



trance hall and then Colonel Grogan would usher me into a pleasant waiting room with Hepplewhite chairs and a Queen Anne sofa and make a bit of small talk about the weather or football (never baseball—baseball, it was clear, was not the thing in the CIA).

The short wait for Dulles gave him a chance to apologize to me and to express his pleasure that I had been able to find time to drop by. There were always others with him, tweedy men like Dulles—and you knew that these were excellent tweeds, cut by good London tailors or by Brooks. And the men's faces were lean, handsome faces, the kind you saw in good whiskey ads, leaning indolently beside tall fireplaces in English country houses or perhaps their Long Island equivalents.

Allen Dulles's office suited its occupant. No clutter, a fire in the fireplace except during the hottest Washington Julys. (Did he chuck his most secret notes into the flames and watch them burn?) There were no windows behind the director's desk, so that his back was to a blank wall. To one side, there was a window that seemed to face outside but through which you could not really see anything except some shrub plantings (and this, I was certain, was not accidental—no access would be provided to the director's office from the outside).

The conversation in Dulles's office was of a piece with the setting—mellow, informal, informed, a conversation among sophisti-

cal, rather world-weary but gentlemanly individuals. No talk of spies or dirty tricks or double agents. Everything was nuanced, sketched in quick pencil strokes, flavored with the aromatic smoke that came from Allen Dulles's pipe (none of his companions ever seemed to smoke, at least in his presence), wry expressions of the face, self-deprecating stories, and droll shrugs of the shoulder.

The questions from Dulles would be shrewd: Where did Malenkov rank in the Kremlin hierarchy? Was he really being groomed to take over when Stalin died? What was the real reaction in the Kremlin to the failure of the Berlin blockade? Was it possible that Stalin simply didn't understand modern air power?

So the talk would go, with occasional interjections by others—interjections a bit more close to the bone, but all in the style set by Dulles. No voices were raised, no harsh opinions expressed; there were no suggestions of bloodshed, no hints of violence or dark deeds. All was civilized, even "clubbable." The men's haberdashery was of a pattern, the ties diagonal stripes or simple small figures, the colors subdued browns or heathers. There were no sharp edges—well, almost no sharp edges. Usually there would be one man in the small group who was silent throughout the polite talk. His suit did not come from Brooks. It came off the rack. And his face did not come from the Ivy League. It was not relaxed or handsome. It

was harsh-featured and there was likely to be the look of a weasel in it. This man would sit through the whole conversation, his back to the wall, saying nothing, ignored by the others. When the conversation was over and Allen Dulles was shaking hands and expressing his deep appreciation, the silent man would slide into the background, saying nothing, not offering to shake hands; as you were walking out, you would remember that he had never been introduced.

Times have changed at the CIA. Dulles has gone to his grave. Headquarters has moved across the river to the enormous complex at Langley (although the old building is still in use). Bureaucracy has given the agency a new face—efficient, button-pushing, computerized. There is nothing Victorian about the director's office these days. The old accents of Harvard and Brown and Princeton have been diluted by the bland tones of Illinois. There are more and more ethnics on the staff rolls. Recruiting teams work the Panhandle colleges of Texas more vigorously nowadays than the citadels of the Northeast Triangle.

The style of the CIA today is a clean-shaven, gray-suited, credit-card-carrying, rent-a-car businessman's style. The last of the tweedy generation has almost been phased out and this, too, is not accidental.

But the fundamental question remains what it has been all along. Which is the real face of the CIA—the clubbable avuncular

CONTINUED ON PAGE 51

## THE CIA FELONIES

The Central Intelligence Agency was created by act of Congress, and its lawful powers, duties, activities, and purposes are wholly defined and circumscribed by The National Security Act of 1947. Under this law, the agency is authorized to act solely in matters related to intelligence affecting the national security. All other activities are illegal as being in violation of Article I, Section 1 of the Constitution, which vests all legislative powers in the Congress. The National Security Act does not authorize the agency to engage in activities designed to manipulate political, military, economic, or social developments in foreign countries. It is restricted to collecting, analyzing, integrating, interpreting, and disseminating information. However, the agency has made a practice of engaging in non-intelligence-related activities.

The CIA has admitted some of these activities. Among them are:

- (a) assisting individuals, organizations, and factions contesting for control of foreign nations;
- (b) providing paramilitary support to foreign groups and nations;
- (c) providing financial and other support for counterinsurgency efforts;
- (d) providing financial support from 1950 to 1967 for the overseas work of

various private cultural, labor, and educational organizations in the U.S., such as the National Students Association, which espoused positions favorable to the United States in international conferences and other forums;

(e) providing virtually all of the funding for, and exercising control over broadcasting by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during the 1950's and 1960's;

(f) participating in the organization, funding, and direction of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961;

(g) participating until 1973 in the organization, funding, and direction of armies in Laos composed of Laotian and Thai mercenaries;

(h) supplying financial assistance to Chilean political parties and media opposed to the government of Salvador Allende from 1970 to 1973.

