

Government Report: Results of a Search for Records Concerning the 1947 Crash
Near Roswell, New Mexico
Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1995, 20 pp., paper. Available
from the GAO--no charge for the first copy.

After searching for records relating to the Roswell incident for nearly
eighteen months, the General Accounting Office, with much anticipation of the
buffs, finally reported its findings to Congressman Steven Schiff on July 17.
And it was this anticipation that was the high point, because the GAO's
product is not very enlightening. As important as this report was thought to be,
one can only find the final results rather dull. Or so they say.

The GAO found two government documents concerning Roswell: a July 1947 military
report by the 509th Bomb Group (the only document located by the GAO during its
search) and an FBI message dated July 8, 1947, which reports on the
military recovery of an object resembling "a high altitude weather balloon
with a radar reflector."

These documents had already been declassified and the GAO report, it
was noted that Roswell Army Air Field administrative records and other
messages were destroyed for the periods March 1945 through December 1945 and
October 1946 through December 1949, respectively. The GAO report, "The
document disposition form does not indicate what organization destroyed the records
destroyed the records and when or under what authority the records were
destroyed." Officials will certainly point to this as evidence that the
government always intended to bury Roswell.

Others will note that the Chief Archivist for the National Archives and
Records Administration, who, from personal experience, states that many of the
organizational records during the late 1940s were destroyed without any
citation for the governing disposition authority. What is the point of this?
Regardless of your position, there is plenty of ammunition for critics
and debunkers.

Strange Magazine was intrigued by the changes in the name of the report and
contacted its overseer, Richard Davis, Director of the magazine. Davis
told that the original title of the report was "Weather Balloon, Unknown Aircraft,
Dealing with Weather Balloon, Unknown Aircraft, and Other Objects."
Davis claimed to have never heard of it. Davis was given the task of the GAO to
resolve the Roswell incident and to determine whether proper procedures were
followed in the destruction of government records.

That the author claims not to have heard of the "official" title of the
audit is difficult to believe. And for all the charges against the GAO
claiming they were not charged with resolving the Roswell incident, a
February 15, 1994 memorandum from Davis regarding the GAO's "report" in the
report says that the GAO will "determine the 'official' explanation of what
has become known as the Roswell incident" (emphasis by GAO).

So, is the GAO report merely one more signpost in an intricate 5-year journey
up at the highest level of government, whereupon more and more people know the
alien nature of Roswell, and yet, are able to conceal it with impunity? More
likely it is simply your tax dollars at play. Oh, by the way, don't expect a
Department of Defense apology any time soon for the destruction of documents
that were supposed to be permanently archived. Sorry is not a word in the
machismo lexicon.

Report of Air Force Research Regarding The "Roswell Incident"
by Richard L. Weaver, Col., USAF
Department of the Air Force, 1994, 23 pages, paper.

The "Report of Air Force Research Regarding the 'Roswell Incident'" is a 23-page synopsis reflecting the Air Force opinion on the supposed crash of an extraterrestrial craft that occurred in July 1947. The report is a preemptive response to an audit instituted by the General Accounting Office (GAO) on behalf of Congressman Steven Schiff (R-N.M.) to resolve the matter. Issued on September 8, the full report consists of 33 attachments, including a list of locations and records searched (Atch. 13) and a highly significant, signed sworn statement by Lt. Col. Sheridan Cavitt (Atch. 17), the sole survivor among those who actually viewed the debris field. The report is divided into sections highlighting the original reporting and evolution of the Roswell incident, the Air Force search strategy and methodology, and what the Roswell incident was and was not.

It should be stated that one should approach this report with an open and unbiased mind, although the image of the fox denying his activities in the chicken coop (i.e., "there are no UFOs; you don't see any, do you?"), even as he coughs up feathers while telling the story, seems inevitable. And indeed, early reactions of some of the Roswell principals as well as those who frequent the online ufological newsgroups have been practically unanimous in a negative, knee-jerk response.

Why should this be the case? Further, and most importantly, what did the Air Force investigation find? From all appearances, and contrary to what many may believe, the Air Force conducted a fairly massive research effort. A number of archives and records centers, which cover the breadth of the continental United States, were reviewed. From this effort, only one official Army Air Forces (AAF) document mentioning UFOs and Roswell in July 1947 was located, which was a small section in the "July Historical Report" for the 509th Bomb Group and the Roswell AAF that mentions answering inquiries on the "flying disc" (found to be a radar tracking balloon).

Air Force researchers subsequently looked for documents during the time period relating to balloons, since that was originally the official explanation for the Roswell incident. Records were located on a then Top Secret Priority 1A balloon research trial named Project Mogul, developed to monitor Soviet nuclear testing. Two major finds emerge: first, the Project Mogul balloons sported radar targets consisting of aluminum "foil" or foil-backed paper, balsa wood beams coated with glue to enhance their durability, acetate and/or cloth reinforcing tape, twine, brass eyelets, and purplish-pink tape with symbols on it. These materials are not inconsistent with the debris that was found. Second, Flight 4, launched on June 4, 1947, was never recovered and likely came to rest some miles northwest of Roswell.

Of course, this is unlikely to sway those who believe what was found was in fact a crashed flying saucer. One cannot help but think of their stalwart convictions and adamant stance that "x" or "y" happened and that the Air Force is engaged in an ongoing cover-up. In fact, the Air Force acknowledges this accusation and realizes some individuals will still insist on their role in the "cosmic Watergate." But certainty regarding any event is problematic.

Researcher David Lane (see the Journal of Humanistic Psychology, Fall [1984, 24-4], pp. 75-89) has suggested that the feeling of certainty is a complex result of sensory input and integrative action of the brain that, ultimately, is immeasurable and undefinable. Lane termed this the "Chandian effect" after his guru Pandit Faqir Chand. Thus, people may be angered by any suggestion that their interpretation of an experience (e.g., "the foil wouldn't burn and

couldn't be crushed") may not be real, based on the self-confirming nature of the experience itself.

We must recall what was happening culturally during the time frame of the Roswell event. Kenneth Arnold's sighting and the media reporting that ensued touched off a frenzy in "flying saucers" that has yet to be equaled. Here was a subject that was brand new to almost all Americans, and they played it to the hilt.

Frank Scully notes in Behind the Flying Saucers that the Air Force claimed July 1947 as a banner month for practical jokers. There are, however, some difficulties with the report. There are biases in the characterizations of the reports of "pro-UFO" researchers, some blatant and obvious, others subtle and insidious.

And inevitably, questions arise. For example, why didn't the Air Force interview Walter Haut, public information officer at the 509th Bomb Group, or Glenn Dennis, a local mortician who took an enigmatic phone call about preserving bodies exposed to the elements? And, why didn't the Air Force recover the Project Mogul balloon when it was a TOP SECRET endeavor, regardless if the materials in its construction were unclassified?

Overall, the report is likely to engender a firestorm of disbelief among ufologists. Nonetheless, it does seem highly improbable that the Roswell incident, if extremely anomalous or extraterrestrial, could be buried without a true, unequivocal document to that effect. (For those individuals interviewed, any previous oath of secrecy taken was removed.) It seems unlikely that the Roswell Declaration now circulating in ufological circles, which requests an Executive order declassifying all Roswell documents, will be successful in producing any "new" information. Ufologists will merely reiterate that there was no paperwork to begin with or that it is in the hands of a rogue intelligence group. For now, the next step is awaiting the GAO audit, "Records Management Procedures Dealing With Weather Balloon, Unknown Aircraft, and Similar Crash Incidents." For the future, nothing is likely to change.¥

Review originally published in Strange Magazine 14, Fall 1994.

