

The Analysts' Desk

Scant and skimpy as they were, it is certain that the first reports of this political exotica, Republicans caught inside Democratic headquarters, triggered instantaneous reaction in every intelligence agency in the world, without doubt, even those of the United States. The extent of reaction would vary from nation to nation, depending on such factors as ^{the nature of} its relations with the United States (and here the changed character of US relations with the USSR and China were a factor), its size and the extent of paranoia in each agency. Spooks tend to be paranoid, from the nature of the beast as well as that of the work.

In each agency, without the orders that soon would issue, whoever sat on the United States desk would immediately interest himself in this story. If the United States desk, in a large intelligence agency, was broken down into sections, like economic, political and military, each section, at least at the beginning and until policy was set, would follow the story as best ^{it} ~~he~~ could, no matter how meager the initial information.

This, too, is the character of the analyst's job. Often major developments are signalled by the slightest clues, and he must anticipate major developments. An extreme example is an atomic bomb. Once the thing explodes, it is known that it exists. However, knowing before the explosion that a country is developing atomic capability is a necessary intelligence function. The indications may be almost invisible. ^{Or} And they may be public and not noticed.

From my own experience, I recall a minor illustration, of an event that was less than world-shaking.

For a short while, despite lack of fluency in Spanish, I sat on a Paraguay desk. Paraguay is a place of beauty that escaped being a paradise by the quality of its political life and ~~the~~ ^{its} primitive ~~and~~ economic development, complicated by a senseless war against a number of ~~its~~ neighbors, ~~and~~ larger and more powerful. Most ~~of~~ able-bodied Paraguayan men ^{will} ~~will~~ killed in pointless personal and national bravery. Thereafter ~~it was~~ without a stable government ~~or any~~ semblance of political freedom. ^{And no} When there was stability, there was dictatorship. Revolutions were not uncommon. Minor as Paraguay was in any

~~minor~~ scale of ~~value~~ international values, it was necessary for the United States government to be aware of all developments, especially revolutions. Also unusual in those days was the fact that the rank and file of the Army was a major force for democracy within the country.

During one of these revolutions, ~~when~~^{when} things were not going well for the dictatorship, the same one that ~~lingers~~^{lingers} ~~about~~^{after} four decades, with different dictators only and few of them, I noticed an obscure item in an Asuncion newspaper. Communication was nothing like what it is today ~~(in that era)~~. The newspapers were flown up to Washington, in time-taking stages, the longest of which was getting the papers out of that landlocked country with limited internal and international communications.

That little news report set me to thinking. I turned in an analysis that had not been asked of me, ~~the~~ conclusion of which was that there would be a change in command of the army loyal to the dictatorship and who the new military chief would be.

Within a short interval, it happened.

(As a side note on the CIA, then just established, its knowledge of Paraguay was so primitive its analysts couldn't identify the two major political parties. I recount this unimportant history for an important point: while it is sometimes necessary for an analyst to jump to conclusions, he must have a basis for them and if his judgement is less than it should be he can easily be quite wrong. In the midst of this revolution the CIA distributed a report on it and the two major parties, known as "Colorado" and "Blanco", red and white. It identified ~~the~~ Colorado party, apparently based on no more than its color symbol, as the ~~liberal~~^{leftward} one. ~~It~~^{It} was, in fact, ~~(the party behind the military dictatorship, a native fascist party.)~~^{of the right,}

So, the intelligence analyst is faced with instantaneous needs and inadequate information at the outset of almost any crisis. From less than complete data he must evolve a dependable analysis. It may change with the acquisition of additional data. Generally, it is updated, as need dictates.

As the essence of intelligence is analysis, not clandestine dirty tricks, so is the essence of analysis the extraction of meaning.

The process within the ~~an~~ analyst's mind can be roughly compared with that of the newspaper reporter whose story must tell who, what, where, when, why ^{sometimes} and how and whose ~~lead normally summarizes~~ "lead", or story opening, usually summarizes this information.

In order to extract the meaning of the event or development that takes his attention, the analyst seeks the answers to all possible questions ^{in doing this he} and then asks himself questions. ~~It is~~ ^{By} this simple process that in practise can be enormously complicated ~~that~~ the analyst evolves ^{and} analysis.