In addition, the agency, without publicly acknowledging the extent of its role, has engaged in such related activities as:

(a) providing funds to Italian parties, candidates, and organizations opposed to the Italian Communist Party;

(b) participating in the successful coup against Premier Mohammed Mossadegh of Iran in 1953;

(c) participating in a successful attempt to overthrow the Guatemalan government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954;

(d) supporting a rebellion against President Sukarno of Indonesia in 1958;

(e) supporting the Khmer rebels in Tibet in the late 1950's and early 1960's;

(f) supporting the forces of Moise Tshombe of the Congo during the 1960's;

(g) financially assisting those opposed to the election of Salvador Allende as president of the Republic of Chile in the elections of 1964 and 1970, and providing financial support to Chilean trade organizations and others opposed to the government of Salvador Allende until the successful coup against his government and his death on September 11, 1973;

(h) advising and assisting a counterinsurgency effort of the Bolivian government in 1967 to capture and kill Che Guevara;

(i) attempting a coup in Syria in 1957. The coup failed, and agency personnel had to scramble aboard airplanes to escape from Damascus.

Given the nature of these admitted felonies, we can logically suspect that the CIA has committed other felonies, has engaged in undemocratic behavior, and is properly the subject of intensive congressional investigation.

# THE CIA KILLERS

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face of Dulles, or the hawklike visage of the sifent man with the ill-fitting clothes, suggestion of garlic breath, and deft hand with a short angle iron?

Any doubt on this score—and there should have been no real doubt from the beginning—has been totally eradicated by a remarkable stream of firsthand name-date-and-place accounts put down on paper in very recent times by a succession of writers most of whom are themselves graduates or longtime inmates of that curious human zoo concealed behind the three innocuous initials.

The tweeds, the pipe, the aromatic tobacco, the fine accents of Boston and Philadelphia were never more than a con. Just as the computers, the aluminum decor, the Bauhaus chairs, and space technology of the new bureaucracy is a con.

The real face of the CIA is the man with the angle iron. The enforcer. Of course, neither the tweedy man nor the organization man of today wields the angle iron or the silenced revolver himself. The enforcer is hired help—as he is, for the most part, in the Mafia. There is a difference. The Mafia enforcer is killing or blackmailing for profit. He is trying to establish a monopoly for the Family. The CIA men (at least those in tweeds or gray flannel) have convinced themselves, or been convinced, that they are acting for their country—for the old red, white, and

blue. But the bottom line at the CIA is blackmail, the squeeze, and, if necessary, killing.

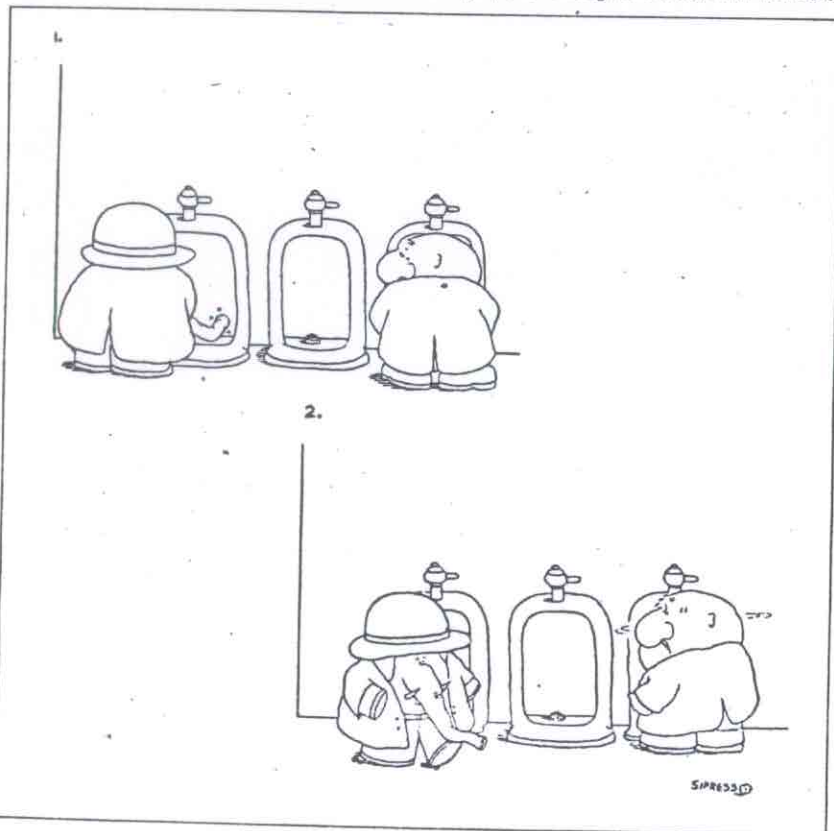
Probably some people have known this simple truth from the beginning. But the CIA con was plausible, and it had a lot going for it. It was bought by many who worked for the CIA, and by most of the country. I have no doubt that Allen Dulles himself believed the con. The argument was that our existence ("our democratic way of life" or whatever cast-iron rhetoric was used to convey the concept) was threatened by a worldwide Communist conspiracy which halted at nothing. We had to fight fire with fire.