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An Open UFOletter to Pres. Clinton

by Larry W. Bryant

T O: Hon. Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

FROM: Larry W. Bryant
3518 Martha Custis Drive
Alexandria, VA 22302

DATE: November 9, 2000

Mr. President, now that your former Justice Department appointee Webster Hubbell has revealed in his memoirs ("Friends in High Places") your instructions to him to learn the truth about UFOs, how do you feel about his failure to do so?

Are you satisfied with Hubbell's efforts to pry loose hard-core evidence of UFO reality from the federal government's intelligence and law-enforcement agencies?

Assuming he has briefed you on the background and results of those efforts, will you now make that briefing available for public view?

Have you or your staff made further inquiry into what these agencies know (and when they knew it) about the continuing worldwide incidence of UFO encounters?

Whatever your answers, you should know that these questions (plus dozens of related ones) offer you both a challenge and an opportunity

That reference to "any other spaceship retrieval case" includes the lesser known incident -- on Mexican soil near Del Rio, Texas, in December 1950. There, according to first-hand accounts from certain whistleblowers, the USAF-led retrieval entailed the medical evacuation of a lone, deceased crew member to Brooks Air Force Base, Texas.

Based on that whistleblower testimony (and on the prospect of more to come), I've asked the inspectors general of the Departments of Defense and State to launch a formal investigation into the events, principals, and records pertaining to the Del Rio incident's official coverup. More than a month has passed with no response to my request. This noisy silence, Mr. President, merely reiterates the challenge now confronting you in the waning days of your administration: why must the citizenry endure another 50 years of this unwise, dangerous deception? By a simple e-mail message to the secretaries of defense and state, you can direct them to proceed with the sought-for investigation.

And as you do so, you can dispatch a similar directive to the Air Force and the Central Intelligence Agency. It would call for them to give priority and in-depth processing to their fulfillment of my recent freedom-of-information request for all records pertaining to the official filming of a "flying saucer" landing at Edwards Air Force Base, Calif., in May 1957 (as recounted in the recently published memoirs -- "Leap of Faith" -- by

The challenge comes from your authority to end the 50-year-old government coverup of the UFO experience -- as reflected in various documentation and testimony "leaked" by government insiders during the past 20 years or so. Several years ago, you yourself accepted the challenge when you publicly expressed your desire to know what happened (and why) at the UFO-crash site near Roswell, N.M., in 1947. Indeed, one concerned citizen has sought to help you meet the challenge -- with his 1992 draft of a presidential statement on UFO reality (as now archived upon the website of <http://www.ufocity.com>). Here's an excerpt from this, your proposed "Citizens of Earth" speech:

"By an executive order to be issued tomorrow, I am directing that all official records pertaining to the Roswell Incident -- and to any other such spaceship-retrieval case -- be transferred to the Library of Congress. There, under guidance from officials of the Department of the Navy (which has had custody of the records for a number of years), researchers, scholars, scientists, and just plain citizens will have full access to what used to be the Ultimate Secret.

"Tomorrow evening, I will address a joint session of Congress, where I'll present my proposal as to how our government should deal, from now on, with the reality of these extraterrestrial visitors.

former USAF astronaut L. Gordon Cooper). You can view this same plea-for-action posted upon the website of <http://www.petitionpetition.com>, in the form of a citizens petition titled "Mr. President, Tear Down this Wall of UFO Secrecy at Edwards AFB!" Already having garnered about 100 electronic signatures, the petition will remain posted for several more weeks.

Mr. President, you know that the modern history of your office affords you the opportunity to depart under the umbrella of "presidential legacy." Eisenhower, for example, managed to formulate his legacy via shepherding of the interstate highway system. And Lyndon Johnson established his via championing of the civil rights act. Now, you, sir, can achieve an even higher, more memorable exit status -- by a revelatory address that would begin, "Fellow Americans . . . and fellow citizens of Earth."

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>From Neil Syson in New York OFFICIALS have tried to stop a blockbuster UFO film blowing the lid off the U.S. Government's biggest military secret. Independence Day starring Jeff Goldblum refers to Area 51, a mysterious test zone where scientists are rumoured to hold UFO's and even living aliens. Worried officials asked film chiefs not to mention it, fearing UFO watchers would besiege the Nevada desert base. But they refused and the Pentagon withdrew help making the thriller, about an alien bid to take over Earth.

William P. LaParl reports that on Fox News, February 29, 2000, at 12:45 PM EST during a live feed: John McCain was just asked a question about the lawsuit from Peter Gersten to open UFO records from the military? Before the news people pushed McCain into laughing with them about "aliens," surprisingly, McCain immediately said he was "very interested in the subject," and mentioned a series of Arizona sightings from a couple years ago that remained "unexplained." Apparently, these were the- Phoenix "V" Lights of March 1997.

Thanks to Bill La Parl. wil247@mix-net.net.

37. WHAT DO OUR PRESIDENT AND PAST PRESIDENTS KNOW ABOUT UFOs?

When he first took office, President Carter tried to learn what the government knew about UFOs. President Carter was denied access to UFO information which the CIA had, by then CIA Director George Bush who told the President he did not have clearance for that information. In similar fashion, President Clinton is not satisfied with the briefings he has gotten from the CIA on UFOs because the CIA information conflicts with the information which the President's Science Adviser Jack Gibbons has independently acquired.

A source in contact with the CIA's UFO Desk within the Directorate for Science and Technology, reports that President Clinton has already made several pilot videos of proposed alternative public announcements about UFOs and ET presence/visitation. Dr. Steven Greer, head of CSETI (Committee for the Study of Extra Terrestrial Intelligence), has likewise provided two White House briefings to Science Adviser Gibbons on his UFO findings.

Dr. Greer has also been making international contacts with European governmental leaders in an attempt to achieve consensus on an international joint statement acknowledging UFO and ET visitation reality. Dr. Greer is engaged in this project in concert with the BSW Foundation's Marie Galbraith, a good friend of Laurance Rockefeller and wife of Evan Galbraith, President Reagan's former Ambassador to France.

SOURCE: Richard J. Boylan, Ph.D., Extracted from Nexus Magazine, Volume 3, #3 (April/May 1996). As posted on 4/25/96 by Carolyn Goodfellow, Internet: ghfm08c@prodigy.com. As published in the House of David Earth Change Predictions Newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 11, August 1996. Editor's Note: Dr. Boylan may be reached at 2826 O Street, Suite 2, Sacramento, CA 95816, USA, Email: rich.boylan@24stex.com About the Author: Richard J. Boylan, Ph.D., is a clinical psychologist with a counseling practice in Sacramento, California, USA. Dr. Boylan has been a student of the UFO phenomenon since 1947, but in 1989 he began to interview persons reporting extraterrestrial contact experiences. In late 1991 he commenced an ongoing research investigation into ET encounters with humans. He has written two books, Extraterrestrial Contact and Human Responses (1992) and Close Extraterrestrial Encounters: Positive Experiences with Mysterious Visitors (Wild Flower Press, 1994), and has had many articles published. Dr. Boylan is a founding director of the Academy of

Clinical Close Encounter

Therapists (ACCET), and has conducted numerous workshops for mental health professionals dealing with specialized counseling for experiencers of ET contact.

38. DO OTHERS IN WASHINGTON KNOW ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF UFOs?

In view of multiple pressures compelling disclosure of UFO reality, and the exigencies of presidential election year politics, Congressman Phil Graham and Senator Bob Dole had perhaps best be prepared for the possibility of the Democratic Presidential Reelection Campaign launching an unprecedented kind of "October Surprise". In view of this, one UFO investigator, Dan Smith, has entered into discussions with the Dole and Graham presidential campaigns' staff, offering them his information services about UFOs so that Senator Dole and Congressman Graham can minimize their risk of being blindsided by the UFO coverup/disclosure issue which may become the sleeper issue of the 1996 presidential campaign.

