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Intelligence estimate pessimistic

Controversial report questions

Soviet military intentions

by Murrey Marder

PRESIDENT-elect Jimmy Carter will inherit an intense dispute over U.S. intelligence estimates of the Soviet Union's global strategy.

This year's estimate of long-range Soviet military intentions is accompanied by exceptional controversy. It goes beyond the usual debate over assessing secret evidence gathered by satellite, submarine, radio listening posts and other methods for gauging the accuracy and production rates of Soviet weaponry.

For the first time in 26 years, a special panel was commissioned to challenge the judgment of the official analysts. The special group argued that the traditional estimators for years have been seriously miscalculating the basic intentions of the Kremlin, and understating the threat to the United States.

The result is a new, sterner National Intelligence Estimate on the Soviet Union. Supporters of the adversary process claim it is a "more realistic" projection of the Soviet threat over the next 10 years. Critics charge that it is a flawed product, with its objectivity impaired by "outside pressure."

The validity of the new estimate is defended by George Bush, director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Bush and Richard Pipes, professor of Russian history at Harvard University, jointly agreed on 10 specialists, including Pipes, who could add a new dimension to the annual, and critical, National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) by joining in sifting through the secret data.

Nine groups

"Team A," which produced the official report, was headed by Howard Stoertz, CIA national intelligence officer on the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance. The official intelligence estimates are negotiated inside the intelligence community, which is comprised of the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, Army, Navy, Air Force, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Treasury, Energy Research and Development Administration and the FBI.

"Team B," led by Pipes, former director of Harvard's Russian Research Center, worked on the intelligence estimates for about three months, starting in August. It included Daniel O. Graham, retired Army lieutenant general, who directed the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency until last January, and Paul H. Nitze, former deputy secretary of defense, a specialist on the U.S.-Soviet nuclear strategic arms limitation talks (SALT).

Among those who are pleased with the outcome of the Team A-Team B competition, the debate is variously described as "bloody, but healthy," or "constructive" and "long overdue." Critics call it a "bludgeoning" exercise, which further demoralized analysts in the battered CIA.

Senior officials at the White House and the State Department are now studying the final drafts of the new NIE, and also a much briefer report of the Pipes panel. The latter is described as a more pessimistic estimate of Soviet intentions and a strong criticism of the present method of evaluating intelligence.



George Bush helped initiate new intelligence procedure.

May overhaul

There is speculation that Bush's successor in the Carter administration, Theodore C. Sorensen, will now see the dispute as added reason for overhauling the intelligence evaluating structure.

Even if the Carter administration disagrees with the new NIE on Soviet strategy, however, it cannot be readily rewritten. It will appear in two to three volumes that serve as a reference for policy makers across the top echelon of the government, although they are not bound by it.

The State Department said NIEs "represent the collective judgment of the agencies making up the intelligence community of important developments abroad, such as Soviet strategic forces and objectives." But they "never contain recommendations for U.S. policy alternatives" and "would not in themselves necessarily lead to selection of a particular policy option."

Sources agree that the new NIE will record that the Soviet Union appears to be driving more than ever toward military superiority, beyond equality or parity with the United States. These terms are themselves imprecise and disputed, however.

This would be the trend of the U.S. intelligence estimate in any event, officials say. During the past year, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger helped to raise the alarm about Soviet intentions, although he champions U.S.-Soviet detente and nuclear strategic arms control talks (SALT).

Some of Kissinger's associates maintain, therefore, that they see nothing "surprisingly new" or "even unexpected" in the new official estimate.

But the challenge that was mounted in the drafting process came from critics inside and outside the government, who saw Kissinger and his policies as a prime target. As a result, the adversary system used in making the new intelligence estimate clearly stiffened the official projection of Soviet intentions.

'Worse case'

As a consequence, the new NIE, plus the Pipes report, plus the encouragement given to pessimists or "worst case" theorists on Soviet intentions inside the government, is regarded as a higher barrier for the Carter administration to overcome to carry out its own broader objectives for U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms control.

Carter, when questioned about reports that the new intelligence estimate will register rising concern about Soviet military power, responded, "We're still by far stronger than they are in most means of measuring military strength."

President Ford, in his State of the Union address last week, called for Carter to take a very hard look at the cold facts before reducing the defense budget.

"The facts are undeniable that the Soviet Union has had a steady, constant build-up in their military strength," Ford said.

The idea for an adversary team on intelligence originated with the 16-member President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, headed by Leo Cherne, New York economist and research specialist.

Pipes, when asked why his team was so "one-sided," said:

"There is no point in another, what you might call, optimistic view. In general there has been a disposition in Washington to underestimate the Soviet drive. The moderately optimistic line has prevailed. We have imposed very severe limitations on ourselves. The hope had been that all these steps would lead the Russians to slow down. They haven't."

The opposing schools of U.S. thought on Soviet policy, Pipes said, might better be described as "optimists" and "pessimists," rather than doves vs. hawks, hard-liners vs. soft-liners, "hard-nosed vs. soft-nosed."

He said of his panel, "I don't think the team is distinguished by being 'hard line.' They know about weapons, they all know about politics. They view Soviet policy in Clausewitzian terms — which is the way the Soviets look at it."

He was referring to the famous dictum of Prussian Gen. Karl Von Clausewitz that war is "a continuation of political relations . . . by other means," sanctifying war as a continuation of diplomacy.

This, in reality, was the driving factor in the Team A-Team B debate, more than controversy on specific questions of Soviet nuclear missile accuracy, air defenses, or other weaponry issues.

Nothing ruled out

The Pipes panelists, and fellow-pessimists, contend that U.S. policy has been based on the erroneous belief that the Soviet Union shares the official American view that nuclear war is "unthinkable."

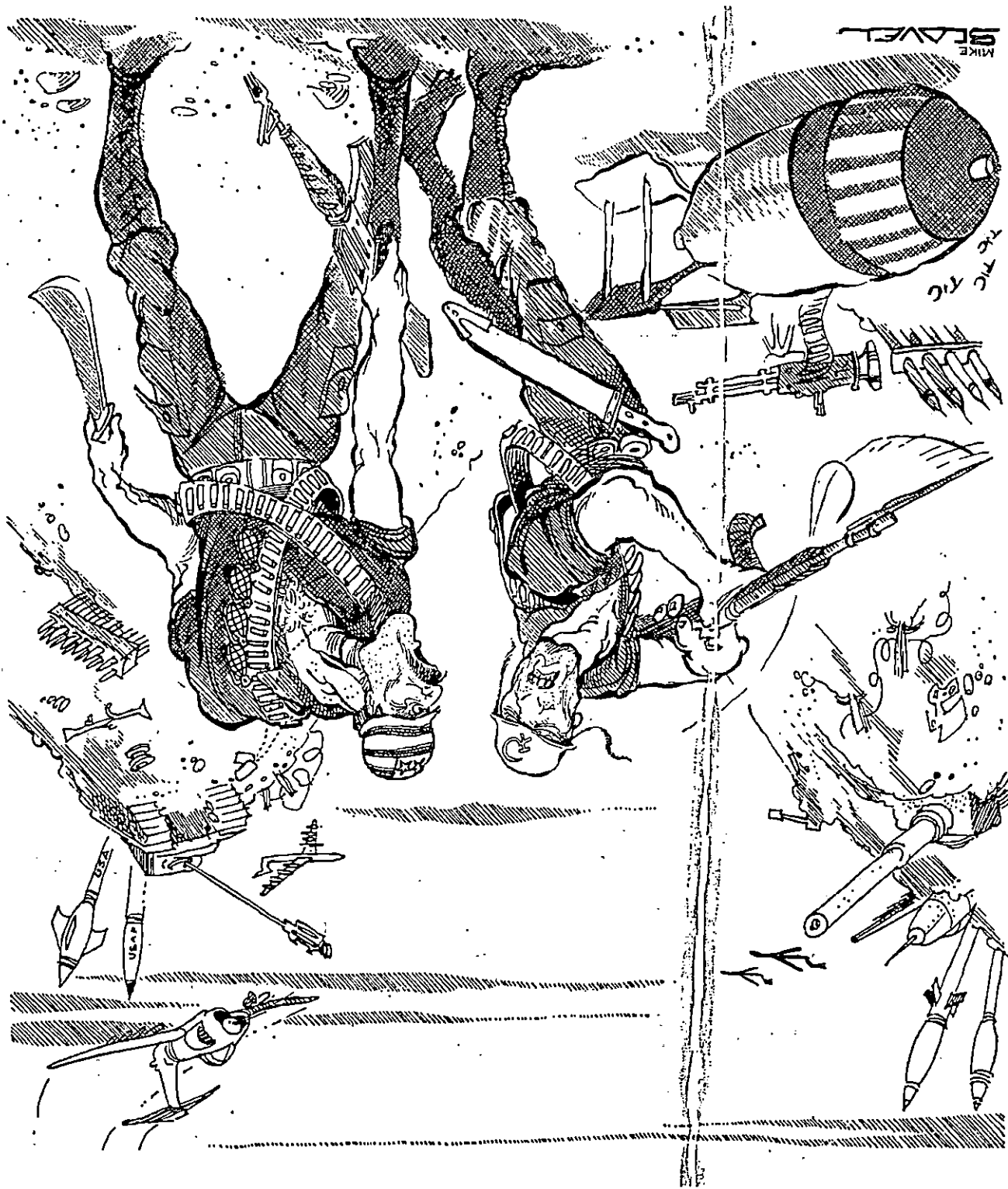
On the contrary, they maintain, real Soviet policy, as distinct from declared policy, rules out no form of military might.