How did the con work? Probably the most comprehensive picture of the hidden mechanisms and inner psychology of the CIA is given by Philip Agee, who was recruited into "the Company" upon graduating from Notre Dame in 1956 and who resigned in 1969, thoroughly disillusioned after thirteen years of service (largely in Latin America). His account, *Inside the Company*, has recently been published in England by Penguin and is being brought out in the U.S. by Straight Arrow. It was difficult to find an American publisher because American firms were understandably leery about publishing a former CIA agent's work after the ferocious battle waged by the agency to suppress *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, a similar work by Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks (see *Penthouse*, January 1975). That fight cost Alfred A. Knopf, the publisher, more than \$100,000 in legal fees and hasn't ended yet, even though a version with 168 dele-

tions insisted upon by the CIA (these are indicated by blank spaces in the text) has finally been published.

The fact is that the CIA not only cons the public and the rest of the government—it cons itself. Even today, Marchetti feels that the CIA almost never assassinates, and certainly never by its own hand. The killing may be set up, but someone else carries out the mission. "Why, CIA men don't even carry guns," says Thomas McCoy, another former CIA man; "it's not allowed." And he and Marchetti gleefully recall one colleague who had carried a gun that was taken away from him with enormous difficulty. "But he was nuts," the two agree.

Obviously, the con still works. Because the CIA staffer himself does not carry a gun and does not personally shoot his victims, he feels relieved of moral responsibility. Thus, CIA men feel no remorse over the killing of Premier Mossadegh of Iran, or of Che Guevara, because in the first place they were "targets," and in the second place the killing was done by local allies. The fact that the security police of Ecuador or Uruguay killed and tortured men who were on the CIA target list hardly bothered Philip Agee until one day, happening by chance to be in the Montevideo police headquarters, he heard loud moans from another room. He learned that the moans were coming from a "target" he had named to the police as the *picana*, a hand-operated generator, was applied to the man's genitals. Agee was so shocked he decided not to give the police any more names.



In real life, the CIA resembles nothing so much as a great fraternity—something like the Elks, but more like Sigma Chi. It doesn't seem to have an official grip or class rings, but it does issue agency medals. The medals are of differing grades and they are presented to agency personnel who have accomplished great feats of intelligence. The only rub is that the medals, which resemble the army's Medal of Honor and are awarded during ceremonies at CIA headquarters, can be worn only on CIA territory and at official CIA functions. They are, naturally, classified as top secret, and no medal holder is ever allowed to refer to them to "nonwitting" individuals.

"Nonwitting" is an expression from the CIA's secret lingo (remember the secret codes you made up as a kid?). A "witting" person, in CIA-speak, means a person in the know, that is, an agency man. A "nonwitting" or "unwitting" person is a nonagency person who is not clued in.

No witting man ever calls his employer the CIA or the agency—it is always "the Company." No witting man ever talks about technique—he speaks of "tradecraft." Much of this lingo is now familiar to the nonwitting public via James Bond. There are "safe houses," "dead drops," "cut-outs," "flutter" (lie-detector tests), "walk-ins" (recruits who walk in off the street), "cold picks" (attempts to recruit agents cold by simply walking up to them on the street), "infil-exfil," "burn-and-blow" (sabotage), "false-flag" recruit-

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EXCITING  
TIN  
LETTERS

# THE CIA KILLERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 53

ment (hiring a man without letting him know he works for the CIA), and "black" operators and operations ("black" meaning covert).

The list can be expanded indefinitely. It is possible for two CIA men to gossip for hours using nothing but the jargon of the trade. The men might know each other only by the cryptonyms (code names) which all CIA men in clandestine service bear. In the Company, a man's cryptonym, and the nickname stemming from it, may after many years become more familiar than his true name. Desmond Fitzgerald, for instance, longtime top clandestine executive of the CIA, is better known as "Chet"—that is, Chester D. DAINOLD. (The last name of the cryptonym, incidentally, is always given in capital letters in agency communications.) Agee's cryptonym was Jeremy S. HODAPP. Company cryptonyms tend to sound like names out of *Tom Swift and the Electric Submarine*. The process of their selection is, of course, top secret.

Like the Mafia, the agency forms a true brotherhood—one for all and all for one—except that, in the clutch, alas, everyone is expendable. But up to that final point, the members of the Company will do anything for each other—lie, cheat, steal, kidnap, suborn perjury, bribe, corrupt, subvert, kill, and kill again. If you are of the blood, the Company will care for you. (No wonder E. Howard Hunt felt betrayed by the unwonted treatment he and his CIA crew got from the White House after Watergate.)

When an employee leaves the Company and needs a new job, the Company placement agency finds something suitable to his talents, temperament, and training. It's a big, active department and it does excellent work. Of course, if it is a matter of a nonstaff man or woman—that is, a hired agent—who is being terminated "with extreme prejudice," no employment or financial benefits are involved. It's a job for the coroner, if the body ever turns up. But these cases are rare, and top agency approval is said to be required for such terminations. Nonetheless, the similarity to the Mafia is noticeable. But so far as is known, the agency has never terminated one of its own career employees in this manner.

To become a member of the brotherhood is not easy. You have to be *chosen*. In the old days it was simpler: a matter of family, college, school tie, connections... the right names, the right places, the right accents. Today, the Company is very big. It has to cast its net far and wide, but it tries to maintain traditional forms.

