

THE CIA AGAINST LATIN AMERICA

SPECIAL CASE OF ECUADOR



Philip Agee
Jaime Galarza Zavala
Francisco Herrera Aráuz

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility
Historic File. Notebook # 2

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-SPECIAL CASE: ECUADOR-**

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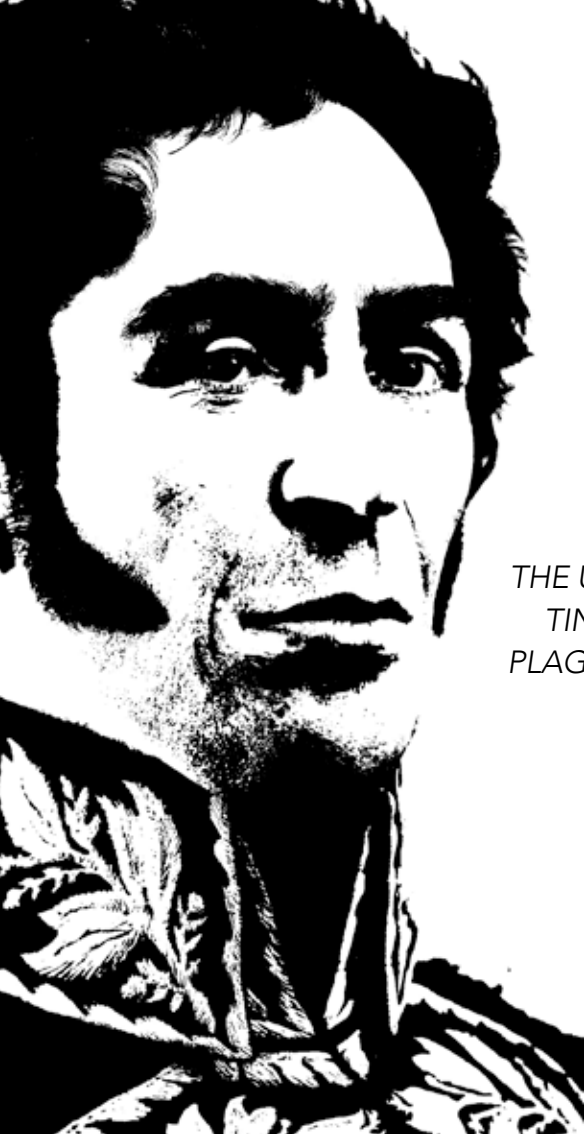
Text Correction

Graciela Mora Ramírez

Cover photo:

Philip Agee y Jaime Galarza en París, diciembre de 1975

**Quito, December
2014**



THE UNITED STATES SEEM DESTINED BY PROVIDENCE TO PLAGUE AMERICA WITH MISERY IN THE NAME OF LIBERTY

SIMON BOLIVAR
Guayaquil, August 4th 1829

Content

REASON FOR BEING	2
A NECESSARY GUIDE	13
First part	
JAIME GALARZA ZAVALA INTERVIEWS PHILIP AGEE	20
Second part	
SPEECH BY PHILIP AGEE IN FRONT OF THE ANTI IMPERIALIST COURT OF OUR AMERICA, MANAGUA, OCTOBER OF 1983.	52
Third part	
PHILIP AGEE: THE MAN THAT "TWISTED" THE HISTORY OF ECUADOR	68
BRIEF FACTS ABOUT THE INTERVIEW AUTHOR	107

REASON FOR BEING

In 1947, one of the most nefarious rules of the United States, Harry S. Truman, author of the atomic genocide at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, decreed the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency -CIA-, as the main instrument of espionage and political interventionism on a global scale, to consolidate the role of the United States as a great world power derived from World War Two and rival the other super power derived from the same historical circumstance: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), better known as the Soviet Union.

The CIA immediately got to work. Its two most notable actions during its first years were the overthrow in 1953 of the prime minister of Iran, Mohamed Mossadeg, who had nationalized multinational oil companies, and in 1954 the invasion of Guatemala by means of a mercenary army to overthrow the nationalist government of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, who had nationalized estates formerly belonging to the all powerful United Fruit. Since then, the CIA shed its bloody power over the whole world, frequently at the edge or over the formal political power of the United States, in collusion with the military (the Pentagon) under the diplomatic cover of the US embassies. That is what happened in the Republic of Ecuador, which calls upon a key year: 1960, and an extraordinary name: Philip Agee.

The outstanding thing about that year is the triumph of the Cuban Revolution through the armed insurgence lead by Fidel Castro, immediately followed by a proliferation of guerrillas in Central and South Amer-

ica, and a strong presence of the Soviet Union which supported Cuba due to their own geopolitical motives which opposed those of the North Americans. It was a new and huge chapter of the Cold War.

Washington decided to act ruthlessly, raising the flag of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, so since 1960 and throughout almost twenty years the continent saw a scattering of coups that included Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, etc. The script used was always the same: break relations with Cuba, persecution of "communism", interpreted as patriotic military sectors and certain sectors of the Catholic Church. Extrajudicial executions, mass persecution, torture, disappearances and political exile came to be the daily bread.

By the way, the emblematic figure with which the CIA kicked off this period was Philip Agee, brilliant and young operations officer that carried out a broad plan in Ecuador, Uruguay and Mexico during those years of terror, from 1960 to 1968.

Unfortunately, the fragility of the collective memory and the speed of the current technological changes allow for this recent history to be ignored and, in the same way, the presence of the CIA to be underestimated. Its colossal development runs alongside globalization, the crisis of capitalism, the oil wars (Libya, Iraq, for example), the desire for one-sided domination by the United States, acolyte of old Europe and oligarchies everywhere.

This is the reason being of the present publication: contribute to waking the historical memory of our people and Our America, if possible. With the warning that the revolutionary progressive advances in the continent make the CIA intervention more dangerous, through coup

conspiracies, buying off guilty consciences, deploying media campaigns and assassination plans. Fortunately, the continental waking is true as demonstrated by the uprising of entities and solidarity ties between nations as in the cases of ALBA, UNASUR, CELAC, PETROCARIBE and others, which are signs of death of neocolonialism and life of the new America. On this plane is inscribed the politics of the Civil Revolution and the action of the Ecuadorian Foreign Ministry directed by Ricardo Patiño Aroca. The plane of independence and sovereignty, clearly demonstrated with the termination of the northamerican base of Manta, the stop to the insolence of the multinational oil companies like CHEVRON-TEXACO, and the expulsion of northamerican diplomats that execute the activities planned by the CIA.

Only under that plane has the publication of this book been possible through which the permanent victims of the CIA –like Philip Agee qualifies Jaime Galarza Zavala-, can make their voice be heard and present their testimony to the court of public opinion, and now from a new Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility, that defends a sovereign, multiethnic and open door Ecuador.

Quito, November 2014

A NECESSARY GUIDE

The Present volume, which appears as Notebook No. 2 of the Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility, refers to the activities of the CIA (United States Central Intelligence Agency) in Ecuador and other countries, mainly in Latin America and The Caribbean. Notebook No. 1 was titled “*Eloy Alfaro, líder de Nuestra América*” (Eloy Alfaro, leader of Our America). It was published in October of 2013 and circulated successfully inside and out of the country within a voluminous edition of 25,000 copies for free distribution which was promoted in several national and international scale acts. It was the decision and continental vision of Chancellor Ricardo Patiño Aroca which allowed the existence of this broad reaching work.

Notebook No. 2, which will circulate in the same way with 30,000 copies, is composed of three parts, all related to the complaints and thoughts of Philip Agee, the famous ex CIA operative who died in La Habana on January 7th 2008 at 73 years of age. These are materials which maintain invaluable current relevance and freshness despite the passage of the years, turning them in true tools of investigation and work for the revolutionaries of today.

The three parts mentioned are the following: *First*: Interview with Philip Agee in London, 1975, carried out by Jaime Galarza Zavala, Ecuadorian writer –*Second*: Speech by Philip Agee at the Tribunal Antiimperialista de Nuestra América (Anti-imperialist Court of Our America), Managua, October of 1983. –*Third*: Philip Agee, the man that “twisted”

the history of Ecuador. Interview by Francisco Herrera Aráuz, Ecuadorian journalist and Director of Ecuador Inmediato.

Let's guide the reader through these three fields:

First part

INTERVIEW WITH PHILIP AGEE BY JAIME GALARZA

In 1975, Philip Agee, young northamerican with singular talents and personality, made famous when he uncovered himself as the ex operations officer of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States. He had not only quit years earlier, but also gave the seal a book that shook the world, particularly Latin American countries, starting with Ecuador, Uruguay and Mexico, the three countries where he operated between 1960 and 1968, carrying out the organizations plans of espionage and terrorism. The English title of the work: "Inside the Company. CIA Diary", was soon translated to Spanish as "Diario de la CIA". Under this name, the Second Independence Movement, which existed at the time, made a translation of the section corresponding to Ecuador and was published it in 1977.

From then until now, November 2014, 37 years have passed many natural, political and economic tsunamis have occurred on our planet, however, the work has remained with stubborn validity given that, far from diminishing, the sinister role of the CIA has increased everywhere as conjured by globalization, northamerican empire wars and NATO, the world capitalist crisis and its fateful fruit: neoliberalism.

Unfortunately, as it happens in Ecuador and other latitudes, the real history of the CIA activities is not properly known by the new generations or the general populace. Amongst ourselves, for example, save for revolutionary leftwing sectors, there are few who possess thorough information about the matter, while rightwing and its media servants try to deflect the public eye by labeling as paranoia any complaint about the conspiratorial and coup dealings of the agency and its multiple agents and local collaborators. It's enough seeing the rage of certain "independent" mediums when President Rafael Correa cast out, first, two US diplomats linked to the CIA, and then the ambassador Heather Hodges herself, provoking the fury of the empire and the belligerent legion that serves in our midst. From there it is best to return to Philip Agee, who tells us lecturing details during this interview about his actions and experiences in Ecuador during the three years he operated amongst us. It is true that half a century has passed since that time and many of the old agents have died or gone silent but, at the edge of their identity and their chaos, still live the methods used by the CIA both to recruit spies as well as infiltrate anywhere and carry out operations of sabotage, political misinformation and government destabilizing. Now with greater motivation than before, because if then the Yankees strived to isolate Cuba and stop the revolutionary danger derived from its example, today Ecuador and Latin America in general march on the declared road of the Second Independence, with revolutionary or progressive and nationalist governments on several fronts possibly being, happily, a road with no return.

This is why we are encouraged by the interview held in 1975 with Philip Agee in England. We later met up with him again in Paris, Nicaragua and Cuba, where he spent his last years, always contributing to the liber-

ation battle of the people, including his own, until his death in La Habana surrounded by the affection of the Cuban revolutionaries. Shortly before that, he sent us a letter where he expressed his desire to visit Ecuador, which he didn't see again since 1963, in union with his partner and his son born in Quito at the beginning of the 60s.

To start the interview, we want the reader to know that it was published partially by the magazine NUEVA, directed by the remembered Magdalena Jaramillo (Magdalena Adoum), and fully in the 32 page brochure in 1977 by the Second Independence Movement, brave legion of anti imperialist fighters, though short lived. Additionally, by reediting the interview, we must make two statements: first, the text is exactly as published in Quito by the aforementioned movement, and second related to the following: throughout the text, the reader will find successive numbers in parenthesis for it should be known that these serve as indicators and are grouped at the end of the annex titled REFERENCES, that serves to expand and update some information.

Second Part

SPEACH BY PHILIP AGEE, MANAGUA, OCTOBER 1983

After several years of armed struggle, the *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional de Nicaragua* overthrew the prolonged criminal dictatorship of Somoza imposed by the United States, and started a transformation of the outdated oligarchic and neocolonial system that oppressed the people of Augusto César Sandino and Rubén Darío, the universal literary genius. Soon after, the CIA unleashed a thinly disguised foreign ag-

gression and promoted a violent terrorist counterrevolution. Under these conditions, several people and organizations met in Managua in October of 1983, constituting an Anti-imperialist Court, through which they filed complaints against the Yankee interventionism in Our America and at a global scale.

During that occasion, Agee gave a vibrant speech against the politics of the empire and moved the audience with the story of the actions of the CIA, and his own, against several of the attendees whom which he strengthened bonds of friendship. Jaime Galarza recorded the speech which, in abridged form, is published for the first time.

Third part

INTERVIEW WITH PHILIP AGEE BY FRANCISCO HERRERA ARAUZ

As told by Francisco Herrera during the introduction of the interview, his effort to find the person persisted through several years, until he finally accomplished to find him in 2006 in La Habana, Cuba, where he lived out his last years, and converse at length with him. A sharp exchange of words, with no concessions, as beguiling to the great journalist who knew how to make the most of the occasion, favored by the extraordinary memory of Philip Agee, projecting the historical relationship onto the convoluted present where the spy and terrorist central of the United States affects not the globe as a whole but his own country, where it has become a super power over and behind the formal power.

An important point in the interview refers to the doubts exposed by

the interviewed regarding the possible participation of the CIA en the murder of President Jaime Roldós Aguilera, but explainable because, as he himself states, was unlinked from the Ecuadorian reality since the 60s when he lived and operated in our country. Conversely, another two Americans have been emphatic in their affirmations that the CIA was directly involved in the murder of two Latin-American leaders: the famed journalist Seymour Hersh and John Perkins, author of the transcendently important work, "Confessions of an economic gangster".

For all else, the aforementioned interview is a fundamental piece in the analysis of the CIA activities in our country.

Quito, November of 2014

Jaime Galarza Zavala
EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR
"LA CIA CONTRA AMERICA LATINA"
(THE CIA AGAINST LATIN AMERICA)



Picture, October 1975
Jaime Galarza interviews Philip Agee

First part

JAIME GALARZA
ZAVALA INTERVIEWS
PHILIP AGEE

We are at the end of 1975. I have arrived in London with the purpose of interviewing one of the most discussed personalities of recent times, whom the Ecuadorians owe more than one misfortune to. It is Philip Agee, author of **DIARIO DE LA CIA**, a book that showed up this past January.

Agee arrived in Ecuador in 1960 and served until late 1963 as a US spy. Among his exploits there are numerous cases of infiltration within the leftwing parties, in government bodies and rightwing organizations. At the time, the objectives pursued by the CIA were two:

1. The destruction of the relations between Ecuador and Cuba.
2. The overthrow of president Carlos Julio Arosemena, guilty according to Washington of nationalist waywardness.(1)

Both objectives were managed through the men, mechanisms and episodes described in Agee's book with lurid detail. In both cases, the CIA used anticommunism as center of all their campaign, wrapped in an incredible knot of lies, forgeries, terrorism, bloody acts and purchase of guilty consciences.

After the revelations exposed by the ex operations officer, several of the implicated people have been angrily defending their supposedly tarnished honor, while others have had the prudence of keeping quiet, and there have even been cases as that of ex-dictator, General Marcos Gándara Enríquez who virtually recognizes, remorselessly, having cooperated with the CIA.(2)

From here we get the need to interview Philip Agee, whose filed complaints the country knows only partially, for there is to date no translation to Spanish of the whole book.(3)

Additionally, it is of international interest to establish precisely the motives that prompted Agee to publish his book in editions that would soon reach the million copies in English, Italian and Swedish –the versions already published- , as well as Spanish, French, Arabic, Japanese, Portuguese, Dutch, Greek and other languages. The Ecuadorian people mentioned by Agee should be happy with this free worldwide advertising that has made them universal celebrities.