Soviet strategy is based on preparing and winning a "limited nuclear war," many of these pessimists maintain. Other pessimists contend that the Soviet Union, instead, seeks to reserve that potentiality not to actually fight such a war, but to use the weight of military power to achieve political and economic gains.

This debate partially surfaced in this country during the Nixon-Ford administrations, with James R. Schlesinger, then defense secretary, advocating a U.S. strategy and resources to fight nuclear war at less than an all-out level, to counter Soviet capabilities.

President-elect Carter and his defense secretary-designate, Harold Brown, both have said they reject the premise that a limited nuclear war can be fought without escalating into all-out nuclear warfare.

Marder writes for the Washington Post.



Is arms balance tipping in Russia's favor?

By Robert Kaylor

BENEATH THE snow-covered prairies of North Dakota, two Air Force officers sit in a concrete chamber with a red safe holding keys needed to send nuclear-tipped Minuteman missiles against targets in the Soviet Union.

Near the Greek island of Kithira in the Mediterranean, a Navy patrol bomber banks low over two Russian Kashin class destroyers swinging gently at anchor. Less than half a mile away a U.S. frigate stands by, ready to follow if the Russians get under way.

At a lonely outpost in the frozen wastes of Korea's demilitarized zone, an American soldier stands in the night with his M16 rifle.

All are part of the worldwide military might of the United States. All stand ready with weapons that may never be used. They also are the subject of a rising debate over whether they are strong enough to protect U.S. national interests.

Is the strategic balance tipping in favor of the Soviet Union — the most powerful — and probable — potential U.S. enemy?

How much military power is enough for the United States?

What priority should defense have compared to other demands on national resources?

These questions have gained added urgency recently because of Soviet gains both in strategic weaponry and conventional military might.

As a result, Congress and the new Carter administration face a series of critical decisions, including whether to go ahead with the \$23 billion B1 bomber, whether the Navy should continue to be built around aircraft carriers costing nearly \$2 billion each, whether the United States should build new types of missiles despite current arms limitations and whether the United States will have to consider returning to the draft to fill its military ranks.

Russian increase

The Soviet military gains are due partly to increased Russian defense spending while U.S. military spending has declined from roughly half to about one-fourth of this country's total budget since Vietnam.

Intelligence analysts believe Russia may spend \$140 billion on arms this year, compared with a current U.S. military budget of about \$111 billion. Moreover, these sources expect Soviet defense spending to increase another 4 or 5 percent in the coming year.

This has led to a National Intelligence Estimate — influenced by military officers and hard liners who take the "worst possible" view — suggesting Russia may be bent on achieving superiority over the United States instead of its present rough parity.

While there is disagreement within the government about this conclusion, all sides agree the Soviet buildup is cause for concern.

Rep. Les Aspin, D-Wis., a member of the House Armed Services Committee who has been considered a military dove, sees the Soviet buildup as serious enough to end talk of defense spending cuts.

"A consensus has now emerged among all those involved in defense that we do need a spending increase in real terms," Aspin says. "The only divergence is that while hawks may want a 7 or 8 per cent increase, doves say 2 per cent."

"The argument now is what to spend on, strategic or conventional forces. Some people want to spend on B1, Trident submarines, multibased MX missiles. Others want to have our units in Europe ready to fight a war on 48-hour notice. Either will cost a bundle."

Strangelovian talk

The Strangelovian language of strategic warfare is filled with such terms as "nuclear deterrent," "counterforce," and "mutual assured destruction."

In layman's language, it all means the United States and Russia can wreak so much destruction on each other, even after absorbing an attack, that neither will want to risk total war.

Under the tentative SALT agreement reached at Vladivostok in 1974, each side would be limited to a total of 2,400 strategic launchers of various types, of which 1,320 could carry more than one weapon.

Within those limits, both are free to improve accuracy and "kill" power, and to "harden" underground missile silos against attack.

U.S. sources say the Soviet Union came from behind in the early 1970s to reach a "rough strategic balance" with the United States. The Russians now are introducing into their silos a new series of intercontinental missiles which carry multiple warheads — MIRV's.

These sources say the Soviets have about 200 in place now and could replace all their missiles between 1979 and 1981, giving them more than 7,500 land-based warheads in comparison with 2,150 for the United States.

The Russians also are testing a sea-launched MIRV missile expected to be used on a new class of submarine.

Beyond that, intelligence sources say the Soviets have started development of still another generation of missiles. The last new U.S. intercontinental missile was the Minuteman III of the mid-1960s.

Many U.S. officials feel discussion of whether the Russians want superiority is academic and that their weapons capability is the important yardstick.

The Pentagon and Ford administration want, in addition to the new B1 bomber, to hasten development of a new \$30 billion missile generation known as MX that would carry more and bigger warheads and be accurate down to a distance of 100 feet.

Critics of the approach say the United States is now where it should be in terms of rough equivalence. Critics also point to the U.S. cruise missile, a small pilotless jet airplane now under development that can find its own way up to 2,300 miles to a target, as being a more cost effective weapon than the B1.

Cruise missiles and the new Soviet Backfire bomber, which may have intercontinental applications, have so far proven a stumbling block to further SALT agreements.

"While the negotiations go on there are technological developments which go beyond the framework of present agreements," says Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld. "This sort of thing may continue in the future, and it will continue to be a problem."

Bue, he adds, "One of the least advisable things to do would be to decide to halt a technological development before you have a SALT agreement."

Even congressional critics of such programs as the MX agree with that.

Navy shrinking

The U.S. Navy has been shrinking because of the retirement of ships built during World War II and now numbers 474 vessels, fewest since 1939. Its force of aircraft carriers — the Navy's main offensive surface ship — has been reduced from 16 to 13.

There is general agreement on the value of strategic nuclear missile submarines and the need for the new Trident model that will go into use in 1979. But there is debate whether the Navy should continue to build costly carriers with their vulnerability to missiles and submarines.

The expanding Soviet fleet outnumbers

the United States in both surface and undersea combatants. The Russian emphasis now appears to be on modernizing larger ships that can operate away from home for long periods like U.S. warships. It recently sent to sea its first primitive aircraft carrier, the Kiev, which uses vertical takeoff aircraft. Two more are building.

Since Vietnam, the United States more and more has viewed Europe as its central military interest. Its biggest overseas force, about 316,000 out of total U.S. military force of 2.1 million, is assigned to NATO and the Mediterranean.

In the Pacific, the bulk of U.S. forces are in Korea and Japan. The United States still has one division of ground troops in Korea which Carter has pledged to withdraw in time.

The United States keeps four ground divisions in Europe along with tactical air forces.

Communist forces in Eastern Europe outnumber NATO forces by roughly 2-to-1 in tanks, aircraft and artillery — and by about 20 per cent in manpower. More than half of that is 31 Russian divisions, most of which are poised to strike central Europe.

"The balance in Europe is a different kind than the strategic balance," says a U.S. analyst. "We rely on our nuclear warheads and NATO airpower. If it were not for those, Europe would be a Soviet walkthrough."

The NATO allies have an estimated 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons, mostly American, giving them what is believed to be about a 2-to-1 edge over the Russians. There is concern, however, that nuclear-capable heavy Russian artillery may soon appear in Eastern Europe.

Russia's military forces total more than 3.6 million, not counting about 750,000 paramilitary forces. Some 2.5 million are in the Army. The Army totals 170 divisions, about one-third of them at full strength. Forty divisions — about 500,000 men — are assigned to the Chinese border.

U.S. military sources believe improved relations between China and Russia, which would release Soviet troops for Europe, would be "a hellacious problem for NATO."

The 3 million man Chinese army with its obsolete equipment is no match for Russia. Nevertheless, one source has described a Soviet nightmare as "China 10 years hence, with a nuclear force able to reach major Soviet European cities and an improved ground force."

The U.S. Army currently is undergoing a reorganization designed to take it to 16 combat divisions with no increase in manpower by 1978. Three of the divisions will be only two-thirds active, relying for the rest of their strength on reserves that are now under criticism for lack of readiness.

U.S. tactical Air Forces will increase from 20 to 26 wings this year. Although recent Russian tactical aircraft such as an advanced version of the MIG23 posed a greater ground attack threat for NATO, they are not seen as a match for the latest U.S. fighter, the F15.

Kaylor writes for United Press International.

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Globe - 17 May 76

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

Barbara Bush: Fourteen months in Peking

By EDWARD J. PRESBERG
Globe-Democrat Staff Writer

The speaker knew she had some complimentary things to say about her 14-month stay in the People's Republic of China, so she prepared the audience by announcing firmly: "Before we begin, let me first say I am not a Communist."

The humor of that mock dramatic pledge was not lost on her audience. They realized the speaker, Barbara Bush, has the highest unofficial security clearance in the United States.

Her husband, George, is the new director of the CIA.

THE COUPLE spent most of those 14 months in Peking, where Bush served as chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in China until December, 1975.

Mrs. Bush visited St. Louis last week to



Barbara Bush

Globe-Democrat Photo by Gary Clermont

present a slide-illustrated talk about her experiences to members of the St. Louis Council on World Affairs, Inc.