Well informed sources tell that both the Republican and Democratic national committees are trying to assess whether UFOs, and government secrecy over UFOs in particular, might be a legitimate issue in the upcoming political season. In an apparent effort to avoid being taken by surprise by the politics of UFO disclosures, Republican National Chairman Hailee Barbour and other RNC officials reportedly have contacted various astronauts to learn from them what they know about UFOs.

The Democratic National Committee is thinking about putting one or more UFO related questions on a national survey questionnaire they put out in preparation for the next election. Both major parties are aware that a third party candidate might push the UFO issue, too, to the embarrassment of Republicans and Democrats. It is known that Ross Perot, during his presidential campaign in 1992, made lots of backchannel UFO inquiries.

The UFO campaign issue may have already begun. During the week of 17th September 1995, two national figures referred to UFOs. When former President Jimmy Carter was asked a question about UFOs, he answered by relating how the Director of Central Intelligence had used a psychic to locate precisely a downed secret US plane. This was a veiled reference to



intelligence agencies' use of psychics to study UFOs and extraterrestrials. That same week, presidential candidate Bob Dole disparaged President Clinton's economic policy (that more than two per cent economic growth is impossible without inflation) by commenting, "That's like the Air Force saying UFOs are impossible."

He categorized the August 7th NASA announcement, and its endorsement by President Clinton and former scientist Carl Sagan, as Day One of the official admission by the U.S. government that there is extraterrestrial life. Also reported by Boylan was a private revelation by a highlevel military officer that they had made a breakthrough in antimatter technology in March, which allows the military to fly out into space without using rockets. Boylan then recounted current efforts by government officials to work through the National Science Foundation to spread the word to American scientists that UFOs and extraterrestrials are now legitimate topics for scientific discussion. He next cited a November 8th network television interview with a physicist and former Naval Intelligence officer, who revealed that he had been aboard a UFO, studied its propulsion system, and that this analysis was done at S4, a secret installation in Nevada.

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Presidential Announcement Gives Hope But Little Money for NASA

Published: 2000 January 22
7:00 pm ET (0000 UT)

A multi-billion dollar research initiative announced by President Clinton Friday will result in little additional funding for NASA, but Clinton's statements hinted that more substantial increases may be in store for the space agency.

Speaking at the California Institute of Technology January 21, Clinton announced a "21st Century Research Fund" in the form of a \$2.8 billion increase in funding in fiscal year 2001 for specific projects that span several government agencies.

Those funding increases include a \$1 billion increase in biomedical research funding for the National Institutes of Health, a \$675 million increase for the National Science Foundation, more than \$600 million in additional funds in information technology research, and nearly \$500 million for a new "National Nanotechnology Initiative."

Of that \$2.8 billion in additional funds, NASA will see only \$72 million. A nanotechnology research program within NASA would get its budget increased fivefold from \$4 million to \$20 million, while information technology research within NASA would get a \$56 million boost.

Nanotechnology -- the ability to manipulate matter at the atomic level -- plays a role in several areas, including, specifically for NASA, the ability to make spacecraft that are "10 times stronger than steel, but a fraction of the weight," according to a White House

While not being specific, Clinton said that "the 2001 budget will include major funding increases... to space exploration."

statement.

Breakthroughs in information technology are also important to the space agency, which needs "space probes that are smart, adaptable, curious, self-sufficient in unpredictable environments, and capable of operating in groups," according to the White House.

The \$72 million in additional funds represents a tiny fraction of the space agency's budget, which exceeded \$13.6 billion in the current fiscal year. However, Clinton hinted in his speech that greater increases may be in store for NASA's 2001 budget.

"The 2001 budget will include major funding increases in areas from information technology to space exploration," Clinton said in his address at Caltech. He did not elaborate on the degree of those "major" increases.

There have been rumors that NASA will see a significant increase in its budget for fiscal year 2001, which begins on October 1 of this year. Some sources have pegged the president's request for NASA at above \$14 billion, although the exact figure will not be known until the budget is released February 7.

Astronomy and space were clearly on Clinton's mind, though, during his speech, as he listed several key questions to be answered by science in the coming century.

"Are we alone in the universe? What are gamma-ray bursts? What makes up the missing mass in our universe? What's in those black holes, anyway?" he said.

An increase in NASA's budget would stop the trend of slowly-shrinking NASA budgets that has lasted for most of the Clinton administration. While NASA and science budgets in general have generally had bipartisan support within Congress, Clinton's ability to push through his proposed increases will be tested, given the upcoming presidential election and the lack of influence "lame duck" presidents like Clinton have historically had.

■

Letter from President Clinton to NASA Administrator Goldin re: Mars Probe Failures - March 27, 2000.

March 27, 2000

The Honorable Daniel S. Goldin
Administrator
National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Washington, DC 20546-0001

Dear Mr. Goldin:

Thank you for initiating the thorough independent assessment of NASA's Mars exploration program in light of the recent losses of the Mars Climate Orbiter and Mars Polar Lander along with the Deep Space-2 penetrating probes. I am pleased to know that this team and others have identified what they believe to be the most probable causes of the recent mission failures, and that you have initiated efforts to prevent recurrences. I also appreciate your efforts, and the efforts of the independent assessment team, in identifying specific management concerns that contributed to these losses.

I have asked Dr. Neal Lane, my Assistant for Science and Technology, to review the independent assessment team's report. As you know, I have long viewed the robotic exploration of the solar system, and especially Mars and other targets related to NASA's search for life beyond Earth, as an important national priority. My continued commitment to a sustained and incrementally more aggressive program of Mars exploration is reflected in the funding request and program structure outlined in my FY2001 budget request for NASA. I was heartened to see that the independent assessment team agrees with the importance of continued Mars exploration and that they endorse the "faster, better, cheaper" approach, when properly applied, as an effective means of achieving results more efficiently. Looking into the far-term, it is clear that new technologies and approaches to exploration, such as the drive to establish a continuous, multi-point presence at Mars, will greatly increase the understanding of our researchers and the public's excitement.

Thank you in advance for the hard work and dedication I'm sure NASA and industry will apply in addressing the technical and management problems identified by the independent assessment team. Please implement appropriate actions to correct the causes, address the management concerns that contributed to the recent mission losses, and ensure the nation's ability to conduct a more robust and successful program of sustained robotic exploration of Mars.

Sincerely,

Office of Science and Technology Policy
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, N.W
Washington, DC 20502
202.395.7347

What should I feel. *lot*

Clinton White House

- ① What was McCain's expertise? On the *lot* knows?
- ② Did he brief the paper? Or just get *of things going* information?
- ③ Whose usual experts? What do you mean by *he*

PRESIDENT

Gibbons. office
SAT. POLICY.

SCOTT JONES
RICHARD FARLEY
ROBERT TEETS

HUMAN.
POTENTIAL
INSTITUTE



VALLEE
BROUGHT IN
STAFF SUPPORT
1992

PULLED OUT of
event role, after
meeting with
Laurance & John Mack

"concerns that the
two were following a
'new religion path
which ~~was~~ seemed to
include mil - intell aspects"

ROCKEFELLER



found John
Mack (the) H PF
\$194,000 in 1993

VFO
DISCLOSURE
INITIATIVE
1992-93

*Central Intelligence Agency
CIA Briefings of Presidential Candidates
22 May 1996*
Clinton from CIA Book Chapter One

Presidents Daily Briefing (PDB) goes not only to the President but generally to the Vice President, the National Security Advisor and his deputy, the Chair of the Joint Chiefs of staff, the White House Chief of Staff, Secretaries of Defense and State.

