

INSIDE THE COMPANY: CIA Diary.
By Philip Agee. Penguin Books, London. 640 pp. 95 pence

By PATRICK BRESLIN

WHEN VICTOR MARCHETTI wrote *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, the Central Intelligence Agency censored 339 passages and a judge upheld 168 of the deletions. The book was published last year with intriguing blanks where material deemed too sensitive had been.

There are no blanks in Philip Agee's *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*. This densely detailed expose names every CIA officer, every agent, every operation that Agee encountered during 12 years with "The Company" in Ecuador, Uruguay, Mexico and Washington.

Among CIA agents or collaborators, Agee lists the current president of Mexico and his two predecessors, a former president of Uruguay, a former vice president of Ecuador, U.S. and Latin American labor leaders, ranking Communist Party members, and scores of other politicians, high military and police officials,

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and journalists. There is grist for a hundred Latin American Watergates in these pages.

Agee tells of CIA interventions in elections in Guyana, Brazil, and Chile. In the Dominican Republic, he says, the assassination of Trujillo was carried out by CIA agents using weapons sent through the diplomatic pouch. He relates almost hilarious instances of incompetence. In Buenos Aires, the officer in charge of operations against the Soviet Embassy couldn't find it while driving his Washington superiors around the city. To facilitate breaking into automobiles, one eager beaver in Ecuador cluttered the CIA office with 200 pounds of car keys. One finally understands why the Watergate bunglers were caught.

In his book, Marchetti sought to reform the CIA, to argue that it had strayed from its purpose, to criticize bitingly but constructively. Agee's aim is different; he wants the entire operation dismantled.

The CIA managed to delay the Marchetti book, and then to censor it. Agee side-stepped the CIA by publishing in England through Penguin Books. His book is available since last month in most of the English-speaking world except the U. S. On its paperback cover is a picture of the bugged typewriter Agee thinks the CIA planted on him while he was writing. A hardcover edition is expected to be published here within the next few months.

the Guilt of Intelligence

Inside the Company, more than an expose, is a unique chronicle of the 1960s, that decade of disillusion. Like so many young men, Agee emerged from college in the late 1950s, vaguely dissatisfied, unenthusiastic about going into a business career, facing two dreary, wasted years in the army. But at Notre Dame, he had learned patriotism, and that the enemy was communism. One of his proudest moments came as chairman of the exercises

sponsibility to make other nations in its image. But time had to be bought. The communist menace had to be held back long enough to give democracy a chance in the poor nations around the globe.

Bored with the prospects facing him at home, seeking something meaningful, hoping to avoid the draft, Agee joined the CIA in 1957. Four years later he might have joined the Peace Corps. The motivation would have been the same.

With this review of Philip Agee's CIA diary, *Inside the Company*, Book World is departing from its usual practice of reviewing only books available in the United States. We are doing so because of the unusual interest the book generated when it appeared in London January 2, and because of its relevance to the current investigation of the aims and methods of the Central Intelligence Agency. Because of copyright restrictions, the book cannot be bought at stores in this country, although it will be available in an American edition later this year. It is now available in England and Canada in Penguin editions selling for 95 pence and \$2.95, respectively. For more on this subject, see Joyce Illig's Book Business column on page two.

in which the school's patriotism award went to then Strategic Air Command chief General Curtis Lemay. Agee recalled with respect rather than irony Lemay's Strangelovian cadences: "If we maintain our faith in God, our love of freedom, and superior global air power..."

The U. S. was the bastion of democracy, with the energy, the wisdom, and the re-

After a stint as an Air Force officer (for cover) and CIA training, Agee arrived in Quito, Ecuador in late 1960. During the glory years of the Alliance for Progress and the New Frontier, he fought the holy war against communism by bribing politicians and journalists, forging documents, tapping telephones, and reading other people's mail. He learned that a bought and paid for senator in Ecuador was

worth \$700 a month, raised to \$1,000 when he became vice president.

CIA goals in Ecuador during those years were to disrupt the Left and to contribute to the isolation of Cuba by forcing Ecuador to break relations. In pursuit of these goals, every political group was penetrated and corrupted, riots and demonstrations in which people were injured were encouraged and supported. Two civilian governments fell but relations with Cuba were finally broken. Agee left in 1963 confident that the necessary social and democratic reforms could now take place: "CIA operations promote stability through assisting local governments to build up their security forces... and by putting down the extreme left... Through these programmes we buy time for friendly governments to effect the reforms that will eliminate the injustices on which communism thrives."