Is Agee's book itself a maneuver by the CIA? Another play from the northamerican imperialism? What does the ex agent pursue with his work? Has he really spewed vile slander or has he said defamatory truths? We all ask ourselves these questions that are now attempted to be cleared up by an Ecuadorian fighter amidst the fog in a corner of England with the only purpose of sharing key factual points of our history...

Agee accepts with no hesitation the interview, and states that this is the first done by an Ecuadorian journalist even though a great deal of his voluminous book talks about Ecuador. He later ads with certain humor: **"It is also the first interview with one of my victims" ...**

This last remark has its explanation. For the CIA, as stated by the ex agent, the most dangerous leftwing organization of his time was URJE (*Unión Revolucionaria de Juventudes Ecuatorianas*), whose the yankee manipulated reaction made it the main target of his attacks. Galarza was then the President of URJE.

The interview was made up of two sessions: the first took eight hours, where Age seemed self-assured, showing a jealously cultivated memory which led him to remember stories seemingly small, several already known by the interviewer whose participation in the revolutionary effort was always active. The second interview lasted three hours and was re-

corded. In it, Agee again seemed self-assured, answering quickly to the long questions he was subject to. This text responds to the essential pieces of both interviews.

While both were carried out, I was allowed to know Agee in a different way: his family life. Two sons born of his northamerican ex wife; the first, in Ecuador, 13 years ago. Rather serious boys, introspective, that seem to maintain a magnificent relationship with their father and the second mother that he would bring home: Angela Camargo Seixas, Brazilian, during his militant communist phase, a life of hiding, imprisonment, torture, wounds. Angela who is 25 years old, was an active participant in the student struggle against the dictatorship of General Costa da Silva.

The family atmosphere that surrounds Phillip Agee seems authentic, ruled by the unity around a destiny that warns of danger and revolutionary concerns which is impossible to ignore in this unique family that lives with no ostentation or luxury.

London, October of 1975

JG. There are those who believe that the governing spheres of the United States are interested in eliminating the CIA, given its loss of prestige, to be replaced by another hub for espionage. The same people think you may be carrying out a plan aimed in that direction. What can you tell us about that?

PA. Up to this point it is well known that the CIA continues as before with regards to its functions as a secret police. I don't think anybody who has read my book believes that I wrote it under order of the CIA. It is a matter of reading it to see the type of damage I have done to the CIA with the book.

JG. To better understand this problem, do you think it was convenient for the sector in the United States that, allegedly, favors the elimination of the CIA, for you to reveal the methods it used, because before it was not well known, along with the names that weren't "burned" and that have continued to play an important role?

PA. The methods that the CIA can use in its role as promoter of the repression in different countries are limited and cannot change much. I do not believe it is convenient for the CIA to have its methods exposed within the concrete facts in which they were used, because they need to keep on using them. In fact, I think that the CIA activity comes from the United States own dynamics. This means, it is the way to continue with the material prosperity that comes from the operations of US multinational corporations abroad, for there is a close connection between what the CIA does in the plane of political warfare and economic abuse. Naturally, I didn't view it this way before, but it is how I view it now. And the **CIA will not want people who can serve their ends to be singled out as agents or collaborators.** It will also not want me to continue, as I do, identifying and revealing names of people within the CIA, of career officers like I was, in other countries like Portugal, now, or as in Switzerland, England and Mexico.

JG. Speaking of the revelations that you are doing, have you heard about your attempt to demystify the CIA, but there are those who affirm that what you accomplish with your accusations is to create doubt everywhere, mistrust between others, at the same time waking the image of an all-powerful organization. What do you think about this?

PA. It is a conflict. Naturally there is contradiction when speaking about a dangerous force, trying to weaken it, and at the same time, explaining exactly what it did and its successes. But **the CIA is no more than a bu-**

reaucracy of people with certain capacity, certain experience, with money, with equipment, with people that can train others. *The CIA does little on its own; it acts through its natural allies, the revolutionary forces, in the countries where it does act.* The CIA uses the contradictions and the class struggles within the countries where it acts. **It is a mistake to think that it is all-powerful or omniscient. It isn't.** But there is sometimes a paranoia regarding the CIA when not placed where it should be. **It is a secret political police that acts through certain political and economic forces within any country, as it serves similar forces within the United States.**

JG. What can you tell us regarding the motivations that you had to abandon the CIA? Is it a change in political views? What underlying factors drive the attitude you take?

PA. The personal process of abandoning the work of the CIA, after writing this book and going forward on the same path is a complex process and, probably, I don't understand it very well even now. But what I can say is that after working in Ecuador for three years, and even before leaving Ecuador, I began to stand against the people we were supporting. **Because I was working hard on my tasks in Ecuador,** as you can see in the book, and we were trying to manage certain political stability so economic development would come and for the forces called "our friends" could in-state reforms like the redistribution of income, agricultural reform, etc. But then I saw that the more success we obtained in our effort to support the traditional political forces within the country and **to crush the leftwing,** the further away the reforms went, because the pressure disappeared. I began to feel certain disgust towards the wealthy classes, which were who we really supported. In Uruguay something similar happened. That disgust grew. But at that time I saw no alternative. **I simply became a bit cynical**

and did not want to continue with the CIA just so I wouldn't have to carry out those types of activities. Afterwards, several things happened. The last post I held at the CIA was in Mexico, during 67 and 68, as an Olympic Aggregate of the United States for the Olympic Games. After the games I quit and remained living in Mexico, but without thinking about doing anything regarding the CIA, nor writing a book, nor taking any stand. But during the first year that I remained away from the CIA I thought a lot and this was like a decompression. I wanted to write a book exposing the methodology of the CIA, as a way to contribute to the movement against the war at Vietnam within the United States. Because what I did in Latin America was very similar to what the United States was doing in Vietnam, just at a lower intensity level of repression.

JG. Does this mean your attitude is an act of treason against the United States?

PA. I don't think it is an act of disloyalty towards the country. The CIA does not serve the country. The CIA serves minority interests within the United States and those are interests only of the owners and managers of multinational corporations, of the professionals that support them, of certain politicians within the government. This is a fraction of the American population. None of what I was doing was intended to serve the black, or the natives of the United States, the Puerto Ricans, the chicanos, the larger percentage of the middle class, the majority of the population of the United States. What I did was to directly support those companies and the politicians that wanted to keep their positions. **In such a way that I don't see it as treason or disloyalty to the United States. It is a political act in favor of the people.**

JG. Changing the subject to your experiences as an operations offi-

cer of the CIA, it would be interesting if you told us if amongst the methods to recruit agents and collaborators, the CIA places special effort in the use of money, and in which cases is it normally easier to create a financial dependence.

PA. Without money, nothing or almost nothing of what the CIA does can work. **Money is the grease that helps the CIA with all it does.** Regarding how many agents work with the CIA, it can be said that maybe ninety percent does it for financial reasons. There are others that coincide with the politics of the United States, due to their own class interests within the country. In that case, money serves for propaganda and for all sorts of activities. The CIA uses the money as a very important control tool over the agent, who depends in great amount on the money received from the CIA. This they know and use the leverage of money to create financial dependence, so the agent will always do what the CIA says.

JG. Many times a CIA agent is discovered. You reveal several names, and it is always unsettling to know if that agent (for example one dedicated to penetrate the leftwing) once discovered, leaves followers behind. The question would be: Amongst the priority tasks of a penetration agent, is one to recruit new agents?

PA. Always. One of the most important tasks for all penetration agents within a leftwing party or in other types of institution, is to be informed regarding ones coworkers, not just so the CIA to know the capacities and plans of the party, but also because they are always looking for more agents, because the CIA is not satisfied with one, two or three agents. The higher they can get them, the better, so they are always hunting amidst the central committee of the leftwing parties. **For this, they not only use the reports from their agents, but phone control, bugs; well,**

all sorts of information, constantly evaluating who can be recruited.

JG. On another point, what are the relations that the CIA normally establishes with the intelligence agencies within the countries where it operates?

PA. The CIA tries to have an intimate relationship with the greatest number of intelligence services possible. It is fair to say that the CIA has some connection with all the intelligence services, outside of the communist countries. The reasons for their interest in this vary according to each case, but there is a governing purpose always: every contact of the CIA with the intelligence and security services of a country implies the possibility to control the State itself in that country. The security and intelligence services are some of the best sources of information regarding the political stability of a country and naturally the CIA can obtain information about what is going to happen from one moment to the next. But at the same time the CIA uses these services- we did it in Ecuador, in Uruguay, in Mexico- to extend the capacity of its own men, for the local services can do several things more easily than us (for example, the phone control) as an official part of the government, without the CIA risking its people. The control of travelers is another example. Some times the CIA does both things. We, for example, installed photo equipment in airports to photograph documents of certain travelers that are on a check list. But the CIA is always trying to recruit officers of these services as agents, using money most of the time, so these officers will be loyal first to the CIA and not to the government of their own country.

JG. Surely this collaboration, of the local services is what allows the creation of the LYNX lists that you reveal in your book, that is, the lists for the control of "subversive elements", which finally serve for selective

repressions that in some cases lead to death, murder of the people on the list. Do you remember any experience of this sort?

PA. Yes. One of my tasks in Ecuador was to maintain updated the list of "subversive control". In the beginning, we had 100 to 150 names on the list, but it was extended throughout the years, up to 300 to 400. Shortly before the fall of Arosemena (July 11th of 1963) I had been working on this list, it really is a whole file of personalities. The list includes information such as the following: full name, place of residence, workplace, places of entertainment, hobbies, woman's name, where you work, school attended by the children. This facilitates, for example, a quick arrest. This was one of the tasks of all CIA stations in Latin America, and I think worldwide. We got an agent in Ecuador: the head of the section of the Ministry of Government that was responsible for identity cards. By this agent we could obtain the basic data of any Ecuadorian, even with photos. The fruit of this information was provided in 1963 to the Minister of Government of the military junta, Mora Bowen. The government used the information for their raids against the left, arresting hundreds of people. They acted based on the information we gave them. It is even worse in other countries, where repression is stronger. In Brazil, Argentina and Chile this type of information provided by the CIA to the security forces is used by groups like the Death Squadron, the Triple A and other groups of murderers.

JG. You have given an important name. Do you mean General Agustín Mora Bowen?

PA. Yes. General Mora Bowen entered the government of the military junta in July 1963, while Warren Dean, head of the CIA station in Ecuador, was in the United States. He had taken a vacation shortly before the fall of Arosemena. When he returned, probably in the second half of July, came

into immediate contact with Mora Bowen, Colonel Naranjo (4), who was Minister of Defense, the General Gándara, member of the Board. Dean worked intensively with three senior government officials for the Suppression of the left and also to set up a whole new set of CIA operations, using the security services of Ecuador. And I remember well a program that was quickly put to march installation of new control system telephones, whose listening post would be at the Military School of Quito.

JG. That is very important, but General Mora Bowen made a statement in which he denies the accusation you make regarding his participation as a close collaborator for the CIA.

PA. I'm not surprised some or others deny it, because it is not favorable they are discovered as collaborators or agents of the CIA, but it is true that he worked with Dean, and I guess he makes his denial to save his position within Ecuadorian military.

JG. I want to inquire about a current matter. In this hour of the "energy crisis" when the OPEC and oil nationalization processes occur in different countries, don't you think that the CIA is deploying special efforts to control the situation convening with the oil monopolies?

PA. The CIA has actually served to support the oil companies. I remember well my first job at the CIA in the summer of 1960. I was responsible, among other things, to make check lists sent weekly from the CIA station in the US Embassy in Caracas, with the names of Venezuelans who were interested in working with the CREOLE, the local subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Then I sent them back any data on political background of those people, so no jobs were given to those with a history of leftist militancy.

JG. Changing the subject: Does the CIA increase tensions and conflicts between countries where the United States has special interests?

Let's take Ecuador and Peru as an example.

PA. It is not just increasing the contradictions themselves. They would be related to something relative to the leftist or national politics of those countries. Sometimes they could intensify the contradictions if it were convenient for the US political set up and, naturally, the CIA would be involved.

JG. Another matter of general interest: Is it correct to assume that the CIA highlights the differences and tensions between popular organizations and revolutionaries in any given country?

PA. Continuously in all countries where I worked (and I think this was a standard operation) I always tried to use the information collected to exacerbate existing political contradictions. For example, in Ecuador we have the case of José María Roura, one of the then leaders of the Communist Party of Ecuador. We set out, and we got it, he was arrested and discovered him coming with money from China to exacerbate the growing schism between groups Sierra and Coast Party. That's exactly what happened. Even more with Antonio Flores trip to Cuba. (Flores was linked to the group headed by Rafael Sierra Echeverría). We produced a report submitted by him to Cuba. Then when he came back, we stopped him and "discovered" the document, which was made public. Such trading is a way to cause division and in those cases there were expulsions of several people from within the party. It also runs using rumors of one person against another, any kind of documents, etc. The CIA always tries to weaken and divide the most progressive forces. (5)

JG. Speaking of divisions, you mention in your book that the manifestation of the FEUE in Quito on March 10th 1962, backed up by the relationship with Cuba, was infiltrated by CIA agents with propaganda

(Social Christian groups under Camilo Ponce Enriquez), to chant the demand of "More universities, less barracks". Afterwards you mentioned that this was successful in provoking the Armed Forces into breaking up the relationship. I ask you, is this the normal way in which the CIA acts?

PA. Yes. Although this technique cannot be used every day, when used in a timely manner is effective and can produce repression, because it is a way to provoke the security forces. Also, this may discredit the left. Furthermore, using these maneuvers, the CIA can also promote more extreme positions on the left, towards insurrection, for example, involving the entire left, including one that do not see extreme actions within their political agenda. The provocations serve to discredit the left.

JG. You mentioned the matter of forged documents. Lately, in Ecuador, circulate many forged documents, such as one that is attributed to "Ecuadorian Communist Party," according to the document, which was intended to be a circular instructing party militants to penetrate the Armed Forces and prepare the dictatorship says the proletariat supported by the Soviet Union. I want to ask if within the activities of the CIA, their techniques include forgery.

PA. Continuously. One purpose of falsifying documents is to insinuate or "prove" that the leftist groups, especially the Communist Parties, are pawns of the Soviet Union, as in the case you mention now. In a similar way, the CIA produced in Uruguay documents, including - I remember very well - a letter with the forged signature of Daniel Wacksmann, leader of the Federation of Students. They published a weekly on economic integration in Latin America, which we wanted to discredit. In the letter we make Wacksmann, secretary of the seminar, appear thanking the Cultural Attaché of the Soviet Embassy certain types of aid. (6)

JG. Speaking of Ecuador, you said in an interview that the CIA men almost managed to subvert order in the country in the years between 1960 and 1963. Is this statement true?

PA. I think we can say that we subverted the order in Ecuador. But it would be more accurate to say that the CIA supported internal forces that subverted the order. It cannot do everything on its own; it needs to take advantage of many people, agents and local partners. The CIA has to maneuver through national political forces. You can give money, equipment, and training, deliver their own experience and all the support and advice, but in the end it is the same reactionary forces in any country who take advantage of what the CIA can bring. Speaking of, for example, forged documents when Velasco government fell in 1961 and would choose Vice President in Congress, we wanted our paid agent to be chosen, retired Colonel Reinaldo Varea Donoso. Against his candidacy was that of Dr. Alfredo Perez Guerrero, then Rector of the Central University. We also wanted our man (who was receiving \$ 800 per month) to come into the Vice presidency, we did not want Pérez Guerrero to leave the University, because the Vice President was Manuel A. Aguirre who, in that case, would have assumed the Rectory. One of the things we did in this very intense period of the election was published on the morning of election news in *El Comercio*, which was attributed to the Communist Party of Ecuador, according to which he announced his support for the candidacy of Perez Guerrero. Our objective was to take away enough votes to moderate elements. The publication was made by Gustavo Salgado, columnist, and one of our principal agents of propaganda. Varea Donoso was chosen. Then the Party made the relevant denial, but it was too late.

