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Der Spiegel

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CIA: SHADOW GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S.

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 27 June 75 pp 5-8

Article by DER SPIEGEL writers: "CIA: Shadow Government of the U.S."

Text It is midnight in the Dominican Republic. The consul general, Henry Dearborn, the most senior American diplomat in the country, drove his car home after a party at the house of the Nationalist Chinese ambassador. On a deserted road along the coast, he was stopped at a military police roadblock. He and his companions were forced to get out of the car, were searched, without explanation -- and then were allowed to continue on their way.

Only after an hour did Dearborn find out who had stopped him: the police had been looking for a band of assassins -- who now telephoned him. He no longer remembers the details which the members of the plot reported to him, but he remembers the gist precisely: "Trujillo was dead, we have succeeded."

Dearborn immediately telegraphed this information to Washington, and went to sleep, peacefully. He knew the people who had struck. He himself had maintained contact with them for a period of months. He knew that his government viewed them very positively -- to the extent that it apparently had supplied them with weapons via the consul general himself. The sender: the Central Intelligence Agency.

Rafael Trujillo, the chief of state and the unlimited dictator of the Dominican Republic, died on the evening of 30 May 1961.

Some months later, in November of that year, the president of the U.S. John Kennedy, asked the journalist Tad Szulc in a private conversation: "What would you think if the U.S. were to murder Castro?" Szulc did not support this idea. To this, Kennedy responded: "I am glad that that is your opinion, because I am not convinced that the U.S. has to participate in political assassination. But occasionally, I do receive such suggestions."

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Apparently, suggestions were not the end of it. The murder of Fidel Castro was actually planned. This was revealed at the beginning of this year by two men who were the closest aides of Robert Kennedy (who was shot to death in 1968): they claimed that Robert Kennedy himself discovered the conspiracy, and order an immediate end to the plan, and took pains to see that his orders were carried out explicitly. He asked for confirmation in black and white, and the sender of the "written promise" was the CIA.

It is also being said in Washington that the CIA participated in the mysterious death of the Congolese president, Patrice Lumumba, early in 1961; and a list of its targeted victims also included Francois Duvalier (Papa Doc), the Haitian dictator. And didn't Lee Harvey Oswald, the assassin of John Kennedy, maintain contact with the CIA?

Indeed, for years the world, including the Americans, have been accustomed after every coup d'etat, rebellion, or civil war to look first of all for the CIA; it is understood that frequently enough the agency topples governments= openly or secretly, incites disorders, perverts elections, finances civil wars. But until now, the "secret government of the U.S." (as the book by David Weiss and Thomas Ross is called) has appeared in the role of "murder incorporated" mostly in films, such as "Scorpio" in which agents of the CIA and hired murderers commit no less than six murders.

In fact, events are closer in spirit to the matters which were written up in the secret file which the vice president of the U.S., Nelson Rockefeller, recently filed with Gerald Ford. Concentrated in 86 pages is what "Rocky" and his colleagues uncovered regarding presumed and actual assassination plots by the CIA against foreign politicians. There is no doubt that this is a shocking score, even though the commission did not succeed in completing its work, claiming a shortage of time and people.

Ford, who upon assuming his office had promised his people absolute candidness, categorically refused to publicize those portions of the Rockefeller report which dealt with planned assassinations by the CIA; this arouses unpleasant memories of attempts by his predecessor, Richard Nixon, to cover up. At the daily press conferences with Pres Ford's spokesman, Ron Nessin, accusations are being made about coverups of criminal acts; American journalists are recalling that Nixon was toppled by his constant efforts to obfuscate, rather than for his criminal actions.

Maybe it is true that "for the sake of U.S. interests (in the language of Ford) it is politically correct not to expose to the whole world actions and plans some of which date back 15 years. But after 5 and a half years of Nixon, after all of the lies surrounding the Watergate affair and Vietnam, the Americans do want the whole story.

An official report of 200 pages by the Rockefeller staff regarding actions carried out by the CIA contrary to the law -- an official report which Ford released after much hesitation -- cannot serve as compensation. Because what is contained in it (and even more) was already known at the beginning of this year. Little by little all was discovered, denied, and then admitted. Among other things, the CIA had done the following:

It spent at least 8 million, and perhaps as much as 11 million dollars to hasten the downfall of the marxist President Allende in Chile.

