sees it as a key to his economic reforms. But he has also made it clear that the government will judge the proper limits and that it will crack down if the pressures unleashed get out of hand. And I think we're approaching one of those moments as we sit here today.

The final versions of the laws under review will give some indication of the limits the government has decided to set on the various freedoms allowed

Soviet citizens. And to the extent that we can witness the process, we will have a better understanding of the goals of the Soviet leaders and the steps they think are necessary to achieve their goals.

We must recognize that relaxations of repressive Soviet policies could be reversed at any time. The Soviet Union has a long history of selectively enforcing its laws. So even changes in the legal code will not guarantee the permanence of the new practices.

The judiciary in the Soviet Union is not an independent check on the government as in the United States. The party interferes in legal cases, often dictating decisions to the courts -- a system known as "telephone justice."

Gorbachev knows that legal reform goes hand in hand with other changes. He has advocated creating a state of law in which law applies to officials and citizens alike.

But a state of law cannot exist without an independent judiciary. Until the courts in the Soviet Union are granted such independence, rights and freedoms granted the people will not be guaranteed.

The Soviet Union remains a primary focus of our intelligence collection and analysis. Despite perestroika and glasnost, the adversarial relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States remains. Soviet intelligence activities directed at the United States have not abated. Our new embassy building in Moscow, skillfully penetrated by the Soviets, remains unoccupied. The Berlin Wall still stands, a continuing symbol of the differences between our systems.

Gorbachev's efforts to reform his country have not altered these truths. In fact, they make intelligence of even greater importance to the American

people. We must help the American policymaker sort out what is going on in the Soviet Union and what it means both for that country and for the United States.

We must manage the explosion of information that has occurred under glasnost. There is more information to collect, process, and analyze than ever before. Although this is a welcome change, we are increasingly challenged to determine what is important and what is not, what is real versus what Moscow wants us to hear.

In the area of individual rights, the intelligence task is made more difficult by the fact that, despite glasnost, much of Soviet law is unpublished and some is even secret.

The changes in citizens' rights are but one aspect of the reforms we are observing in the Soviet Union. And the Soviet Union is but one of the many concerns of American intelligence. With uncommon changes taking place around the world, we are increasingly challenged to provide the information our nation needs to make wise policy decisions.

Acquiring and analyzing this information is the job of the men and women of American intelligence. And their success is the result of determination, skill, tenacity, and courage.

I think intelligence has never been more important than today. Our task is to support our government as it develops and carries out policies that not only address our nation's concerns, but will move us all toward a safer and a better world. A world, I might add, in which more and more nations will adopt as a model an independent judiciary and seek resolutions for their problems within a recognized and public rule of law.

Thank you very much.

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) DCI Update of Proposed Remarks to Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference
21 July 1989

FROM: James W. Greenle Director, Public	EXTENSION	NO. PAO 89-0230
		DATE 19 July 1989

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
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TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	RECEIVED	FORWARDED	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
1. ER	9 JUL	1989	<i>W</i>	
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FORM 1-79 **610** USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

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PAO 89-0230

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19 July 1989

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JUDGE:

STAT

RE: Update of your proposed remarks to the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference

Considering that the coal miners' strike in Siberia and the Ukraine is reaching major proportions, Fritz Ermarth, Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, recommended that you mention the strike in your speech to the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference.

We have worked with [redacted] Assistant NIO/USSR, and the Office of Soviet Analysis to update your speech to address the current labor and ethnic unrest. The new material, which is attached, replaces the last paragraph of page 7, beginning "There are limits to official tolerance..." and the following paragraph, which ends "...because it shows how reversible their gains are."

We have also attached the updated text of your proposed remarks, incorporating the new material on labor and ethnic unrest as well as the information we forwarded earlier this week on an independent judiciary.

[redacted signature box]

Jim Greenleaf

Attachments:
As stated

DCI/PAO [redacted]

Distribution:

- Orig. - DCI
- 1 - ER
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - D/PAO
- 1 - PAO Registry
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - PAO Ames
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - [redacted]

D-3041R



UPDATE ON LABOR, ETHNIC UNREST

THE LIMITS OF OFFICIAL TOLERANCE ARE BEING STRAINED, HOWEVER. THE CURRENT LABOR AND ETHNIC UNREST IS CHALLENGING THE SYSTEM'S ABILITY TO COPE. THE COAL MINERS' STRIKE IN SIBERIA AND THE UKRAINE, NOW IN ITS SECOND WEEK, IS CAUSING SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS. ARMED CLASHES BETWEEN ETHNIC MINORITIES ARE INCREASING IN THE SOUTHERN U.S.S.R., AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES ARE HAVING TROUBLE MAINTAINING CONTROL. IN MANY CASES, THE GOVERNMENT HAS HAD TO SEND IN TROOPS.

UPDATE OF
PROPOSED REMARKS
BY
WILLIAM H. WEBSTER
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
BEFORE THE
EIGHTH CIRCUIT JUDICIAL CONFERENCE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
JULY 21, 1989

LAST YEAR I TALKED TO YOU ABOUT MY FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE AS THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE. MUCH HAS HAPPENED SINCE THEN.

IN ALMOST EVERY CORNER OF THE WORLD, EVENTS ARE TAKING PLACE THAT ARE CHANGING YESTERDAY'S POLITICAL AND MILITARY TRUTHS. AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE WORKING TO REDUCE NUCLEAR ARMS, THIRD WORLD NATIONS ARE BUILDING ARSENALS OF NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL, AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. AS THE NEW SOLIDARITY PARTY STRUGGLES FOR A VOICE IN POLAND, DEMOCRACY IS ENDANGERED IN PANAMA, A NATION WE HAVE ALWAYS CONSIDERED TO BE A FRIEND. EAST-WEST RELATIONS TOOK A STEP FORWARD AS HUNGARY BEGAN REMOVING THE BARBED WIRE ALONG ITS BORDER WITH AUSTRIA. YET WE WITNESSED A TRAGIC SCENE IN BEIJING, WHEN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TURNED ITS ARMY ON ITS OWN CITIZENS, WHO WERE DEMONSTRATING FOR DEMOCRACY.

WE ARE ALL WORKING TO KEEP UP WITH EVENTS AND TO UNDERSTAND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE -- FOR THESE COUNTRIES, FOR THE UNITED STATES, AND FOR THE WORLD. IN PARTICULAR, THE SOVIET UNION, OUR TRADITIONAL ADVERSARY, IS UNDERGOING UNPRECEDENTED CHANGES -- CHANGES THAT APPEAR TO BE SHAKING UP THE ENTIRE SOVIET SYSTEM AND COULD HAVE SIGNIFICANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES. THESE CHANGES RANGE FROM ANNOUNCEMENTS BY THE SOVIET LEADERS THAT MORE RUBLES WILL BE SPENT ON CONSUMER GOODS AND FEWER ON DEFENSE TO THE HOLDING OF THE MOST OPEN ELECTION SINCE 1917. THIS ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES -- AND THE SURPRISING DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE THAT NEW LEGISLATURE IS DEMONSTRATING -- ARE NOT POLITICS AS PRACTICED IN THE SOVIET UNION EVEN A FEW YEARS AGO.

