EIRReviews

Woodward's book on Casey: a blend of fact and fiction

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VEIL: The Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-1987

by Bob Woodward Simon & Schuster, New York, 1987 543 pp., clothbound, \$21.95

A shrewd British writer identified the chief cause for the financial success of the "James Bond" novels as what he named "the Fleming effect." Washington Post author Bob Woodward's latest novel, Veil, uses the same method to impart a sense of "being there" to the credulous reader.

The late Ian Fleming created a character, "James Bond," with no resemblance to any person, living or dead, and yet made that romantic character appear realistic in the fantasies of millions of credulous readers, by saturating those pornographic novels with real-life brand-names for exotic places and manufactured objects.

This tactic succeeded, because, as one leading British figure of the intelligence community put the point most recently, the populations of Western civilization have been lately transformed into a paranoid sort of withdrawal from reality, into fantasy-ridden individuals saturated with the lust for envy. Fleming appealed to that lust for envy, by placing "Bond" in the most luxuriant jet-settings, playing with exotic luxury objects bearing what the popular mind received as the brand-names of the grossly *nouveau riche*.

That "Fleming effect" is the trick Bob Woodward uses for his novel on the last years of the late CIA director William Casey. By drenching the credulous reader's fantasies with a wealth of what is, in large part, information known only to the insiders, that reader travels in his own imagination through the corridors of power, and thus enviously imagines himself to be luxuriating in the true secrets of our nation.

Of my own personal knowledge, I know that many among Bob Woodward's revelations in that book are true. I also know from my own direct experience, that numerous other supposed revelations are either not true, or describe events which did not occur as Woodward's book represents them as occurring. Taken as a whole, the book is fiction so densely packed with inserted true-to-life facts, that the credulous reader is led to believe that the book as a whole is true.

Take two of the cases in which I can prove of my own knowledge that Woodward is lying outrightly. For the first of these examples, on page 111 we read:

Iran proved one of Casey's long-held views: intelligence should not sit idle; every effort had to be made to get policy-makers to act.

National Security Adviser Brzezinski had wanted the Shah to use force to quell the street rebellions; Secretary of State Vance opposed force. The President couldn't decide. And the crux was that the Shah would not act unless he was told by the President of the United States what to do. Carter's hesitation, the Shah's hesitation, was all the revolutionaries had needed to flourish and eventually win.

The parts about the "Shah's hesitation" and "Vance opposed force," are true. The rest is a pack of lies. I was in the center of that business. I also know that Woodward has had access to documentary proof, to the degree that he is not mistaken, but lying outrightly in covering up for Zbigniew Brzezinski personally, as well as for President Carter and the Carter administration as a whole, and for Casey, too

28 Reviews EIR October 16, 1987

It was the Carter administration which implemented an option, prepared since 1972-73, for overthrowing the Shah of Iran and using the intelligence establishment of the United States and Britain, with the backing of Israel, France, Italy, and West Germany, to force Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini into power.

The original name for the policy was "the Bernard Lewis plan," named for a member of the British intelligence Arab Bureau, Bernard Lewis, who had been seconded to U.S. intelligence during Kissinger's reign as Secretary of State. Brzezinski renamed this, publicly, "the Arc of Crisis" policy; President Carter described this as "the Islamic Fundamentalism Card."

From the beginning of the Khomeini regime, the Carter administration backed that dictatorship, even during the 444 days Khomeini held the U.S. embassy personnel hostage.

The Reagan administration continued the same policy, from the first day of the inauguration, until the launching of the Tower Commission to investigate "Irangate." Until the incident of the USS *Stark*, even after Irangate, the U.S. government ran back-channels to the Khomeini dictatorship through safehouses in Geneva, Switzerland, and through the headquarters of Oliver North's "second channel," in Hamburg, West Germany.

The Washington Post and Woodward have had access to the legal documents of the case of Cyrus Hashemi v. Campaigner Publications et al., in which the recently deceased gun-runner, Cyrus Hashemi, sued my associates for identifying him as an Iran gun-runner conduiting funds used in aid of Khomeiniac terrorism. Not only did the U.S. Department of Justice, State Department, and National Security Council back Hashemi's illegal operations, and assist Hashemi's legal case against my associates, under both Carter and Reagan. The Carter and Reagan administrations knowingly continued the arms-trafficking to Khomeini through Israeli and other conduits after we had exposed this publicly.

