

The Moles Will Always Be With Us

By Robert M. Gates

COLLEGE STATION, Texas
There is nothing more painful for the men and women entrusted with the security of our country than learning that one of their own has betrayed them and their country. No part of our government is immune to such treachery, no matter how thorough an organization's security and vetting procedures.

Robert M. Gates served as deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency under President Ronald Reagan and as C.I.A. director under President George H. W. Bush.

The arrest for espionage of Robert Philip Hanssen, a longtime counterintelligence officer at the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has prompted many questions. Above all, how could the spying attributed to him continue for 15 years without detection?

The question will undoubtedly be investigated by a number of panels and Congressional committees. And, with the clarity of perfect hindsight, if past experience is any guide, previously unnoticed clues will be found that if detected earlier might have led to a more timely identification and arrest.

But, unlike Aldrich Ames, who as a spy for the Soviets engaged in behavior that should have raised suspicion early on, Mr. Hanssen, according to

In war or peace,
 nations must guard
 their secrets.

the F.B.I., apparently used his training as a counterintelligence officer to protect himself. He never displayed any outward sign he was receiving large amounts of cash, never met with his Russian handlers, never told the Russians his true identity, and constantly used his access to F.B.I. files to monitor whether he was being investigated.

A careful spy who knows all of the

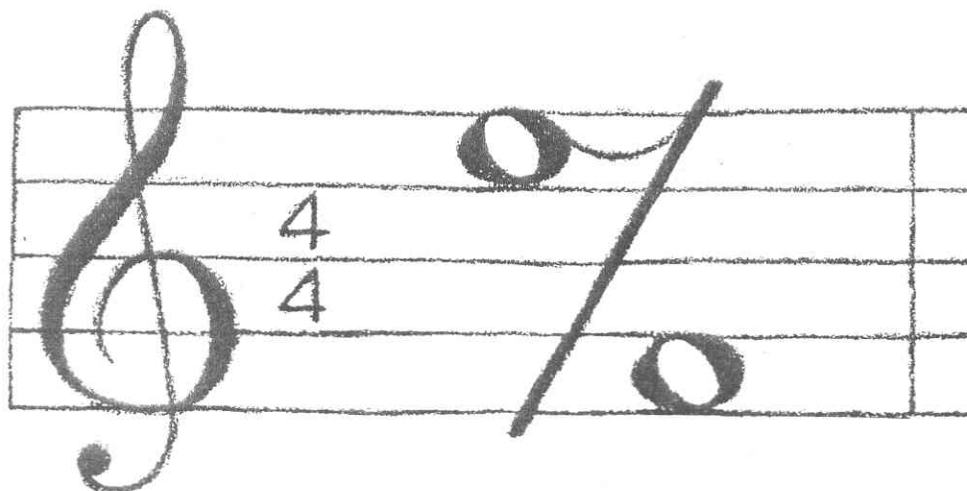
tricks of the counterintelligence world can be very difficult to identify. This is especially so in organizations like the military, the F.B.I. and the C.I.A., where colleagues place enormous trust in one another. Improving counterintelligence — finding spies or “moles” — has been a special focus and priority for both the F.B.I. and the C.I.A., especially after Aldrich Ames was arrested in 1993. Subsequently, cooperation between the two agencies improved dramatically; both became more realistic about the possibility of penetration by a foreign intelligence service.

And yet ... it still took years to identify Mr. Hanssen as a possible spy. As is Washington's way, fingers of blame will be pointed — perhaps deservedly. After all, we can always do better. But we must be realistic. In any democratic society, counterintelligence is decidedly difficult and will never be perfect. It wasn't perfect in the totalitarian Soviet Union, and it certainly won't be in America.

As Richard Helms, the former C.I.A. director, told me when I became director, “Never go home at night without wondering where the mole is.” There will always be a tiny number who betray the trust. Catching them early is critical, but catching them at all will almost always be hard.

Espionage did not begin or end with the cold war. There will always be moles because governments will always want to know what other governments are up to. From the American perspective, we still live in a world of terrorists, weapons of mass destruction, despots with aggressive ambitions, and ethnic cleansing. While our national existence is no longer at risk, as during the cold war, the government's ability to protect us and our interests around the world is always at risk. Intelligence about those risks will always be a priority for the government, just as it will be for most other governments.

However, those other governments face an interesting paradox. Many intelligence targets are enduring. Nonetheless, in a new global environment, in which the American government ever more widely shares its intelligence and its military technologies, foreign governments may find that at times their right hands are paying spies for stealing what their left hands are receiving openly and officially from Washington. In the meantime, the hunt for the rare American betrayer must continue, with the F.B.I. and C.I.A. working together. □



Sean Kelly

Art's Cold Welcome on the Web

By Paulina Borsook

SANTA CRUZ, Calif.
In the whole foofaraw around Napster, what mostly got lost was the artists. They are the Belgians of this controversy, trampled by armies heading someplace else. Now the Information Wants to Be Free hipsters battle the mercantilists (AOL Time Warner), who feel their copyright extends to “all media known and unknown throughout the universe,” as the legal phrase goes. And no one is really that concerned about the actual creators of intellectual property.

The arguments supporting Napster came from the Internet's time-honored culture of information-sharing and open communication — although this cultural tradition, sadly, has less and less application in the corporatized Net of 2001. Undergraduates rallying for Napster at famously socially concerned campuses seemed more preoccupied by the First Amendment, and by their age-appropriate critique of corporate entertainment monsters, than by the need to think hard about how artists should be compensated in the age of effortless digital reproduction.

There seems to be a conceptual

confusion in the minds of Internet kids. True, the copyright holder may be giant Bertelsmann or oligopolistic Disney, not the singer-songwriter who created a work. Nevertheless the complex ongoing legal and moral fights about whether and how artists get control over, and compensation for, their work should provoke some righteous indignation on campus. After all, it's the students' cultural future that's being fought for.

Struggles for fair compensation

An ethic of free
 content shoves the
 creators aside.

are not fun, sexy or easy to solve. Proposals for pay-per-use and licensing schemes have been knocking around Net culture for years, but not much has happened with them, not least because implementation isn't easy. The larger problem, though, is the idea that somehow on the Net nothing created should be paid for. That's a long-lived Net cultural bias, and it is not going away.

Suggested revenue models for making money on the Net trickle up from the software industry: you give away the intellectual property, then make your money in services and

customization. These models simply don't make sense when talking about a great riff, an evocative piece of photojournalism or a work of fiction good enough to anthologize in the world of dead trees. Art is not information. Art is precisely that which can last and last — whereas nothing dates faster than a revision to a piece of software. Art needs protection and revenue-generation possibilities that are different from what makes sense with software.

Perhaps a good outcome from the Napster decision will be that the record companies finally do figure out a way to implement a royalty structure like those Ascapi and BMI use to compensate musicians and songwriters for performances and recordings of their works. In the hypothetical Celestial Jukebox, much bruted about in Net music circles, folks would be able, for a reasonable fee, to access any music they liked on the Net.

But the larger problem remains: a mindset that holds that creators shouldn't be compensated for their work, that all human creation is the equivalent of a Web log by a hobbyist with a day job. Members of the Net community, whether born in 1954 or 1986, will pretty much always rally to oppose censorship. But don't expect those same Netizens to consider authorship of a work of art on the Net to be important — or to pay for online content. □

Paulina Borsook is author of “Cyber-selfish: A Critical Romp Through the Terribly Libertarian Culture of High Tech.”

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