AS A NATION, WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN CONCERNED WITH FREEDOM AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS AROUND THE WORLD, A POINT PRESIDENT BUSH EMPHASIZED IN A PRESS CONFERENCE LAST MONTH. WHEN THERE IS

PROMISE OF ANY SUCH CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION, WE WATCH WITH MORE THAN OUR USUAL INTEREST.

UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION HAD FEW REAL CIVIL RIGHTS AND LITTLE PERSONAL FREEDOM. TO A LARGE DEGREE, THE LAW WAS USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF REPRESSION -- A TOOL TO CONTROL THE PEOPLE.

PART OF THAT PICTURE IS CHANGING. IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, WE HAVE SEEN SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE EXERCISING OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION, ALTHOUGH, CERTAINLY, MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN. TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO TALK MORE ABOUT THIS CHANGE, WHAT IT MAY MEAN FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE, AND THE CHALLENGE THESE ISSUES REPRESENT FOR AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

AS LONG AS THE COMMUNIST PARTY DOMINATES, THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL NOT ACQUIRE THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF RELIGION, AND FREEDOM TO SHAPE THE DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENT THAT WE KNOW IN THE UNITED STATES. BUT, IN CERTAIN KEY AREAS, THE

GOVERNMENT IS ALLOWING MORE FREEDOM THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE 1920'S -- IN EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, IN ASSOCIATION, ASSEMBLY, AND RELIGION. IT HAS TAKEN STEPS TO PROVIDE BETTER PROTECTION FROM ARBITRARY ARREST AND MORE RIGHTS TO DUE PROCESS. IT IS ALLOWING MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMIGRATION AND TRAVEL. THERE ARE LIMITS IN EACH OF THESE AREAS, AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN IT WILL BACKTRACK IF THE PEOPLE GO BEYOND THOSE LIMITS. BUT THE LIBERALIZATION WE HAVE SEEN IS DRAMATIC, IMPORTANT, AND CERTAINLY APPLAUDED BY ALL FREE PEOPLE.

UNDER GLASNOST, WE HAVE OBSERVED UNPRECEDENTED FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION. IN MAY AND JUNE, REFORMERS ELECTED TO THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES CRITICIZED THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON LIVE TV -- A SPECTACLE WE COULD NOT HAVE IMAGINED A FEW YEARS AGO. THE WESTERN WORLD HAS BEEN STARTLED BY CHANGES IN THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE. MOSCOW IS NO LONGER JAMMING RADIO LIBERTY, A STATION

IT HAS CONSISTENTLY DENOUNCED AS HOSTILE AND HAS JAMMED SINCE 1953. STATEMENTS OF WESTERN LEADERS, EVEN THOSE CRITICAL OF THE SOVIET UNION, ARE REPORTED IN THE PRESS. IN FACT, THE OFFICIAL MEDIA ARE REPORTING ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT WERE PREVIOUSLY TABOO: SOCIAL PROBLEMS LIKE ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE, CORRUPTION IN THE GOVERNMENT, EVEN CHARGES THAT SOVIET PSYCHIATRY HAS BEEN USED TO SUPPRESS DISSENT.

YET, THE PARTY REMAINS IN CONTROL, SETTING THE LIMITS OF GLASNOST AND PENALIZING THOSE WHO GO TOO FAR. THE AUTHORITIES STILL CONFISCATE LITERATURE THEY FEAR IS POLITICALLY THREATENING. DEMONSTRATORS WHO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL CHANGE, SUCH AS A MULTIPARTY STATE, ARE FREQUENTLY PICKED UP AND HARASSED. ALTHOUGH LAWS ARE BEING PREPARED THAT WILL PROTECT AT LEAST SOME OF THE NEW RIGHTS TO EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, THE DRAFTS UNDER REVIEW DO NOT ALLOW AS MUCH AS REFORMERS HAD HOPED. FURTHERMORE, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN

WHETHER SUCH LAWS WILL BE ENACTED, AND, IF ENACTED,
CONSISTENTLY ENFORCED.

THE PEOPLE ARE BEING ALLOWED MORE FREEDOM TO ASSOCIATE.
THE ABILITY TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL DEBATE HAS LED TO AN
EXPLOSION IN THE NUMBER OF INFORMAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SOVIET
UNION. TENS OF THOUSANDS OF GROUPS HAVE FORMED -- LITERARY,
CULTURAL, EVEN POLITICAL DISCUSSION GROUPS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS
BEEN REMARKABLY TOLERANT OF THEIR ACTIVITIES. IN FACT, SOME OF
THESE GROUPS WERE INFLUENTIAL IN GETTING REFORMERS ELECTED TO
THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES IN MARCH.

HERE, AGAIN, THE LIMITS OF GOVERNMENT TOLERANCE ARE BEING
TESTED. ONE GROUP, THE DEMOCRATIC UNION, HAS CALLED FOR A
MULTIPARTY STATE, WHICH GORBACHEV HAS MADE CLEAR WILL NOT BE
TOLERATED. AS A RESULT, ITS MEMBERS ARE FREQUENTLY ARRESTED
AND HARASSED.

AS IS THE CASE WITH FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, LAWS ARE BEING PREPARED THAT WILL DEFINE THE RIGHTS OF GROUPS. THESE LAWS WILL INDICATE HOW FAR THE GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO GO IN ALLOWING PEOPLE THE FREEDOM TO ASSOCIATE.

THE OPENNESS ALLOWED UNDER GLASNOST HAS ALSO ENCOURAGED PEOPLE TO EXERCISE UNPRECEDENTED FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY. UNDER GORBACHEV, THE NUMBER OF PROTESTS AND STRIKES HAS INCREASED GEOMETRICALLY OVER PREVIOUS YEARS. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE DEMONSTRATED FOR A WIDE RANGE OF CAUSES, FROM HUMAN RIGHTS TO ETHNIC IDENTITY, WITH LESS FEAR THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE PAST. UP TO A MILLION PEOPLE PARTICIPATED IN NATIONALIST DEMONSTRATIONS IN ARMENIA LAST YEAR.

THE LIMITS OF OFFICIAL TOLERANCE ARE BEING STRAINED, HOWEVER. THE CURRENT LABOR AND ETHNIC UNREST IS CHALLENGING THE SYSTEM'S ABILITY TO COPE. THE COAL MINERS' STRIKE IN SIBERIA AND THE UKRAINE, NOW IN ITS SECOND WEEK, IS CAUSING

SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS. ARMED CLASHES BETWEEN ETHNIC MINORITIES ARE INCREASING IN THE SOUTHERN U.S.S.R., AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES ARE HAVING TROUBLE MAINTAINING CONTROL. IN MANY CASES, THE GOVERNMENT HAS HAD TO SEND IN TROOPS.

