

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

11 May 2026

John Greenewald
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Reference: F-2014-02258

Dear Requester:

This letter is a final response to your 10 August 2014 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request seeking a **copy of all records pertaining to what is now referred to as Debategate or briefing-gate**. We processed your request in accordance with the FOIA (5 U.S.C. § 552, as amended, and the CIA Information Act, 50 U.S.C. § 3141, as amended).

We completed a thorough search for records responsive to your request and located 22 documents. One enclosed document can be released in its entirety and 13 enclosed documents can be released in segregable form with deletions made on the basis of FOIA exemptions (b)(3) and/or (b)(6). Exemption (b)(3) pertains to information exempt from disclosure by statute. The relevant statutes are Section 6 of the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, as amended, and Section 102A(i)(1) of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended.

As the CIA Information and Privacy Coordinator, I am the CIA official responsible for this determination. You have the right to appeal this response to the Agency Release Panel, in my care, within 90 days from the date of this letter. Please explain the basis for your appeal.

Please note several of the enclosed documents contain information that is or may be copyrighted. Copying or further dissemination without the permission of the copyright owners is prohibited.

The remaining eight documents have been previously released and are available to you on CIA's Electronic Reading Room (ERR) at:

- www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85M00364R002204260006-3.pdf
- www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85M00364R001703320052-2.pdf
- www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP88-01070R000200750004-2.pdf
- www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP88-01070R000200750005-1.pdf
- www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP88-01070R000200750006-0.pdf
- www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP88-01070R000200750007-9.pdf
- www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP88-01070R000200750008-8.pdf
- www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP86B00885R000300390023-7.pdf

In an effort to assist you, if you have not already done so, we suggest you also use the Advanced Search feature on the ERR with the terms "debategate" OR "briefing-gate" for additional documents which may be of interest to you.

Please be advised that you may also seek dispute-resolution services from the CIA FOIA Public Liaison or from the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) of the National Archives and Records Administration. OGIS offers mediation services to help resolve disputes between FOIA requesters and Federal agencies. Please note, contacting CIA's FOIA Public Liaison or OGIS does not affect your right to pursue an administrative appeal.

To contact CIA directly with questions or to appeal the CIA's response to the Agency Release Panel:	To contact the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) for mediation or with questions:
Information and Privacy Coordinator Central Intelligence Agency Washington, DC 20505 TEL: (703) 613-1287 FAX: (703) 613-3007	Office of Government Information Services National Archives and Records Administration 8601 Adelphi Road – OGIS College Park, MD 20740-6001 TEL: (202) 741-5770 FAX: (202) 741-5769 / ogis@nara.gov

Sincerely,



Stephen Glenn
Information and Privacy Coordinator

Enclosures

This document is made available through the declassification efforts
and research of John Greenewald, Jr., creator of:

The Black Vault



The Black Vault is the largest online Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)
document clearinghouse in the world. The research efforts here are
responsible for the declassification of hundreds of thousands of pages
released by the U.S. Government & Military.

Discover the Truth at: **<http://www.theblackvault.com>**

Mr. Cormack *RL*

7/1/02
ETK
-file

Copies of this have
already been placed
in Sat morning
~~bro~~ books for DCI,
DDCI, and DDI.

- CPAS/SOO

(we were unable to contact you
Friday night concerning
receipt of this memo).

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 8, 1983 NUMBER: 073469CA DUE BY: --

SUBJECT: Carter Campaign Debate Materials

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
ALL CABINET MEMBERS	☒	☐	Baker	☐	☐
Vice President	☐	☐	Deaver	☐	☐
State	☐	☐	Clark	☐	☐
Treasury	☐	☐	Darman (For WH Staffing)	☐	☐
Defense	☐	☐	Harper	☐	☐
Attorney General	☐	☐	Jenkins	☐	☐
Interior	☐	☐		☐	☐
Agriculture	☐	☐		☐	☐
Commerce	☐	☐		☐	☐
Labor	☐	☐		☐	☐
HHS	☐	☐		☐	☐
HUD	☐	☐		☐	☐
Transportation	☐	☐		☐	☐
Energy	☐	☐		☐	☐
Education	☐	☐		☐	☐
Counsellor	☐	☐		☐	☐
OMB	☐	☐		☐	☐
CIA	☐	☐		☐	☐
UN	☐	☐		☐	☐
USTR	☐	☐		☐	☐
CEA	☐	☐	COCT/Gunn	☐	☐
CEQ	☐	☐	CCEA/Porter	☐	☐
OSTP	☐	☐	CCFA/Boggs	☐	☐
SELECTED AGENCIES	☒	☐	CCHR/Carleson	☐	☐
	☐	☐	CCLP/Uhlmann	☐	☐
			CCMA/Bledsoe	☐	☐
			CCNRE/Boggs	☐	☐

REMARKS:

See attached.

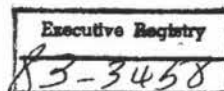
RETURN TO:

☒ Craig L. Fuller
Assistant to the President
for Cabinet Affairs
456-2823

☐ Becky Norton Dunlop
Director, Office of
Cabinet Affairs
456-2800

L299

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



July 8, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CABINET AND SELECTED AGENCY HEADS

FROM: EDWIN MEESE III *EM*
SUBJECT: Carter Campaign Debate Materials

The President has asked that anyone with information or documents related to the allegations that the Reagan/Bush campaign organization may have received briefing materials prepared for the former President provide such information to the Office of the Attorney General, Room 5111, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.

In addition to forwarding any information to the Attorney General, anyone contacted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation is to fully cooperate with them in their investigation of this matter.

If you have any questions concerning campaign materials or the Justice Department investigation you should feel free to contact Fred Fielding, Counsel to the President.

Please bring this request to the attention of anyone in your organization who had any connection with the Reagan/Bush campaign.

Thank you for your cooperation.



WASHINGTON POST
3 July 1983ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 2

The Case of the Carter Briefing Book

Only a Special Prosecutor Can Clear the Air

Joseph A. Califano Jr.

It may be a tempest in a teapot. But how Ronald Reagan handles the case of the Carter briefing book may be as important as the who, what, when and where of the true facts.

After working in Lyndon Johnson's White House and watching John Kennedy and Jimmy Carter at close range, I know exactly how he feels.

Granted, Carter aides are stirring up the story because they're bitter in defeat, and envious of Reagan's adept maneuvering in Washington compared with their own dismal failure here.

Granted, the press seems hell-bent to relieve the summer doldrums by reporting this story as another Watergate, just the way they keep trying to make El Salvador into Vietnam.

Granted, Democratic politicians are cynically and gleefully attacking the president on the only weak point they've found.

Granted, the press that honors Bob Woodward, Carl Bernstein and Seymour Hersh for aggressively getting government documents and tricking news sources into revelation is distinctly hypocritical.

Granted, some of the president's aides have made incredibly dumb and indiscreet statements to writers and reporters.

Granted, Reagan never knew anything about the Carter briefing materials.

Granted, Carter played campaign politics as cynically as his aides' worst insinuations about "debategate," with his charges that Reagan was racist and his manipulation of the hostage crisis to help defeat Sen. Edward Kennedy.

Granted, the concerns of William Casey and top Reagan campaign aides that Carter would again manipulate the hostage situation to win the election were totally justified.

Granted, each time Dan Rather and his colleagues on the other networks report the story they seem to do it with ever more zest.

Granted, there were far more important questions to ask at the presidential press conference last week.

Let's assume Reagan is right about each of the above. So what?

As John Kennedy said about the draft and as Jimmy Carter said about Medicaid abortions for poor women, life is unfair. And no one's life is more unfair than the president's.

With all the problems they face, most American presidents have had to deal with some touch of scandal, even when they had nothing to do with it. Dwight Eisenhower had Sherman Adams. Lyndon Johnson had Bobby Baker.

How these presidents handled their problems had more to do with their presidencies than the way the problems were resolved. Eisenhower let Sherman Adams go into exile in New Hampshire. Johnson let the criminal justice system work its way until Bobby Baker went to jail.

Ronald Reagan must be mad as hell. There's no question that he would have been elected president overwhelmingly, even if his aides had never seen one page of Carter campaign materials. The fact that Speaker Tip O'Neill agrees publicly makes the situation even harder to take.

But the issue is not whether the situation is fair to Reagan, or whether the behavior of ex-Carter aides and some Democrats and the pack mentality of the press are outrageous. What's important to Reagan, the presidency and the country is what he does now.

Fortunately for us, the interests of the president and the interests of the country coincide. Ronald Reagan's course of action seems clear: he should tell the attorney general to seek court appointment of a special prosecutor.

Given the recent history of the presidency, the consuming interest of the media and the smell of blood among some Democrats, no investigation by Reagan's attorney general or even the FBI working under him will be seen as being honest and objective. In Reagan's predicament, candor rendered is candor perceived. More than most recent presidents, Reagan seems to understand this.

The need for a special prosecutor has nothing to do with the integrity of FBI Director William Webster, which is beyond reproach, or with the professionalism of Attorney General William French Smith, which is unquestioned. It has everything to do with the facts Ronald Reagan has been slapped in the face with and whether he can accept them.

My own instincts are that our country would be far better off if Congress and the press would spend more time in searching coverage of the ravages of drug abuse, the plight of prison inmates, Pentagon waste, the indignities to which we subject millions of senior citizens in nursing homes, health care costs, race discrimination, the graying of America, the financial crisis of The Third World, etc., etc.

But we do not live in Thomas More's Utopia. We live in these United States in the 1980s.

Our best hope of clearing the air, restoring some balance to press coverage of the grave issues that face us in Washington, and freeing up the president and his top aides to fulfill their important public obligations to govern America is to get the facts out credibly and promptly. Only an independent special prosecutor can do that for the president and the country.

Whether Ronald Reagan can accept the unfairness of the situation he's in and squarely confront it by asking for a special prosecutor will tell us a lot about how much he has learned about being president.

The writer, a Washington attorney, was President Johnson's top domestic aide from 1965 through 1969 and was Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare from 1977 to 1979.

ABC World News Tonight
23 June 1983

1980 CAMPAIGN
BOOK

BRINKLEY: Then there's the question of the briefing book made up for Jimmy Carter to use in a 1980 campaign debate--full of snappy phrases and punchy remarks about the issues of that time. But somehow, either the Carter camp leaked it to the Reagan camp, or somebody stole it. In any case, it wound up in the Reagan staff's hands, and now the Democrats are asking questions about it, and Reagan officials have answered, by letter. Here's Sam Donaldson at the White House.

DONALDSON: In their letters to Capitol Hill today, top White House officials acknowledged they knowing used briefing material

obtained from the Carter camp to prepare then-Governor Reagan for the Carter-Reagan debate. But they said they didn't know how their side obtained the material, and it wasn't very important anyway. Budget Director David Stockman, who played the Carter practice stand-in role with then-Governor Reagan said he received a 'thick unbound set of papers... which appeared to be a compilation of policy issues.' He said, 'it was apparent to me at the time that they had in some way come from the Carter campaign.' 'I found the documents useful,' he said. Communications Director David Gergen, responsible for editing materials for the Reagan debate team said he does 'not recall seeing such material,' but he does recall 'hearing that it existed.' Chief of Staff James Baker, then the Reagan debate coordinator, said he does 'remember briefly seeing a large loose leaf bound book that was thought to have been given to the Reagan camp by someone with the Carter campaign.' Baker said he didn't know then or now how it was obtained, but that William Casey, then campaign manager, gave it to him. But there the trail grows cold, because Casey, now CIA Director, says he has no recollection that he ever '...received, heard of, or learned in any other way of a set of papers which laid out the Carter debate plan.' However, Casey does not answer the question of whether he ever saw any material obtained from the Carter camp. The House sub-committee chairman, a Democrat who's looking into the matter, says he won't accept today's, 'We don't know how it happened,' response. REP. DONALD ALBOSTA (D-Mich.): Maybe we ought to just get the papers and see if there's legs on them, maybe they just walked over there. But, that isn't the case, of course, and what we have to find out is, basically I believe, is how they got there, and who might be involved.

DONALADSON: None of the four Reagan officials would agree on a telephone interview on this subject today. They say the Democrats are simply playing politics with a matter that is inconsequential. But with the Democrats already calling for the appointment of a special prosecutor, it is unlikely that this matter will simply fade away. Sam Donaldson, ABC News, the White House.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-1

NEW YORK TIMES
6 July 1983

Casey Says He 'Wouldn't Touch' Papers From the Carter Campaign

Disputes a Recollection by Other Reagan Aide on Presidential Race

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 5 — William J. Casey said today that it would have been "totally uncharacteristic and quite incredible" for him to have obtained President Carter's debate strategy plans for use by the aides who prepared Ronald Reagan for the 1980 campaign debate with Mr. Carter.

"It could have destroyed the campaign," Mr. Casey, who was Mr. Reagan's campaign manager and is now Director of Central Intelligence, declared in an interview.

Mr. Casey differed in his strongest terms thus far with the recollection of the White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, that the private Carter debate papers used to rehearse Mr. Reagan had come directly from Mr. Casey.

'I Know That's Dynamite'

"After being involved in seven Presidential campaigns, I know that's dynamite," Mr. Casey said emphatically in denying any knowledge of the Carter papers. "I wouldn't tolerate it. I wouldn't touch it with a 10-foot pole."

Mr. Casey's comments on the campaign controversy heightened the difference between his version and Mr. Baker's account, which is the focus of investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a House committee.

The decision by Mr. Casey to discuss the controversy underlined the Reagan Administration's increasing anxiety over the matter. In recent days, staff feuding at the White House has flared anew, with partisans of Mr. Casey and Mr. Baker criticizing one another and blaming the rival factions for the debate incident. President Reagan finally ordered a Justice Department inquiry after first dismissing the affair as "much ado about nothing."

Possible 'Setup' Seen

Mr. Baker's office said this evening he was on his way from Texas to Washington and could not be reached immediately to comment on Mr. Casey's statements.

Mr. Casey faulted the debate preparation team that was headed by Mr. Baker as "remiss" in not telling the Reagan hierarchy, he said, of the use of secret Carter material so that the political risks of a possible "setup" by the opposition could have been assessed.

Mr. Baker said last week that he was given some Carter debate material "by William Casey with the suggestion that it might be of use to the debate briefing team."

In commenting on this today, Mr. Casey said that he was not directly contradicting Mr. Baker. It was possible he might have handed on some papers to Mr. Baker without studying them, he said, but highly unlikely that he would have overlooked the hundreds of pages of Carter materials that were found in Reagan campaign files and that are currently being investigated by the Justice Department.

"It would be totally uncharacteristic and quite incredible that I would hand anybody a book I knew to be from the Carter campaign and say this might be helpful to the debate," Mr. Casey said. "I would have said to myself, 'What a setup this would be to hand us something from the Carter White House that could blow us out of the water a week later.'"

