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Philip Agee and 'spy bulletin draw bead on Times, its editor

Last week, *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (CAIB), which specializes in exposing CIA agents, called the publicity department at *The Washington Times* and asked for a photograph of the new editor-in-chief. The caller said that he needed it then, being on deadline. This was the first anyone at *The Times* had heard of the CAIB story. CAIB reporters never called the editor. The following is the story behind the story of the CAIB and its activities, which this newspaper's new editor has been tracking for several years.

The CIA's best known ideological defector, Philip Agee, is the "godfather" of an international network of researchers and writers who specialize in disruptive exposes of U.S. and other Western intelligence agencies.

Their stories, undermining the secret intelligence activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, military and electronic intelligence endeavors, are picked up by magazines, newspapers and television in the United States and abroad. The U.S. television networks appear to regard the material merely as

"news" as do certain well-known reporters for some of the largest circulation newspapers.

Even that bastion of business and finance, *The Wall Street Journal*, has run Agee network materials on its front page on several occasions in recent years. In one of these, reporter Jonathan Kwitny used material from an Agee network group in Washington to suggest that compromising documents captured from guerrillas in El Salvador and released by the U.S. State Department, were forgeries. Curiously, the Agee groups have themselves been documented as circulating a noted KGB forgery of a faked U.S. Army manual.

Yet they have acknowledged that they have a "hidden agenda" — the destruction of the CIA and other elements of America's intelligence collection and covert action capabilities.

When Philip Burnett Franklin Agee (born Jan. 19, 1935), then a 10-year veteran of the CIA's Latin

EDITOR'S PERSPECTIVE

by Arnaud de Borchgrave

American operations, quit while serving in Mexico city in 1969, he embarked on a new profession — that of full-time saboteur of American intelligence activities around the world. He later described himself as a convert to "revolutionary socialism."

In his first expose book, "Inside the Company: CIA Diary," which appeared 10 years ago, Mr. Agee acknowledged the assistance of members of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, agencies of the Cuban government, and a variety of pro-Castro "researchers" associated with the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and other groups.

While Mr. Agee has acknowledged "visiting" Cuba, he has never described what "research" documents regarding the CIA the Cuban government provided. Neither has Mr. Agee acknowledged that his 1971 "research" visit lasted about six months, during which time it is inconceivable that he was not debriefed at length to establish the sincerity of his disaffection.

After his first book was published, he visited Moscow — a trip Mr. Agee explained as aimed at arranging details for a Russian edition of "Inside the Company." Mr. Agee has not discussed the financial arrangements he made for "royalties" with the Soviets.

But in an interview with Peter Studer, published in the *Zurich Tages-Anzeiger*, Mr. Agee said: "The CIA is plainly on the wrong side, that is, the capitalistic side. I approve KGB activities, communist activities in general, when they are to the advantage of the oppressed. In fact, the KGB is not doing enough in this regard, because the U.S.S.R. depends upon the people to free

themselves. Between the activities that the CIA initiates and the more modest activities of the KGB, there is absolutely no comparison."

Mr. Agee began to travel to various countries conducting highly publicized exposes of alleged CIA activities and, in a number of areas, helping set up and instruct networks of "new left" researchers and writers to carry out a sustained series of exposes and attacks on intelligence operations. His networks in England, the U.S. and West Germany have been among the most active.

In the United States, among the organizations supporting Agee exposes have been NACLA, the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), several so-called investigative journalism groups, such as the Center for Investigative Reporting, the Pacific News Service, a news service sponsored by IPS (with more than 200 newspaper clients), and most especially

CounterSpy magazine and the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*.

CounterSpy is the oldest. It was founded in the early 1970s by Tim Butz and Perry Fellwock, alias Winslow Peck, members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) who had served in military intelligence and the National Security Agency (NSA).

The CounterSpy expose concept attracted support not only from Mr. Agee, but from members of the National Lawyers Guild. The guild is the American section of a Soviet-controlled "active measures" front, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL). Two lawyers, William Schaap and Ellen Ray, had worked on the NLG's Military Law Project in Southeast Asia. The CounterSpy legal counsel was Alan Dranitske, an NLG member whose partners, now dead, were veteran members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), and had become paid agents of the Cuban government once Castro took power.