IN FREEDOM OF RELIGION, WE HAVE SEEN A REMARKABLE SHIFT IN THE GOVERNMENT'S STANCE. IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, HUNDREDS OF CHURCHES AND MOSQUES HAVE OPENED IN THE SOVIET UNION. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF BIBLES HAVE BEEN ALLOWED INTO THE COUNTRY -- A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE, THOUGH FAR FROM ENOUGH TO MEET THE DEMAND. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALLOWING JEWS TO STUDY HEBREW AND TO OPEN JEWISH CULTURAL CLUBS. IN 1988, DURING A CELEBRATION OF THE MILLENIUM OF CHRISTIANITY IN RUSSIA, GORBACHEV MET WITH CHRISTIAN PATRIARCHS -- THE FIRST TIME THAT MOSCOW HAS GIVEN THEM SUCH PROMINENCE SINCE WORLD WAR II.

THE GOVERNMENT'S TOLERANCE OF RELIGION DOES NOT EXTEND TO GROUPS IT CONSIDERS A POLITICAL THREAT, HOWEVER. THE UKRAINIAN

CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHICH HAS BEEN LINKED TO NATIONALIST CAUSES, IS STILL OUTLAWED DESPITE THOUSANDS OF BELIEVERS PRESENTING PETITIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT.

NEW LAWS ARE BEING CONSIDERED THAT COULD PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF BELIEVERS AND RELAX THE CRIMINAL CODES TRADITIONALLY USED AGAINST THEM.

IN ADDITION TO ALLOWING GREATER FREEDOMS -- RANGING FROM EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION TO RELIGION -- THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN STEPS THAT PROVIDE GREATER PROTECTION FROM ARBITRARY ARRESTS AND IMPROVE GUARANTEES OF PROCEDURAL DUE PROCESS. IN THE PAST, CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS HAVE NOT HAD THE RIGHT TO LEGAL COUNSEL DURING AN INVESTIGATION. A LAW TO CHANGE THIS IS NOW BEING CONSIDERED. ANOTHER LAW, ALREADY PASSED, GIVES CITIZENS THE RIGHT TO CHALLENGE SOME GOVERNMENT DECISIONS. YET ANOTHER LAW MAKES IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO SUPPRESS DISSIDENTS BY SENDING THEM TO PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTIONS. THIS

YEAR, IN FACT, MOSCOW ALLOWED A U.S. DELEGATION OF PSYCHIATRIC EXPERTS TO VISIT SOVIET HOSPITALS IN AN ATTEMPT TO PROVE IT WAS ELIMINATING SUCH PRACTICES.

ALL OF THESE ARE ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS. AND THEY REPRESENT A DECIDED --- THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY PERMANENT --- SHIFT WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. ANOTHER INDICATION OF THIS SHIFT IS THE INCREASED OPPORTUNITY FOR EMIGRATION AND TRAVEL.

SOVIETS ARE EMIGRATING IN RECORD NUMBERS. IN 1988, ALMOST 78,000 JEWS, ETHNIC GERMANS, AND ARMENIANS WERE ALLOWED TO LEAVE -- A TWOFOLD INCREASE OVER THE PREVIOUS YEAR AND MORE THAN 40 TIMES THE NUMBER IN 1986.

AND MORE PEOPLE ARE BEING ALLOWED TO TRAVEL TO THE WEST -- A BENEFIT THAT IS ESPECIALLY WELCOME TO SOVIET INTELLECTUALS AND SCIENTISTS. ORDINARY CITIZENS HAVE BENEFITED AS WELL. THE NUMBER OF TRIPS TO THE UNITED STATES BY SOVIET CITIZENS HAS INCREASED TENFOLD SINCE 1986.

THE SOVIETS HAVE DRAFTED A LAW THAT WOULD LEGALIZE THE MORE LIBERAL SITUATION, ALTHOUGH GOVERNMENT APPROVAL WILL STILL BE REQUIRED FOR A CITIZEN TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

WE DO NOT KNOW HOW PERMANENT THESE CHANGES WILL BE OR HOW FAR THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL ULTIMATELY GO IN GRANTING ITS PEOPLE MORE FREEDOM -- WHETHER IT BE GREATER FREEDOM WITHIN THE SYSTEM OR FREEDOM TO LEAVE IT. BUT TODAY'S LEADERS APPEAR TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR SYSTEM IS FALTERING LARGELY BECAUSE IT HAS NOT GIVEN THE PEOPLE ENOUGH BREATHING ROOM -- TO INQUIRE, ROOM TO INNOVATE, ROOM TO UNLOCK CREATIVITY AND INITIATIVE. IN FACT, GORBACHEV HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IMPROVING CITIZENS' RIGHTS IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF A GREATER STRATEGY -- HE SEES IT AS A KEY TO HIS ECONOMIC REFORMS. BUT HE HAS ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL JUDGE THE PROPER LIMITS AND THAT IT WILL CRACK DOWN IF THE PRESSURES UNLEASHED GET OUT OF HAND.

THE FINAL VERSIONS OF THE LAWS UNDER REVIEW WILL GIVE SOME INDICATION OF THE LIMITS THE GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO SET ON THE VARIOUS FREEDOMS ALLOWED SOVIET CITIZENS. AND TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN WITNESS THE PROCESS, WE WILL HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE GOALS OF THE SOVIET LEADERS AND THE STEPS THEY THINK NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THOSE GOALS.

WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT RELAXATIONS OF REPRESSIVE SOVIET POLICIES COULD BE REVERSED AT ANY TIME. THE SOVIET UNION HAS A LONG HISTORY OF SELECTIVELY ENFORCING ITS LAWS. SO EVEN CHANGES IN THE LEGAL CODE WILL NOT GUARANTEE THE PERMANENCE OF THE NEW PRACTICES.

THE JUDICIARY IN THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT AN INDEPENDENT CHECK ON THE GOVERNMENT AS IN THE UNITED STATES. THE PARTY INTERFERES IN LEGAL CASES, OFTEN DICTATING DECISIONS TO THE COURTS -- A SYSTEM KNOWN AS "TELEPHONE JUSTICE."

GORBACHEV KNOWS THAT LEGAL REFORM GOES HAND IN HAND WITH OTHER CHANGES. HE HAS ADVOCATED THE CREATION OF A STATE OF LAW IN WHICH LAW APPLIES TO OFFICIALS AND CITIZENS ALIKE.

BUT A STATE OF LAW CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY. UNTIL THE COURTS IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE GRANTED SUCH INDEPENDENCE, RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS GRANTED THE PEOPLE WILL NOT BE GUARANTEED.

THE SOVIET UNION REMAINS A PRIMARY FOCUS OF OUR INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS. DESPITE PERESTROIKA AND GLASNOST, THE ADVERSARIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES REMAINS. SOVIET INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AT THE U.S. HAVE NOT ABATED. OUR NEW EMBASSY BUILDING IN MOSCOW, SKILLFULLY PENETRATED BY THE SOVIETS, REMAINS UNOCCUPIED. THE BERLIN WALL STILL STANDS, A CONTINUING SYMBOL OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR SYSTEMS.

