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# CIA Changes But Spies Are Here to Stay

By JOSEPH VOLZ

WHEN THE CENTRAL Intelligence Agency was born back in 1947, its mission seemed clear enough—to make sure the nation was never again surprised by a Pearl Harbor and to fight the emerging Cold War against the Soviets.

Most legislators on Capitol Hill thought they were voting for a National Security Act that would confine the agency to intelligence-gathering overseas. There was a vague provision allowing the CIA "to perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct." But nobody quite knew what that meant.

In the ensuing 29 years, both Democratic and Republican Administrations have interpreted it to allow the use of the CIA not only in foreign, but also domestic, intelligence gathering.

That has included a 20-year mail-opening campaign at John F. Kennedy Airport and other port cities and dozens of cases of break-ins and wiretapping, mostly against CIA employees.

## Did More Than Snoop

Overseas, the CIA has done more than snoop. Often the ability to use a gun or a tank was more important than any skill in planting a hidden mike.

But now that Senate and House committees, Vice President Rockefeller's blue-ribbon panel and President Ford himself all have offered their views on how to reform the agency, what is in store for the future?

Ford issued a 36-page executive order last Wednesday that basically delimits just what the CIA can and cannot do in the United States. Ford's lists of "don'ts" are based on revelations by congressional committees that the agency had, among other things, conducted LSD experiments on unsuspecting people, infiltrated domestic dissident groups and plotted to assassinate foreign leaders. Such past activities, which were a minor if sensational part of the CIA workload, had already been halted.

Secrecy is any intelligence agency's most vital asset, and Ford went a long way toward closing the security leaks—if Congress agrees.

Although prosecutions have been almost impossible under existing law, the new proposal would probably sharply curtail leaks—and publication of books about intelligence agencies. This might help the agency carry out operations, but it might also aid an unscrupulous President from being discovered in his misuse of the agency.

## Covert Operations Uncurbed

Ford's executive order does nothing to curb CIA covert operations—all of the big ones in the past have been approved by Presidents anyway—and the CIA might continue to operate in the field. Former CIA Director William E. Colby, a covert operator himself in World War II, insists that the agency needs a limited capability to stop some small brushfire from developing into an all-out confrontation with a nuclear power. But he argues that only 5% of the agency's energies in recent years have been diverted from intelligence-gathering to covert actions.

CIA intelligence-gathering overseas would not be hampered by the Ford proposals or by most of the reforms proposed on Capitol Hill. And Colby insists that throughout the heavily publicized Congressional hearings, which spent little time on actual intelligence-gathering methods, CIA agents and methods have remained secret.

The day of the spy's infiltrating the highest levels of a foreign government is not over—even in this era of spy satellites and electronic wizardry. A Col. Oleg Penkovskiy (the key member of the Soviet intelligence service who spied for the U.S.) can tell CIA analysts more about what is happening in the Politburo—and what might happen—than virtually any other espionage method. Although the Soviet Union and Communist China will continue to be key CIA targets for military and economic espionage, the Third World of unaligned nations has had an increasing fascination for the agency.

It is in Africa or in South America that young diplomats, for example, can be recruited—men and women who will represent their countries one day in Moscow or Peking. And who will be CIA spies, too.

How much of the information the CIA gathers will be worthwhile? No intelligence expert can predict this in advance. Perhaps some of the most significant "espionage work" will be done back in the woody suburb of Langley, Va., across the Potomac from Washington where scholars in economics,

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political science and foreign languages review magazines, newspapers, books and statistical reports to try to decipher what is happening in the world's closed societies.

Ford's intelligence reform gives the new CIA director, who is also chairman of the new intelligence-management committee, time to try to coordinate the sprawling intelligence establishment, which spends at least \$10 billion a year, while his deputy runs the agency. That should be a major improvement.

Joseph Vols is a Washington correspondent for The News.

# 'I Think the CIA Will Be Stronger'

William E. Colby, former CIA director, has been a career spy since graduating from Princeton in 1940. He served in the Office of Strategic Services in World War II, jumping behind German lines in Norway on a sabotage mission. He rose to the top job at the Central Intelligence Agency, the agency that succeeded the OSS, before he was fired a few weeks ago.

Now Colby is launching a new career, as a lecturer and writer, and last week he stopped by the Washington Bureau of The News to discuss the future of the CIA with Joseph Vols.

News: President Ford's advisers say that no covert operations will be barred overseas by the new intelligence guidelines. What types of operations do you envision in the next 10 years?

Colby: Suppose in some country there is a struggle for power between a group of people basically democratically inclined who want to retain good relations with the United States and, on the other hand, a group of people with outside support, or authoritarians who want to be hostile to the United States. They build up a military force to threaten their neighbors, and in these days of

clear proliferation I think assistance from the United States might resolve at a local level what would otherwise become a major international crisis. It is not a matter of waiting until the United States is under a nuclear threat to act.

News: The House Intelligence Committee contended the CIA fell down in predicting coups and wars. Is that a bum rap?

Colby: The committee selected largely from our own self-criticism. Naturally, we didn't look at things that went well. We looked at some failures, particularly at one event that went wrong. We said on Oct. 5, 1973, the day before the start of the Arab-Israeli war that we didn't think there would be a war. That was wrong, and we criticized ourselves. But six months before, we said the chances of war, if there wasn't movement on the political level, were going to increase substantially. We raised the level of consciousness of our government to the fact there was a real problem. You can't expect intelligence to be a crystal ball, to give you a 100% prediction of what's going to happen. You can expect it to inform you of the probabilities that something is more likely to happen than something else.

News: Is the day of some spy lurking behind a palm tree in some sultry Latin American country gone?

Colby: He's still there.

News: You mean Americans as opposed to agents?

Colby: Of course you can't get some good information by being a bright young American in a foreign country. You've to develop people there. You're not doing the derring-do, but you're working with them.

News: We have great electronic means for spying, and many of those facilities rest with other agencies who have more people and spend more money. Is it possible the CIA is becoming a junior varsity intelligence agency?

Colby: Oh, no. CIA has access to that reporting. That kind of machinery can't tell you about the political dynamics between factions of the Soviet Politburo. Somebody inside has to tell you.

News: Is the agency stronger or weaker than it was a year ago?

Colby: Right now, it is hurting. A number of foreign agents can't work for us.

Some foreign intelligence agencies won't give us sensitive material. We seem not to be able to keep a secret. But if you ask me how badly damaged the CIA is, I don't think it's been crippled. I think quite frankly the CIA will be stronger because it will rest upon a better base of understanding with the American people.