

Me. Quin Shea
The National Security Archive
1755 Mass. Ave., NW, #500
Washington, D.C. 20036

7627 Old Receiver Road
Frederick, Md. 21701
5/1/89

Dear Quin,

Thanks for the things that just came and I've just read. Can't exaggerate the value and importance of what you people are doing!

First, no hankypanky when this gets to you late by the above date. Can't use our copier and I've been interrupted twice since putting the paper in the machine.

And so I won't forget, as I do now too often, to let you know if there is a document or two you might have to let you know. I'm interested for a reason we might discuss if, your words, our paths cross again, in the code names of the operations against Sukarno in Indonesia. I've heard of two, one given both as Strong Back and Strongback and the other Haylift.

I was not speaking for Hood College, if you took it that way, merely that even before my stuff gets there they are using it, and that pleases me much. One of the interruptions I mention above had to do with the oral report that was quite good, as I was told in the interruption, by a student whose paper has not yet been turned in, based on the CIA's disclosed records on their mind-bending projects, to be bestialities. I gave them about 10 feet of the records plus a few other things I'd collected.

I'm changing the spaces to help make corrections less illegible.

There are other things that can relate and I think do relate to our getting to the brink. (Yes, I've read that book.) I don't know how deep and wide a study the Archive might want to make, but I was reminded of this in thinking while I read the papers you sent. I got the impression all over again ~~yet~~ that during the crisis there was no real possibility of lower-level input in places like State. But the real, the detailed knowledge is at lower level than ExComm. *Also, often, the understanding + wisdom.*

This, in turn, reminded me of the decimations on that level at State, the firing of which I was part, the donation of scholarship and personnel by the rabid and misnamed "security" people. It has to be close to certain that just about all Latin Americanists capable of independent thought and analysis had been gotten rid of one way or another and that independent minds had not been hired - and had been dispensed with if by accident they had been hired. *By Otepka, Perre, et al.*

I think that the consequences in policy as a result of the so-called security programs would make a significant and worthwhile project. (I have only a few of the records on me. They just lied and withheld arbitrarily and, of course, they were embarrassed because I was never a member of anything and had no charges, no hearing, etc.)

That we have evolved a machine for the creation of crises and for prefabricating their ends is, I think, as frightening and dangerous a disaster waiting to happen as there can be. (Digression: any similar study on Grenada? Should be.)

On your Iran-Contra study, in an unguarded nd moment our ambassador until he was kicked out, Melton, told a delegation that we were there to overthrow the government.

"Nobody picked this up from the first-person account in our local papers. Apparently the Reagan administration was using military appropriations for (in 1987) some fifty junkets of weekend warriors. The local one was there for the demonstration that, with their participation, led to the expulsions. I got all the copies of the papers I could and then made xeroxes and gave just about all away, with no interest in the press or on the Hill. Jim Tesar may have a copy. I gave mine to Hood. There is a great difference when this kind of statement is made officially, and the ambassador is the highest local official.

As I skip around, I think I told you ^{plans} all my materials are going there. They are building a new and larger library and the plans include adequate space. I'm pretty sure, although I don't speak for them, that they will want, when they have space, such things as these microfiches.

I think I told you that contemporaneously, while it was happening, I evolved what now turns out to be an accurate analysis of the Cuba Missile Crisis. I think it is now confirmed, but tooting my own horn is not my point.

If I could do it when I was still a farmer, liquidating the farm, with access to only a little of what was public, why could none of the government's so-called experts? Isn't this frightening? Very dangerous? Especially in the nuclear age?

Same thing on Tonkin Gulf. And look what happened there as a result.

Another Cuba project like it didn't fly but it was launched. Had to do with our taking some of their fishing boats captive on the high seas and taking them to Florida. Barry Goldwater was pretty inflammatory then.

The "Mongoose and Cuba Project records you sent do not estimate Khrushchev's position as he saw his position. I have difficulty believing this was mere oversight. In what I've read of the three conferences I've seen no mention of this. My recollection may be faulty with the specific I'll come to but I'm ^{sure} it is correct as a general statement of his view of his position. I believe that after the ~~Kuban~~ Bay of Pigs there was something like what ^{we} ~~he~~ called mutual-assistance pacts, Khrushchev's guarantee to defend Cuba. I am also certain that without knowing its name I was aware of Mongoose and that, invoking this guarantee, Raul Castro and Che Guevara led a Cuban delegation to Moscow that summer to ask for this promised assistance. But even if there had been no such formal guarantee, our own intelligence should have appreciated that Khrushchev had little choice but to try to defend Castro. In ^{reas} ~~reas~~oning on this they should have known that there was no way in the world to defend that island from a determined US invasion, certainly not without the kind of casualties that would have made surrender the preferable option. So, they should have thought, what can Khrushchev do? It is from this that I had the working title Tiger to Ride: the untold story of the Cuba Missile Crisis. *(There then were other relevant considerations)*

There may not have been any time for any in-depth intelligence analysis but given the situation, what was known, what Keating was saying, the anti-Castros were saying,

papers should have been prepared or their preparation under way before we went public with the proof that the USSR had missiles in Cuba. There'd been rumors for months.