Aides to Mr. Carter, charging that the Reagan campaign had obtained a steady flow of secrets from the Carter White House, have contended that the Reagan campaign officials' ready acceptance and use of the campaign material is evidence that they had great confidence in their informer's reliability.

Papers Termed Innocuous

Thus far, the Reagan Administration has not offered a full explanation of how the Carter materials were obtained. Those Reagan officials who concede the materials were used in the debate preparation contend they were generally innocuous, and President Reagan, denying any knowledge of the papers, has speculated they came from a "disgruntled" Carter official.



The New York Times

William J. Casey

Mr. Casey said he agreed to repeated requests for an interview in order to reassure "the thousands of Reagan campaign workers around the country that the campaign was properly and honorably conducted."

In describing the Reagan campaign operations, Mr. Casey said that Mr. Baker's debate team was operating on its own in using the Carter materials. Mr. Baker and other Reagan officials, in minimizing the value of the Carter papers, have denied that they had any active informer, or "mole," in the Carter White House.

David A. Stockman, the Reagan Administration's director of the budget, confirmed last week that in 1980 he had casually acknowledged using "pilfered" material from the Carter camp in his role of playing Mr. Carter's part in debate rehearsals with Mr. Reagan. Mr. Stockman said that he had used that term colorfully and lightly and that while the material was useful, it involved no information not widely known on the campaign's public record.

'Jim Baker's Mistaken'

In the interview today, Mr. Casey said all this was news to him as it was disclosed last week.

"The campaign had no intelligence organization as such," he said. "Except the whole organization had their antennae out."

CONTINUED

THE NEW YORK TIMES
4 July 1983

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A 8

CASEY MADE CALL ON CARTER PAPERS

Ex-Robert Kennedy Aide Says
C.I.A. Director Wanted to
'Refresh His Memory'

By PHIL GAILEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 3 — William J. Casey, the chairman of Ronald Reagan's 1980 Presidential campaign, has apparently sought to refresh his memory about Carter White House briefing papers supplied to the Reagan campaign with a telephone call to a one-time aide of Robert F. Kennedy.

The former aide, Paul Corbin, said in an interview today that Mr. Casey called him in Aruba last week in relation to published reports that before the Carter-Reagan debate, papers prepared to help Mr. Carter were somehow passed to the Reagan campaign. Mr. Corbin, who supported Mr. Reagan in 1980, said he told Mr. Casey that he had provided no such papers.

Some of Mr. Reagan's senior aides, including James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff, have admitted receiving the papers, but they have vague and differing recollections as to how they did so. Mr. Baker said he recalled that Mr. Casey had sent them to him, but Mr. Casey said in a letter to a House subcommittee that he had "no recollection that I ever received, heard of or learned in any other way" of the Carter documents.

White House Abandons Inquiry

Mr. Casey, now Director of Central Intelligence, has declined to return repeated telephone calls in the past few days.

The White House has supplied the Federal Bureau of Investigation with the names of persons interviewed by Fred J. Fielding, the President's counsel, as part of an internal White House inquiry into how the Reagan campaign obtained the papers. Among the names, according to an Administration official, are those of secretaries and low-level employees who had worked in the Nixon and Ford Administrations and were held over by the Carter White House.

In Santa Barbara, Calif., where President Reagan and his wife, Nancy, are spending a long weekend at their ranch, Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said the White House had abandoned its own inquiry into the purloined papers now that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had begun its investigation.

Mr. Speakes also said that a published report that Mr. Fielding had provided the Justice Department with a list

of potential suspects from the White House staff members he interviewed had been "badly hyped." He said Mr. Fielding would make the names of people he had interrogated available to the department, but that these people should not be considered "suspects."

As the criminal investigation goes forward, the F.B.I. has scheduled appointments this week with senior Reagan aides, including Mr. Baker and David R. Gergen, the White House director of communications, as well as with a number of former Carter aides.

Mr. Corbin, who worked in the Presidential campaigns of John and Robert Kennedy and campaigned for Mr. Reagan in 1980, confirmed today that Mr. Casey had called him last Wednesday in Aruba, where he was vacationing. He said he told Mr. Casey that the only information he had provided was some "speech" material on crime from Adam Walinsky, a former aide to Robert Kennedy, chairman of the New York State Commission of Investigation at the time.

"He called me and said he wanted to refresh his memory on whether I had given him anything other than that Walinsky speech and I told him I had not," said Mr. Corbin. "Casey said that somebody said, 'You gave me something,' and I said what I gave you was the speech."

Mr. Walinsky said in an interview that what he had sent the Reagan campaign at Mr. Corbin's request was basically the same material he provided to anyone on request.

Meanwhile, Representative Donald J. Albosta, the Michigan Democrat who is heading a Congressional investigation into whether ethics and criminal law were violated by the transfer of Carter materials to the Reagan campaign, said he thought Mr. Casey would make "a very interesting witness" before his subcommittee.

"Certainly," Mr. Albosta said in a weekend interview on the Cable News Network, "there's something there in Mr. Casey's memory that seems to have gone blank. He could remember details during the hearings he had with the Senate on many items of years back."

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-1

White House Drops Probe Of Debate Book

By Lou Cannon and Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writers

The White House has given the FBI names of potential suspects who may have provided documents from the Carter White House to the Reagan campaign organization in 1980, and has dropped its own inquiry into the matter, administration officials said yesterday.

White House counsel Fred F. Fielding has sent a memo to several hundred persons involved in the Reagan presidential campaign directing them immediately to give the Justice Department any information they have, officials said. They added that Fielding's office would no longer play an active role in the inquiry except when asked to do so by the department.

Fielding's office is bowing out of the inquiry, said officials, to "avoid confusion" with the Justice Department investigation and with an inquiry by a House subcommittee headed by Rep. Donald J. Albosta (D-Mich.). The White House will continue to "cooperate fully" with both investigations, according to an official.

This official said the White House wants to help all it can but is concerned that continuing a separate investigation would be misinterpreted as an attempt to suppress potential evidence rather than produce it.

"There's a fine line to walk between stonewalling and cover-up," he added.

Meanwhile, high-level sources firmly discounted published reports of possible resignations by some administration officials. These reports have centered on Office of Management and Budget Director David A. Stockman, who has acknowledged that "pilfered" material assisted him in his preparation as a Carter stand-in during a Reagan rehearsal for the presidential debate, and on White House communications director David A. Gergen, who was coordinating debate preparation.

Gergen said he found Carter materials in his files a week after stating that he did not remember receiving the documents from James A. Baker III, who in 1980 was in charge of debate negotiations and is now White House

chief of staff. Baker has recalled receiving the documents from William J. Casey, then the Reagan campaign manager and now director of central intelligence, but Casey has said he has "no recollection" of seeing the material or giving it to anyone.

WASHINGTON POST
3 July 1983

One official said there "isn't going to be any scapegoating" of Gergen. Another official said there has been no White House pressure on Stockman to resign.

While the president spent the holiday weekend in the seclusion of his California ranch, the prevalent attitude of the White House was to ride out the storm. One official said that "the president isn't going to jump to any conclusions" and that he believes that accounts of the incident may have been overblown by the press and Democratic partisans.

Yesterday, a Democratic senator who long has been critical of Casey's active stock trading during his tenure as CIA director called upon Casey to resign.

"I have consistently doubted the integrity of Bill Casey," said Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.).

DeConcini added that he thought the president "wants to get at the bottom of it," and he joined growing Democratic demands that a special prosecutor should be named.

Justice Department officials have said that Attorney General William French Smith will take this action if the investigation warrants it.

An administration official said yesterday that the White House wants to avoid "keeping the story going" pending the outcome of the investigations.

"The president's going to have as little to say possible," said a high-ranking administration official. "Some of us wished he hadn't said anything in the first place."

This was a reference to Reagan's original dismissal of the event as "much ado about nothing." Since

then, Reagan has called for the Justice Department inquiry, and White House spokesman Larry Speakes said in Santa Barbara yesterday that "the man [Reagan] is clear as a bell" that he wants a full investigation. On Friday, Speakes said Reagan would

be "totally responsive" to any question put to him by the FBI.

Albosta said yesterday that he

would attempt to resolve the discrepancies between the accounts of Casey and the White House aides.

"Certainly there's something there

in Mr. Casey's memory that seems to have gone blank," Albosta said on Cable News Network. "He could remember details during the hearings he had with the Senate on many items of . . . years back. I would think that Mr. Casey probably would be a very interesting witness before our committee."

In a separate interview on the same network, Carter's White House chief of staff, Hamilton Jordan, said disclosure of the incident during the 1980 campaign would have hurt Reagan's reputation for honesty.

If widespread publicity had been given to Stockman's statement to a Michigan audience on the day of the debate that he used "pilfered" documents to prepare Reagan, Jordan said, "I think that would have gone right against the image that President Reagan had developed of being an honorable, well-intentioned man."

But he said Carter still would have lost the election.

"I would contend the Reagan people

did not do the honorable thing," Jordan said. "They received these materials, which I would have to classify as being stolen goods, and they utilized them."

"These papers belong to the president of the United States . . . They were removed from the White House by some person. That, I would think, is an illegal act . . . There were only about six or seven people that had copies of them. It was treated as a very sensitive political document."

Asked whether the incident was any different than commonplace leaks to reporters, Jordan said, "I think there's an enormous difference in someone leaking a document to a member of the press to get it into the public domain, and someone taking a political document, secretly, and giving to the political opposition for use in a quiet way in a presidential debate."

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-17

WASHINGTON POST
15 June 1984

FILE ONLY

Reagan Says 'No One' Saw '80 Briefing Book

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Reagan, contradicting the findings of majority Democrats on a congressional subcommittee, last night said that "no one" in his 1980 presidential campaign saw or obtained a briefing book prepared for then-President Carter before the Oct. 28 preelection debate with Reagan that year.

"I think there is one thing that ought to be cleared up about this whole case," Reagan told a nationally televised news conference. "... We still keep calling it the briefing book. Now, it was established quite a while ago that the so-called [Carter] 'debate briefing book'... never has been in our possession.

"All that was uncovered were some position papers, the type of things that were issues during the campaign," he added. "And all of it had been out in the open and made public as the campaign went on, before the debate. But the briefing book, if you will remember, the briefing book, it was pointed out, finally someone located on the other side and there it was and no one on this side ever saw it, nor was it ever in our hands."

Democrats in the majority on a House subcommittee chaired by Rep. Donald J. Albosta (D-Mich.) reported that the panel had found evidence to the contrary in its investigation of how Carter material got into the Reagan campaign.

The subcommittee reported: "Before the Oct. 28, 1980, debate between President Carter and Governor Reagan, the Reagan-Bush campaign obtained foreign policy and national defense briefing papers prepared to assist President Carter in that debate, and also acquired briefing papers on those subjects prepared for Vice President Mondale.

"The Carter debate briefing papers were used by persons connected with the Reagan-Bush campaign to enhance Governor Reagan's performance in the debate. The persons using these papers were aware that they were using Carter debate briefing materials."

The panel noted that last summer, former Reagan campaign aides David R. Gergen and Frank Hodsoll "each produced from their files copies of the Carter foreign policy 'big book'..." and that other campaign aides remember seeing a more

condensed briefing book on foreign policy prepared only a week before the Cleveland debate.

The report also concluded that it "appears" that the Reagan campaign "had some version" of Carter's domestic-issues briefing book, "perhaps not the final effort, but at least an earlier draft."

The Albosta panel said that some of the Carter material that Reagan aides gathered in 1980 was publicly available. But the subcommittee also reported that the foreign policy briefing materials were "most likely" taken from the Carter National Security Council front office or the White House Situation Room, both "secured areas with limited access."

Reagan also was asked about the apparent contradiction between White House chief of staff James A. Baker III and CIA Director William J. Casey over how the material was obtained. Baker has said he received it from Casey. Casey has said he does not remember giving it to Baker. Both officials held key positions in the 1980 Reagan campaign.

Reagan said he had asked Casey and Baker about their differing recollections and added, "I think they're easily understandable. One has no recollection, and I can understand that, from a campaign... something that might have come through his office and been passed on..."

Questioned as to whether an independent counsel should look into the matter, Reagan said "that matter is in court now," but if one is required, he will order officials to cooperate. "Frankly, based on that Democratic committee report, it didn't make any sense at all. This has been investigated thoroughly."

On other matters, Reagan said that his tax cuts had been "more beneficial" to the poor "than to anyone else." He said "the figures belie" the charge from critics that "our tax program has benefited the rich."

This appears to be a shift from Reagan's earlier statements that his across-the-board tax cut was evenhanded.

On other topics, Reagan:

- Said he would "look forward to" a debate with his Democratic presidential opponent.

- Said he does not view as the "death knell" of affirmative action this week's Supreme Court decision that courts may not interfere with seniority systems to protect jobs of newly hired blacks when layoffs are necessary.



Department of Justice

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1984

AG
202-633-2007

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE REGARDING THE CARTER DEBATE BRIEFING MATERIALS

In June of 1983 the Federal Bureau of Investigation commenced an intensive investigation into how certain briefing materials prepared for President Carter prior to the October 1980 Presidential Debate were obtained by individuals assisting the campaign of Ronald Reagan. This investigation has now been closed by the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. Although every lead has been followed to its conclusion, the investigation has not been able to determine precisely how the briefing materials in question were transmitted. However, the investigation uncovered no credible evidence that the transfer violated any criminal law.

This report sets forth a description of the investigative process, a summary and analysis of the investigative results, and a discussion of the applicable law.

I. THE INVESTIGATION

In mid June of last year there were reports that briefing books prepared for President Carter were improperly obtained by Reagan aides just prior to the October 28, 1983 presidential debate. In response to both the many questions raised in the press and the President's specific request, on June 29, 1983 the Department requested the FBI to "conduct an appropriate investigation to ascertain how the materials were obtained and by whom."

From June 1983 to February 1984 the FBI, in coordination with the Public Integrity Section of the Criminal Division, has conducted an investigation into the circumstances of the briefing materials as well as several other related matters that arose during the investigation. Over 220 individuals including President Reagan and many other high officials of both the Carter and Reagan campaign were interviewed one or more times. Approximately one thousand boxes of documents, audio and video tapes were reviewed by the FBI including the Reagan campaign files, videotapes of the Debate preparations and hundreds of other documents relating to facts and circumstances in the investigation. In addition, where appropriate, forensic laboratory examinations of documents were conducted. All FBI interviews have been reviewed by and all documents acquired by the FBI in the course of the investigation have been provided to the House Subcommittee on Human Resources of the Post Office and

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ON PAGE A-7

BALTIMORE SUN
24 June 1983

Excerpts from Reagan campaign aides on Carter material

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Following are excerpts from letters sent in response to queries on how the 1980 Reagan campaign obtained Carter campaign briefing material.