JG. I understand that Varea had his sights set on climbing to higher positions and this increase his CIA salary.

PA. We even had the illusion that Varea could become President, but after the famous case of "Scrap Metal", he was so discredited that he really could not be saved.

JG. You mention Rafael Arízaga in your book as leader of the Conservative Party in Cuenca, and identify him as Arízaga's father Carlos Vega, noting that the two CIA agents were the most important in the Azuay during the bloody years of the anticommunist campaign. But really Arízaga Vega's father was Charles Arízaga Toral, now deceased. Do you have the wrong name? It was actually the father of Arízaga agent Vega?

PA. Arízaga Vega's father was the person with whom Noland, Chief of the CIA in Ecuador, worked. I was wrong in the name of the father. In my research I got the name of Rafael in the Ecuadorian Embassy in London. It is however, Arízaga Carlos Toral.

JG. Did they receive, father and son, CIA money for the anticommunist campaign?

PA. Yes. Noland gave the money to the anticommunist campaign in Cuenca. Noland went to Cuenca, but sometimes the father or son went to Quito. I remember well one night at the "Quito" Hotel, when I was with Noland and Arízaga Carlos Vega. Noland introduced me and we spent the night together.

JG. José María Egas, then poncist leader, has publicly acknowledged his collaboration with the CIA at the time, and mentioned the name of Captain Carlos Roggiero, also poncist, as one of the main links with the CIA. What role did Roggiero play?

PA. Roggiero was responsible for the people of militant action of the

Christian Social Movement. These people put bombs in churches in various cities, including Cuenca, Guayaquil and others not remembered. These bombs could be the lever for demonstrations of solidarity, because he blamed them on forces of the left. Roggiere addressed this, and yet I trained him to make another type of material for all kinds of terrorist acts. He and I went out often north of Quito, to a place where there were no people, out through December Avenue Six.

JG. Amongst the agents that you mention who have rejected the veracity of the complaint, is the retired Jorge Gortaire, current National Director of Tourism Colonel. What can you tell us regarding this denial?

PA. Probably the denial is due to the same reason held by Mora Bowen and others. But Gortaire worked first with Noland and then with me. I was sometimes in his house. For the Feast of Fruits in Ambato I was there in 1963 with my wife at the time, and my son, who was born in Quito. It was the weekend and his father in law had died, father of Mrs. Bacha, so he was in mourning. We fund a military academy he was leading at the time, and an in-law of Gortaire worked there as well.

JG. This Academy, did it work in Ambato and Quito?

PA. It worked in Ambato, but the boys came from different provinces. The Academy was turned into a hospital.

JG. Could you tell us something about the role of General Marcos Gándara Enríquez?

PA. The relationship between the CIA and Gándara began when he went to the military junta, with relations with Mora Bowen and Naranjo. Warren Dean manipulated this contact and authorized him to get other programs that the CIA wanted to know or do, or that Dean wanted to carry out across the board. Gándara gave the nod to the operation of

wiretapping I mentioned earlier, as well as better control of travelers. All repression was left in up to the relations that the CIA had with Gándara and the other two ministers.

JG. About the Ministry of Defense of Ecuador: Did your work ever link to the Ministry or any officer thereof?

PA. In the Ministry of Defense, most of the time I was not working directly with officials, but through others, like Roger Paredes, who was a retired lieutenant colonel, who maintained his contacts within the Ministry. José Vargas Vacacela, our agent in the Police, had enough connection with the Ministry of Defense. But when the military junta came, we started contact with a person I did not mention in the book, because I could not remember his full name. His name was Raul. I think he had a position in the Ministry of Information. (8)

JG. Was the job “Raul” did, informative in nature?

PA. Yes. It was he who was giving us information about the Ministry of Defense.

JG. Among those you mention in your book as close associates of the CIA figure Alfredo Sánchez Albornoz, banker and eventually Minister of Government Carlos Julio Arosemena. Then I learned that you too are convinced that his son collaborated with the CIA. Remember this?

PA. Yes. When the father was minister of government, I was in continuous contact with Noland, but when he left the Ministry I no longer had the need to maintain that contact. The son, Alfredo, had served as mail or contact between the father and Noland. Then I went out and in came another officer named Palmer in Brazil. I saw Palmer in Washington in 1966 and he told me that after I had left Ecuador, he befriended Albornoz’s son, and that he had served very effectively, in operational sense, the CIA station in Quito.

JG. Recently, the Ministry of Public Works officials honored, as outstanding telecommunications engineers, Rafael Bucheli and Alfonso Rodríguez, whom you mentioned as effective agents of the CIA. The ceremony took place at City Hall. Can you clarify us the role fulfilled by these as agents?

PA. The engineer Alfonso Rodríguez was in charge of networks lines outside Quito, while Bucheli was in charge of the plants. Rodríguez then arranged some extra lines from the center of the Mariscal to the house of Bucheli, who was in a closed corner, in a dead end near the street, on 10 de Agosto. For these lines and through those connections, conversations were directed to the house of Bucheli, where we installed recording equipment. Bucheli gave me the tapes and I went to people who transcribed the conversations. Incidentally, Bucheli worked with a third person who was also an employee of the plants. Bucheli and his subordinate were very active in the model airplane club.

JG. Bucheli and the others were model airplane enthusiasts?

PA. Yes. Once I brought from the US, in the diplomatic pouch, an advanced model, as a gift for Bucheli.

JG. Returning to Jorge Gortaire, I heard that at one point the CIA bought a car for him, a Jeep Land Rover. What do you have to say about this?

PA. This was in the spring of 1963, when we wanted reports from military barracks from the south, with a view to a possible move against Arosemena. Gortaire, as former officer, still had his friends in the South fittings and other provinces, like his younger brother, Federico, who was Chief of Garrison in Manabi (9). So he could move, we bought a Land Rover jeep, blue. Then he with his wife and son whose

name I believe is Jorgito-, went on a trip that lasted four weeks. He returned to Quito, we were all collecting reports and received the Land Rover back. Then we wanted to pass this jeep to Luis Vargas, penetrating agent in the Communist Party. For this, I gave the Land Rover to Molestina Pepe, who had a gas station on Columbus Avenue. Pepe and I managed a reasonable price. Then Vargas was presented to "buy" the jeep, but without Molestina knowing that Vargas was our agent. Vargas could then use the Land Rover for his work within the Party. So I could get closer to Rafael Echeverria and receive better information (10).

JG. Mario Vargas and Cárdenas were closely linked, for years, within the Communist Party. I understand that they were attracted to the CIA primarily by money. Right?

PA. Yes. And they had lost interest in the party.

JG. And what was the contact or link to them?

PA. The person who served as contact with them was Miguel Burbano de Lara, a man of great value to the CIA. He knew how to very skillfully manipulate these contacts within the Party. He was once Panagra Manager at the airport in Quito.

JG. Another agent to penetrate the Communist Party who was denounced by you, was Atahualpa Bazantes, who published a whole story about their activities within the CIA. It further states that he broke violently with you during an incident; it seems, in the Humboldt Hotel.

PA. Bazantes was a curious case because he had many contradictions within himself. He wanted to see a socialist revolution in Ecuador. He went to Cuba, sent by us to collect information back in 1961. When he returned, he praised the Cuban Revolution. For us it was a case of a

man who was working as an agent but not wholeheartedly. He had certain grievances with the party, and any case of people who worked for the CIA, especially within a leftist party, were contradictions. When I was about to leave Ecuador in 1963, Bazantes wanted to work with someone as a link, and no longer with Dr. Felipe Ovalle. To this end I managed to recruit another person who had known socially: Gonzalo Fernández, retired Air Force Colonel. So I believe it was in the Majestic Hotel, not the Humboldt, Bazantes subjected to the test of "pen" or Lie Detector. Then I arranged for him to continue working with Colonel Fernández. I do not remember any confrontation with Bazantes. (11)

JG. Among the revelations that are most important, the case of Mr. Jorge Arellano Gallegos comes to mind, for several years Youth leader and Communist Party Leader and also, as I recall, director of the International Union of Students, based in Prague. Another time, he joined the Rafael Echeverria sector as opposed to the direction of Pedro Saad in the Communist Party of Ecuador, where he has been playing an important role, to the point that within the current government (in which prominent figures are CIA agents), Arellano has been Chief of Staff of the Ministry of Education (12).

PA. Arellano was not working at the CIA when I was in Ecuador. During that time we were continually evaluating and Noland thought Arellano could be recruited by the CIA. Because Noland was the Director of LDU, and within the environment of soccer, had personally met Arellano, and had observed well. As Noland found out what other people was saying at the soccer about Arellano, and especially what was learned through Vargas, Cardenas and Bazantes agents, we always believed that it was possible to recruit Arellano. But they did nothing until I left the country.

Later in 1966, I was at a CIA conference in Rio de Janeiro, where they were all officers in charge of operations against Cuba. One of the people who attended the conference was Warren Dean, who was still head of the CIA in Ecuador. He told me several things they achieved since my departure. One was the recruitment of Arellano. Dean was very happy about this.

JG. In Ecuador, many believe that Arellano was recruited in December 1965, when he was detained at the Penal Garcia Moreno. Arellano was appointed representative of the strike. Surprisingly, at the time he left the prison, he left his companions on strike, and left the country in a suspicious manner, through a formal resolution that allowed him to exile. Arellano moved to Europe, and from there, in his capacity as leader of the Marxist Leninist Communist Party, traveled to Beijing, where he boasted as an official representative of his party. So when Warren Dean tells about this in April 1966, Arellano had been recruited, probably in exchange for freedom and exile that was granted. This recruitment would not therefore have occurred on his return from Beijing in 1966, when he was arrested obscurely in Bogotá. This is a fact worth remembering. You further note that he had been observed before the vulnerability in the case of Arellano.

PA. Yes. There are those vulnerabilities that the CIA is always looking for between militant groups and parties. These are, for example, the vanity, the desire to live in an upper status than their potential economics, resentment within the party, problems with higher common leaders in people who think their abilities and talents have not been used in accordingly. These are the indications that the CIA is looking like vulnerabilities. For Arellano, I think the most interesting factor for us, at that time, was his desire to live in a better status than its economic possibilities.

JG. In his book there are several mentions regarding the links between the CIA and the Trade Union Movement of Ecuador. What can we say about this?

PA. The CIA has been acting in the labor movements in many countries in what is called "free trade unionism". When I got to Ecuador, the CIA was working through the International Union of Communications Industry. Schneider was the man who at that time represented the union in Ecuador. I really founded the CEOLS in 1963, when I had to take care of union operations, the output of another officer. I took responsibility for the Secretary General of CEOSL, which was Matias Ulloa Coppiano to the Secretary of Education, Richard Vasquez Diaz, and Legal Adviser, who was Carlos Vallejo Baez. I paid the salaries of the three agents and subsidized all costs of CEOSL. At that time, CEOSL was a creature of the CIA. I really do not know what happened next, but recently read that the same Matias Ulloa was the main organizer of the National Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers of Ecuador. This seems very suspicious, because he had worked hard for the CIA and since this union sector is critical in the economic life of the country, it is certain that what you want is to control the working class in this key industry. As for the CTE, we were receiving many reports through penetrated the Communist Party or some other group agents. At that time there was an agent who was working in the CTE and at that time was, if I remember correctly, one of the main leaders of the union of health issues in Quito. I think it was brother of Police Colonel Oswaldo Lugo, another of our agents. With CEDOC our contact was through Dr. Isabel Robalino, but I did not work with her, but another officer Gil Saudade. In any case, the most important operation we had in the labor field was the CEOSL.

JG. Do you know if in the case of Ecuador and other countries there are points of direct contact between the CIA and the Police Assistance Programs AID?

PA. In public safety programs AID, police programs, the CIA has been very involved. It always has been used to put its own wedges into the police apparatus. When I arrived in Quito, we had a man named Robert Weatherwax, operations officer of the CIA, which was disguised as an officer of the Mission of Public Safety AID in the capital. He was a close friend of Jorge Acosta Velasco (also CIA). When Velasco Ibarra arrived in Quito in 1960, during the Velasco demonstration, due to repression, there were dead people. Well, who led virtually repression was Robert Weatherwax. It was a blonde and easy to recognize red face man. When he rose to power, Velasco there was a purge of Ponce supporters within the government. Then Jorge Acosta advised Weatherwax to leave the country until the situation calmed down a bit. He traveled to Washington, then returned and married in 1961 with a Quito born woman. Throughout Latin America and in many other countries, Thailand, Vietnam e.g. CIA uses public safety missions to infiltrate its agents in security and intelligence services. In Uruguay, I myself got to bring a CIA officer as part of the Mission of Public Safety (13).

JG. As for the IADB, I saw some links between this and the CIA.

PA. The CIA has officials in Washington who are in contact with the military group representing the United States. And these are continually advising Latin Americans who go to Washington to serve on the Board in order to become agents. I think that was the case for Gortaire.

JG. All right. I still have some things to say. A burning question is as follows. Why has the CIA not taken action against you despite the alle-

gations made, the publication of books and interviews, and conferences you give regarding their collaboration in various parties?

PA. I think this was an opportune time for my performance, because everywhere there have been revelations about CIA's dirty tricks. It all started last year with the case of Chile, if you recall (14). We have thus lived more than a year of these with these revelations. In my case, the CIA did not know what to do. For a time I lived in Paris in secrecy and feared something would happen to me. But I published the book, The CIA could not stop it. If something happened to me, the blame would have thrown it up. It is not a thing that I explain very well, but as my case is a little unusual, and the CIA in any form is not all-powerful, it did not do anything. And indeed they have not bothered me much about what I could pass into the hands of the CIA, but I continued the completion of the Book, performed research, wrote and now proceed on a basis of solidarity with people who are victims of the CIA. It has criticized me for revealing all these names. They tell me I'm risking death for all these people. In some cases I suffered an internal conflict to denounce certain people who work at the CIA, but eventually these people provide support and promote this institution, the stronger it gets, it can get promoted as the events that occurred in Chile. And that is against the people of the United States.

JG. A concern or suspicion some pose, is that your publications and denunciations are encouraged by money or to make lots of money out of this advertising scandals. It is assumed, of course, your income could be considerable because of the publication of this book and its translations. What can you tell us about this?

PA. I have tried to separate the minimum I need to live, the rest of the revenues I have begun to channel them into groups in the United States

and other countries that are acting on an anti-imperialist basis. As for what I'm doing, I follow the same last path, including other books, film projects, several other things. I'm not working alone. I'm just one person among many in the United States working to weaken these reactionary forces, these forces of repression, both in foreign policy and in relation to the CIA, and the interior of the United States: the state and local police, the FBI, military intelligence, the entire apparatus of repression that is growing day by day in the United States.

JG. The aims of this movement, all these links that encourage people involved with you, are they specific political ends?