Barbara Bush is an active matriarch, the mother of five children (between the ages of 16 and 27) and the new grandmother of one. She also is active in Washington. Mrs. Bush is a member of the boards of the National Cathedral School for Girls and the Home for Incurables in Washington, D.C. She also works as a volunteer for the Travelers' Aid Society.

Above all, except family, Mrs. Bush says, she is a traveler. Calling herself merely a traveler, like her introductory pledge of allegiance, is the height of understatement.

In the past 10 years she and her husband have visited nine European, nine African and three Asian cities. At various times during those 10 years they maintained 27 homes in 16 different cities.

That experience, coupled with Mrs. Bush's evident desire to study China's history, politics, art, culture and philosophy, made for her an interesting and information-packed hour.

"THIS IS China as I saw it," she said. "Everyone sees it differently."

Her travelog was made all the more appealing because she wasted no time trying to defend China or to criticize the country.

The narration was, nonetheless, laced with her personal opinions about the successes and failures of the Chinese experiment.

"I really think the Chinese are working from the lowest level up on almost everything," she said. "They are all housed, but poorly housed. They are all fed, but not that well. They're working on it—and they're making some strides."

"They have cradle-to-grave security. No hunger. They are literate. No unemployment. They have little or no crime. No drugs. No begging."

HOWEVER, MRS. Bush noted: "Their lack of privacy and freedom is totally unacceptable to us... The Chinese also have a

cradle-to-grave indoctrination plan. They are taught to read, but not necessarily to think.

"They are all told where to work, where to live and where they may travel. They each have weekly self-criticism sessions, and if they deviate from the proper political thought they are sent to May 7th schools to be re-educated; sometimes for four months, sometimes for four years."

During her speech, Mrs. Bush skipped rapidly among diverse subjects—Chinese Victorian art, local superstitions and myths, birth control—injecting many brief comments. Among the subjects she discussed were:

CHILDREN—"The children, they're really fantastic. They're healthy, strong, beautiful-looking people... You see children all over China going out to work in the fields. They are taken out of school and they're perfectly willing to do any amount of work."

"The education is very simplified, so they think nothing of taking the children out of school. They will go out and literally move mountains, dig ditches, build walls, plant trees and put in a crop. And they do it with a great commitment to their country."

EDUCATION—"We went to many schools. I never saw a prop used in the classroom, and I never heard a voice raised, and they got these little 3-year-olds to stand up and sing like Judy Garland. Granted, they sang things like 'I want to grow industrious little hands so I can work for Chairman Mao,' but they sang."

Mrs. Bush also said Chinese schools do not flunk students. "If someone is doing poorly, it's considered to be the fault of the school group."

Education is simplified and geared for the lowest common denominator. No provisions are made for exceptionally gifted children, she said: "When I asked them where their geniuses come from I was told, 'Mrs. Bush, we have other priorities now. That will come later.'"

SEX—Referring to a slide showing a young

Chinese couple together, Mrs. Bush said, "This is my Shirley MacLaine picture because she wrote with such interest of the fact the Chinese people do not have boy-girl relationships. I just know that's not true. Anyway, where does she think those 850 million people came from?"

RELIGION—She said she attended regular services with about 20 persons. "My own feeling is that the Chinese permitted us to do this because they wanted to say to the outside world that 'We have religious freedom, but no one wants to take advantage of it because they just don't believe in it.' I don't really think that is true though."

FOOD PRODUCTION—"Every possible place has been plowed, irrigated and planted. Their number one priority, and they have really accomplished it, is to feed their 850 million people."

SENIOR CITIZENS—"The Chinese do take care of their older people. They live right in the house, where there might be seven people living in two rooms. But they don't turn their backs on older people, they all work for the government. The one old folks' home I saw, it was made very clear to me, is only for childless senior citizens."

POPULATION PLANNING—"The Chinese are very serious about their family planning... They've had legalized abortions since the 50s. They distribute literature, and they now have incentives for men and women to have sterilization operations."

By the end of her presentation, Mrs. Bush left her audience with a feeling very similar to the one she expressed at the outset.

Namely, China has made some amazing strides, but it has paid a price for that progress that would be as intolerable to Americans as it is incomprehensible—"They lack any kind of freedom," she said.

A society that rigidly controls its population is always subject to criticism, even if it uses that control to benefit its people. China's critics often point out that iron-handed discipline is not achieved as rapidly

as it was in China without tremendous fear.

Mrs. Bush is aware of that technique, although she chose not to include a perfect illustration of it in her speech.

Earlier in the day Mrs. Bush was describing an incident in which a French woman visiting China was struck on the head by a Chinese man who officials later learned was "obviously deranged."

"The woman was taken to a hospital, although she was not very seriously injured," Mrs. Bush told a reporter. "The morning after the attack the Chinese brought her flowers and apologized profusely."

"Then they told the woman they thought she would be happy to know they had already tried the man and executed him that morning."

"The Chinese," Barbara Bush said in her greatest understatement, "do things differently than we do."



Brass brazier in the Forbidden City.



DON
Take to
Houston office

Reference Aid

*Chiefs of State and Cabinet
Members of Foreign Governments*

CR CS 76-012
(Supersedes CR CS 76-011)
December 1976

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PREFACE

This directory identifying Chiefs of State and Cabinet members of foreign governments is based upon information current as of the publication date. Completely revised editions are issued each month. Upon being replaced, the obsolete directories should be destroyed.

Because it is intended primarily as a reference aid this publication includes as many governments of the world as is considered practicable, some of them not yet fully independent and others not officially recognized by the United States. Regimes with which there are no diplomatic exchanges are indicated by the initials "NDE."

For the convenience of the user, a key to abbreviations is included. Governments are listed in alphabetical order according to the most commonly used version of each country's name. Official country designations are resorted to only when necessary to avoid confusion.

Mr. Bush

外交官名册

74

中华人民共和国外交部礼宾司

一九七四年九月 北京

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

FROM THE DESK OF
THE DIRECTOR

Executive Registry

76-3747

ATF:

We ought to see that this gets some distribution on
the Hill to our committees.....
elsewhere too if possible.
I'll be interested to see if Post or Times
use this.... please advise.

GB 10-20

Just as recruitment for
CIA is up in US of the
the publicity - the same
Reaction may occur among
some Soviet citizens.

DCI

PM-COMMENT RDV20 40-19

NOV FOR PWS MED OCT 20

(6530)

FOREIGN NEWS COMMENTARY:

SOVIET PRESS HAS A FIELD DAY WITH THE CIA

BY HOWARD H. TYNER

MOSCOW (UPI) -- THE CHIEF SPORT IN THE SOVIET PRESS THESE DAYS IS
NOT SOCCER OR ICE HOCKEY, BUT HANGING OUT THE DIRTY LINEN OF THE U.S.
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

HARDLY A DAY GOES BY WITHOUT SOME MEMORANDUM OR MAGAZINE, AND OFTEN
RADIO AND TELEVISION, TOO, CARRYING NEW ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE
ACTIVITIES OF THE SO-CALLED "MONSTER OF LANGLEY."

"CIA CONNECTIONS WITH WFLA," THIS NEWS AGENCY SAID IN A TYPICAL
HEADLINE. "CIA SHADOW OVER INQUIRY," THE WEEKLY NOVOE VREMIA SAID IN
ANOTHER. IF IT ISN'T EXPERIMENTATION WITH LSD, THEN IT'S THE
UNDERMINING OF SOME AFRICAN COUNTRY, OR HELPING ISRAEL WITH ITS
"CRIMINAL" RAID LAST JULY TO FREE HIJACK HOSTAGES AT ENTebbe AIRPORT
IN UGANDA.

NEVER IS THERE MENTION OF THE CIA'S ARCH-RIVAL, THE SOVIET KGB.
MOST STORIES ARE LITTLE MORE THAN EMBELLISHED VERSIONS OF FACT--OR
RUMOR--PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE. A POPULAR TECHNIQUE IS TO ATTRIBUTE
ACCUSATIONS CONCERNING THE AGENCY TO "PRESS REPORTS," BUT NOT SAY
WHERE THOSE REPORTS APPEARED.

THIS 1966, ADOTING THESE ANONYMOUS "PRESS REPORTS," SUGGESTED THAT
CIA HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS MAY HAVE
BACKFIRE, CHARGING THE "LEGIONNAIRES DISEASE" THAT KILLED NEARLY 30
U.S. VETERANS WHO ATTENDED A CONFERENCE IN PHILADELPHIA IN JULY.
OTHER MATERIAL IS ORIGINAL--SUCH AS THE CLAIM BY THE WEEKLY
LITERATURNAYA GAZETA THAT THREE MOSCOW-BASED AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS
WORKED FOR THE CIA.

WESTERN DIPLOMATS SAY THEY CAN'T RECALL WHEN THE INTENSITY OF
ANTI-CIA PROPAGANDA HERE REACHED SUCH A PEAK AS IN THE PAST SIX
MONTHS.

THE SOVIET UNION IS ALWAYS EAGER TO DISCREDIT THE U.S. SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT. DIPLOMATS SAY THE CURRENT BARRAGE IS MOST LIKELY AN ATTEMPT TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF WIDESPREAD DOMESTIC AMERICAN CRITICISM OF THE CIA FOLLOWING DISCLOSURES ABOUT SOME OF ITS CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES.