Clinton, on the advise of -----began to give the PDB to his secretary of the Treasury because of the large amount of economic intelligence in the briefing

Bush briefed Jimmy Carter in his transition...played a big part in getting briefings for Ronald Reagan...received the PDB while he was running for President ✓

Soon after the Democratic convention in 1992, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft contacted Washington attorney Samuel Berger to offer intelligence briefings to Governor Clinton. At that time, Berger, who subsequently became Deputy National Security Adviser, was serving as a primary adviser to Governor Clinton on foreign policy matters. Scowcroft and Berger agreed that, as a first step, DCI Robert Gates would travel to Little Rock and provide a worldwide intelligence briefing.

Clinton was very unfamiliar with intelligence and with the types of material produced by the intelligence community

two Congressional intelligence committees, Senator David Boren and Representative David McCurdy, who were to participate in the briefing session.

Briefing began sept 4, 1992 in Little Rock by Gates....turmoil in Russia, unrest in the former Yugoslavia, and developments in Iraq, north Korea, China, and Iran. He stressed the proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction...foreign economic espionage...brief treatment of a half dozen third world issues...ranging from hunger in Africa to prospects for Cambodia...nonsubstantive issues were discussed only briefly...

Only briefing given Clinton before the November 3, 1992 election

Deputy Director for Intelligence...author to do the briefing...November 13-16 was the first session

During Clinton transition he saw what Bush saw" PDB, drafts of the national Intelligence estimates, selected raw intelligence traffic--including Directorate of Operations reports, State department cables and NSA traffic

Three big subjects 1) Russia because of Start treaties 2)Somalia #)Yugoslavia
Next tier of items in terms of their appearance in the PDB Iraq, GATT talks in Europe, Haiti, Israel-Lebanon situation

No covert briefing technical intelligence briefing
Clinton first visits the CIA headquarters January 9, 1994

Others who received the PDB were Vice-president, National Security Advisor, Secretary of Defense, and secretary of state

“Thinking back over the eight years of the two Reagan administrations, the Agency’s briefing officer remembered only one or two occasions when the National Security Advisor took him into the Oval Office to brief the President directly. Unlike Carter Reagan never wrote comments or questions on the PDB ✓

At times many of the national security advisors were receiving the PDB which “ led the agency to be circumspect in the items it included in the publication.” ✓

Reagan received intelligence info from Casey or national security advisors who he trusted. Reagan told the CIA in 1993 “ I thought we received all the intelligence we needed to make decisions.” ✓

Bush confirmed the President only read intelligence at his leisure

Bush in 1988 debate with Dukakis

“ I am very careful in public life about dealing with classified information.” ✓

Bush members who received the PDB included Vice President Dan Quayle, Chief of Staff John Sununu, and national security advisor Brent Scowcroft, as well as the Chairman of the joint Chiefs...the PDB was taken back by the CIA once it had been shown to authorized recipients. It was to be left with no one. “His intent was to tighten control of the document ‘To ensure that the Agency felt free to include more sensitive material’...”...saw briefer ever day...was first order of business...sent back questions...limited those in the room to National Security Advisor and sometime Chief of Staff to prevent leaks

“CIA’s relationship with Bush was undoubtedly the most productive it had enjoyed with any of the nine presidents it served since the Agency’s founding in 1947...more than any other President, he was an experienced consumer of national-level intelligence...President Bush was uniquely and extraordinarily well informed.” ✓

CIA's

Statement on Approval of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1996

November 30, 1995

I have decided this evening to approve the Department of Defense appropriations bill. This legislation is vital to fund our national defense, so that the United States remains the strongest force for peace in the world.

This bill provides for a strong national defense, supports our commitments to the quality of life of our forces and their families, maintains high military readiness, and funds investment programs necessary to modernize the equipment used by our combat forces. Continuing American global leadership is ensured by the support the bill provides for our forces.

I made this decision because my Administration has reached agreement with Congressional leaders to provide funding, out of the funds contained in this bill, for the troop deployment and other efforts to secure peace in Bosnia. The pressing demands of peace and of our military service men and women compel my approval of this measure.

I have expressed my strong concerns that this legislation contains excessive spending for projects that are not currently needed for our defense. I will forward to Congress rescission legislation that would eliminate funding for those projects, and I urge Congress to act on it. We should spend no more than we need to at a time when we are determined to balance the budget.

I am also concerned that section 8117 of the Act contains certain reporting requirements that could materially interfere with or impede this country's ability to provide necessary support to another nation or international organization in connection with peacekeeping or humanitarian assistance activities otherwise authorized by law.

I will interpret this provision consistent with my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States and my responsibilities as Commander in Chief.

In addition, I remain very concerned about provisions of the Act that restrict service women and female dependents of military personnel from obtaining privately funded abortions in military facilities overseas, except in cases in which the mother's life is endangered or the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest. In many countries, these U.S. facilities provide the only accessible, safe source for these medical services.

My Administration is continuing discussions with the Congress on the remaining spending bills in order to protect necessary priorities in education, the environment and law enforcement. Over the past several days we have made progress in good faith discussions with the leadership of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees to close the gap between us on these issues. The decision I am making tonight is consistent with our understanding that these discussions will continue with the goal of reaching a satisfactory conclusion as rapidly as possible. We should promptly complete this task, so there is no unnecessary shutdown of the government.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
November 30, 1995.

NOTE: H.R. 2126 became law without the President's signature on December 1, and it was assigned Public Law No. 104-61.

Remarks on Lighting the City Christmas Tree in Belfast

November 30, 1995

Thank you very much. To the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, let me begin by saying to all of you, Hillary and I thank you from the bottom of our hearts for making us feel so very,

very welcome in Belfast and Northern Ireland. We thank you, Lord Mayor, for your cooperation and your help in making this trip so successful, and we trust that, for all of you, we

a commitment to overcome the past. As 14-year-old Sharon of County Armagh wrote, "Both sides have been hurt. Both sides must forgive."

Despite the extraordinary hardships so many of these children have faced, their letters were full of hope and love and humor. To all of you who took the time to write me, you've brightened my holiday season with your words of faith and courage, and I thank you. To all of you who asked me to do what I could do to help peace take root, I pledge you America's support. We will stand with you as you take risks for peace.

And to all of you who have not lost your sense of humor, I say thank you. I got a letter from 13-year-old Ryan from Belfast. Now, Ryan, if you're out in the crowd tonight, here's the answer to your question. No, as far as I know, an alien spacecraft did not crash in Roswell, New Mexico, in 1947. [Laughter] And Ryan, if the United States Air Force did recover alien

bodies, they didn't tell me about it, either, and I want to know.

Ladies and gentlemen, this day that Hillary and I have had here in Belfast and in Derry and Londonderry County will long be with us as one of the most remarkable days of our lives. I leave you with these thoughts. May the Christmas spirit of peace and good will flourish and grow in you. May you remember the words of the Lord Mayor, "This is Christmas. We celebrate the world in a new way because of the birth of Emmanuel: God with us." And when God was with us, he said no words more important than these, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the Earth."

Merry Christmas, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 7:45 p.m. outside Belfast City Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Lord Mayor Eric Smyth of Belfast and his wife, Frances Smyth.

Remarks at a Reception Hosted by Sir Patrick Mayhew in Belfast November 30, 1995

The President. Thank you.

Audience member. Four more years!

The President. The plane for America leaves tomorrow morning. I want you to be on it. [Laughter] We'll take you back.

Thank you, Sir Patrick and Lady Mayhew. And thank you, Sir Patrick, for your tireless efforts for peace in Northern Ireland.