For some months, it withheld essential information regarding the Watergate affair from investigators.

It carried out breakins of homes of American citizens, as well as foreign embassies.

For more than 20 years, it opened the mail of American citizens -- both the famous as well as the obscure, including AF of L President George Meany -- and each year it opened and copied 13,000 pieces out of 4.3 million pieces of mail. (A one time agent of the CIA bragged: "This was done so rapidly that we did not delay mail delivery.") It also tapped telephone lines, placed journalists under surveillance, and spied on members of Congress.

The first expose of the CIA came from the same journalist who discovered the massacre committed by American soldiers at My Lai, in Vietnam. On 22 December 1974 Seymour Hirsh wrote in the NEW YORK TIMES about new secret -- and illegal -- lists containing the names of 10,000 Americans. The lists had been gathered by the Domestic Operations Division (D.O.D.) of the CIA -- a most secret branch whose very name indicated a violation of the regulations of the agency: according to law it was authorized to engage only in foreign espionage.

Richard Helms -- director of the CIA during the period when most of the illegal activities took place, and now the American ambassador to Iran -- announced through the State Department: "Ambassador Helms denies in the strongest terms allegations that the CIA carried on illegal domestic activities during his tenure as agency director." A few days later, the mysterious director of D.O.D. -- James Engleton -- resigned from his post, along with his 3 closest aides. (In the meantime, he received the highest decoration of the agency.) Under pressure from the press and Congress, Ford saw the need to appoint a special investigatory commission consisting of 8 members, to examine the accusations made by Hirsh.

The commission did not inspire a lot of confidence. Almost all of its members had been linked to the CIA in the past. Its chairman, Nelson Rockefeller, had served for 5 years on a committee whose task was to advise the president in matters of espionage. The commentator Tom Wicker remarked bitterly: "Giving this group the task of investigating the CIA is like giving the task of examining the Mafia's books to its own accountants."

The Americans can look for more clarity and truth about the "company" (as the agency is called by its agents) to the two special congressional committees. Frank Church, the Senator from Idaho, and chairman of the Senate committee, said: "We are not out for revenge, but neither will this be a whitewash."

It is possible that the congressional investigators have undertaken an impossible mission. Government committees have tried 8 times to make reforms in the CIA. In Congress, there have been 200 resolutions or pieces of proposed legislation,

and none of them have passed. The CIA remains a state within a state, and little more is known about it than the address of its staff in Langley, in Fairfax county, the state of Virginia, which is a 20 minute drive from Washington.

The traffic signs on Dooley Blvd and near the Washington Monument clearly point to the home of the "spooks": "Central Intelligence Agency -- next right turn." In the center of an area of about 1000 donam, rises a gray seven story building. Since 1961, it has housed the center of the intelligence agency. (Other offices and buildings of the CIA, most of which are not identified, are scattered throughout Washington.) The special blue bus called "Bluebeard" brings the agency people to their place of work in the city -- for example to "building 213," a yellow hpuse on M Street in southeast Washington, whose windows are completely covered. It houses the agency's Photo-Analysis Department.

In the undecorated entry hall of the chief of staff an inscription on the wall proclaims the message of the apostle John of the New Testament: "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." On the opposite wall are 31 stars -- in memory of the 31 agents whose names cannot be inscribed, who were killed in the service of the CIA and the homeland. In the courtyard is a statue of Nathan Hale, the legendary (although no more successful) spy of the days of the American revolution.

Aside from these subtle hints regarding the work of those who are housed here, the building is no different than the other concrete buildings of other American departments. It could just as well be the home of the Department of Agriculture.

In Langley too, as well as other nearby towns -- the preferred residence of senators, congressmen, and wealthy citizens of the capital -- there is almost no hint of the housing of the CIA. Only the staff at Fairfax Hospital can tell if someone who is brought to the hospital is an agent of the CIA or a mere human being: agency people are usually accompanied by two mysterious men, who make sure that the patient does not reveal secrets while he is under anaesthesia.