—o—

From James A. Baker III:

"In 1980, sometime after the Reagan-Anderson debate and before the Reagan-Carter debate, I do remember briefly seeing a large looseleaf bound book ... that was thought to have been given to the Reagan camp by someone with the Carter campaign. But I do not believe this was strategic material. It is my best recollection that I was given the book by William Casey, with the suggestion that it might be of use to the Debate

Briefing Team. I should note, however, that I have recently checked this recollection with him, and while he has not contested my recollection, he has no such recollection of his own. It is my further recollection that after briefly thumbing through the binder, I passed it on to the Debate Briefing Team, headed by David Gergen and Frank Hodsoll."

—o—

From William J. Casey:

"I have no recollection that I ever received, heard of or learned in any other way of a set of papers which laid out the Carter debate plan or the points which President Carter had planned to make as described in Mr. Barrett's account.

"Upon receiving your letter I checked with my secretary during

the campaign, two of my special assistants and five of the deputy campaign directors and none of them have any knowledge that the campaign ever received or had any paper or information resembling that described by Mr. Barrett."

—o—

From David R. Gergen:

"I do not recall ever receiving or seeing a 'Carter debate book' or any other notebook from the Carter campaign

"It is possible that I did see some pages of 'Carter material' for a brief period, but I do not recall it.

"I do recall hearing that some material from the Carter campaign was present in the Reagan campaign. To the best of my recollection, the material was not described to me

as important or dramatic

—o—

From David A. Stockman:

"My recollection of the 'document' referred to in Mr. Barrett's book begins with a package of material that was delivered to my office ... from the Reagan campaign committee ... I believe this was October 23, 1980.

"... The documents dealt entirely with policy issues ... and contained standard arguments in support of Carter Administration initiatives and policies.

"Due to the advocacy character of these issue briefs it was apparent to me at the time that they had in some way come from the Carter campaign."

APPEAR
A-5

BALTIMORE SUN
22 June 1983

Casey fourth Reagan aide asked about '80 campaign incident

By Robert Timberg
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington — A House subcommittee looking into how the 1980 Reagan campaign obtained briefing material prepared for President Jimmy Carter, expanded its probe yesterday by asking CIA director William G. Casey what, if anything, he knows about the matter.

Mr. Casey, President Reagan's campaign chairman in 1980, becomes the fourth Reagan administration official to receive a letter seeking information from the Human Resources Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Previously, the committee chairman, Representative Donald J. Albosta (D. Mich.), sent similar letters to White House chief of staff James A. Baker III, Budget Director David A. Stockman and Communications Director David R. Gergen, all of whom have been linked to the briefing documents in a new book on the Reagan presidency and an subsequent press accounts.

White House spokesman Larry M. Speakes said yesterday that Mr. Baker, Mr. Stockman and Mr. Gergen would respond to the committee by tomorrow, the day the panel asked for their replies.

Mr. Speakes also said that President Reagan did not know about the Carter briefing materials in 1980.

A spokesman for Mr. Casey, Kathryn Riedel, said yesterday that the director of the Central Intelligence Agency would answer the committee, but she did not say when. The letter to Mr. Casey, unlike the earlier ones, did not specify a date for responding.

Mr. Albosta, meanwhile, said yesterday that the matter "appears on the surface to be more serious than Watergate."

"Watergate was a break-in of a political campaign headquarters," he said, adding that if the allegations are true the briefing material "was actually stolen from the office of the president of the United States."

The Watergate break-in occurred June 17, 1972, at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee. White House complicity in the attempted cover-up of the crime and its aftermath led to the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon in August 1974.

At issue in the Albosta inquiry is how briefing material used by Mr. Carter to prepare for his only debate with Mr. Reagan found its way into the Reagan campaign.

The matter was first raised in a new book, "Gambling With History: Reagan In The White House," by Lawrence J. Barrett.

Mr. Barrett, *Time* magazine's senior White House correspondent, wrote that as Mr. Reagan was preparing for the Cleveland debate "a member of the campaign staff somehow acquired an unusual prize: briefing material that the other side was using to get Carter ready for the confrontation."

"Apparently a Reagan mole in the Carter camp had filched papers containing the main points the President planned to make when he met Reagan for the debate," Mr. Barrett wrote.

The author also said that Mr. Stockman, then a Republican representative who was to serve as a

stand-in for Mr. Carter to help Mr. Reagan prepare himself for the debate, "was delighted to find most of his homework done for him as he outlined his own script for the dry run."

Mr. Baker was then a senior campaign adviser and deeply involved in debate preparations. According to Mr. Barrett, Mr. Baker "looked the other way when a dirty trick was perpetrated on Carter. He was grateful not to know the mechanics of it."

Mr. Baker has said through an aide that he does not know how the briefing papers were obtained by the Reagan campaign. He has deferred

further comment pending his reply to the subcommittee.

Another name cropped up June 12 when former Carter press secretary Jody Powell, now a syndicated columnist, wrote that the material was given to Mr. Gergen, along with Mr. Baker, both of whom passed it on to Mr. Stockman.

Mr. Gergen has refused to comment except to say he will respond to the Albosta subcommittee. Mr. Stockman, through an aide, has said he doesn't know where the materials came from and that he, too, will answer the panel.

~~SECRET~~

OEZA #

83-1654

DDI #5058-83
12 July 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FROM: Deputy Director for Intelligence

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with Jack Anderson, 7 July 1983

1. At about 6:00 my secretary informed me that Jack Anderson had called and asked to speak to me. I asked the secretary to have someone in Public Affairs take the call. At about 6:15 my secretary informed me that Anderson had called again and that she had been unable to reach anyone from Public Affairs either at home or at work. I then called the DDCI to consult on whether I should take the call [REDACTED]

(b)(3)

2. When I called, Anderson introduced himself and indicated that he was calling with respect to the briefing materials for the Presidential debate. He said that a member of the NSC (his description implied a member of the Carter NSC Staff) had identified me as the mole who had provided documents. He asked if that was true.

3. I told Anderson that that was "patently untrue" and absolutely wrong. I told him that I had left the NSC Staff in December 1979 to return to CIA and after that no longer had access to internal White House documents or to internal NSC Staff documents. Anderson then cited his source as saying that even after I left the NSC I had remained in close contact with members of the NSC Staff and had good friends there who could have provided information. I said that I had retained contacts and friendships on that Staff but that no one had provided me with any documents or information.

4. Anderson then asked when I had first met Mr. Casey and I replied that it had been at a transition meeting after the election in which I participated with Admiral Turner. Anderson then asked when I had first met Richard Allen. I replied that I wasn't sure that I had ever met Richard Allen and then corrected myself, recalling that Allen had been present with Casey at the transition meeting I attended with Admiral Turner. I continued that I did not think that I had met Allen again after that meeting.

5. Anderson asked what I had returned to CIA to do and I told him that I had come back to work on Soviet matters. He asked how I accounted for my "meteoric rise" from Soviet analyst to Deputy Director for Intelligence in so short a time. I told

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

him that there had been several intermediate stops -- that shortly after my return I had been asked by Admiral Turner to be his Executive Assistant, had done that for 9 or 10 months, and returned to the Soviet area where I was at the time Mr. Casey arrived as DCI. I said that based on my experience downtown and with Admiral Turner, Admiral Inman and the Director together decided to offer me a position of Director of the Executive Staff in their offices. I said that Admiral Inman probably had had as much to do with that appointment as Mr. Casey as far as I knew since I had known him for several years.

6. Anderson inquired if I had worked on the Reagan campaign. I responded that obviously I had not, that I was a professional intelligence officer.

7. Anderson then made a comment that suggested he had misunderstood what I had said earlier or failed to grasp that I was a career CIA officer. I followed up by saying that I was a career officer and had gone to the NSC Staff in June 1974, had served through the remainder of the Nixon Administration, through the Ford Administration and then had returned to CIA, returning to the NSC in the spring of 1977.

8. Anderson commented that I sounded very young and asked my age. I told him 39.

9. At this point, Anderson said "if you are not the mole, then who do you think is?" I replied that I had naturally given that question considerable thought and that other than concluding that it presumably was someone on the NSC Staff who wanted to keep his or her job I had no idea who it might be. I added that clearly unlike some, I did not intend to throw around names loosely.

10. At the end of the conversation, Anderson commented that he had heard that I was "shaking up" things in the Soviet area out here. I responded that we were working to improve the quality of our analysis across the board. He then asked if there had been a lot of personnel changes in the Soviet area and I replied in the negative. He asked again what I was trying to do and I again told him that we were trying to improve the quality of our work. He responded that "I can't disagree with that."

11. Anderson thanked me for talking to him and the conversation concluded. There was no audible tone to suggest that the phone call was being recorded. Immediately after the call, I reported the conversation to the DCI and the DDCI.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

12. This memorandum may not accurately portray the sequence of Anderson's questions, but the questions and my replies are complete and accurate to the best of my knowledge.



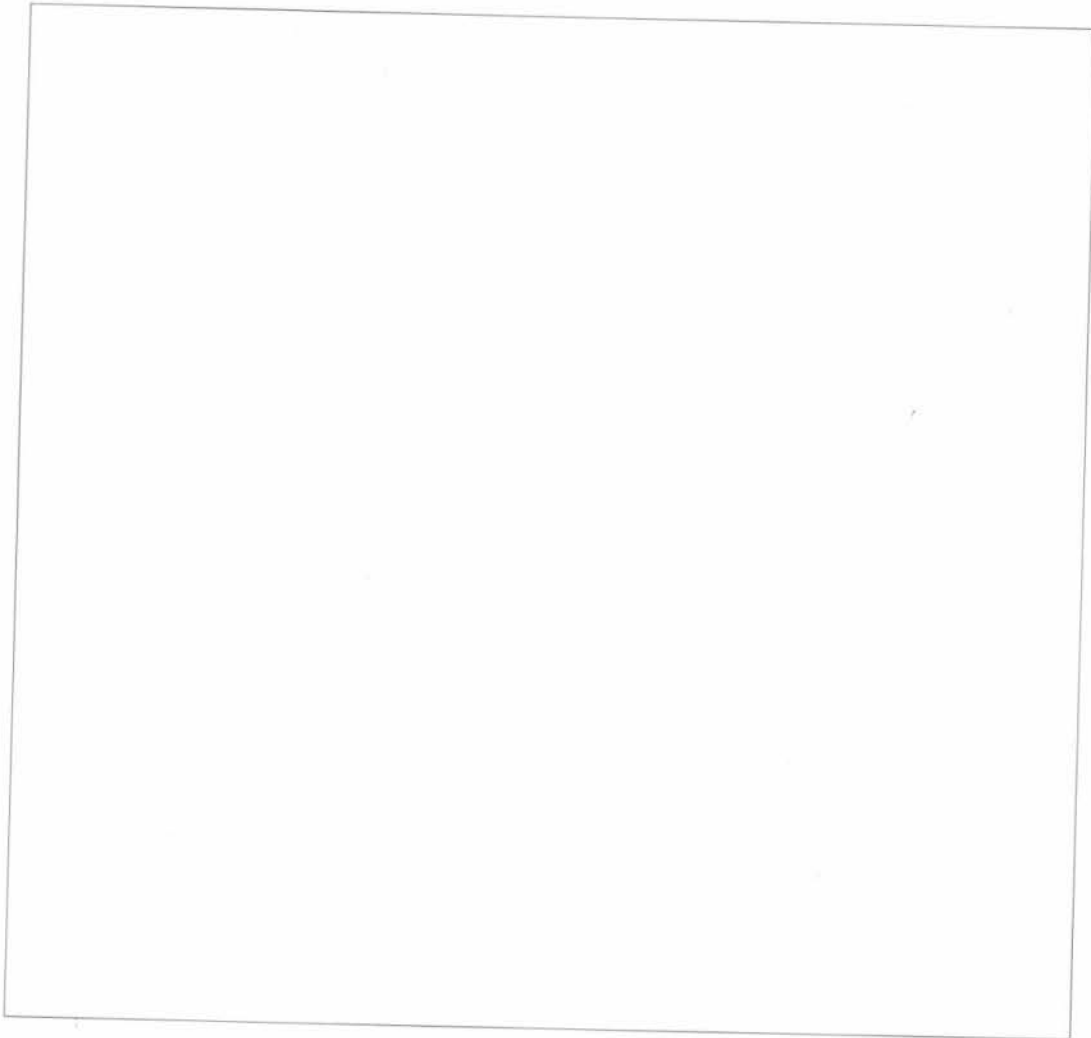
(b)(6)

Robert M. Gates



(b)(3)

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ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE C-1WASHINGTON POST
18 March 1984

FILE ONLY

Meese Hearings and a Flawed Probe Revive Questions About 'Debategate'

By Bob Woodward

EDWIN MEESE III's confirmation hearings appear to have landed Meese in hot water. Potentially more important, the Meese hearings have revived the sensitive issue known as "Debategate," which the administration tried to bury just three weeks ago.

On Feb. 23 the Reagan Justice Department issued its final report on its investigation into how Jimmy Carter's briefing book for his debate with Ronald Reagan and other sensitive materials from the Carter campaign fell into the hands of Reagan campaign officials. This report said there was no credible evidence of any criminal behavior.

However, interviews with numerous officials who worked in the Carter and Reagan campaigns suggest that the assurances of the Justice Department that it conducted "an intensive investigation" into Debategate are, at best, disputable. Though the FBI interviewed "over 220 individuals" in the course of this inquiry, the list of potentially relevant people it did not interview is impressive.

For example, the FBI did not talk to Hamilton Jordan, Carter's chief of staff and campaign manager; James T. Lynn and Loren Smith, the two top lawyers for the Reagan campaign; Gerald Rafshoon, Carter's debate coordinator, or any of a dozen others who surely would have been questioned in an aggressive probe. [See story on Page C4.]

Moreover, government officials revealed last week that far from maintaining an arms-length relationship to this politically sensitive inquiry, Attorney General William French Smith — Ronald Reagan's personal lawyer for 14 years and part of his "Kitchen Cabinet" — consulted regularly with FBI Director William H. Webster about the investigation.

A lawsuit pending in U.S. District Court

Bob Woodward is an assistant managing editor of *The Post*.

here could well lead to the appointment of a special prosecutor to investigate Debategate, something that should have happened months ago. If the lawsuit does not produce this result, then the demands of the Senate Judiciary Committee might.

New information released in the Meese hearings last week was a powerful reminder that the repeated lapses of memory claimed by senior officials of the Reagan campaign — many of whom are now high government officials — strain credulity.

The stack of documents that came out last week brought earlier reports of their exist-

“The list of potentially relevant people the FBI did not interview is impressive”

ence vividly to life. Here were the actual memos passed around the Reagan campaign's high command, many of them labeled with provocative language: "our White House source;" "from reliable White House mole;" "the original Jimmy Carter staff source." One memo forwarded to Meese said the commander of the Strategic Air Command, an Air Force General, wanted to "blow Jimmy Carter out of the water." It was marked "sensitive in nature, confidential."