Having been chosen, you must be tested. MI-6, the Company's sister service in England, was for many years so clubbable and cozy that it tested the candidate by inviting him to a weekend at a country house. There, his wit and politics would be put to the test by a group of his peers. Although the candidate didn't know it, all of the guests at the party, including the sophisticated and

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beautiful young woman who invited him to share her bed, were MI-6 personnel. Very British. Very low key. Wonderfully effective at separating out potential deviates—or so it seemed until Burgess and Maclean and all the other scandals.

The Company's testing is more typically American. As described by Agee, in fact, it resembles nothing so much as a high-school fraternity initiation, except that it goes on for several months. It is applied not to intelligence analysts but to future "case officers"—those slated to be covert agents, the Richard Helmses and William Colbys of the future. These men will make their careers "running" paid agents, subverting governments, carrying out occasional assassinations, instigating coups d'etat, corrupting political parties and newspapers, and possibly, if they are able and shrewd, climbing high enough up the ladder to run such major (and scandalous) operations as the infamous Phoenix program of political murder in South Vietnam.

(The Phoenix program was officially described as a program of "pacification" in South Vietnam. Actually, it involved political murder and execution on a large scale. Suspected members of the Vietcong "infrastructure" were rounded up in large numbers. There are authenticated instances of victims being "interrogated" in helicopters, some being simply hurled overboard in order to encourage "confessions" on the part of others. Colby directed this program, and while he has denied participating in political murders, he admits that Phoenix took 20,500 lives.)

The Company maintains what is appropriately called "the farm" in southern Virginia on the banks of the York River, not far from Williamsburg on the Richmond road. Ostensibly, this is a military reservation called Camp Peary. It is surrounded by chain-link and barbed-wire fencing and is the CIA's big U.S. playground and campsite, a training base not only for newly recruited personnel but for foreign agents, secretly flown in from abroad, who aren't even supposed to know what country they're in. The Company, of course, has other training sites. It used one in Colorado to train Tibetans who were supposed to go back to Tibet and lead an insurrection that would wrest their land from Chinese Communist rule. There is a permanent installation in Panama that is used for guerrilla training and, of course, there were the famous sites in Guatemala used for the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

But Camp Peary is the principal permanent training base in the U.S. It has its own plane service to and from Washington, its own small navy, simulated Iron Curtain borders complete with watchtowers and police dogs, landing zones on the York River to practice "infil-exfil," classrooms, barracks, gymnasiums, swimming pools, and, naturally, playing fields. Baseball is permitted but not encouraged. The training program is rigorous.

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from a specified construction site, or fashion his own paddle and belabor his fellow pledges while they belabor him. But he has other ordeals. He trains under his cryptonym, as do all other pledges. One of the first tasks assigned is to ferret out others' identities. If you can get your best friend drunk and find out his name while concealing your own, your rating goes up three points—and your best friend may be thrown out of training. It is an early and pertinent exercise in the kind of morality represented by the Company.

The pledges are sent off on "intelligence missions." They are ordered to break into a nearby power plant and take photographs. There they are often caught on the three-strand barbed wire topping the fence that surrounds the installation, then seized at gunpoint by weary (but witting) power-plant guards. Or they are sent into Richmond to run paper chases through department stores with other pledges and instructors, some trying to "surveil," some trying to evade surveillance. It is great sport for the pledges, but the plainclothes details at the stores have gotten a bit tired of the fun and games over the years.

Pledges may be put down in strange territory late at night without money and ordered to make their way to a rendezvous point inside of four hours. Sometimes a bold pledge will steal a farmer's car and arrive in jig time. He gets a high score for his achievement, and an instructor quietly arranges for the return of the car to its owner. There's no sweat—the local police and sheriffs have become accustomed to the cut-up kids of the CIA and have been given an occasional twenty-dollar bill to look the other way. After all, it's a matter of "national security," isn't it?

After some months of these puerile stunts, plus a deadening series of political lectures on the dangers of the Communist conspiracy (these concentrate on Soviet secret-police techniques, goals, and objectives—Marx and Lenin and Communist political doctrine get scant attention), along with a comprehensive survey of the Company's own bureaucracy, rules, and regulations, the new Company man is ready to graduate. He enters an unreal world, in which he will be "living his cover," that is to say, existing 24 hours a day, 365 days a year as someone else. Another way of saying it would be: *living his lie*. His superficial identity may be that of a quiet young U.S. embassy clerk in Ecuador, while in fact he is the young tiger who "runs" street mobs. Such mobs are assembled by a local agent (for convenient sums paid in gold or deposited in a Swiss bank account) in order to "destabilize" (i.e., overturn) a shaky liberal government and to enable a bunch of fascist officers to take over and "stabilize" the situation, thus (in the standard CIA cliché) increasing U.S. security and holding back that tidal wave of Communism which it sees as rising ever higher.

