

## From Cuba to Southeast Asia, the CIA Has Been Wrong Consistently

(Continued from Page One)

Police." Critics, whether Russian or American, are *un*.

The Ochrana carried on not only intelligence but cloak-and-dagger activities. It had so thoroughly penetrated subversive and terrorist organizations that in some cases, as in that of the double agent Azef and the murder of the Prime Minister Stolypin, no one knows to this day whether it was the secret police using the terrorists or the terrorists using the secret police. Those who naively marvel at the CIA's use of liberal and left organizations will find that the Czar's operatives were way ahead of it. In Nineteenth Century Europe the ranks of the Anarchists were so full of Czarist agents that Anarchism was regarded as a kind of Czarist Comintern to subvert Western Europe. Kerensky in his own memoirs, "Russia and History's Turning Point," complains that the secret police in 1917 were "almost openly supporting the propaganda of Bolshevik defeatist organizations." Vassilyev in turn (like our own J. Edgar Hoover sneering at "pseudo-liberals") scornfully attacks the Russian "Liberals" (his quotation marks) for an "intellectualism" which "was absolutely opposed to the national spirit." For him, Kerensky was only a more subtle menace than Lenin.

### Only Good at Murder

Vassilyev could boast that his network had informers everywhere, including members of the Russian Duma or Parliament. It could be said of the Ochrana, as it has been said of the CIA, that it knew everything and understood nothing. The cops never see the underlying grievances. For them, their *nigras* are always happy and contented until secret agitators upset them. It is said in our present controversy that CIA should be limited to intelligence and its cloak-and-dagger operations curtailed or ended. But its clearest successes have been its assassinations. There hasn't been a critical situation, from Cuba to Vietnam, in which the President couldn't get a clearer view of the real situation by carefully reading the newspapers (inadequate as they often are) than by reading his CIA reports. The CIA has been consistently wrong. Clarity of insight is not to be expected from the weird col-

### Just Relaxing

"That reported Johnson-Kennedy rift got short shrift from the Kennedy brothers at the reception for the Democratic National Committee in the Washington Hilton last night. 'It's a myth,' said Sen. Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts. 'It's a mistake,' said Senator Robert Kennedy of New York, adding, 'I support President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey.' The reception drew hundreds of Democratic Party loyalists, a number of Senators and Congressmen, and, of course, the National Committeemen and Committeewomen who were 'just relaxing' after two days of speeches and serious politicking. But whenever the crowd was thickest, you were sure to find one or another of the Kennedy Senators."

—Society page of Washington Post March 11

lection of renegades, scholar-mercenaries, Ivy League adventurers, superannuated military men, glorified hotel dicks and just plain corkscrew types that bulk so large in all our intelligence services.

If an omnipresent and well-heeled secret police makes for safety, the Czars should still be on their throne. If what the secret police call "naivete", and others call the democratic or libertarian tradition, is the real danger, then the Revolution when it came should have burst out not in Moscow but in London, where the British were "naive" enough to allow the arch revolutionaries of our time to work, study, write and agitate unmolested. By all the rules of CIA and FBI, Britain could not have made a greater mistake than to give Marx and Engels asylum. The lesson that revolutions are not made by conspiracies, nor stopped by assassins; that you cannot suppress revolutionary agitation without crippling the debate so necessary to healthy change, is one that every generation has to learn afresh. We are back again to fundamentals. The CIA, the FBI and the other networks would exchange those traditions of which the First Amendment is the symbol for the practices that have sickened the younger generation in Soviet society and alienated it, as we are in danger of alienating the best of our own.

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