Debategate is by no means Watergate, but it seems strange after all the country has been through since 1972 that a matter of this kind could still be investigated in a way that raises these serious questions. Indeed, in 1978 Congress passed the Ethics in Government Act expressly to prevent this from happening. That act says when the attorney general re-

ceives "credible information" of illegal activity by high government officials, he must order a 90-day preliminary investigation, and then a determination must be made whether to appoint a special prosecutor.

In a civil suit filed by a law professor, U.S. District Court Judge Harold H. Greene ruled two weeks ago that the Justice Department "appears to have simply ignored" the requirements of the act in the briefing book investigation. Greene noted that "the ethics act was enacted in the aftermath of Watergate to establish procedures for the avoidance of the actual or perceived conflicts of interest which may arise when the attorney general investigates alleged criminal wrongdoing by other high government officials."

The act specifically requires the disqualification of the attorney general or other senior Justice officials if there is any "political conflict of interest, or the appearance thereof" in any case.

Instead of following the act's requirement that it conduct a preliminary 90-day investigation, the Justice Department decided to complete its own inquiry without taking up the question of whether to appoint a special prosecutor. It was the findings of this investigation that were released three weeks ago.

The FBI confirmed last week that Webster and Smith had discussed the Debategate inquiry while it was going on. Webster himself declined to be interviewed on the issue, but he did discuss it three times with FBI spokesman William H. Baker, who conveyed this message: "Judge Webster was comfortable in discussing the matter with the attorney general. . . . We are part of the Justice Department, that is the normal channel of communication, especially on a matter of interest to both sides of the street" — Pennsylvania Avenue, where the Justice Department and FBI headquarters are opposite each other.

Continued

Baker said, "I don't want to go into the number of discussions. I don't want to go into specifics, but the judge has confidence in his own integrity and that of the attorney general."

Webster provided a copy of a July 1, 1983, memo he issued internally about the briefing book case. It says that Webster wanted "to be fully and timely advised of all developments," including "all scheduled interviews of senior White House officials and senior Carter administration officials."

In addition he wrote to his senior assistants that "only mature seasoned special agents are to be used for such interviews." He said that "the bureau is 'party blind.' Nothing in the handling of this investigation must be allowed to give the appearance of targeting on the one hand or forbearance on the other."

Webster clearly saw the political sensitivity of the case — exactly the type of inquiry that is supposed to be handled under the 1978 ethics act. FBI spokesman Baker said the Justice Department made the decision not to apply the '78 act in this case.

Justice Department spokesman John Russell said Friday that the department did not feel the briefing book allegations necessarily were directed at any high officials and accordingly the ethics act was not applied.

The public report the Justice Department issued Feb. 23, closing the case is revealing. It is a skimpy three-page plea of no contest that contains one memorable line about the disagreements in recollections of several top Reagan administration officials. (For example, White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III said flatly that he received the Carter debate briefing book from William Casey, now director of the CIA. Casey has said just as flatly that he never saw the briefing book and didn't give it to Baker.)

"Any seeming inconsistencies could be explained by differences in recollection or interpretation," the Justice Department's report said. This is astounding language from a law enforcement agency. It suggests that statements like, "I do not recall shooting my wife" or, "I interpret the alleged strangling as a suffocation" would be adequate defenses.

Two months into the FBI investigation

several interviews I conducted with Justice and FBI officials revealed that they had already concluded they would probably not solve the case.

One official said recently, "We never thought it was that big, not one-half or one-quarter as big as the media thought or wanted it to be." Another has said he just considered it another manifestation of the long-running "political" controversy between Baker and Casey.

After the special agent in charge of the Washington field office Theodore M. Gardner was transferred recently because he had spoken to a reporter (me) about the case, several officials said that this was one of the matters that Attorney General Smith and FBI Director Webster discussed. But spokesmen for neither will elaborate.

What was it that Gardner said or did? He confirmed information I had from others that the FBI wanted to give lie detector tests to some senior Reagan administration officials, including White House Chief of Staff Baker and CIA Director Casey. It is normal FBI policy that the head of each field office has discretion in how to deal with the press. Gardner evidently felt the conversation was proper; he recorded it in his office log.

One source says that a senior Justice Department official in the presence of Smith and Webster suggested that Gardner be fired, but Webster decided on the transfer instead. Another official says that Smith was furious about the leaks to the press in the case and Webster felt under pressure to at least transfer Gardner. About 30 other FBI or Justice Department officials were interviewed in a leak investigation to determine who else might have talked about the case.

That story I wrote last summer also mentioned a memo that allegedly was written by former campaign aide Max Hugel saying that information was coming to the Reagan campaign from the Carter campaign. The story said that the memo was addressed to Casey.

That turns out to be wrong. The memo was routed through Casey to Meese. After the story appeared the Justice Department went to great lengths to say no such Hugel memo existed. Newsweek reported speculation that someone was putting out "disinformation" and neither the FBI nor Justice Department

"could remember seeing anything like the memo the Post described."

The memo had been in Justice's files for months, and was obtained by the House subcommittee that investigated Debategate. The memo was released in the Meese confirmation hearings. Dated Aug. 11, 1980, it said, "Bill Casey asked me to have you review this memo which fell into my hands and to come up with some of our own strategy on this particular subject that might counteract this effort."

Attached was a Carter campaign memo outlining farm and rural strategy.

The stack of memos that has come out of the Meese confirmation hearings amounts to something considerably more than a single pilfering of debate papers. It includes at least a dozen examples of inside information from the Carter campaign coming into the Reagan operation.

Yet all these memos about sources and moles go largely unremembered by the campaign officials. Meese's response to four different memos is four different versions of "I don't recall." Yet such inside information from the opposition had to be tantalizing, useful, "hot."

During two days of Meese's confirmation hearing, one Senate staff member counted 79 times when Meese said he couldn't recall on a whole range of issues. This is not something to shrug off.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, which is considering Meese's confirmation, now has a special responsibility. Chairman Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) announced last week that he is reopening the confirmation hearings. Thurmond said, "There will be no cover-up. . . . We want to know the truth."

Even though this is no Watergate, Debategate offers some troubling echoes of the past. There are questions about some top administration officials, about the attorney general's conduct of the inquiry, about the FBI's performance and about collective memory loss that is almost a contagion.

The public deserves a better job. Once again, a federal judge and a senior Southern Senate committee chairman may have to apply the pressure needed to get the system to work properly.

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WASHINGTON POST
30 September 1983

Consultant Said He Got Carter Papers, GOP Aide Tells FBI

By Martin Schram and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

A Republican congressional aide has told the FBI that Paul Corbin, a political consultant with old-line Kennedy connections, claimed last spring that he had obtained President Carter's briefing papers for the 1980 presidential debate and had given them to Ronald Reagan's campaign manager, William J. Casey.

Tim Wynngaard, executive director of the House Republican Policy Committee, has told FBI investigators that Corbin made that claim to him in a telephone conversation last April—about six weeks before the debate papers controversy became public.

Casey emphatically denied in an interview this week that he had received any Carter debate briefing material from Corbin or anyone else. "I never knew this material was in the campaign," said Casey, who is the director of the CIA. "... It's totally false," Casey added.

Casey said confusion about Corbin may have arisen because Corbin did provide Casey with a six-page memo from a New York lawyer outlining possible statements Reagan might make in the October, 1980, debate with Carter in Cleveland.

Casey said he is a friend of Corbin's and authorized the Reagan-Bush Committee to pay Corbin \$2,860 for expenses for what Casey said was routine campaign work in Florida in the fall of 1980.

Officials involved in the FBI investigation of how Carter campaign papers came into the possession of the Reagan campaign view Wynngaard's version of the Corbin conversation as potentially significant because it is the first evidence that someone voiced knowledge about the Carter debate papers before the episode was first mentioned in the media. One investigative source cautioned, however, that its accuracy may turn out to be "unprovable."

Corbin declined to respond to reporters' inquiries. But associates of his said he denies ever obtaining the Carter briefing papers or making such a claim to Wynngaard.

Corbin's alleged claim to the congressional aide has been known to the White House since last June, and has figured in the dispute between Casey and White House chief of staff James A. Baker III over which top Reagan campaign official first received the Carter briefing papers. Baker says he got the Carter papers from Casey; Casey says he never saw them.

On June 24, Corbin's alleged claim was relayed to Baker by Wynngaard's boss, Republican Policy Committee Chairman Dick Cheney (R-Wyo.). Baker then discussed it with Casey.

After his discussion with Baker, Casey told a middle-level White House official who is also a confidant that he was considering changing his original denial that he had never received the Carter debate documents, according to one reliable account.

This Casey confidant said that Casey told him he recalled receiving something from Corbin during the campaign and could not recall if it was the voluminous Carter debate papers.

Casey has given this account of how he went about determining that his denial should stand.

As the White House began its own internal inquiry into the matter in June, Casey told White House counsel Fred F. Fielding that Corbin could have provided him with some Carter debate papers.

Casey called Charles Bartlett, a former Washington columnist who had introduced Casey and Corbin, to see if Bartlett had any idea of what Corbin had provided the Reagan campaign. Bartlett reportedly did not. At that point Casey tried to find Corbin, and finally reached him by telephone on June 29 while Corbin was vacationing in Aruba.

In that call—according to accounts made public afterward by Casey and Corbin—Corbin said the only information or material he had provided to Casey was a few pages of material from New York attorney Adam Walinsky, former top adviser to the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.).

After the talk with Corbin, and after Casey found the Walinsky material, Casey said he was convinced that he had fully and accurately stated his recollection.

Though the Walinsky material previously has been referred to in newspaper accounts as a speech, it is a memo recommending points Reagan might use in debating Carter, including an attack on what Walinsky called "President's Carter's many disasters." Unlike the 1,000-page Carter debate papers, it is a slim, six-page memo that is addressed to Corbin and begins "Dear Paul."

Investigative sources said Corbin also had sent the Walinsky memo to Baker, who was running the debate preparation group in the Reagan campaign. Baker also knew Corbin. Bartlett has said he had introduced them.

Baker declined to comment this week about the matter.

CONTINUED

24 June 1983

Mr. Casey has authorized release of this statement:

Mr. Casey's comments in his letter to Congressman Albosta may be extended to mean any kind of inside-the-Carter-campaign material.

Mr. Casey neither directed nor had any inside knowledge of the use of or any effort to acquire any kind of Carter campaign material not otherwise publicly available.

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BOSTON GLOBE
21 March 1984

FILE ONLY - 50

Meese and the ethics issue

Democrats see Reagan pattern, plan an offensive

By Benjamin Taylor
Globe Staff

WASHINGTON - The conduct of presidential counsel Edwin Meese 3d, President Ronald Reagan's nominee for Attorney General, is the latest in a series of ethical and legal controversies during the Reagan Administration that the Democratic Party hopes to make an issue in the 1984 campaign.

[At the same time, senior White House officials have become increasingly pessimistic about Meese's chances of winning confirmation. His financial dealings have come under the scrutiny of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Page 3.]

More than 50 Reagan appointees have been charged with criminal wrongdoing, abuse of power or unethical conduct, according to lists prepared by the House Civil Service subcommittee, of which Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) is chairman.

Twenty-five Administration appointees have been forced to resign under a cloud of suspicion or were dismissed. One, Rita M. Lavelle, a former assistant administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, has been convicted of perjury and sentenced to six months in prison.

Some Democrats contend the transgressions constitute a pattern of corruption that, with the exception of Watergate and the Teapot Dome scandal during Warren G. Harding's Administration, is unparalleled in modern presidential politics.

While such charges may be a bit of partisan hyperbole, there is no question, for instance, that ethical and legal problems in the Reagan Administration have been far more widespread than in the presidency of Jimmy Carter. Under Carter, the only major incidents involved Bert Lance, the former budget director; Carter's brother, Billy, and Hamil-

ton Jordan, the White House chief of staff, who was investigated for alleged drug use.

But many Democrats concede that, at least until the latest allegations concerning Meese - Reagan's close and longtime political ally - the Administration has not suffered major political damage as a result of the string of stories about corruption in the Administration.

The President "has perfected the first Teflon-coated presidency," Rep. Schroeder likes to say. "Nothing has stuck."

Republican strategists argue that the Meese controversy is still largely a Washington story and that because it is breaking now and not later in the year it has not hurt Reagan's chances for re-election. They also argue that the larger issue of corruption has not stuck to the President because, in the words of one GOP strategist, "People understand that the President is fundamentally an honest man."

Nevertheless, several Democrats, including Rep. Tony Coelho (D-Calif.), chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, indicated they intend to make morality in government an issue in the 1984 election. Coelho announced yesterday that the Democratic Party is producing television commercials spotlighting "ethical and moral" lapses by officials in the Reagan Administration.

In the short run, Democrats point out, the Meese probe raises a negative issue for the Administration at a time when Reagan hoped simply to sit back and watch Walter F. Mondale and Gary W. Hart cut each other to shreds in their battle for the Democratic nomination.

Because Meese was chief of staff of the Reagan campaign in 1980, the investigation into Meese's possible role in and knowledge of how Carter campaign material fell into the hands of the Reagan camp before the climactic 1980 Cleveland debate means that questions surrounding "Debategate" will not go away as the Republicans had hoped.

In the view of Kirk O'Donnell, the top political aide to House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., the Meese controversy, when coupled with previous allegations involving other Reagan officials, has made "conflict of interest and potential corruption in this Administration the biggest thing since Nixon and Watergate."

The numbers alone are indeed impressive.

Richard V. Allen, Reagan's first national security adviser, was forced to resign when it was learned that he accepted \$1000 and three watches from a Japanese magazine that arranged an interview with Nancy Reagan through Allen.

Allegations that the EPA was making decisions based on political considerations resulted in several resignations. Among them were Anne M. Burford, administrator of the EPA; Lavelle, who was convicted of lying to a House committee; John Hernandez, who allegedly showed an EPA report critical of the Dow Chemical Co. to the company and allowed Dow officials to edit it; Matthew N. Novick, the investigator general of the EPA, who allegedly asked EPA workers to work on his personal business; James W. Sanderson, the Burford adviser who participated in EPA decisions while representing corporations that were the beneficiaries of those decisions, and others.

Continued

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WASHINGTON POST
27 June 1983

Casey, Who Can't Remember, Berates Officials Who Can't Read

Lou Cannon

REAGAN & CO.

Central Intelligence Agency Director William J. Casey, whose memory ranges from weak to nonexistent on unauthorized disclosure of President Carter's briefing books to the 1980 Reagan campaign, is worried that fellow Reaganites are a bunch of blabbermouths.

Appearing before the senior White House staff last Tuesday and reading a prepared lecture in a tone described as "an admonishing mumble," Casey fretted about the difficulties of keeping classified information classified.

