

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

4701 WILLARD AVENUE, CHEVY CHASE, MARYLAND 20815 (301) 656-4068

PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

Nightline

WJLA-TV

ABC Network

June 20, 1991

11:30 P.M.

Washington, D.C.

Doc

William Casey's Involvement in Iran Hostage Issue

TED KOPPEL: The President of the United States says it's outrageous.

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH: I don't think I'd deserve to be in this office if for one minute I suggested a person be held hostage so I could get political gain.

KOPPEL: The ex-President of the United States says it's:

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN: Absolute fiction. I did some things actually the other way, to try and be of help in getting those hostages. I felt very sorry for them.

KOPPEL: But did any of his campaign aides make contact with Iranians back in 1980.

PRESIDENT REAGAN: I can't get into details. Some of those things are still classified.

MAN: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

KOPPEL: For eight of the hostages held by Iranians for 444 days a dozen years ago, the story has become serious

enough to need a real airing.

MOORHEAD KENNEDY [former hostage]: We are simply saying that there is evidence that something might have happened of such a serious nature that it should be investigated right away.

Thank you very much.

ANNOUNCER: A Nightline/Financial Times of London investigation. Tonight, the October Surprise.

Here is Ted Koppel.

KOPPEL: To this day, even though he has been dead for two years, the Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran holds a special place in America's cultural gallery of villains. And why not? He and others acting in his name held 52 Americans hostage for 444 humiliating days. The resentment toward Iran lingers on in this country even though almost 12 years have passed since the U.S. Embassy in Teheran was seized.

But there is a related story that has never been adequately addressed, the charge that Americans acting in behalf of the Reagan-Bush campaign back in 1980 conspired with agents of the Ayatollah Khomeini to hold those U.S. hostages past election day to the very hour that Ronald Reagan was inaugurated as President of the United States.

If true, it would be an act of political treachery bordering on treason. If untrue, then those whose names have been linked and smeared in association with this story deserve nothing less than a total clearing of the air.

In either case, what has long seemed unacceptable is the unsubstantiated fog of rumor and gossip and innuendo that prevails to this moment. Some of those who have kept the story alive, who have continued to fuel it with intriguing scraps and unsubstantiated morsels come to the table with what can most charitably be described as questionable motives. What is extraordinary is how little effort has been expended by those most directly implicated to clear their names in any convincing fashion.

Tonight, an effort to do some accounting on both sides of the ledger.

President Bush has expressed his personal anguish over this story. He has asked whether a formal investigation is justified by the evidence now available. Tonight we will set forth just how much new information yields to even a few weeks of intensive reporting, and leave to your judgment the question of how much more conclusive evidence could be produced by a more formal investigation with the powers of subpoena and witnesses answering questions under oath.

At the center of this controversy, of course, is a man who died in 1987, William Casey. He can no longer answer the charges that are leveled against him. But what about those who were close to him: his family, friends, former members of his staff? They have provided an unusual degree of cooperation. But what we have learned from them simply adds more fuel to the

allegation that Mr. Casey could indeed have participated in negotiations with Iranians in Madrid during the Summer of 1980.

What we'll be adding tonight rests on a lot of preliminary work that was done by the PBS program Frontline and on years of reporting and research by Gary Sick, a former Navy captain, Iran specialist, and top staffer at the National Security Council in Jimmy Carter's White House. It was that reporting which first focused public attention on those Madrid meetings.

All previous stories had been centered on Paris in October and the allegation that George Bush himself was present. Ironically, our key witness in tonight's report clears the President of that charge. Mr. Bush, he says, was not at the Paris meeting. He insists that in Paris, as in Madrid, the U.S. delegation was headed by William Casey. Our witness, an Iranian arms dealer, claims to have been in Madrid at those meetings between Casey and a close associate of Ayatollah Khomeini.

We will present for the first time independent documentation that supports the premise that such meetings may well have taken place. Where charges previously made are not substantiated, we'll tell you about those also.

It was five years ago that I first met an Iranian arms dealer by the name of Jamshid Hashemi. The account of what happened in Madrid between William Casey and a leading Iranian cleric by the name of Mehdi Karubi (?) is Hashemi's story. To

this day, he will not talk about it on camera, but he insists that he was there together with his brother Cyrus.

When we come back, I'll give you Hashemi's version of how the deal between the Reagan-Bush campaign and the Ayatollah Khomeini was struck.