Within the CIA, duties are distributed in such a manner that the right hand does not know what the left hand is doing, and things are usually never referred to by their usual name: everything has a code name. For example, ODOYKE means the United States, ODACID refers to the State Department, KUBARK refers to the CIA, REDSKIN to legal travelers to the USSR. ISOLATION refers to Camp Perry in Virginia, also called "the farm," where the agency trains its people in breaking and entering and telephone tapping, in enlisting agents provocateurs, and in paralyzing vehicles or newspaper printing presses.

Officials in Fairfax County do not even know how many people are employed by the CIA (the estimate is 15,000 regular workers, of whom 4,800 are spies abroad) or what is its annual budget (the estimate is 750 million dollars to which should be added millions or even billions from the Pentagon, which pays for intelligence satellites and intelligence planes) Enterprising journalists have tried to determine, on the basis of water consumption in Langley

or the number of students in its schools, the probable professions of the parents, and to draw conclusions about the scope of the CIA -- but in vain.

Already in March, the director of the CIA, Colby, refused to give firm figures to 17 members of Congress on the size and budget of the CIA. The agency in no way will permit anyone to look behind the curtains. Once, when the Daughters of the American Revolution wanted to award the CIA a special decoration, they received a negative answer: "If you know that we are good, then you already know far too much."

The CIA was never supposed to be such a secret operation. Americans have always been repelled by secrecy -- whether it be secret service, secret politics, or secret diplomacy. When the U.S. entered World War I, its whole intelligence operation consisted of two officers and two clerks. In 1929, the American secretary of state disbanded the state department's decoding office with the comment: "Gentlemen do not read other people's mail." After World War II, the Americans reluctantly gave in to the establishment of a new secret service. Congressman Henderson Lanham, at the time of consultations on the creation of the CIA, wanted to know if there wasn't a danger "that a gestapo, or something like it, would be created."

In general, the government presented the proposed operation as an innocent and innocuous organization, whose members would be employed principally in reading PRAVDA and studying Soviet train schedules. Nothing was ever said about quasi-military operations abroad, and certainly not about domestic spying in the U.S. But within two years, in 1949, the CIA already acquired greater autonomy than any other American institution. The "Central Intelligence Law" freed it from the obligation of filing its budget with the Congress. Thus it began its independent existence, and the CIA became one of the sharpest American weapons in the Cold War. In a short time, there was no sphere or country in the world where the CIA was not active. It supported students and businessmen, churches, trade unions, immigrant societies, if only they were ready to spread the anti-communist message.

In Europe, the CIA founded the anti-communist Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Both inside and outside of the U.S., the CIA founded and financed newspapers and periodicals. In 1951, the Center for International Studies was founded at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology -- with CIA funding.

But America's new secret service was also involved in violent activities. In the early 50's CIA agents in the jungles to the west of Burma collected the remnants of the defeated nationalist Chinese army, supplied them with money and weapons, and encouraged them to make attacks on Mao's China. During the Korean War, the CIA dropped Taiwanese Chinese agents which it had trained, on the Adian mainland. Most were caught, but a few made their way to Manchuria where they were picked up by low flying C-47 planes using hooks and large baskets.

In 1953, in Iran, the CIA was concerned with toppling the regime of Mossadegh, who wanted to nationalize the country's petroleum resources; and in 1954, in Guatemala, with the removal by force of President Arbenz-Guzman, who it was claimed was a tool in the hands of the communists. During the 60's, the CIA invested 11 million dollars in Ecuador to change governments.

In the Middle East, the agents of the CIA first of all investigated the health of Farouk of Egypt by taking a urine sample from the urinal at the casino of Monte Carlo. After the fall of Farouk, Nasser's chief advisor whose office was next to that of the new chief of state, was an agent of the CIA. When an attempt was made to buy Nasser -- as they still tell the story mockingly in Cairo -- he pretended to be ready to sell himself. But immediately after he received the first payment, he made the whole matter public -- and with the money that he received from the CIA he built a television tower on the banks of the Nile, and called it the "CIA Tower" (Cairenes have given the tower a grosser epithet because of the image of its thrust upwards).

