

4 EXPERTS ASSAIL U.S. COVERT ACTION

Clifford, Vance and Others
Tell Panel Such Methods
Harm National Interests

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5 (AP)—Covert action aimed against foreign governments has damaged the reputation of the United States and should be severely curbed, four authorities on issues of national security said today.

"Many of the problems which beset the intelligence community result from historical slips on the banana peel of covert action," said David A. Phillips, a former Central Intelligence Agency official who was involved in undercover operations.

"Our reputation has been damaged and our capacity for ethical and moral world leadership has been impaired," said Clark M. Clifford, former Secretary of Defense.

Mr. Clifford told the Senate Intelligence Committee it was clear that covert operations have gotten out of hand.

Knowledge about such operations has become so widespread," he said, "that our country has been accused of being responsible for practically every internal difficulty that has occurred in every country in the world."

Security Need Stressed

Cyrus R. Vance, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, said he believed it should be United States policy to engage in covert actions only when it was "absolutely essential" to the security of the nation.

By covert operations, the witnesses were referring to secret actions taken to influence another country's attitudes and public opinion, including attempts to change the government or course of events. Most of the witnesses did not oppose other intelligence-gathering operations.

However, Morton Halperin, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for National Security Affairs, said all or most of the United States clandestine intelligence-gathering operatives should be called home.

The other witnesses said the capability for such action should be retained. Mr. Phillips said that ending covert operations entirely would be like disbanding the Army in peacetime or "abolishing the office of the President because it has been once abused."

Mr. Clifford and Mr. Vance proposed a complete overhaul of the 1947 National Security Act to make certain that all covert action proposals are considered and approved only at the top level of the executive branch and reviewed in advance of their implementation by a Congressional committee.

Ex-Ambassadors' Testimony

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5—The Senate committee's hearing yesterday was largely devoted to statements and testimony from three former United States diplomats involved with Chile: Ralph A. Dungan, Ambassador between 1964 and 1967; Edward M. Korry, Ambassador between 1967 and 1971, and Charles A. Meyer, who was Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs from 1969 to 1973.

Mr. Dungan urged in a statement that the C.I.A.'s clandestine operations apparatus be sharply reduced in size and that its functions be centered more on intelligence gathering.

Mr. Meyer confirmed in brief testimony statements in the report that he was uncomfortable about intervention in Chile's internal affairs.

Mr. Korry angrily charged that Senator Frank Church, chairman of the select committee, and committee staff members had tried to keep him from testifying. He charged that the committee report painted Dr. Allende and the Marxists in Chile in an entirely favorable light while making the United States representatives appear to be "goons."

He said that this was an inaccurate "rewriting of history." Mr. Korry said he neither approved nor knew of plans to cause a military coup in 1970 and had argued against such an approach.

In a 28-page letter to Senator Church, given to reporters at the hearing, Mr. Korry charged that an article in the Sept. 8 issue of The New York Times had been leaked by a counsel on another subcommittee headed by Senator Church.

The article, the Korry statement said contained material critical of him.

Mr. Korry's statement continued:

"Do you not find these accusations by your staff, leaked sneaky anonymity without any prior notification, without any communication to me, of any kind, without any opportunity to this date to examine charges or to rebut them, a callous, even criminal abuse of the U.S. judicial process?"

C.I.A. Called 'Amoral'

Also during his appearance, a brief one devoted mainly to reading parts of his letter, Mr. Korry described the C.I.A. as "amoral."

"It was authorized by Congress to be so," he added. "It was paid to be."

His letter said the agency could "operate behind my back, not merely with the President of the United States, but with Chileans and private Americans, because the whole process of espionage and intel-

ligence, like knowledge, confers immense power, and because the C.I.A. was the one permanent institution to tie the past to the present in the influential and persuasive arena of clandestine political activity."

Nevertheless, Mr. Korry strongly defended the actions of C.I.A. representatives in Chile during his tenure. He said they were fulfilling their "rightful responsibilities and by precedents legitimized by successive Presidents and Congresses."

Mr. Korry charged that Senator Church had covered up real events in Chile.

Was not the cover-up, he asked, "indispensable to your concoction of a simplistic and monstrous black and white mythology—a legend in which the American bullyboys kicked and cuffed small and innocent Social Democrats because they only wanted control of their resources, and because they only wished to implement some progressive socio-economic programs, and besides, weren't they democratically elected?"

While the committee staff reported that it could establish no direct operational involvement by the C.I.A. or United States Embassy in the 1973 coup, the members agreed during a press briefing today that the United States policy had "created the atmosphere" in Chile for Dr. Allende's removal.

1964 Election Influenced

According to the committee staff, the attempts to manipulate the Chilean Government were most intense in 1963 and 1964 and from 1970 to 1973. The staff reported that the United States supplied \$3.4 million to help bring about the election of Eduardo Frei Montalva, a Christian Democrat, as President in 1964, defeating a coalition of Marxist parties. Mr. Frei's party also won control of the Chamber of Deputies.

At the briefing session with reporters today, committee staff members asserted that Mr. Kissinger was the central figure designing United States policy in Chile during the Nixon years. They said that as national security adviser and chairman of the 40 Committee, which authorizes covert operations, he was constantly being pressed by President Nixon to get things done.

The report said the effort to stop Dr. Allende's election began in the spring of 1970. It said that Mr. Korry, who was then Ambassador, submitted a plan to spend \$500,000 to affect the Congressional vote if there was a runoff.

This was rejected on June 27, the committee said, but it added that the 40 Committee, an arm of the National Security Council that is supposed to review all clandestine operations, voted \$300,000 to be used as a "spoiling" operation in the election. The State Department, the report said, opposed this.

The report recalled that after the Allende inauguration, President Nixon said in his 1971 State of the World Message: "We are prepared to have the kind of relationship with the Chilean Government that it is prepared to have with us."

The report then said:

"Yet, public pronouncements notwithstanding, after Allende's inauguration the 40 Committee approved a total of over \$7 million in covert support to opposition groups in Chile."

It said the money also funded an extensive anti-Allende propaganda campaign.

"The C.I.A. rebuilt its new network of contacts," the report asserted "and remained close to Chilean military officers in order to monitor developments within the armed forces."