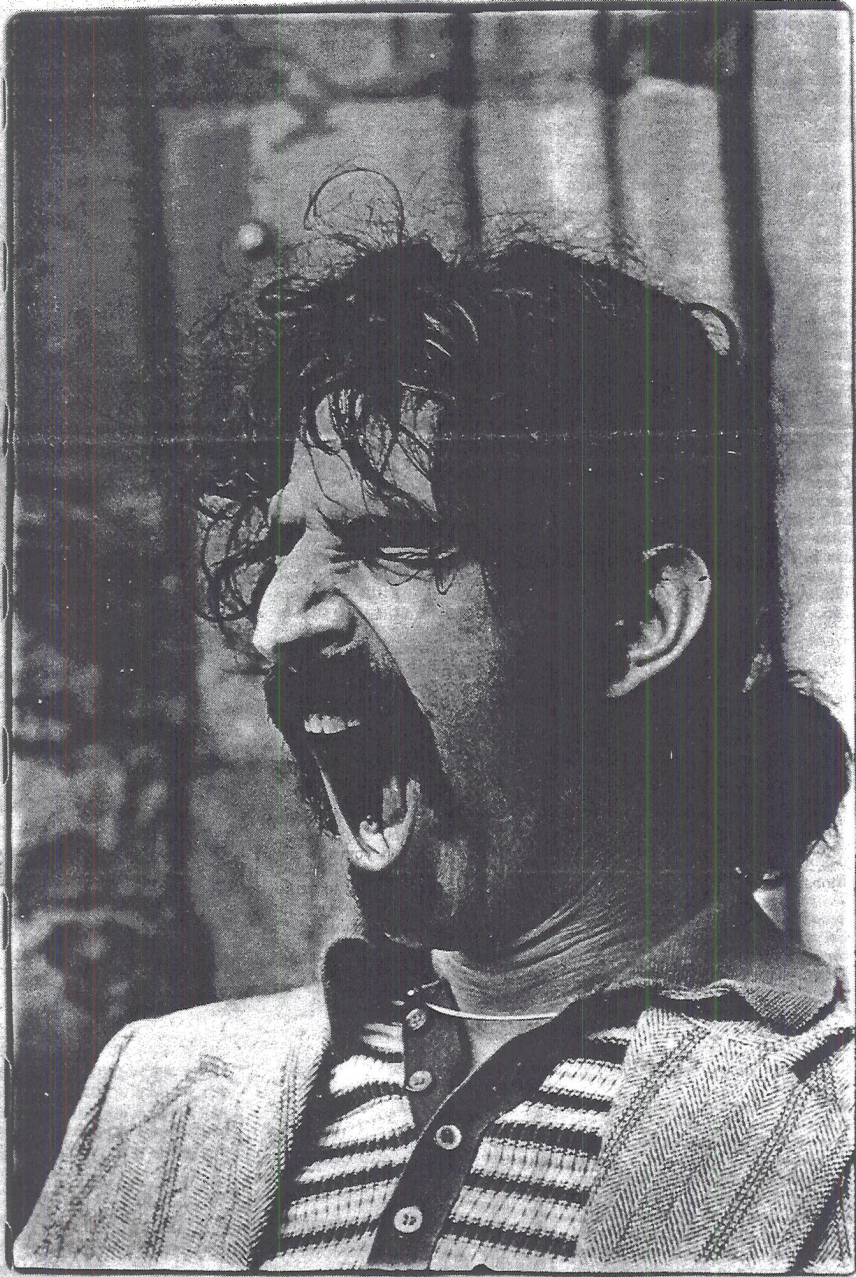


BREAKFAST WITH THE C.I.A.

interview of Miles Copeland
by Paul Eberle, Ed Richer,
Don Freed

Los Angeles Free Press
6 Nov 70



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Breakfast with the C.I.A.

An Interview of Miles Copeland by: Paul Eberle, Ed Richer, Don Freed

Editor's Note:

When the man from Simon and Schuster, publisher of Miles Copeland's new book, "The Game of Nations," called me and asked me if the Free Press would be interested in interviewing the author of this probable best seller, I agreed with some trepidation that it would be interesting.

Copeland might, in a sense, be considered one of the founding members of the Agency, and was in fact, a member of the OSS, the organization from which the CIA evolved at the end of WW II.

Armed with only our tape recorder and our paranoia, we went forth to meet the enemy. As we sat among the baroque accoutrements of the Beverly Wilshire Hotel, this was the conversation that transpired.

P.E.

The discussion began casually, around government and people and their relationship.

Richer: There are simply too many people who always have to be told things from an authority figure; they can never accept the evidence on the basis of their own observation.

MC: You see, I suggest that when you hear an authority figure or a government spokesman or anybody make a statement you should consider the possibility that they may... to be an astute political observer, ask yourself upon hearing a statement by Gamal Abdel Nasser or President Nixon or anybody not what the statement means but why was it made. And as you look at these things through the criteria of purposes you begin to get a whole different pattern of activity.

Richer: It's a cynical way, but it may be right. What is that — Freed: Well, its realistic, that's what it is.

Richer: What is that Latin expression "Who benefits?" they are always talking about, one of the cynic's favorites.

MC: Yah, its a legal phrase, "Who benefits?"

Richer: (laughter) Yah, who benefits.

Freed: Your book is perhaps the closest observation of the Middle East that is particularly timely now and the last part of the book, the analysis of a revolution and its consolidation, how typical do you think the experience in Egypt was compared to the rest of the Third World? Would you tend to come to the same conclusions in Vietnam, in China?

MC: Probably would. I don't know Vietnam very well. I've been there three times, and I'm very much bewildered by it. However, I do know that when this book of mine came out Cambodia was the main file on the agenda, and Congressmen read the book, not with the Middle East in mind, but with Cambodia in mind. And they said, "Now wait a minute, if we took the same thing but changed the characters and laid 'em in Vietnam, would we wind up with the same kind of fate?" my feeling is, obviously you must, because there's nothing unique about the way we handle our — I'm sure if we behaved in such and such a way in one part of the world with the same people operating within the same disciplines we're going to operate the same way in another.

Freed: Would that mean that President Thieu in South Vietnam would have to have some of the same capacities that Nasser has, or is the problem that even when the pattern is similar you have to have a certain quality of leadership?

MC: You do. I'm sure, I know, that before Thieu was chosen — put quotation marks on that be-

cause, not just to say that, gee, here we're going to elect here back in the attics of the State Department —

Freed: He was available.