* * *

KOPPEL: Jimmy Carter claims no independent evidence of his own on a Reagan campaign hostage deal. He didn't want to be interviewed on the subject. He did let me join him, however, on the banks of a favorite trout stream for an informal on-camera conversation, questions limited to matters of public record: context, a sense of the times. Events, for example, that led up to the failed hostage rescue mission.

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER: We had been working with the Iranians ever since quite soon after the hostages were taken the previous year. And we had gone up to April, early April, I think, if my memory's right, working with the President, Bani-Sadr, and we had arranged a secret code whereas if the Iranians agreed to let the hostages go, Bani-Sadr would say a certain paragraph that was innocuous in nature in one of his public statements, and then I would respond five hours later with another paragraph that the public wouldn't think was important that would confirm our end of the deal. Bani-Sadr gave the positive paragraph in his speech, and at noon that day in Washington I gave the positive response in my speech.

PRESIDENT CARTER [delivering speech]: As you know, the President of Iran announced early this morning that the American hostages will be transferred from the militants to the care and the protection of the Iranian government. This action, if taken, will be a positive step.

PRESIDENT CARTER: But then we were informed by President Bani-Sadr later that the Ayatollah Khomeini had reversed the decision and the hostages would not be released. This was early in April.

So, it was after that that we put into effect the first hostage rescue mission, knowing that they would not be released.

KOPPEL: It's within that general time frame, late March, early April of 1980, that preliminary discussions are said to have taken place between William Casey on one side and two Iranian arms dealers, brothers, Cyrus, who is now dead, and Jamshid Hashemi. Casey, says Jamshid, was looking for a contact with a high-ranking Iranian, someone close to the Ayatollah Khomeini. The Hashemi brothers agreed to act as go-betweens.

As Jamshid recalls it, the response from Teheran came very quickly. The Ayatollah Khomeini had authorized an old associate, a senior cleric by the name of Mehdi Karubi, to meet with Casey. But the meeting that was approved in April didn't occur until late July. The failed hostage rescue attempt may have been a factor.

What follows is Hashemi's story. I met with him earlier

this month for four hours. These are his recollections of what transpired at the end of July in Madrid.

The Iranians stayed in two hotels, the Plaza and the Ritz. On the Iranian side, Mehdi Karubi and his brother, Hassan. The Hashemis, Cyrus and Jamshid, acted as interpreters. On the American side, William Casey and two other men, unidentified. The first meeting took place in Cyrus Hashemi's suite at the Ritz.

What is intriguing, even compelling, about Hashemi's account is that neither Casey nor Karubi is portrayed as a man with an agenda. These are two men trying to feel each other out. Karubi opening the session with a half-hour attack on the policies of the United States in general and Jimmy Carter in particular. Casey silent, very cool, not reacting to the other man's anger. When he did speak, he simply discussed the relative records of the Republican and Democratic Parties. The GOP, Casey argued, traditionally had better relations with Iran than the Democrats did. When Casey did raise the subject of the hostages, Hashemi remembers, there was no suggestion that their release be delayed. Indeed, Casey simply asked what Iran's intentions were toward the hostages and what it would take to get them out as quickly as possible. Karubi said nothing could be done without the explicit approval of the Ayatollah Khomeini.

Including translation time and a break for coffee and sandwiches, the meeting lasted less than three hours. When it

was over, the parties agreed to meet again the next day. Karubi was curious, even a little befuddled. What, he asked the Hashemis, had been the point of all that? What had the purpose of the meeting been? What did Casey want?

That, in fact, was the way Karubi began the next day's session. What was the point of these meetings? What was Casey authorized to say on the subject of the hostages and the release of Iran's frozen assets? The United States, at that point, was also holding large shipments of weapons that had been bought and paid for by Iran's previous government headed by the Shah. Karubi acknowledged that it might be difficult to arrange for the release of those weapons, since the Republicans were, after all, not in power. But he wanted to know if weapons could somehow be transferred through a third country.

And it is here, for the first time, that Hashemi alleges any suggestion on Casey's part that the release of the hostages might be delayed.

Casey had some questions: Was Iran ready to deal with the Republicans and hand over the hostages? Was Karubi empowered to confirm a deal in Khomeini's behalf? Could he give assurances that the hostages would be well treated? And would they be released to President-elect Reagan after the election? If that happened, said Casey, the Republicans would be grateful and would arrange for the release of Iran's frozen assets and the military equipment that had been held up.