BUT THE GENERAL CHILLING OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE PAST YEAR ALSO PROBABLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE KREMLIN DECISION TO LAUNCH THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, ACCORDING TO THE DIPLOMATS.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE TYPE OF STORY THAT HAS BEEN APPEARING WAS A RECENT TWO-PART REPORT ON MOSCOW TELEVISION CALLED "THE CIA'S SECRET WAR."

PRESENTED AS A DOCUMENTARY, THE PROGRAM INCLUDED LONG-RANGE MOTION PICTURES OF CIA HEADQUARTERS AT LANGLEY, VA., AND OLD NEWSREEL FOOTAGE LINKED TO THE "HISTORY OF" THE ORGANIZATION.

THE COMMENTATOR NOTED, "IT IS NO LONGER A SECRET TO ANYONE THAT THE CIA IS ENGAGED IN WIDESPREAD ESPIONAGE AND MAKES WIDE USE OF AMERICAN JOURNALISTS, BUSINESSMEN AND EVEN TOURISTS."

THE CONCLUSION WAS THAT THE CIA IS "A WILD ANIMAL DANGEROUS BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES."

THE GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER IZVESTIA POOH-POOHED THE ROCKEFELLER COMMISSION SET UP BY PRESIDENT FORD TO INVESTIGATE CIA ACTIVITIES. THE COMMISSION, ACCORDING TO IZVESTIA, "DID NOT DARE" TO SAY ANYTHING TOO BAD ABOUT THE CIA BECAUSE THE INVESTIGATORS THEMSELVES--LIKE THE CIA--WERE TOO CLOSE TO AMERICA'S "MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX."

A FAVORITE TARGET OF SOVIET PRESS RIDICULE ARE THE AMERICAN FINANCED, MUNICH-BASED RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY, WHICH BROADCAST TO THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE.

ONCE FUNDED BY THE CIA, THE STATIONS NOW RECEIVE THEIR FINANCING DIRECTLY FROM THE U.S. CONGRESS. YET DOZENS OF CURRENT ARTICLES HERE LINK THE STATIONS WITH THE CIA, EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF ACCUSING LORD CHALFONT-- BRITAIN'S FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER AND UNITED NATIONS AMBASSADOR--OF BEING AN "INTERCESSOR" FOR THE AGENCY BECAUSE HE PRAISED THE WORK OF RADIO LIBERTY AND RADIO FREE EUROPE.

BUT THE CIA MAY NOT BE THE SOVIET MEDIA'S NO. 1 ANTIHERO FOR LONG. RECENT ARTICLES HAVE INCLUDED SUCH ITEMS AS "CROOKED MEN FROM THE FBI" AND "NEW DISCLOSURES OF FBI ACTIVITIES," MEANING THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION MAY BE IN FOR THE SAME SORT OF TREATMENT.

ADV FOR PMS WED OCT 29

UPI 10-19 06:17 AEO

People I'm Not Sending Christmas Cards to This Year

By Frank Getlein

No card to the CIA—a Scrooge-like outfit itself—for killing agent Richard Welch in Athens and blaming it on Dan Schörr. (The writer is aware that this interpretation is as yet unproved; the writer arrived at it through the classical question, *cui bono?*, and through the known style of the Agency.)

K
SAVE
personal
files

ugly

~~Att on
Desk~~

It's No Secret, CIA Has Turned The Corner

To
GB personal
files

QA

Question: Has the Central Intelligence Agency recovered from the Watergate-era revelations?

Answer: It has. Procedures are in effect to safeguard the rights of American citizens.

We have an active inspector general system, we are following the President's executive order, which was the first major reorganization of the intelligence system since 1947, and we are following the attorney general's guidelines to the letter.

We also report to seven oversight committees on Capitol Hill. For example, I have been in this job for close to 11 months and have made over 40 official appearances on the Hill.

The things that went wrong have been corrected and the intelligence community is again very strong. In terms of the restoration of credibility, we are on the way back. Morale is good and recruitment is up.

The corner has been turned.

In addition, there is today much less of an adversary relationship between the CIA and Congress, which in turn has resulted in some constructive thinking on how to strengthen the intelligence system.

Q: Do you think there should be fewer committees with CIA oversight responsibilities?

A: There should be just one, consolidated much like the joint House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee. There are now four House committees and three on the Senate side.

A consolidated oversight committee would minimize the risk of leaks. Consolidation also would result in more thorough oversight by having one fully informed and highly seasoned committee.

Q: Is there any need for specific legislation or new congressional rules to protect the security of CIA information? **A:** There is, but I am not optimistic about legislation getting passed.

Legislation in the field of secrecy can be carefully drawn to protect our sources and to safeguard the rights of citizens.

Existing law directs the head of the CIA to protect sources and methods of gathering information. Well, that needs to be clarified now that



"We see nothing that suggests the Soviet Union and China are on the verge of getting closer together."

the concept on which that directive is based has been eroded.

But the climate is such that legislation will not sail through the next Congress.

Q: Do you expect anymore horror stories involving the CIA to surface?

A: I hope not.

I keep reading allegations that the CIA withheld information on the Kennedy assassination, but to the best of my knowledge that is not true.

My instructions to the agency are to cooperate with congressional committees. When we see something that we think is even questionable we run over to the oversight committees, sprint down to the White House — and we keep people informed in accordance with the President's executive order. That is the way it is working, and I hope it will continue.

George Bush, director of the Central Intelligence Agency for the past 11 months, says "the things that went wrong have been corrected... the corner has been turned."

Bush, who will step down as director when Jimmy Carter takes office, also says procedures are in effect to "safeguard the rights of American citizens."

However, we can't control someone like Castro and his false allegations about the CIA. Fortunately enough people seem to question the credibility of Castro when he makes his charges.

Q: Should your successor be a CIA professional or a layman like yourself?

A: The overriding concern should be that he have the confidence of the President of the United States. That comes first. If he can be knowledgeable and professional in intelligence, so much the better.

But first he must have the total confidence of and access to the president.

And the intelligence he passes to the president must be unfiltered by policy constraints so that an intelligence community judgment can reach the president without regard to a program, say, in the Defense Department, without regard to a State Department foreign policy initiative.

In addition, the job is different now because there is more dealing with the public and Congress.

So whether all this calls for a professional or an outsider I really



"...there is today much less of an adversary relationship between the CIA and Congress..."

could not say — but that first condition must be fulfilled.

The agency is so disciplined that it can educate a layman and it will support the director whether he comes from within or without the CIA.

Q: If President Carter asked, would you stay on?

A: I called him after the election and told him that I would make whatever transition necessary. He decided, and I think properly so, that he should have his own man in the CIA.

Q: Are you certain that the CIA is totally responsible to its political directors, that it lets them in on everything that goes on?

A: I am convinced of it.

The question was properly raised when I was invited up to be confirmed as CIA director.

The question was asked, "Why put

a guy involved in politics in charge?" Some voted against me because I had been chairman of the Republican National Committee. My argument was that I had been ambassador to the United Nations and nobody said I was a Republican ambassador or anti-Democratic ambassador. I was chief to the liaison office in China and nobody accused me of being partisan in that job.

I vowed to stay out of domestic politics. However, the argument against my resigning involves the propensity for politicizing the agency — the one thing I am determined not to do.

Q: Are our allies reluctant to share intelligence, fearing it will be leaked to the press?

A: There is a concern on the part of governments that information we obtain will be released or leaked in some way. But most of our relationships are in pretty good shape and I do not think we are being denied enormous amounts of intelligence.

And generally we have done a creditable job in protecting those relationships.

Q: The CIA has been shrouded in the mystery. What should the CIA be doing and not doing?

A: The CIA should be collecting the best foreign intelligence that there is. And the agency is doing that.

What it should not be doing is some of the things it gets credit for doing in movies like *Seven Days in the Condor* where people go around knocking each other off in New York.

The agency must live within the guidelines established for protecting the rights of American citizens. I am satisfied that it is.

Its main function, obviously, is the production of intelligence.

I might add that something involving covert action takes less than 2 per cent of the CIA's budget. Again I think there are plenty of safeguards in this area.

I also firmly believe the president should retain a covert action capability.

Q: What is your assessment of China's relations with the Soviet Union?

A: We see nothing that suggests the Soviet Union and China are on the verge of getting closer together. There have been some overtures from the Soviets toward China, but they have been rebuffed.

It is a situation that must be watched very carefully because it could have an enormous effect on the free world.

Q: What does the change of command in China mean to the free world?

A: It is too early to say, but it is possible that China will be more active, for example, in international trade.

I do not think we will see a radical departure from the Chairman Mao's line of self reliance.

Q: Has the Soviet intelligence network benefited from the CIA's recent problems?

A: Anytime the operation of an intelligence service is laid out as publicly and as coldly as happened to the CIA there is bound to be some interest and benefit to the other side.

We would love to get the same kind of information on the KGB, but I am not holding my breath.

Q: Wouldn't you like to see an element of secrecy preserved that is totally removed from Congress?

A: No. There should be congressional oversight and it can operate as does the Atomic Energy Committee with very minimal risk of leaks.

Q: Can the CIA operate as successfully as the KGB?

A: Unlike the Soviet Union, we have to be responsive and take into confidence certain groups, Congress and other outlets in the intelligence community.