GORBACHEV'S EFFORTS TO REFORM HIS COUNTRY HAVE NOT ALTERED THESE TRUTHS. IN FACT, THEY MAKE INTELLIGENCE OF EVEN GREATER IMPORTANCE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE MUST HELP THE AMERICAN POLICYMAKER SORT OUT WHAT'S GOING ON IN THE SOVIET UNION AND WHAT IT MEANS BOTH FOR THAT COUNTRY AND FOR THE UNITED STATES.

WE MUST MANAGE THE EXPLOSION OF INFORMATION THAT HAS OCCURRED UNDER GLASNOST. THERE IS MORE INFORMATION TO COLLECT, PROCESS, AND ANALYZE THAN EVER BEFORE. ALTHOUGH THIS IS A WELCOME CHANGE, WE ARE INCREASINGLY CHALLENGED TO DETERMINE WHAT IS IMPORTANT AND WHAT IS NOT, WHAT IS REAL VERSUS WHAT MOSCOW WANTS US TO HEAR.

IN THE AREA OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, THE INTELLIGENCE TASK IS MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY THE FACT THAT, DESPITE GLASNOST, MUCH OF SOVIET LAW IS UNPUBLISHED AND SOME IS EVEN SECRET.

THE CHANGES IN CITIZENS' RIGHTS ARE BUT ONE ASPECT OF THE REFORMS WE ARE OBSERVING IN THE SOVIET UNION. AND THE SOVIET

UNION IS BUT ONE OF MANY CONCERNS OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. WITH UNCOMMON CHANGES TAKING PLACE AROUND THE WORLD, WE ARE INCREASINGLY CHALLENGED TO PROVIDE THE INFORMATION OUR NATION NEEDS TO MAKE WISE DECISIONS.

ACQUIRING AND ANALYZING SUCH INFORMATION IS THE JOB OF THE MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. AND THEIR SUCCESS IS THE RESULT OF DETERMINATION, SKILL, TENACITY, AND COURAGE.

INTELLIGENCE -- ON AN INCREASING NUMBER OF ISSUES -- HAS NEVER BEEN MORE IMPORTANT. AND I ASSURE YOU THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT OUR GOVERNMENT AS IT DEVELOPS AND CARRIES OUT POLICIES THAT NOT ONLY ADDRESS OUR NATION'S CONCERNS BUT WILL MOVE US ALL TOWARD A BETTER AND A SAFER WORLD.

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) DCI Addition to Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference Remarks 21 July 1989				
FROM: James W. Greenleaf Director, Public Affairs	[Redacted]	EXTENSION	NO. PAO 89-0227	DATE 17 July 1989
TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)	
1. ER	RECEIVED 17 JUL 1989	FORWARDED	[Signature]	STAT
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P-309-IR

STAT

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PAO 89-0227

17 July 1989

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STAT

JUDGE:

RE: Addition to your
proposed remarks
to the Eighth Circuit

As you requested Friday, we are providing a passage on the concept of an independent judiciary for your speech on the Soviet Union at the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference.

Given the discussion of laws and the selective enforcement of laws on page 12 of your proposed remarks, we suggest that you insert this passage at the bottom of that page, following ". . . changes in the legal code will not guarantee the permanence of the new practices."

This passage was coordinated with [redacted] Assistant NIO/USSR, and [redacted] Chief, Societal Issues Branch, Office of Soviet Analysis.

Jim Greenleaf

STAT

Attachments:
As stated

STAT

DCI/PAO [redacted]

Distribution:

- Orig. - DCI
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - D/PAO
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - ER
- 1 - PAO Registry
- 1 - PAO Ames
- 1 - [redacted] (Chrono)
- 1 - [redacted]



P-309-IR

THE JUDICIARY IN THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT AN INDEPENDENT CHECK ON THE GOVERNMENT AS IN THE UNITED STATES. THE PARTY INTERFERES IN LEGAL CASES, OFTEN DICTATING DECISIONS TO THE COURTS -- A SYSTEM KNOWN AS "TELEPHONE JUSTICE."

GORBACHEV KNOWS THAT LEGAL REFORM GOES HAND IN HAND WITH OTHER CHANGES. HE HAS ADVOCATED CREATING A STATE OF LAW IN WHICH LAW APPLIES TO OFFICIALS AND CITIZENS ALIKE.

BUT A STATE OF LAW CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY. UNTIL THE COURTS IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE GRANTED SUCH INDEPENDENCE, RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS GRANTED THE PEOPLE WILL NOT BE GUARANTEED.

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) Press Conference - Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference, Minneapolis, MN
Friday, 21 July 1989

FROM: James W. Greenleaf, D/PAO
7D00, Hdqs.

EXTENSION

NO.

PAO 89/0221

DATE

14 July 1989

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

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7/14*

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13 July 1989

JUDGE:

RE: Press Conference
Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference
Minneapolis, Minnesota
Press Conference
Friday, 21 July 1989

You are addressing the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference in Minneapolis from 9:00 - 9:45 a.m. on Friday, 21 July. Circuit Executive, June Boadwine, has asked if you wish to participate in the news conference which will be held after the General Session at 12:30 p.m. in Nicollet foyer B. Other speakers who will be participating are Legal Affairs Correspondent for National Public Radio Nina Totenberg and University of Texas Law Professor Harold Bruff. AP will cover the news conference that will last approximately 30 minutes.



Jim Greenleaf

for

STAT

 : Agree, I wish to participate in the news conference

✓: Disagree ← DCI's decision, made
in conversation with D/PAO,
14 July.

~~ADMINISTRATIVE INTERNAL USE ONLY~~

25X1

DCI/PAO/

Distribution:

Orig. - DCI

1 - [redacted]

1 - ER

1 - D/PAO

1 - PAO Registry

1 - PAO Ames

1 - [redacted] (Subject)

1 - DCI Security

1 - [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

25X1

PAO 89-0221/1

14 July 1989

25X1

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Jim Greenleaf
Director, Public Affairs Office

SUBJECT: Trip to Minneapolis, Minnesota to Address the
Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference

1. This is background information for your trip to Minneapolis to address the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference on Friday, 21 July at 9:00 a.m. at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, 1300 Nicollet Mall. Phone: (612) 370-1234. I will meet you at the hotel in Minneapolis and remain throughout the program.

2. Arrangements for Your Address of the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference: You are asked to be at the Nicollet room B-D, for your address. Your remarks are scheduled to begin at 9:00 a.m. and James M. Rosenbaum, United States District Judge for the District of Minnesota, who is presiding over the Conference, will be on stage with you and introduce you. (See tab for biography.) The suggested format is 30 minutes of remarks followed by 15 minutes of questions and answers. Your section of the morning program will conclude at 9:45 p.m. A microphone and podium will be available. DCI Security will tape your remarks for the Agency's historical files. The Conference also plans to use our transcript of your remarks for the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference Proceedings. Following your address Congressman Neal Smith (D-IOWA), Judge Richard Arnold (Eighth Circuit), Legal Affairs Correspondent for National Public Radio Nina Totenberg, Judge Richard Posner (Seventh Circuit), Professor Harold Bruff (University of Texas), and Senator Dale Bumpers (D-ARKANSAS) will speak during the morning session. (See tab for agenda.)