Karubi said he would need time to get specific confirmation from Khomeini. Then, in an aside to the other Iranians in the room, a comment that was not translated into English. Karubi said, "I think we're now opening a new era, and we are now dealing with someone who knows how to do business."

A fascinating story, rich in detail, and possibly even true. But what, if anything, can independently be confirmed? Casey is dead. Cyrus Hashemi is dead. The two Karubi brothers in Teheran have not responded to our inquiries. We don't know the identities of the other two Americans allegedly with Casey. We decided to focus on what could be traced.

Here's Nightline correspondent Jeff Greenfield.

JEFF GREENFIELD: Jamshid Hashemi tells a fascinating story, and there are plausible aspects to it. For instance, why Madrid? Because, it turns out, it was a convenient place for Iranians to travel to. Starting in June of 1980, there were two flights weekly direct from Teheran to Madrid. And Spain was a country that required neither visas nor even passports from Iranians.

But what about the story of summer meetings with William Casey? To find out, we looked for evidence to prove or to disprove the tale that did not rely on allegations or memories. We looked for records, for documents. And we found them.

Through sources in Madrid, we found eleven-year-old hotel records listing the names of hotel guests registered at the

10

old Plaza Hotel. We matched those lists against the dates of the alleged meetings, looking for names that appeared American, Iranian or Israeli. One of those names raised a lot of eyebrows, Robert Gray. That's a common name, except that Robert Gray is also the name of a powerful, influential Washington public relations executive who in the Fall of 1980 became a top deputy to William Casey in the Reagan-Bush campaign.

So we asked Robert Gray whether he was in Madrid in the Summer of 1980. His first response was confusing.

ROBERT GRAY: I was in Madrid, I believe, maybe in that time frame, in connection with my old firm. We had an office in Madrid. It was nothing political. And I hadn't joined the campaign, or even met with Casey about joining the campaign.

GREENFIELD: But then we reminded Gray that his old company wasn't even in existence in 1980.

GRAY: Ahh, wait a minute. Let me check. You're right. I'm thinking in terms of the last -- of the '88 election, not -- oh, I think that's the first time I was ever in Madrid. I don't believe I was in Madrid before. I was remembering the grain company business that I was there, and that would have been in '87 or '88. I've got years just eight years off. That's all.

GREENFIELD: Gray later allowed us to photograph his passport, which shows no foreign travel anywhere around late July or August of 1980. Gray also put us in touch with Bill Casey's

former secretary and with a member of Casey's family. More about that later.

But what about the Hashemis? Here, the old 1980 hotel records prove telling. They show that one Jamshid Kalaj and one A. Hashemi checked into the Plaza in late July. Those names confirm Jamshid Hashemi's recollection that he and his brother, both international arms dealers, often used aliases using their first and last names. And in August of 1980, when the second series of meetings allegedly took place, hotel records show that the name Ali Balnean appears on the Hotel Plaza guest list. Now, we know, independent of these hotel records, that this name has long been used by Jamshid Hashemi. Indeed, he even had a business card with that alias.

What can be said, then, is that, based not on anyone's word, but on the documented record, Jamshid and Cyrus Hashemi were in Madrid when Jamshid says they were.

But what do the records show about Bill Casey? More on that later.

Ted?

KOPPEL: When we come back we'll bring you Hashemi's account of what happened at the second set of meetings in Madrid.

*

*

*

KOPPEL: It was about eight days after the first set of meetings in Madrid ended that Jamshid Hashemi claims he heard again from Mehdi Karubi. Karubi wanted another meeting with

Casey in Madrid. Jamdshid Hashemi contacted his brother Cyrus, who passed the message to William Casey. The next round of meetings was set up for the second week in August.

The negotiating teams were the same, although it is Hashemi's recollection that a number of other Americans and Iranians were present in the hotels, the Ritz and the Plaza.

As he had the first time, Karubi began the discussions. The Ayatollah Khomeini had accepted Casey's suggestion. All the hostages would henceforth be treated as guests rather than prisoners. The protocols, or arrangements, for releasing the hostages would be handled through third governments. Karubi was already talking as though Reagan's election was a foregone conclusion. As a gesture of good will to the future U.S. government, he said, the hostages would be released on the day that Reagan was inaugurated. In exchange, however, even though Casey was not at that time in the government, the expectation on the Iranian side was that he would help Iran get certain arms and information.

