

Statement by Philip Agee

My name is Philip Agee. I worked for the Central Intelligence Agency for approximately twelve years as a clandestine operations officer. Although I was never assigned by the CIA to work in Germany, most of my work having been carried out in Latin America, I believe I can speak in a limited way of the CIA's intervention in the Federal Republic after World War II, and of the general pattern of secret American intervention in countries and regions that has been a continuous underlying feature of U.S. foreign policy since 1948. The general pattern of secret intervention, together with the various overt military interventions, such as occurred in Vietnam, must be understood, in my opinion, in order to comprehend that the acts of which the defendants are accused were acts taken in response to an aggressive American intervention in the Federal Republic and in Berlin, and particularly in response to the use of the Federal Republic as a staging area for intervention outside this country.

The territory of the Federal Republic has been used since World War II, and continues to be used today, for both the overt military interventions and for the secret interventions by the CIA. My remarks will be directed toward the cover operations, as the use of this country as a staging area for the Vietnam war is already well known.

During the late 1940s and early 1950s the CIA used German territory to stage provocative operations, sabotage and guerrilla operations in the countries of Eastern Europe. This secret activity is confirmed in the U.S. Senate committee's report on the intelligence agencies published in April of this year. In Book I of the report, p. 22, the committee revealed

that "Agents, mostly refugees, were sent into the East to report on Soviet forces and, in particular, any moves that signalled war. The U.S. went so far as to establish contact with Ukrainian guerrillas - a relationship that was maintained until the guerrillas were finally wiped out in the early 1950s by Soviet security forces." In another passage, on page 145 of Book I, the Senate committee revealed that the OPC, a part of the CIA, conducted "some guerrilla-type operations in this early period against Soviet-Bloc countries, using neighboring countries as bases and employing a variety of black activities", that is, activities in which the American sponsorship should not be evident. The principal neighboring country was the Federal Republic. Other CIA provocative activities during the early period included the establishment of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe and the launching of balloons carrying propaganda to the East.

These aggressive covert operations, carried out against Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during a time when ostensibly peaceful relations prevailed, contributed significantly to the development of the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s. Indeed the tragic rebellions in the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Hungary of the 1950s were in part the result of the CIA's propaganda operations based in the Federal Republic. All of these activities came in response to directives from the National Security Council to the CIA such as this one issued in 1955 and quoted on page 146 of the Senate Report Book II: "Create and exploit problems for International Communism; Discredit International Communism, and reduce the strength of its parties and organizations; Reduce International Communist control over any areas of the world." Although the more aggressive operations may have been curtailed, when the overall policy of

"rolling back the iron curtain" was finally seen in the 1960s as a failure, I am certain that the CIA would once again endanger the people of the Federal Republic, without your knowledge, should detente fail and renewed tensions ensue. As long as the CIA maintains in the Federal Republic one of the largest, if not the largest, system of bases anywhere outside the United States, the danger will exist that these bases at any time will be used for activities prejudicial to the people of the Federal Republic, and very possibly with no direct relationship to the security of the Federal Republic itself.

Among the various training exercises that I and other CIA trainees practiced at the CIA's main training base at Camp Peary, Virginia, was crossing a border strip typical of the kind that exists between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic or Czechoslovakia. Within the CIA it was also well known that the main CIA base for support to operations throughout Europe, Africa and the Near East was at Frankfurt. From here the CIA sent, and I expect they continue to send, specialists in telephone tapping, bugging, surreptitious opening of correspondence, photography and all the other technical skills. In addition, from Frankfurt the CIA sent regularly teams of polygraph operators to give the lie detector tests to agents recruited in the regions just mentioned. Finance and logistical support of many types also were centered in Frankfurt. Besides Camp King at Frankfurt, the CIA has used various covers for its installations and personnel, including the American Embassy in Bonn and the various Consulates in the Federal Republic.

Besides the aggressive operations staged by the CIA from territory of the Federal Republic and from Berlin against countries to the East,

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the CIA also used this country as a staging base for operations in the Federal Republic itself. These operations, known as covert action, consist of the penetration and manipulation of the institutions of power in a given country in order to influence events. The institutions usually targeted are the political parties and government offices, the military and security services, the trade unions, youth and student organizations, professional and cultural societies, and the public information media. Since World War II, I was told when still in the CIA, all of these kinds of operations were underway at one time or another in the Federal Republic.

Of course I cannot say with certainty that the CIA any longer has significant operations underway to subvert the CDU and the SPD, or the BND and the VFS, or the DGB. But these institutions in the past were targets of the CIA, so that post-war Western Germany would conform to American financial and strategic interests in Europe, and indeed internationally. But again there can be no protection from continued or renewed CIA penetration and corruption of German institutions so long as the CIA maintains such an enormous presence in this country.

Over the years the CIA has engaged in secret intervention in countries throughout the world. Indeed, the Senate investigating committee referred in its report to thousands of covert action operations. Today, according to the report, the CIA is spending 37% of its budget on these operations which are related, but quite separate from, all the CIA's efforts to collect information. Thus hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent right now to corrupt and control organizations that ostensibly pass for free, voluntary, non-governmental associations. These are the kinds of activities

that enabled the CIA to promote fascist-style governments in many Third World countries with the notorious repression, torture and political assassinations of which we all have read. A partial list of these countries would include Iran, Guatemala, Indonesia, South Korea, Greece from 1967 to 1974, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Chile. Without doubt the CIA is intimately involved right now in the violence besetting the people of Argentina and the political exiles resident in that country.

There was a time when most of us believed in the ideal of the Free World and the need for American protection, including secret services and military forces, from some imminent attack from the East. Later some of us began to understand that the word "free" in free world really meant freedom for multinational companies to exploit the labor and resources of poor countries for the benefit of some few privileged and powerful interests at home. These interests are those that have consistently been served by the secret interventions of the CIA around the world since World War II, and equally by the overt military interventions from time to time. The operations of the multinationals cannot be separated from the operations of the security services like the CIA that serve them, and these two cannot be separated from the territories within which they operate, of which the German Federal Republic is such an important part.

Neither can the defendants be separated from others on trial right now for similar acts of counter-violence and protest against aggression and injustice in other countries and regions. Perhaps there is a way to evaluate the damage done to lives and property in the acts of which the defendants are accused, in relation to the damage done by one single B-52 bomb load dropped on a Vietnamese city.