

Tackling the folks who tackle the enemies

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The U.S. Intelligence Community Foreign Policy and Domestic Activities

By Lyman B. Kirkpatrick Jr.
Hill and Wang, 212 pages, \$7.95

Give Us This Day The Inside Story of the CIA and the Bay of Pigs Invasion

By Howard Hunt
Arlington House, 235 pages,
\$7.95

Reviewed by
Don Rose

Within hours of the recent overthrow and presumed suicide of Chile's elected Marxist President Salvador Allende, accusations from the left and right around the world blamed the coup on the United States and its Central Intelligence Agency. Only time will determine the accuracy of the allegations, but a reading of post-World War II history gives them credence.

The CIA, thru its known operations in Guatemala, Viet Nam, Iran, Cuba and other sovereign nations consistently has demonstrated that it is more than an intelligence-gathering agency — it is an activist, covert arm of United States foreign policy intervening in the life and political processes of those states. Its tools have ranged from



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paganda to apparent order.

The offspring of the notorious Office of Strategic Services, it is the known spy agency in world and preeminent what Kirkpatrick calls intelligence "community." Paralleling it is the Federal Bureau of Investigation, supposedly the organization that will keep us free of domestic subversion while the CIA works abroad. Those are only the known of several United States organizations whose roles in part are to spy, snoop and report the doings of enemies of the state, here and overseas.

We know, of course, from the events of Watergate, the subversion of the National Student Association and recently published documents that the CIA has limited itself to overseas operations — in violation of the laws that established it — and that the FBI goes far beyond the intelligence-gathering func-

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tion into harassment and provocation.

The facts themselves feed a growing national paranoia. The stepover into hysteria is easily understood.

For that reason, the perspective offered by Kirkpatrick in his dispassionate, scholarly — and, to my mind, too bloodless — description of the various intelligence agencies is especially welcome. His

excellent book is a clear and concise outline of the organization and roles of the spy agencies and how they work. He speaks with the authenticity of a former Army intelligence officer and top-ranking CIA official for 18 years.

He discounts the view of the CIA as "invisible government," operating independently and apart from the President, Congress, and all rational controls. He disapproves of using the agency as underground and illegal activist in the life of other nations, just as he recognizes the numerous violations of civil liberties and the basic threat to democracy of domestic witchhunting performed by the Army, the FBI, and others.

But he asserts, with considerable justice on his side, that all the intelligence agencies remain responsible to Congress and the White House. He implies that their excesses are not the result of their own runaway power. Rather, one can infer, Congress or the President approved and supported their illicit operations.

His call for reform thru

the assertion of established legal controls and fair-minded scrutiny is unarguable.

However, Kirkpatrick, perhaps because he was a career man, overlooks the process, so well described by scholars such as Richard Barnet, wherein entrenched, single-minded bureaucracies do wind up pursuing their own strategies and goals despite apparent policy controls administered from the executive or legislative branches. Witness the public failures of such tough men as Robert MacNamara and Melvin Laird, from differing political positions, to bring the Pentagon under reins.

A more far-reaching reevaluation of the entire concept and role of domestic and foreign "intelligence" is required.

Give Us This Day, the second volume under review, is a kind of absurdist footnote to the intelligence

controversy, indicating in its own way why the CIA is often viewed alternately as clown and vampire. While the initial interest in this story lies in the fact that its author is a key Watergate "plumber," there are ingredients here that show the very worst of American Cold War policy and the strange middle-management men who execute it. Disastrously.

Hunt's line is that the CIA was really not to blame for the dismal failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion — an action in which he played a major organizing role. He claims the CIA did not give President Kennedy the misleading information that counted on a mass uprising against Fidel Castro by the Cuban people. Instead, he says, Kennedy simply halted a plan to stage a full-scale invasion and independent follow-up — virtually total war — then blamed the CIA unfairly.

We have here the word of Howard Hunt against others, whose credibility may someday slip lower than his.

More interesting than his message, however, is his style: pure third-rate Ian Fleming. And why not? He has published 40 spy-sex thrillers of little distinction.

Can we divorce the fantasy from the man? Can he? Here is all the self-indulgent romance, the right-wing propaganda and related nonsense that one associates with the CIA caricature. But Hunt himself is nonfiction. He was entrusted with one of the major CIA missions of the decade — to say nothing of his assignments of more recent notoriety.

Hunt exemplifies a defect interest in the Intelligence Community that even the rational and forthright Kirkpatrick fails to come to grips with in his call for reform.