Casey thanked him. Casey said that even though he was not in the government, he had friends, and within the next day or so he would get back to Karubi with certain suggestions regarding arms and ammunition.

The two men then discussed, again according to Jamshid Hashemi, details on how to delay the release of the hostages. Casey was told that if delivery of weapons was not arranged, the

hostages would not be freed.

The meeting was adjourned.

On the next day, Casey told Karubi that Cyrus Hashemi would be introduced to a gentleman who was in Madrid and who would help Hashemi receive and execute orders on weapons. It is Jamshid's recollection that his brother was introduced to an Israeli general. As a result of that meeting, Cyrus purchased a 5000-ton Greek freighter for a million dollars. Jamshid Hashemi does not recall -- and his brother is now dead -- precisely when the shipments were made, but he says between August of 1980 and late January of 1981 the freighter made four round-trips between the Israeli port of Elat and the Iranian port of Bandar-Abbas. Each time the ship left port the name was changed while it was in passage, so that on paper, at least, the ship that left Israel was never the one that arrived in Iran, or vice versa.

A high-ranking military officer from Israeli Defense Industries ultimately sold a total of \$150 million worth of weapons and ammunition to the Iranians. The material was Israeli-manufactured under a U.S. license: 105- and 155-millimeter artillery shells, 100-millimeter tank ammunition, also 106-millimeter anti-tank guns and ammunition. Payment was made to an Israeli company in Switzerland through a letter of credit at a Swiss bank.

Jamshid Hashemi says he is sure that all the shipments were delivered before Inauguration Day because by then his

brother had been paid in full, and the Iranians only paid his brother on delivery.

Again, a story rich in detail, all but impossible to confirm. So let's focus for a moment on the central figure in this mystery. No one, not William Casey's friends, and certainly not his critics, thinks him incapable of bringing off a clandestine meeting with the Iranians.

First, a friend. Jeff Greenfield spoke with Bob Gray.

GREENFIELD: Should it disturb us if Bill Casey met with Iranians at the end of July, beginning of August? I mean the accusation is, the claim is that it wasn't just a meeting, that he was cutting a deal.

GRAY: Well, you'd have to make lots of assumptions. And one of those is that you have to assume that he's meeting for that purpose with them. I assume there are a lot of things he could have done. He was an intelligence officer, obviously.

GREENFIELD: Well, not in 1980. He was Reagan's campaign manager.

GRAY: Well, he had been an intelligence officer all his life. You know, he was very big with Donovan in World War II as the security force in the war.

KOPPEL: And one of Casey's critics, the man who preceded him as Director of the CIA, Stansfield Turner.

Can you see, in your wildest imagination, Bill Casey operating as campaign manager the way he later operated as CIA

15

Director?

ADMIRAL STANSFIELD TURNER: Yes. Yes. I think arranging a deal, as suggested in what's called the October Surprise, is entirely within Mr. Casey's scruples, or lack thereof.

KOPPEL: But let's work backwards. If Casey wasn't in Madrid, where was he?

Here once again is Jeff Greenfield.

GREENFIELD: Ted, for weeks ABC News has been talking with Casey's ex-secretary, Barbara Hayward, with family members, with ex-Reagan-Bush campaign officials, in an effort to track down Casey's movements during the critical periods of late July and mid-August of 1980. We've also searched every print and broadcast reference we could find.

Turning first to August. Between August 8th and August 13th, the time frame of the second set of meetings in Madrid, the public record is barren. There are no recorded appointments for Casey that his former secretary could find. More puzzling, there are no references to Casey in any of the newspapers or video logs we searched, no interviews, no sightings. His first appearance is on ABC on August 14th, the last day of the Democratic convention, when Casey talks about Carter's alleged failures as President.

WILLIAM CASEY: He can't campaign on his record. His record is a record of failure in the White House and leadership

16

in the presidency. And there are no credible new programs that he has to offer.