PA. What I've tried to do with my book and try to keep doing is teaching the methodology CIA to victims so that people can defend their work better. Furthermore I want to contribute in the United States to the whole movement against internal repression and its extension out of the United States. This is an anti-imperialist program and, in my case, obviously, I see as positive the socialist revolution. And since I am an expert who has worked for several years in the CIA, I think the best I can do is to follow this plan to uncover it. For example, I would like to continue the study and the analysis of the CIA people who is working in Ecuador right now. I think this is a work of solidarity.

JG. If the current government of Ecuador or its successors, would offer you certain guarantees to act on the ground of these revelations, if, for example, a court of honor was formed to try cases of Ecuadorian accused of being agents or CIA collaborators (providing, of course, right to defense) Would you be willing to travel to Ecuador and face a tribunal of this kind?

PA. Well, of course. One of the strongest dreams that I have is to return to Ecuador, even for a few weeks, to visit places and also to teach

my eldest son about the country because he was born there ... For both children ... But on the other hand, I think that the work in the present and the future is more important. But of course, I am willing to work and to really focus attention on this type of intervention.

JG. Two more questions, somewhat personal. One is this: Is there someone close to you who has had some influence on the direction of change in your views?

PA. Numerous people through these years ... But it would be long to explain all this outside influence. Most would say that one of the experiences I had and has influenced me were the six months I spent in Cuba during 1971, when I went there to continue the investigations to allow me to continue writing the book I started in Mexico. There I learned something of the Cuban Revolution, I traveled many places, I saw many projects, I spoke with many people, I was impressed by what I saw because I had seen Cuba before, during the Batista regime. After 1972, when I returned to Paris to continue my book, I met Angela and formed a family with her and my children, here in England. She has had a serious influence on me, helping to get rid off the frivolous and superficial side of my personality. No doubt the influence of Angela is the most important thing I've had in recent times.

JG. The other question concerns the interviewer. I read your book and in the end, when you update the analysis of Ecuador, I found some data that lead me to assume that you have taken elements of my work *THE FEAST OF OIL*, to write that part. Am I right?

PA. I would have to apologize for that. Actually, I used your book as part of my effort to bring up what happened in Ecuador since I left the country. I could not consult everyone if it would be appropriate to record

the sources used by me. Also I did not think we were going to meet personally because when the book was given to me in Cuba, you were in jail. At the end these are unusual encounters! (15)

REFERENCES

(1) In truth the objectives were three, starting with the destabilization of the government of José María Velasco Ibarra, who began his administration with a strong nationalist tone in his speeches, praising Cuba, its Revolution, the Soviet Union. Within this context, the CIA, which supported ex president Camilo Ponce Enríquez, leader of the Social-Christian Movement (later the Party), tried to stall the rise of Velasco Ibarra, who initially maintained relationships with Cuba. One year after he declared himself a dictator, he unleashed the repression and fell because of people uprising in November 1961 where URJE played a pivotal role, students whose militants were murdered in Guayaquil, as was the case of professor Eduardo Flores Torres, leader of the magistrate. Carlos Julio Arosamena rose, overthrown two years later by the coup organized by the CIA.

(2) General Mauricio Gándara Enriquez formed part of the *Junta Militar golpista* that was presided by Ramón Castro Jijón which was also formed by the Generals Guillermo Freile Pozo and Luis Cabrera Sevilla. This dictatorship was totally submissive: it gave in concession an immense area of the Amazon region to Texaco-Gulf (about one million five hundred thousand hectares), whose predatory action is to this day, for over a decade, cause of botchy lawsuits against Chevron-Texaco, due to the just demands of the affected communities. Besides, he forfeited in Modus Vivendi the sovereignty over 200 nautical miles.

(3) The Second Independence Movement made its own translation from English to Spanish of Agee's book, in 1976, the part related to his work in Ecuador (over 200 pages)

(4) Refers to General Aurelio Naranjo, who a year before the coup of 1963, played an important role under the command of the United States. He was then Leader of the 3rd Military Zone, with HQ in Cuenca. All the way there went the direct flight from Panama of the Leader of the Commando of the South Pacific, General Theodore Bogart, who met with Naranjo and other military men. The next day Naranjo gave an **ultimatum: either President Arosamena broke up the relationship with Cuba or he would be overthrown**. The break up happened shortly after but the President was still overthrown.

(5) It was the era of hard ideological confrontation between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Virtually all Communist Parties of America, including that of Ecuador, were fanatically pro-Soviet, while China fostered within them forming groups to identify themselves with their policy. This rupture occurred everywhere, turning derogatory name "Chinese" and "big heads" with one another in Ecuador. Roura, Echeverría and other leaders formed the Marxist Leninist Communist Party (MLCP), which derived its electoral arm, the MPD.

(6) The Soviet Union or Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the result of the October Revolution of 1917. It collapsed and disappeared in 1989/1990, disintegrating the Union and separating itself from Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, etc. Russia was left standing or the Federative Republic of Russia, as it is also known.

(7) "The bloody years of the anti communist campaign" refers mainly to the period from 1960/63, where the rightwing, financed, armed and

trained by the CIA, unleashed terror especially in the fields, sharpening the hate towards “communism”, towards Cuba, taking root in the supposed revolutionary threats against the Catholic Religion.

(8) According to data held later by Agee, it was the General Raúl González Alvear, Head of Military Intelligence, who later led a failed coup in 1975 against the so-called Revolutionary Nationalist government that was presided over by the General Guillermo Rodríguez.

(9) This is Colonel Federico Gortaire, Cavalry Battalion Chief of Febres Cordero, who unleashed terror among the farmers of Manabi with the pretext of pursuing the cuatrерismo.

(10) Luis Vargas and Mario Cardenas Villegas, chemical engineers, militated several years in the Communist Party of Ecuador where they were recruited by the CIA: when it split they became part of the leadership of MLCP.

(11) Those of us who met the Major Atahualpa Bazantes, an important member of a leftwing family, thought that if he joined the CIA it could be rather to know their plans and management. He is not known for any damage caused in the camp of the revolutionaries, unlike the known and harmful role played by other agents mentioned by Agee.

(12) Jorge Arellano Gallegos was the right hand of General Guillermo Durán Arcentales during the triumvirate of 1975/78. He was closely linked to Eng. Enrique Medina Veintimilla, whom Agee mentions in his work as an Agent of the CIA in Guayaquil.

(13) In a book of great interest: “Legacy of Ashes (The History of the CIA)”, authored by the award-winning American journalist Tim Weiner, it is disclosed that the CIA, in the years he studied them, had a program that “carried out the training of 771,217 foreign militaries and police in twenty-five countries. Where he found the most fertile soil was in nations where covert action of the

CIA had prepared the ground. This had helped create the secret police of Cambodia, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Iraq, Iran, Laos, Peru, Philippines, South Korea, Viet Nam, and Thailand. In each of these countries the Ministries of Interior and the National Police worked closely with the CIA base. The agency also established an international police academy in Panama and 'bomb school' in Los Fresnos, Texas, that trained agents in Central and South America. Among the graduates were the future leaders of the death squads in El Salvador and Honduras. Weiner has documented this in his voluminous book of 718 pages, on August 15, 1962, the CIA Director McCone President Kennedy gave a document where he outlined ongoing covert operations in eleven countries, including Ecuador. And he said that "the document was classified top secret because it explains everything about the dirt". This is a good time to mention that President Rafael Correa dismissed in 2008 the heads of police and military intelligence with ties to the CIA. Right in that year the second edition of Weiner's book appeared, published by Mondadori in Bogotá. Colonel Mario Pazmiño, Chief of Intelligence of the Army, developed an active political role: he was present in the meeting in Miami that took place one week before the failed coup on September 30th 2010, and finally, he emerged as a spokesperson for the military that claims to be "Heroes of Cenepa".

(14) Refers to the Coup organized by the CIA, the Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the multinational company ITT, which gave power to the bloody tyranny of Pinochet.

(15) After this "uncanny meeting", Philip Agee accepted the invitation that, under the initiative of Galarza, was offered to him by a group of Ecuadorian students that took class in Paris, where in an open forum he explained in detail the reach and danger of the CIA activities.



Nicaragua, October 1983
Jaime Galarza interviews Philp Agee in the presence
of the Cuban journalist Pedro Martínez Pérez
and Sandinista Popular Army

Second part

SPEECH BY PHILIP AGEE
IN FRONT OF THE ANTI
IMPERIALIST COURT
OF OUR AMERICA,
MANAGUA,
OCTOBER OF 1983.

Meeting you at this reunion in Managua, makes me feel, aside from new political impulses, a profound emotive feeling, because, no doubt, of my previous work, which directly or indirectly, caused so many of you so much pain and suffering. Over there sits, for example, Jaime Galarza Zavala, leader of the Unión Revolucionaria de Juventudes Ecuatorianas (URJE) during the time in which I arrived to Ecuador in 1960. Thanks to many operations that we carried out against him, he spent years and years in jail, under the worst conditions and more than once. That was largely thanks to CIA operations. Over there is Ricardo Gadea, a Peruvian fighter, who also spent many years in jail after failing the revolutionary movement that belonged to the MIR, thanks to a penetration of that movement that I recruited at a time in Guayaquil. Over there is also Pírez Pedro Martinez, who was the head of the Cuban mission in Quito, Ecuador, when I arrived and took charge of many operations we raised over all the Cuban missions in Ecuador at the time. Thanks in large part to these operations, we expelled the entire mission. Also there is a Dominican fighter who also was jailed and was treated in such a way that he almost died at the hands of Dominican services, supported, trained and financed by the CIA. And I could not overlook Rafael Cancel Miranda, Puerto Rican hero and political prisoner in the United States itself for 25 years. There is also Sampairo, Uruguayan artist who spent nine years in prison in Uruguay, probably the worst in all of Latin America, thanks to CIA operations in which I participated in the 60s, which always pointed to the beat of the military in that country, executed in 1963. And, of course, here with us is President Juan Bosch, overthrown in a coup backed by the CIA and then prevented their return

to legitimate power in the Constitutionalist movement that developed in his country, all the military might of the United States (who invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965 with 40,000 marines).

This to name a few. I'm sure as measured by the total years imprisoned as political prisoners, this meeting would with exceptional credentials for the job you intend to do within the framework of this Court.

No words can express how I feel about friendship, camaraderie you have given me.

For my part, I have not been fortunate to physical attacks or years in prison, but I assure you that I have proudly been expelled from five NATO nations for my activities against the CIA. I just feel pride in Washington justifications for canceling my American passport, accused by Bush himself (father, former Director of the CIA) to be subversive and being anti-American; Like when the US mainstream press has repeatedly accused me of being a loose cannon rolling loose around the world, or a villain for all seasons, like a terrorist at heart. Until I was accused of setting the psychological climate for the seizure of the US embassy in Tehran (1979), and the burning of the US embassies in those days in Islamabad (capital of Afghanistan) and Tripoli (capital of Libya).

Le me get a little personal, because while passing years of effort by the CIA and others to destroy my family stability, prevent me from working and even cause me psychological crisis, I have been enormous solidarity from you and others, who were formerly my enemies, first being totally unknown; is the case of the Cuban Revolution, then the revolutionary and progressive wherever it has traveled; and that solidarity never ceased, it has been a support without which, who knows where it had stopped.

As one example, when I made the speech during the hostage crisis in Tehran, the then Secretary of State Charles Grants, he revoked US passport, a few weeks later I received an invitation to attend the first anniversary of the Grenadian Revolution and this invitation sent me a passport, since then, the only document that I have to keep traveling and keep working has been the Grenadian passport, there it is, see it. I propose here, right now, this Court sent a message of solidarity, especially to the Grenadian revolution, which was unable to be here.

Well, I would proceed to a few comments on the current situation and then to propose a specific campaign against the number one enemy of peace, I mean the Reagan administration and its renewed and revived Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA. It takes place this solemn audience **Antimperialista Tribunal of Our America in exceptionally difficult moments and when charges a first-order effect the urgent need to find ways of peace and relaxation by way of negotiation**, to prevent a nuclear conflagration of incalculable consequences for humanity. Reagan promoted and imposed the NATO countries increased their unprecedented military budgets, while it reached an agreement with its allies for the establishment in Europe, at an early date, of 572 medium-range missiles, decision which is extremely serious, adventurous and became a dangerous step.

In recent years, the United States and its NATO allies have been increasing their powerful rapid intervention forces, which are a perennial threat to all people of the world, and particularly for revolutionary and progressive countries and movements of national liberation. As part of this policy of coercion, threats, destabilization and aggression, with consequent increased international tension, imperialism has launched the

largest arms increase in peacetime history seeking alteration of military strategic balance in favor of warmongering NATO forces that have adopted a comprehensive program to its offensive military capability, and its strategic nuclear potential in their insane adventurism. This statement corroborates the fact of increase the development of cruise missiles and MX intercontinental ballistic missile, carrier thousand independent warheads, the development of strategic bomber BL, building nuclear submarines, as well as the retrofitting of 300 intercontinental missiles Minisman2, the production of the neutron bomb and increased arsenal of chemical and biological weapons.

From the economic point of view, this exorbitant career in increasing military expenditure involved an investment expenses in this connection in the past year some 650 billion, equivalent to more than 1.7 billion dollars a day. This policy of creating an impressive military force to try to resolve imperialist violence, difficult and complex issues affecting the world today, has been what has brought humanity to an arms race that puts seriously endanger peace and the very survival of man, and whose socio-economic consequences mean a weight that overwhelms the crisis that the world is torn and deeply impact in third world countries.

The Reagan administration is guilty of the dangers and evils that threaten us; him, subjecting people to the most frightful misery, causing the abyss of backwardness engulfing the developing world. **It is the capitalist system itself, carrying the profound crisis in the international economy, the devastating wars and the mad arms race, which now puts the world about nuclear apocalypse.**

Hence the urgent need to advance the difficult process of disarmament and strengthen peace and security that our people are demanding

to, in a climate of peace, devoted to economic and social development that demands the secular backwardness found.

It is the capitalist system that causes that in the world today there are 570 million hungry people, 800 million illiterate adults, 1.5 billion of human beings deprived of medical care, 1.7 billion people with a life expectancy of less than 60 years, 1.3 billion people with incomes of less than \$ 90 per year, 30 million crammed into inadequate housing, 200 million children do not attend school, and more than 1.1 billion unemployed.

We strongly denounce these amazing excesses, the looting of the wealth and resources of people, exploitation of the working masses, the infamous racial discrimination, the deformation of national culture and all the crimes against humanity committed daily in the shadow of guns and imperialist bayonets.

The madcap attempt to repeat this, the historical process through a counterrevolutionary and anti-Communist crusade worldwide, which identifies the United States as the most aggressive and oppressive force of our time, incapacitates the current rulers of the United States to assume true realism the irreversible nature of social change and address the dilemmas posed by the calm and **steady desire for independence and justice, undertaken by people such as Nicaragua and Cuba, the popular insurgency of the Salvadoran people and the growing patriotic struggle of the people of Guatemala.**

We denounce the aggressive and exploitative policies of the government of the United States, which is further characterized by their selfish ends, your cynicism and lies to try in vain to confuse international public opinion, when the truth is that his bloodthirsty and fascist political attempt to stop the march of the people to conquer their sacred and

inalienable rights of independence, sovereignty and social justice.

But, doesn't US imperialism commit monstrous crimes on American soil? Carrying out brutal racial discrimination against African American people and Hispanic minorities, Indian, Puerto Rican and millions of people, victims of poverty, terror, vice, corruption and other ills prevailing in the United States?