MC: But certainly there's an attempt to relate him to the culture around him, how he's acceptable and all this thing, just as was the case with Nasser; all of us know that the study was made and the same sort of check list was on view, although we're talking to a different guy because its a very different country, very different kind of followship.

Freed: But the search is, then, for a nationalist leader, who's authentic enough.

MC: In some cases, yes. In some cases a stooge will do, in some cases an idiot is what you want. (laughter) Which is what we thought we might get with Naguib. (laughter) I'm trying to be as outrageous as possible for you guys.

Freed: Let me put a sort of ironic question to you: your analysis in the annex of your book on the consolidation of revolution is really what might be called an analysis of counter-revolution. What you mean by revolution is different, I won't say technocratic, but you use it in the sense of change or — MC: I shouldn't use it at all. I use it the way the Egyptians happen to use it. I wasn't quibbling over the phrase, but if they wanted to call whatever it is they had a revolution, who are we to argue.

Freed: You would use it in the same sense as a Mao Tse-tung or a Ho Chi Minh?

MC: No.

Freed: You would use "revolution" differently —

MC: Oh sure. The absolute literal meaning of it could give you any kind of revolution, but not THE revolution.

Richer: The word revolution was being used in the book as a kind of inside joke word, that people in United States government understood that the word revolution was just rhetoric: that government was always government; that social system was always social system; that there was either friendly social systems or there were hostile ones; and the only reason there were hostile ones was because there was power competition in the world.

MC: Its a power equation. You could call it "X" or "Z" or whatever, the Egyptians chose to call it revolution, why not? You're right, the way the Annex essay was written, I framed it out, I wrote the first draft and it was brushed up to give a sort of high-falutin' sound by a guy named Eichelberger who is a well-educated up — its impossible to spell out Eichel-

berger without becoming educated. He was sent out by the White House at the time by Eisenhower himself because he didn't know Dulles. He had taught political science at Pitt and I think he was getting his Ph.D. at Chicago when he was called back by the government, invited by the government to take this job in Egypt. Anyway, he gave it a sort of authentic ring, and made it sound like it was written by a scholar. And then Zacharia rewrote it. So what came back was a fairly genuine article. Zacharia and Nasser talked it over, and said, hey this is good, this is terrific, this is what we were thinking already. Well, I don't know if anything what the Egyptians were thinking already, but anyway this they did latch onto, and this was a very important document to them.

Richer: Why do you think its that important?

MC: I said they thought it was important; I don't say I thought it was important; and they used it as an important document.

Richer: It struck me as a very strange thing; I found it very difficult to read. The title seemed to have very little to do with the contents. The contents seemed to be intensely bureaucratic and seemed to have very little to do with what a revolutionary process or what a revolution is all about.

MC: Why, Ed, why the hell does anybody need a grasp of the revolutionary process or how does that get into it at all. I mean, what we're trying to do —

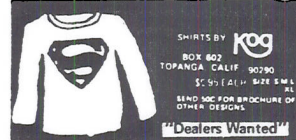
Freed: Is to understand it pragmatically as they see it rather than ideologically.

MC: Exactly. Ideology didn't get into this, believe me.

Richer: I'm not talking about ideology, I'm talking about the ordinary problems of either

making one or even consolidating one; it didn't seem to me that that document had very much to do with it. It seemed to me what a Ph.D. from America would think a revolution was all about.

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(continued from page 42)
Freed: The interesting point of the book that was terribly important about that document is that this represents a balance of geopolitical thinking now about charismatic figures, about the various vectors that come into play and this is seen as a way towards industrialization, toward sufficient problems of stabilized volatiles of world society to set up cultural relations, to set up trade.
MC: But bear in mind, if we could have written a document that said eenie meenie mynie moe. . .
Freed: That would have done it. . .
MC: —that would have done the trick—
Freed: And that took human nature into account so far as you're forced upon—

Richer: What trick, what trick are you referring to?
MC: We simply wanted Nasser's government to more or less make sense, to stay in power, and not give us any trouble, and another thing that was very important to Secretary Dulles, although not to any of the others out East, Ed, was that they be on our side. That was the most important thing to Secretary Dulles, that they stand up and be counted.
Freed: That was an interesting point you made between amoral and immoral politics and Nasser's reactions to American puritanism and idealism when they got mixed up with perfectly good real politics that he'd been accustomed to, or was coming to accept anyway.
MC: He found it all very bewildering, and so did we. You know Secretary Dulles would sit there with a Bible on his desk, and we'd come in in the morning and he'd just been praying, and he'd say, "Gentleman, I've been praying all night over this." And then we'd—
Richer: Would he really say that?
MC: In those very words.

Richer: That's interesting. Eisenhower, couldn't stand that.
Freed: The way you try to come to grips in the book with this whole contradiction of pragmatism and idealism, you seem to be saying that to lessen feelings of guilt sufficiently so as to —
MC: Whose feelings of guilt?
Freed: Well, who I'm not quite sure in the book, but you do try to point out that this rhetoric and idealism often winds up doing harm to everyone. So you seem to be saying, just be reasonable and rational and that's sufficient and necessary. . . perhaps in Vietnam some of the tragedy is because there is misplaced idealism going on, or loyalties that are irrelevant.
MC: I find Vietnam difficult to discuss because I don't know because, as I said a while ago, when I hear public statements about it I look for the purpose and these questions, in my own mind, don't lead anywhere because I don't know the complexities of it at all. However, I know that in the Middle East at the time we were arguing about the mild frictions of getting a foundation, I remember that it was argued then by the CIA people who were involved that if we stick to our policy "we do not interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign nations" we

would be on firm, moral ground. But conceivably a government in a country could emerge which would be irresponsible, which would somehow get hold of an atomic bomb, which would make some deal with other powers, which would be leading us into World War Three, and then we'd have the alternatives of being very moral, as good as let 'em do it, and then the world would end, or being immoral and going in and roughing up the leader. But the thing is, the ideal operation is supposed to be so "clean", a clean operation is one where you not only succeed in doing what you do but it looks like it came about from natural causes.
Eberle: The question is, can you do it without hurting anybody?
MC: Without hurting anybody? Nooo . . . I don't know if you guys are putting me on or not.
Eberle: No, no, I was not being facetious. I was trying to get at their concept of how an operation should be conducted.
MC: No, Paul, what I mean is not getting caught, that's what I mean. A clean operation is one where you by and largely don't get caught.
Freed: Your philosophy, and I think this is a real contribution in the book, is that really World War Three or some final holocaust is always the reality that diplomacy or intelligence — or this new kind of intelligence anyway — seems to start with, doesn't it? That is, that the game is played for that reason, and if you can prevent that, then you succeeded.
MC: Yah, and of course there is a lot of phoniness about this. I remember during World War II there was always some character coming in with a great scheme he wanted a million dollars for. And we'd say, gee, that's an awful lot of money to ask for this little, and he'd say, yah, but if you'd save just this one battleship, just think of that.
Freed: But this game is literally to save the world, or as B. Russell would say, to organize the peace, as he used to say.
MC: So he did
 (please turn to page 46)