This gun-running to Khomeini was backed by the Reagan administration under Secretary of State Haig, from the beginning of the Reagan administration, and was continued under Secretary of State Shultz. The Washington Post and Woodward know all this.

Woodward could, doubtless, cite sources to back up his prose on page 111. Possibly, Bill Casey might have emitted such "plausible denial" of his Iran policy at some point, especially to a journalist. If Woodward could produce such evidence, as I believe he should be able to cover himself legally with aid of such journalistic technicalities, the fact remains, that Woodward knows such a representation to be false.

A similar example comes up on pages 437-438. Woodward depicts Casey as a supporter of Marcos. Casey was part of the organization of the coup d'état, run top-down by the U.S. intelligence community—not Filipinos—which overthrew Marcos as the Carter administration had overthrown the Shah of Iran. I know that to be a fact personally,

and know names, dates, chapter, and verse, on many details of the preparation and conduct of that coup.

Moreover, because my associates and I opposed that coup, Casey and his cronies decided to throw me personally to the wolves-my international social-democratic enemies such as Roy Godson's crowd, and to help a Justice Department operation against me and my friends manufacture a fraudulent "obstruction of justice charge" in the Boston federal case. Casey's inter-agency organization, operating under Executive Orders 12333 and 12334, ran dirty covert domestic operations against every efficient opponent of the Contra operation, my friends and me included. After the successful CIA overthrow of President Marcos, Casey decided that he had had enough of us, and decided it was time to throw my friends and me to the wolves of Roy Godson's crowd. Woodward knows that story in considerable detail; the representation on pages 437-438 is conscious falsification.

A similar thing happened to me in early 1980, in the 1980 New Hampshire presidential primary campaign. After I had seriously damaged the candidacy of George Bush in New Hampshire, a section of the intelligence community which formed the hard core of the Bush campaign organization, aided a dirty operation run by my international social-democratic enemies in that state. The CIA does not interfere in domestic elections?

Bunk! Vice President Bush's current campaign is being run with the same methods of covert support, but on a grander scale than during January and February of 1980.

Woodward knows this, too. Any biography of William Casey's last years, such as Woodward's *Veil*, which leaves this side of Casey unreported, would be fiction, as Woodward's portrayal of Casey is fiction based on a mere "Fleming effect" sort of liberal misuse of journalistic "fact."

It doesn't work that way

Having now established that Woodward's Veil is an artful blending of fact and fiction, I come to the main purpose of this book review. Woodward employs the "Fleming effect" to accomplish more than to simply falsify particular U.S. covert operations. The selection and arraying of facts in the book as a whole, is a gross misrepresentation of the way in which intelligence operations work.

I concede that many of Woodward's facts about U.S. operations are true, like an artist's colors used to produce a painting. It is the painting produced with those colors, which is false. I also not only concede, but stress, that the false picture painted is only partially the result of Woodward's conniving. On one level, the lower level, Casey did understand the detailed side of covert operations; on the higher level, professional Casey was the bungling amateur we recognize him to have been in reviewing the net result of his reign as CIA director. Woodward deliberately misrepresents only those mechanics of covert intelligence operations which Casey understood very well. On the higher level, Wood-

ward's misrepresentation is a reflection of his own self-confident ignorance.

The postwar U.S. intelligence community, like that of Britain, has been a parody of the mythical gods of Olympos. The intelligence community as a whole is run by invisible men and women, chiefly men and women who hold no official position inside government. Advisory committees, such as the old "Forty Committee," Reagan's PFIAB-IOB, and so forth, are merely reflections of the overall direction by an establishment which exists independently of the control of elected government.

This establishment is a pastiche, somewhat like the late Meyer Lansky's corporate form of direction over U.S. organized crime, of various factional elements among "the gods of Olympos." The establishment reaches decisions which determine the fate of individuals, governments, and nations. The official intelligence community merely executes the collective decisions reached within this establishment.