When each learned ~~that~~ the "republicans ^{were} had been caught with their hands in Democratic pockets, ~~so to speak~~, the end product of an instantaneous ^{analytical} ~~thought~~ process was the question, "What does it mean?". The ~~end product~~ ^{include a} of the analysis would ~~be~~ the analyst's statement of the meaning he attributed to this act. ^{bizarre}

foreign intelligence analyst specializing in the United States
In virtually every case, because every ~~analyst~~ can be assumed to be better informed than almost anyone in the United States, it can also be assumed that with incredulousness he immediately asked himself "why?", ~~knowing~~ Knowing the political situation within the United States, each analyst, unless blinded by his own prejudices, knew that Nixon was the odds-on favorite. Each therefore also knew that in normal terms, in normal politics and situations, there was no need for such a ~~crime~~ ^{an indignity}. A superior analyst may well have been baffled by ^{The idiosyncratic} ~~an utterly needless crime~~ that could have had such seriously counter-productive consequences.

with an insanity is more important because the seemingly insane has to be under stood, which is not easy.
"Why" ~~is~~ always an important question, ^{In this case,} because the event seemed so completely senseless, it is more than usually important.

~~The basic facts in this case~~ Assuming he is adequately prepared for his job, a country analyst has studied the country. He knows its history, customs, culture, pre-dominating attitudes, national trends in thought; in an academic sense, knows the political parties better than most of that country's reporters; has a good grasp of its economy and the state of the economy, its military strength and the attitudes and conflicts within the military command. Because he will draw much of his information from the press, he will know ~~its ownership~~, the political orientation of the ownership and how accurate ^{and dispo-} ~~is~~ its reporting has been. About the press it is likely that he will learn more on the job ^{where}

than he did in college. His concerns will include the influence and the sources to which he can attribute what ^{the} popular and widely-distributed write. A man like Jack Anderson would probably be a major study for a United States specialist, less because of the wide readership he has than because of the nature of his column and the inevitable ^{city} truth that his sources are largely, if clandestinely, official. ~~But~~ ⁹⁷ Above all, the analyst will be expert in the political parties, concentrating more on the one in power.

~~He~~ will make a virtual career of knowing all there is to know about ~~the~~ ^{the} leader, of each country and the party in power.

All this knowledge will be in the mind of the analyst when ^{major} any news ~~about his~~ country of specialty ~~reaches~~ ^{reaches} him. This news will be like the input of a programmed computer when it reaches him.

Prior to the arrests of that early morning of June 17, 1972, the United States analyst will have learned that the Republican Party and the presidency had both changed radically under Richard Nixon. He will also know that the institution of the presidency ^{The Great Depression and World War II, followed by} had ~~changed~~ ^{also} radically beginning with Franklin Delano Roosevelt, largely attributable to the fantastic growth of the country in all dimensions ^{influenced by national policy and} and the dramatically altered world situation.

~~is~~ ^a an example of the kind of factor that will ^{would} figure in the analysis of a foreign analyst ^{is the virtual certainty of the re-election of an incumbent} in assessing this ~~first~~ ^{crime as first report} there is what is generally not in ~~the~~ ^{Pres} ~~pres~~ ^{dent.} ~~Not since FOR beat Herbert Hoover has it not happened.~~ ~~the~~ ^{Not since FOR beat Herbert Hoover has it not happened.} minds of most Americans, that it is virtually automatic that an incumbent president is re-elected. Especially because none of the ~~leading~~ ^{would} Democratic candidates for president had any ~~wide~~ ^{would} mass base plus wide appeal ~~will~~ any dangerous act by or on behalf of Nixon capture the analyst's attention. It is foolhardy to jeopardize a sure thing.

In and of itself, this one factor would have startled every/intelligence ^{United States and diplomatic} analyst ~~on every~~ ^{United States desk.} in every country. That any Republicans ~~would~~ ^{vibrate etc} were caught in Democratic ~~head~~ national headquarters would ~~titillate~~ ^{vibrate etc} his antennae. That they were ~~the~~ ^{is truly exceptional, further capturing attention.} a Republican security chief, an unusual factor, plus four anti-Castro Cubans, another unusual factor, and ^{Washington the capital of a Banana republic, this would still be the} that this is a truly strange combination, still another and even more unusual factor, ^{stuff of musical comedy, not political reality.} would electrify those antennae and I am sure it did.

most
~~By and large~~ Castro-haters are "emocrat-haters. An immediate question would be, had the Republicans mobilized this ^{ethnic} internal, dissident forces? A team of four anti-Castroites led, ~~as would be presumed, whether or not accurately,~~ by a Republican official? *Or was*

