



# CIA COVERT ACTION

## Threat To The Constitution

We the People

of the United States do hereby provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do hereby establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

### Article I

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch in each State.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, seven Years, and be seven Years a Citizen, and when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Year, and the free white Males, three fifths of all other Persons.

The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress, and within every subsequent Term of seven Years, in such Manner as they shall direct: and the Basis of Representation shall be one Person for every three Persons.

And until such Enumeration, each State shall have at least one Representative, and until such Enumeration, the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania shall have three, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, and Delaware one.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Electors in such State shall choose such Person as they shall think proper.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two

Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

A project of the fund for peace.

# HUGE C.I.A. OPERATION REPORTED IN U.S. AGAINST ANTIWAR FORCES, OTHER DISSIDENTS IN NIXON YEARS

## THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

WHO WE ARE. WHAT WE DO.

The Center for National Security Studies (CNSS) is concerned with the alarming growth of state power in the name of "national security." The Center sponsors research and publishes reports on national security institutions—including the CIA, the FBI, and the military establishment.

The Center is now working to inform Americans about the dangers of the CIA's covert action programs. Our activities have included a nationally reported conference on the CIA in the fall, independent research projects, a number of investigative articles, congressional staff seminars, and assistance to conferences, panels and town meetings sponsored by others throughout the United States.

The Center is staffed by men and women from a wide range of backgrounds and experiences. The CIA project is led by John Marks, former staff assistant to the director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and co-author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. Other participants include Morton Halperin, former member of the National Security staff under Henry Kissinger, and former Assistant Secretary of Defense under President Johnson; George Pipkin, formerly with the Institute for Policy Studies; David Klaus, a graduate of Stanford University; Nicole Szulc, a free-lance journalist and a number of volunteers.

The Center is a non-profit, tax-exempt project of the Fund for Peace. It is financed by tax-deductible contributions from foundations and private donors.



### FILES ON CITIZENS

Helms Reportedly Got Surveillance Data in Charter Violation

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If nothing else, we should have learned from Watergate that excessive government power is a threat to our democratic system. In the name of "national security", the Nixon administration bugged, burglarized, bought, and subverted—using the same techniques that the Central Intelligence Agency has unleashed at home and abroad for the last 27 years.

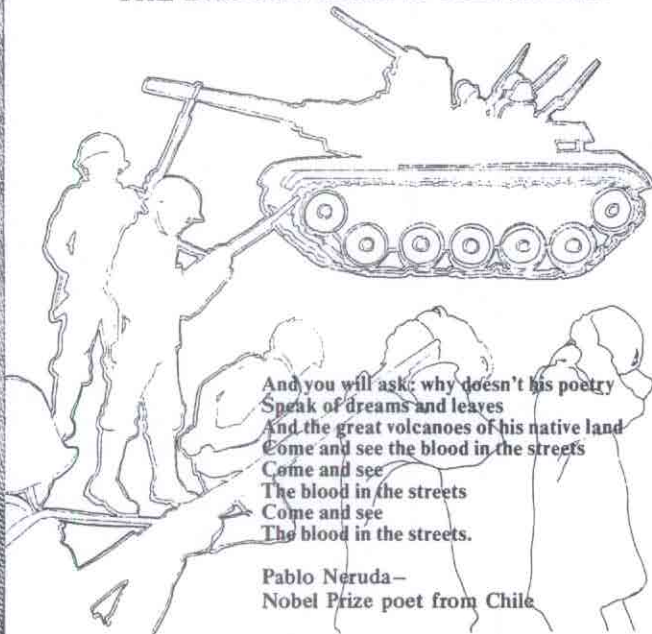
Mr. Nixon was charged in the Judiciary Committee's articles of impeachment with "misuse" of the C.I.A., but in a larger sense, we have all been misused and badly served by this powerful, clandestine agency. For proof, we need look no further than the recent headlines announcing that the CIA had secretly "destabilized" the democratically elected government of Chile and, even more ominously, has illegally spied on thousands of American citizens.

These revelations are but the latest in a string of scandals involving the CIA—including the U-2 affair, the Bay of Pigs, funding of the National Student Association, and the Phoenix program. In the wake of Viet Nam and Watergate, the question must be faced: should the U.S. government continue to engage in clandestine operations?

We at the Center for National Security Studies believe that the answer is "No;" that the CIA's covert action programs should be ended immediately. The risks and costs of maintaining a clandestine underworld are too great, and covert action cannot be justified on either pragmatic or moral grounds.