The resulting situation properly reminds us of Aeschylos' *Prometheus Bound*, and also of one of Goethe's most successful poems, his "Prometheus." In Aeschylos, Prometheus warns the gods of Olympos, that there is a real God, and that that Creator's world has embedded within it laws which shape the ultimate doom of whoever sets himself up as an Olympos in defiance of the Creator and His laws.

I never spoke to Bill Casey personally, although some among my associates had occasional direct contact with him since the time of the Ford administration. However, Bill and I had many dealings with one another. I was too important a person for Bill to meet openly, since the fact of our meeting could not be kept secret within the intelligence community, and that leaked information would have set off a major political explosion inside the establishment. Bill knew how to keep in regular contact with me while he was director. I helped him with his OSS history project, and we crossed swords on strategic and intelligence policy-making many times.

I have mastered more than most in the intelligence profession, the knack of covert communications and analysis. Intelligence insiders have a pet name for me, a kind of pun, which acknowledges my exceptional skills of this sort. Through those skills, I know the important facts about Bill Casey the intelligence professional far better than Bob Woodward were ever likely to know those facts. Many things I did not know, of course; I limit my references here to what I do know with certainty.

Bill Casey desired to be a patriot. On performance, Bill was soft on Moscow, as were many World War II veterans who were then deluded by such operations as our wartime Office of War Information's "Why We Fight" propaganda films, into seeing the Bolshevik dynasty's Russian empire as our "gallant wartime ally against Hitler"; otherwise, Bill desired to see himself an anti-communist patriot.

Bill was also, like my deceased friend Mitch WerBell, one of "Wild Bill" Donovan's "boys," a select group of the

young OSS veterans Donovan cultivated and guided from his New York office, from the postwar 1940s until his death in 1959. According to OSS veterans I have known, Bill Casey was a whiz of an operator during World War II, and continued to operate inside the intelligence establishment from that time onward.

Apart from his merits and skills, Bill had several weaknesses, especially a picaresque fear of lack of money and power. He was a young Irish-American plebeian who had fought his way successfully into a position of wealth, and of status with the patricians of the establishment. Often, Bill's United States was defined as a place where fellows like Bill Casey could make a fast buck; it was that United States he was most consistently committed in practice to defending. Admittedly, Woodward's *Veil* does capture this picaresque aspect of Casey rather accurately, but fails to put it into the proper perspective.

As Director of Central Intelligence under Reagan, Casey functioned simultaneously both within the U.S. government and in establishment levels above the level of elected government. His position in the establishment was akin to that of the plebeian *Hofrat* of some Central European feudal aristocratic or royal household, somewhat below the level at which Venice's notorious Count Volpi di Misurata functioned in directing the 1912-14 Balkan wars, Alexander Helphand, and the later bringing of dictator Benito Mussolini to power in Italy. Casey's rank was analogous to that of Volpi's immediate subordinate, the Count Sforza who coordinated Helphand's Salonika-based operations of the 1912-14 period.

Casey did not make policy, although he was permitted to make policy recommendations on purely secondary matters of implementation. Casey had the assigned mission of implementing the policies passed down to him from above, by the higher ranks of the establishment. Within those constraints, a man in Casey's position is allowed broad latitude in getting things done. Neither the Director of Central Intelligence, nor any postwar U.S. President to date, has been permitted to tamper with the principal policy guidelines set down by the establishment itself.

In my own dealings with Casey and his operations, I functioned primarily on the highest level, the highest level of policy-shaping at which any postwar DCI or President has been permitted to voice his recommendations. My 1981-83 role in the pre-shaping of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, is an example; so is my 1982, "Operation Juárez" proposal for handling the international debt crisis. Usually, I dealt simultaneously with Casey and a much higher level than Casey, the international establishment which dictates the general policies of the United States, chiefly the international financial establishment.

I have never been under the direction of the CIA, although I have done a few favors for our intelligence establishment. Nor have I ever been a part of the international establishment. However, the levels of policy on which I have been person-

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ally operational since 1975 have been the same as that international establishment. Although it is the U.S. intelligence community which has conducted the dirty covert operations against me and my friends inside the United States, as well as many such operations abroad, it was not the U.S. intelligence establishment which initiated the orders to launch such operations. The orders came from within the highest levels of the establishment.