I want to thank the Vice Chancellor, Sir Gordon Beveridge, and everyone here at Queen's University for allowing us to meet at this wonderful place in the year of its sesquicentennial celebration. I am delighted to be here. And I'm also delighted that it was given to me the honor to make a little announcement involving Queen's. Under the auspices of the Fulbright program, named after the late Senator from my home State, J. William Fulbright, who gave me my first job in public life, we are establishing a distinguished Fulbright lecturer program here at Queen's University to bring distinguished Americans to share their experiences and their ideas with their academic colleagues here and to reach out to the community throughout Northern Ireland.

Let me say that Hillary and I are delighted to be here with a very large contingent of Americans from all walks of life and from both political parties. I am delighted to be the first American President ever to visit Northern Ireland while serving as President. And I think all of you here know that I would, given the choice, never miss a chance to go to an exciting place and make new friends. But the real reason I'm here is because of the hard work and the tough choices that many of you in this room have made to advance the cause of peace and reconciliation in this land. And I thank you for that.

I will take away from this visit a lot of enduring memories, a lot of lasting impressions of peace. When we were at the Mackie plant this morning, it really struck me as a symbol of Northern Ireland's rebirth since the cease-fire. On the shop floor, men and women who come to the plant by separated gates still, work together side by side with common goals for their families and their communities.

I went to the Enterprise Park in East Belfast, and I met with tenants and managers who were

View Header

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(San Francisco, California)

For Immediate Release

February 25, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT DCCC DINNER

Private Residence
San Francisco, California

10:20 P.M. (PST)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. You know, that was a better speech than the one I was going to give (Laughter.) Thank you, Bill. Thank you, Sally. I am delighted to be here -- it's a beautiful, beautiful place. It's been a great dinner, interesting people. Thank all of you for being here and supporting these fine candidates.

Thank you, Congressman Miller, and thank you, Nancy Pelosi, for being here and for your leadership. I told some people -- we were just at a larger reception over at the Fairmont, and I told the people there that the thing I really liked about Nancy Pelosi was she'd been in Washington a long time and she still had not managed to become cynical. She's still full of energy and passion and conviction. And we need more of that there.

I want to thank Mike and Lois for running for Congress. (Applause.) They are prepared to make a not insignificant sacrifice in the quality of their life to go there and serve you. And they will serve us well.

Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for coming here, and thank you for going on Politically Incorrect and sticking up for me tonight. (Laughter.) It's truly strange that that would be politically incorrect to do, but that's all right. (Laughter.)

I have a lot of friends here, but I want to say I'm especially glad to see Bill and Lee Perry. Bill Perry is one of the finest public servants that has served the United States in my lifetime, one of the greatest Secretaries of Defense we ever had and I thank him for being here. (Applause.)

I'd also like to thank all of you in this room who have helped me and Hillary and Al and Tipper in our wonderful journey these last several years; and the people of California, and the people of this community, in particular, have been very, very good to us and I'm profoundly grateful. And to those of you who've helped us, especially on the technology issues over the last five years, I thank you, too.

I was trying to think of what I ought to say tonight that you haven't already heard. One thing I thought, when Bill talked about what a meritocracy Silicon Valley was, and it didn't matter where you came from as long as you could program a computer -- you know, you could become a partner. I thought, my God, if I had made my career there I'd be starving now. (Laughter.) Never has one so technologically challenged tried so hard to do so much for high technology in America.

Our country is in good shape tonight and I'm very grateful for that. When you made that crack about how could you still be a Republican, I used to kid Bob Dole about every time the stock market would go up

another 100 points I'd say, here I am working to get you more money for your campaign. (Laughter.) It was against my self-interest, but I did it anyway. It was good for the country.

The country is in good shape. I hope that doesn't mean that we are feeling complacent or that we're going to take our eye off the ball and become more small minded when we ought to become more large minded and more visionary. And that's basically what I was trying to say in the State of the Union. And I feel -- I'm glad that my fellow Democrats can go into this election cycle and say we proved that you could reduce the size of government and balance the budget and still invest more in education and health care and the environment.

We proved that you could have a partnership with business and still be compassionate toward working people. We proved that you could be for creating more jobs and still for giving people the support they need to succeed with their families at home -- with child care and things like that. I'm glad we can say that. Or we can just reel the numbers off and say we've got the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years, the lowest crime rate in 24 years, the lowest, smallest welfare rolls in 27 years, the lowest inflation in 30 years, the highest homeownership in history.

But all that means is that more people have good life stories to tell. And, yet, if we think about the dynamism of this time -- it's not true that the society is changing as fast or as profoundly as the Internet is growing, for example. But it's changing about as fast or as profoundly as a human organism can change. And, therefore, we need to be thinking always about the future and what we're doing to prepare for this new century we're about to enter. And I'd just like to mention three or four things tonight that I think are terribly important.

First of all, it's important to keep the economy growing. It may be that technology with good economic conditions will permit a higher level of growth for a longer period of time at lower levels of inflation than previously we had thought. That may be true. It will only be true if we are responsible. And one of the things that to me has been most gratifying has been the public response to my insistence that we not start spending the surplus before it materializes. We've had a deficit for 30 years and, you know, as soon as the new year came around everybody had great ideas for how to spend the projected surplus.

Now, I do believe we have eliminated the structural deficit and I believe we'll get a balanced budget this year -- if not this year, certainly next year. And then it's projected that we'll have surpluses for several years thereafter, more than a decade. And I hope that happens. And because there's no structural deficit in the budget -- that is, even if the economy slows down, and you know when the economy slows down you get less tax money and you have to put more out because there are more people unemployed -- but over time, if there's no structural deficit we'll still have a balanced budget to a large surplus, depending on how much growing.

There are a lot of people who want to start spending that right now in tax cuts or spending programs, and we should do neither. We certainly shouldn't do it, A, until it materializes -- the bird is not in hand yet. And, B, we should not do it until we have dealt with the long-term financial problems with the Social Security system. We have some significant decisions to make. And I think it's very important. (Applause.)

Now, what my goal is, is to spend this year having a non-partisan national process by which we discuss all the alternatives that are out there available and then early next year we pass legislation which will basically take care of the long-term stability of the system. Simultaneously, no matter what option we choose, by 2029 when the present trust fund is expected to run out of money and start costing more money than the people are paying in every year in taxes, we will have to do some significant things. But no matter what we do, not now and not then will Social Security be enough for most Americans -- the

vast, vast majority of Americans -- to maintain the standard of living they enjoy once they retire. Therefore, we also have to find ways for people to save more and to prepare more for their own retirement. So we're going to be looking at a lot of interesting ideas in the Social Security system. And I hope all of you will enter that debate.

But as I said in the State of the Union address, it's literally true, there was a public opinion survey done last year which showed that most people under 25 thought it was more likely that they would see a UFO than that they would ever draw a penny of Social Security. I don't want to discourage young people from watching the X-Files -- (laughter) -- but I think we have to somehow reverse that perception. So that's the first thing I want to say.

And, by the way, we have a simultaneous effort going on now with Medicare. We have more than a decade of life on the Medicare trust fund. But, again, the pure demographics of the baby boom retirements and the fact that we're living longer and accessing more high tech medicine mean that we're going to have to make some changes in Medicare if we expect it to sustain itself well into the next century.

It is well not to underestimate the good these programs have done. In 1985, for the first time in the history of our country, the poverty rate among people over 65 was lower than the poverty rate of people under 65. When Social Security was inaugurated, over 70 percent of the American people over 65 were living in poverty. Many of them were living in abject poverty. This is a terrific achievement for our country. And while I have emphasized putting more emphasis on the children in this country in poverty and more on their health care, their education, their nutrition, their well being, we do not want to give up this signal achievement that is really a mark of a decent society. And, yet, in order to avoid it we're going to have to plan for it and deal with the fact that my generation, the baby boomers -- and I'm the oldest of them -- when everybody from my age to 18 years younger crowds into the Social Security system, the Medicare system, all this is going to change everything substantially.