GREENFIELD: For late July, the record is fuller. Some of the missing dates can be filled in. On July 22nd, for example, Casey opened Reagan campaign headquarters in Virginia. On July 23rd, according to his former secretary, Casey was in Los Angeles. The next day, according to press reports, Casey was in Washington, where he received a check from the Federal Election Commission. On July 26th, says his former secretary, Casey can be located in Washington. And on July 30th, Casey was in Reagan campaign headquarters in Virginia, being interviewed by ABC news correspondent Barry Serafin. Indeed, Casey's former secretary was also able to locate his whereabouts for the evening of July 30th. And just to show that reality is sometimes better than fiction, she told us that on that night Bill Casey was having dinner with GOP vice presidential nominee George Bush. Where? At an exclusive private Washington establishment named the Alibi Club.

But an alibi is exactly what is missing for three crucial days: July 27th, July 28th and July 29th. On these days there is no trace of Bill Casey. His former secretary, Barbara Hayward, can find no record of any transaction, no meals, no appointments. There are no interviews with the Reagan campaign chairman in any newspapers we've been able to trace. None of his aides has any record of any meeting or conversation with Casey

during that time.

So, what's the significance? In late July and in mid-August, William Casey's whereabouts cannot be confirmed. And both of those times correspond to the times that we know the Hashemi brothers were in Madrid.

But is it really possible that the campaign chairman for the Republican presidential nominee would leave the country at such a time? One source that confirms just such a possibility comes from the 1980 Reagan campaign itself. We found this story buried on an inside page of the New York Times of July 30th, 1980. The story is about the complaints of a New York right-to-life group over George Bush's selection as Vice President. What's the significance? The story quotes a Reagan spokesman who says William Casey plans to open negotiations with this group "when he returns today from a trip abroad." This from a newspaper story eleven years ago, when no one dreamed that the question of Bill Casey's travels would ever become the subject of controversy.

Ted?

KOPPEL: When we come back we'll hear once again from former President Jimmy Carter as he reflects again on two historical events, events that we know happened: Israeli arms shipments to Iran and his own loss to Ronald Reagan in the 1980 presidential election.

*

*

*

18

KOPPEL: A lot of unanswered questions, several of which we directed to the Iranian government. And this afternoon we got a formal reply transmitted through the Iranian Mission to the U.N. The statement neatly sidesteps all the specific questions, referring instead to a remark made in late 1980 by Hashemi Rafsanjani, then-Speaker of the Iranian Parliament, now President, insisting that it makes no difference for the Islamic Republic of Iran who won the presidential election.

It's what we like to call a non-denial denial. The question is not what the Iranians did to help the Republicans or the Democrats, but what they did to help themselves. Indeed, the closing paragraph of their statement suggests just that. "The nature of the current controversies in the United States is absolutely domestic, and the Islamic Republic of Iran sees no benefit to involve itself in this matter."

Other questions: A name you haven't heard yet in this broadcast, Donald Gregg, now U.S. Ambassador to South Korea, onetime CIA officer who was detailed to the National Security Council in the White House and who then became Vice President Bush's national security adviser. Several witnesses place Gregg at a Paris meeting between Casey and the Iranians in October of 1980. Our witness, Jamshid Hashemi, says Gregg may have been one of the unidentified men with Casey in Madrid.

Jeff, what do we know?

GREENFIELD: We know that in April of 1990 Gregg tried

to prove that he wasn't in Paris at a trial out in Portland and failed to persuade the jury. However, in the last 48 hours, through his lawyer, he has provided to us detailed diaries of exactly where he was during this October weekend, which if confirmed would make it impossible for him to have been in Paris during that weekend.

KOPPEL: Jeff, without getting into the issue of how conclusive that kind of information is, shouldn't there be some kind of way for the Casey estate or former colleagues of William Casey to come up with similar kinds of documentation that would clear his name?

GREENFIELD: I think that's the \$64,000,000 question. There are, to be sure, hundreds of uncataloged boxes of Reagan campaign material awaiting cataloging out in California. They can be gone through with respect to Casey. I believe Casey's family ought to be sifting through the material they have in their home to try to nail down these stories: credit card receipts, telephone logs. If Casey wasn't in Paris or in Madrid, it ought to be provable.

KOPPEL: Now, who's in charge of those boxes?

GREENFIELD: Ed Meese is in charge of the Reagan campaign material that's waiting for the Reagan library.