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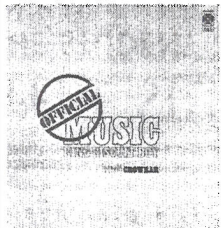
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FREEP REPORTERS BREAKFAST WITH CIA

The evolution of the Game Room

(continued from page 43)

WHEAT
Wheat originated somewhere in the wild plains of Central Asia and was one of the first crops cultivated extensively by prehistoric man. Kernels of wheat were discovered amidst Stone Age fossils in Switzerland and the early cave paintings of Greece show wheat under full cultivation. In primitive times the sheaf of golden ripe wheat was the symbol of every god or goddess of the harvest.

Next to rice, wheat is the most widely cultivated cereal today, and is the principal cereal food of the Western Hemisphere. The protein content of wheat is relatively high, varying from nine to 16 percent, depending upon the variety of grain and the locality where it is cultivated. When wheat is eaten in conjunction with beans it provides a source of protein that is equal to meat or poultry in every way, has no detrimental side effects and is much more easily assimilated.

According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture: "If the entire calorie requirements had to be supplied by one cereal, wheat alone would provide more than the minimum amount of protein needed."

Wheat contains a wide variety of nutrients that are essential for good health. It contains protein, carbohydrate, silicate, sulphur, phosphorus, chloride, fluoride (a natural source), sodium, magnesium, zinc, iodine, manganese, copper and several other important trace minerals. It also contains significant amounts of vitamins B1, B2, B12, D, E and K.

Of all the foods provided for us by nature wheat is by far one of the most superior, both in nutritional value and in flavor.

WHEAT FLOUR

The majority of the wheat grown in the world today is milled into flour. Bleached, or even unbleached white flour, is a very poor quality food for several reasons. The major part of its vitamins, minerals and protein have been removed, and all that remains is a pulp of nearly indigestible carbohydrate. Although millers and bakers claim that these deficiencies have been compensated for by the addition of synthetic vitamins, the flour is nonetheless of very poor quality. (Milling removes approximately 32 nutrients, but so-called "enriching" only replaces about four.) The disruption of natural processes cannot possibly be rectified by the addition of a few synthetic chemicals. In addition, the bleach used to whiten the flour has several detrimental effects upon the body. (We're planning a future column that will delve into this subject in much greater detail.)

When purchasing wheat flour it is important to choose only the whole wheat variety since this represents a whole food with all the nutrients more or less intact — providing, of course, that it is made from good quality wheat. It is advisable to purchase only small quantities of flour that may be used up within three months. Flour that is kept longer than this usually becomes stale and tasteless and in some cases even rancid. It is best to avoid any variety of flour that is not stone ground. When grains are milled the heat of the milling process destroys many valuable vitamins and minerals. Stone grinding or hand grinding produce the least amount of heat of all the milling methods and thus retain the most nutrients in the flour.

To enhance the flavor of old or moist flour, toast it over a medium-high flame in a small amount of sesame oil until it is slightly browned and fragrant.

It is also a good practice to roast freshly ground flour when you are planning on using it as a thickening agent for soups or when you are making cereal creams. This produces a nutty aroma and a much more delicious flavor. It also seals in many of the nutrients that would be lost otherwise.

SEITAN

Seitan (sometimes known as wheat gluten) is a delicious cereal food that is made from wheat, salt and water. It is very good in stews or vegetable and noodle dishes. Its flavor is very hearty and distinctive, not unlike mutton, and it may be used as a meat substitute in many recipes. Its protein content is quite high, but since it is very salty it should be used moderately. You may purchase Seitan in stores that carry good quality food or, better yet, you may make your own by using the following recipe.

Form a hard, dry dough with one pound of whole wheat flour and water. Make it into 1 1/2 inch cubes and rinse under cold water while kneading to eliminate the starch. Continue kneading in this manner until the dough becomes rubbery. Form into small balls and steam for 30 minutes. Cut into 1/2 inch slices and saute in sesame oil until slightly browned. Add one or two pieces of Kombu sea vegetable, cover with water and add enough Tamari soy sauce to make it the color of tea. Cook in uncovered skillet until all the water has evaporated.

For a delicious taste treat try dipping slices of Seitan into batter and then rolling it in bread crumbs and deep frying until golden brown.

SQUASH AND SEITAN

- Squash (banana, acorn or butternut)
- onions (slivered)
- Seitan (chopped into small pieces)
- salt

Cut squash into fairly small chunks. Saute onions in 1 tsp. sesame oil until transparent. Add squash and continue to saute. Add enough water to cook (1/4-1/2 cups). Simmer for approximately one hour in a covered pan. Add salt and chopped Seitan during the last 5 minutes of cooking time.

WHEAT CREAM

Wheat cream makes a delicious breakfast cereal and may also be used as a sauce over grain and vegetable dishes, or chilled, sliced and fried. It also makes a very good baby food when strained through cheesecloth.

Add 3-4 cups of water to each cup of flour and bring to a boil while stirring. Add salt. Cover and simmer for at least one hour, but preferably longer. Creams may also be cooked overnight on an asbestos pad or flame tamer and will thus be ready to serve for breakfast.

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Freed: Right. And then he would talk about the back alleys of the world, some kind of acquiring, and the same of the Western ideal world, and there were dirty little back alleys, and so on, and this was his sort of concession to the price one had to pay in order to keep this final Third World War from breaking out.

MC: I remember his saying that.

Richer: How old do you think that game is?

MC: The first — well, you know about game theory?

Richer: No, no, no, I mean the game in a different sense than that. I don't mean how old is the American — we've played that game for a long time. Theodore Roosevelt and Admiral Mahan played that game, Abe Lincoln played the game at Ft. Sumter —

MC: A little differently, yeah.

Eberle: But he played that game at Ft. Sumter.