In the process, he gave several still-classified examples of "unauthorized disclosures" to staff members not normally authorized to receive classified information of any kind.

Fortunately for the security of the republic, Casey's examples included such previously rehashed events as the thwarted Libyan invasion of the Sudan, the world-publicized sending of arms to Afghan guerrillas and the open secret that the United States is assisting anti-government rebels in Nicaragua.

All of this was old hat. But some of the White House staff members were startled to hear Casey's report on care and feeding of the National Intelligence Daily, the comparatively low-level CIA analysis provided daily to 150 U.S. government officials. A legend on the cover of this document, known as NID, says it is to be returned the same day and not to be duplicated.

According to Casey, a CIA check showed that more than 100 of the documents were not being turned in and that some of those returned came complete with handy notations instructing secretaries to copy them. One responsive official, asked to return his copy, supposedly gave back 75 photocopies.

As it turns out, there are remedies to deal with such carelessness.

Casey mentioned a few of them, such as dismissal and administering lie-detector tests to employees who engage in "unauthorized disclosures." As far as is known, he would make an exception for briefing material that mysteriously appears on the desk of campaign chairmen just before a crucial debate.

Two days later, when asked to provide details of how the Carter briefing book wound up in the Reagan camp, Casey gave an impressive demonstration of what a CIA director might do if he became a prisoner of war.

Although he provided his name and rank, Casey said he remembered nothing whatever about a briefing book that White House chief of staff James A. Baker III re-

called Casey giving him. Casey's recollection has not improved subsequently.

Most Americans would, of course, be genuinely concerned by disclosure of real national security secrets by those charged with keeping them. But some in the White House believe that national security in the Reagan administration would be served especially well by appointment of a CIA director who starts with a greater presumption of credibility.

That is not Casey's long suit, as a couple of jokes making the White House rounds last week attest. One, attributable to Alan Abelson in Barron's, said "CIA" really stood for "Casey Investing Again," a reference to the remarkable timeliness of the director's successful stock-market investments.

The other, repeated on background and presumably not classified, was a tongue-in-cheek assurance that Casey could not have been the recipient of the Carter briefing book.

"If Bill had received it," one White House official said, "he would have placed it in a blind trust."

NONE/UNKNOWN

NONE/UNKNOWN
ASSOCIATED PRESS

27 June 1983

y MAUREEN SANTINI, Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON

Reagan-Briefing Book

President Reagan's chief spokesman said Monday that a briefing book that Jimmy Carter's former aides delivered to the White House appears to be a "more sensitive" one than material Reagan aides used to prepare him for a 1980 campaign debate with Carter.

Patrick Caddell, who was President Carter's pollster during the 1980 campaign, had the briefing book delivered to the White House at the request of deputy press secretary Larry Speakes.

Meanwhile, Speakes reported that the White House counsel's office has received papers that were retrieved from "certain Reagan campaign officials' files." He said the material was sent to the Justice Department, which is looking into the matter. So far, no one has said how the Reagan campaign got hold of the Carter campaign's material.

Speakes said that to facilitate comparison of the material forwarded to the Justice Department with the material provided by Caddell, it would all be made public "shortly," but apparently not before Tuesday.

Several hours after the papers sent by Caddell arrived, Speakes issued a statement saying they were reviewed by White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III and others who were involved in the campaign, but did not appear to be the same material.

Besides Baker, Budget Director David Stockman, and presidential aide David R. Gergen looked at the material, Speakes said, but did not have a chance to review it thoroughly.

"In their view, their initial examination suggests that, while some of the policy issue briefing material has similarities to what they recall having seen during the campaign, it appears to be a more finished, more sensitive briefing book than they recall," Speakes said.

"Further, the Carter briefing book includes strategic and tactical information that they specifically do not recall having seen: more focused debating points, recommended 'key lines' and 'first hand accounts,' 'questions to ask' in rebuttal, recommended 'challenges,' etc.," said Speakes.

However, Speakes said that in a letter accompanying the material, Caddell said that everyone concerned agreed "that the enclosed materials are the only issue briefing materials prepared for and sent to President Carter for that debate."

Earlier Monday, Reagan asked the Justice Department to pursue vigorously how Carter briefing material turned up in the Reagan campaign, and the Democratic Party chairman urged a special prosecutor be named.

CONTINUED

NONE/UNKNOWN

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ON PAGE A-13

BALTIMORE SUN
17 November 1983

File Only

Carter papers found in Reagan campaign files

'Your eyes only' foreign policy data cited by Albosta

Washington (AP) — A House subcommittee chairman said yesterday that documents from the Carter administration, which he called highly classified, have been found by congressional investigators in files from President Reagan's 1980 election campaign.

"We've found some 'your eyes only' type of stuff. That means classified — the highest classification," said Representative Donald J. Albosta (D, Mich.), whose panel is probing how Carter White House materials reached the president's campaign staff.

Mr. Albosta, who announced that he has set January 26 as the tentative start for public hearings, said the classified materials dealt with foreign policy, but he declined to assess their sensitivity.

He also refused to say whether the documents were found in the Reagan campaign archives at the Hoover Institution, which is at Stanford University, or in personal files maintained by former Reagan campaign staffers.

"Obviously, we looked in Reagan files, not his personal files but things pertaining to his election," Mr. Albosta said in an interview after he released a prepared statement earlier in the day.

The statement said House investigators had turned over "certain information" to the FBI, which is conducting, at the White House's request, a criminal investigation of the transfer of Carter documents.

Asked whether the information involved the classified material, Mr. Albosta said: "I don't think I can answer that question." He then added: "It's up to the FBI and those people to make the judgment on those pieces of material."

Lane Bonner, an FBI spokesman, said he had no comment on the congressman's statements.

Mr. Albosta said it was not the purpose of his investigation to determine whether any laws had been violated, only whether the Ethics in Government Act needs revision.

"Obviously, if material is classified, regardless of the classification, there is a federal law pertaining to it," he said. "Somebody violated the law if they distributed classified material."

Asked whether he thought the information given to the FBI was relevant to its criminal investigation, Mr. Albosta replied, "Obviously."

He said he did not know how the classified documents reached the Reagan campaign.

Until yesterday, Mr. Albosta's public statements about his five-month-old investigation had not mentioned classified materials.

The probe's public focus had been on briefing papers used to prepare then-President Jimmy Carter for a pivotal campaign debate with Mr. Reagan October 28, 1980, and on daily activity reports from Mr. Carter's National Security Council.

Several Reagan campaign people, including budget director David A. Stockman and White House chief of staff James A. Baker III, have acknowledged that Carter briefing papers reached the Reagan campaign. Richard V. Allen, Mr. Reagan's former national security adviser, has said he received the activity reports when he was foreign policy adviser for the Republican campaign.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE **B-10**NEW YORK TIMES
21 November 1983*file only*

Casey Stock Linked to C.I.A.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 (AP) — William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence, says he had stock in 13 companies with Central Intelligence Agency contracts that ranged in value from \$12 to \$3,995,774.

In a letter published today about his holdings as of the end of 1982, Mr. Casey also said he "was not in any way involved in nor did I have any knowledge of any of the business these companies did with the C.I.A. or the decisions of my investment adviser to acquire shares in these companies."

The letter, published in The Washing-

ton Post and verified today by Dale Peterson, a spokesman for the agency, was Mr. Casey's first response to agency documents released Nov. 13 as a result of a suit filed under the Freedom of Information Act.

The documents disclosed that since Mr. Casey became head of the agency in January 1981 he has maintained control over stock in companies with both classified and unclassified contracts with the agency. The companies were not identified.

The documents released a week ago showed that C.I.A. officials and government ethics officers found no conflict of interest because of Mr. Casey's holdings.

According to material filed with the Office of Government Ethics, Mr. Casey established two blind trusts on Oct. 7 with a value ranging from \$3,435,000 to \$7,065,000. The holdings that his wife, Sophia, put into the trusts had a value ranging from \$770,000 and \$1,865,000. Establishment of the trusts ended Mr. Casey's control over those holdings.

No Comment on Briefing Papers

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 — Mr. Casey, asked about reports that he was willing to take a polygraph, or lie detector, test as part of the investigation of how Ronald Reagan's aides got briefing papers for President Carter's debate with Mr. Reagan at the close of the 1980 Presidential campaign, refused to respond to the reports in telephone interviews today.

He said it was his policy to speak only to "constituted authorities." He added, "I am still holding to the policy of speaking only to people charged with looking into it." He was manager of President Reagan's 1980 campaign,

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ON PAGE 93

NEW YORK POST
21 November 1983

File Only Dec

CIA chief ready for Debategate lie test

By DEBORAH ORIN
CIA Director William Casey says he is willing to take a lie-detector test to prove he had nothing to do with getting Jimmy Carter's debate book for the 1980 Reagan campaign, it was reported yesterday.

That would put the nation's top spy in a high-stakes game of "Truth or Consequences" with White House chief of staff James Baker, who insists that Casey had the secret debate book and gave it to him.

The conflict between Casey's and Baker's stories last summer rocked the Reagan Administration and sparked talk that one of them might have to resign.

Casey at first refused to take a lie detector test, saying it was "demeaning," but recently he said he was willing to tell his story to a polygraph and added, "My conscience is clear," according to the Washington Post.

The paper said its information came from "informed sources."

Baker said he was willing to take a lie-detector test when the possibility first was raised last summer.

But FBI spokesmen Thomas Deakin last night told The New York Post that no decision has been made on whether to use lie-detector tests in the FBI investigation of the Debategate controversy.

He added that the sensitive decision actu-



WILLIAM CASEY
"Nothing to hide."

ally is up to the Justice Dept. and presumably to Attorney General William French Smith. "Considering the sensitive nature of the case, I'm sure it would go up to him," Casey said.

Democrats can be expected to howl "foul" if Smith decides against lie-detector tests, especially since he is an old friend of the President's.

The FBI and a House

ethics subcommittee have been investigating Debategate for the past five months.

The matter generally has dropped from attention but will soon resurface when public Debategate hearings commence on Jan. 26 before the subcommittee.

That could be a delicate time for the President. Some insiders say he plans to announce his re-election plans just about then — shortly after he gives his State of the Union address on Jan. 20.

Casey chaired Reagan's 1980 campaign and Baker is expected to play a key role in his 1984 campaign if he seeks re-election.

Casey has insisted that he wouldn't have touched the Carter briefing book "with a 10-foot pole" because he knew it could destroy the Reagan campaign.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-24

NEW YORK TIMES
22 November 1983

Concerns' Contracts Unknown to Casey, He Asserts in Letters

By DOUGLAS C. MCGILL

William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence, says he had stock in 18 companies with Central Intelligence Agency contracts that ranged in value from \$12 to \$3,985,774.

In similar letters published yesterday in The New York Times and Sunday in The Washington Post, Mr. Casey said that he "was not in any way involved in nor did I have any knowledge of any of the business these companies did with the C.I.A. or the decisions of my investment adviser to acquire shares in these companies." His remarks concerned his stock holdings as of the end of 1982.

The letters were Mr. Casey's first response to agency documents released Nov. 13 as a result of a suit filed under the Freedom of Information Act.

The documents disclosed that since Mr. Casey became head of the agency in January 1981, he has maintained control over stock in companies with both classified and unclassified contracts with the agency. The companies were not identified.

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In another matter, Mr. Casey was asked in telephone interviews Sunday about reports that he was willing to take a polygraph, or lie detector, test as part of the investigation of how Ronald Reagan's aides got briefing papers for President Carter's debate with Mr. Reagan at the close of the 1980 Presidential campaign. He refused to respond to the reports, saying it was his policy to speak only to "constituted authorities."

"I am still holding to the policy of speaking only to people charged with looking into it," he said. Mr. Casey was manager of President Reagan's 1980 campaign.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE **A-23**NEW YORK TIMES
24 November 1983

ESSAY

His Own Petard By William Safire

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23 — The Frankenstein's monster of the Reagan Administration — an obsession with secrecy that has unleashed the so-called lie detector on 112,000 formerly trusted officials — is now rising to maul its creators.

In his infamous National Security Decision Directive 84, Mr. Reagan directed the F.B.I. to drop its requirement that leak-hunts be related to criminal prosecution, thereby placing F.B.I. agents at the beck and call of bureaucrats wanting to terrorize subordinates, without court restraints. He has forced Government workers to give up their rights to refuse to be hooked up to a fearsome and often inaccurate machine; "adverse consequences will follow an employee's refusal to cooperate with a polygraph examination. . . ."

To the President's men, such catering to the boss's predilection for polygraphs must have seemed like a great idea. Now some of them rue the unforeseen consequences:

In the Briefinggate investigation, the F.B.I. has expended over 4,000 man-days to find out who obtained Jimmy Carter's debate briefing book for Mr. Reagan. Friends of White House chief of staff James Baker said that their man was willing to take a lie-detector test but charged that C.I.A. Director William Casey, whom Mr. Baker accused of obtaining the book, was ducking. Under pressure of this challenge (lie detectors at 100 paces) Director Casey allowed as how a polygraph about a three-year-old event would be "demeaning" but he would take it.

In a second episode, the tables were turned. On Aug. 30, President Reagan issued another jeremiad against leaks; not two weeks later, after he decided in the National Security Council to shell Moslem militiamen in Lebanon, that "secret" decision was not leaked but disseminated by a wide variety of Administration sources to all three television networks as well as major newspapers. Oddly furious, the President ordered an all-faucets plumbing operation.

This time it was Mr. Casey who came forward with his arm out, volunteering for the flutter-box test. And this time, according to the Casey camp, it was Mr. Baker who showed great reluctance to be subjected to the procedure he did not find repugnant when it was directed at 111,999 untrustworthy colleagues.

In severity, a three-network leak is equivalent to an Australian three-dog night. The dissemination was top-level, and not from an N.S.C. secretary cleared for Sensitive Compartmented Information who would blub-

ber a confession at the heart-stopping sight of a lie detector. "The Ship of State," Walt Rostow is supposed to have said, "is the only vessel that leaks from the top."

Here is an Administration that has enshrined the lie detector, which is a device to measure nervousness, not truth, and is regarded with such suspicion by scientists that its results are not admissible as evidence in the Federal courts. Here are two of the nation's highest officials, each convinced that the other is a liar. Here is the President, who has removed the F.B.I.'s previous requirement that criminal prosecution be the goal of any leak investigation, saying "Find the leaker!"

What would you do if you were William Webster, Director of the F.B.I.? If you were a weak lawman, eager to please the President, you would "flutter" every suspect in both investigations and publicly pillory the first person to break into a sweat. On the other hand, if you remembered the demoralized state of the F.B.I. when you took it over, you would refuse to be stampeded into abusing investigative techniques that could ruin reputations without establishing guilt.

The so-called lie detector is a civil-liberties abomination; NSDD 84 is a disgrace to conservative principle; its author, Deputy Assistant Attorney General Richard Willard, is one of those earnest, clean-cut young fellows in the grand tradition of Tom Charles Huston, who in revering security subverts the Constitution.