KOPPEL: Much of this story, of course, rests on the question of whether there actually was a quid pro quo, whether the Iranians got weapons in exchange for releasing the hostages

when they did. We've told you Jamshid Hashemi's story of the four shiploads going from Elat in Israel to Bandar-Abbas in Iran. There's no independent confirmation of that, yet. But it's a matter of record that in late October of 1980 the Israelis did fly some critical F-4 tires to Iran.

Jimmy Carter remembers that he was furious about that shipment and raised the issue with Israeli Prime Minister Begin during a Begin visit to Washington in mid-November.

PRESIDENT CARTER: At the end of the conversation, since I was very adamant and somewhat angry about it, he promised me that there would be no shipment of those tires or any other military supplies to Iran. And as far as I know, from November until I left office the following January, there were no further military shipments from Israel to Iran. But I've learned since then that almost immediately after I did leave the White House, that those supply parts and other military equipment shipments did resume.

KOPPEL: It's worth remembering that the war between Iran and Iraq began in late September of 1980. And regardless of any private deal between the Reagan campaign and the Iranians, it would have been very much in Israel's interest to help anyone who was fighting their archenemy, Iraq.

When we come back a few more questions and some closing thoughts.

*

*

*

KOPPEL: In early November 1980, two days before the election, Jimmy Carter was on the campaign trail. He got a call well before dawn that the Majlis, the Iranian parliament, was about to vote on releasing the hostages. He got on Air Force One and raced back to Washington.

PRESIDENT CARTER: By the time I got back to Washington and got to the White House, the Majlis had gotten very uncertain about releasing the hostages, and eventually I was notified that they adjourned without voting. And, of course, this was a very serious disappointment to us. And I informed the American public, who had known something about the prospective vote, that the news was indeed bad. The hostages would not be released.

PRESIDENT CARTER [delivering speech]: I wish that I could predict when the hostages will return. I cannot.

PRESIDENT CARTER: So by the time Tuesday came along, election day, President Reagan got almost 50 1/2 percent, not quite 51 percent. But my support had dropped about ten percentage points. And this was obviously, you know, a very serious disappointment.

KOPPEL: It is perhaps only human nature that Carter supporters would think the hostage issue cost him the election.

But, Jeff Greenfield, you have been in politics or covering politics most of your adult life. How accurate a perception do you think that is?

GREENFIELD: In 1980 there was rampant inflation, there

22

was an industrial recession. Almost half the Democratic Party didn't even want Jimmy Carter to be their nominee. So you could argue the hostage release would not have decided the election. But it is clear, Ted, looking back, the Reagan campaign was obsessed with the issue. They believed a hostage release was the only way Jimmy Carter's election could be saved. Indeed, they believed him capable of playing politics with that issue. And they had an intelligence operation literally looking at airports around the country and around the world for signs of movement of spare parts to Iran as a sign that hostages were about to be released.

KOPPEL: Who was running that operation?

GREENFIELD: Well, it was set up, it was announced originally in July by William Casey.

KOPPEL: There is one other issue that I've already mentioned but want to spell out in greater detail: the question of George Bush's involvement. Specifically, whether he was in Paris with William Casey in October. Jamshid Hashemi, who claims that he attended the summer meetings in Madrid, does not claim to have been at the Paris meetings. He does say, though, that his brother Cyrus was there and that Cyrus later told him that George Bush took no part in the meetings.

I'll have some closing thoughts in a moment.

*

*

*

KOPPEL: So what, when all is said and done, can we

claim? Have we proved the existence of a conspiracy between agents of the Ayatollah Khomeini and the chairman of the Reagan-Bush presidential campaign? No. And if you judge this broadcast by that standard, we never had a hope of meeting your expectations. All we could do was ask questions, follow leads, check records, and request the cooperation of those with access to documents that are not accessible to us. That and listen to literally dozens of conspiracy theories, most of which we haven't even mentioned tonight.

Jamshid Hashemi, the only man alive who claims to have attended those Madrid meetings and is willing to talk about them, may not be the most credible witness in the world. But he told us where he was staying in Madrid and when, and the hotel records bore him out. We tried to prove that Bill Casey couldn't have been in Madrid at those times, but no one could tell us where he was. And a New York Times story written long before there was any breath of a conspiracy quoted a Reagan campaign official as saying Casey was out of the country.

An official inquiry would cost a lot of money, but it might tell us if some of the people who led this country during the 1980s stole an election and broke the law. It might also tell us that they didn't. And that would be worth a lot.