MC: Sure, its all the same. Now, with game theory, with mathematics, computers —

Eberle: How old do you think that game is?

MC: We installed the Game Room after World War II. During the War Eisenhower had a German General Staff of his own sitting upstairs. At 20 Grovesnor Square we had a bunch of officers, British and American, each one of whom played the part of his German counterpart, actually got into his skin and studied everything he could about him, like a method actor, like Marlon Brando would play anybody. Was the guy rash or conservative, did he make his decisions scientifically or did he use an ouji board. And how did he get along with the other officers. So whenever Eisenhower was about to make a decision he would send the decision upstairs to see what the counter-move was likely to be. And they'd sit down and argue it out just as the real German General Staff would do and based on information we knew the German General Staff would have, because we fed the Germans most of the information they got. I mean, they had a very second-rate intelligence service. We fed them what we wanted them to know. We fed them so much that the good information they got such as from Cicero in Turkey they didn't believe.

Eberle: You say the German Intelligence service was very inferior?

MC: Third rate, the worse the world has ever known, the worst of any of our major powers, and it was particularly susceptible to deception. We convinced them that we had 21 divisions in Scotland, which we didn't have; we convinced them that we were not going into Sicily until much later, so that they withdrew troops so that when we did go into Sicily they weren't ready for us. Eisenhower was a game player himself, he played bridge and poker very well, he liked the idea, and he tried to read Morgnster's game theory book. . . then, in 1955, we set up a Game Room, where we did actually have these conferences every night, from five o'clock to midnight, where we would go over what was needed most. It doesn't work that way anymore. Its been turned over — you don't have to sit in the same room, you finally learn that its ridiculous. Its a nice way of playing it, but you can do it in different ways. Rand Corporation has a bunch of guys studying Russia, somebody else does China, I forget who they all are.

Freed: The think tanks sort of emerged from that early central intelligence group —

MC: The argument we can make now is that a lot of students who have decided to burn down a college library, before they do so would do well to put themselves in the shoes of the police, not looking at it objectively, but actually trying to think like they do. Now this is hard as hell to do, but anybody doing anything I submit this should be done. I argue that the Israelis, for whom I have a kind of a funny

sympathy I can't even explain — or, I can explain, because they are constructive, they do things, they're doing a helluva wonderful job in that little country. But I can argue with the Israelis very easily, my books is number three on the best seller's list in Tel Aviv, its translated into Hebrew, it does very well there, but I can argue with a Zionist back here, and I say, "Now look: all I'm asking is that you put yourself in the shoes of a Palestinian who lived in the country of his family for 2000 years, and he suddenly learns that a separate population that was only 18 percent is going to take over the whole country, and make him a second class citizen." And then they say, now you're being anti-Semitic! And all I'm asking is, look at it how they look at it, don't look at it like you look at it, because you cannot anticipate their reactions unless you put yourself in their shoes. Now that is really the only thing new, Ed, that I'll argue about that we've added to the game.

Richer: Don't you think that people always, when they play that game, even going back to when — when the Athenians did it — that they got into one another's shoes.

MC: The Chinese did it.

Richer: The Athenians did it by trying to understand how Persians

fought. They tell the story that when Athenians played this game, and they could get so much into a Persian personality that they would get repelled by the personality that would take them over, and they would go outside the game room and vomit —

MC: I wish I'd known about that when I was writing my book.

Richer: — they would vomit in revulsion at the feeling that a Persian had when he took orders.

(laughter)

Freed: Was it this game approach that was the strength of the CIG?

MC: No, I don't think so, I don't think it had anything to do with it.

Richer: Did you work for OSS?

MC: Yah. . . I went into Paris two days before liberation. I worked

(please turn to page 47)

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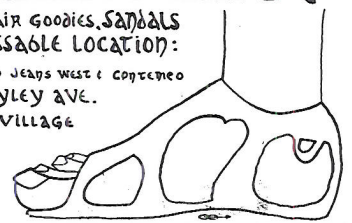
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THE CIA'S GAME ROOM

They sometimes call it 'The Glue Factory'

(continued from page 46)

for Dulles personally. My job was to go in and convince Abbots that he should surrender. . . not to say, I know you Germans aren't going to surrender, I know you're going to win the war, John, I know all that, but just in case you don't win the war why don't you have this little brown envelope here so you can find out how to make the best of your surrender. I talked to Abbots' deputy, who was Shaumann; I couldn't see Abbots; but they let me through, and they received me, in uniform, in my American uniform with a raincoat over it, although it was not raining in Solois.

Richer: After the Second World War what did you move into then, what part of the service?

MC: After the World War I came back and tried to get into the diplomatic service. I passed the written and failed the oral. And then I was debating whether to go back into the jazz band business or what.

Richer: Were you in a jazz band?

MC: Yah.

Richer: What did you play?

MC: A trumpet.

Richer: A trumpet? Far out! A trumpet.

MC: Sure did.

Richer: Are you a Pisces?

MC: A what?

Richer: Are you a Pisces?

MC: A Cancer.

Richer: You're a Cancer. . . far out! Are you aware. . . do you know the Game of Constellations?

MC: Nope.

Freed: (laughing) The game of constellations. . .

Richer: Its an older game than the Game of Nations.

Eberle: So you've never gone back to music since the war?

MC: No, my son is in the music business, but he's not a musician, and I'm a jazz man and he likes pop.

Eberle: Do you still have your horn?

MC: As a matter of fact, I do. I can't play it, but I do.

Richer: When did you leave the CIA?

MC: I never was with the CIA as an employee, I was a consultant, and I've been with them off and on as a consultant —

Richer: Why do they call it "the glue company"?

MC: I never heard that. They sometimes call it "the glue factory."

Eberle: The glue factory? (laughing)

Richer: The glue factory. . . I think that's nice. You never worked for them directly, but you were a consultant?

MC: Two reasons. First of all, my specialty is organization of employees; the reason Nasser took an interest in me, he'd read it somewhere, or picked it up, they checked everybody who came to Egypt. I went to Egypt to work for the Egyptian bank. He'd read that I had just testified before Congress on some organizational question on the CIA in which I was represented as an expert on the organization of information systems. One day I was making a lecture to a group of textile people there and I looked up and there was Nasser in the back of the room. He asked me if I could come have lunch with him at the Ministry of Interior; he was Minister of the Interior as well as being Deputy Prime Minister. I said sure. From then on I stayed with him almost every day. We had lunch together for two years. But then I went back, not for the Agency, but for an inter-agency committee on the Middle East called the Middle East Policy Planning Committee, where the State Department was represented, a couple of CIA guys, a couple of Pentagon guys, this is 1955 to '57.