3. Audience and Media Coverage: You can expect an audience of 500 judges, attorneys, and spouses. A press release was sent to all newspapers in the 7 states of the circuit and the media in Minneapolis and St. Paul. The MINNEAPOLIS STAR AND TRIBUNE, THE ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS AND DISPATCH, and the local TV and radio stations may cover the event. The press can ask questions during the question and answer period, but usually do not participate in the session. (See tab for press release.)

4. Background: The theme of the 1989 Judicial Conference will be "The Federal Judiciary--200 Years and Beyond." Topics at the conference will include "The Genesis of the Judiciary", "The Federal Judiciary--Heading Toward 2000", and panel discussions on "Changes in the Role of the Courts", and "Do Courts Have the Capacity to Face the Future?".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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P-309-IR

Page Denied

Next 1 Page(s) In Document Denied

UNITED STATES COURTS

Judicial Council Of The Eighth Circuit
P.O. Box 75428
St. Paul, Minnesota 55175
612-290-3311 FTS: 777-3311

CIRCUIT COURT MEMBERS
Hon. Donald P. Lay, Chief Judge
Hon. Gerald W. Heaney
Hon. Theodore McMillian
Hon. Richard S. Arnold
Hon. John R. Gibson
Hon. George G. Fagg
Hon. Pasco M. Bowman
Hon. Roger L. Wollman
Hon. Frank J. Magill
Hon. C. Arlen Beam

DISTRICT COURT MEMBERS
Hon. John F. Nangle, Chief Judge
Hon. Donald D. Alsop, Chief Judge
Hon. Donald E. O'Brien, Chief Judge
Hon. Donald J. Porter, Chief Judge
Hon. Patrick A. Conmy, Chief Judge
Hon. Warren K. Urbom
Hon. George Howard, Jr.

May 2, 1989

Hon. William H. Webster
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

CIRCUIT EXECUTIVE
June L. Boadwine

Dear Friend:

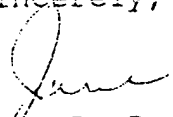
I am delighted we will get to see your smiling face at the Conference! You will find enclosed the registration material, as well as a guest information sheet, which I would appreciate your staff sending back to me by June 15. If possible, I would like to know if you will be attending the meetings of the Judicial Council and the chief judges (shown on the conference agenda enclosed).

As I usually do, I have blocked eleven rooms plus a suite for you at the Hyatt in Minneapolis. I have informed the person with whom I am working (Ginger Peterson) that your staff will be contacting the hotel to confirm these reservations and to make any further requests that you have. If there is anything further that you would like me to do, please don't hesitate to let me know.

Again, it will be great to see you.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,


June L. Boadwine
Circuit Executive

JLB/cbb

Encl.

cc: Hon. Donald P. Lay
Ms. Millie Adams
✓ Mr. William H. Baker

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE
DISTRICT OF MINNESOTA

CHAMBERS
JUDGE JAMES M. ROSENBAUM

Executive Registry

89-0435

669 U.S. COURTHOUSE
MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55401

January 31, 1989

Hon. William Webster
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC 20505

Re: Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference

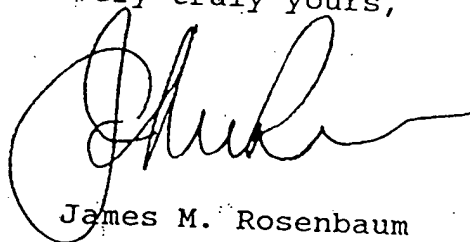
Dear Judge Webster:

Thank you for agreeing to speak at the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference on July 21, 1989. As we discussed, your address is scheduled for 9:00 a.m.

We will look forward to hearing your thoughts regarding the agency and the Washington scene as well as any observations of the new administration you can share with us.

It was a pleasure chatting with you. I hope I may be able to see you in Washington, but in any event I will look forward to seeing you at the conference.

Very truly yours,



James M. Rosenbaum

~~SECRET~~

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) DCI Proposed Remarks - Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference
21 July 1989

FROM: James W. Greenlea
Director, Public

EXTENSION NO. PAO 89-0219

DATE 10 July 1989

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE RECEIVED FORWARDED

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

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DCI EXEC REG

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~~SECRET~~

Distribution:

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- 1 - [redacted]
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- 1 - PAO Registry
- 1 - PAO Ames
- 1 - [redacted] (Chrono) 25X1
- 1 - [redacted]

PAO 89-0219

10 July 1989

You will be addressing the 1989 Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference in Minneapolis on Friday, 21 July at 9:00 a.m. The conference, "The Federal Judiciary -- 200 Years and Beyond," will include discussions on the history of the courts and challenges for the future.

As suggested in the outline submitted to you on 15 June (see attached opposite), your proposed remarks explore how the rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizen have changed under Gorbachev.

In the introduction, you discuss some of the world events that have occurred since your last speech to the Eighth Circuit, including developments in Poland, Panama, and China. You then discuss some of the changes we are observing in the Soviet Union. Your thesis, which is on page 3, says: "In the past few years, we have seen significant change in the exercising of individual rights in the Soviet Union, although, certainly, many problems remain. Today I would like to talk more about this change, what it may mean for the Soviet people, and the challenge these issues represent for American intelligence." 25X1

This draft was coordinated with Fritz Ermarth, Chairman of the National Intelligence Council; [redacted] Assistant NIO/USSR; [redacted] Chief, Societal Issues Branch, Office of Soviet Analysis (DI); and a number of analysts in [redacted] branch. 25X1 25X1

Your proposed remarks are attached.

Jim Greenleaf

Attachments:
As stated

[Large redacted box]

25X1

~~SECRET~~



P-309-IR

PROPOSED REMARKS
BY
WILLIAM H. WEBSTER
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
BEFORE THE
EIGHTH CIRCUIT JUDICIAL CONFERENCE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
JULY 21, 1989

LAST YEAR I TALKED TO YOU ABOUT MY FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE AS THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE. MUCH HAS HAPPENED SINCE THEN.

IN ALMOST EVERY CORNER OF THE WORLD, EVENTS ARE TAKING PLACE THAT ARE CHANGING YESTERDAY'S POLITICAL AND MILITARY TRUTHS. AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE WORKING TO REDUCE NUCLEAR ARMS, THIRD WORLD NATIONS ARE BUILDING ARSENALS OF NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL, AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. AS THE NEW SOLIDARITY PARTY STRUGGLES FOR A VOICE IN POLAND, DEMOCRACY IS ENDANGERED IN PANAMA, A NATION WE HAVE ALWAYS CONSIDERED TO BE A FRIEND. EAST-WEST RELATIONS TOOK A STEP FORWARD AS HUNGARY BEGAN REMOVING THE BARBED WIRE ALONG ITS BORDER WITH AUSTRIA.¹ YET WE WITNESSED A TRAGIC SCENE IN BEIJING, WHEN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TURNED ITS ARMY ON ITS OWN CITIZENS, WHO WERE DEMONSTRATING FOR DEMOCRACY.