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## COVERT ACTION: THE DAGGER BEHIND THE CLOAK



And you will ask: why doesn't his poetry  
Speak of dreams and leaves  
And the great volcanoes of his native land  
Come and see the blood in the streets  
Come and see  
The blood in the streets  
Come and see  
The blood in the streets.

Pablo Neruda—  
Nobel Prize poet from Chile

In September, 1974, it was revealed that the CIA had spent over eight million dollars to “destabilize” a democratically elected government in Chile. The Agency had engaged in bribery of officials, production of false propaganda, financing of demonstrations, strikes and a violent right-wing commando party. President Ford claimed that the activities were “in the best interests of the people in Chile and certainly in our best interest.”

Yet the CIA's intervention has been condemned throughout the world. The CIA's legacy in Chile has been a brutal military dictatorship which has abolished democratic institutions, suppressed freedom of speech, press and education, and terrorized the populace with arbitrary arrests, torture, and assassination.

Shamefully, the CIA's intervention in Chile was not unique. The same tactics were used against Arbenz in Guatemala, Goulart in Brazil and Cheddi Jagan in Guyana. At least twenty other developing countries in the third world have been targets of major CIA covert actions since its founding.

“COVERT ACTION” is the CIA's official term for its secret intervention into the internal affairs of other nations. It is not aimed at the collection of intelligence about a country, but at actively manipulating events within it. The CIA's covert action capability has ranged from buying local elections in the Congo to financing, training, and directing a 35,000 man “secret army” in Laos.

## COVERT ACTION AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY

Defenders of the CIA argue that the Agency's covert actions protect the “national security.” Yet historically, covert action has had little, if anything, to do with the reasonable defense of the country. We spend about 100 billion dollars a year maintaining a military establishment which is perfectly capable of defending the United States. Morton Halperin, who has served both in the Defense Department and on the National Security Staff, has stated that he knows of no program of covert action which was necessary to the national security. In 1968, Richard Bissell, former Clandestine Services Director of the CIA, admitted that covert action is ineffective against the powerful closed societies in Russia and China—the two countries which might pose a threat to our security. Indeed, since 1950, covert action has been “successful” only in the Third World countries whose poverty and instability make them vulnerable to the CIA.

Sept. 13, 1974:

Q. (John Marks) The techniques of covert action include blackmail, burglary, subversion and assassination . . . Do you feel these techniques are justified in the name of national security?

John Marks, former staff assistant to the Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, State Department

A. (William Colby) I think the use of an atomic bomb is justified in the interest of national security, and I think that going down from there is quite a realm of things you do in the reasonable defense of the country.

William Colby, current Director CIA

It can hardly be argued that covert actions against these countries add to our security. Rather, such activities make us an object of suspicion and hatred throughout the world. Indeed, by practicing subversion and terror, we only encourage others to adopt the same tactics.

Even CIA Director Colby stated last year “if the United States abandoned covert action it would not have a major impact on the current security of the United States . . .” How then can we continue to justify the criminal tactics of covert action?



William Clements  
Defense



Gen. George Brown  
J.C.S.



Joseph Sisco  
State



William Colby  
C.I.A.



Henry Kissinger  
White House

## The "40 Committee"

### COVERT ACTION: WHO DECIDES

Since covert action by definition must be secret, only a very few people are in on its planning. At present, approval for a clandestine operation is given by the top-secret "40 Committee" which is directly accountable to the President. The committee is presently chaired by Henry Kissinger, and includes the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Director of the CIA.

This "secret team"—former CIA Director Helms was reluctant even to confirm to a congressional committee that it is Kissinger who chairs the 40 Committee—has a natural bias in favor of covert action. Secret intervention abroad often seems an easy way out for officials unwilling or unable to find diplomatic solutions. Adventurism is encouraged by the tradition that covert actions can be "disavowed" if they fail. The procedures of the committee insure that its deliberations are dominated by the CIA Director, who himself usually comes out of the Agency's Clandestine Services. Moreover, to maintain secrecy, the committee excludes the very specialists—including those from the CIA's intelligence directorate—who might be able to make a knowledgeable assessment of proposed operations.