Richer: And then you've been in government service in the '60s, did you work for the Kennedys?

MC: And then in '67 I quit and we formed our own State Department. That is, we formed a kind of private diplomatic service for oil companies and banks and airlines, which company we still have; we're sort of retiring from it now, turning it over to younger fellows.

Richer: What was the private service, to help the American businessmen work their way around the world, I mean trying to get around—

MC: Helping big corporations, in Africa, in the Middle East, in Asia, with fellow businessmen.

Richer: You've been really intimately connected with the American Empire, haven't you?

MC: (laughing) Sure; I have indeed. On all sides of it.

Richer: How do you like the literary cover? Is it fun?

MC: Terrific! Absolutely wonderful.

Richer: Are you having a good time?

MC: Hell yes, I'm writing another book.

Richer: Are you writing another book? What's your other book going to be about?

MC: Its a "faction," I'm writing it up so that it will be like the same sort of format as *This Pyre is Burning*, from beginning to end on a coup d'etat probably based on the Ajax coup in Iran, when the CIA overthrew Mossadegh.

Freed: Do they appreciate you writing these books?

MC: Its a funny thing. They've objected to some things that I thought they wouldn't object to, and didn't object to others. But I got clearance for the book because nobody thought anybody was gonna read it. Maybe they'll read the next one now that this one is on the best seller list.

Freed: Would you clear the next one with them, do you think?

MC: To hell with them now. You know I was on the best seller list for two weeks in the *New York Times*, but then I got bumped off by four books on sex. You know, I used to like sex! (laughter)

Freed: What do you think was the meaning of Nasser's move in accepting the United State's peace and cease-fire proposals?

MC: He first of all made damned sure that the Israelis were not going to accept it; if the Israelis were going to accept it, he would turn it down. That's the reason the Israelis follow: they wait until Nasser turns it down, they they accept it so they will look peaceful. Only this time, under Russian guidance, Nasser did the opposite. But what seems to worry the Russians enough to cause them to put the pressure on Nasser was the fear that George Chabash's Palestinian Movement is very much under Chinese influence, and not really interested in doing anything about Israel. Nothing is less profitless than fighting Israel, because those guys fight back, and very effectively. So now its a very simple count you can get out of newspapers: the number of Arabs killed by Arabs is ten to one over the number of Israelis killed by Arabs. If you look at the main thrust of Palestinian activity its not toward Israel, its piddling, its toward Arab governments.

Freed: The class struggle really superceding the other struggles, in an undisguised —

MC: And that bothers the Russians. And another thing that bothers the Russians is that Nasser's desperation — Nasser learned long ago, which is what my book is about, how he realized that the squeaky wheel is good for getting the most out of both sides, and the squeakier wheel is better, and if he can organize all the Arabs together and be a Big Arab, rather than being a mere Big Egyptian, that his leverage to both sides would be better. Well, he's had a hard time recently being a Big Arab, the other Arabs just don't stay put. So the Russians were afraid that Nasser would make a move of desperation, and try to go across the canal. He couldn't get to Israel, but what he could do is hold an enclave of some sort for 48 hours. . . the United Nations comes in, everybody tries to say, okay, the lines must be redrawn anew, and he would again gain prestige. But the Russians estimated. They know the Egyptian

(please turn to page 48)

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THE GAME ROOM

Has CIA 'game' pervaded American life?

(continued from page 47)

army very well, they know its a very third grade, fifth rate army, and the Israelis would just come in and blast them out.

Freed: Then by the rules of the game, if the Israelis were to negotiate with the refugees, wouldn't that in one blow rob Nasser, not to say the Soviet Union, of its rationalization of its holy war to save the refugees and so forth, and unleash Left movements within Egypt and the other countries?
MC: It would, but what would the objective be?

Freed: Well, I would say it would mean survival for Israel, but then they would have to accept that their present course is not

MC: Because they don't think Nasser is too bad, you know. There was a time when they approved of him, you know.

Freed: Right. By offering to negotiate with him, they strengthen his hand, by offering to negotiate with the refugees, they would weaken his hand, wouldn't they.

MC: Yes. I really don't know now how they view Nasser. I know awhile ago they wanted to bring him down because they thought if they got rid of Nasser he would be replaced by a military junta, which by the very nature of things would be anti-Arab. Military groups tend to be locally nationalistic: it would be right-wing; they cut their hair short; they hate intellectuals; they hate ideas; they late Leftism; they hate Russians. So the Israelis would like to embarrass Nasser out of a job.

Eberle: In terms of competence and sophistication, how would you rate the United States intelligence service? Would you say we have the most competent and sophisticated?
MC: The British have the most competent and sophisticated

Eberle: They beat us.
MC: Yah. They do indeed. There's no doubt in my mind about it.

Eberle: Who's second?
MC: Well... I'd say we'd be second; the Russians would be third--

Richer: The Russians are awfully good.

MC: Well, they have better assets. We don't have the kind of thing to offer that makes a man inside a little country be willing traumatically to say I'm going to fight for America against Communism. If he fights against Communism its usually for some basic motivation other than being pro-American: he's an Armenian nationalist; he's a Tashnek; he's a rightwing something else. That's really the weakness of our espionage service. Remember, what's happened to our service is that we less and less come to depend on those guys in the street, because we find it very difficult to prove inspiring, our country does. The Russians and Chinese have much less difficulty than we do. The Chinese have a race-gap; a guy really has to be perfectly capable of pretty abstract thinking before he can overcome the fact that the Chinese are so racist themselves. But the Russians don't have this problem.

Eberle: They are able to inspire ideological devotion and zeal?

MC: Yah, the Russians. But our capability is mainly technical. Our technical advances are tremendous. And also we found that one defector is worth a hundred spies.

Richer: We were talking awhile ago, when the machine wasn't working, about keeping the game style outside the contours of the United States. I want to raise the question again in a different way. There seems to be a naive running through your book that hit me, it isn't explicit anyplace in particular, but there's an assumption that the amoral game style somehow cannot penetrate the fabric of American life. But if it did, thoroughly and pervasively penetrate the fabric of American life, there wouldn't be any institutional stability here at all, would there?
MC: I didn't say that in the book.

Richer: I know you didn't say that, but there's an implication that

this game can be quarantined outside the United States.