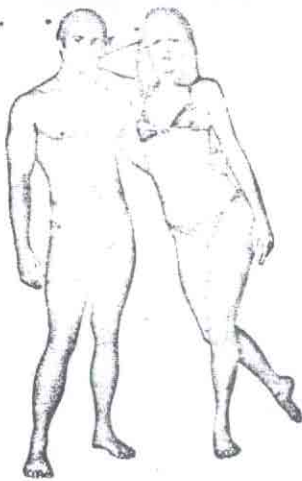
A mass of personal material about the CIA has recently become available. There are the exposés by Marchetti and Agee, the

*The Penthouse*  
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- Pg. 104 Hooded jacket and drawstring pants, Landlubber  
Instant Pants  
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rather sympathetic but revealing *Without Cloak and Dagger* by Miles Copeland, and more individually oriented books such as Patrick J. McGarvey's *The CIA: The Myth and the Madness* and E. Howard Hunt's *Under Cover*.

A glance at these works quickly disposes of any notion that, for example, CIA intervention in Chile against the government of the late Salvador Allende was any kind of a freak. The "destabilization" of Allende was CIA business as usual. The CIA has attempted to "destabilize" many governments, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. The suspicions of some Asian governments that CIA efforts have been made to topple existing regimes are accurate. Some attempts have become public, others have not. Two of the most notorious were the CIA effort in Iran against Mossadegh (successful) and that against Sukarno in Indonesia (unsuccessful).

There is hardly a government in Latin America which has not been "stabilized"—that is, supported with U.S. money, U.S. political influence, U.S. aid to the army and the police—through the *normal* operations of the CIA. The CIA has links to the police departments and especially to the security police of countless countries and to those of every Latin American government. If the tie chances to be broken because of a coup d'etat it is immediately reformed with the new administration. The same is true of all general staffs and armed forces of all Latin American countries.

Long ago it became cut and dried. The CIA funnels money and equipment to the police agencies, as well as information from its own espionage network (not all of that information, of course, is true; it is carefully tailored to CIA objectives). Police chiefs and assistants are brought into Washington to attend International Police Institute courses and are routinely put on CIA payrolls. The co-optation of Latin American armed forces occurs through "training" programs which bring candidate officers to the U.S. The ties are kept operative by the CIA and its golden stream of funds when the men go back to their countries.

If there are any exceptions to this universal rule, they are chalked up as black marks for the CIA station chiefs. Total subversion of national-security forces is the CIA objective.

Every CIA operation of any size in a foreign country has what might be called a "creative talent" section—one devoted to concocting forged documents, falsified speeches, and other tendentious materials for circulation in the local press. Ordinarily, the CIA doesn't own newspapers; it simply buys editors and provides them with the necessary copy. For example, forged documents were an important element in the CIA-sponsored overthrow of President Arsemena in Ecuador in 1963. The same technique was used to provoke a diplomatic break between Peru and Cuba. The CIA authors are clever. They take genuine materials and insert a few false phrases. Or they take two or three Communist documents, run them together, include a favorable ref-

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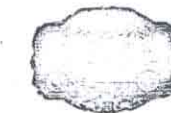
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erence to some local official whose reputation they wish to taint, and then let the materials surface, possibly in an airport customs examination. Or they plant them with the police to be "found" on an innocent victim. The most famous of such concoctions were the "Penkovsky Papers," a compilation of partly true, partly invented materials, supposedly written as a memoir by the famous Soviet double agent.

Anyone familiar with CIA documentary techniques could hardly be surprised at E. Howard Hunt's effort to cut and splice State Department cables in order to create a false document linking the Kennedy administration with the assassination of Diem in Saigon in 1963. Hunt was merely applying the standard CIA "creative" techniques.

Perhaps Iran provides the classic example of CIA "destabilization" and "stabilization." The current government of the Shah is the virtual creation of the CIA. The agency engineered the overthrow of Mossadegh in a coup planned by one of the CIA's most skillful "black" operators, Kermit Roosevelt. The Shah's security forces were trained and equipped by a succession of American and CIA specialists. For many years, the CIA station chief in Tehran was understood by foreigner and Persian alike to be the second most important man in the country. Many felt he was the most important. He lived in grandiose style in an exquisite suburban villa and his dinners were a gourmet's delight. The Shah hardly made a move without consulting his CIA adviser.

Gradually, of course, with the increasing flow of oil monies, the Shah began to assert his independence. For the last two years, the Iranian situation has intrigued foreign-intelligence specialists. When Richard Helms was compelled to resign as head of the CIA, he was promptly sent to Tehran, not as CIA station chief but as U.S. ambassador. There are many who believe Helms's secret mission was to build up Iran as a U.S. bastion in the Middle East should Italy go Communist, or should the new non-CIA regimes of Greece and Turkey prove unstable and war break out again between Israel and the Arabs. Another theory is that the CIA sees Iran as a replacement for Pakistan, long a reliable ally but now regarded as insufficiently stable.

How does the CIA work in a foreign country? The constant elements of CIA policy, as revealed by ex-CIA men, are bribery, subversion, corruption, and intrigue. Almost every unsavory suspicion advanced about the agency has been confirmed. It seems, in fact, that there are no redeeming qualities about the covert-operations branch (Dulles, Helms, and Colby in turn have headed this division).