And we owe it -- and I don't know anybody -- and most of the people I grew up with are middle class people, more than half of them don't have college educations, the people I went to high school with. And I was with a bunch of them not very long ago and we all sat around the table and every one of them is haunted by the idea that when we retire we would have to impose an unwarranted financial burden on our children and on their ability to raise our grandchildren in order to take care of us. Nobody wants that. And we have an opportunity now, by acting now, to make relatively modest steps that will have relatively huge impacts in the years to come if we do it. So that's the first and very important thing I want to say.

The second point I'd like to make is that we have a lot of work to do in this country on education. And many of you have helped us in our goal of hooking up every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000. We're making good progress on that. But consider the anomaly in the United States -- one of the things that I could just feel during the State of the Union resonating with people at home was when I went through all the things we'd done to increase aid to people who go on to college. Basically, now most Americans qualify for a \$1,500 tax credit, tax reduction for the first two years of college and a tax credit for junior and senior year in graduate school. And there are more Pell Grant scholarships at higher income levels. There are education IRAs, you can deduct the interest on the student loan. The people that are in our direct loan program can get cheaper college loans with better repayment terms. There are 300,000 more work study slots out there.

It's literally true today that if you're willing to work for it, you can go to college. And community college is virtually free now. For people who go to community colleges, that \$1,500 tax deduction covers all the tuition for about 80 percent of the community colleges in the country. And there's a great sense of

achievement there. Why? Because people know it really means something to have higher education in America. And they know we have the best system of higher education in the world.

No one believes we have the best system of elementary and secondary education in the world. We just got the results of the Third International Math and Science Survey, which is given to several thousand -- I think about 20,000 -- but a representative sample of our high school seniors. And of 21 countries we scored 19th. Now, in the 8th grade we're in the middle; in the 4th grade we're near the top now -- we tied for second in the 4th grade test.

What happens? There are lots of reasons for what happens. But we've been trying to unpack that. But I do not believe it is any longer acceptable to say, well, what do you expect, because we have so many poor kids, 20 percent of our kids are in poverty and we have so many minority kids and all that. That is all a bunch of bull. This is not rocket science. I mean, Sally just introduced us to that magnificent young woman who's a student at Stanford. I believe all kids can learn. I believe 90 percent-plus of us can learn 100 percent of what we need to know to make a society go, otherwise democracies would all fail. And it would have happened long ago.

I have supported the charter school movement and school choice and a lot of other things. But we have got to have also more standards and more emphasis on teaching and a lot of other reforms in the schools. We've got a big program out there now to lower class sizes and do a number of other things in this session of Congress. But I intend to spend a huge amount of effort in the next three years to do what I spent the 20 years before I became President working on in public life, and that is trying to give us the best elementary and secondary system in the world. Because we're kidding ourselves if we think we can really build a truly meritocratic society if a bunch of people are stunted coming out of the blocks.

The next issue I'd like to mention that I think has great relevance to the future is the environment. This year the two major -- I'm very proud of this. I didn't mention this before, but compared to five years ago the air is cleaner, the water is cleaner, there are fewer toxic waste dumps and the food supply is safer. And we have set aside more land and trust to be saved than any administration in the history of the country, except the administrations of Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt. And I'm very proud of that. We're working on saving Lake Tahoe now and I'm very proud of that. (Applause.)

But there is still a great deal to be done, and on two issues in particular which will affect the quality of life in California. The first is with regard to clean water. The Clean Water Act, which was passed 25 years ago, was designed to deal with pollution mostly coming out of sewage systems and out of industrial activities -- so-called point source pollution. Bad stuff comes out of a pipe, goes in the water, clean it up. Forty percent of our waterways in America are still not pure enough to swim and fish in because of non-point pollution -- things that run off from the land. We have got to do more on that. So we have a major initiative on that, a new clean water initiative.

The other thing that I think is imperative that we get on is -- and you're dealing with it right now with El Nino -- the climate change phenomenon is real and we must do what we can to meet America's responsibility to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. We can do that and still grow the economy. Every time we've had to face a clean air or clean water issue people have said, oh, if you do this it's going to shut the economy down. And every time we've done it, it has given the economy a boost because it's opened up a whole new area of high tech jobs that we didn't have before.

Now, basically, a third of all these CO2 emissions come from transportation; a third come from buildings, homes and office buildings; and a third come from manufacturing plants and electric generators. And the technology is now available, right now, to reduce substantially our greenhouse gas emissions -- with

available technology that pays out in two to three years, with regard to buildings, office buildings, homes, manufacturing facilities and electric generators. And with the new fuel injection engines that are being developed for automobiles with the hybrid electric in fuel and gasoline engines and a lot of the other things that are going on, within two or three years you're going to look at automobiles that have literally one-fourth to one-fifth of greenhouse gas emissions of today's automobiles. This is an imperative thing to do and I hope all of you will support this, because we have a good program going through Congress and I think we'll pass it. But it's important.

The last thing I'd like to say is, Bill talked about research. Hillary gave me the idea of trying to have a part of our program this year be a gift to the millennium that would be part respecting the past and part imagining the future. The respecting of the past part, we're going to try to restore the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence and the Star-Spangled Banner, and get people in every community in the country to do an inventory of what they have.

For example, there's a place called the Old Soldiers Home in Washington, D.C. that was built before the Civil War. And on the Old Soldiers Home there is a cabin which is almost totally dilapidated now, where Abraham Lincoln's family lived every summer -- and other presidents. It wouldn't cost that much to restore it. It's a Washington, D.C. facility. Every single community in this country has places in it that tell the part of America's story and they have to be preserved.

But we also have to recognize that in the years we were running these huge deficits, we wound up under-investing in a lot of things we should have invested more in, principally research. So we've also offered the biggest research budget in the history of the country in this balanced budget. And I hope we can pass it and I hope all of you will help us pass it because it's a big part of our future.

The last thing I'd like to say is this: I have tried very hard to change the political culture of Washington with, you would have to charitably say, mixed results. (Laughter.) I don't even understand it half the time. I realize I'm afflicted by the fact that I had a real life for too long.

But I will say this: I think that the work we're doing in this Race Initiative, the campaign for the employment non-discrimination act, the efforts to bring America together across all the lines that divide us and to have everybody judged based on their merit, and to give everybody a chance, and to build an America that basically is a stunning contrast to the racial and ethnic and religious conflicts that are beleaguering the world -- how much of your time as President -- because my time is really yours -- has been spent in my presidency on the problems of my people in Northern Ireland -- my people -- still arguing over things that happened 600 years ago, or the continuing torment in the Middle East, or what happened in Bosnia, or trying to save all those children from the horrible fate they were facing in Rwanda and all these places. We're supposed to be living in this great modern world, you can hook everybody up to an Internet, but if they still have primitive impulses then they just have modern technology to give greater vent with greater intensity to primitive impulses.

I want us to have a strong economy and I want us to always be on the forefront of every new thing that happens. But in the end, we have to prove that we can be one nation together. And I try to end all my talks now by just reminding everybody that the people that came here to start this country came here because they literally deplored the unlimited, arbitrary, abusive exercise of power over the lives of citizens. And they had a better idea. They said, we want to be free and we want to be free to pursue happiness -- not have it guaranteed to us, free to pursue it; and in the process, we will work to form a more perfect union.

