

Book Review

I Spy, You Spy ...

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The Craft of Intelligence by Allen Dulles. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963 Pp. 272, 30s.

INTELLIGENCE has all along been a part of the art of politics and diplomacy. In this highly readable and interesting book, Allen Dulles, who was until 1961 head of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America, therefore can easily go back to the Bible to cite acts of intelligence gathering. As early as 400 B C the Chinese strategist Sun Tzu in a chapter entitled "Employment of Secret Agents" in his celebrated book "Art of War" named five kinds of agents — a classification which is still relevant. His five types are native, inside, double, expendable and living. The first two categories represent "agents in place"; the "double" is an enemy agent who after being captured is sent back as the agent of the captors; expendable agents are those through whom false and misleading information is deliberately "leaked" out to the enemy; a 'living' agent is one who penetrates into enemy installations for the purpose of securing useful intelligence.

Routine Activity

Every government of the world — anti-communist, non-communist and communist — uses the machinery of intelligence to secure information about the strength and weakness of its opponents in international affairs as also in domestic affairs. (Perhaps in most of the countries the tasks of collecting domestic intelligence and foreign intelligence are handled by different agencies of the government). If a fuss is ever made by one country over the capture of an intelligence agent of the other it must be ascribed not to shock or surprise but to certain political motivations which may not be apparent at the time. Dulles records — and there is little reason to doubt this statement — that Khrushchev had all along known of the U-2 flights over the Soviet Union long before the plane with Francis Gary Powers was landed in 1960, but had chosen to keep silent until the meeting of the Big Four in Paris in 1960. When in the late twenties the Conservative Government in the United Kingdom wanted to break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government on the strength of certain materials collected in the course of a

raid on the Soviet Trade Commissioner's Office in London, the formidable Lloyd George, then in opposition, ridiculed the proposition characterising the documents as a "miserable abortion of a Blue Book". Lloyd George contended that espionage was part of every government's normal work and was hardly a cogent ground for rupturing diplomatic relationship.

Nothing Is Unfair

Minus its heavily anti-communist (rather anti-Soviet) overtones Dulles' book is instructive reading. His is not a sensational book but a serious and systematic discussion, in very broad general terms, of the functions of the intelligence apparatus in the democratic framework of the United States. The role of intelligence is so subtle that for the most part people are not generally aware of its existence — except in times of great crisis like the U-2 affair or the Cuban fiasco during the early Kennedy era. There is little to comment on the techniques of the operation of the intelligence apparatus because the adoption of the techniques is determined by the objective set. 'Nothing is unfair in love and war'. So long as the operation yields results beneficial to the country all tactics are worthy. For the same reason the same techniques being employed by an enemy country would be objectionable to the extent that they threaten to be equally effective. When the Chinese in 1959 broadcast with surprising accuracy not only the time and place of entry of the Dalai Lama in India but also the name of the Indian official who had been deputed by the Government to receive him, we had a foretaste of the efficiency and efficacy of the Chinese intelligence system operating against the country, a fuller confirmation of which was provided by the unusual speed, ease and familiarity with which the Chinese overran the north-eastern parts of this country in the autumn of 1962.

Dulles has illustrated his points by examples from recent history of espionage. For obvious reasons almost all his examples are drawn from the intelligence efforts of other countries. Those who would read the book to have an inkling of how the system

operates in the USA are likely to be greatly disappointed. Yet it may not be wholly without any reward. From the hints (which are far from being many) scattered here and there in the book one comes to think of the magnitude and coverage of the operation of the system and the sensitive efficiency it possesses. There is hardly any walk of life which it does not touch. Apparently the community of overseas scholars studying in the USA is kept under constant and close surveillance. (Perhaps this is nothing unique — other countries also must be doing the same). Dulles describes how the CIA had received the news of the impending Iraqi revolution in 1958 from the sudden departure of an Arab student studying in Arizona (the particular place need not be taken seriously). "As he (the Arab student) departed", Mr Dulles informs us, "he hinted to an American friend of his that the reason for his sudden leave-taking was that important political events were impending in his home country. A few weeks later came the Iraq *coup d'etat* which astounded the Western world and left some intelligence officers with red faces. This bit of information about the student's hasty departure, and the reasons for it, thanks to some good work of field collection in Arizona, did in fact reach headquarters in Washington quite promptly. Unfortunately, there it was viewed at the desk level, and quite naturally, as only one straw in a wind which seemed to be blowing in a different direction" (Pp 86-87).