For example, Agee estimates that in a single year the CIA poured at least \$300,000 into the Uruguayan police apparatus—in bribes, equipment, and "training" trips to Washington. In Brazil, in a fairly typical election campaign, the CIA funded 8 of 11 state governorship races, 15 candidates for the senate, 250 candidates for the chamber of deputies, and about 600 candidates for

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the state legislatures. The operation cost \$12,000,000. There is hardly a political leader, newspaper editor, student leader, or labor chief in Latin America who has not been approached by the CIA at one time or another (usually through third parties) in an attempt, often successful, to put him on the payroll. When an Ecuadorian legislator became vice-president, his monthly CIA stipend rose from \$800 to \$1,000.

Small wonder that Latin America has been turned into the happy hunting ground of corrupt military dictatorships. One becomes convinced that, as Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota has said, the only cure for this disease is absolute prohibition of any CIA covert operations whatever.

The CIA's effort against Allende did not begin only a year or so before his downfall in 1973. It began in the early 1960's. The CIA was so heavily involved in fighting Allende in the 1964 Chilean election that the Company could not obtain enough Chilean escudos on the open market to finance its operations. It had to send out an emergency call to stations in Lima, Rio, Montevideo, and possibly others to buy all the foreign exchange they could lay hands on. The CIA won in 1964. But in 1970, even more frantic efforts failed to keep Allende from power. His ouster and murder merely culminated a policy that had been applied continuously for a decade.

Dulles always defended himself by claiming that while everyone heard of CIA failures, they couldn't brag about their successes. If true at all, this contention is only half true. Certainly, some of the CIA's failures have defied suppression—the Bay of Pigs, the shooting down of Francis Gary Powers's U-2 spy plane in 1960, and the collaboration with the Kuomintang's opium troops in Southeast Asia.

But so far as "successes" are concerned, the CIA has never ceased to congratulate itself on the overthrow (and assassination) of Mossadegh in Iran in 1953 when he threatened to nationalize British oil properties, the 1954 overthrow of the Arbenz leftist government, and the killing in 1967 of Cuban revolutionary leader Che Guevara in Bolivia. It is not without interest that two of these most-prized coups involved murder.

When the CIA is asked what long-term benefits accrued to the U.S. from "stabilizing" the Shah so that he, rather than Mossadegh, can join in the Arab oil blackmail, they are hard put to answer. One thing they don't mention is that the overthrow of Mossadegh enabled American oil interests to take over a substantial share of the British petroleum investment in Iran.

The extent to which the larger U.S. multinational corporations collaborate with the CIA is a little-investigated area. Many of these relationships are very long-standing and have been institutionalized over the years. Cover is provided for CIA operations and intelligence is traded. Colby often expresses his gratitude for corporate collaboration in his speeches to business groups. The community of interest between U.S. multinational business and the CIA was, of



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course, classically demonstrated by ITT in Chile. The question of Rockefeller corporation assistance to the CIA was raised in Nelson Rockefeller's confirmation hearings. But the careful examination that the subject deserved did not take place.

The CIA shrugs off the dictatorial terror and suppression of democracy that occurred in Guatemala after Arbenz's fall, just as they shrug off what happened in Chile after Allende. They claim the killing of Che Guevara "stabilized" Latin America by halting the spread of Cuba-inspired revolution. But they ignore the fact that Che's Bolivian venture had failed pitifully long before he met his tragic end at the hands of the CIA and its trained Bolivian antiguerrillas, and that the killing's real effect was to turn Che into a martyr.

The CIA's suspect "achievements" must be set against an endless series of negatives. In the late 1940's, the CIA attempted to overthrow the Albanian Communist regime. The effort came just when the Communist regime itself, in fear of Stalin, was moving into the independent orbit that eventually led to its alliance with China. It is difficult to imagine what possible advantage the CIA operatives saw in this intervention. When I was in Tirana in 1957, the Albanians told me angrily that the United States had attempted to overthrow their regime. The idea seemed so silly that I laughed in their faces. I guess I had better apologize. It was silly—but, as Marchetti has revealed, the CIA did try. They also tried to overthrow Sukarno in Indonesia but botched the attempt; the Indonesians themselves did the job a year later. Their bungling attempts against Prince Sihanouk in Cambodia played a major role in driving the hard-pressed prince into the hands of the Chinese. The CIA spent enormous sums to take over the famous Gehlen intelligence network in West Germany, only to find over the years that no organization was so badly infiltrated by Soviet agents, so compromised by double, triple, and quadruple agents. The CIA's famous Colonel Penkovsky, its highest-level Soviet spy (for whom it forged the "Penkovsky Papers") actually was an MI-6 British acquisition. The CIA had rebuffed an earlier attempt by Penkovsky to defect to them.

The U-2 incident was only the most famous of a series involving the Soviet interception and shooting down of CIA data-collecting aircraft of various types. In the years 1955-65 one such incident followed the other—almost invariably (like that of the U-2) at a critical moment when a turn toward easier Soviet-U.S. relations seemed imminent. Was the timing of these incidents accidental? Were there those in the CIA (and perhaps also in the Soviet KGB) with a vested interest in cold-war espionage, who feared easier relations might clip their wings? The possibility should not be discarded. Remember, at the time of the U-2 incident both Eisenhower and Khrushchev were deeply committed to the policy of better relations. It is not likely that either of them gave orders to torpedo the policy on which their political fortunes were staked.