Poetic justice abounds in the notion of the President's men being the first to suffer from the President's obsession. That same petard is hoisting former C.I.A. chief Stansfield Turner, perpetrator of its Publication Review Board, who is now having fits clearing his own book, "Revolution in Spying," with C.I.A. censors emboldened by NSDD 84: they will not even let him confirm revelations already made by Presidents Carter and Reagan.

Mr. Reagan should stop this lie-detector mania before he requires himself to attach a box with its jumping needle to his own arm during press conferences. If he does not trust his closest associates, he should confront them or fire them, and not let his suspicion send a chill through tens of thousands of public servants with security clearances.

He cannot set a double standard for security, exempting high-level suspects and fluttering civil-service secretaries; rather than forcing Mr. Baker to take a test that too often brands truth-tellers as liars, he should scrap the damnable procedure.

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ON PAGE 70

PENTHOUSE
November 1984

THE OCTOBER SURPRISE

BY CARLE CARLSON

The teletype machines in newsrooms across the country endlessly click out bulletins and news releases, only occasionally interrupted by nearly inaudible alarm bells warning of some important news forthcoming.

The bells rang late in the evening of October 15, 1980, and the machine delivered this news: EDITORS, PLEASE NOTE: WLS-TV CHANNEL SEVEN IS BREAKING A MAJOR NEWS STORY OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE. EXCLUSIVE ANNOUNCEMENT ON 10 PM NEWS TONIGHT.

What transpired certainly lived up to the billing. WLS-TV reporter Larry Moore announced: "Through exclusive sources, I have learned tonight a deal is in the works for the release of the hostages."

This stunning exclusive, purporting to scoop all the world's other news-gathering organizations, amounted to fulfillment of a dire warning that had been made over the past several months by officials of the Committee to Elect Reagan: Be on guard for an attempt by President Jimmy Carter to formulate a secret ransom deal to free the American hostages in Iran. Such a move, Reagan's men felt, coming so soon before the November 4 election, might guarantee Carter's reelection.

The men around Ronald Reagan called it the "October surprise," and Moore's exclusive report seemed to confirm their worst fears—that the euphoria resulting from the release of the 52 American hostages might sway millions of American voters into forgetting why they were thinking of voting against Jimmy Carter.

Or so it would appear. But, in fact, the words delivered by a reporter on a local television station owned by ABC in Chicago represented the climax of a sour chapter in the history of American politics. And it is a chapter that has remained unknown up until now. In basic form, it amounts to:

- A political-espionage operation, directed and controlled by some members of the Reagan committee, that dwarfed in scale anything conceived in the days of the Nixon political-spying operation—or any other similar operation, for that matter.

- An operation that ultimately resulted in the destruction of what was apparently an imminent deal between Iran and Carter to release the American hostages months before they were set free coincident with Reagan's inauguration. That deal was aborted by a news leak that took place immediately after the Reagan committee learned of it.

- A complicated series of events that saw TV reporter Larry Moore used as an innocent dupe to destroy the very deal he was reporting.

What follows is not a nice story. There are no heroes and no winners. It is a story of political chicanery. Until the present time only a tiny part of it has surfaced: charges that Reagan's people stole confidential briefing papers prepared for Carter prior to his nationally televised debate with Reagan, an incident known as "debategate." But there is more—much more.

Whether any criminal prosecutions will result remains an open question. Last spring a congressional investigation concluded that there had been a "cover-up" of the Reagan spying operation. Meanwhile, an attempt to appoint a special prosecutor to probe the 1980 campaign is still ensnared in legal arguments.

Still, few seem to grasp the full extent and depth of the spying operation—its tracks have been well covered, and even revelations connected with the theft of the briefing papers have not unlocked the rest of the spying operation's secrets.

Like all modern presidential-election campaigns, the Reagan campaign had a political-espionage apparatus. As a challenger, Reagan could come to rely on the customary resources of such operations: disgruntled career diplomats, government employees, and not-so-loyal members of the opposition party.

But there were two factors that elevated this time-honored custom of political espionage into something much different in 1980. One was the growing conviction within the Reagan campaign that Carter almost certainly would pull an October surprise, i.e., arrange the release of the hostages at the most critical point of the campaign. Therefore, there was an urgent requirement for detailed intelligence from inside the Carter White House.

The second factor, and in some ways more important than the first, was the nature of some of the people running the Reagan campaign. Besides George Bush, the vice-presidential candidate and former CIA director with extensive contacts

all across the U.S. intelligence community, there was William J. Casey, director for the entire campaign.

Casey, the present CIA director, was a millionaire Wall Street lawyer who had served in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II and later served in a variety of official and nonofficial government appointments, including membership on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. A man with wide contacts throughout the governmental and intelligence structure, Casey was known as an obsessive collector of information, a man with an unquenchable, devouring passion for all data.

And the data Casey was most interested in during the 1980 campaign was information on the Carter White House and the Carter reelection campaign. For example, the minutes of a September 12, 1980 meeting of Casey's lieutenants record that the campaign director "wants more information from the Carter camp. . . ." Perhaps not so coincidentally, the exhortation came just three days after a secret communiqué from the German government to Carter that Khomeini was ready to make a deal on the hostages—and on the very same day that Khomeini signaled the Carter White House that the Germans were bona fide messengers.

This interesting coincidence of events suggests a fairly sophisticated information-gathering operation that extended into the Oval Office, an operation that was able to alert the Reagan committee to even the most sensitive top-secret developments. While it is difficult to estimate its size, there is no question that the spying operation was quite extensive, covering the entire government apparatus.

Casey himself had revealed the existence of the operation in July 1980, during the Republican National Convention in Detroit. With typical audacity, Casey told reporters that he was establishing an "intelligence operation" in the campaign, and he said flatly that it was aimed at discovering whether Carter planned any October surprise.

Reportedly, however, other Reagan campaign officials were upset at Casey's direct admission of an intelligence operation, and it was not, as such, ever referred to again in public. But it flourished in secret. Oddly enough, the operation's most valuable assets were not campaign workers but a fairly large number of ostensibly loyal government employees. To the Reagan committee's surprise, there were many military and intelligence-agency employees who had become convinced that Carter was a dangerously muddleheaded feather merchant. While not enamored of Reagan, they felt strongly that under no circumstances should Jimmy Carter be reelected president.

Continued

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ON PAGE A-4

WASHINGTON POST
10 November 1983

File Only

Hill Probers Grill Casey

United Press International

Congressional investigators questioned CIA chief William J. Casey for three hours Tuesday about allegations that he received copies of Carter White House materials while managing Ronald Reagan's 1980 campaign, sources said yesterday.

Casey, agreeing to his first face-to-face meeting with investigators for a House subcommittee, was interviewed secretly in the Cannon House Office Building while Capitol police cordoned off an area outside to investigate a bomb threat.

Sources familiar with the investigation gave few details, but said Casey stuck by his flat denial that he knew the Reagan campaign had obtained a copy of President Carter's briefing book.

Dale Peterson, a CIA spokesman, said only, "The director is cooperating with the investigation."

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 7LOS ANGELES TIMES
15 September 1983*File Only -*

Source of Pilfered Papers Eludes FBI

By ROBERT L. JACKSON, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—With nearly three months of interviews behind them, FBI agents have been frustrated so far in determining how some confidential documents of former President Jimmy Carter came into the possession of members of President Reagan's 1980 election campaign.

"They (the agents) still have a way to go but they have not found the key, the smoking gun," a government official familiar with the case said Wednesday. The official, who refused to be identified, said the FBI will not finish its field investigation until mid-October at the soonest, more than two months later than originally expected.

The source said many witnesses have been afflicted with "forgettery" when pressed about specific details of what happened three years ago with copies of Carter's campaign debate briefing papers. However, he said agents are unable to say with conviction that any of these memory lapses are deliberate.

A prime example is Reagan's former campaign receptionist, Justine Marks, the latest witness whose name has surfaced. Two sources familiar with her account of the papers' delivery said Marks has told the FBI she believes they were brought to Reagan's headquarters by a well-groomed young man—but that she does not remember his name or where he was from.

Marks has rejected a request by the FBI that she submit to hypnosis in the hope of enhancing her memory, the government official said. He said he did not know if any other witnesses had been hypnotized or had refused to be hypnotized but that the technique is not unusual in official investigations.

Couldn't Identify Man From Photos

"After all, we're talking about incidents that occurred a few years ago," he said.

Marks, who could not be reached for comment, failed to recall anything further about the looks or occupation of the young man and could not identify him from any photos shown to her, the official said. Marks was the receptionist in offices in Arlington, Va., that were occupied by Reagan's top-ranking aides.

It was learned that investigators for the House Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee on human resources, which is conducting a similar inquiry into the pilfered documents, also is seeking to interview Marks. The panel is headed by Rep. Donald J. Albosta (D-Mich.).

The summer-long case has been marked by conflicting memories as well as faulty ones. White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, who was in charge of preparing Reagan for his campaign debate with Carter, has said that he briefly saw some Carter debate papers provided by CIA Director William J. Casey, who was then campaign manager.

Casey has heatedly denied having had such material, saying he would not have touched it "with a 10-foot pole."

Meanwhile, Mark Ashworth, an Ohio college student who worked in Reagan's headquarters, has told Albosta's investigators that he remembers being asked to photocopy pilfered debate papers for delivery to Baker.

"It's not clear who gave what to whom," the official familiar with the FBI investigation said.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE **A-18**NEW YORK TIMES
20 September 1983*File Only Dec*

House Inquiry Leader Says Reagan Sought '80 Papers

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 19 — The chairman of a Congressional investigation into the conduct of the 1980 Presidential campaign said today that investigators had uncovered evidence indicating "an organized effort" by Ronald Reagan's campaign to obtain materials from the Carter White House.

Representative Donald J. Albosta, Democrat of Michigan, gave his interpretation of the investigators' findings in his first status report since his Human Resources subcommittee of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee began its investigation in June.

However, the counsel for the Republican members of the committee said he disagreed with Mr. Albosta's conclusion, and Mr. Albosta, saying he thought it was "important to maintain the secrecy" of the investigation, declined to offer specific evidence to substantiate his findings.

There was no immediate comment from the White House on Mr. Albosta's statement.

Public Hearings in October

Mr. Albosta said public hearings would begin in early October. The hearings could provide the spectacle of two top aides in the White House contradicting each under oath.

It is widely expected that James A. Baker 3d, William J. Casey and Edwin

Meese 3d will be asked to testify, although Mr. Albosta declined to comment on prospective witnesses. Mr. Baker, the White House chief of staff, has said that he received the Carter White House materials from Mr. Casey, director of Central Intelligence, who has disputed Mr. Baker's recollection. Mr. Meese, White House counsel, was director of the Reagan transition team.

Mr. Albosta said that investigators had interviewed about 75 witnesses, equally divided between Reagan campaign aides and Carter White House officials, and that another 30 to 35 would be questioned. In addition, investigators have studied personal and official files of aides to Mr. Reagan's Presidential campaign.

Mr. Albosta said he recently concluded an agreement whereby investigators would study the personal files of Mr. Meese and retired Adm. Robert Garrick, who has said he organized a network of retired military officers to monitor the movement of United States troops and aircraft for the Reagan campaign. The network was looking for signs of the imminent release of the American hostages then held in Iran.

"There was a pattern, an organized effort on someone's part to acquire material from the Carter White House for the Reagan-Bush campaign," Mr. Albosta said.

Mr. Albosta, asked who initiated the effort, replied, "Who would the material benefit?"

G.O.P. Aide Disputes Findings

Steve Hemphill, counsel to the Republican minority of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, disputed Mr. Albosta's findings. "I have sat in on the overwhelming majority of interviews and have reviewed the documents, and I do not reach the same conclusion," he said. "It's too premature to draw that kind of conclusion."

Mr. Hemphill, asked whether White House aides would be called, said "that's totally within the purview of the chairman."

The subcommittee has been investigating how Carter White House documents found their way into the Reagan campaign, where they were used to brief Mr. Reagan for his televised debate with Mr. Carter.

Mr. Albosta said evidence indicated the involvement of more than one person in both the Carter White House and the Reagan campaign. "It was not un-

usual for one campaign to steal material from another campaign," he said.

"What's unusual is where the material came out of the National Security Council," he added.

'Get to the Bottom of It'

Mr. Albosta said that although the Federal Bureau of Investigation had been helpful in the past in giving the committee materials it had developed, the pace had slowed in recent weeks.

"They've been slow in giving us material that I think we should have in our investigation," he said.

Mr. Albosta expressed confidence in the investigation. "My opinion is that we will get to the bottom of it," he said.

Mr. Albosta gave the status report after the House unanimously approved a five-year reauthorization of the Office of Government Ethics. He said the law might have to be amended after completion of his investigation into the briefing documents.

"One set of concerns raised regards the law and standards of conduct affecting Federal employees' stewardship of Government property and information and the use of their positions for personal gain," he told the House. "Are those standards adequate? Are they understood, enforced, or enforceable at all?"

The House Speaker, Thomas P. O'Neill, Democrat of Massachusetts, said today he remained unconvinced of the pressing need for Mr. Albosta's investigation. "I still don't see any great interest out there" by House members, he said.

Mr. Albosta, in response to Mr. O'Neill's statement, said, "His set of priorities dictates that the economy is the ruling thing."

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ON PAGE A-2

WASHINGTON POST
20 September 1983

Sub Only - DET

Albosta Sees 'Organized Effort' To Get Carter Material in '80

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Donald J. Albosta (D-Mich.) said yesterday that he has concluded that there was "an organized effort to obtain material" from the Carter White House in 1980 and that "more than one" aide to Jimmy Carter was involved in providing documents to the Reagan presidential campaign.

Albosta, whose House Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee has been investigating the acquisition of Carter papers by the Reagan campaign during the 1980 election, declined to give specifics, saying he wanted to preserve the probe's secrecy. He said he would detail some of the findings next month at the first of two planned public hearings.

Albosta spoke to reporters after successfully urging the House to pass a five-year reauthorization of the Office of Government Ethics, which is scheduled to go out of business Sept. 30. Albosta said he may propose further amendments to the ethics act to deal with the kind of allegations he is investigating.

"The trend seems to indicate that there was some organized effort to obtain material . . . from the Carter White House for informational purposes for the Reagan-Bush campaign," Albosta said. He said the subcommittee still is focusing on indications that some material may have been taken from Carter's National Security Council.

Albosta said his staff has interviewed about 75 people and that he



REP. DONALD J. ALBOSTA
... "more than one" provided papers

now expects to "get to the bottom" of the mystery. By the time the probe is finished, he said, "I believe we will be able to indicate someone did it."