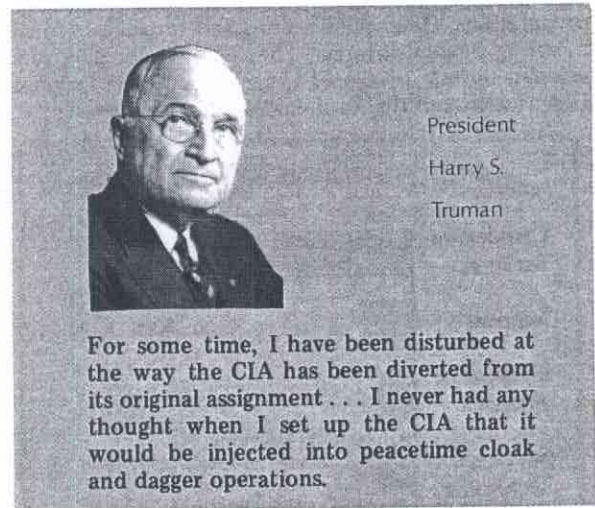
In addition to unwise decisions, the secret decision-making necessitated by clandestine operations produces two foreign policies—one overt and the other covert. The overt policy is often contradicted by, or is simply a cover for, the covert policy. Moreover, the covert policy often violates legal treaties and accords which the United States has with other countries.

The result is that neither Congress nor the American people can even *know* what our real foreign policy is, much less contribute to making that policy.

## COVERT ACTION: THE FURTIVE ORIGINS

To understand the practice of covert action, one must understand its historical origins. It was in World War II that the United States first developed a clandestine war-making capability in the military Office of Strategic Services (OSS). In the context of total war, covert action was considered necessary and desirable. Only a few intelligence "professionals" conceived that covert action might be carried over into peacetime.

As the Cold War was heating up, Congress created the CIA in 1947. The new agency's announced purpose was to coordinate and analyze foreign intelligence for the President. No mention was made of covert action anywhere in the congressional hearings, in the public debate or in the resulting National Security Act, which established the CIA.



President  
Harry S.  
Truman

For some time, I have been disturbed at the way the CIA has been diverted from its original assignment . . . I never had any thought when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peacetime cloak and dagger operations.

The CIA claims that its covert action capability was authorized by clause 5 of the 1947 legislation. But that clause is simply a routine catch-all permitting "such other functions and duties *related to intelligence* . . . as the National Security Council may from time to time direct" (emphasis added).

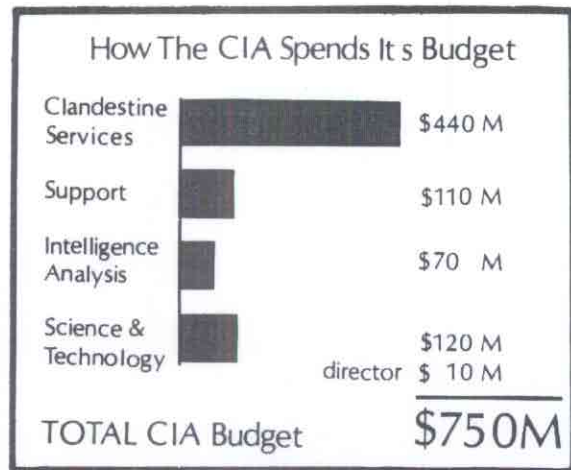
The actual charter for covert action was written only in highly classified National Security Intelligence Directives issued inside the executive branch. This "secret charter" was not even shown to any members of Congress before 1973 and, to this day, is still concealed from the American public.

Thus, covert action—a tactic of total war—was secretly adopted for peacetime. Now over 25 years later with the world a very different place, we need to reassess the decisions made so quietly in the late 1940's.

## INTELLIGENCE: THE CLANDESTINE OPERATIONS COVER

CIA spokesmen repeatedly charge its critics with undermining the country's intelligence-gathering capability. Yet almost no critics believe that the United States should have anything but the best information for its national defense. The question is not one of intelligence, but of covert political intervention.