WE ARE ALL WORKING TO KEEP UP WITH EVENTS AND TO UNDERSTAND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE -- FOR THESE COUNTRIES, FOR THE UNITED STATES, AND FOR THE WORLD. IN PARTICULAR, THE SOVIET UNION, OUR TRADITIONAL ADVERSARY, IS UNDERGOING UNPRECEDENTED CHANGES -- CHANGES THAT APPEAR TO BE SHAKING UP THE ENTIRE SOVIET SYSTEM AND COULD HAVE SIGNIFICANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES. THESE CHANGES RANGE FROM ANNOUNCEMENTS BY THE SOVIET LEADERS THAT MORE RUBLES WILL BE SPENT ON CONSUMER GOODS AND FEWER ON DEFENSE TO THE HOLDING OF THE MOST OPEN ELECTION SINCE 1917.² THIS ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES WAS NOT POLITICS AS PRACTICED IN THE SOVIET UNION EVEN A FEW YEARS AGO.

AS A NATION, WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN CONCERNED WITH FREEDOM AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS AROUND THE WORLD, A POINT PRESIDENT BUSH EMPHASIZED IN A PRESS CONFERENCE LAST MONTH.³ WHEN THERE IS

PROMISE OF ANY SUCH CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION, WE WATCH WITH MORE THAN OUR USUAL INTEREST.

UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION HAD FEW REAL CIVIL RIGHTS AND LITTLE PERSONAL FREEDOM. TO A LARGE DEGREE, THE LAW WAS USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF REPRESSION -- A TOOL TO CONTROL THE PEOPLE.

PART OF THAT PICTURE IS CHANGING. IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, WE HAVE SEEN SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE EXERCISING OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION, ALTHOUGH, CERTAINLY, MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN. TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO TALK MORE ABOUT THIS CHANGE, WHAT IT MAY MEAN FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE, AND THE CHALLENGE THESE ISSUES REPRESENT FOR AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

AS LONG AS THE COMMUNIST PARTY DOMINATES, THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL NOT ACQUIRE THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF RELIGION, AND FREEDOM TO SHAPE THE DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENT THAT WE KNOW

IN THE UNITED STATES. BUT, IN CERTAIN KEY AREAS, THE GOVERNMENT IS ALLOWING MORE FREEDOM THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE 1920'S -- IN EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, IN ASSOCIATION, ASSEMBLY, AND RELIGION. IT HAS TAKEN STEPS TO PROVIDE FREEDOM FROM ARBITRARY ARREST AND MORE RIGHTS TO DUE PROCESS. IT IS ALLOWING MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMIGRATION AND TRAVEL. THERE ARE LIMITS IN EACH OF THESE AREAS, AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN IT WILL BACKTRACK IF THE PEOPLE GO BEYOND THOSE LIMITS. BUT THE LIBERALIZATION WE HAVE SEEN IS DRAMATIC, IMPORTANT, AND CERTAINLY APPLAUDED BY ALL FREE PEOPLE.

UNDER GLASNOST, WE HAVE OBSERVED UNPRECEDENTED FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION. IN MAY AND JUNE, REFORMERS ELECTED TO THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES CRITICIZED THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON LIVE TV -- A SPECTACLE WE COULD NOT HAVE IMAGINED A FEW YEARS AGO. THE WESTERN WORLD HAS BEEN

STARTLED BY CHANGES IN THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE. MOSCOW IS NO LONGER JAMMING RADIO LIBERTY, A STATION IT HAS CONSISTENTLY DENOUNCED AS HOSTILE AND HAS JAMMED SINCE 1953. STATEMENTS OF WESTERN LEADERS, EVEN THOSE CRITICAL OF THE SOVIET UNION, ARE FREELY REPORTED IN THE PRESS.⁴ IN FACT, THE OFFICIAL MEDIA ARE REPORTING ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT WERE PREVIOUSLY TABOO: SOCIAL PROBLEMS LIKE ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE, CORRUPTION IN THE GOVERNMENT, EVEN CHARGES THAT SOVIET PSYCHIATRY HAS BEEN USED TO SUPPRESS DISSENT.⁵

YET, THE PARTY REMAINS IN CONTROL, SETTING THE LIMITS OF GLASNOST AND PENALIZING THOSE WHO GO TOO FAR. THE AUTHORITIES CONFISCATE LITERATURE THEY FEAR IS POLITICALLY THREATENING.⁶ DEMONSTRATORS WHO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL CHANGE, SUCH AS A MULTIPARTY STATE, ARE FREQUENTLY PICKED UP AND HARASSED.⁷ ALTHOUGH LAWS ARE BEING PREPARED THAT WILL

PROTECT AT LEAST SOME OF THE NEW RIGHTS TO EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, THE DRAFTS UNDER REVIEW DO NOT ALLOW AS MUCH AS REFORMERS HAD HOPED.⁸ FURTHERMORE, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER SUCH LAWS WILL BE ENACTED, AND, IF ENACTED, CONSISTENTLY ENFORCED.

THE PEOPLE ARE BEING ALLOWED MORE FREEDOM TO ASSOCIATE. THE ABILITY TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL DEBATE HAS LED TO AN EXPLOSION IN THE NUMBER OF INFORMAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION. TENS OF THOUSANDS OF GROUPS HAVE FORMED -- LITERARY, CULTURAL, EVEN POLITICAL DISCUSSION GROUPS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN REMARKABLY TOLERANT OF THEIR ACTIVITIES. IN FACT, SOME OF THESE GROUPS WERE INFLUENTIAL IN GETTING REFORMERS ELECTED TO THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES IN MARCH.⁹

HERE, AGAIN, THE LIMITS OF GOVERNMENT TOLERANCE ARE BEING TESTED. ONE GROUP, THE DEMOCRATIC UNION, HAS CALLED FOR A

MULTIPARTY STATE, WHICH GORBACHEV HAS MADE CLEAR WILL NOT BE TOLERATED. AS A RESULT, ITS MEMBERS ARE FREQUENTLY ARRESTED AND HARASSED.¹⁰

AS IS THE CASE WITH FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION, LAWS ARE BEING PREPARED THAT WILL DEFINE THE RIGHTS OF GROUPS. THESE LAWS WILL INDICATE HOW FAR THE GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO GO IN ALLOWING PEOPLE THE FREEDOM TO ASSOCIATE.¹¹

THE OPENNESS ALLOWED UNDER GLASNOST HAS ALSO ENCOURAGED PEOPLE TO EXERCISE UNPRECEDENTED FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY. UNDER GORBACHEV, THE NUMBER OF PROTESTS AND STRIKES HAS INCREASED GEOMETRICALLY OVER PREVIOUS YEARS. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE DEMONSTRATED FOR A WIDE RANGE OF CAUSES, FROM HUMAN RIGHTS TO ETHNIC IDENTITY, WITH LESS FEAR THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE PAST. UP TO A MILLION PEOPLE PARTICIPATED IN NATIONALIST DEMONSTRATIONS IN ARMENIA LAST YEAR.¹²

THERE ARE LIMITS TO OFFICIAL TOLERANCE, HOWEVER. AUTHORITIES ARE GIVEN WIDE LATITUDE TO DEAL WITH DEMONSTRATORS, AND OFTEN CRACK DOWN WITH HEAVY FINES AND ARRESTS. IN SOVIET GEORGIA IN APRIL, TROOPS USED SHOVELS, CLUBS, AND TOXIC GAS TO CRUSH A PROTEST FOR NATIONAL AUTONOMY, LEAVING AT LEAST 20 DEAD.¹³

CHANGES IN THE LAW IN THE LAST YEAR PLACE GREATER RESTRICTIONS ON HOLDING DEMONSTRATIONS -- A SIGNAL THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT GOING TO RELINQUISH CONTROL.¹⁴ THIS BACKTRACKING GREATLY WORRIES SOVIET REFORMERS BECAUSE IT SHOWS HOW REVERSIBLE THEIR GAINS ARE.