MC: I didn't mean... I don't know what's happened in the United States. I mean, I know about what the United States as a government does against, with, and for other governments, but I just don't know what happened in the United States.

Richer: A theory that a political move is... that the only virtue any political move has is effectiveness is what kind of political theory, would you suppose? What kind of label would you put on that kind of political theory?

MC: I simply wrote a book. I wasn't advocating any kind of political theory, or even discussing, things in terms of political theory. For purposes of the book I was explaining that we had certain things that were effective, and I was discussing them in terms of effectiveness. I wasn't making a general appraisal of everything we do.

Richer: I know, I know, but... I know that you want to appear neutral. I know you want to appear neutral.

MC: Then let me appear neutral, would you? (laughter)

Richer: No, no... all I'm saying is if the United States, as a government, makes a serious investment in personnel that are trained to assassinate, overturn governments, and generally operate on an "effectiveness" principle in political relations there is nothing to prevent those people as personnel, is there, in terms of the operation as we understand now out of the game room, there is nothing preventing those people from doing the same kind of thing inside the United States.

MC: First, they are not American citizens, and it would be a little awkward for them. One principle of this kind of operation is that you must use as your personnel natives of the area in which you are operating

Richer: Like Cubans.
MC: Well, use Cubans in Cuba, or some kind of minority that can get in and out. Egyptians in Egypt. This kind of personnel could hardly work in the United States.

Richer: If you issue them the kind of papers that makes it possible for them to move over frontiers, they can work anywhere they want to work.

MC: But they couldn't work very effective operations. I mean, you can have people who are ideal for working in Greece: they are Greek nationals, they look like Greeks, they're inconspicuous, because being inconspicuous is the best quality that they have. You bring them back to America and everybody with eyes sees them. That would be the first thing that would stop them. The second thing would

be motivation. If they did it, they would have to do it on their own, somebody would have to pay them, somebody would have to support them, somebody would have to be behind them to be their patron

Richer: Either that, or just their very association with a very sensitive agency like the CIA would make it impossible for the government to make it public what they've done.

MC: Well, they wouldn't be associated long with the CIA if they came back in this country because the CIA would keep track of them and want to know what they're doing, have to be worried about feeding them and keeping

Richer: Are you pretending you don't know what I'm talking about?

MC: I know what you're talking about, but its inconveivable though. I'm not pulling your leg, believe me.

Richer: Do you know what the popular notion is on the Left of how Jack Kennedy was assassinated? Are you familiar with the details?

MC: Yeah, I've heard it, but th me it goes in one ear and out the other

Richer: Or of how Malcolm X was assassinated? Or how Robert Kennedy was assassinated?

Eberle: What he is saying is a very prevalent belief that President Kennedy was zapped -- that CIA personnel was involved in the assassination.

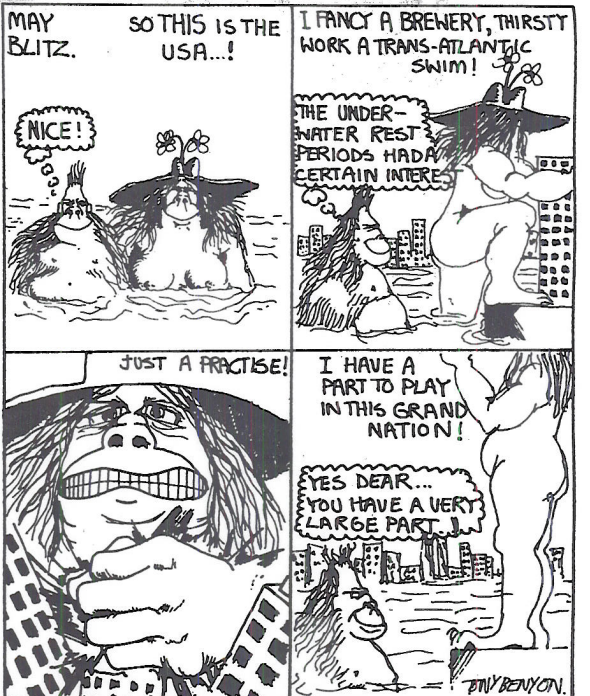
MC: I think, without knowing, because obviously I couldn't know, if it were done it would obviously be kept so secret that a fellow like me wouldn't know.

Eberle: The Warren Commission was appointed to make sure it was kept a secret.

MC: Maybe so, but there's no way I could know, but to me its inconveivable because its just not the sort of thing that could happen... even if someone was going to do it in the United States, they wouldn't use CIA, why

(please turn to page 49)

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C.I.A.

(continued from page 48)

Richer: Miles, have you made no personal investigation of that at all, you mean you've never read a book on the Kennedy assassination? MC: I have not, I'm sorry to deny it.

Richer: Why have you avoided that? MC: I'm bored to tears with intelligence. What made you think I was interested in intelligence? (laughter)

Freed: Well, you know it for the bureaucracy that it is.

Richer: You're another Establishment man who doesn't like his work, is that it?

Eberle: There is a growing, increasingly sinister image of the CIA as an all-pervasive giant stretching its tentacles into con-

trol of the media, motion pictures, the content of television programs, book publishers —

Richer: That's because they don't hire Leftwingers. (Laughter)

Eberle: — one hears very sinister rumors that the CIA controls certain big book publishing houses, big magazine publishing firms, newspaper empires, and there is an increasingly sinister image —

MC: Why is that?

Eberle — and there is the very prevalent belief, you know, that the CIA was involved in shooting the President.

MC: Well, you know my book was . . . that's one reason, not only why it was written, but after the reviews came in, and after Kim Philby came out with his statement, and I got this panning in Czechoslovakia and Poland and one and another, then I got into conservative hot water with old friends, including Helms himself, who said, well look, the thing is anybody reading your book would tell you that we do in fact do this kind of thing, they can extrapolate and say for every failure that's known about there must be ten successes that they don't know about, unless the agency does nothing but fail and conceals it. But the point is that after the Cuban thing this part of the agency that was concerned with what is known as "political action" — first of all, let me say that they were not professional at coordinating —

Freed: How badly humiliated were they by the Cuban, uh, Bay of Pigs?

MC: Tremendous. Everyone who was concerned with it was fired, like Dick Bissell was fired, just

about everybody on down the line. Wisan shot himself. It was very very bad. Morale was down. People were looking for other jobs, and then they were not getting them, because an oil company won't hire a guy who's been with the Agency. . . .

Freed: Really?