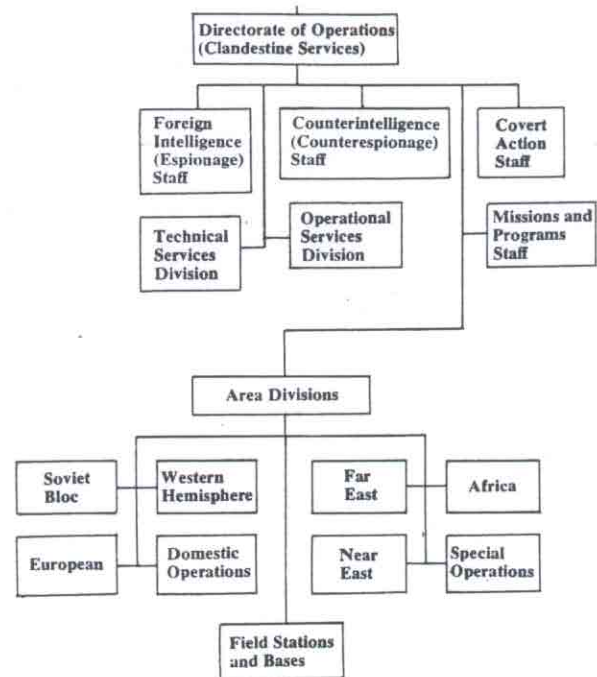
To a large extent, intelligence collection and analysis have served as a cover for the CIA's primary work—clandestine operations. In the modern intelligence trade, the primary sources of data are technical: satellites, sensors and antennae which can pick up the most minute details of a potential enemy's military preparations. Open publications and broadcasts form a strong second source. These functions have developed outside of the CIA, primarily in the Defense Department and the National Security Agency.



The CIA has developed primarily as a clandestine service for espionage (spying) and for covert action. Yet, spies provide only a small fraction of modern intelligence information, and against the two countries that really matter—the Soviet Union and China—the CIA's agents have had a notable lack of success. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of CIA personnel and resources are therefore devoted to covert action.

Many officials believe that the CIA's obsession with clandestine operations distort its intelligence function. Herbert Scoville, former Assistant Director of CIA for Science and Technology recently stated: "These covert actions are interfering with the legitimate intelligence collection and analysis operations (of the CIA)."

## CIA: THE SECRET COMPARTMENTS



This is a chart of CIA Clandestine Services Directorate which carries out Covert Action. Three different sections (in Red) have been implicated in illegal domestic surveillance.

The CIA is divided into four "directorates." The directorates of Intelligence and of Science and Technology are primarily concerned with intelligence analysis. They constitute the smallest part of the CIA. The other two directorates, Operations (or Clandestine Services) and its "slave directorate," Management and Services, together constitute an agency within an agency.

Operations (or Clandestine Services) includes both spying and covert action, but the latter greatly predominates. Indeed, according to former CIA agents, the CIA's espionage activities in the Third World normally are in support of its covert action programs there.

## DOMESTIC CONSEQUENCES: THE SPIES COME HOME

No society can long remain true to its principles at home while its government systematically violates those same principles abroad. Revelations of CIA domestic spying suggest that the Agency's overseas clandestine operations have an inevitable influence on our domestic politics.

In 1967, it was revealed that the CIA had secretly funded the National Student Association, and hundreds of other supposedly voluntary organizations. The purpose was to carry "America's message abroad;" the result was to create a false bottom world as misleading to Americans as to foreigners.



"Pardon me, ol' timer... but it seems that I've mislaid my dagger..."

In December 1974, it was revealed that the CIA's Counter-Intelligence Division, headed by the mysterious James Angleton, had moved into domestic internal security activities. Angleton's unit maintained files on over 10,000 Americans, and reportedly pursued a wide-ranging program of surveillance, break-ins and surreptitious inspection of U.S. mails.

In January of this year, it was revealed that E. Howard Hunt and others were setting up a covert action unit within the CIA's Domestic Operations Division as early as 1962. By 1969, the Agency reportedly had over 25 agents monitoring the activities of American citizens in New York City alone.

A bureaucracy trained in the nefarious tactics of espionage and of covert action is a constant threat in an open society. Indeed, when former CIA Director James Schlesinger fired some 1,000 CIA operatives in 1973, he was apparently given increased body-guard protection. Not surprisingly, Schlesinger lasted as CIA Director only a few months, and was replaced by William Colby, a career operative in Clandestine Services, and famed as the director of the Phoenix counter-terror program in Vietnam.

## THE CIA IS BIG BUSINESS

Not only does the CIA receive about \$750 million a year in secret congressional appropriations, but it also receives several hundred million dollars from the operations of its own false-front companies—called "proprietarys" in intelligence parlance. These proprietarys are designed to conceal CIA activities around the world. For example, when the CIA was trying in 1958 to overthrow President Sukarno of Indonesia, the Agency assigned the job of flying bombing missions to one of its fronts, Civil Air Transport, so the US government could deny any responsibility. Unfortunately for the CIA, one of the proprietary pilots, Allen Pope, was shot down and captured, and President Eisenhower wound up publicly lying about the whole affair.