The national liberation movements have historical and real causes that fully justify the inalienable right of people to enjoy a better future. The degrading and unbearable environmental structures prevailing in several Central American and Caribbean countries require a change they should not wait any longer. It is a claim to the appalling conditions of hunger, illiteracy, poor health, backwardness and misery of the people of the area, imposed by the capitalist system of exploitation and sustained by imperialism and bloody tyrannies that show terror in these lands.

This shows the fallacy of the administration of Ronald Reagan, trying to attribute called East-West confrontation in this state of affairs. Mr. Reagan and his advisers appeal to the grossest slanders and take hold of the grossest to try to characterize the political situation in Central America and the Caribbean and project his performance in the area in that sense formulas. They claim that the revolutionary explosion that shook the region due to the subversive work of the Cuban Revolution. It's unspeakable behavior of those who seek to ignore the history of all kinds of attacks that have gestated, funded and supported the rulers of the United States to destroy Cuba and its socialist revolution.

The profound political, economic and social crisis of the world requires US willingness to sit at the table of negotiations, as it claimed all people, and has been repeated many times by the international commu-

nity; a table for serious negotiations, which comprehensively addresses situations that affect humanity; has always found, however, the rejection of imperialism, that given the urgency of a policy of *detente*, cooperation, disarmament and peace, wielding the weapon of conflict, blackmail, armaments and war.

The doors of the people are not closed to realistic dialogue and unconditional negotiations, but also serve as a shield against aggression and Yankee arrogance, as the policy of peace you crave our people does not mean giving up its legitimate rights and organize to be able to resist, reject and defeat the imperialist aggressors.

A brief overview of the situation in Central America and the Caribbean, which is attached to what is happening elsewhere in the world, allows us to observe that aggressive, arrogant and criminal policy of US imperialism, aggravated by the current administration governs in Washington, is a foreign policy of global nature, subject to the most absurd and the most unacceptable defects arbitrariness. In the case of Central America and the Caribbean, this imperialist policy, it also features supported by theories such as the Monroe Doctrine and the "manifest destiny".

Has not repeated Reagan who is entitled to intervene in the affairs of Central America, because this area is closer to Texas, Texas to Massachusetts?

As the facts have revealed, United States pushes for war against Nicaragua to its fans and rulers of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador, while trying to do the same with Costa Rica. For these purposes, makes a great military, naval and air deployment in the Atlantic and the Pacific, and simultaneously uses pressures and economic, diplomatic and political aggression. And as if all that was not enough, it has allocated substantial sums to the Central Intelligence Agency, as well as airplanes

and war material, with criminal intent to destabilize and overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

We note with concern how extraordinary increases for days Yankee aggressive escalation. It was late last year (1982) and there was a monstrous fact when as a result of the actions of counterrevolutionary bands, a helicopter evacuating from the area of conflict... 72 innocent children were killed. We have since witnessed countless stories, registered in the north and south of Nicaragua by planes from Honduras and Costa Rica.

Nicaragua has also suffered the consequences of closing the financing of some international organizations and transnational credit corporations, there's been difficulty providing medical supplies and economic threats of all kinds. It is absolutely clear that aircraft from Honduras and Costa Rica, have made criminal attacks, as the attack on Peñas Blancas, counterrevolutionary actions happening at the border town of El Naranjo, as well as the latest attack at Managua port, the port of Corinto, port Sandino and many other attacks that have taken place recently.

The world knows indignantly about the virtual blockade suffered by Nicaragua, military bases, troops, ships and warplanes screened. At this very moment a violent attack is developed from existing databases in the territory of Honduras and Costa Rica.

Thousands of National Guardsmen trained, trained and advised by American officials, harass the homeland and viciously murder civilians, trying futilely to occupy a piece of Nicaraguan territory.

The energetic, brave and strong statement from the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, poses a clear and precise policy of Mr. Reagan and his administration.

Nicaragua is under attack from the north and south of the country and its strategic economic objectives are targets of a criminal enemy, from air, sea and land.

The responsibility for the consequences of these events lies within the US imperialism in its Central Intelligence Agency and satellite area.

In Nicaragua there is infighting and civil war, but external aggression, aimed at overthrowing the national reconstruction process and to prevent the consolidation of the Sandinista revolution. This interventionist Yankee aggression is not the first time that takes place on the continent, as everyone knows, has suffered more than an onslaught of violent and brutal monstrosity. But as pointed out by Commander of the Revolution, Daniel Ortega, the people of Sandino is prepared to face the enemy, reject and overcome the price if necessary.

An intervention in Central America and the Caribbean represent a huge historical mistake, in addition to provoke a continental and global seizure of incalculable proportions.

Very serious is the genocide that occurs in El Salvador, interference of US imperialism occurs in the most criminal way, the full support of a genocidal regime that has killed tens of thousands of people trying vainly to crush the desire for freedom of a whole and its brave and heroic vanguard people, the FMLN FDS. Jets take off from Salvadoran territory to bomb villages and Nicaraguan facilities. This situation shows that everything that makes America in Central America and the Caribbean is aimed to overthrow the Sandinista government and drown in blood the heroic struggle that has successfully been developing the people of the region. The problem of El Salvador is a crucial point in the regional conflict. The FMLN-FDS has reiterated

its willingness to dialogue and negotiation leading to the settlement. The government of Guatemala, after the last military coup, designed and directed by the Reagan administration, is committed to revive the Central American Defense Council, called CONDECA, to throw against Nicaragua. The struggle of the people of Guatemala and its vanguard, the Guatemalan Revolutionary Union, which every day becomes stronger, will be able to impose over the dictatorships in power, that show no mercy for the people.

For the Reagan administration, the sordid and shocking chain of hostile acts, aggression and threats committed against Cuba is not accountable, including monstrous sabotage, the criminal economics, plans to assassinate Cuban leaders, usurpation of territory occupied by the Guantanamo naval base, aerial espionage, introduction of pests and diseases to the economy and population, openly flouting the basic norm of civilized coexistence among states, encourage piracy and terrorism as well as countless sequence of statements and threats, military maneuvers intimidation and attempts to destabilize the country, which have become of extraordinary virulence in recent times. However, Mr. Reagan, with utter cynicism, raised the specter of an alleged rearming Cuba and tried to present it as a threat to peace in the region; the reality is that they, the United States has rearmed its forces and brandished false accusations.

No. It's not Cuba who destabilizes Central America in alleged subversive action, but the same US imperialism that has imposed atrocious governments and ruthless exploitation systems in the region and the world, which rejects any political agreement on El Salvador, and cowardly assaults Nicaragua, and hypocritically hides the genocidal barbarism of

its acts and their accomplices, while it prepares for military intervention.

Within the panorama of the situation and encouraging the dependency to US imperialism, we find the case of Puerto Rico, a colony of the United States to which the international community has recognized the right to self-determination and Reagan append intended more as a state of the United States. We must speak out in favor of the aspirations of the Panamanian government and people in their struggle for the implementation of agreements Torrijos-Carter 1977 on the Canal which the Reagan administration is now trying to ignore. Also, in favor of the brotherly people of Suriname, who continue to suffer from multiple destabilizing actions by the government of the United States, in order to truncate the process of social transformation and national deliberation already on its way over there.

It is no secret that the Reagan plan is aimed primarily at increasing the Yankee investments in the Caribbean watershed governments to impose areas, certain guarantees and privileges, in order to enhance the penetration and domination of US capitalism and accentuate the economic dependence of these countries. It is also noticeable the connivance of the United States in Southern Africa, the action of the Pretoria regime continues its policy of keeping the South African black people under the most ferocious oppression, exploitation and racial discrimination that history has ever known.

It is well known the increased repression by the apartheid regime that violates the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. We all know that the US government is primarily responsible for this policy and dirty and brutal dilatory maneuvers and pressures, as we know that, sooner or later, the people of South Africa and its vanguard,

the African National Congress, ANC will gain the final victory.

The illegal occupation of part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola by South African troops severely increases the tension and endangers a broader escalation in that region. Repeatedly, the international community has demanded the withdrawal of these invading troops and to put an end to the illegal occupation of the territory of Namibia, but the response from Washington and Pretoria has been the so-called theory of the connection, called Lintech, between Namibia independence and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola internationalists, who are in the country at the express request of the legitimate Angolan government, and that in any way may be linked to the independence of Namibia, which has been recognized by countries of the front line, the OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned countries and the very organization of the United Nations.

The United States more than once prevented the fulfillment of agreements to recognize the right of the Namibian people to independence, and conversely, adding fuel to the fire to increase the aggressive and terrorist actions against countries in the front line: Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania, as well as other independent countries in Africa that have exemplarily resisted attacks of all kinds.

But this won't be reason to reverse the noble struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the SUAPO as their sole and legitimate representative.

Thanks to the support that Israel receives from the United States, it has become an aggressive military force to consider, having unleashed a brutal policy of expansion and domination of the Arab people in general and the liquidation of the Palestinian people in particular and its legiti-

mate representation, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the PLO.

With extraordinary concern we observe how the hazard of not resolving the dramatic situation in the Middle East increases when US forces were established on Lebanese soil under the coverage and have been active in the battles that were fought in Lebanon.

This is how that sister nation, which suffered the aggression of the Israeli fascists who remain in its territory, have also had to face the aggression of the United States.

There is no peace in the Middle East because the United States does not want to, and support the requirements, blackmail and aggression of Zionism against the Palestinian people and the Arab people, as happened in Lebanon, where whole neighborhoods inhabited by Palestinians and camps as Sabra and Shatila were put to the sword.

The imperialists try to snatch the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to live in peace and occupy its rightful place among the independent states. The Yankee presence and nefarious influence is also felt in Southeast Asia, a region where imperialism and its entire military suffered a crushing defeat.

The People's Republic of Korea also suffers imperialist interference which becomes an obstacle to achieve peaceful reunification.

Everything we have said is a living and irrefutable testimony to the condition that has US imperialism as enemy of peace. Conspires against peace in the unbridled arms race, in its insane effort to encourage nuclear war, promote flashpoints and war worldwide; to deepen increasingly the exploitation of people to plunge them into abject poverty; in the imperialist support for genocidal, racist and fascist regimes in the world; in fact it proclaims as their best friends to racist Pretoria and international

Zionism, in the imperialist opposition to the new international economic order; in his rejection of peaceful settlement of international disputes; and establishing as the real power in the United States, the military industrial complex and have to handy crime agencies such as the Central Intelligence Agency, CIA ...

US imperialism is the great enemy of peace. A solid trench struggle against imperialism will be invincible if we are able to unite our efforts, above all that we can distinguish, even including philosophical or religious beliefs; to be able to avoid war and expansionism that so painfully has cost to the people of this hemisphere.

On an occasion like this we should join Sandinista fighters who defend with honor the sacred soil of their homeland; Salvadoran fighters with exemplary courage facing the might of the empire, showing extraordinary fighting ability; Guatemalan patriots, whose long tradition of struggle against the genocidal regimes imposed by the United States, has the recognition of humanity to all people claiming their rights.

It has never been resigned submission, cowardice, passivity or defeatism, the thing that has characterized the humanity.

Today more than ever, we cast an urgent demand to confront the imperialist aggressor, **with unitary sense and courage firmly convinced that the sacrifices of today will be the guarantees of our historic achievements and hopes for a future of justice and happiness for our people.**



Interview by Francisco Herrera Aráuz
Journalist, Director
of ECUADORINMEDIATO.COM
La Habana: February 2006 (Ecuamex).-

Third part

PHILIP AGEE: THE MAN
THAT “TWISTED” THE
HISTORY OF ECUADOR

I was chasing this interview for 30 years. It was in 1977, while spending time in the classroom of the “Mejía” that one of the classmates that was most influential in my political upbringing, Pedro Saad Vargas, today a renowned theater playwright, gave me a “clandestine” book that made the rounds within the political circle at Quito. It was an extract of “La CIA por dentro – Objetivo Ecuador”. The book “Inside the Company” written by the american Philip Agee in 1976, had made its way to Ecuador in a surreptitious manner, despite the fact that a good portion of it referred to our nation, as it told in an impressive manner how the history of the country had been “twisted”. It was repulsive to read in those days how low the fall was of those who sold their country, and at that time they were names that sounded up to date, that were active in Ecuadorian politics, they were the holders of morals and promoted the “return to the constituted order”.

As many of you know I began as a television reporter in 1979, and my journalistic activity took me close to many whom were “contacted”, or vulgarly known as “agents of the CIA”. I had the righteousness to confront several of them regarding their sad past, and the answers were marked with the cowardliness of being caught, but they tried to justify themselves saying “at the times... you see, maybe we were understood”, but they admitted to have “sold themselves to the CIA”, and had betrayed their country.

Today, most are dead, and I believe of all that were named only two or three survive, whom must carry, along with their old age, a past wrought with betrayal, the most ignoble of human gestures, and there is no shame in revealing their names, as there is none in accusing the memory of the dead, for with their attitude they brought harm, provoked murders, destroyed others’ homes and divided the country. That is, they

“twisted” the history of Ecuador, and that must be known. For this reason, to prove what was said, I was interested in interviewing Philip Agee, because from what he wrote spawned a series of historical happenings for Ecuador, and because my drive towards the true history of the nation merited it to be documented with his own testimony, so it won't be lost or let the trail become cold.

I searched for him for years. Strangely they had disappeared, both the book as well as the agent. The book was “forbidden” in Ecuador, so to speak. Almost nobody has read it in its English version, despite the global impact it caused with the revelations set forth by Philip Agee. Never has it been shelved in the small or large bookstores of the country, much less has it shown up in the subjective and commercial “10 most read” list that is frequently published in the national newspapers. Still, the book was translated to 6 languages and, still serves as a sort of study text for those who wish to know about CIA operations in our countries.

As far as the “underground” version of 1,500 copies, that was edited, with the appropriate permission from Agee, by the “Second Independence” Movement directed by the respectable writer Jaime Galarza Zabala, in 1975, it was easily lost. There was no way of finding a single copy, and it seemed that “someone” who often controls the circulation of paper in Quito had acquired the writing, and did not want it to be read because the names and institutions mentioned in Agee's book should not be known.

But, it was in 2000 that my brother Nelson Herrera Aráuz, with his drive as a voracious and intelligent reader, found a copy in a corner of the “cheap market” at Plaza Arenas, in Quito, with a price tag of 50 US cents.

During the 80s I followed the leads to Philip Agee, who was nowhere

to be found. The United States had removed his passport and had to take refuge in Cuba, where he began his conversion into a spreader of truth. He wrote other books such as "Pursuit and Escape", which I bought in Madrid, in which he reveals the persecution he suffered for having uncovered the CIA agents in Ecuador and other countries.

As far as the fate of Agee, it was in Mexico, by way of the Ambassador of Ecuador, that I could find my first clue as I spoke with the ambassador of Cuba, Jorge Bolaños, a dear friend, whom gave me information such as that Agee lived through divided times, between La Habana and Switzerland. That his conviction towards the Cuban Revolution, which he had fought as an agent, had lead him to become its promoter through a travel agency called "Cuba Linda", through which he managed to atone, at the same time giving conferences against the actions of the United States and its exterior policy that was interventionist against our nations.

Upon my return, I was overwhelmed by the vertigo of the work related with creating Ecuadorinmediato.com, and it was until the end of 2006 that I received the news that Philip Agee was going to stay in Cuba for a while, where he would give a series of conferences, so I considered it was time to interview him.