MC: Christ, they got millions of dollars, and they figure in some dreary little intelligence operation somebody is going to get caught and embarrass their whole thing, so they won't touch a guy. So they had a helluva time getting jobs on the outside. They were getting jobs as private detectives and every other sort of thing. THEN Helms was put in, not as Chief, but as one of the deputies, and his job was keeping these guys out of trouble. But the whole agency, mainly concerned with coordinating all information gathering activities, and boiling down reports from radio monitoring, from newspapers, from everything — you know, they read your newspaper, they read everybody's newspaper, and go through it and put it into big files and run it in a computer for. . . they'll make studies of the language, just to make profiles of your writing style. You can write and try to disguise your writing and imitate Edmund Wilson or whatever, but still there will be a certain wave of frequencies that will keep appearing if you go over that material and they can say you wrote it. But anyhow, this kind of thing is their main function, which is secret in the sense that they don't want everybody to understand what they do, but it doesn't mean prying into anybody's affairs. But when the CIA got going on this level they decided they should have an espionage service, and this was not the hottest organization in the world, it was not tremendously successful, but anyhow they had it. And they linked all the emigre groups all around the world — White Russian groups, Estonians, Lithuanians, Armenians, Tashneks, and so forth, all around the —

Richer: Palestinians.

MC: Some Palestinians, yah sure. And "such other activities as the government may direct." And then they decided they needed this capability for coup d'etats, "political action" its called, so they set this thing up and they got a lot of ex-army guys, ex-parachutists and so forth, and the links to the various groups of nationalities that they thought they would need. This was before the Cuban thing. But when the Cuban thing came this activity was never quite discontinued, because they said, what the hell, we might need it sometime, but it was confined under Dick Helms to two functions and two functions only: one is recruitment of personnel, and second is training. Once the agency in Washington has recruited and trained a unit — which might be one guy, but its usually three to 10, the units are small — they are assigned to a military command somewhere, sometimes in a remote case to an ambassador, and Washington washes its hands of them. After that they're on their own. If anything goes wrong, then back in Washington they have a policy of neither confirm nor deny, and the field won't take the blame, so they won't deny or have anything to do with Cambodia and so forth.

Freed: Did Helms come up from OSS?

MC: Helms has no intelligence experience at all, he's been anti-septically clean, he's been an administrator, and he really doesn't understand intelligence enough — he's the best bureaucrat in Washington, and all intelligence guys like him, because he sort of admires them and he's awed by them, some guy can come in from behind the lines in China or Russia or wherever and old Helms is going to sit down with his mouth open and listen to his adventure story, and . . . he's old Dick.

Richer: Is the "game" still played in Washington?

MC: Yah, not in the same way, not in the Game Room, and its not played in Washington, its played by everybody from the Hudson Institute to the Rand Corporation to whoever might be. . . Chinese experts, there are about four different China teams, and they're

damned good, I'm told. They speak Chinese. The amount of experts the Agency can pull together is fabulous; they pay damned good salaries, salaries those guys couldn't get anywhere else in some university; if you're a China expert there aren't many private corporations that will pay you. In universities you spend your time battling with other professors and being paid low salaries. So the Agency is about the best there is.

Richer: Have you ever been related to as if you were still working for them?

MC: Oh, I get accused sometimes, sure, but it doesn't bother me particularly, except with my big corporation clients, then I get uneasy about it.

Richer: Would you still be available for a special and delicate assignment?

MC: They'd have to make it worth my money because, you see, Ed, my motives are very unideological, and they'd have to fit into my home where I've decided to live my life —

Richer: I thought your book was intensely ideological, but you don't recognize it, though. You think that "Machiavellian" is not ideological, don't you?

MC: No, I think Machiavellian is ideological.

Richer: Do you consider yourself a neo-Machiavellian then? I see you had a lot of praise for them, but you don't consider yourself a neo-Machiavellian.

MC: Yah, but I don't remember praise —

Richer: James Burnham, for example

MC: Well, frankly, yes, James Burnham is —

Richer: You do see yourself as a neo-Machiavellian, then. . . come on, cough it up, you'll feel better! (laughter)

MC: James Burnham has a great admiration for my book, he gave it a good review. Did you see his review?

Richer: No. Where did that review appear? In the National Review?

MC: No, I think it was in the Nation. . . no, I'm kidding, it was in the National Review.

Richer: Did you ever hear the theory — that's a very convincing one, as a matter of fact, at least I find it that way — about Machiavelli's The Prince? The book was never published in Machiavelli's lifetime.

MC: I didn't know that.

Richer: It was published after he died. And Machiavelli is alleged by this theory to have written it in a putdown of all the things about it that were taken literally after, that Machiavellianism really is a misnomer for what the author intended. You see he was captured and tortured by an intelligence service that belonged to the King of Spain, immediately after Phillip had conquered Venice. Machiavelli worked for the diplomatic corps of the Republic of Venice, and when the King of Spain, under the auspices of a sell out quisling government, captured Venice they tortured Machiavelli for information. It took him months to heal up, he had been put on the rack and stretched. And while he was healing up outside Venice, in a cottage, in hiding, he wrote The Prince, and sent a copy of it to the quisling, rich man prince or something like that who was holding Venice for Phillip. He hated Cesar Borgia, but he praised him in the book, and there is a whole bunch of internal evidence that the book is a put on. The neo-Machiavellians take it quite seriously; all of Europe took it quite seriously as a matter of fact.

Eberle: Do you think the power structure, whether corporate or governmental, feels very threatened by the young people today, the way they are threatening almost all of the institutions and values of the system as older people understand it?

MC: I'd say no, I don't think they (and me included) take it very seriously, frankly. Look, I live in England, and in England I was at a party one night where we were arguing about the student troubles in England which are pretty petty compared to the ones here. Even in violent circumstances you talk

(please turn to page 50)

Two anti-war holiday cards are being offered to movement people by the Liberation Union. One card, which might be classified as an "Anti-Christmas card," says: "NO CHRISTMAS CARDS — UNTIL THE WAR IS OVER."