We have a different set up, but I think we can be effective.

Q: Are any newspaper people on the CIA payroll?

A: Not that I know of.

We have changed our policy on newsmen. When I came into office, we gave ourselves to Dec. 30 to unravel these relationships and that will be fully complied with by Dec. 30.

A good first step by Mr. Bush

The first publicly announced action by the new director of the CIA, George Bush, was a promising one. He prohibited the agency from entering into further paid relationships with news correspondents accredited by American organizations and said such "existing relationships" would be brought into conformity "as soon as feasible." The directive also said there are not now and would not be secret paid relationships with American clergymen or missionaries.

According to the House intelligence committee, there already had been some tightening of the use of U.S. press enterprises for CIA cover: "No longer, for example, can a CIA officer in the field arrange for cover without headquarters approval."

Now, by establishing headquarters policy against CIA use of reporters, Mr. Bush takes a step further against a situation raising the gravest questions of press freedom and conflict of interest. Only a few newsmen have been named as alleged CIA employees, but clearly no one should be in the pay of the CIA while attempting to preserve objectivity in informing the public. The House intelligence committee found "disturbing indications that the accuracy of many news stories has been undermined" as a result of CIA use of the press.

The CIA use of clergymen raises the additional question of separation of church and state. The revised CIA policy recognizes the "special status" of both press and religion under the Constitution and seeks to "avoid any appearance of improper use." It will be up to the agency's accountability procedures — and to its executive and congressional watchdog — to see that the policy is carried through.

Meanwhile, the CIA quite rightly continues to welcome information volunteered by individuals, and it notes that cooperation from those in many walks of life in the past has "reflected the desire of Americans to help their country." This is in line with the current effort at correcting the abuses of the intelligence community so it can help the country more. Mr. Bush has started well.

George Bush

Austin Star

It was early in 1964 when he walked into the Austin Capitol press room, tall and trim with just the least bit of Connecticut crispness. He came up from Houston where he had recently made his home after a post-World War II stay in Midland where he had successfully dabbled in oil. You wouldn't say he was naive, but in spite of his All-American-boy looks he was a rank amateur in politics, although in his childhood was exposed to Washington through his father's Senate tenure.

George Bush sat on a desk swinging his legs and announced he had become a Texan throughout when the Navy trained him as a pilot at Corpus Christi, and as a lifelong Republican he would challenge Democrat Senator Ralph Yarborough. He did, and lost, but might have won if LBJ had

not publicly embraced the man who had cast his lot with Kennedy against Johnson's bid for the presidential nomination.

From that day in 1964 George Bush, as state GOP leader, Congressman, ambassador to the United Nations, special envoy to China, has been a well-known and trusted public figure with strong ties throughout the Lone Star State.

Friday, George Bush was sworn in as new director of the Central Intelligence Agency, which certainly must be ranked as one of the nation's lifeguards. The CIA, misguided and mishandled, needs capable leadership to restore it to the effectiveness necessary to fulfill its mission. Those who have known George Bush and have followed his career believe he is the man who can do just that.

George Bush can do it

It was early in 1964 when George Bush appeared on the Texas political scene, tall and trim with just the least bit of Connecticut crispness. He came up from Houston where he had recently made his home after a post-World War II stay in Midland where he had successfully dabbled in oil.

You wouldn't say he was naive, but in spite of his All-American-boy looks he was a rank amateur in politics, although in his childhood was exposed to Washington through his father's Senate tenure.

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Bush Urges Secrecy On Reporters List

By Norman Kempster
Washington Star Staff Writer

Just what I said

CIA Director George Bush has urged executives of The New York Times and CBS news to support the agency's efforts to keep secret the names of journalists who have aided intelligence operations, a CIA spokesman said today.

what I said

The spokesman said the question of CIA use of reporters as cover for spying was discussed during supposedly off-the-record lunches last week.

"He has known the people at The Times and CBS on a personal basis for a number of years," the spokesman said. "There was no set agenda but the subject, of course, was brought up."

THE WASHINGTON Star reported in 1973 that the CIA was using journalists as cover for intelligence work. After the revelation, then-CIA Director William E. Colby said the agency would no longer employ full-time staff members of major U.S. newspapers and broadcast media.

However, Colby said then — and repeated as recently as last month — that the agency continues to employ free-lance journalists in intelligence work.

The Washington Post, quoting informed sources, said today that officials of both The Times and CBS offered general support to Bush's appeal to "bury the past" and keep secret the names of reporters who worked for the agency.

The Post said the Senate Intelligence Committee was informed that one news executive told Bush: "We protect our (news) sources. You protect yours."

HOWEVER, Arthur O. Sulzberger, publisher of The Times, said that the subject of whether the CIA ought to

disclose such names to the Senate committee "never arose" during a 90-minute meeting with Bush last week. And A.M. Rosenthal, managing editor, of The Times, said that both he and The Times supported "complete disclosure" of the names of any of its own correspondents as well as those of other organizations who had ever worked for or cooperated with the CIA in gathering intelligence.

Richard Salant, president of CBS News, said that the subject of such disclosures was raised with Bush himself and other CBS executives, including news anchorman Walter Cronkite, but that the network officials had "urged disclosure" of the names in question.

The Post said Cronkite believed the names should be "put on the table for the protection of those not guilty of such behavior."

what I said

The CIA spokesman said Bush met with Sulzberger, editorial page editor John Oakes and vice president Sydney Gruson. He said Bush met the same day with CBS board chairman William Paley, Salant and Cronkite.

File

Ford May Let Delegates Complete Ticket

By David S. Broder.

Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford may throw the choice of his running mate open to the Republican convention, House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.) said yesterday.

Rhodes, who will be permanent chairman of next month's nominating convention in Kansas City, said after a meeting with Mr. Ford that it is "highly possible" the President will let the delegates choose his running mate if he wins the nomination.

Rhodes himself suggested that Central Intelligence Agency director George Bush could rank with Ronald Reagan and John B. Connally as a favorite if the choice were left to the convention.

Rhodes disclosed the President's interest in convention selection of a Vice President in an interview with editors and reporters of The Washington Post after he and Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) had discussed the vice presidential picture with Mr. Ford for a half-hour at the White House.

Rhodes said the President "has certainly not made up

his mind" on a running mate, adding, "The list is large and growing."

"He may well leave it to the convention," the minority leader said.

If that happens, Rhodes said, both Reagan and Connally would be "very good possibilities" to win the support of the delegates. Reagan, Mr. Ford's challenger for the presidential nomination, has said repeatedly there is "no way" he would accept the No. 2 spot, but a Ford-Reagan ticket has been urged by many GOP leaders as the ideal solution to the party's internal battle.

Connally, the former Texas governor and Treasury Secretary who ended his neutrality Tuesday and endorsed Mr. Ford for nomination, has said he would accept the vice presidential nomination. He is a favorite of many southern and western delegates.

Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.), the convention keynoter, and several others were mentioned as possibilities by Rhodes, but the minority leader went out of his way to praise Bush, the former Texas congressman who has filled a number of diplomatic and political assign-

ments, including the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee.

"A convention which is free to choose could nominate George Bush," Rhodes said.

At the time Bush was nominated CIA director last December, objections were raised by several Senate Democrats to having a man with a political career in the intelligence post.

In order to gain Senate confirmation of Bush, Mr. Ford on Dec. 18 wrote Chairman John C. Stennis of the Senate Armed Services Committee a letter saying that "if Ambassador Bush is confirmed by the Senate as director of Central Intelligence, I will not consider him as my vice presidential running mate in 1976."

The President said Bush had "urged that I make this decision," adding, "This says something about the man and about his desire to do this job for the nation."

Three days earlier, in testimony to the committee, Bush had said he would not "seek any office," but added that if the vice presidential nomination were offered him, "I cannot in all honesty

tell you that I would not accept."

Rhodes said that he thought a convention draft of Bush would not violate either Mr. Ford's or Bush's pledge. "I don't know how a fellow of George Bush's background could turn it down," he said.

Rhodes said that his position as the convention's presiding officer made it improper for him to rate the vice presidential contenders, saying that "any of the three" prime contenders "would certainly add luster to the ticket."

Many Republicans have speculated that the convention would certainly choose Reagan to run with Mr. Ford, if given a free choice, but Rhodes said that he believed "it was more likely two days ago than it is today."

His comment reflected the generally negative reaction to Reagan's announcement Monday that he would pick Sen. Richard S. Schweiker (R-Pa.) as his running mate if he won the presidential nomination.

As for Connally, who was

indicted and later acquitted of bribery charges in connection with milk processors' gifts to the Nixon campaign, Rhodes said, he "has both pluses and minuses."

"I think George Bush would bring as much to the ticket as John Connally," he said. "Both are very articulate and capable."

No presidential nominee has left the choice of his running mate to his party's delegates since Adlai E. Stevenson threw the Democratic nomination open at the 1956 convention. In that race, Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee bested Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts in a close battle.

It is known that Mr. Ford has discussed the possibility of such a step with several congressional friends in recent days, but Rhodes' report on yesterday's meeting was by far the firmest indication the President is considering such a course.

Rhodes insisted he had not mentioned the Bush possibility at all to the President, but he left little doubt where his own sentiments lie.