After the previous contacts with the Cuban Embassy in Quito, Agee accepted to talk with me. From that diplomatic delegation I received all the help I needed, and I was given an unrestricted visa as can be expected when requested by a journalist. After no more than a week I landed in La Habana at the end of February, prior to the carnival in our country all the while the life on the island was normal.

I had to wait three days at the "Habana Libre", until I received an answer regarding the location of the personality I was to interview. The wait

was tense, long, I got the impression that his health had deteriorated or had changed his mind. But it was on that Monday the 27th that I was able to communicate personally with him over the phone, ironically he was 10 blocks away from where I was and he would wait for me at his apartment located in the Vedado barrio, on the southeast section of the New Habana.

The personnel from the International Press Center of Cuba took me to the place, along with a film camera, audio equipment, my notebooks and the famous “underground” copy.

Agee lived in a special apartment that had been given to him by the Cuban government. It was 3pm that Monday when I rang the doorbell at number three on the floor where the ex agent lived. Of his image, I only had a black and white picture, very old, that had been published in 1977 on the now gone “Nueva” magazine which had mentioned the matter, possibly the only one to cover it in Ecuador.

I didn’t need to pass any security protocol, there was no sign of any special operative to protect this man, who was to be considered until his death as one of the greatest enemies the United States ever had.

The Encounter 02-27-2006

After taking the elevator, an old one that still worked in Cuba, I arrived at the designated floor. Suddenly the door was opened by an elderly man, age marked on his face, still standing, but with the weight of his illness.

After 30 years of waiting, I was finally facing the man who “twisted” the history of Ecuador.

The conversation before the interview was mostly explanations by

both of us. Mine to tell him what Ecuadorinmediato.com was about, his to ask me to tell this truth, his truth, as exposed during the interview.

I felt the weight of his gaze, for if Philip Agee kept something from his time as an intelligence agent; it was the cold prolix of his expressions. Sometimes when he spoke with great emphasis he did not express the impact of his words with his face. So went the interview, cold, direct, unflustered by any of my questions, as he was unflustered by the accusations that still were heavy on his mind over his actions against our country.

I can attest that Philip Agee was lucid and very clear in his answers. Despite the conditions of his life, he remembered with precision many dates, names and even the circumstances of his past in Ecuador, and that can be seen both in the audio and video of that dialog.

I must confess that it is difficult to interview a character who has already revealed all, and at the edge of death to boot!

That is why, this interview, as I often do, is not a judgment or an inquisitorial act. It is a dialogue to reconfirm his act of bravery in revealing what was hidden, and on my part a feeling of delivering a valuable historical input for Ecuador, with the needed check of journalism to know the truth in the plane of strict informative justice.

I wish to sign off with the clear warning that, to understand this dialogue, the last in Philip Agee's life, one must read the extract from the book "La CIA por dentro...Objetivo Ecuador", which we have digitalized with the appropriate authorization that Agee gave me to do so, to provide context to the interview, knowing full well that his book was not broadly distributed in Ecuador or at least not enough to make a dent in the history of the nation.

The extract quoted in the book is revealing. I ask that you read it care-

fully and fully assimilate all the data contained in it, so as to give way to the reading of the dialogue I present here.

Phillip Agee Interview

FHA: First of all, thank you very much for welcoming me and allowing this interview

PA: I am very pleased.

Let's begin with your decision, plus the decision of the CIA, of transferring you to Ecuador at your first mission. Why is Ecuador in the CIA's plans?

Well, each Latin-American country was and always has been in the plans of the CIA. CIA is an organization that gathers information about possible threats to US interests, therefore CIA is everywhere. In Latin America, at each embassy, there is a CIA office called "Station", with a head and a deputy head and several officers working as I worked in Ecuador; so these are programs that date from the 40's, actually. What happened in Latin America, when CIA was founded in 1947, was that lots of FBI Officials, who had controlled the situation in Latin America during World War II, were transferred to CIA to continue their work at Latin America. CIA's Latin American operational division was widely known by the number of FBI ex-officers who had moved to CIA when it was founded, because the CIA took control over US intelligence in Latin America. So these programs, where I and other collaborators were conducted, were programs that have their origin many years ago, in the 40's and 50's, so I guess that everything suggests that continue until now.

Let's remember the story in your way through Ecuador. Historically, how would you label your mission at Ecuador?

Well, I didn't have a personal mission; I went there to build a team of officers and to be part of it. Each of whom were managing their own operations, that is to say, operations at the "Station". All that is well defined and detailed in my first book: when I arrived, the main mission was the isolation of Cuban Revolution, which was the highest priority in whole Latin America.

Did you envisage Ecuador, for example in the 60's, as a country close to falling into the hands of international communism?

No. The Communist Party was not very strong, it was very weak indeed, but those were the Kennedy years and there was an emphasis on what was called at the time "counterinsurgency". This was intended to prevent a takeover by another movement, similarly as it happened in Cuba. There were, as everyone knew at that time, armed revolutionary movements in several Latin American countries. The role of the CIA at that time was to penetrate and suppress them, that is, to repress, using security services, military services, local police; and this program had some success, because in Argentina, in Uruguay with the Tupamaros, in Brazil, in Peru and in different countries, were some important movements that were repressed in those years, especially in the 60's and 70's.

In the Ecuadorian case this didn't occur, but in the interim when you were there two governments were dropped: Velasco's and Arosemena's.

Exactly.

In your opinion, was Velasco dangerous and was Arosemena a communist?

No, no. No, the problem was the left in Ecuador was growing in importance and influence during those two governments, and when the coup against Arosemena occurred, a Military Board with four officers, I think, resulted and we were very satisfied with that, because the left began to get repressed immediately.

Was repressing the left the target?

Yes, and forcing them into exile also.

But then, there the point is: were the presidents the ones who led you to conspire against them or were their environments?

It wasn't exactly like that. We conducted continuous studies about what the left's threats were, and this, of course, included the Communist Party, and in that time included other leftist political parties as the Revolutionary Youth Union (Unión Revolucionaria de la Juventud –URJE–); and also included the governments penetration through the left, namely, Arosemena's government was quite penetrated by extreme leftist people, as I wrote in my book (The Company Inside), and we saw that with much fear.

In your opinion, were the student movements, the indians, the labor movements, or the Ecuadorian students dangerous?

Generally, we postulate our candidates for FEUE elections, and we also financed Liberal Party and Conservative Party candidates, mainly, and also from the Social Christian movement. So, as is clearly stated in the book, we had highly penetrated the political life of the country.

Was the objective just the left, or was it the country against the left?

The objective was to achieve our goals in each Latin American country, and in the case of Ecuador, as I said, that was: First, to isolate the Cuban Revolution, this means that we were working to achieve the severing of diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba by all Latin American

countries. When I arrived there, Velasco Ibarra had been reelected, by the fourth time or something like that, and he didn't wanted to break with Cuba, neither his most important ministers, neither Arosemena when he replaced Velasco, so we had to fight continuously, by trying to cause provocations that would lead to a rupture, through propaganda, and specially by political action through these political parties. Finally we got it, I don't remember exactly when, maybe in March 1962 or thereabouts, when Arosemena's government...

Came into power!

No, he had been the authority for several months already, but a revolt in Cuenca occurred, I think, by the military men in that sector, and Cuenca was very important at that moment in regard to military services.

Now, did you get to divide, to weaken, and almost to disappear the Communist Party? Did you get to fragment it, to de point of almost nullifying it?

I don't think that happened during the time I was there. Throughout Ecuador, there are divisions among the mountain range and the coast, and the Party was divided somehow like this: in those years, the Provincial Committee of Pichincha was almost like a Central Committee of the mountain range and in the coast was the Directorate, headed by Pedro Saad.

Then, did you get to penetrate more into the mountain range's one, the Pichincha's, the Rafael Echeverría Flores one?

I don't remember very well now, it's been many years since I look over this, but the Party in both places, that is to say, both in the coast and in the mountain range, was penetrated. We had agents that were militating in the Party and we also had technical operations: listening, photographing, etc. So we knew quite well what was happening inside the Party, but

I was about to say that we continuously conducted studies about the possibility of an outbreak of violence, that is to say that US Army Special Forces, based in Panama, would make regular visits to Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia etc., studying the problem as well, in other words, the level of threat posed by the left, both through elections, and by armed struggle.

After your intervention, after what you did, do you think that you attained to weaken the Ecuadorian left?

I think to some extent yes, at that time, as a lot of repression befell after the Military Broad entered in command. That was approximately July 1963 and many of the leaders were exiled, so they had to go to foreign countries, and I believe that repression debilitated in some measure the left. But the left would never disappear, because the objective conditions in Ecuador were so extreme that by themselves promoted the growth of the left. In this regard I mean distribution of wealth, distribution of income, illiteracy, and the Indigenous Communities conditions in Ecuador. Today we can appreciate what has happened years after, in countries like Venezuela, Bolivia or Uruguay.

Almost similar conditions...

Well, for me that is the evidence that, in despite of everything we did and others have been doing through all these years and keep doing today from Quito's embassy, from Guayaquil Consulship, those are realities that don't vanish, because they have to keep that struggle, to preserve American interests.

Does this division against left, with prepared, fragmenting, operations keeps being an aim of the CIA?

Well, a tactic was to divide and penetrate the leftist movement.

And to establish parallel parties?

Yes. We saw the situation in such-and-such country, even Ecuador, among enemies and friends, allies and rivals. And from the Socialist Party to the left were labeled as enemies of our interests, US interests. From the Social Democrat Party, founded by Naranjo (Manuel Naranjo Toro) – this party was our creation– and from that Party to the right, even ARNE, that was semi-fascist, a quasi-fascist organization, all those were the political forces that we supported and used in our campaigns to go against the left. The operations aimed to penetrate power institutions, that is to say, political parties, syndicates, governments themselves; youth, student, and women organizations, religious communities, a very important one; and we could collocate our materials through journalists, who got paid by us to publish our materials, as if were their own.

Or the Party's, or from the political front that showed up, supposedly...

Yes, we achieved the formation of some fronts: the anticommunist front, I remember that was one, and I don't remember, it depended on the current situation.

Now, the question is: Why did Ecuadorians sell themselves so easily to turn into CIA agents or informants?

Well, some agreed to work with us and others didn't. I remember having tried to recruit certain people that rejected me.

And those who accepted, why did they accept?

Money

Was money the main reason?

I think that, in most cases, the reason was money. In some others also was disappointment about the Party. There were various reasons, but, underneath all that, always was economical reason.

How did the CIA treat this kind of persons who were betraying their country and their homeland? Weren't they treated as traitors?

It depended on who the person was. For example: there were politicians who didn't considered their collaboration with us as treason, they had the idea that they were supporting the preservation of the system. These were the traditional parties. It was a very natural thing, we had relations, for example with the Interior Minister or the Interior Deputy Secretary (Manuel Córdoba Galarza), any kind of government officials, military men also, policemen, and those were permanent contacts.

Have the moral factor, about they were hurting a Nation and that you, as a part of CIA, were contributing to that damage, ever came into debate?

Well, not. Because they identified with us and with US interests. So, from their perspective, that was not treason to Ecuador at all. On the other hand, there were spies in the leftist party, for example, that were betraying the Party indeed, and we must distinguish between what a certain person was doing and what another did, but it was not difficult to get the person identified with us.

About the easiest infiltrations, about the ones that most easily succumbed to pressure: Were those only political sectors? Were those only from left sectors or from political right sectors and other kinds of groups in Ecuador?

Well, as you may have read in my book, they were from all sectors, especially from traditional civil society. Among youth and students, for example, the traditional political parties, these were operations in the civil society, and it's very interesting to know that this was the CIA's operating field, through under covered activities up to 1985, roughly

speaking. What happens is that CIA had these operations, which were abundant around the world, and a disaster happened in February 1967, when Washington Post published a denouncement, coverage about the foundations that CIA used for passing money abroad. Some foundations were real, ergo, legitimate and others were nothing but paper.

Was Ecuador included? Did these operations perform in Ecuador?

Sometimes yes. I don't remember a specific case right now, but the issue always was the concealment of money we gave organizations or their leaders. They always had trouble disguising it, they couldn't explain where did those \$10 K come from, or that sort of things. And in 1967, as I said, came this reportage that ushered other ones, and all that world of CIA international operations, collapsed. One or two months after the scandal, Congressman Dante Fashell, from Miami, quite well linked to extremist Cubans there in Miami, proposed the establishment of a legitimate public foundation, to funnel all that money, as if it had been clean and detached from all that.

That Farshell's propose didn't run at that time, because of Vietnam War and other factors. But in the 70's, among the American political class specially among external politics, occurred what they termed as New Thought, and this was the time of terrible dictatorships in the Southern Cone, in Brazil, in Middle America. And the new consensus of opinions of those people was that perhaps these repressive regimes were not the best way to preserve US interests, and democracy should be promoted, and this led to several stages. But in 1984 Congress established the Foundation or National Endowment for Democracy, and this organization started with a \$ 16 million budget and I think now it is plus \$ 80.

But, is it the one that funnels funds now?

Yes. In that year, 84-85, four new foundations were established; those

foundations would receive National Endowment for Democracy's money. One of those is the Democrat Party, other the Republican Party, other the National Chamber of Commerce and other the Trade Union Movement. These four foundations receive money from National Endowment for Democracy and funnel it to organizations abroad. But there are also several NGOs that receive money, for example: the case of Cuba

The Cuban-American Foundation?

Well, that is one. And one of the National Endowment for Democracy first payments was done to National Cuban-American Foundation, and they have received money every year.

All the amount they could...

But enormous funds are funneled there too. Actually in Venezuela, the US Government is financing and promoting oppositional organizations development, through funds, money from the Agency for International Development "USAID", through the National Endowment for Democracy, sometimes directly from the State Department, and their plan is trying to achieve Chávez defeat in December.

In the particular case of Venezuela...

Yes. In the case of Cuba, the one I was going to talk about, there is a little industry at Miami, where these NGOs have been organized since some years ago, and they try to promote suitable organizations called "Dissidents in Cuba". The budget in 2005-2006 was \$59 million dollars: \$36 million were for "promoting democracy and human rights", all this in quotes, of course.

If we stop for a while, and I want to dwell for a moment on what happened with the military dictatorships, what happened in the case of Ecuador between the operations of the CIA and the military men in our country and security and police forces? Were they easy to penetrate?

Did you manage to reach an ideological process into them, particularly in the case of Ecuador, with the military?

Well, I think that immediately, when the strike against Arosemena occurred. I don't remember the names of the four military men now.

Gándara, Freire, Castro Jijón and another one...

Well, Gándara (Gen. Marcos Gándara Enriquez, member of the Military Board) which we contacted. We may have had contact with Gándara before the strike, but he was the member of the Military Broad who often treated issues.

How do you consider the Armed Forces, in regard to that moment when you acted? Were the Ecuadorian Armed Forces progressist or reactionist? Were they "pro-gorilistas" or in an open and democratic attitude? How the Ecuadorian Armed Forces considered them?

Well, in that time, I don't remember they were democratic, because they established an almost fascist dictatorship, and began immediately to repress the left, people who had committed no crime, who have just militated occasionally in some revolutionary organization.

But if this was propitiated by the CIA to attack them, obviously they were going to respond, they were going to act this way, and it stands to reason.