IN FREEDOM OF RELIGION, WE HAVE SEEN A REMARKABLE SHIFT IN THE GOVERNMENT'S STANCE. IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, HUNDREDS OF CHURCHES AND MOSQUES HAVE OPENED IN THE SOVIET UNION. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF BIBLES HAVE BEEN ALLOWED INTO THE COUNTRY -- A

SIGNIFICANT INCREASE, THOUGH FAR FROM ENOUGH TO MEET THE DEMAND. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALLOWING JEWS TO STUDY HEBREW AND TO OPEN JEWISH CULTURAL CLUBS. IN 1988, DURING A CELEBRATION OF THE MILLENIUM OF CHRISTIANITY IN RUSSIA, GORBACHEV MET WITH CHRISTIAN PATRIARCHS -- THE FIRST TIME THAT MOSCOW HAS GIVEN THEM SUCH PROMINENCE SINCE WORLD WAR II.

THE GOVERNMENT'S TOLERANCE OF RELIGION DOES NOT EXTEND TO GROUPS IT CONSIDERS A POLITICAL THREAT, HOWEVER. THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHICH HAS BEEN LINKED TO NATIONALIST CAUSES, IS STILL OUTLAWED DESPITE THOUSANDS OF BELIEVERS PRESENTING PETITIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT.¹⁵

NEW LAWS ARE BEING CONSIDERED THAT COULD PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF BELIEVERS AND RELAX THE CRIMINAL CODES TRADITIONALLY USED AGAINST THEM.

IN ADDITION TO ALLOWING GREATER FREEDOMS -- RANGING FROM EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION TO RELIGION -- THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN STEPS THAT PROVIDE GREATER FREEDOM FROM ARBITRARY ARRESTS AND IMPROVE GUARANTEES OF PROCEDURAL DUE PROCESS. IN THE PAST, CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS HAVE NOT HAD THE RIGHT TO LEGAL COUNSEL DURING AN INVESTIGATION. A LAW TO CHANGE THIS IS NOW BEING CONSIDERED.¹⁶ ANOTHER LAW, ALREADY PASSED, GIVES CITIZENS THE RIGHT TO CHALLENGE SOME GOVERNMENT DECISIONS. YET ANOTHER LAW MAKES IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO SUPPRESS DISSIDENTS BY SENDING THEM TO PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTIONS. THIS YEAR, IN FACT, MOSCOW ALLOWED A U.S. DELEGATION OF PSYCHIATRIC EXPERTS TO VISIT SOVIET HOSPITALS IN AN ATTEMPT TO PROVE IT WAS ELIMINATING SUCH PRACTICES.¹⁷

ALL OF THESE ARE ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS. AND THEY REPRESENT A DECIDED -- THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY PERMANENT --

SHIFT WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. ANOTHER INDICATION OF THIS SHIFT IS THE INCREASED OPPORTUNITY FOR EMIGRATION AND TRAVEL.

SOVIETS ARE EMIGRATING IN RECORD NUMBERS. IN 1988, ALMOST 78,000 JEWS, ETHNIC GERMANS, AND ARMENIANS WERE ALLOWED TO LEAVE -- A TWOFOLD INCREASE OVER THE PREVIOUS YEAR AND MORE THAN 40 TIMES THE NUMBER IN 1986.¹⁸

AND MORE PEOPLE ARE BEING ALLOWED TO TRAVEL TO THE WEST -- A BENEFIT THAT IS ESPECIALLY WELCOME TO SOVIET INTELLECTUALS AND SCIENTISTS. ORDINARY CITIZENS HAVE BENEFITED AS WELL. THE NUMBER OF TRIPS TO THE UNITED STATES BY SOVIET CITIZENS HAS INCREASED TENFOLD SINCE 1986.¹⁹

THE SOVIETS HAVE DRAFTED A LAW THAT WOULD LEGALIZE THE MORE LIBERAL SITUATION, ALTHOUGH GOVERNMENT APPROVAL WILL STILL BE REQUIRED FOR A CITIZEN TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.²⁰

WE DO NOT KNOW HOW FAR THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL ULTIMATELY GO IN GRANTING ITS PEOPLE MORE FREEDOM -- WHETHER IT BE GREATER FREEDOM WITHIN THE SYSTEM OR FREEDOM TO LEAVE IT. BUT TODAY'S LEADERS APPEAR TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR SYSTEM IS FALTERING LARGELY BECAUSE IT HAS NOT GIVEN THE PEOPLE ENOUGH BREATHING ROOM -- ROOM TO INQUIRE, ROOM TO INNOVATE, ROOM TO UNLOCK CREATIVITY AND INITIATIVE. IN FACT, GORBACHEV HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IMPROVING CITIZENS' RIGHTS IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF A GREATER STRATEGY -- HE SEES IT AS A KEY TO HIS ECONOMIC REFORMS.²¹ BUT HE HAS ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL JUDGE THE PROPER LIMITS AND THAT IT WILL CRACK DOWN IF THE PRESSURES UNLEASHED GET OUT OF HAND.²²

THE FINAL VERSIONS OF THE LAWS UNDER REVIEW WILL GIVE SOME INDICATION OF THE LIMITS THE GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO SET ON THE VARIOUS FREEDOMS ALLOWED SOVIET CITIZENS. AND TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN WITNESS THE PROCESS, WE WILL HAVE A BETTER

UNDERSTANDING OF THE GOALS OF THE SOVIET LEADERS AND THE STEPS THEY THINK NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THOSE GOALS.

WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT RELAXATIONS OF REPRESSIVE SOVIET POLICIES COULD BE REVERSED AT ANY TIME. THE SOVIET UNION HAS A LONG HISTORY OF SELECTIVELY ENFORCING ITS LAWS. SO EVEN CHANGES IN THE LEGAL CODE WILL NOT GUARANTEE THE PERMANENCE OF THE NEW PRACTICES.