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Remarks: Angus, I thought you'd like to know. The underlined portions were not included in the unlabeled excerpt which was printed in the 29 January 1976 edition of <u>Washington Post</u>. "In the Record" indeed!! Phil Kaufman			
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For the Record

Eric Sevareid, on the CBS Evening News, commenting on the nomination of George Bush as CIA director:

The Senate's doubt about Mr. Bush's suitability springs from his career in party politics....A more real question is his toughness. The CIA requires a man with a touch of the ruthless, to keep the CIA activities within the bounds of common sense, but also to stand against the current crop of zealots, including some congressmen and their assistants who do not seem to care how badly this weapon for security is weakened in a rough world.

New supervisory monitoring machinery can be tried but it will not solve the dilemma of a democracy struggling short of war, but worldwide, with a totalitarian regime: The need for frequent secrecy versus the need of Congress and the public to know what is being done in the country's name. Solution is impossible, a better balance is not....

We've had CIA officials domestically breaking the domestic law in the name of some higher law of their own selection. We've had congressmen breaking solemn agreements with executives by leaking classified information in the name of higher laws of their selection. We've had journalists breaking their word on information received off the record by leaking it to other journalists....

And we've had much worse. We've had American zealots publishing the names of American intelligence personnel, which in this time of terrorists everywhere increases the risk of kidnappings and murder....To do this is to commit the moral equivalent of treason, treason to the very humanitarian principles the zealots think they are upholding. When these agents die—and they are not all American nationals by any means—they die as anonymously as they live. So we may never know.

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE (Excerpt)

Monday, January 26, 1976

6:30 - 7:00 PM, EST

CRONKITE: For the last year, the nation's intelligence organizations, with the CIA in the forefront, have been taking their lumps for past activities. In his commentary, Eric Sevareid suggests that the pendulum may now be swinging too far.

ERIC SEVAREID: The Senate approaches the confirmation vote on Mr. George Bush as new CIA Director and the House Intelligence Committee formally recommends changes in the structure, supervision and accountability of the official intelligence services. It also calls for penalties on Government employees, including Congressmen, who leak secret information. This report, naturally, was leaked.

The Senate's doubt about Mr. Bush's suitability springs from his career in party politics. He is a man of sophistication and probity. He should have no more trouble than the next man at separating duty from politics. A more real question is his toughness. The CIA requires a man with a touch of the ruthless - to keep CIA activities within the bounds of common sense, but also to stand against the current crop of zealots, including some Congressmen and their assistants, who do not seem to care how badly this weapon for security is weakened in a rough world.

New supervisory monitoring machinery can be tried, but it will not solve the dilemma of a democracy struggling, short of war but worldwide, with a totalitarian regime - the need for frequent secrecy versus the need of Congress and public to know what is being done in the country's name.

Solution is impossible. A better balance is not. But that will depend not on the machinery, but on the character of the persons who operate the machinery.

We've had CIA officials domestically breaking a domestic law in the name of some higher law of their own selection. We've had Congressmen breaking solemn agreements with the Executive by leaking classified information in the name of higher laws of their selection. We have had journalists breaking their word on information received off the record, by leaking it to other journalists, which is morally the same as publishing it themselves. And we've had much worse. We've had American zealots publishing the names of American intelligence personnel - which, in this time of terrorists everywhere, increases the risk of kidnappings and murder. It increases the risk to anonymous field agents who live by command as if they were at war, even though the rest of us are not. To do this is to commit the moral equivalent of treason - treason to the very humanitarian principles the zealots think they are upholding.

When these agents die - and they are not all American nationals, by any means - they die as anonymously as they live. So we may never know.

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Date. 28 Jan

Item No. 5

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DISTRIBUTION II

UP-071

(INTELLIGENCE)

(BY DANIEL GILMORE)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE CIA TODAY STRONGLY IMPLIED THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR LEAKS TO THE PRESS OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION, INCLUDING AN INCIDENT INVOLVING ADVISE SEN. HENRY JACKSON, D-WASH., GAVE THE AGENCY.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN OTIS PIKE, D-N.Y., HOTLY REPLIED IN AN OPEN SESSION: "THE CIA'S INTELLIGENCE IS FALSE."

PIKE WAS ANSWERING IN PUBLIC A LETTER JUST RECEIVED FROM MITCHELL ROGOVIN, SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE CIA, WHICH CONTAINED BROAD ALLEGATIONS THAT PRESS LEAKS ON THE COMMITTEE'S STILL UNPUBLISHED FINAL REPORT CAME FROM MEMBERS OR STAFF OF THE PANEL ITSELF AND NOT FROM THE CIA OR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

THE LETTER SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED ADVISE JACKSON GAVE THE AGENCY IN 1973 REGARDING AN INVESTIGATION OF ITS RELATIONS WITH ITT IN CHILE.

JACKSON HAS SINCE SAID THAT HE DID NOTHING IMPROPER AND ONLY ADVISED THE CIA TO TAKE UP THE MATTER WITH THE SENATE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE RATHER THAN ANOTHER COMMITTEE AND HE DID NOT EVEN KNOW THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MATTER.

ROGOVIN'S LETTER WAS READ BY REP. ROBERT KASTEN, R-WIS., WHO DEMANDED THAT THE PANEL ELECT A SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE LEAKS. HIS SUGGESTION WAS DEFEATED BY A VOTE OF 9-4.

IN HIS LETTER, ROGOVIN SAID THAT THE CIA WAS "DEEPLY DISTURBED BY LEAKING" OF THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT EVEN BEFORE IT WAS PUBLISHED AND A STATEMENT BY COMMITTEE CHIEF COUNCIL SEARLE FIELD THAT THE CIA ITSELF MAY HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE.

HE SAID THAT MATERIAL LEAKED TO THE PRESS INCLUDED SENSITIVE MATTERS WHICH THE CIA SPECIFICALLY ASKED NOT BE MADE PUBLIC, INCLUDING THE DISCLOSURE THAT THE AGENCY HAD MADE AVAILABLE TWO ARMORED LIMOUSINES TO TWO THIRD WORLD LEADERS.

"THESE ARE THE LATEST IN A SERIES OF LEAKS," HE SAID, AND THE IMPLICATION WAS "CLEAR" FROM WHERE THEY EMANATED.

UPI 01-28 01:11 PES

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NEWS SERVICE

Date: 27 Jan
 Item No. 13
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DISTRIBUTION II

UP-107

(BUSH ROLL)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE 64-27 VOTE BY WHICH THE SENATE CONFIRMED THE NOMINATION OF GEORGE BUSH AS DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

FOR -- (64)

DEMOCRATS FOR (30): ALLEN, ALA.; BENTSEN, TEX.; BURDICK, N.D.; BYRD, VA.; BYRD, N.VA.; CANNON, NEV.; EGGLETON, MO.; EASTLAND, MISS.; GLENN, OHIO; GRAVEL, ALASKA; HARTKE, IND.; HATHAWAY, MAINE; HUMPHREY, MINN.; JACKSON, WASH.; LONG, LA.; MANSPFIELD, MONT.; MOGELLAN, ARK.; MOGEE, WYO.; MCGOVERN, S.D.; MONTGOMERY, N.H.; MOSS, UTAH; MUSKIE, MAINE; NUNN, GA.; PASTORE, R.I.; RANDOLPH, N.VA.; RIBICOFF, CONN.; SPARKMAN, ALA.; STENNIS, MISS.; STEVENSON, ILL.; TALKADGE, GA.

REPUBLICANS FOR (34): BAKER, TENN.; BARTLETT, OKLA.; BEALL, MO.; BELLMON, OKLA.; BROCK, TENN.; BROOKE, MASS.; BUCKLEY, N.Y.; CASE, N.J.; CURTIS, NEB.; DOLE, KAN.; DOMENICI, N.M.; FANNIN, ARIZ.; FONG, HAWAII; GARN, UTAH; GOLDWATER, ARIZ.; GRIFFIN, MICH.; HATFIELD, ORE.; HRUSKA, NEB.; JAVITS, N.Y.; LEAHY, NEV.; MATHEWS, MD.; MCCLURE, IOWA; BACKWOOD, ORE.; PEARSON, KAN.; PERCY, ILL.; ROTH, DEL.; SCOTT, PA.; SCOTT, VA.; STAFFORD, VT.; STEVENS, ALASKA; TAFT, OHIO; THURMOND, S.C.; TOWER, TEX.; AND YOUNG, N.D.

AGAINST -- (27)

DEMOCRATS AGAINST (28): ABOUREZK, S.D.; BIVEN, DEL.; BUNFERS, ARK.; CHURCH, IOWA; CLARK, IOWA; CRANSTON, CALIF.; CULVER, IOWA; DUKAKIS, N.H.; FORD, KY.; HART, COLO.; HART, MICH.; HASKELL, COLO.; HUDOLESTON, KY.; INOUYE, HAWAII; JOHNSTON, LA.; KENNEDY, MASS.; LEAHY, VT.; MARMONSON, WASH.; MCINTYRE, N.H.; METCALF, MONT.; MONDALE, MINN.; MORGAN, N.C.; NELSON, WIS.; PROXHIRE, WIS.; STONE, FLA.; AND WILLIAMS, W.J.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST (1): HELMS, N.C.

VOTING PRESENT (1): WEICKER, R-CONN.