Civil Air Transport is just one of many CIA air proprietarys. Another, Air America, is among the largest U.S. airlines in terms of number of planes flown. Some other examples are Intermountain Aviation, Southern Air Transport, and Air Asia. Most recently, a company closely connected to the CIA called Bird Air has been flying C-130s in Cambodia in support of the Lon Nol regime.

Other CIA fronts have included shipping lines, news services (used to plant false propoganda abroad and sometimes at home), public relations companies (the Robert Mullen company which employed Howard Hunt at the time of the Watergate burglary is the most famous), at least one training school for foreign police (called International Police Services, Inc.), a psychological research and testing center (Psychological Assessment Associates in Washington), private detective agencies, international trading companies, and until 1971 Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty which received over \$30 million a year from the CIA for radio broadcasts to Eastern Europe.

Perhaps the most frightening aspect of the CIA's proprietarys is their total unaccountability. They generate much of their own operating revenue by "living their cover," i.e. by doing business as "private" companies in direct competition with legitimate firms which do not benefit from the CIA's secret subsidies. The profits earned by the proprietarys are not returned to the Treasury, as is money received by all other US government agencies, but are instead plowed back into CIA operations. What small control Congress exercises over the CIA through "the power of the purse" is to a large extent offset by the fact that the CIA can literally raise its own funds on the private market. In addition to being a multi-national covert action and espionage organization, the CIA is also a multi-national corporation, in the true sense of the term.

## DOMESTIC CONSEQUENCES: DECEIT AND DEMOCRACY

Sen. Stuart  
Symington:

Did you try in the Central Intelligence Agency to overthrow the government of Chile?

Former CIA Director  
Richard Helms:

No, sir.

Symington:

Did you have any money passed to the opponents of Allende?

Helms:

No, sir.

Senate Hearings, Under Oath:  
February 7, 1973

Richard Helms was lying, but we should not be surprised. Deceit is the covert operator's stock in trade, and Helms had a very successful career. The CIA's activities depend upon the ability to contrive appearances, to make things seem other than what they are. If CIA operations are to remain secret, CIA officials feel they must lie to cover up their activities.

A bureaucracy skilled in deceit is suspect in any government, but it is particularly destructive to a republic. Democracy rests upon consent, consent requires trust, and trust depends upon truth. Nothing more saps the faith in government so necessary to a republic than systematic lying by public officials.

### Madison to Jefferson

(It is a) universal truth (that) . . . the loss of liberty at home is to be charged to provisions against danger, real or potential, from abroad.

In the final analysis, covert actions by the CIA undermine our democracy because they are an inherently criminal enterprise. Perjury, subornation, torture, theft, arson, fraud, impersonation, bribery, assassination, and a variety of other acts for which ordinary citizens go to jail become the dictates of duty for a CIA operative.

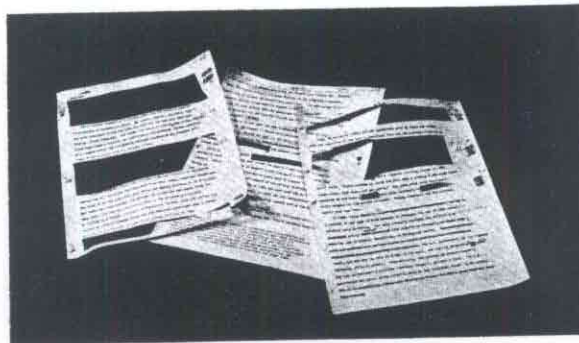
We have for too long assumed that the United States could support criminal activity abroad and still maintain a law-abiding government at home. But, it is simply not possible to maintain a bureaucracy composed of trained criminals for use against foreigners without feeling the effects—direct and indirect—at home.

## DOMESTIC CONSEQUENCES: THE THREAT TO THE CONSTITUTION

Former Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach has persuasively argued that clandestine operations endanger American democracy and for that reason should be terminated. The domestic activities of the CIA are one indication of its ominous potential. Yet, even if covert action is not "Misused," it still corrodes our constitutional order.