But what if the friendly governments are not really interested in reforms? What if improving the security forces actually lessens the chance of reforms? Agee's next station was Montevideo, Uruguay. He was there for three years, and would learn that "these Uruguayan politicians are interested in other things than land reform," that Uruguay was the "model of corruption and incapacity."

Nevertheless, CIA doctrine said strengthen the security forces first. Agee would complain that the main problem with local military

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intelligence was "the Uruguayan military tradition of keeping aloof from politics." There was a silver lining though—the Deputy Chief of Intelligence, "a rabid anti-communist whose ideas border on fascist-style repression," would some day, Agee hoped, be chief of intelligence. Meanwhile, another CIA officer kept close to a "very wealthy fascist-oriented lawyer and rancher... active in trying to persuade military leaders to intervene in political affairs."

What the CIA did in Uruguay, according to Agee, was prop up a corrupt, decaying government by making it capable of crushing a widespread and growing movement for radical reform. In the pursuit of "democracy" the CIA pushed the military into politics. Uruguay today is run by the military through a civilian figurehead president, Congress is closed, there is no free press, and there are no reforms.

It was in Uruguay that Agee started wondering about what he was doing. One morning he sat in the office of the chief of police. From the floor above came the screams of someone being tortured. As the screams increased in intensity, the chief turned up the volume of the soccer game on the radio. Agee learned later that the torture victim was a communist whose name he had turned over to the police a few days earlier. "Hearing that voice... made me feel terrified and helpless. All I wanted to do was to get away from the voice and away from the police headquarters. Why didn't (we) say anything?... We just sat there embarrassed and shocked. I'm going to be hearing that voice for a long time."

But it was a faraway event which seems to have disturbed him more. Lyndon Johnson's invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 was an overreaction Agee couldn't accept. "It can't be that I'm against intervention as such," he mused, "because everything I do is in one way or another intervention in the affairs of other countries. Partly, I suppose, it's the immense scale of this invasion that shocks." Agee and his fellow CIA officers thought Johnson's explanation for the invasion—that 58 trained communists were about to take over in Santo Domingo—so absurd they adopted it: "Fifty-eight trained communists' is our new station password and the answer is 'Ten thousand marines.'"

The invasion led Agee to question all CIA efforts in Latin America. Counterinsurgency seemed to have stemmed the communist threat. But where were the reforms? "The more I think about the Dominican invasion the more I wonder whether the politicians in Washington really want to see reforms in Latin America." Agee began to think about leaving the Company.

In 1966 he was transferred to desk duties in Washington. The paper work was dull and he jumped at a chance to go to Mexico the next year under the cover of an embassy attache working on the 1968 Olympic Games. Rather than controlling agents and running operations, his job in Mexico was to meet people and make contacts. It provided him with a way of establishing distance from The Company. By the time the Olympics were over, Agee had ended his CIA career. He resigned with the conviction that he had become a "servant of the capitalism I rejected" as a university student. "I became one of its secret policemen. The CIA, after all, is

nothing more than the secret police of American capitalism, plugging up leaks in the political dam night and day so that shareholders of U.S. companies operating in poor countries can continue enjoying the rip-off."

In the next couple of years, Agee decided to write this reconstructed diary to tell everything he knew. Not only would he expose the CIA, he would work against it: "I have also decided to seek ways of getting useful information on the CIA to revolutionary organizations that could use it to defend themselves better."

He spent the last three years writing the book in Europe, making research trips to Cuba, and dodging the CIA. At one point he lived on money advanced by a woman he believes was a CIA agent trying to gain his confidence. His training in deceit served him well during those years.

The appearance of Agee's book now, as several committees in Washington are beginning to investigate the CIA, poses an interesting challenge. Until recently, our elected representatives have generally managed to stay in the dark about what the CIA does. Until recently, former CIA Director Richard Helms's plea that "You've just got to trust us. We are honorable men" was enough. With the revelations of domestic spying, it no longer is, and everyone concerned is loudly and righteously opposed to CIA activities at home.

Agee has provided the most complete description yet of what the CIA does abroad. In entry after numbing entry, U.S. foreign policy in Latin America is pictured as a web of deceit, hypocrisy, and corruption. Now that we can no longer plead ignorance of the webs our spiders spin, will we continue to tolerate CIA activities abroad? □

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