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Harold Ford, a top CIA intelligence analyst who retired from the agency last year, is convinced that many covert operations are generated by "eager beavers" anxious to make a record and enhance the prestige of the "black" operations of the CIA. He does not cite any specific examples but points to the natural bureaucratic tendency of any division to try to enhance its power and status. But in recent years, he believes, there occurred a number of ill-advised "eager beaver" responses to ill-advised suggestions from the top of the government—from, as he put it, "the president and his prime minister." He referred, of course, to Mr. Nixon and Henry Kissinger. Some observers place the Allende operation in this category. The CIA operations against the antiwar movement in the U.S. are another example of the workings of this tendency.

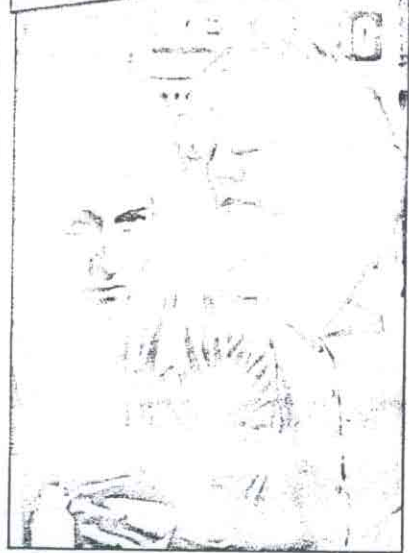
The late Premier Nikita Khrushchev once suggested to President Eisenhower that Russia and the United States could save a lot of money by pooling espionage information. "After all we are both paying the same people most of the time," he observed. It was hardly a serious offer, but there was a kernel of common sense to it.

But, many people ask, isn't the CIA changing? Hasn't Bill Colby opened things up? Isn't he going around the country speaking two or three times a week? Hasn't he ventured into the lion's den by attending the Washington Conference on the Central Intelligence Agency and Covert Action and taking on all comers in a question-and-answer session? Haven't he and his aides appeared before eighteen congressional committees nearly thirty times over the last year? Doesn't he see three or four newsmen a week?

The fact that informed people can ask these questions suggests that the CIA can still work. There is no evidence from the field to support the idea that William Colby—one of the Company's best-known, most resourceful "black" operators—has suddenly gone "white." On the contrary—despite his statements that national security would not be jeopardized if all covert operations were terminated and that, in fact, covert operations have been greatly reduced, Colby is very careful to qualify both these remarks as being true only at the present time. Moreover, he has admitted that if he had a covert operation under way he certainly wouldn't talk about it.

When Henry Kissinger visited India last year, he was compelled to give a pledge to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi that the CIA would not attempt to "destabilize" her government. The Indian public heard of the pledge with some skepticism. After all, two young Americans charged by the Indians with being CIA covert operators were languishing in a Calcutta jail at that very moment. They had been caught red-handed in scuba-diving suits in Calcutta harbor. Exactly what they were up to has not been revealed by the Indians, but it is believed they were engaged in an operation against Indian shipping.

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Nor do the Greeks feel that the CIA has worn off its deep and long-standing involvement in their affairs, despite the fall of the fascist colonels. The CIA and its connections with Greek political and military figures was a major issue in last year's Greek election. Few Greeks think that anything has changed—except perhaps the cryptonyms.

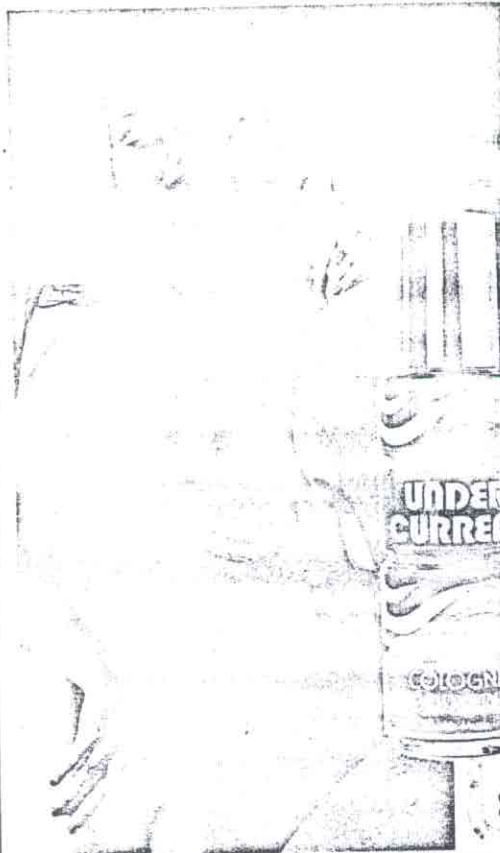
Nor is there any sign that the CIA has changed its spots in Portugal, one of its most "stable" preserves until the Portuguese finally rose up against half a century of dictatorship. For a while, the CIA was rumored to be operating from a ship anchored in Lisbon harbor. Now it has gone back, it is said, to conventional deep cover—that is, U.S. embassy cover and the cover provided by U.S. corporations.