The Constitution requires that the people's elected representatives decide when and where we go to war. The Founding Fathers did not trust the Executive alone to commit the country to hostilities. Yet, in Vietnam, in Laos, in Chile, and elsewhere, the CIA engaged in secret-war-making without the knowledge, much less the consent of the Congress.

The Constitution requires that all government expenditures be published. Again, Watergate demonstrated the dangers of secret monies. Yet, the CIA's budget is hidden, disguised in a false category of the defense appropriations. Fewer than a dozen congresspersons even know the size of the budget, much less how it is used.



The Constitution protects a free press and free speech. Yet the CIA's secrecy demands that the press be curtailed in order that CIA activities not be exposed. The CIA even went to court to censor a book on the Agency by John Marks and Victor Marchetti, the first prior censorship in this nation's history.

The Constitution, in establishing a system of checks and balances in order to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power, provides for Congressional monitoring of the executive agencies. Yet the CIA has always avoided true legislative oversight. As Senator Stuart Symington, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stated:

It is incredible to me . . . that this committee does not know of CIA activities in foreign countries with which we are not at war. It not only doesn't make any sense, but, it has resulted in heavy loss of both money and respect.

## Pros & Cons

I. The Soviet Union has the KGB; We must have the CIA. President Ford, trying to defend our tragic intervention into Chile, stated that "communist nations spend vastly more money than we do for the same kind of purpose."

But we should not choose to model ourselves after the Soviet Union. Senator Frank Church noted: "That equates us with the Russians and I always thought there was a difference. It seems to me what the President said is the only law we really respect is the law of the jungle."

We may need a small counterespionage service to defend against the activities of the KGB within the United States. If so, that has traditionally been the function of the FBI, not the CIA.

II. Only the CIA's failures are trumpeted; its successes go unheralded.

Frequently supporters of the CIA suggest that there have been some secret successes which justify covert action, but which cannot be revealed to the public. This oft-used homily need no longer be taken seriously. The failures and illegalities already revealed more than account for any secret "successes" in assessing the CIA.

As Morton Halperin, formerly a member of the Kissinger National Security Staff states: "If there were a successful operation that we did not know about, that proved the case for covert action, the temptation to make that public would have long ago overcome any inhibitions against leaking information. So this notion that there is something that none of us know about that is so important and so great that it justifies all the fiascoes and failures, and crimes, I take with a grain of salt."

III. Covert action is the necessary instrument of foreign policy, "between a diplomatic protest and sending the marines." - William Colby.

Current Director Colby of the CIA has suggested that a "moderate covert action" offers our leaders an option between diplomacy and invasion. But there is an enormous range of political, diplomatic, economic, and military pressures that can be employed *overtly* without recourse to covert action.

The question is whether clandestine operations are a legitimate instrument of foreign policy. Biological warfare is an instrument of war-making, but we *choose* not to engage in it, not because of its ineffectiveness, but because it thoroughly violates our basic notions of decency. Covert action is no different. It is both criminal and corrupting and should be abandoned as an instrument of American foreign policy.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO

We believe that covert action should be ended. We think that you will agree that, at the very least, a broad national discussion of the CIA's covert action should take place. You can play an important role in this effort.

### I. INFORM YOURSELF

For \$3.00 we will supply you with an Info/Action packet consisting of the authoritative Marchetti-Marks book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, a series of articles, a research bibliography, and a program of suggested activities to generate greater public awareness.

### II. CONTACT THE NEWS MEDIA

Once you are more knowledgeable about the issues, contact the news editors and the columnists of your local newspapers, radio and television stations, asking them to examine critically and report fairly on the issues.

### III. PROMOTE PUBLIC DISCUSSION

Encourage members of your church or synagogue, your school, or other groups to direct themselves to the issues. Work with friends to organize discussion groups, a town meeting, or public hearing on the CIA and covert actions. If you create a forum, we will help you find experts to aid in the discussion.

### IV. WRITE TO CONGRESS

Congress has begun to review the CIA's activities. Follow the hearings and tell your representatives what your views are. Organize a public meeting to exchange views with your elected representative.

### A LITTLE HELP FROM OUR FRIENDS

The Center plans to continue to work to inform citizens about the CIA and covert action. But we need help. Most of our budget comes from foundations, but we desperately need private contributions to continue our work. If you could help, we can assure you that any contributions will be well spent and greatly appreciated. Contributions are tax deductible. Checks should be made out to the *Fund for Peace* and sent to:

The Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Ave.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Please help if you can.