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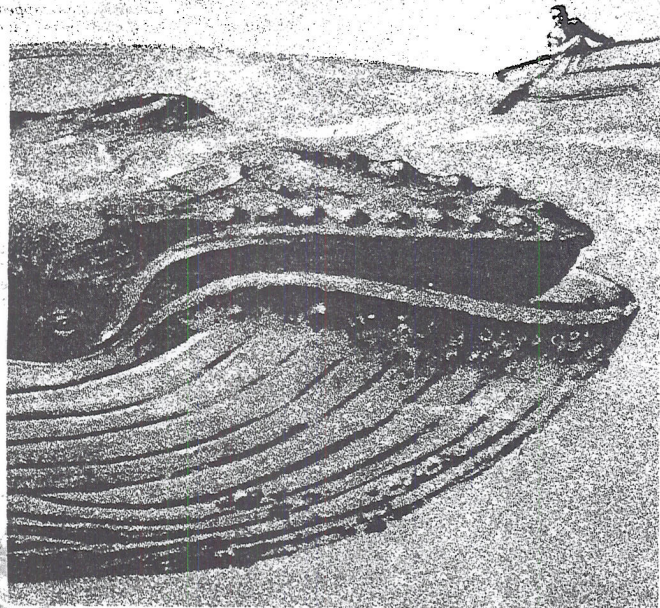
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CIA Interview

(continued from page 49)

to the kids and they try to be very nice and polite. They don't seem to have any real thrust behind them. At the time Danny the Red was over, from Paris, and whom I know slightly and I've seen several times and who is a helluva real Machiavellian in his own way — he's a showman, he's as funny as hell, Red — so I said, look, I could get together with young Litvak and between the two of us we could game this out and have a coup d'etat right here in England. A man who was a Member of Parliament bristled and said, That's absolutely impossible. You're taking these things too seriously. And I said, No, I betcha I can do it and we can game it out, I'll make a move, you make a move, just like we do it in the Game Room — we had been talking about my book — and he said, How much would you like to bet, name your fee, \$10,000 or whatever, because he's a wealthy guy. And people began to gather around, and there was lot of prominent people there — there was C.P. Snow, there was Eric Ambler — and so what I sprung on him was this: the coup was coming from the Right, not from the Left. Because he thought I was taking the other side.

Richer: The coup is coming from the Right?
 MC: Yah. What I said was, what is wrong with these kids — in England, I don't know this country — the only thing wrong with these kids is that all their pictures make them look fairly sympathetic, but they also don't make them look like leaders, the make them look weak, they're sitting on the stairs of a dormitory when they talk. They look like losers. They don't look vicious enough. So what I would do, if I were really going to swing this coup in England, is to make them look more vicious, and stir up more trouble, you know, to justify more of a reaction from the Right than there is now. Litvak wrote an article in *Esquire* recently that I recommend to you, though its sort of tongue-in-cheek, about a coup in the United States. This is the best answer I can give you. I think the danger is not from the students, which really didn't bother, but I think the reaction is going to be tremendous. Kids running out into the streets, saying 'Let's tear down everything.' What do you expect us to do, sit here and take it? And moreover, since I'm getting a little old now and can't do it, I'm going to hire people who can do it, and what am I going to do, I'm going to hire policemen. And you know policemen, they're not the brightest guys in the world. In Alabama we dig a big hole, and we run all the young kids in it, and the ones who haven't got sense enough to climb out of the hole, we make 'em policemen! Or football players.

Richer: You just lost 10,000 sales in Alabama. (laughter) But you know, I don't think you can game a revolution.

MC: No, you can't game anything perfectly, Ed, I don't claim —

Richer: No, I didn't say that, I don't think you can game a revolution. I think you can game a coup, I think you can game —

MC: Right, and once you've had a coup —

Richer: You're highly dependent on elite manipulation, and on the manipulation of elites, and the manipulation of people through elites, in your game procedures as I understood it from your book. As a matter of fact, I was fascinated in your book when you mentioned that the Game of Nations works best with those nations that have played it the longest and the game works least best with those nations that have played it less. So that the newer nations are less predictable simply because they haven't been corrupted into that game as intensely as the older nations. In other words, they've adapted to that game as a style of nationhood.

MC: As a matter of fact, the easiest nation to predict is the one that acts from principle. A principle is nothing but a standard

solution to a constantly occurring problem. Everytime a problem comes up this principled person, or principled nation, is going to adopt the same solution to it. And so really the most unpredictable person is one who is thinking purely in terms of objectives and doesn't care any route by which he reaches those objectives.

Richer: Are you familiar with the book *The Games That People Play*?

MC: Yah, sure. He died, didn't he?

Richer: Just recently. The theory in that book is that people play games to avoid intimacy, and that games are a sort of superficial relationship to the urgencies of being human. I wondered if you had imagined a meta-game that looked behind the game response to human urgencies. . . in other words, we can have a game response to George Chabash, but what about a nongame response.

MC: All the game is is in two parts: one is the game you play before you commit an action. Let's say you're going to do something this afternoon that somebody will dislike. To game it, you simply put yourself in his shoes to see what kind of reaction he'll make. A game, in this sense, is merely a rehearsal of the real thing. Then, actually when you move it, having rehearsed it in this way, then what you do is a move in a game. In relation to *The Games That People Play*, I see no rela-

tion between these two kinds of levels I'm thinking of. . . avoiding intimacy, I don't see why you—

Richer: I get the definite feeling on the part of international game players that they see people from a Rightwing point of view. They see history as a great mass of very smelly beggars in the street who are very frightening, sexually intimidating —

MC: Now wait a minute. . . most game players do appreciate and sympathize with the people whose parts they play, including the Chinese.

Richer: Well, I understood from your book that the approval for Nasser was that he would defuse an Egyptian revolution. Revolution for me is a direct expression of — maybe I had better define —

MC: Wait. They guy who figured out what Nasser's reaction would be and what the reactions of others would be around him were the reactions pretty much as they in fact were. . . but the guy who makes the moves is another thing, he makes the moves for the United States.

Richer: But the reason you liked Nasser was because he could play the game that you were familiar with, and that game is to frustrate revolution, isn't that right? Isn't that the reason that you admire Nasser is because he knows that the street is a place where an authentic revolution can come from, that he has been deluded by Eichelberger and others into thinking that the street is something to be controlled, that the expectations of the street are to be guided by an elite, a conscious elite?

MC: I wouldn't put it that way.

Richer: The book expresses it. And that you approved of Nasser

because he was such a really good game player and that you hoped the Nasser model would win throughout the Third World in order to abort —

MC: The word revolution doesn't come in that context. Its disorder, you said "revolution" —

Richer: Well, "disorder" is just an imperialist's word for "revolution"!

MC: Well, "revolution" is just a Leftists word for "disorder." (laughter) After all, I can look at it from just the other way around, can't I?

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