In Aeschylos' outline of the way in which the world works, I function as a Prometheus vis-à-vis the Olympian, self-proclaimed pagan gods of the establishment. Or, in other words, as Plato's Socrates functioned vis-à-vis those Phoenician-Syrian Magi who controlled Socrates' accusers, the Democratic Party of Athens. In classical referents, I am a modern replica of the type known as the mythological Antigone and Prometheus, and the real-life Socrates and Plato. Whoever is unfamiliar with those classical allusions, and their practical meaning for today, does not understand how the world works.

What I have just said, some old hands, such as Stefan Possony, would understand—and be furious with me, even threatening for my saying it aloud. The more naive Bill Casey would have been incapable of comprehending. Bill simply accepted the authority of the international establishment under whose direction he worked.

For one thing, he was incapable of recognizing that the very existence of the Olympians is the highest offense against the God whom Roman Catholic Casey doubtless worshipped devoutly. He did not understand the real meaning of the Mosaic law: Thou shall put no other gods before Me. He divided his Sunday devotions and workaday dealings with the Olympians into two respectively water-tight compartments. He had no efficient comprehension of *natural law*; he was the sort of American Catholic who could imagine that President Theodore Roosevelt was an American patriot, and overlook the irreconcilable difference between a Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson and Christianity in general.

Bill liked money and power, and did not permit his religious convictions to prevent him from defending the means he

employed to obtain them.

So, under the establishment's rule, intelligence functions on three levels: 1) the choices of policy-directions by the higher echelons of establishment itself, from which a man on Casey's 1981-87 level is absolutely excluded; 2) the shaping of the implementation of establishment policy directives by committee-like formations composed of the designated representatives of sundry factions of the establishment, into which Casey was integrated; 3) the shaping of implementation by somewhat free-wheeling intelligence "barons" at the level of Casey and below.

A Casey would receive directions from the highest level, which he could not challenge. He could participate in the shaping of policy on the second level, and would carry out the choice of implementation of policy which was adopted at that level. Within the limits of that decision, a man at Casey's level had wide latitude to do almost anything he could get by with, within understood guidelines.

Woodward's book addresses only the third, lowest, of these three levels, and generally runs to the underside of that level.

To illustrate this point, consider the two instances we have already identified. Woodward does not identify the U.S. Iran policy of the Carter administration. He does not identify the Marcos policy of the Reagan administration. In the latter case, both Casey and the President lied to President Marcos, and did so to keep Marcos off-balance, to distract Marcos's attention from the U.S. intelligence coup at the point of being launched at the time these false reassurances were given. Woodward picks up Casey's outright lie concerning his own intent toward the Philippines, and represents Casey's lie as Casey's policy.

On the lowest level, most current U.S. intelligence operations are pure "psy-ops" (psychological-warfare operations). On this level, the lower-ranking people, such as liberal news media journalists or entertainment media people, carry out the psy-ops, while the higher-ranking circles on this operational level plan and coordinate the psy-ops operations.

For example, during the summer of 1986, the intelligence community made the decision to cause major news media, including the wire services, to prefix every published mention of my name with the term "political extremist." This is strictly Joseph Goebbels's "big lie" technique, as imitated and improved upon by Anglo-American intelligence during and following World War II. The intelligence establishment succeeded in planting that "big lie" use of "political extremist" in every major news media channel in the U.S., including Woodward's Washington Post. In fact, this psy-ops operation against me and my friends was run by U.S. intelligence in close cooperation with the Soviet KGB!

The U.S. intelligence community, for example, runs various kinds of "radical organizations" and others, which it surfaces with street demonstrations and in other ways, directing the local and national news media to cover those orchestrated events in a certain way. More psy-ops. This

practice of the intelligence community spills over into the practices of advertising firms, political campaign technicians, and so on.

Most of the news you hear or see in the news media today is little more than someone's psy-ops in action. Even if the event reported in the press has an element of reality in it, whether it is reported, and how it is described, is strictly a matter of psy-ops decisions on how to manipulate public opinion.

There is no morality, no truth in psy-ops, or other covert operations today. A choice is made to boost, or to discredit this or that personality, group, issue, or policy, and the mechanics of the psy-ops trade go to work without scruple to get the job done. Ask them if they did not consider that immoral, and they will look with feigned self-righteous astonishment, "Grow up, buddy; I was just doing my job. That's the way the world really runs, buddy. When you become as important as I am, you will do the same."