In the Far East and in Africa, the CIA trained body guards for presidents, dictators, and kings. Later, these body guards were concerned with keeping in power those chiefs of state who were convenient for Washington. This was the case in Thailand, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Somalia, South Korea, and South Vietnam.

In South Vietnam, the CIA participated in a few coups -- and it was forced to look the other way when its old proteges murdered their collaborator Diem. On the other hand, the agency sought to upset Buddhist demonstrations against the Saigon regime by placing among the South Vietnamese demonstrators bombs made of filings, the size of eggs.

In Laos, in 1960, CIA people filled the ballot boxes with forged ballots and provoked local incidents so that their protege, Gen Phoumi Nosavan, would remain in power. Later, CIA instructors trained 36,000 Laotians in the mountains for the private war against the communist Pathet Lao.

In many cases, the CIA was able to rely on reliable natives of the country -- usually police people who had been trained at the expense of the "International Police Service" in Washington, which is dependent upon the CIA. In other cases, it was aided by American companies, which supplied CIA people with the necessary cover. According to one agency official, its flight network employs more planes than all of American aviation, and in terms of the number of employees, it is larger than the CIA itself.

For example, during the Congolese civil war, the CIA maintained its own air force, composed of B-26 bombers. And as late as March, it used the aviation company "Bard Airlines" which had earlier worked for the CIA, as its air shuttle for Cambodia. In addition, there are maintained or supported in this part of the world the legendary "Air America", "Air Asia", "Saturn Air Transport", "Intermountain Aviation", and "Civil Air Transport-China Airlines."

Did the billions which were invested ever pay off? One of the fathers of the Agency, Clark Clifford, who later served as secretary of defense, summarized in this way: "The CIA did have several dramatic successes. But those successes had to be kept secret, in order to enable future successes."

On the other hand, the failures of the agency have been discussed in detail. For example, when the Soviets in May 1960 downed a U-2 plane with its pilot, Gary Powers, no importance was attached to the fact that for years these intelligence planes had supplied the best information about the USSR until that time.

The CIA suffered its most serious failure in 1961, at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. An attempt to land Cuban exiles who were foes of Castro in order to spark a rebellion against him ended in a rain of fire from Castro's militia. John Kennedy, who was then president of the U.S., complained that the CIA had misled him with false information. He wanted to dismantle the CIA, "to divide it into pieces and scatter it in all directions," because "I will not be able to stand another event like this." For weeks, he even refused to accept the daily reports which the CIA submits to the president.

Nevertheless, almost no one challenged the CIA -- in spite of the fact that Kennedy had many supporters in his suspicions of it. For example, in 1963, ex-President Harry Truman, during whose administration the CIA had been founded, said: "I view the CIA as a kind of shadow cast on history. I believe that we should change it." Senator Eugene McCarthy accused the CIA of being an "independent foreign policy administration, which is gradually usurping the role of the president."

In the mean time, the lives of the people at the CIA were made easy by those very people who were supposed to be overseeing it: a handful of Senators and Congressmen who, more than overseeing the operation, actually identified themselves with it and the secrets which were revealed to them.

There was no one who challenged the declaration of Allen Dulles, the first director of the CIA, to the effect that if necessary, he would lie -- that is, the CIA would lie -- to everyone except the president, in order to protect the identity of one of the agency's people.

If the CIA was able to undergo all the attempts at reform and all of the stumbling in relative peace, then it is beholden most of all to the two successors of Kennedy -- Johnson and Nixon -- both of whom occasionally used it as a kind of private police force. Nixon not only let the CIA know that the downfall of President Allende of Chile was most desirable to the U.S., but he also permitted it to begin to operate on the domestic front -- contrary to the language of the law.

Twelve agents of the service infiltrated a group of those who deviated from the line in the U.S., and caused a change in the character of the peaceful demonstrations -- so that they appeared on the television screen as militant revolution.

But in particular, the CIA worked as one of Nixon's closest aids during the Watergate affair.

It helped an ex-agent, Howard Hunt, to enlist a unit of burglars and equip them with the necessary equipment -- including a red wig, a beard, forged documents, a voice alteration device, a miniature camera hidden in a tobacco pouch, two microphones, and a microphone hidden in a small portable typewriter.