ABSENT AND NOT VOTING (9): BAKER, D-IND.; CHILES, D-FLA.; HANSEN, R-WYO.; HOLLIGS, D-S.C.; PELL, D-R.I.; SCHWEIKER, R-PA.; SYMINGTON, D-MO.; AND TUNNEY, D-CALIF.

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Date. 7 JanItem No. 21

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ANALYSTS NOTE AG/WA

FURTHER MOSCOW REACTION TO U.S. INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE (SEE ANALYSIS NOTE, ITEM 40 OF FBIS WIRE OF 6 JANUARY)

ADDITIONAL SOVIET PRESS AND RADIO COMMENT ON THE PUBLIC CONTROVERSY IN THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING A NEW INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE OF SOVIET STRATEGIC INTENTIONS HAS BEEN MONITORED SINCE THE ISSUE WAS FIRST MENTIONED IN A TASS COMMENTARY BY VALENTIN ZORIN ON 6 JANUARY. COMMENT CARRIED BY MOSCOW RADIO SINCE THEN HAS BEEN CONFINED TO FOREIGN-LANGUAGE BROADCASTS, BUT SOVIET AUDIENCES WERE TOLD ABOUT THE ISSUE IN AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THE MILITARY NEWSPAPER RED STAR ON 7 JANUARY, WHICH MAKES MANY OF THE SAME POINTS AS THE ZORIN COMMENTARY.

ACCORDING TO A TASS SUMMARY (SEE ITEM 15 OF THE 7 JANUARY FBIS WIRE), THE RED STAR ARTICLE CHARGES THE OUTGOING ADMINISTRATION WITH COMPLICITY IN THE "NOISY CAMPAIGN" ABOUT A SOVIET MILITARY THREAT THAT HAS BEEN DEVELOPING IN THE UNITED STATES. THE ARTICLE DESCRIBES AS PART OF THAT CAMPAIGN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "SPECIAL GROUP" TO STUDY SOVIET INTENTIONS AND THE RESULTANT REPORT CHARGING THAT "FOR A PERIOD OF MANY YEARS" U.S. ANALYSTS "HAVE SERIOUSLY UNDERESTIMATED SOVIET INTENTIONS AND THE DEGREE OF THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES."

BOTH THE ZORIN COMMENTARY AND RED STAR FOLLOWED PAST SOVIET MEDIA PRACTICE IN AVOIDING ANY MENTION OF THE FACT THAT THE DEBATE IN THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN FOCUSED SPECIFICALLY ON THE ISSUE OF WHETHER MOSCOW SEEKS PARITY WITH OR SUPERIORITY OVER THE UNITED STATES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS STRATEGIC FORCES. HOWEVER, THE ISSUE HAS BEEN ACKNOWLEDGED IN TWO MOSCOW RADIO COMMENTARIES BROADCAST IN THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SERVICE TO NORTH AMERICA. IT HAS LONG BEEN MOSCOW'S PRACTICE TO DEAL MORE OPENLY WITH SENSITIVE BILATERAL ISSUES IN BROADCASTS TO NORTH AMERICA THAN IN OTHER SOVIET MEDIA.

K
not in personal
unclas
papers

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BOTH OF THE CURRENT RADIO COMMENTARIES CHARGE THAT THE PUBLICITY GIVEN TO THE NEW ESTIMATE AT THIS TIME IS CONNECTED WITH EFFORTS BY MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS TO MUSTER SUPPORT FOR U.S. DEFENSE PROGRAMS. IN ONE COMMENTARY TASS DEPUTY DIRECTOR SERGEN LOSEV (ITEM 08 OF 7 JANUARY FBIS WIRE) SEEMED TO BELITTLE THE IMPORT OF THE REVISED ESTIMATE BY NOTING THAT, OF COURSE PEOPLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION WHO KNOW THE REAL SITUATION, NOT ONLY MISTRUST SUCH EVALUATIONS BUT LOOK ON THEM WITH HUMOR."

IN THE OTHER RADIO COMMENTARY, VLADIMIR POZNER (ITEM 04 OF 7 JANUARY) CONCEDED MORE OPENLY THAN DOMESTIC MEDIA HAVE YET DONE THAT THE USSR CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM WAS AT THE HEART OF RENewed U.S. QUESTIONING OF SOVIET OBJECTIVES. IN A COMMENTARY HEAVY WITH SARCASM, POZNER CONCLUDED THAT A NEW GAP, THE "SURVIVAL GAP," HAD BEEN BORN. LIKE LOSEV, POZNER SEEMED TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE BREADTH OF SUPPORT FOR THE REVISED ESTIMATE IN WASHINGTON BY QUOTING U.S. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DESIGNATE HAROLD BROWN AS DOUBTING THAT THE USSR CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM COULD CONFER A SIGNIFICANT ADVANTAGE IN THE EVENT OF NUCLEAR WAR.

7 JAN 2006Z RLL/CAT

FOIA b7

PRAVDA DENOUNCES OUTGOING U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S ARMS POLICY

LD071800 MOSCOW TASS INTERNATIONAL SERVICE IN RUSSIAN 0745
GMT 7 JAN 77 LD

("NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE"--TASS HEADLINE)

(TEXT) MOSCOW, 7 JANUARY, TASS--THE "B-1" BOMBER BUILDING PROGRAM "CAN NOT ONLY AGGRAVATE THE ECONOMIC MESS OF THE UNITED STATES BUT MIGHT ALSO COMPLICATE THE TALKS ON LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS," SAYS TODAY'S PRAVDA.

THE PAPER DRAWS ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS THE OPPONENTS OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE HAVE AGAIN BEEN STEPPING UP THEIR STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE B-1. ON A DECISION OF THE PENTAGON PRODUCTION OF THREE SERIAL BOMBERS HAS STARTED. THIS STEP IS SEEN AS "DIRECT PRESSURE ON THE FUTURE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION."

2073

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, DO NOT NEED A NEW ROUND IN THE ARMS RACE, BUT AGREEMENT ON A BAN ON CREATING SUCH TYPES OF ARMS AS "TRIDENT" CLASS SUBMARINES, B-1 BOMBERS AND ANALOGOUS SYSTEMS IN THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO CURB THE DANGEROUS AND WASTEFUL ARMS RACE AND TO ENSURE LASTING PEACE, STRESSES PRAVDA.

THE IMPRESSION IS BEING FORMED THAT THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION, WHOSE POLICY WAS REJECTED BY THE MAJORITY OF U.S. ELECTORS, IS USING THE LAST DAYS IN OFFICE TO BRING OPEN PRESSURE TO BEAR ON ITS SUCCESSORS, TO BIND THE HANDS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, MAKING IT HARD FOR IT TO FULFILL THE PROMISES IT GAVE DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, SAYS A COMMENTARY PUT OUT BY TASS. ONE OF THOSE PROMISES WAS TO MODERATE THE PENTAGON'S APPETITE AND CUT ITS BUDGET. THIS HAS CAUSED CONSIDERABLE ALARM AMONG CERTAIN CIRCLES IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS NOT BY CHANCE THAT IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS BEFORE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION COMES TO POWER THAT A MASSIVE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN ORGANIZED IN THE UNITED STATES, WHICH THE WASHINGTON POST HAS DESCRIBED AS AN "EXERCISE IN INTIMIDATION." EVERYTHING IS BEING DONE TO HINT TO AMERICANS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION'S PREPARATIONS FOR WAR" WHICH, IT IS CLAIMED, THREATEN U.S. SECURITY, AND ABOUT THE NEED TO FURTHER INCREASE MILITARY EFFORTS IN CONNECTION WITH THIS.

THE ORGANIZERS OF THAT CAMPAIGN IGNORE THE UNIVERSALLY KNOWN AND UNQUESTIONABLE FACTS, WHICH ARE THAT IN PAST YEARS THE SOVIET UNION HAS TAKEN, AND STILL IS TAKING, REALISTIC STEPS AIMED AT STOPPING THE ARMS RACE.

7 JAN 2019Z RLL/CAJ

Bush included as Carter aides list Ford 'dumping ground' appointees

By STEPHEN E. NORDLINGER
Sun Staff Correspondent

Plains, Ga.—As George Bush, director of Central Intelligence, was walking across Jimmy Carter's front lawn yesterday on the way to a briefing for the Democratic presidential candidate, a list was circulated here, prepared by the Carter staff, that condemned Mr. Bush's appointment by President Ford.

Mr. Bush, along with Thomas S. Kleppe, Secretary of the Interior, was cited by the Carter campaign among examples of Mr. Ford's using top-level posts as a "dumping ground" for unsuccessful candidates.

The list was drafted to document charges made by Mr. Carter in a speech Wednesday to the American Bar Association in Atlanta.

Mr. Carter, challenging the President's argument that he had restored public trust in government, attacked Mr. Ford's appointment of defeated Republican candidates, "faithful political partisans, out-of-favor White House aides and representatives of special interests."

The charges were devoid of publicly stated examples, but a copy of the back-up list was given by a staff member to one or two newsmen Wednesday on the eve of Mr. Bush's arrival for his second briefing on national security for Mr. Carter and his running mate, Senator Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.).

So many copies were duplicated by reporters that the embarrassed Carter staff itself began distributing them.

Questioned about his name on the list as he left Mr. Carter, Mr. Bush, professing ignorance of the attack, said, "I didn't feel

any tension at the meeting. This is a professional operation. It's not going to have any impact in our doing a thorough, professional job."