Upon thought ~~xxxxxxx~~ the analyst would immediately wonder if, despite the capture of the official, this was some kind of unofficial excess? ^{It} is the improbability of this crime having any official auspices that was ^{exploited immediately} first seized upon by all Republican spokesmen as their excuse. These ^{burglars,} men, they proclaimed, were "self-starters." For a long time this ^{dodge} excuse had some credibility within the United States, witness the election results. It did not last long in foreign intelligence circles, for within a matter of days evidence of almost positive disproof was incontrovertible, evidence provided by the stupidity, arrogance and carelessness of the Cubans ~~in~~ and their mentor, indeed, their god, Hunt.

Hunt, ^{dominating} in my view, is a much more significant figure in the crime and that of which a catalogue of crimes not duplicated in our two centuries of national life, it was a minor part. ^{appeared,} As analysts would have undertaken to do as soon as his name sufficed, particularly because of how it surfaced, we shall examine him separately and at length.

But primarily and ^{very} early in ~~his~~ analysis, the past and the character of Richard Nixon would be recalled and reassessed. Had he gone crazy? Had ^{his} the party and its control fallen into insane hands? If this crime was connected with the party leadership or with Nixon, what in the world could they be up to? What could they possibly expect to find of value in "emocrat files?" ^{mad} what could they possibly hope to overhear that could begin to justify the great risks involved in what was at first called a "caper"? ~~like~~

~~this really far-out one?~~ ^{There are no internal explanations in terms of political realities, particularly with Nixon a probable shoe-in.}

~~The answer, obviously, is nothing in the context of the political realities, that Nixon was a probable shoe-in.~~

~~Here~~ ^{from} what connects the crime to the White House ~~also~~ focuses attention even more on Nixon. In any close following of factual developments, the immediate lies ^{to disassociate} about what connected the crime to the White House, even in the absence of other proofs that

211 - in paren below on Teapot dome, effort in brackets
immediately below [is this undesirable repetition?]
A Note to self;

were available soon enough, tended to bind the crime and the White House even closer.
Why should it lie? Why should it continue to lie, to evade, never to stop either
dishonesty?

What was permitted to be known in the first few days after the capture was ^{first} controlled
by the police. In every capital city, the police have special political problems. They *adapt to*
~~learn to live with and to survive~~ ^{special their} these problems, to cope with the ~~special~~ ^{if} situations.
~~What can be kept secret in a~~ ^{thus and do keep} ~~country~~ ^{so} supposedly open ^{Society} is astounding. From my youth I
~~have never forgotten the exposure~~ ^{they} ~~of~~ ~~an~~ ~~investigative~~ ~~reporter~~ ~~of~~ ~~that~~ ~~day~~,
William Hard, that as a United States Senator the man who was later President Warren
G. Harding was caught in a New York City whorehouse. His plea of Senatorial immunity
was honored, he was let go, and ^{for years} there was no publicity. Otherwise there would never
have been a Republican candidate ^{Harding}, a ^{Republican} President ^{Harding}, and no
Teapot Dome scandal that, for the first time, put a member of a president's cabinet
in jail. (^{the Attorney General} A second escaped conviction by the skin of his teeth. ^{He} ^{was} ^{guilty} as a
common grafter in a case of bribery involving a valuable, nationally-owned oil deposit.)
^{As unlike other capital cities,}
^{Washington's} ^{Nixon} Washington's police have a special, extra problem. There is no local self-govern-
ment. ~~The~~ ^{the} administration is appointed by the president. ~~In this case,~~ ^{in this case,} Nixon's appointees
~~run the city.~~

However, the press, particularly The Washington Post, was persistent. ~~and~~ ~~The~~
police and the city's administration have to live with the press, too. The press can
make their lives miserable. Besides, by law, even though the law is bent and broken,
some evidence of crimes is required to be available.

^{Chain that bound the burglars}
The ~~link that was to be a~~ ~~lock~~ to the White House, that arrogance and stupidity
of the Cubans and Hunt, was known to the police, ^{immediately. They} ~~who~~ kept it secret, ~~from the moment~~
~~of the arrest.~~ The Cubans had room keys. All hotels are identified on the tabs to which
the keys are attached. The persons and the rooms of the Cubans were overloaded with
the most incriminating evidence.