That is what Woodward's book is: another piece of psyops run through the Washington Post's channels. How could we expect Woodward's Veil to tell the truth about the corruption in the way intelligence operations are run, when Woodward's book is nothing but another instance of that sort of corrupt intelligence operation?

Despite the mass of journalistic "facts" which Woodward uses to achieve a "Fleming effect," he does not take the reader to even the upper reaches of the third level of intelligence operations. Thus, he appears to reveal a great deal, while either ignoring or covering up how operations are planned and executed even at as relatively low a level as the DCI.

The real story about Casey's reign at CIA, is that it was amateur night in spades.

Looking from the topside

If we look at Casey's reign on the level Woodward presents, we see legitimate concerns blended with a shocking abuse of power. The credulous reader is awed, imagining that he has been taken to the very pinnacle of power. If we move our line of sight up to the second level, a different picture is presented.

On the second level, we are looking above the level of our elected government, to the underside of the establishment. This is the level on which George Bush is controlled, the level of the Harriman family which created Bush and his father before him, and the level of the Eugene Meyer who had much to do with advancing the ambitious and picaresque young Bush's rise to personal wealth and power.

This is the level at which we meet the second-ranking *Hofrat* sort of representative of wealthy and powerful financier families tied to powerful European aristocratic and noble families, including U.S. agents for the immensely wealthy and powerful *fondi* of the noble families of Venice. It is also the level at which meet representatives of certain patriotic,

nationalist elements of our institutional elite. Here is the place at which policy decisions from Olympos are received, the level at which the optional implementations of those policy decisions are shaped by the senior professionals.

Here is the level at which we begin to recognize most among our senior intelligence professionals, such as Casey himself, as bungling amateurs. Casey was a brilliant mechanic, expert at fooling people, expert at recruiting a foolish, unstable fellow like Oliver North to become the expendable scapegoat at such time as Casey decided to cover his tracks by throwing hand-grenades into his own networks. Casey's cleverness as a mechanic of that sort distracts attention away from the fact that he was, in the last analysis, a bungling amateur in the craft of intelligence.

Allen Dulles and the recently deceased James J. Angleton were on a much higher level of professionalism than Casey. To at least a limited degree, like Possony and others of that sort, they knew "where the body is buried" in the Olympian establishment. Dulles was a rather high-level Morgan asset with intelligence operations experience during and immediately following World War I. Angleton's father had been personally in the orbit of Count Volpi di Misurata's Venice. From my knowledge of, and contacts with Angleton, he knew that the world was run in a far different way than a political mediocrity like William Colby could ever comprehend; he understood the significance of the 1920s Anglo-Soviet Trust, as one of Casey's outlook could not, although Angleton made it clear to us during his last months that he refused to try to understand the deeper implications of the "Trust" phenomenon.

Angleton's insight, for all its shortcomings, takes us way above the level Bob Woodward could understand, or were ever likely to become capable of understanding. It is the shortcomings of the rarer quality of intelligence officials, such as Angleton, which lead our attention to the real scandals in our nation's intelligence practice.

What Angleton and Dulles could not understand, is the modern implications of Aeschylos' *Prometheus Bound*. This is no debatable assertion on my part; the evidence is readily accessible and conclusive. This takes us to the edge of my crucial point in this review: why George Bush's 1988 election as President of the United States would be a national catastrophe.

The Soviet escape from strategic containment, especially during the recent 20 years, and the "post-industrial" collapse of all the economies of Western civilization excepting that of Japan, signals that Western civilization appears to have reached its fag-end, and is about to be replaced by Moscow's global supremacy over a world plunging into a new and prolonged dark age. The essential mission of strategic intelligence is to prevent such calamities from occurring. The mission of all intelligence functions is to support that strategic intelligence mission.

Do not imagine that Moscow's establishment of its world domination signifies the beginning of a shining new Roman empire, to dominate the world prosperously for generations yet to come. Moscow's reign would cast it in the role of official undertaker for Western civilization, as Khrushchov prophesied; but, a few moments of history after our interment, the spread of ruin and chaos in the rest of the world, would intersect and detonate the long-term instabilities of Moscow's empire and unleash a cataclysm inside China. The results for humanity as a whole, would be on the scale of, or even worse than, a full-scale war between the two superpower alliances.