Yes, it was logical. And we thought in that time that repression and weakening the left were very important, and we kept the attempts to isolate the revolution and its influence in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution was very relevant in Ecuador at that time, and also in the rest of Latin America. We tried to impede Ecuadorian trips to Cuba to become acquainted with revolution or anything, and accomplished the rupture of every Latin American Country with Cuba, except Mexico. An agreement between Diaz Ordaz and us was

reached, because Diaz Ordaz, the president of Mexico, worked intimately with the CIA as well López Mateos before him, and later, Echeverría, all of them. Then, there was a secret agreement according to which the Mexican embassy in La Habana would remain opened, as a listening and observation station, and Mexican diplomatic who worked with us were sent there, to Mexican Embassy in La Habana. So, the fact that Mexico didn't break relations with Cuba, while all others did, was merely because a secret agreement was reached to maintain a listening position here in La Habana, through the Embassy.

Mr. Agee, how did President Kennedy consider Ecuador? (Because that was the time when Agee operated in our country) What has his vision regarding our country?

To be honest I don't know what he thought about Ecuador, but what I do know is that when he became president, and shortly after, I think it was in March 1961, Kennedy met with Latin American ambassadors in Washington and announced what was named the Alliance for Progress. Now this was for a series of reforms in order to eliminate the worst existing injustices, beginning with land issues. At that time it was a slightly progressive program, I was very supportive because I studied Ecuador before going. I became familiar with the latifundium and smallholding problems and many other things, including the distribution of income and wealth; I knew that there were huge injustices and one did not have to do anything but to move along the city of Quito or go to Latacunga and observe all that.

All that began with a personal political transition in me, that is to say, that while the months and years went by, I didn't watched the reforms materialized, that is to say, that the US had a dilemma in Latin America, even Ecuador, because if they encouraged these reforms the doorway could be open for leftist governments and Cubans were setting the example, for

example the first Agrarian Reform in May 1959. Everybody knew that a lot of injustices in Latin America were originated by land distribution, and I, as I was in favor of all these programs and reforms that Kennedy started, became disappointed while I noticed that they were not going to perform effectively. The fact is that I started working in CIA and travelled to Quito as a successful student but with no political education. That didn't use to happen in the 50's, so I received a political education once I was in Latin America, first in Ecuador, then in Uruguay and the in Mexico and it was a shift of ideas process which led to my renounce from the CIA, but that was about eight years after I went to Quito.

When you arrived, you met with Velasco Ibarra. How politically defined was Velasco Ibarra for you?

Frankly I didn't understand Velasco Ibarra, he talked about a lot of things and I only remember the people called him "the Madman", at that time. He changed his political colors several times during that long, long career, so I don't have an impression of Velasco Ibarra, only that he didn't want to break with Cuba and that he was a little unstable.

And in the case of Arosemena, how do you politically situate Carlos Julio Arosemena?

About him, everybody knew about his alcohol issues and we received several rumors, stories about his weird behavior. The immediate cause of his downfall, is known, was that dinner with president Resh Bank, so we didn't appreciate Arosemena as much, we didn't respected him much.

But then, did the CIA helped to displace Arosemena? Why did the coup against Arosemena occurred with the military who wielded the main control position then?

Well, what happened is that we had a constant and continuous cam-

paigned about the need to suppress the left in all Latin American countries, even in Ecuador, and this campaign was undertaken through press, political parties, political fronts, penetrated organizations, always to maintain that level of attention, and through, let's say, through fear and of course, we achieved military officers and the highest military men, and we continuously worked with military intelligence, with the intelligence and others from National Police, I think it was, so we were in intimate contact with, let's say, the most delicate government sectors.

Then the Armed Forces were the ones which gave the stroke?

Yes.

Were they?

The military gave the strike, but there were several provocations that prepared the ground for the military coup.

Your provocations coming from the CIA or external provocations to the Armed Forces?

No, we produced provocations; we created provocations to prepare the ground for an eventual military coup against Arosemena.

What kind of provocations? For example, stimulating Arosemena's incidents and making them grow in the media?

I would have to review what I wrote about it, but the book is based on what I remembered checking all those newspapers. I read El Comercio (The Commerce), for example, every day during the three years of my stay in the Britain Museum in London, and there was not a day on which I didn't find a gold article reviewing that microfilm of El Comercio. That means that every important thing we did was on the newspapers, but without the awareness that we were behind all those events.

That is to say, the country didn't know it, never realized it?

No, nobody should have known

But, come on, tell me something, nobody reacted, nobody told them frontally “what you are doing is not fair, is not credible”, was never a voice reaching up in the country saying “what you are doing is giving a coup”?

No, what we did was to carry out a series of actions and operations continually trying to denigrate the Cuban revolution, denigrate those who supported Cuba there in Ecuador, always emphasizing the threat that Cuba could recur in Ecuador.

Do you realize the level of contacts that the CIA handled at that time? Look: a Vice President, all the military high command officers, Armed Forces and Police, national political leadership, a president of the Chamber of Deputies... Is that verily the CIA normal level of management by intervening countries like Ecuador?

Maybe, it's different from country to country.

But it is too high!

It is very high and there was very little of what was happening in our interest that we did not know, that is, we had institutions and government so permeated that we continuously received information about what was happening. But in the case of the coup against Arosemena, we didn't suggested anything, we didn't give an order, or anything like that, we didn't tell the generals: “now is the time.” Anything like that, the ground was prepared knowing that at the given moment will be a hit.

Was then general Marcos Gándara Enríquez one of the most successful, after being grasped, the one who gave you results and ended up giving the coup?

We were not against a coup to Arosemena's government, because we

wanted to watch the repression of the left, something that Arosemena refused to do, and also Velasco Ibarra had refrained to do. So we thought a Military Board would be in our favor, that is, it would be in favor of our interest, which was the repression of the left in the country and I think that happened. I left Ecuador in December of the same year 63, and didn't work more than five months, perhaps, when the Military Broad seized power.

But look, apart from the arrival of the Military Board, previous to Arosemena days, I'd ask you first: How annoying was to have Arosemena as president for the US?

Well, Arosemena sympathized, in some measure, with Cuba.

Well, you also traveled to Soviet Union...

Yes, so Arosemena was not a dependable man for the US and I remember that US Embassy had quite a lot of people working in several things, everything depends on a team, and the CIA is just a part of it. There are State department officers, from the Agency for International Development, etc. And these other people is working also in a program that has the same purposes of the CIA, so CIA shouldn't be considered as anything other than what the mission in general is.

Reinaldo Varea Donoso: I give you this name because this gentleman was the Vice President of the Republic and also was your agent and received a salary from the CIA. Please, we are talking about the second state authority infiltrated by the CIA. Were these levels given? Reinaldo Varea Donoso ended indicted by the Junk Scandal (Escándalo de la Chatarra), but how you got so far? We are talking about the second authority of a country.

Well, but he had been working with us before ascending as Vice President. He had been working for I don't know how many years before, so

when he became Vice, he simply continued what he had been doing for some years.

Are you saying that CIA set that Vice President?

In a certain way yes. This should be checked very well, but in my memory, Varea needed the support of Aurelio Dávila Cajas, leader of the Conservative Party.

One of your capital agents...

Yes, he was working with us. The Station chief, who was my boss, James Noland, arranged the support from Dávila Cajas to Varea Donoso as Vice President and this is how it happened, but there are more details than that which I don't remember.

A wave of events occurs, attacks, bombings at Ecuadorian churches, attacks to certain constructions that you say were done by Social Christian groups to blame the left. My question is: how easily was to penetrate those youth Social Christian groups to, for example, to invent such serious events as bombing churches?

It wasn't difficult, because there were Social Christian leaders who already worked with us and we promoted the emergence and training of those military operation groups. I was involved in that also, and even trained in the camp a Social Christian leader to use explosives and incendiary materials, so we were encouraging those actions and we also financed demonstrations. I don't remember exactly where those occurred, but Loja, I think, Cuenca, Guayaquil and Quito. After every action, after every bomb, we made sure that propaganda was left behind, for example from URJE (Unión Revolucionaria Juvenil del Ecuador/ Revolutionary Youth Union of Ecuador).

Was it made by you?

Yes. We printed the frills, but were attributed to URJE or the Com-

munist Party, I don't remember what, and those were left behind after the bomb. Then we financed these enormous rallies, giving money for bus and omnibus rental and the rest to coordinate peasants in a rally to support the Catholic Church. Eventually the Cardinal himself, his house was bombed in Quito, but he wasn't here. He was at the Archbishop's Curia that day.

How easily was it achieved, in the Ecuadorian case, to seize syndicates, to intervene diplomatic headquarters, wiretapping, to activate ghost political organizations? Do you really look it easy, was it simple that moment?

No, it wasn't hard. We met engineers at the telephone company that cooperated with us at wiretapping. As for the syndical scope, we established CEOSL which was affiliated to URIT and to the International Trade Union Confederation in Brussels, this was an international framework.

Mr. Agee, I was asking you: How easy was, for example, to intervene Trade Unions?

Well, the CIA had a worldwide framework that counted with local and national organizations. We established in Ecuador an organization named Ecuadorian Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and you must be careful with that word "free" because many organizations in the CIA used it.

The term "freedom," "libertarian" ...

"Democratic", that's all. Well, we were financing this Ecuadorian trades organization through its General Secretary, if I remember correctly, his Education undersecretary, who was with us. It was a creation of us really, and the purpose of these operations was to deny syndicalism to the left unions, such as CTE, that was the strongest and main collaboration, and we worked for years trying to promote an alternative to the CTE, and final-

ly did it through this CEOLS. Now I do not know to what extent the CEOLS achieved power or influence. I have no idea. Now I do not know to what extent the CEOLS achieved power or influence. I have no idea.

In the 70's, as a result of its publication, the direction of the CELOS changed. It's taken over by the Socialist Party and in this moment heads the United Workers Front. Undoubtedly this syndical movement was very affected in Latin America. The case of Ecuador is no exception and at this moment they were part of the three largest trade union confederations: the CEOLS, the FEDOC and CTE.

Well, it's about the same.

You managed to find fertile ground to split. The fact that the Ecuadorian had to face so much fragmentation; it is a fragmented country, divided and therefore easy to divide their institutions?

Well, not. We exactly didn't wanted to divide the organizations that supported US interests, rather, we tried to divide and weaken the leftist organizations that had revolutionary programs that would clearly affected our interests. Regarding to organization split, of course we tried it: we carried out a psychological war against leftist organizations, we wanted to implant distrust, in order that nobody knew who was a spy, but there were. And thus promote mistrust, foment division, promote suspicions against each other, things like that. But that we did not do with the political forces which were friendly to our interests, it was only the left.

You say, in a certain moment, that when communists, as Pedro Saad and Rafael Echeverría Flores, blame themselves among each other for actions caused by the CIA, they had reactions, quoting their own words, like: "What a ridiculous cover story." Is that really the way our Communist leaders were? Were they permeable, were they likely to

provoke jealousy, crisis, conflicts by their misleading and difficult way of relating?

Depends on the level, and the group, and on many factors. We did what was possible, but not everything was possible, so we were always in that scramble to debilitate the left and promote repression. That was almost daily, and sometimes certain things worked, sometimes not, but we had to plan with good information. It can't be done coldly: you must be informed and carefully plan what is going to be done and as I say, sometimes you success, sometimes you fail.

Was the extreme sectarianism and dogmatism that existed in some Ecuadorian leftist leaders exploited?

Well, we knew it existed already, we didn't have to promote it, because there were so many problems all around the world in that time, between the Soviet line and the Chinese line, which resulted in the formation of these revolutionary left movements, the MIR, in several countries. So it was a natural process, wherein we did not have to push, perhaps we could try to exacerbate a situation that already existed.

Did you get advantage from the Soviet-Chinese conflict?

Yes.

Did you promote the presence of, for example, in the case of Ecuador, the Chinese faction to divide the Communist Party?

Yes, we did several operations to split and provoke decisions in the parties. At that time there was a real problem between Soviets and Chinese, and that real problem among them got filtered around the world into two national parties, and that created a fertile ground for us for our efforts to penetrate, divide and weaken those parties, and even in a sense you can say it was successful. But that is very difficult to appraise, it's very

difficult to measure the grade of success or failure, because the situation is flowing, is constantly changing, so for a CIA officer as me, or for the ones who were working around me, we simply had to keep going day by day. And the remarkable side for me, the really striking thing, is that I could do what I wrote in my book: I could do all that through three years in Ecuador and nobody knew who I was, neither the other ones, that is, we could to operate with impunity, without any risk. I, for example, at end of the month, I would go out in my car and would have in my jacket perhaps ten or twelve envelopes with money, each one for different persons, and I had to be careful: not giving "Raul" the envelope for "Carlos ", etc. So once I started to write my own book in the early 70's, had to or made the decision to include all the names of people who were stuck in this.

At least a part is known, a large part is known, I do not know if all. That would be a point of discussion. Is everybody there?

These are all the names I could remember, but after the book was published and became a best seller in many countries, and was translated into thirty languages, I lived at that time in Cambridge in northern London. Journalists from many countries contacted me, including journalists from Ecuador, but what they wanted was to denounce the identities of CIA people in their countries, and this situation lasted for several years, but I had obtained directories of many embassies through friends of mine in Washington, and they sent me these directories, and by working with certain State Department publications, it was possible to identify people from the CIA, I mean, apart from the State Department.

That is, people from the Station, properly speaking...

We, a group of journalist and I, were a lot of people and during four or five years, revealed the identities of more than a thousand.

Look, in Ecuador this is almost unknown

Well, picture the embassy, right there, with, I don't remember how many floors, six or seven, and right there, in one of those floors, there are people like me working daily, oftentimes during the night and weekends.

Are you telling me that right now they are doing the same?

I would say yes. What they have to prevent now is the repetition of what happened in Bolivia, I frankly don't know the degree of effectiveness and indigenous communities' organization in the country, but they chose Morales in Bolivia, supported by others of course, and some years ago I realized that indigenous communities in Ecuador had organized quite well. When I was there they had no organization, not an important organization.

Well, there was a forceful indigenous uprising: the Carlos Rodríguez Paredes one, at Chimborazo province, but it is only a revolt about lands, but not a peasant organization itself.

No, but I understand that involved a fine indigenous communities organization, I think that happened in Cayambe, or with a powerful participation in Cayambe and Otavalo maybe. I couldn't follow that through the years, but the key to political, economic and social structures changing in a country like Ecuador is the organization and democratic transition to socialism. That's something that seems odd for me to say, after talking about all what I was doing, but as I also said, there has been a political evolution that lasted several years.

You mentioned that in a certain moment, for example, you managed to emit press releases for the Cardinal. Maybe you used Ecuador's religious faith to induce acts and disturb the country situation? You refer several times the Cardinal and his clear anticommunist stance. Did you use religious faith in Ecuador?

Not as I remember. We had no direct contact with the Cardinal at that time; we did have contact with priests who were well linked to the Catholic hierarchy in Ecuador. I don't remember much right now, but I think I wrote about it and we could have some influence through money, through media, through different mechanisms.

How the influence through the media was? How could the CIA reach the media so easily?

That should be revised as well, but there was a leading journalist in "El Comercio", which had a column...

¿Gustavo Alarcón?

I don't remember, that should be reviewed. But in any case we had several journalists paid to post our materials under their names. Both in Quito at "El Comercio", as in Guayaquil, so we did.

Is that a common strategy of the CIA?