Mr. Agee's English group centered around *Time Out* magazine. Among Agee's London-based friends were Duncan Campbell,

Jonathan Bloch (a South African), Mark Hosenball (an American), Patrick Fitzgerald, Phil Kelly, Andrew Weir and John Aubrey.

In 1976, Mr. Agee and Mr. Hosenball, a reporter for The Evening Standard in London, whose father, S. Neil Hosenball, was general counsel for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), were ordered deported.

The British Home Office stated that Agee:

"A. Has maintained regular contacts harmful to the security of the United Kingdom with foreign intelligence agents;

"B. Has been and continues to be involved in disseminating information harmful to the security of the United Kingdom and

"C. Has aided and counseled others in obtaining information for publication which could be harmful to the security of the United Kingdom."

In February 1977, two London members of Mr. Agee's network, Duncan Campbell and John Aubrey, were arrested leaving the apartment of John Berry, a former army signals intelligence technician, who had provided the two with a long interview on the United Kingdom's electronic intelligence system. Messrs. Campbell and Hosenball had written an article on the Cheltenham electronic intelligence center, "The Eavesdroppers," in the May 1976 Time Out.

In November 1978, after two trials, Mr. Berry was convicted of divulging information without authorization in violation of the Official Secrets Act and was given a six-month suspended sentence. Messrs. Campbell and Aubrey were given "conditional discharges."

Mr. Campbell, who has been writing for the socialist weekly "The New Statesman," for several years, has made exposes of British-American military and electronic intelligence cooperation his specialty.

His most recent book (1985) "The Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier: American Military Power in Britain," acknowledged particular indebtedness to Bill Arkin, the IPS

researcher whose expose of nuclear storage sites in the U.S. (published last Thursday) appears intended to be as much a "targeting guide" for the U.S. disarmament movement as Campbell's book has been for the British "ban-the-bombers."

In the aftermath of the controversy over Mr. Agee and CounterSpy's role in the December 1975 assassination of CIA station chief

Richard Welch in Athens, internal factional disputes brought a suspension of publication several months later. In 1978, Messrs. Agee, Schaap, Ray and other veterans of CounterSpy held a press conference in Havana to announce formation of the "Covert Action Information Bulletin."

Mr. Agee, meanwhile, had other problems. Despite support from a trio of American lawyers — ACLU legal director Melvin Wulf, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Morton Halperin, leader of the Center for National Security Studies — who flew to London to help, Mr. Agee lost his fight against deportation from the United Kingdom.

Mr. Agee moved to the Netherlands where it was reported that his entry was secured with the assistance of the Institute for Policy Studies' Amsterdam subsidiary, the Transnational Institute (TNI). While in England, Mr. Agee and company had been involved with another IPS- and TNI-affiliated "new left" research group called Counter Information Services (CIS).

Dutch hospitality was quickly withdrawn and Mr. Agee was ordered deported. The Agee travels to expose alleged CIA agents brought expulsion from France, and the Italians flatly barred him from entering their country. Eventually, Mr. Agee married an American ballet dancer who had residence and a work permit in Hamburg, West Germany.

Mr. Agee called the British deportation order "political persecution." But at the time he also allowed that it might have "something to do with exposing a Western spy ring in Poland." He denied having done so.

However, it will be recalled that in April 1976, Jerzy Pawlowski, a Polish UNESCO official and member of the 1968 Polish Olympic fencing team, was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment for espionage. The Polish government papers stated that Mr. Pawlowski had been recruited by NATO intelligence agency in 1964 and that he had provided military information on the Warsaw Pact.

Mr. Agee had been at the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico under cover as a U.S. representative on the Olympic Organizing Committee. Mr. Agee has written that his assignment was in "spotting and assessment of new access agents." But it is not inconceivable that he became aware of Mr. Pawlowski.

Intelligence officers indicate that it was probable that Mr. Pawlowski

was allowed to operate for years so that his entire network of contacts and agents could be identified. Some reports indicated that more than 100 people were arrested in April 1975 with Mr. Pawloski.