Before and after the six-hour intelligence briefing, Mr. Carter continued to try to curry political favor for the fall campaign.

In the late afternoon, he met with Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Jr., of California, the last candidate to enter the race against Mr. Carter and the last rival to be reconciled to the Democratic nominee.

It was their first meeting since last month's convention, where Mr. Brown commented, "I don't view this as some kind of ending but as a beginning for me."

Mr. Brown, who prevented a Carter victory in five primaries in the final stages of the campaign, said he intended to assure Mr. Carter that he would use "all my energy" to bring about a Carter victory in November.

"He's a good person, I like him," said Mr. Brown, who once had accused Mr. Carter of trying to "buy" the California primary.

Despite Mr. Brown's special pledge to help win California's large bloc of 45 electoral votes, Mr. Carter will begin campaigning there himself August 22 with stops in Los Angeles and San Francisco, his staff announced.

He also will attend a fundraising reception for Representative Morris K. Udall (D., Ariz.), his closest opponent at the end of the primaries.

In the morning, Mr. Carter met with two leaders of the Italian-American Foundation, Jeno Paulucci and Frank Be-

fera. Mr. Carter said later that his knowledge of discrimination had been confined to blacks in the South, but he said he hoped, if elected, to "alleviate" discrimination against Italian-Americans.

Aside from Mr. Bush and Mr. Kleppe, some of the others on the Carter staff list were Richard Roudebush, defeated in a bid for the Senate from Indiana in 1972, and later named by Mr. Ford as head of the Veterans Administration; and Jack Eckerd, named by Mr. Ford as head of the General Services Administration after he failed to win election to the Senate in 1974 from Florida.

Mr. Bush, who became head of the CIA in November, lost races for the Senate in Texas in 1964 and 1970. Mr. Kleppe lost a bid for the Senate in North Dakota in 1974.

Last June, Mr. Carter specifically asked Mr. Ford for briefings on national security by the CIA rather than the State Department because he said he did not want policy-oriented material.

Included on the list of "out-of-favor White House aides" was Gen. Alexander Haig, a former top Nixon aide named by Mr. Ford as supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Among the "representatives of special interests" named by Mr. Ford were Robert Morris, a San Francisco lawyer who represented the Standard Oil Company of California, to the Federal Power Commission, and Melvin A. Conant, a former Exxon official, as an assistant administrator of the Federal Energy Administration. Mr. Morris was not confirmed by the Senate.

CARTER CRITICISM IGNORED BY BUSH

Their Relationship Will Be
Professional, C.I.A. Head
Says After Briefing

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., Aug. 12—With a smile and a hearty handshake, Jimmy Carter welcomed George Bush to his home here today only a few hours after citing the Director of Central Intelligence as one of the unsuccessful politicians President Ford had "dumped" into an important Government position.

After giving the Democratic Presidential candidate an intelligence briefing for more than five hours, Mr. Bush emerged from the one-story brick house on Woodland Drive and said that he believed Mr. Carter's remarks about him and others yesterday would not impede their "professional" relationship.

The former Governor of Georgia did not comment on the coincidence of Mr. Bush's arrival in this little village and the release today of a formal documentation of charges he leveled yesterday in a speech in Atlanta before the American Bar Association.

In his remarks there, he said that the major Federal regulatory agencies and other important Government positions were still being used by the President as "dumping grounds" for "unsuccessful candidates, faithful political partisans, out-of-favor White House aides and representatives of special interests."

Among the vanquished politicians he named in his documentation today were Mr. Bush, who lost a Senate race in Texas; Peter Dominick, Ambassador to Switzerland; Secretary of the Interior Thomas S. Kleppe and others.

But Mr. Bush, who arrived here only moments after Mr. Carter's running mate, Senator Walter F. Mondale, declined to take offense from the candidate's accusations.

'Thoroughly Professional'

At the Plains airport, where an Army helicopter was waiting to ferry him to the airport at nearby Albany, Ga., Mr. Bush said that his discussions with Mr. Carter today were "thoroughly professional."

"I just found out about this myself," he said, "and I can say that I'm not disturbed about it in the least. This is official business and we have always transacted it in precisely that way."

It was the second formal briefing of Mr. Carter by Mr. Bush to keep the candidate abreast of secret developments related to national security matters. Their discussions ended only moments before Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California arrived.

After greeting the Governor, Mr. Carter retreated once again into his home, and Senator Mondale remained outside to question the administrative abilities of Clarence M. Kelley, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Minnesotan said that he believed Mr. Kelley's time "is running out," but added that he had made no recommendation to Mr. Carter as to a change in administration at the bureau should the two of them win in November.

Senator Mondale then left for the nearby airport in Americus for a flight back to Washington and his own campaign.

Meanwhile, Mr. Carter and Governor Brown discussed politics and the approaching national campaign, which is slated to begin for the Democrats on Labor Day at an as yet undetermined site.

Mr. Carter's day began with the arrival of his running mate and Jeno Paulucci, general chairman of the Italian-American Foundation Bicentennial dinner scheduled for Sept. 16 in Washington.

Asked if Mr. Paulucci had mentioned his reference to "Eye-talians," in his acceptance speech in New York last month, Mr. Carter said it had been a slip of the tongue.

"I know how to pronounce it," he said. Mr. Paulucci smiled, but not quite as broadly as Mr. Carter.

Other Names on List

Also included in his list of persons he said were "dumped" by Mr. Ford into important positions were Richard Roudebush, defeated in a Senate race in Indiana, then appointed to the Veterans Administration; Jack Eckero, loser in a Florida Senate race and now the head of the Government Services Administration; and Marlow Cook, unsuccessful in a Senate race in Kentucky and appointed by Mr. Ford as director of the Legal Services Corporation.

The Governor, in his speech yesterday, also had described "faithful political partisans." He identified them today as Dean Burch, former chairman of the Republican National Committee and now chairman of the Federal Communications Commission; Jerry Thomas, director of the Florida Conservative Union and now Under Secretary of the Treasury; Charlotte Reid, a Republican representative who is now a Federal Communications Commission commissioner; and Warren Rudman, a Republican state attorney general who is now chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Carter Staff Lists Ford 'Dumping-Ground' Aides

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga., Aug. 12—Central Intelligence Agency Director George Bush arrived here today to brief Jimmy Carter on national security and found that Carter had him in mind when he accused the Republicans of using top government jobs as "dumping grounds for unsuccessful candidates."

Bush, who ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in Texas in 1964 and 1970, was among six defeated Republicans who were cited in a confidential staff memorandum prepared in conjunction with Carter's speech Wednesday to the American Bar Association convention in Atlanta.

Carter aides said the memo was intended as back-up information for Carter's assertion that the Nixon and Ford administrations used top jobs in regulatory agencies and elsewhere as

"dumping grounds for unsuccessful candidates, faithful political partisans, out-of-favor White House aides and representatives of special interests."

They said it was not intended for distribution to the press, although a copy was given to at least one reporter as a routine informational handout early in the day. Aides said this was accidental.

Listed along with Bush in the unsuccessful candidate category were Interior Secretary Thomas S. Kleppe, former ambassador to Switzerland Peter Dominick, Veterans Administrator Richard Roudebush, General Services Administrator Jack Eckerd and Marlow Cook, a director of the Legal Services Corp. Like Bush, all were defeated for election, or in some cases re-election, to the Senate.

The memo also listed several oil and utility company executives as "special interest" appointees to the Federal Energy Administration and

Tennessee Valley Authority, and cited Alexander M. Haig, former chief of staff for President Nixon and now the supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, among others as "out-of-favor White House aides."

Both Carter, the Democratic presidential nominee, and Bush, who served as Republican national chairman from 1973 to 1974, have declined to say on previous occasions whether Bush would stay on in a Carter administration.

Asked about the memo by a reporter as he arrived today at Plains Airport, Bush said he hadn't seen it and added, "I'm down here to do a professional job with a bunch of professionals and I have no comment at all" on the memo.

Pressed later by reporters for his reaction to it, Bush said, "I have no feeling on it," and added, "I'm determined to stay out of partisan politics."

He said Carter appeared satisfied with the briefings and indicated no dissatisfaction with him.

Bush's five-hour meeting with Carter and his running mate, Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, was the second in a series of top-level CIA briefings to keep the Democratic candidates abreast of sensitive international developments. The sessions were arranged by President Ford.

Carter and Mondale met before the briefing with representatives of the Italian-American Foundation and later greeted California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., who was to spend the evening at the Carter home here.

Brown, who defeated Carter in five of the late presidential primaries and was the last major holdout against his nomination, came to discuss strategy for carrying California for the Democrats in November, Carter aides said.

They said Brown offered to drop by Plains while he was campaigning for

Democratic candidates in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. Carter is planning a three or four day trip to the far west, including California, in late August.

Before meeting with Carter, Jeno Paulucci of Duluth, Minn., leader of the Italian-American group and an old friend of Mondale, said he believed both Republicans and Democrats have "problems" with the country's 25 million citizens of Italian descent because "we've been on the outside looking in too long."

Carter agreed that Italian-Americans have suffered from discrimination. He said he would try to arrange his schedule to attend a dinner sponsored by the group in Washington Sept. 16, honoring House Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.) and retired U.S. District Court Judge John J. Sirica, leading figures in the Watergate probe leading to the resignation of President Nixon.