Either way, the papers exist or do not exist, I think making the effort to get them or to learn would be important, especially in the future, when there can be other such dangerous situations. And to better understand how we came so close.

How could I have known about Mongoose, if not by that name, that design?

One way only: it was published. I can't guess where but I knew it before the crisis became the crisis it was and it was basic in my thinking. My point here is that if I knew then certainly the intelligence people knew yet I've seen no indication of their knowledge in anything I've read or heard, including the recent conferences.

The Hilsman memo was written in November, 1962, the month after the crisis. It had no need to refer to earlier studies but that component is where I last was in the government and I am certain that if not before the crisis, as soon as it broke there was a review of the information on hand. Inevitable and necessary. However, I believe that if not earlier and for other reasons, there has to have been such a study as soon as the Keating allegations began.

In terms of any authentic concept of national security what you have been doing on this matter is of value and importance that cannot be exaggerated, if the system is going to work and work better than it has. But I am also offering the opinion that a) so far it is incomplete and b) other relevant and important information ought be available and c) is worth the effort to try to get. From CIA and State especially. I'd also ask Foreign Broadcast for what they picked up from Cuban broadcasts and I'd not be a bit surprised if there were relevant and available transcripts of UN proceedings that hold what was said there, particularly by the Cubans and the USSR bloc, especially before the crisis broke.

Somewhere I have those UN transcripts preceding the Bay of Pigs and I assure you that any scheme was well exposed beforehand. The only people who were ignorant were us. (JFK talked the NYTimes and the WP out of using the stories they had.)

I read Carl Bernstein's Loyalties and it made me think that a worthwhile book, particularly in understanding what has come to be called the "national security state," would be a study of some of the cases that, along with what was done with those fine old "Old China hands," would show how we were crippled and controlled on policy and on real understanding of the real world. We did survive those awful things, but at what cost? And might we not have survived?

Since the last time you saw me I've not been to Washington except to be driven there for medical appointments, now every two months, with the single exception of being there, driven by a friend, to appear before John Lewis Smith as part of a scheme he had to make it appear that he was listening when he wasn't. He even lied about it. After you left DJ

in a FOIA case.

used me in what I think was its first effort to invoke Rule 11. They got a money judgement, by means of undenied fraud and perjury, and I've not paid it, daring them to come out and try to collect. They haven't and I don't think the money is or was all that important to them. But in bits and pieces they still give me a few crumbs. In today's mail a few more pages on CLICK, whose Washington correspondent you may not remember I was. But they still haven't given me the letter Hoover wrote praising one on my cartel exposes. Among many other things they have that I'd like relating to my past.

Hope you get near here sometime. I'd like you ^{to} see how I have how much arranged for the use of others. I'm not physically able to do much searching or filing and when much of this is involved I get Hood students to work for those who are interested. Quite a few books and TV shows before the 25th JFK anniversary and since then on King.

If you'd like to get a better understanding of what you were involved in with me ask Jim to lend you a VCR tape, Reasonable Doubt. It was done by a young friend as his master's thesis at Maryland, Gerard (Chip) Selby. His first and only documentary and it won the most prestigious available prize, CINE's Golden Eagle. Less than an hour after he completes the degree, which should be soon, he wants to do more and I'll again help him. He has nothing and will need to find some support. Besides from people like me and his greatest asset, his fiancée.

Thanks and hope you are all well and happy,

Harold

QUIN SHEA

4/28

HAROLD -

GOOD TO HEAR FROM YOU!

THIS IS THE "PRESS HANDOUT" ON THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE. I'M AFRAID THAT HOOD WILL HAVE TO BUY ITS SET. THE DOCUMENTS ON MICROFICHE WILL NOT EXCEED \$3,000, & THE TAB-VOLUME INDEX/CHRONOLOGY/FINDING AIDS (OUR "VALUE ADDED") WILL NOT EXCEED \$900 -- PROBABLY A

PRE-PUBLICATION PRICE OF \$3,500 OR A BIT LESS. MUCH OF IT IS

AVAILABLE FOR EXAMINATION HERE AT THE ARCHIVE AT NO COST -- BUT WE DON'T GIVE FEE WAIVERS.

HOPE OUR PATHS CROSS AGAIN. MY VERY BEST TO LIL.

WARM REARDS,

Quin

PS IF YOU HEARD OF A SPECIFIC DOCUMENT (OR EVEN SEVERAL) OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO YOU, BE SURE & LET ME KNOW.