If there are so many signs of CIA business as usual, is Colby's talk about cutbacks in covert operations just another con? Not entirely. There has been a major cutback in volume of operations and expenditures; but this was not really the CIA's doing. It occurred because of the Vietnam settlement and the gradual phaseout of U.S. operations in Southeast Asia. The enormous CIA establishment in Vietnam has been cut to a fraction of its former size. The same is true of Thailand, where the CIA's Air America (now phased out) once was the biggest air transport system. And as for Laos, where for more than ten years the CIA ran a secret war, directing the fighting of some 15,000 to 20,000 Meo tribesmen through a command force of 300 to 400 CIA personnel, the game is over.

When you remove the costs and totals of these covert operations from the CIA budget, you understand how Bill Colby can say with complete honesty that covert operations today are only a fraction of what they once were.

But even this is largely misleading. True, the U.S. shooting is over in Southeast Asia. But those Meo tribesmen haven't lost their CIA connection. The CIA is financing chicken-farming and cattle-raising operations for them now. It's still spending hundreds of thousands of dollars, possibly millions, to maintain its ties with the Meos, and General Vang Pao, who led the CIA's Meo army, is now chicken-farmer-in-chief. Why? One reason may be that the CIA, as several scholars have pointed out, has a vested interest in the delivery of raw Meo opium to some political leaders of southeast Asia. Much of this eventually reaches American addicts.

Some veteran CIA men feel that the great days of the Company are over, that Watergate and more recent exposures have damaged its reputation and morale beyond recovery. They are fearful, too, that the CIA agents and their covert operations have lost out to the technicians of the National Security Agency with its 25,000 employees, its \$10- or \$15-billion budget (compared to the CIA's \$6 billion), its remarkable technology of satellites and electronic interceptors, its electronic (and unbreakable) encoding apparatus, its fleets of planes and ships and remote observation stations.



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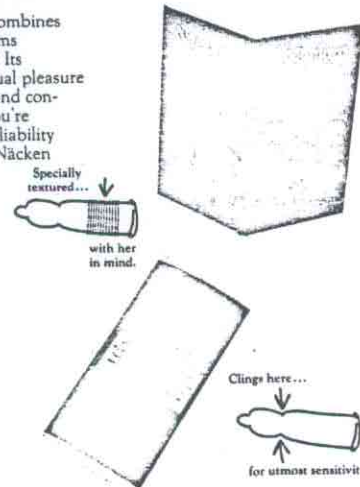
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Some are bitter about the NSA—which most of the public doesn't even know exists. They say that for all its technology it can't really break codes, because all the big powers have the same kind of electronically secure cryptographic methods. "Jesus," an old CIA man said the other day, "they spend fifteen billion dollars a year and all they can read is the traffic between Somali and the Central African Republic—unless they do a bag job."

By which he meant that electronics are fine but the only way NSA could really break the Russian code would be by stealing "one-time pads" (codes to be used for single transmissions and then discarded) in a conventional burglary, copying them, and returning them without the Russians realizing what had happened.

I predict, however, that doomsday prophecies about the future of the CIA will prove naive. The CIA exists as a colossal bureaucracy. Its sheer momentum and weight will enable it to survive the current crisis and emerge even larger and more powerful. For, regardless of failures and stupidities, the CIA gives the president an extra button to push. And they all love to have it—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford.

In the old days, Bill Colby used to laugh at his friends' jokes about him as a superspy. He doesn't laugh anymore. It's far too serious for that. The sentiment in Congress, in the press, and in the public has never been more hostile. Every time things begin to cool off, they are heated up by new revelations. But Colby did not become director in order to preside over the dissolution of the CIA. He's working his hardest to change the public image of the Company while desperately trying to continue operations much as before. It's an uphill fight, but still, who knows? Something may come along—some gift from the gods—another Colonel Plenkovsky with a direct link to the Kremlin council chambers; or maybe a new Alger Hiss case to reveal untoward doings in high American counsels; or a new "secret" speech like Khrushchev's to show the agency's ability to penetrate high Soviet circles; or some other unpredictable coup that would give the CIA the kudos it so badly needs to withstand what has become a powerful tide of public antagonism.

Carved on the wall of the CIA's Langley headquarters is a verse from the Gospel of John: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Of course, if the truth can't be dug out, there is always the CIA's creative-talent division. It has turned out some fine imitations of the truth in the past. In the classic annals of intelligence, famous forgeries have often had the most resounding political repercussions—the so-called Zinoviev letter, which caused England to break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in the 1920's; or the famous Zimmerman telegram, which played a role in involving the United States in World War I. If worst comes to absolute worst, maybe the black-chamber boys can cook up some document to help turn the tide. It wouldn't be the first time. 



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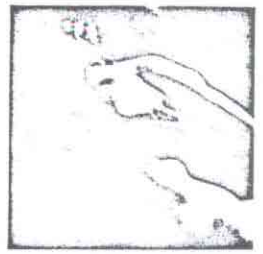
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