Albosta also said he has reached agreement with the White House to allow congressional investigators to inspect new Reagan campaign files stored at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

He said these would include the personal campaign files of White House counselor Edwin Meese III and of Robert Garrick, a retired ad-

miral who helped the Reagan campaign monitor military bases in case of an "October surprise" by the Carter White House.

Albosta said some personal files—including those of White House chief of staff James A. Baker III and CIA Director William J. Casey—were not located in California, but that his staff has been able to inspect them in Washington. He added, however, that the FBI has been "slow" to provide the panel with information from its criminal investigation.

The measure extending the five-year-old Office of Government Ethics plugs several "loopholes" in the law, Albosta said. The bill would allow the office to draft government-wide ethics regulations, to review financial disclosure statements of 69 additional White House aides and to extend disclosure requirements to some members of advisory committees. The bill also would require persons nominated by the president to high-level jobs to update their financial disclosure statements before their Senate confirmation hearings.

Aides said this was in response to a 1981 incident involving Attorney General William French Smith, who did not report a \$50,000 corporate severance payment that he received shortly after filing his disclosure statement.

The House measure must be reconciled with a Senate version that would give the ethics office director a fixed tenure that would not coincide with the president's term.

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BALTIMORE SUN
20 September 1983

Theft of Carter data called 'organized'

By Nancy J. Schwerzler
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington — The chairman of a House panel investigating the 1980 Reagan campaign's use of Carter briefing materials said yesterday he has concluded there was an "organized effort to obtain material" from the Carter administration to aid the Reagan campaign.

Representative Donald J. Albosta (D, Mich.) would not elaborate on what, if any, specific information had prompted his observations, but he did say that he did not think it "unusual in any presidential campaign" for one side to try to obtain information about the other.

Mr. Albosta, chairman of the Human Resources Subcommittee, also announced that he plans to hold public hearings, perhaps next month, in the probe. In addition, Mr. Albosta's panel has reached a new agreement with the White House for investigators to review transition-period files of presidential counselor Edwin W. Meese III, who was chief of staff and principal issues adviser in the Reagan campaign.

Mr. Albosta, who said investigators have interviewed about 75 persons so far and plan to interview another 30 to 35, commented that the course of the briefing book inquiry has led him to conclude that there was "an effort on someone's part to acquire information from the Carter White House for informational purposes for the Reagan-Bush campaign."

"I think most likely there was more than one person involved," he said, and there was "some organized effort to obtain material."

Asked if he meant that the Reagan

campaign had made such an effort, Representative Albosta replied, "who would the material benefit?"

On public hearings, Mr. Albosta said his panel would possibly call two witnesses next month. But he did not identify them, other than to say that his panel "won't necessarily" interview the top officials of the Reagan campaign who are now part of the White House staff.

One of those officials, Mr. Meese, will have his files examined by congressional investigators, probably this week, at archives of the Hoover Institution in California, Mr. Albosta said. Those documents, which were not covered by an earlier agreement between the subcommittee and the White House, include campaign files and also cover the transition period between the election and Mr. Reagan's inauguration.

Aides said the panel's investigators, under an earlier agreement with the White House, have already reviewed campaign files of several top administration officials, including CIA Director William J. Casey and Chief of Staff James A. Baker III. Investigators are also in the process of reviewing the files of David A. Stockman, the budget director who also coached Mr. Reagan for his debate against Mr. Carter and has acknowledged that documents "pilfered" from the Carter campaign ended up in the Reagan camp.

The FBI is also probing the briefing book matter and Mr. Albosta acknowledged that the federal investigators are ahead of his inquiry in some aspects. He said the agency, which has been turning over material to the House panel, has been "slower than I would like to see it" in "giving us information."

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WASHINGTON TIMES
19 September 1983

The RAMBLER

BY JOHN McKELWAY

Clean-cut, maybe, but hardly clear-cut

How are you getting along with the Great Carter Briefing Book Caper?

I've just about had it. But will keep trying.

Now. Where are we?

I'm not so sure. When last we met to discuss all the possibilities of the on-going investigation and how an investigation gets to be on-going, there seemed to be some chance that everyone who ever saw the Carter briefing book in the Reagan campaign camp would line up to take a lie detector test administered by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

As far as I can tell, this has not taken place. But, of course, you never know what goes on in this town. And, maybe, the FBI has developed a truth-detecting machine which even now might have been put to use.

However, we do know that we have been told by the press that the FBI has asked a woman who served as a secretary in the 1980 Reagan campaign, a woman who remembers a "clean-cut" young man delivering what could have been the Carter briefing papers, to undergo hypnosis.

Apparently, the FBI did not think she was lying when she described the young man as "clean-cut," and did not proceed to hook her up to a lie detection machine. But agents figured that under hypnosis she might be able to put a little more meat on her bare-bones description.

The secretary said she thought the Great Carter Briefing Book Caper was "Mickey Mouse" and declined to undergo hypnosis.

Now. If a clean-cut young man did deliver the Carter briefing book to Reagan's campaign headquarters, the material must have been sent on to either campaign director William Casey, now head of the Central Intelligence Agency, or James Baker III, now White House chief of staff and at the time of the alleged appearance of the clean-cut young man, candidate Reagan's supervisor of debate preparations.



Baker has said he got the documents from Casey. Casey says he can't recall ever having the documents.

Now. If I can believe all this stuff, why hasn't the FBI offered to put Casey under hypnosis? Or Baker?

Why do the agents, if they did, go after a secretary? One would think the head of the CIA and the White House chief of staff would be far more interesting under hypnosis than a secretary who thinks the briefing book business is "Mickey Mouse" in the first place.

For example, would Casey describe the same young man as "clean-cut" if he could remember, under hypnosis, the guy who brought the briefing book? Casey, under hypnosis, might think the clean-cut young man looked like Baker.

And Baker, under hypnosis, might feel with some conviction the clean-cut young man resembled George Bush, a former head of the CIA.

And what would happen if both Baker and Casey were placed under hypnosis and, simultaneously, hooked up to lie detector machines? Would they describe the secretary as "clean-cut" or use some other equally fathomless description?

And, I wonder, can the FBI guarantee that if either a secretary, or a clean-cut young man, or the White House chief of staff along with the head of the CIA, is placed under hypnosis, they will be returned to normalcy?

What, come to think of it, is normal in Washington, in or out of hypnosis?

Sometimes I get the feeling that the Great Carter Briefing Book Caper is one of those Washington stories that soars into the great beyond leaving most of us lost in the dust it has kicked up.

I would hope you can handle it better. Keep trying.

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WASHINGTON POST
30 September 1983

Consultant Said He Got Carter Papers, GOP Aide Tells FBI

By Martin Schram and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

A Republican congressional aide has told the FBI that Paul Corbin, a political consultant with old-line Kennedy connections, claimed last spring that he had obtained President Carter's briefing papers for the 1980 presidential debate and had given them to Ronald Reagan's campaign manager, William J. Casey.

Tim Wyngaard, executive director of the House Republican Policy Committee, has told FBI investigators that Corbin made that claim to him in a telephone conversation last April—about six weeks before the debate papers controversy became public.

Casey emphatically denied in an interview this week that he had received any Carter debate briefing material from Corbin or anyone else. "I never knew this material was in the campaign," said Casey, who is the director of the CIA. "... It's totally false," Casey added.

Casey said confusion about Corbin may have arisen because Corbin did provide Casey with a six-page memo from a New York lawyer outlining possible statements Reagan might make in the October, 1980, debate with Carter in Cleveland.

Casey said he is a friend of Corbin's and authorized the Reagan-Bush Committee to pay Corbin \$2,860 for expenses for what Casey said was routine campaign work in Florida in the fall of 1980.

Officials involved in the FBI investigation of how Carter campaign papers came into the possession of the Reagan campaign view Wyngaard's version of the Corbin conversation as potentially significant because it is the first evidence that someone voiced knowledge about the Carter debate papers before the episode was first mentioned in the media. One investigative source cautioned, however, that its accuracy may turn out to be "unprovable."

Corbin declined to respond to reporters' inquiries. But associates of his said he denies ever obtaining the Carter briefing papers or making such a claim to Wyngaard.

Corbin's alleged claim to the congressional aide has been known to the White House since last June, and has figured in the dispute between Casey and White House chief of staff James A. Baker III over which top Reagan campaign official first received the Carter briefing papers. Baker says he got the Carter papers from Casey; Casey says he never saw them.

On June 24, Corbin's alleged claim was relayed to Baker by Wyngaard's boss, Republican Policy Committee Chairman Dick Cheney (R-Wyo.). Baker then discussed it with Casey.

After his discussion with Baker, Casey told a middle-level White House official who is also a confidant that he was considering changing his original denial that he had never received the Carter debate documents, according to one reliable account.

This Casey confidant said that Casey told him he recalled receiving something from Corbin during the campaign and could not recall if it was the voluminous Carter debate papers.

Casey has given this account of how he went about determining that his denial should stand.

As the White House began its own internal inquiry into the matter in June, Casey told White House counsel Fred F. Fielding that Corbin could have provided him with some Carter debate papers.

Casey called Charles Bartlett, a former Washington columnist who had introduced Casey and Corbin, to see if Bartlett had any idea of what Corbin had provided the Reagan campaign. Bartlett reportedly did not. At that point Casey tried to find Corbin, and finally reached him by telephone on June 29 while Corbin was vacationing in Aruba.

In that call—according to accounts made public afterward by Casey and Corbin—Corbin said the only information or material he had provided to Casey was a few pages of material from New York attorney Adam Walinsky, former top adviser to the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.).

After the talk with Corbin, and after Casey found the Walinsky material, Casey said he was convinced that he had fully and accurately stated his recollection.

Though the Walinsky material previously has been referred to in newspaper accounts as a speech, it is a memo recommending points Reagan might use in debating Carter, including an attack on what Walinsky called "President Carter's many disasters." Unlike the 1,000-page Carter debate papers, it is a slim, six-page memo that is addressed to Corbin and begins "Dear Paul."

Investigative sources said Corbin also had sent the Walinsky memo to Baker, who was running the debate preparation group in the Reagan campaign. Baker also knew Corbin. Bartlett has said he had introduced them.

Baker declined to comment this week about the matter.

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE
21 September 1983

Debate data leak 'organized effort'

By Dorothy Collin
Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON—Rep. Donald Albosta [D., Mich.], chairman of the House subcommittee investigating the debate papers controversy, said Monday that he thinks there was an "organized effort" to "acquire material from the Carter White House" for the Reagan campaign.

Albosta cautioned, however, that his investigation might fail to determine who took the papers. "I believe we can indicate someone did it, but whether we can find the exact person remains to be seen," Albosta said.

"We have to make the assumption that it was the Carter people taking material from the Carter White House, not Reagan people," he added.

Saying he thinks there was "most likely" more than one person involved, Albosta said such efforts are "not unusual" in campaigns. But he said there could be a "major problem" if some of the information passed from the White House to the

campaign came from a National Security Council source.

ALBOSTA SAID his subcommittee will hold hearings in early October and that witnesses will be placed under oath, raising the possibility of a confrontation with the White House over testimony by former campaign workers who are now part of the administration.

Among those who might be asked to testify are White House Chief of Staff James Baker and CIA Director William Casey. Baker, who was also chief of staff of Reagan's campaign, has said he knew of the papers and thought they came from Casey, Reagan's campaign manager. Casey has said he doesn't remember anything about it and is convinced that if he had received the papers, he would have remembered it.

In addition, Albosta announced an agreement with the White House to give investigators access to files of White House Counselor Edwin Meese, who was the campaign worker who handled negotiations leading to the debate and who later headed the Reagan transition team.

THE FILES COVERED under the agreement are those from the Reagan campaign and the transition period.

"There could be things in the transition period that could indicate what took place before," Albosta said.

However, the congressman refused to say why the investigators want to examine Meese's files or what they hope to find in them. A spokesman said the request to look at the files came as a result of the investigation so far.

Meese's files are at the Hoover Institution of War and Peace on the Stanford University campus. The institution, a conservative think tank, helped supply ideas and personnel for the Reagan administration.

Investigators also will have access to the files of Robert Garrick, the director of campaign operations who set up an intelligence operation within the Reagan campaign aimed at finding out if the Carter administration planned an "October surprise" to solve the Iranian hostage crisis.

DURING THE 1980 presidential campaign, Reagan's advisers were

worried that Carter would spring such a "surprise," perhaps affecting the outcome of the campaign.

Garrick's operation is said to have used information from retired military and intelligence agency officers in an attempt to find out if Carter planned a military move to rescue the hostages in the weeks before the election.

In addition, the committee is looking into allegations that the Reagan campaign may have obtained reports from National Security Council sources.

Albosta said that up to now investigators have been looking only at the files of Reagan campaign officials against whom allegations have been made.

"Now, we have further access," he said.

Albosta said investigators have talked to about 75 people concerning the debate papers controversy, which centers on how Carter's briefing book for the campaign debate between Carter and Reagan ended up in possession of the Reagan campaign.

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE
10 September 1983

File Only

I copied Carter papers: student

By James O'Shea
Chicago Tribune

DAYTON—A college student who worked as a clerk in Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign said Thursday that a campaign official claiming to speak for James Baker, now the White House chief of staff, ordered him to make copies of briefing materials prepared by President Jimmy Carter's campaign organization.

Mark Ashworth, who operated a copying machine on the fourth floor of Reagan-Bush headquarters in Arlington, Va., said he copied Carter materials on several occasions, including once when Emily Ford, an aide to Vice President George Bush, told him the copies "were for Mr. Baker." At the time, Baker was Reagan's debate manager and a chief campaign strategist.

During an interview at his parents' suburban Dayton home, Ashworth received a telephone call from the FBI and was told he was to be questioned by agents next week. The FBI is investigating the possibility that the obtaining of Carter campaign documents by Reagan aides violated federal laws.

Ashworth said he told his story last week to congressional investigators who also are trying to determine how the Reagan campaign obtained the papers, which Reagan aides have acknowledged they used to prepare Reagan for his nationally televised debate with Carter.

ASHWORTH'S STATEMENTS are being viewed as significant because of Baker's recollection that he passed the Carter briefing materials to David Gergen, now White House communications director, after receiving them from Reagan's campaign manager, William Casey. Casey has denied any knowledge of the documents or how they were obtained.

Baker's office said he would have no comment on Ashworth's recollections. But one high-ranking aide to Baker described Ashworth's testimony as "nonsense," and other aides questioned how Ashworth could remember a few documents out of the thousands he had handled during the campaign.

Ashworth, 24, returned to Wright State University in Dayton after holding several low-echelon White House jobs and a post with a now-defunct political action committee called Americians for the Reagan Agenda.

Last week, Ashworth said, he spent 14 hours talking with subcommittee members and investigators of the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee.

"They gave me a lot of documents to look at, and they had a lot of questions," he said. "They told me not to discuss this in public or with the press because it still is under investigation."