It prepared for the White House two psychological profiles of Daniel Ellsberg, the man who delivered to the NEW YORK TIMES the Pentagon's most secret papers relating to the American war in Vietnam.

Two days after the Watergate breakin -- it sent Lee Pennington, a part time employee (\$250 per month) to James McCord's apartment, who was one of the Watergate burglars and an ex-agent of the CIA. Pennington, together with Mrs McCord, burned all of the papers which could have proven a connection between McCord and the CIA.

For months, it hid from investigative authorities letters in which McCord threatened to make the CIA a scapegoat in the Watergate affair.

With Nixon's full agreement, the CIA tried to keep the Federal Bureau of Investigation from making a basic investigation of the Watergate affair.

Helms, who was then director, personally ordered his aide not to investigate in any manner the relations between Hunt and the CIA. "I will take care of this myself." But, as with Nixon, the Watergate affair became a crossroads for the CIA: since Richard Helms, who was permeated with the recognition of his own value, did not want what Richard Nixon wanted, he was dismissed from his position one month after Nixon's decisive victory at the polls in 1972.

Helms' successor, James Schlesinger, was under no obligation to anyone in the intelligence community, but he also brought no pre-conceptions with him to his new post. The CIA apparatus immediately tried to hide information from its new leadership. This enabled Schlesinger to claim a clear conscience, when he said that there was no connection between James McCord and the CIA, even after he learned that indeed there was a connection. Schlesinger was then enraged, and began a "housecleaning" at the CIA. Within the shortest period of time, he discovered most of its illegal activities, and ordered their immediate cessation.

His successor, William Colby, continued what Schlesinger had begun, and ordered (immediately after Nixon's departure) an investigation of all CIA activities during the period of Nixon's tenure in office. Some of the activities discovered appeared to him to be of doubtful legality. He reported the facts to the Justice Department -- and thus unwillingly caused the present crisis surrounding the CIA.

The investigations by Colby of his institution did not remain within the realm of secrecy. Several congressional committees decided at the same time to tear away the web of lies, half truths, and secrets which had been woven by the CIA over the years. Richard Helms was flown in 12 times from Teheran to be questioned, and he was caught contradicting himself. Such contradictions were viewed by the committees as tantamount to lying.

In 1973, the proud Helms denied explicitly that the CIA had been involved in toppling the regime of Salvador Allende of Chile. Now, when he was confronted with the testimony and reports of his successor, Colby, he was forced to admit: "I think I made an error in that testimony. Perhaps a serious mistake." Later, he stubbornly maintained: "Who would have ever thought that the day would come when carrying out the orders of the president would be considered incorrect?"

It was also learned that on the eve of his departure from the CIA, Helms ordered the destruction of recordings of conversations between himself and Nixon and cabinet members. So comprehensive was the material, that the process of destruction took several days.

It became clear that in the departments of counter-espionage, security, and information gathering, there were files not only on foreign personalities, but also on suspect American citizens: on Jane Fonda and Angela Davis, on sex life in Paris of the black singer Eartha Kitt, on Black Panthers who had been trained in Lybia and North Korea, and also on Fred Buzhardt, Nixon's attorney. In contrast to all of Colby's claims, the CIA had gathered data on members of Congress; on ex-vice president Hubert Humphrey, on the Jewish leftist congresswoman from New York, Bela Abzug. Colby said: "We believe...that freedom should be defended."

Just who the people were whose freedom was protected by the CIA could be discovered in a book published at that time in England: the diary "Inside the Company" by Phillip Agee, who had spied for the agency for 12 years, particularly in Latin America. He had published his book in Europe in order to avoid the fate of his ex-colleague Victor Marchetti. Marchetti's best seller "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence" was censored before publication, at the urging of the CIA, in 339 places.

From the safety of Europe, Agee revealed, for the first time, the complete structure of the CIA. He described its activities during the period of his service in Latin America, he named names, he brought a list of those "employed by the CIA, its agents, and supporters, as well as organizations under its control and subject to its influence." Among others, the list includes: The Bank of England, Olga Clarici de-Nardona -- the wife of the ex-president of Uruguay, First National City Bank, and The General Histadrut of Israel.