Now these people you're supporting here and the party we represent -- yes, we've modernized the

Democratic Party. Thank you, Bill. And, yes, they can't say all those bad things about Democrats they used to say. But if you look at the whole 20th century, if you go right back to Woodrow Wilson forward, our country has always been for those things. We've always been for more freedom, more opportunity, and a stronger union. Which means even when we haven't been right on the issues, we've been on the right side of America's history. And I'm proud to be here with you, Mike. I'm proud to be here with my good friend, Lois. And I'm proud to be here with a party that I think can lead America to a better place in the new century.

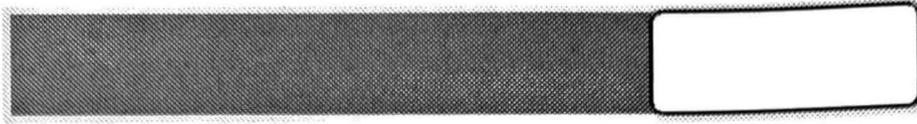
Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 10:42 P.M. PST



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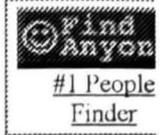
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In Focus: U.S. Secrecy and Lies

Volume 5, Number 24
August 2000

Written by Kate Doyle

Editors: [Tom Barry](#) (IRC) and [Martha Honey](#) (IPS)

Key Points

- During the cold war, a system of secrecy, first devised during World War II, continued to flourish, tainting U.S. operations around the globe.
- Under the guise of “national security,” this system of secrecy has affected crafting of foreign policy, building of weapons, birth of entire government agencies, government spending, and play of public debate.
- In 1995, under pressure from a growing broad-based movement for an end to secrecy, President Clinton signed Executive Order 12958 to overhaul the classification system.

Secrets and lies have always been intrinsic to the functions of states. In a democracy, public tolerance of official secrecy tends to shift with the tides: in times of national emergency, such as war or civil unrest, people are willing to forgo open governance in exchange for safety and victory; in peace, the citizenry becomes more assertive, claiming its right to knowledge of past misdeeds and to informed participation in current affairs. Today that right is being asserted against continuing government efforts to bolster the secrecy system.

During the long, dark winter of America’s cold war, a system of secrecy first devised in the crucible of the Second World War flourished. It took root and grew, reaching beyond the corridors of power in Washington to taint government operations across the country and around the globe. It served to hide not only the individual misdeeds and misadventures of successive administrations but, under the guise of “national security,” to conceal the rationales behind them. Presidents, policymakers, and legislators used the advent of the national security state as an excuse for their evasiveness. They assumed they could abrogate the people’s “right to know” without prior consultation—just as if the United States were engaged in an open, armed conflict.

U.S. citizens accepted this curtailment, to a degree. Fearful of the prospects of a nuclear face-off, Americans allowed the erosion both of freedoms and of the presumption of openness that they had once taken for granted. As a result, secrecy spread its shadow over the crafting of foreign policy, the building

of weapons, the birth of entire government agencies, the spending of federal funds, and, inevitably, the play of public debate.

In the early 1970s, as public opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam mounted, *publication of the Pentagon Papers* revealed the military's misdeeds in Vietnam, and FBI documents obtained by antiwar activists exposed COINTELPRO, a covert domestic surveillance program. Two seminal congressional investigations, named for their chairs, *Congressman Otis Pike and Senator Frank Church*, helped document government abuses and partially lifted the lid on state secrets.

With the end of the cold war, however, the first broad-based movement for openness, accountability, and an end to secrecy grew, as librarians and archivists, academics and historians, Republicans and Democrats, human rights and public interest advocates, scientists, jurists, and even some members of the defense and intelligence establishment demanded declassification. Forged in the wake of a half century of covert operations, black budgets, and information controls, this new constituency is demanding, in the words of the bipartisan Moynihah Commission, that "it is time for a new way of thinking about secrecy."

Sensing this shift, the national security bureaucracy scrambled to renounce old habits. Agencies long submerged in the black waters of secrecy realized that they needed to surface and become part of the growing public debate over changing missions and shrinking resources. In February 1992, CIA Director Robert Gates announced the advent of "CIA openness" ("an oxymoron," he admitted), promising more media briefings, academic conferences, and documents. In 1993, a scathing newspaper series documenting four decades of nuclear establishment radiation experiments on unwitting human subjects compelled the Department of Energy to launch its own "openness initiative."

Bill Clinton, the first post-cold war president, also took some important first steps to challenge the system he inherited. In 1995, after launching a government-wide review of the country's secrecy policies, he signed Executive Order 12958, a directive to overhaul the classification system of U.S. national security information. The order drove a stake in the heart of one of the national security establishment's most cherished beliefs—that secret documents must remain secret indefinitely—by requiring the "automatic declassification" of most historically valuable records older than 25 years. The executive order established an interagency review panel with the power to reverse agency classification decisions. In its first two years of operation, the panel declassified (in full or in part) more than 80% of the classified records it reviewed—a sharp indictment of past secrecy practices.

Driving the executive branch's incipient reform efforts was mounting public pressure for change. Simultaneously, Congress played a more limited role by opening discrete record collections where a compelling public interest existed—such as documents on the assassination of John F. Kennedy, on U.S. citizens missing in Vietnam, and on Nazi war crimes. In the wake of the detention of Chile's ex-dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet in 1998, both overseas activists and foreign governments joined the call for declassification of CIA and other U.S. government files.

Problems with Current U.S. Policy

Key Problems

- Under restrictive secrecy practices, 6 to 7 million government documents are stamped "classified" every year, and no penalty exists for overclassifying information.

- With few rules and little oversight to guide preservation of documents, currently only 3% of U.S. government records are preserved for posterity.
- Except for two years, even the aggregate intelligence budget has been classified as secret.

Between six and seven million U.S. government documents are stamped “classified” every year; about 17,000 daily. The president’s own Information Security Oversight Office (ISOO) does not know precisely how many millions—or billions—of secret records are stored in agency vaults. The cost of keeping so many secrets—what with salaries, safes, locks, security training, record management, computer programs, and the like—is equally staggering. The ISOO figured that the government spent some \$4.1 billion in 1997 alone on “security classification.” And that amount does not include the CIA’s share, which is ... secret.

How does one explain this orgy of classification? One reason is the culture of secrecy that dominates the military and intelligence agencies, a culture that rewards obfuscation and opacity and profoundly discourages transparency. Equally importantly, no penalty for overclassifying government information exists, although those who challenge the secrecy system risk censure, sanction, or worse. In the course of a 1995 investigation into human rights abuses in Guatemala, for instance, State Department official Richard Nuccio found classified CIA documents indicating that a Guatemalan army colonel—who was also a paid CIA informant—was helping cover up the murder of an American innkeeper and the torture and murder of the husband of an American citizen. After making what he believed to be an ethical choice to inform Congress of the facts, Nuccio was stripped of his security clearances by the CIA for disclosing classified information, a decision supported by the Justice Department. Nuccio resigned in 1997, sending a chilling message to those facing comparable dilemmas.

Restrictive secrecy practices also cheat history. Despite a variety of legislative safeguards designed to protect the historical record (such as the Federal Records Act), there are few rules and little oversight to guide the preservation of government documents. Currently, only about 3% of U.S. government records are preserved for posterity. Agencies can make unilateral decisions to “disappear” records permanently with little fear of punishment—either by deliberately destroying them or by ceasing to create them. For instance:

- Many of the original files documenting the CIA’s 1953 covert operation in Iran—the agency’s first successful overthrow of a government—were destroyed, a CIA historian revealed in 1997.
- To guarantee the secrecy of its covert “MKULTRA” program, which for twenty years ran behavior modification experiments on unwitting human subjects, the CIA destroyed most of these documents in 1973.
- The Reagan White House did its best to delete its electronic mail files both during the Iran-Contra scandal in the mid-1980s and again when the administration was preparing to leave Washington in 1989. The discovery of an unknown backup collection led to a lawsuit to prevent the wholesale destruction of electronic information, and the courts have since upheld the government’s duty to preserve such records. Yet in practice, computerized records are easier to delete, and it is more difficult to discern various versions of a document or to access files among several generations of computers.