Since 1978, the publication with which Mr. Agee has been most directly and openly associated has been the Covert Action Information Bulletin (CAIB). A year later, CounterSpy also was revived by John Kelly and a German, Konrad Ege. With its Winter 1985 issue, CounterSpy changed its name to the lower-profile National Reporter. Mr. Kelly remains editor. Both Mr. Kelly and Mr. Ege write frequently for the Paris-based "Afrique-Asie" magazine, published by Egyptian Communist Simon Malley. Mr. Ege also writes for the West German magazine "Konkret" which was set up with subsidies from East Germany.

The CAIB was launched on July 28, 1978, during a press conference in the Havana Libre Hotel in Havana.

The event was crowded with reporters for the foreign press who were in Havana to cover the week-long 11th World Youth Festival. The Soviet-controlled "active measures" event drew youthful leftists and revolutionaries from more than 100 countries and provided the Agee group with an opportunity to instruct scores of young leftists in the non-communist countries in techniques useful in collecting information on defense and intelligence installations and producing expose articles.

This technique is reminiscent of the Comintern's RABCOR networks (called after the Russian contraction of the words for "worker correspondents"). During the 1920s and 1930s, these networks, operated by the Comintern under the direction of Soviet military intelligence (then the Fourth Bureau of the Red Army) mobilized ideologically committed Marxists to gather information on areas of interest and value to the Soviet Union.

The old RABCOR agents were targeted primarily on industrial and defense technology; the Agee networks are targeted at the U.S. and NATO intelligence and defense structures.

A key feature of the 11th World Youth Festival was a "Youth Accuses Imperialism Tribunal" to judge "the crimes of imperialism" which were defined principally as "imperialist political, economic and military organizations and criminal agencies such as the CIA." The affair was broadcast over Havana television and was picked up by residents of southern Florida.

The leading founders of the CAIB publication — Philip Agee, William

Schaap, Louis Wolf, and former CIA employees Elsie and James Wilcott — all were participants in the Havana anti-CIA "tribunal." The first issue of the CAIB contained an editorial statement, "Who We Are," that was signed by Messrs. Agee, Schapp and Wolf and Ellen Ray and the others. It said:

"We are confident that there will be sufficient subscribers to make this publication a permanent weapon in the fight against the CIA, the FBI, military intelligence, and the other instruments of U.S. imperialist oppression throughout the world. Most especially we will never stop exposing CIA personnel and operations whenever and wherever we find them."

Louis Wolf, Agee's co-author ("Dirty Work"), lectured to "several hundred delegates" at the World Youth Festival, instructing them on methodology for identifying CIA personnel stationed outside the U.S.

with diplomatic covers. Mr. Wolf said his work had been "inspired by the victories of revolutionary movements in Indochina, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau..."

From 1978 through 1981, the CAIB continued the Agee tradition of "naming names" of CIA officers serving overseas under diplomatic cover. Most often, those designated as "Foreign Service Reserve" — a designation insisted on by the powerful State Department lobby — were fingered as CIA.

Although many journalists and, of course, the KGB, were long aware that a "Foreign Service Reserve" designation was a signal that the person might well be an intelligence officer, the names and the information were splashed over the press. Contacts and information evaporated.

But when the State Department ceased identifying FSRs, CAIB continued to expose alleged intelligence officers in countries including Colonel Qaddafi's Libya, citing only mysterious "sources."

The CIA's counterattack by lawsuit against those who violated its secrecy contracts prompted Mr. Agee and the other former CIA employees at CAIB to redesignate their roles. Once members of the editorial board, they became members of the "board of advisers." Passage of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act in 1981 put a lid on CAIB's regular exposes of CIA officers abroad, but the magazine has continued more as an outlet for slanted commentaries and smears of democratic anti-communist groups and individuals. CAIB stories dismiss the exposures of Soviet use of chemical warfare (Summer 1982, Number 17 — "U.S. Fakes Data in Chemical War"), accused the U.S. government of conducting chemical warfare in citing only mysterious sources.

Certainly, the senior KGB Service A officers appreciate the work of the CAIB and other elements of the Agee networks in defending the Soviet Union from having its dirty tricks placed for judgment before Western public opinion.

The Washington Times and its new editor-in-chief are now on CAIB's hit list. This presumably is because The Times has exposed stories that CAIB attempts to censor — by omission.