Sometimes, the methods of the CIA exceeded even the most imaginative creations of Hollywood. For example, one day in Mexico City, the CIA agent LICOWL-1 (who operated a grocery store across from the Soviet embassy) reported that the Soviet Silnikov was looking for entertainment. Following this, the agency made

sure that a Mexican girl would attract his attention -- and the girl succeeded immediately. At first, the couple met in a room behind the store, later at the girl's apartment, which was rented for that purpose by the CIA. The apartment was studded with microphones and cameras. Agee writes: "Silnikov's virility surprised the girl as well as our agents."

In the name of defending freedom, the CIA used such ambiguous types as Howard Hughes, and even the Mafia. It was the NEW YORK TIMES which revealed the connection with Hughes. According to the paper, in 1970 the CIA ordered -- with the full approval of Richard Nixon -- a ship 100 meters long and weighing 36,000 tons. The price: 250 million dollars. The ship made its maiden voyage in 1972, from Philadelphia, disguised as a "research ship." Its real purpose was to pluck from the depths of the Pacific Ocean a Russian submarine which had sunk to the ocean floor in 1968, and was at a depth of 5,000 meters. Operation Jennifer was crowned with success. The 170 man crew (whose salary was paid by the CIA) raised parts of the submarine, and according to reports, technicians were able to learn from them important data about its equipment and power.

Even more doubtful than the link with Hughes was the link with the Mafia. For example, there is no longer any doubt that since the days of Eisenhower, Mafia people were involved in CIA plans to murder Castro. At the end of the 50's, when Robert Kennedy ordered an end to this on behalf of a Senate committee, a gangster from Las Vegas, mocked him: "You can't do anything to me, I enjoy immunity." And when Kennedy asked him: "Who gave you immunity?", the gangster answered: "The CIA." The "company" had done business with a criminal -- full pardon in exchange for help in the war against Castro.

It is also clear that Salvatore (Sam) Giancana (the model for the "Godfather") was involved in plans to murder Castro. The gangster from Chicago, John Roselli, related that one Robert Mahe, an emissary of the CIA, asked him if he would be ready to participate in plans to murder Castro. It seems that Mahe was considered by the CIA to be especially reliable in recruiting people: he was an ex-agent of the CIA, and later ran a hotel and casino in Las Vegas, both of which were owned by Howard Hughes.

To what extent these schemes actually progressed, which people were involved in them, and did the Kennedy brothers know about them and perhaps even play a role in stopping them (as one ex-agent of the CIA claims) -- all of these questions were to have been answered by the Rockefeller Commission. And for this reason, President Ford gave it a two month extension. But apparently, the Rockefeller staff felt that too much was being asked of it, and Gerald Ford also wanted to wash his hands clean. He claimed: "I did not order the Rockefeller Commission not to continue their investigation." Later, the findings were reported to the Justice Department, and he said that other bodies would be able to continue the investigation.

In this way, Ford gained a reprieve for himself and the CIA. But it was temporary, because Senator Frank Church and his committee finished investigating the assassination plans of the CIA, up to the last detail. Church said: "We have unambiguous proof that the CIA was involved in plans and attempts to assassinate."

For now, the CIA can continue to operate on "a low flame." By the end of last year Congress had passed a law, which was signed by President Ford, according to which the president was required, before any secret action by the CIA, to report the information and justify it. John Sparkman, present chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, asked the White House for a list of current CIA secret operations with justifications. He received it within a week.

To a great degree, the CIA is paralyzed. Tom Brayden says: "What happened to the Agency is a shame." He was once an important man in the CIA, and now serves as a columnist for the LOS ANGELES TIMES. He recommends that it be dismantled, and that its various departments be transferred to the State Department, the Pentagon, and the Voice of America.

But in spite of all of the criticism of the CIA, there is a decisive feeling among Americans that a country like theirs cannot do without an organization which carries out "essential tasks in intelligence for the security of the country," in the words of Ford.

Director Colby is optimistic. He repeatedly tells his aides that the CIA will work. With the increasing criticism of the CIA, there has been an increase in the number of candidates who are seeking to work in its ranks.

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