In each case, an irreplaceable piece of American history has disappeared forever into the black hole of secrecy. The official remedy for such vanishing acts is the Freedom of Information Act, or FOIA, which Congress enacted in 1966 to guarantee citizens the right of access to government records. With the exception of a brief heyday in the 1970s, however, FOIA has been profoundly dysfunctional, as government agencies consider it an unwelcome trespass on their prerogatives and a drain on their resources. In 1974, for instance, CIA Director William Colby bluntly told a House subcommittee, “The

3) May be hiding a series of illegal activities

Reasons

- 1) Don't know - even if don't know all President's actions support?
- 2) Nothing can do about it. Expose your own vulnerabilities

Central Intelligence Agency is not a public information agency.”

Today, the CIA exemplifies the ability of national security agencies to substitute public relations spin for substance. “CIA openness” has devolved into an in-house initiative to publish carefully selected collections of some of the agency’s oldest documents, such as reports on the former Soviet Union and intelligence records from the Truman era. Efforts to impose real openness on the agency quickly meet powerful institutional barriers, what former CIA Director Robert Gates described as “rigid agency policies and procedures heavily biased toward denial of declassification.” The CIA has also been able to use its mandate to protect “intelligence sources and methods”—its informants and modes of operation—as a legal shield against disclosure.

The extremism of the CIA’s position is evident in its refusal to release its budget, repeatedly citing its right to secrecy under the 1949 Central Intelligence Agency Act. The aggregate intelligence budget, which includes the CIA, the National Security Agency, the National Reconnaissance Office, and a handful of other agencies, has long been sought by critics of secret government spending. These critics charge that black budgets violate every citizen’s constitutional right to a full account of the expenditure of public monies. Yet Congress has refused to order the budget’s release. A lawsuit filed in 1997 forced the CIA’s hand at last, revealing the total aggregate intelligence budget for that year at \$26.6 billion. Director George Tenet disclosed the budget in the following year (\$26.7 billion) and then reversed himself by withholding the figure for 1999. A federal court upheld his decision, saying that yearly disclosures could provide dangerous “trend information” to enemies of the United States.

In fact, much of what we know about the CIA today entered the public realm against the agency’s will. From the Bay of Pigs bloodbath to the Iran-contra debacle, excessive secrecy gave birth to and then covered up epic policy failures.

Toward a New Foreign Policy

Key Recommendations

- Declassification practices of intelligence agencies, including withholding information on the basis of “intelligence sources and methods,” must be radically revised.
- Intelligence agency budgets should be declassified annually.
- The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) office must be adequately staffed and funded and destruction of files should be prohibited.

President Clinton and Congress have, without a doubt, achieved a measure of change. Signposts have been laid pointing toward a more rational system, and even the most closed agencies have made concessions to openness heretofore deemed unthinkable. But popular pressure—ranging from hunger strikes to lawsuits—remains the single most effective weapon we have against excessive secrecy. Working in alliance with public interest groups dedicated to freedom of information, a growing wave of openness advocates has compelled some extraordinary disclosures and has helped expand the limits of what may be released without damaging current U.S. security interests.

If the United States seeks to mature as a democracy, U.S. citizens must reject the obsession with secrecy that dominated government operations during the cold war. The public must demand that Congress and the president broaden the incipient structural reforms already achieved in the secrecy and classification

system, with the goal of finally dismantling the national security state. A few key proposals for change would help move America toward embracing the transparency and accountability required by a truly democratic society.

First, an appropriate balance must be struck between openness and secrecy in national security matters. Such a balance will require the presumption of openness, a public interest balancing test, and the capacity for outside review. Although the Clinton executive order does incorporate a presumption of openness for most government records, the order is inapplicable to intelligence information and should be expanded accordingly. Indeed, for all of Clinton's achievements, he has failed to bring the country up to the standards set by President Jimmy Carter's executive order in 1977. The Carter order had a crucial element that Clinton's lacks: the public interest balancing test. Such a test must be subjected to judicial review, so that courts are forced to consider the public's interest when deciding declassification requests under the Freedom of Information Act.

Second, the declassification practices of intelligence agencies require immediate reforms. Most importantly, the authority of the intelligence community to withhold information on the basis of "intelligence sources and methods" must be radically revised. Although agencies have the responsibility to protect legitimately sensitive information, the CIA's mere claim that disclosure would expose sources and methods cannot be sufficient cause to withhold information automatically. The agencies must also move to institute a historical review process that results in the release of their oldest and most historically significant files to the National Archives. That means agreeing on document priorities and a schedule for declassification.

In addition, intelligence agency budgets should be declassified annually. The CIA's obstinacy on this point—and the complicity of Congress and the courts in refusing to compel disclosure—illustrates the extent to which the intelligence community remains apart from the normal practices of America's democratic system.

Third, FOIA offices must be adequately staffed and funded. If the Freedom of Information Act is to function as it was intended, agencies must allocate increased funding for the operations of their declassification units. Agency reviewers must not be permitted to use a lack of resources as an excuse for inordinate delays or improper denials in responding to FOIA requesters. Fourth, there should be a prohibition of the destruction of files of operational material regarding policy decisions, activities, and guidelines.

And finally, there should be a clearly defined process regulating targeted declassification reviews. In the event of intense public interest in a specific collection of documents—such as that surrounding past human rights abuses in Latin America—or legal actions—such as those against General Pinochet—there should be a clear and expeditious process whereby such documents can be reviewed for declassification. (For example, the Human Rights Information Act, currently before Congress, would require the government to declassify documents regarding human rights abuses when such information is requested for legal efforts.) The process should include an outside review board, use precisely defined declassification standards, and be held to a specific timetable for document releases.

As President James Madison, framer of the U.S. Constitution, wrote in 1822, "A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy or perhaps both."

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Cold War.

Sources for More Information

Organizations

Center for International Policy

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Washington, DC 20036
Voice: (202) 232-3317
Fax: (202) 232-3440
Email: cip@ciponline.org
Website: <http://www.ciponline.org/>
Contact: Ambassador Robert White

Center for National Security Studies

George Washington University
2130 H St. NW, Ste. 701
Washington, DC 20037
Voice: (202) 994-7060
Fax: (202) 994-7005
Email: cns@gwu.edu
Contact: Kate Martin

Electronic Policy Information Center (EPIC)

1718 Connecticut Ave. NW, Ste. 200
Washington, DC 20009
Voice: (202) 483-1140
Fax: (202) 483-1248
Email: info@epic.org
Website: <http://www.epic.org/>
Contact: David Sobel

Federation of American Scientists

307 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
Voice: (202) 546-3300
Fax: (202) 675-1010
Email: fas@fas.org
Website: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/>
Contact: Steve Aftergood

Information Security Oversight Office

National Archives Building
7th and Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20408

Voice: (202) 219-5250
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The James Madison Project

1275 K Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
Voice: (202) 785-3801
Fax: (202) 371-6626
Email: JaMadPro@aol.com
Website: <http://www.jamesmadisonproject.org>
Contact: Mark S. Zaid

National Committee Against Repressive Legislation

Washington Office
3321 12th St. NE, 3rd Fl.
Washington, DC 20017
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National Security Archive

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Website: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>
Contact: Peter Kornbluh

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