It is required by everyone. These are "Media Operations". At that time, I do not remember, I think that television did not exist in Ecuador, perhaps arrived later, but the most important communication medium, of course, was printed press, and we had access to all the leading newspapers, both in Guayaquil as in Quito.

When you write "Inside The Company" and evaluate Ecuador, you should have notice, Mr. Agee, the mess it caused. Did you notice?

What kind of mess?

Political, what it caused in my country. Look, how the whole mess occurred during those three years.

I have talked with some Ecuadorians about the reaction. Some have contacted me and told me it was a very hard blow for the US government in Ecuador, but there were also, I do not remember, other kind of prob-

lems. But I tried, with that book, to describe how the CIA operates in Latin America, because what I wrote about Ecuador or Uruguay or Mexico, these operations were typical throughout Latin America, and what I wanted to do was to provide a knowledge, the required knowledge so organizations which were political repression victims could defend themselves better, that's what I wanted to do: so that they were conscious and knew very well the methodology.

You mention in "On the run" that you never saw again those who were your agents or contacts; you'd not ever followed them. Some of them, though you may not believe, reached to manage, in the Ecuadorian case, the fate of the nation and are considered great men in one way or another, despite their betrayals. I'll give you several names: Baquero De La Calle, Arízaga Vega, Córdova Dávila Cajas or Galarza, they are considered great men in my country and yet were CIA agents.

Well, I don't know if they can be called agents

Contacts, informants?

Contacts, informants or collaborators, one can say, but in the case of Córdova Galarza, I don't think he ever received money from me. He cooperated with us while he worked for Jaime del Hierro, who was a minister in the government of Arosemena. But there are a thousand kinds of relations that the CIA has with people who collaborate with the Agency.

But eventually ends up being the same: an act of treason to his country, to providing information to a foreign country. It is an act of treason against the Nation, whatever its type or regardless the purpose.

Well I don't think I ever got reserved information from some of them, that is, it was for taking actions regarding our intentions instead. In some cases you can't call it treason, because as I said before, there was a like-

ness of interests between a traditional party government like the Liberals or the Conservatives or the Christian Social with our interests. So there are many different relationships between the CIA and the people who are their contacts, their collaborators.

Now I flip the matter. Did you ever know anything about the casualties caused by the action of imprisoned communist leaders, their destroyed families, the affected honors, the vicious stories in pursuit? Didn't you bother to find out about all this after?

Not at that time. After, of course, I pondered a lot on that, and maybe that was one of the reasons to write the book, so they could defend themselves better and I think I accomplished it.

The damage was already done

It was more or less on time, but there was another generation, more people appeared, so I hope that in Ecuador and other Latin American countries my book had been seized for political education.

Why you didn't come back to Ecuador?

Well, I fell in love with Ecuador when I was there. I could have stayed the rest of my life in Quito, but I was transferred after three years in Quito, to Montevideo and then to Washington again for some months and then to Mexico. I started writing the book in Mexico, as a student in the Mexico City University, and then I moved for one year to Paris and kept working on the book and from there to London, where I finished it. Later it was published and a very hectic life started due to so many invitations and people who contacted me and lots of traveling. And by chance there never was a trip to Ecuador.

Neither an opportunity ... Would you be welcomed indeed?

Well I do not know if I could go in there.

Why not? What do you fear?

I mean, I've been expelled from five OTAN countries and without a doubt the US would oppose my several trips; they've done it before, the even confiscated my US passport. That is why I simply say that I don't know if I will be allowed to enter

How would you describe the Ecuador you left after your intervention? Because in your book the Ecuador where you arrive is pictured, but how would you label the Ecuador you left when you depart?

Well, I had a pretty full plate of operational activities and when I left the country, I divided those activities of mine, between three new officers.

So much work you had?

Yes, one replaced me officially. Others were new jobs, two more, and I divided all my operations between these three persons. When I left there I thought that I had mixed feelings: on one hand the Military Board was in command, repressing the left, until I spent maybe two years in Uruguay, I realized for the first time or it must be said gradually, that the more successful we were in our operations, less far got the reforms that everybody...

In one way or another claimed...

Yes, that everybody admitted that were needed

If you evaluate the inequality conditions, of unfair distribution of wealth and social injustice that continue in Ecuador, it seems that all you did was in vain

Well, at least there was not a Cuban kind revolution there, neither a political movement that affected seriously US interests. In a certain way, that results from what we did, but while social and economic injustices remain there will be people who reject this. There was a time when CIA promoted terrorism, in addition to political actions in certain countries, for example, in Cuba. Almost 3.500 Cubans have been killed, victims of

US terrorism against Cuba, more than two thousand have become disabled for the rest of their lives, due to US terrorism. So there were not only the political actions that we made for Uganda. etc., when I was in Uruguay, but also that the CIA was active in promoting armed and terrorist actions against a country like Cuba. So they got into everything. But in the 70's, regarding Cuba, a new thought emerged and they decided in the early 80's, to start promoting democracy, and they still do.

Doesn't the damage you historically caused us hurt?

When I was there yes, in a certain way, but those were other times. My own thoughts were different, so all that was justified then. When I wrote the book, of course, I relieved once again a lot of that, and it stimulated my writing, that is to say, not letting me divert, I had huge conflicts when I was writing that book, the first one.

Internal conflicts, external, governmental, persecutions, etc?

Well, yes, I was chased in the streets of Paris, in London, I didn't have money, I almost could not eat, and I had to struggle very hard to have the book. But I also had the support of several crucial persons, which solved for me certain problems, including financial problems.

When you left the CIA and decided to speak, I am more than sure that you did think about it: Why would we trust a former CIA agent who comes and tells us these things? To what extent can the data you entered for history be valid, especially coming from someone who deserted from the CIA?

I didn't desert, I renounced. My idea was to start a new life and forget about all that. I was in Mexico City, at the embassy in Mexico, and went there to work with regard to the Olympics in 1968. I called myself "Olympic Added" and arrived there a year and a half before the Olympics to cultivate rela-

tionships with people within the organizing committee, the Mexican Olympic Committee, because there were lots of people relevant to the CIA interests.

Then, can I ask you about Tlatelolco 68?

By then I had already renounced, because six months before the games a secret telegram arrived from Washington, informing me that I was going to get promoted once again, and I told them there was no need of a promotion again, that I was going to renounce, and my renunciation would take effect at the end of the Olympics, because I had a compromise with the ambassador, with the counselor minister, to assist them in all these activities that had related to the other Olympics.

But, how easy was to renounce from the CIA?

Yes, it was a surprise for many people, but I told them it was due to personal reasons.

Was it really your conscience, your shift in thinking?

Well, it wasn't a change of mind; I simply didn't want to do that anymore. After quitting, I stayed in Mexico and signed into the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), in a program of Masters and Doctorate in Latin American Issues.

Political Sciences...

Yes, and what I read and wrote at University, being 33, 34 years old, was the carry out of what I and my colleagues at the CIA in the years 50's and 60's, did. It was nothing more than a continuation of nearly 500 years in the 70s, 71, of repression, horrors, which began with the conquest.

And continue until now!

Well, in certain countries yes, but we all know about the wave of change in Latin America, and those are things that 6 or 7 years ago I could never have dreamed that would happen, but it has happened and still happening.

Let's continue, Mr. Agee: let's talk about the immediate effects that took place after your departure, after the accomplished action. It seems that in Ecuador you actually "made things happen", politically speaking.

We were able to cause certain things, I think I'm repeating myself, but we maintained continuous studies on the threat from the left. At that time of counterinsurgency, there were different ranges of threat or problem, starting with none reaching armed struggle. During the 61, 62, 63 years, Ecuador and Bolivia were the most threatened countries, according to these studies which were made not only by the CIA but with participation of the Army Armed Forces. That was why we wanted to lead or induce the Government to take action against the left; everything I wrote about the infiltration into Arosemena government was true and we were frightened, because of the person who Arosemena was and the increased power of the left. So when I left the country, I think I departed confident that the situation was under control.

Once you leave the country, did you keep track closely the events that came after: political crisis, military dictatorships, oil boom, return to democracy, a suspiciously dead president, a constant instability? Did you keep track closely of that?

No, I tried to keep up the events but I was so busy in other stuff, for example, in Montevideo I was as busy and over-occupied as in Quito, Back in Washington I couldn't really stay abreast, neither in Mexico. So I couldn't keep track closely the activities.

What happened in Ecuador after!

Only the most important things, about the death of Roldós, for example. Didn't you leave instability seeded in Ecuador? For if you notice, when the spate of coups against Velasco and Arosemena occurs, nearly

15 years of stability between 1948 and 1961 were destroyed, one of the most stable periods of Ecuador. Weren't you sowing this instability?

Well, one should start by understanding that the US doesn't care about democracy, namely, it can serve in a sense, but when they speak of democracy, have a very special definition about what democracy is. We have seen all this criticism of government to Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, there has been about eight elections since 1998 in Venezuela, he has won every: free, fair and certified by international observers and others, but in Washington say it is undemocratic. Now, that's a lie, but that's the attitude assumed when the democratic electoral process does not serve their interests, what they want to control in Venezuela is oil and is also very important in Ecuador, Colombia and other countries: if democracy does not serve their interests is thrown away, and they supported the two military coups when I stayed precisely because the government of Velasco Ibarra and Arosemena did not meet with the things we did in the country.

Didn't the actions of the CIA turn Ecuador into and ungovernable country?

Since I left I don't know the situation so well to answer that with certainty. Undoubtedly there has been instability since I left, and there has been, as you said, military dictatorship, return to democracy and then Roldós. Ecuador did have all those years of continued stability before the coup against Velasco Ibarra, but we did not care that Velasco was elected democratically or that Arosemena, as its Vice President, has risen to the Presidency or the coup against Arosemena.

Then what did you care about?

What mattered was the matter of internal security in the country

To have it under control?

Yes

Mr. Agee: Do you have the impression or the certainty that the CIA keeps directly intervening in Ecuadorian politics

Honestly, after so many years I can't tell, but I guess so, because during all this years, US policy regarding to Latin America and Ecuador and other countries has had specific goals, and what they care are these interests: such as access to raw materials, access to workforce, market access. Those are the fundamental interests of the United States because the US has to export, to import, and needs access on favorable terms. So if a government is democratically elected, as the government of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, and if doesn't yield US interests, the democratic process doesn't matter at all, such as the coup in April 2002, against Chavez, that was supported by the US, despite those democratic elections. So, in principle, the US talks a lot about democracy, but it is a very well defined democracy; another kind of democracy doesn't count, or is not acceptable.

Do you believe that Ecuador was induced to participate in offensive activities for your own interest, such as "The Condor Operation"?

Well, much has been known about "Condor Operation", but I do not remember that there was Ecuador's participation in it, that was rather in Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and perhaps Brazil, too. It was a program, an operation of murders really, nothing more.

Now, the other thing is: we had problems with Peru. Do you think that the intervention was such that there were actions which provoked the clashes among Ecuador Peru from 1981 to 1995?

I don't know the confrontation details. I remember, I think Menem, sent weapons to Ecuador.

But the CIA in particular, would it be involved in the issue? was it part of the style to provoke armed conflict between Nations?

Let me see: well yes, they promoted the war between Iraq and Iran in the 80's, and favored Saddam Hussein, by giving intelligence satellites and all kind of support, because what they wanted to do was to prolong the war and bleed Iran, and they had some success; in Afghanistan they provoked and financed the resistance against the Soviet occupation. But between Ecuador and Peru, I don't have the required information, I must say I don't know.

Do you think there is any link between the action of the CIA and the death of Jaime Roldós Aguilera think?

No, I read all about it at the time, but I could never conclude anything. It was a possibility, but I never concluded if yes or no, just as in the case of Torrijos, something similar, right?

And it was at the same time...

More or less.

Is there anything concrete that might point toward that?

No. The only thing I could say is that this would be a very extraordinary step, because neither Torrijos nor Roldós represented a huge problem or a big threat to the United States. So I have my doubts regarding to any decision about taking their lives and killing them, and it would be very strange if that were the case.

Ecuador has experienced a time of very serious instability from 1997 until today: three Presidents, three coups. I ask you: isn't there some direct action that could associate these recent coups with an intervention of the CIA in Ecuador?

There is always the possibility, but as I say, I have not followed closely

the events and I find it difficult to evaluate the possibility or probability that a foreign hand was related to these coups or instability. Frankly I would have liked to follow the situation closely, but the time simply has gone.

And the interview ended. Agee felt uncomfortable or perhaps affected by his illness, and we did not continue further.

I turned off the camera and the recorder and felt somewhat calmer of having succeed. Agee offered me a tasty Cuban coffee. Was home alone so I figured he had prepared it himself. But, he continued his secretive behavior, until the end.

I extended him his two books, "The Journal of the CIA" edition of the Second Independence Movement, by Jaime Galarza Zabala, who had published and interviewed him in 1975, of which he was pleasantly reminded, and asked me if the writer was still alive, I said yes and he entrusted me his greetings and acknowledgments for it. When I presented him his book "On the run" he looked at the text and said, "So you know how I've been chased...".

He then tells me about his interest on his book being reproduced in a Spanish edition, or at least in that part of Ecuador, for the Country to know it, I express my willingness to digitize the edition and hang it on the portal and asked if he would allow me to do it.

In my traveling suitcase I always carry Ecuadorian music discs to hand out as gifts, I extend him two CD's with national instrumental beats and for the first time in the match Agee smiled. He liked the gift and asked me if I had "the Quito's chulla" the song he liked and tells me that sometime he called his first son like that, Phillip, because he was born in Quito.

That was all. In January 2008 Phillip Agee died. Mine turned out to be the last interview he gave to a journalist.

The publication of the interview took place in www.ecuadorinmediato.com, entitled "Phillip Agee, the man who twisted the history of Ecuador" on March 15, 2008, and has been widely disseminated on the Internet, so much that it has been taken by several internet portals with a critical historical spirit with due recognition to me for raising this dialogue.

What this interview served for? Well, it had a double effect: firstly revived the character in the collective memory of previous generations, who knew about the existence of Phillip Agee and the attack of the CIA against Ecuador denounced by him, with the new diffusion Journal of the CIA which we present digitally. And on the other hand, a topic that had been hidden in a premeditated way by traitors and mother country sellers who are still grouped in wicked newspapers and perverse political spaces, who knew this part of the story that had been hidden, was released to the new generation

If it was necessary to tell the truth at some point, with this interview it was stated that the time had come. (FHA)

BRIEF FACTS ABOUT THE INTERVIEW AUTHOR

Dr. Francisco Herrera Arauz. (Quito 1962). Journalist, political scientist, lawyer.

- Graduated from the Faculty of Journalism at the Central University of the Ecuador (1985); with Advanced Studies in Political Science FLACSO (1992); JD by the UTPL (2008).
- President of the College of Journalists of Pichincha (1992-1994).
- Ambassador of Ecuador in Mexico (2003-2004).
- He holds several awards as a professional journalist in press, radio, television and for his work on Internet media through Ecuadorinmediato.com, founded by him in August 2004, with considerable success at home and abroad, until today.
- He received the Award of the National Government of Ecuador "National Order of Merit" in the Rank of Officer (2002) for his services to the nation by the Ecuadorian journalism.
- As a writer has published books of journalistic chronicle; "Los Golpes del Poder ...Al Aire" (Abya-Yala 2001), which received the "Eugenio Espejo" - Colegio de Periodistas de Pichincha award, and, "Si Callan a los míos gritarán hasta las piedras" (IMP-Quito 2012).