THE SOVIET UNION REMAINS A PRIMARY FOCUS OF OUR INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS. DESPITE PERESTROIKA AND GLASNOST, THE ADVERSARIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES REMAINS. SOVIET INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AT THE U.S. HAVE NOT ABATED. OUR NEW EMBASSY BUILDING IN MOSCOW, SKILLFULLY PENETRATED BY THE SOVIETS, REMAINS UNOCCUPIED. THE BERLIN WALL STILL STANDS, CONTINUING TO BAR FREE PASSAGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

GORBACHEV'S EFFORTS TO REFORM HIS COUNTRY HAVE NOT ALTERED THESE TRUTHS. IN FACT, THEY MAKE INTELLIGENCE OF EVEN GREATER IMPORTANCE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE MUST HELP THE AMERICAN POLICYMAKER SORT OUT WHAT'S GOING ON IN THE SOVIET UNION AND WHAT IT MEANS BOTH FOR THAT COUNTRY AND FOR THE UNITED STATES.

WE MUST MANAGE THE EXPLOSION OF INFORMATION THAT HAS OCCURRED UNDER GLASNOST. THERE IS MORE INFORMATION TO COLLECT, PROCESS, AND ANALYZE THAN EVER BEFORE. ALTHOUGH THIS IS A WELCOME CHANGE, WE ARE INCREASINGLY CHALLENGED TO DETERMINE WHAT IS IMPORTANT AND WHAT IS NOT, WHAT IS REAL VERSUS WHAT MOSCOW WANTS US TO HEAR.

IN THE AREA OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, THE INTELLIGENCE TASK IS MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY THE FACT THAT, DESPITE GLASNOST, MUCH OF SOVIET LAW IS UNPUBLISHED AND SOME IS EVEN SECRET.²³

THE CHANGES IN CITIZENS' RIGHTS ARE BUT ONE ASPECT OF THE REFORMS WE ARE OBSERVING IN THE SOVIET UNION. AND THE SOVIET

UNION IS BUT ONE OF MANY CONCERNS OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.
WITH UNCOMMON CHANGES TAKING PLACE AROUND THE WORLD, WE ARE
INCREASINGLY CHALLENGED TO PROVIDE THE INFORMATION OUR NATION
NEEDS TO MAKE WISE DECISIONS.

ACQUIRING AND ANALYZING SUCH INFORMATION IS THE JOB OF THE
MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. AND THEIR SUCCESS IS
THE RESULT OF DETERMINATION, SKILL, TENACITY, AND COURAGE.

INTELLIGENCE -- ON AN INCREASING NUMBER OF ISSUES -- HAS
NEVER BEEN MORE IMPORTANT. AND I ASSURE YOU THAT WE WILL
CONTINUE TO SUPPORT OUR GOVERNMENT AS IT DEVELOPS AND CARRIES
OUT POLICIES THAT NOT ONLY ADDRESS OUR NATION'S CONCERNS BUT
WILL MOVE US ALL TOWARD A BETTER AND A SAFER WORLD.

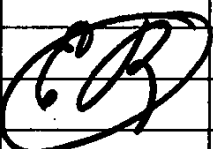
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EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

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SUSPENSE _____

Date

Remarks

ER 89-0435/1


Executive Secretary

6 Jul '89

Date

3637 (10-81)

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE
DISTRICT OF MINNESOTA

ER 89-0435/1

CHAMBERS
JUDGE JAMES M. ROSENBAUM

669 U.S. COURTHOUSE
MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55401


June 28, 1989

To: Participants in the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference,
Minneapolis, Minnesota, July 20-21, 1989

I have enclosed an updated copy of the agenda for the upcoming Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference. I trust everything is in order. If you are having difficulty with any arrangements, please feel free to contact your host or the Circuit Executive, June Boadwine, at (612) 290-3311.

I look forward to meeting you.

Very truly yours,



James M. Rosenbaum

P-309-1R
DCI
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The Federal Judiciary -- 200 Years and Beyond
July 20-21, 1989

Thursday, July 20

9:00 - 9:45 Opening Ceremony, Introduction, Greetings, Welcome
Chief Judge Lay

9:45 - 10:15 History of the Federal Judiciary
The Genesis of the Judiciary -- William Nelson

10:15 - 10:30 Federal Courts Study Act -- Judge Campbell

10:30 - 12:00 Panel -- Changes in the Courts and their Role

Hon. Floyd R. Gibson, Senior Judge
Hon. Gerald Heaney, Senior Judge
Hon. Edward Devitt, Senior Judge
Hon. Oren Harris, Senior Judge
Hon. Elmo Hunter, Senior Judge

Moderator: Dave Moore -- WCCO News

1:30 Do The Courts Have the Capacity to Face the Future

Panel -- Massive Tort and Disaster
Frank C. Woodside, III -- Toxic Shock Defense
Michael Ciresi -- Robins Plaintiff
Hon. Thomas Lambros -- Asbestos Case Judge
Francis McGovern -- Academic
Morton Mintz -- Author
Charles Goetz -- Economist

Moderator: Hon. Fern M. Smith -- U.S. District Judge

Friday, July 21

9:00 - 9:45 Address -- Honorable William Webster

10:00 - 10:30 Representative Neal Smith -- the Role of the
Congress in expanding access to the Federal Courts

10:30 - 11:00 The Federal Judiciary -- Heading Toward 2000

Nina Totenberg, National Public Radio

11:00 - 12:00 Panel -- Expansion/Changes in Role of Federal Courts

Judge Richard A. Posner -- the Federal Courts Own Expansion
of Access to the Federal Courts

Professor Harold Bruff -- administrative and arbitration
processes

Professor Josephine Potuto -- moderator

12:00 - 12:30 Senator Bumpers

1:00 - 4:30 Federal Practice Committee Meetings

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

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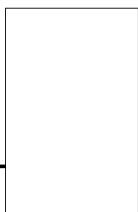
Executive Secretary

7 Feb '89

Date

3637 (10-81)

ER -



07 FEB 1989

STAT

This is a speech commitment for the DCI. I kept the original. Could you handle the attached sending a copy to PAO for their information. The Speech Unit will need to prepare a speech at the proper time.

Thanks,



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EXHIBIT REGISTRY

89-0435

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE
DISTRICT OF MINNESOTA

669 U.S. COURTHOUSE
MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55401

CHAMBERS
JUDGE JAMES M. ROSENBAUM

January 31, 1989

Hon. William Webster
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC 20505

Re: Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference

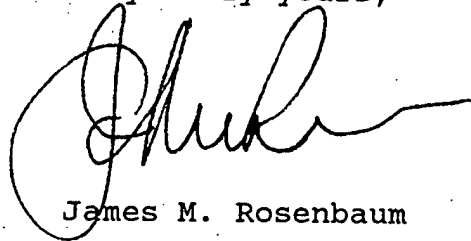
Dear Judge Webster:

Thank you for agreeing to speak at the Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference on July 21, 1989. As we discussed, your address is scheduled for 9:00 a.m.

We will look forward to hearing your thoughts regarding the agency and the Washington scene as well as any observations of the new administration you can share with us.

It was a pleasure chatting with you. I hope I may be able to see you in Washington, but in any event I will look forward to seeing you at the conference.

Very truly yours,



James M. Rosenbaum

DCI
EXEC
REG

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