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In a way, his whole life had been lived as a kind of lie. So you do have to see it from his point of view."

Schorr's own troubles, which culminated in his suspension from CBS after he gave the Village Voice a copy of a congressional report, seem clearly behind him now.

#### A Swinging Pendulum

"In this country there is always a pendulum swinging between the need for disclosure and the need for national security," he said. "I was there and I stood there as the pendulum swung back from disclosure, and I got knocked down by the pendulum.

Helms also was hit by that pendulum, when it was swinging in the other direction. Helms was CIA at its most cloak-and-dagger, its most arrogant, its most dedicated, its most insane," Schorr said. "But almost everything he did had the approval of every President from Eisenhower to Nixon.

Schorr remembered what Helms had said after visiting Nixon and getting the orders to deal with Salvador Allende in Chile. "He said, 'I walked out of Nixon's office with a marshal's baton in my knapsack.' In that sense, Helms was very much a symbol of his times. And that time is dead.

There were probably grave dangers built into the CIA from its inception, Schorr said, when Bill Donovan was running the Office of Strategic Services and was forced to recruit academics for so many specialized tasks, including clandestine operations.

#### "Lacked Sense of Limitations"

"They were exhilarated by that kind of work," Schorr said. "But they lacked any sense of limitations. That's how the LSD tests happened. They heard that the Russians had bought up all supplies of LSD and they wanted to know why. This was at a time when they were puzzled by the defectors in Korea, the behavior of people at some show trials in Moscow. So their mission was to dis-

cover whether it was possible to alter behavior in any predictable way. The scientists, of course, said that if you were to have an accurate test, people could not know, because the power of suggestion might alter the results. And so they decided that whatever it takes, you do. And we know what happened."

Schorr sipped his drink. "There was an understanding that they could do anything they wanted to do. The congressional oversight committee was a joke. So they became people with a sense of mission but without a sense of limits."

He doesn't think that the CIA or the FBI will soon return to the freewheeling habits of the past, because they have come to understand that sooner or later, in this democracy, dark deeds will leak. And, despite the abuses, Schorr thinks that it's necessary to have an operation arm of the CIA, first to dispense money to various friendly groups, second to have the capability of intervention, "short of war."

#### "Always on the Wrong Side"

"The terrible thing is that most of those operations are always on the wrong side," he said. "Why always fascist? I think that it has something to do with the way the CIA perceives itself. It calls itself the Company. Friendly nations are 'accounts.' Spies are called 'assets.' It identifies with American business conglomerates. It opposes nationalization. Business is afraid of instability, so it supports military rulers. Left wing governments do unpredictable things."

The waiter brought the check. Schorr had to catch an early plane for Boston. "Remember when John McCone, former director of CIA, went to the CIA, and offered them \$1.2 million to use against Allende? That was typical. The CIA turned him down, but this was the same company (ITT) that was going to finance the Republican convention in San Diego for another million. It's part of the same attitude. A world where you buy your way. After all, if you can rent an agency, why can't you rent a President?"