That prospect, which now lies immediately before us, is the twilight and ensuing extinction of the gods of Olympos, just as Aeschylos' Prometheus foretells the circumstance. We must judge Casey's reign at CIA as we judge the performance of a man who leads a successful mutiny on a sinking ship. All of the Reagan-Bush intelligence community's successes, "we succeeded in pulling that one off," and all of the similar successes under Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter, add up to that net result.

What dooms the gods of Olympos, is not their failures, but their successes. The more they seek in imposing their arbitrary whims upon mankind, the more perfectly they ensure the catastrophe in which they will be destroyed. That is Prometheus' argument; that is what the U.S. establishment, the larger international establishment of which it is a part, and the U.S. intelligence community are doing to themselves.

"Buddy, you are a brilliant fellow," the old boys of the intelligence establishment tell me repeatedly, "but for all your brilliancies, on which you are right, you make one fundamental mistake. You underrate the power of the establishment."

I have shaken my head in reply to Casey's opinions to such effect, and reiterated Prometheus' warnings to the gods of Olympos: "No, it is you who are making the fatal mistake. The establishment, if it decides to do Moscow a favor by ordering me killed, has the means to succeed in eliminating me; but if it succeeds in that, it will not outlive me for long. I will not bow to the will of the establishment; I will not waste the sum-total of my life, by now helping that establishment destroy Western civilization. It is the establishment who must submit to my changes in policy, if it wishes to survive."

These smart and powerful fellows of the intelligence establishment have been lackeys of the establishment families for so long, that they would not change their ways, even if they knew that the survival of the United States depended upon it. For that reason, all of the postwar chiefs of the CIA will be judged bungling amateurs by the court of history, not so much because so much of what they did failed, but because they were ignorant of the very nature of the strategic mission which the circumstances required of them.

Western civilization has been destroyed by the "crisis-management" policy introduced at the wartime Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam agreements, and the establishment of the United Nations Organization as a step toward world-government. It has been destroyed by the full-scale introduction to U.S. government policy-shaping, beginning 1967, of a neomalthusian "post-industrial society" policy, and the accompanying post-1963 fostering of the sex-rock-drug counterculture. These postwar policies have rotted Western civilization at the core. Without reversing those policies, Western civilization is doomed.

For dealing with Moscow, there is no alternative but overwhelming superiority in rates of technological progress, and economic and military strength. Bargaining for waravoidance from a position of such strength, is the only workable approach to the choices between general war and surrender. Those who have sought peace through contrary policies of "détente," have done nothing but bring us closer to the choice between nuclear warfare and surrender. That was Johnson's 1967 betrayal of civilization, that was Nixon's monstrous blunder, Ford's error of oversight, the crime of the Carter administration, and the looming legacy which threatens to make President Reagan's search for peace the most odious page in the history of this republic.

Serious intelligence focuses upon the political-cultural policies which advance the material and moral condition of life of every person and nation on this planet. It is that work which makes our nation's existence necessary in the eyes of the Creator, and that cause which alone can justify and ensure our survival. Any DCI who does not say to the President, "Mr. President, you must move quickly to uproot the counterculture and end the 'post-industrial' drift, and end this madness of détente based on 'crisis-management,' " is a bungling amateur, as Casey was.

What Reagan and Casey did, was to throw away the most vital strategic interests of the United States each time the New York bankers wished to steal. Our allies in the developing nations were looted, and governments which might have resisted such looting couped by the CIA. Our own economy was looted by the same bankers, shutting down our industries and farms, and lowering the per capita rates of physical production and consumption of our population, while gutting those institutions of education, medical care, and basic economic infrastructure, to the degree that it might be written on our nation's tombstone, "Died of deregulation."

As in the case of the CIA coup against President Marcos, Casey did not hesitate to see in a coup of a too-trusting, allied government, the opportunity to assist his friends in stealing.

Who are the editors and journalists of the Washington Post to criticize Casey for his peccadilloes. Casey was faithfully carrying out the policies of the circles of the Post's owners. It is those policies which are the real corruption, the real dirt which needs to be exposed.