Blatant Interference

There are also some very interesting pieces of information on how the Mossadegh Government in Iran and the popular government in Guatemala had been overthrown by CIA agents, Dulles takes credit for the action because he thinks the Agency had succeeded in foiling Communist bids to secure power in those two countries. This will be found difficult to agree with by all those who are not so partisan about maintaining U S supremacy in all parts of the world. When super-powers like the USA and the USSR are at work against each other in the territories of a third party

they not infrequently find it possible to impose one or the other's will. The Soviets did it in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere while the Americans did it in Iran, Guatemala and many other countries. Dulles describes the process of the overthrowing of the governments in Guatemala and Iran in the following words: "In Iran a Mossadegh and Guatemala an Arbenz came to power through the usual processes of government and not by any Communist coup as in Czechoslovakia. Neither man at the time disclosed the intention of creating a Communist state. When this purpose became clear support from outside was given to loyal anti-Communist elements in the respective countries, in the one case, to the Shah's supporters; in the other, to a group of Guatemalan patriots. In each case the danger was successfully met. There again no invitation was extended by the *government* in power for outside help." (Italics by Dulles p 219.)

If foreign governments arrogate to themselves the right to overturn lawfully installed governments in other countries merely because of differences in policy orientations nothing remains of national sovereignty which guides international conduct and the rule of law in international affairs. The implications of such a policy being followed by the government of the United States are all the more fearful because the U S Government

is at loggerheads with? most of the newly independent states and there was a time (there is nothing to prevent its coming again) when influential sections in the U S Government considered Nehru as a Communist and newly-freed India as a communist stooge.

At a Disadvantage

Dulles, who is the youngest brother of the late U S Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and the nephew of Robert Lansing, who was in his day also a Secretary of State, has had a long career of service as an intelligence officer. He was Chief of U S intelligence in Europe during the crucial years of the Second World War. He writes with knowledge and authority which few can parallel. In the chapters "Security in a Free Society" and "The Intelligence Service and Our Freedom" he raises a number of questions which deserve close attention by all those who are concerned with the freedoms of men as individuals and nations. It cannot be gainsaid that the 'free' societies in contrast to controlled or closed societies (like Stalin's Russia and contemporary China) are more vulnerable to hostile intelligence for the simple reason that much more is discussed in public and, as a result, finds its way into the enemy camp. Allen Dulles refers to a case when American scholars unconnected with the Intelligence Operations could produce, after a few days' work on literature published

within the U S A itself, such a remarkable approximation of the real state of defence affairs in the USA and "they were deemed to be so accurate that the extra copies (of the reports) were ordered to be destroyed and the few copies that were retained were given a high classification" (P 234).

On the other hand unless adequate information is made available, parliament and other democratic organs would be left without any means to exercise check on the performance of various departments and establishments. It is well-known that secrecy is one of the most potent weapons in the hands of bureaucracy in every country and democracy calls for piercing this veil of secrecy. In this country the bureaucracy has admittedly taken cover under secrecy to prevent the public from knowing of the many instances of inefficiency and bungling. In the case of many of the public sector undertakings, which have been almost invariably installed by foreign countries, there can be hardly much that is not known to the intelligence agencies of unfriendly and friendly nations. There is little to be said in favour of hush hush over such matters while dealing with the public in the country. Yet the problem of what should be published and what should not be remains as the danger of being subverted or overrun persists. Every generation has to seek its own answers in each country.

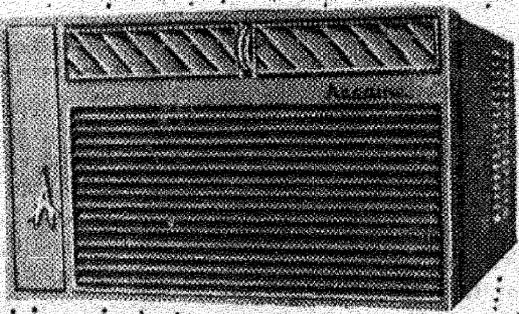
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