ASHWORTH SAID he had appeared before the subcommittee last week at its request and not under a subpoena. The subcommittee plans to hold public hearings this fall.

Ashworth recalled that the documents he copied were not on White House stationery and did not bear the presidential seal or even the letterhead of the Carter-Mondale campaign.

"All of the covers had been removed," he said.

He said he remembered the documents, however, because of the unusual nature and the manner in which the copies were requested by campaign aides. When he appeared before the subcommittee, he said, he was shown copies of Carter campaign materials found in Reagan campaign files. He said he identified some as the type of the documents he had copied in 1980.

"I would stand there with my Kodak machine and copy Reagan and Bush Re-election Committee documents, Reagan briefing books, campaign papers," he said, "and then all of a sudden someone comes up and wants you to copy papers in which all of the issues have a Democratic slant. They [the Carter documents] had different typefaces and markings."

"I REMEMBER thinking at the time, 'Gee, that's funny.' I was just a naive campaign aide. I didn't realize what had happened until I started reading about it in the press. I remember them now because certain things like the typeface are keys that trigger your memory."

Ashworth said he agreed to testify to the subcommittee and be questioned by the FBI because "I am an honest person, and the President has asked anyone who worked on the campaign to cooperate with the investigation."

Ashworth told the subcommittee that the documents included comparisons of the Carter and Reagan platforms, comparisons of the candidates' economic proposals, a list of Carter's legislative accomplishments, an analysis of Carter's vetoes and suggested questions and answers.

On one occasion, Ashworth recalled, Emily Ford approached him and asked him to copy some of the documents that Ashworth remembers as Carter campaign materials.

"I remember it because she got mad at me," he said. "I was working on something for Ed Meese [now counselor to the President and then a Reagan campaign official], and I told her I couldn't make her copies then. I got mad at her, too. She said the copies were for Mr. Baker."

A White House spokesman said Ford would have no comment.

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NEW YORK TIMES
11 September 1983

File Only, Dec

EVIDENCE GAP SEEN IN CARTER PAPERS

'Memory Lapses' but No Proof
of Criminal Acts Are Found
as Inquiry Winds Down

By **LESLIE MATTILAND WERNER**
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — The Justice Department is still at least a month away from concluding its inquiry into how Ronald Reagan's Presidential campaign obtained President Carter's political strategy papers in 1980, according to officials familiar with the investigation.

Thus far, they said, there appears to be little reason to believe the Federal Bureau of Investigation has uncovered enough evidence to bring criminal charges against anyone. But knowledgeable Federal officials said investigators had met with what one termed "inconvenient lapses of memory" on the part of lower-level workers in the 1980 Reagan campaign.

"It's clear that some people should remember a lot more than they say they can remember," a Federal official observed. He added that certain events would have naturally left an impression on some workers' minds and that their current hazy recollections suggested an effort to be less than candid.

Still unresolved, as well, are conflicting accounts provided by two top-level Administration officials, William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, and James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff.

Source of Campaign Notebook

Mr. Baker, a Reagan campaign aide in 1980, has said his best recollection was that Mr. Casey gave him a black notebook containing the material originally prepared for Mr. Carter to be used in his debate with Mr. Reagan. Mr. Casey, who was chairman of the Reagan campaign, has denied being the source of the material, saying he would not have touched such a book "with a 10-foot pole."

Even so, the F.B.I. has not yet decided whether or not to ask anyone involved in the campaign to submit to polygraph, or lie-detector, tests.

No lie-detector tests have been given, "a source familiar with the inquiry said. "No decision has even been made whether to use them. And it's a fairly important decision, considering the people involved."

The inquiry, expected to last at least another four or five weeks, according to officials familiar with the investigation, has involved numerous interviews with former Reagan and Carter campaign workers. Agents of the F.B.I. conducting the interviews are writing reports as each is concluded. Copies of these reports are being submitted to the Justice Department as soon as they are written, according to sources in the department.

The ultimate decision on whether to file any criminal charges rests with the Justice Department. Thomas P. DeCair, a spokesman for Attorney General William French Smith, said a report on the investigation would probably be made public whether or not criminal charges were filed.

'It's General Practice'

"It has not been decided yet," Mr. DeCair said. "But it's general practice in investigations of alleged wrongdoing by public officials to issue a report on the findings of the inquiry."

Meanwhile, the F.B.I. is also providing assistance to a Congressional subcommittee that is conducting its own inquiry into the matter. The bureau is doing so under an agreement worked out between the House subcommittee and the Administration.

"There has been a sharing of information," said Micah Green, staff director for the Human Resources Subcommittee of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which has jurisdiction over enforcement of the Ethics in Government Act.

Mr. Green said the subcommittee, headed by Donald J. Albosta, a Michigan Democrat, had been examining the 50 to 60 "relevant" documents discovered in President Reagan's files at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University in California.

"We're going through them, and we're going through the files of relevant individuals," Mr. Green said.

He said, "We have no doubt that the F.B.I. is working quite hard on the investigation," and added that he did not know when it would be concluded.

Ethical Questions at Issue

"Our inquiry is somewhat broader, because it goes to ethical questions and not just to whether or not a law has been broken," Mr. Green said. "We have to consider whether legislation is needed."

Congressional investigators have heard private testimony from a low-level Reagan campaign aide who reportedly said aides to Mr. Baker had directed him to make copies of materials President Carter planned to use in his debate with Mr. Reagan.

According to sources familiar with that inquiry, the former aide, Mark J. Ashworth, testified that he duplicated Mr. Carter's briefing materials on four occasions and that on three of those occasions he was told the copies were for Mr. Baker.

Mr. Ashworth and others who have privately given testimony to the subcommittee will be asked to speak publicly when it holds public hearings, most likely this fall.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE E-4NEW YORK TIMES
11 September 1983*File Only*

The Purloined Paper Chase

Congressional investigators looking into how Jimmy Carter's debate briefing papers got into Reagan aides' hands in 1980 haven't found a smoking gun, but they may have come up with a hot copying machine.

It was disclosed last week that a low-level Reagan campaign worker had testified privately about making duplicates of Carter briefing materials on the orders of aides to James A. Baker 3d, who is now the White House chief of staff. The campaign worker, Mark J. Ashworth, said that on three of the four occasions he was asked to copy Carter papers he was told the copies were for Mr. Baker.

Mr. Ashworth's testimony before a House subcommittee, which he is expected to repeat publicly this fall, provided the first significant allegation of a direct link between Mr. Baker and the Carter papers. Mr. Baker has told investigators he had only a casual connection with the papers and had received them from William J. Casey, who was then Mr. Reagan's campaign manager and is now Director of Central Intelligence. Mr. Casey has flatly denied that.

Michael Wright,
Carilye C. Douglas
and Caroline Rand Herron

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WASHINGTON TIMES
20 September 1983

Sil O.

Carter camp focus of debate probe

By George Archibald
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

The House subcommittee investigating how President Reagan's campaign obtained Jimmy Carter's debate briefing materials is focusing on possible wrongdoing by Carter White House employees, the panel's chairman said yesterday.

Rep. Donald J. Albosta, D-Mich., also said the pattern emerging from the inquiry is that "more than one" White House employee working for then-President Carter gave the briefing materials to the Reagan campaign.

"There has been no allegation that anything was stolen" by the Reagan camp, Albosta stated.

"There was an effort on someone's part (in the Reagan campaign) to acquire materials from the Carter White House for information purposes," he said.

Albosta declined to say whether he knows who initiated the effort, but he added that it would not be "unusual" for one presidential campaign to attempt to obtain another's internal documents.

"What could be unusual ... is where the material came from, particularly if it came out of the National Security Council," Albosta said. "If we have a possibility that people will remove, for political purposes, material that is sensitive to the security — either economically or to the defense of this country — then we have a major problem."

"If it was removed and if it was done in an organized effort, I think it is important for the American people to know if that is going to continue to happen," he added.

Albosta said the panel's investigators want to review personal files — rather than general campaign files — of several people, including White



Rep. Donald J. Albosta

"If we have a possibility that people will remove, for political purposes, material that is sensitive to the security — either economically or to the defense of this country — then we have a major problem."

House Counselor Edwin Meese III and Adm. Robert Garrick, who headed research for the Reagan campaign. Some of the files are at the Hoover Institution at Stanford.

Asked why investigators were returning to the Hoover archives, where Meese's transition files are housed, Albosta said, "There could be things that would indicate during the (post-election) transition period ... what could have taken place before, during the campaign."

Other files belonging to David R. Gergen, White House communications director, and Wayne H. Valis, a former Reagan aide, may be at the American Enterprise Institute, a Republican-oriented public policy think-tank, where both men worked during the campaign, Albosta said.

The congressman said he "would not rule out" asking AEI to open its files to House investigators. AEI

would "cooperate fully" with the panel, stated a spokeswoman for the research organization.

The panel has interviewed about 75 witnesses from both the Carter and Reagan camps and will interrogate about 35 more people before holding at least two public hearings on the Carter debate book matter in early October, Albosta said.

He declined to discuss details of what the investigation has learned. But he said, "My opinion is we will get to the bottom of it. I believe we will be able to indicate someone did it. Whether or not we will find the exact person and whether or not we will have someone who would have a reason, it remains to be seen."

Asked if this meant the probe has not yet identified any "moles" in the Carter White House, he replied: "I don't want you to think we have, and I don't want you to think we haven't."

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ON PAGE 4-1

Ex-Receptionist Recollects 1980 Debate Papers

By Martin Schram
and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

The former executive receptionist of the 1980 Reagan campaign has told the FBI that papers resembling President Carter's debate briefing materials were delivered to the headquarters by a person she remembers only as "a young, clean-cut man."

And, in an unusual move, the FBI asked her to undergo hypnosis to help her identify the man she says brought the documents and the top Reagan official who received them.

The receptionist, Justine Marks, told FBI agents in four interviews that she can recall only that the papers were brought to the Reagan headquarters by a male who was under 30 years of age, according to informed sources.

Marks controlled access to the fourth-floor offices of the top Reagan campaign executives, including campaign director William J. Casey and senior adviser James A. Baker III, who supervised the debate preparations.

Marks confirmed this account during several telephone interviews with The Washington Post. She said that last Thursday she declined the FBI request that she undergo hypnosis even though the FBI agents had told her, "we feel you can provide us with the missing link," she said.

Marks said: "I feel I may be obstructing the investigation but I just can't" undergo hypnosis. "... I find hypnosis an unnatural state, like a fortune teller. . . . I would consider this differently if it were a murder, but I think the briefing book thing is Mickey Mouse and I told the agent no."

In eight hours of interviews with the FBI, agents showed her 600 to 700 photographs. But she said she was unable to identify the young man who she says brought the papers to the Reagan headquarters. Nor can she remember the time or

WASHINGTON POST
14 September 1983

Sub Only

day when the papers were delivered, nor the senior Reagan official to whom they were delivered, she said.

FBI officials have been frustrated by the slow progress in the case.

They previously sought permission to give polygraph tests to senior Reagan officials, who have given conflicting versions of how the Carter documents wound up in the files of the Reagan campaign.

Baker, now White House chief of staff, has told investigators he received the Carter debate documents from Casey. Casey, now director of the CIA, has said he cannot recall ever having had the documents and that he would not have forgotten

them if they had ever been given to him. The FBI's decision to ask Marks to submit to hypnosis was approved "at the top" of the FBI, according to an official source. The source declined to say if it was FBI Director William H. Webster who gave the approval, or what role, if any, the Justice Department played in the decision in the politically sensitive investigation.

FBI spokesman Roger Young yesterday said he would have no comment on the matter. He nonetheless said the use of hypnosis with cooperative witnesses who cannot recall details is "a valid, accepted technique." He added, "It has been used many times with superb results."

In several telephone interviews this week, Marks confirmed what she told the FBI and described the arrival of material related to the Carter debate as "a positive recollection."

Marks added, "Of the hundreds of people who passed by me I recall I stopped someone. I don't know who. It could have been someone with the campaign, it could have been a citizen, a politician, even someone with the media and that person had material related to the briefing material for Carter."

Marks said she was not positive the Carter briefing material showed to her by the FBI was identical to the material she saw in 1980, though she said it was similar.

She said she was certain the papers received in 1980 were related to the Carter side of the debate, something that would not and did not normally come to the Reagan campaign headquarters.

Asked how she knew the material the young man was carrying was from the Carter camp, she said, "I probably asked him to state his purpose—who he wanted to see and like that."

She said she has tried as hard as possible to recall or further describe the incident or person bringing the material or receiving it but cannot honestly expand on her memory.

"There is a lot I remember," she said, adding: "A lot I don't."

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-22NEW YORK TIMES
15 September 1983*File Only - Dec*

Former Reagan Worker Refuses To Undergo Hypnosis in Inquiry

By LESLIE MAITLAND WERNER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 14 — An aide in Ronald Reagan's 1980 campaign has refused a request by Federal investigators that she be hypnotized to help her recall an incident in which campaign materials prepared for President Carter may have been delivered to Reagan workers.

Federal officials said the woman, Justine Marks, had a vague recollection of such an event but could not identify the man who she thought dropped off the papers. Federal officials said the Federal Bureau of Investigation had asked Mrs. Marks to submit to hypnosis to help her remember, but that she had declined.

The officials said Mrs. Marks had been shown numerous pictures of people who might have had access to the Carter papers, which were prepared for the then President before his debate with Mr. Reagan.

But, the officials said, Mrs. Marks failed to identify anyone as the man who reportedly brought materials resembling the Carter papers to Mr. Reagan's campaign headquarters, where she was a receptionist. They said she described him as young and clean-cut.

Leaving 'No Stone Unturned'

"She may very well have something pertinent," a Federal official familiar with the inquiry said. "To say she's the key would be an exaggeration."

The official said Federal agents had proposed hypnosis because they wanted "to leave no stone unturned."

Roger S. Young, an assistant director of the F.B.I. in charge of Congressional and public affairs, declined to comment on the bureau's inquiry. He

also declined to say whether or not agents had interviewed Mrs. Marks or had requested that she be hypnotized.

But he said the bureau had found hypnosis to be a useful technique in helping witnesses recall details of events they otherwise could not remember.

Mrs. Marks, reached for comment in Augusta, Me., confirmed that she had told investigators about the event and that she had refused to be hypnotized. She declined to discuss details of what she had told the agents because she had an exclusive arrangement with ABC television to appear on its "Good Morning America" program Thursday.

Asked if she was being paid for her appearance, she said, "That's my business," and ended the conversation.

George Watson, vice president of ABC News, reached by telephone, confirmed that Mrs. Marks was scheduled to appear on the program Thursday, but he said the network's entertainment division had arranged the appearance, not the news department.

"We are paying her nothing except her travel expenses from Maine to New York and back," Mr. Watson said. He added that guests were often asked, on a voluntary basis, not to discuss in advance what they would say before a program.