

"The Congress has its own will and its own feeling and its own judgment," President Kennedy has said, "so it is quite natural that they will have a different perspective than I have." Other Presidents—like Harry S. Truman with his denunciations of "that do-

nothing 80th Congress"—have expressed themselves more bluntly. The extent to which a President imposes his perspective on Congress is the measure by which history may judge him. "In theory," said Theodore Roosevelt, "the Executive has nothing to do

with legislation. In practice [he] must take a very active interest." For President Kennedy, a test is shaping up over his tax and civil rights bills. These pictures suggest some of his techniques to help persuade Congress to endorse his legislative program.



HE FLATTERS—It is a political reality that a Senator enjoys being a Presidential guest. Here the Kennedys and Johnsons lead Senators Carl Hayden and Hubert H. Humphrey and Mrs. Humphrey to a White House reception.



HE GOES TO THE PEOPLE—Franklin D. Roosevelt invented the fireside chat. Here Mr. Kennedy takes to TV to push his tax program.



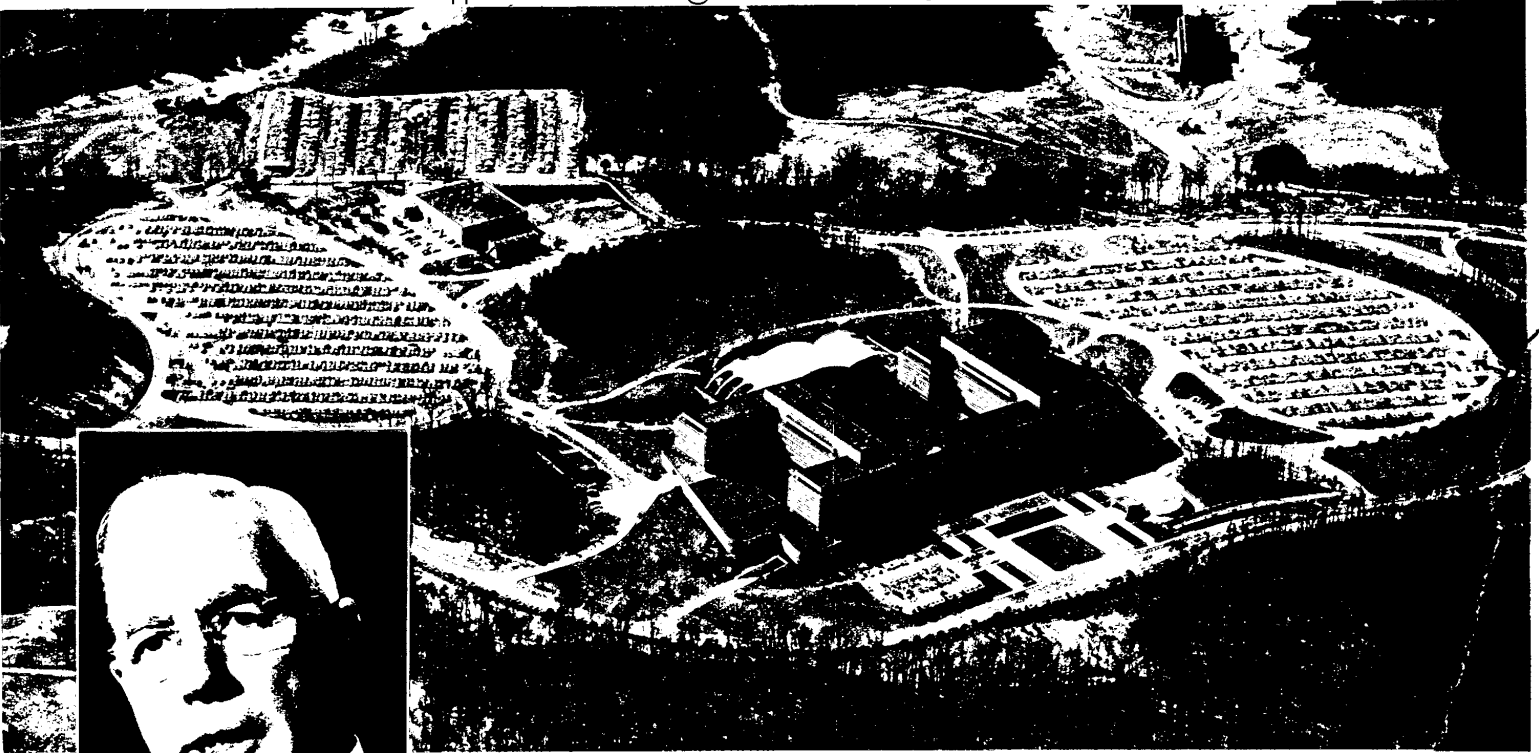
PEP TALK—Executive departments maintain their own liaison with Congress. Here Lawrence F. O'Brien (wearing glasses), Special Assistant to the President, meets with departmental staffers to talk up Administration programs.



STRATEGY TALK—Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and White House aide Larry O'Brien discuss prospects for pending legislation.

OCTOBER 27, 1963

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HUSH-HUSH HEADQUARTERS—The C.I.A. used to operate out of offices kept so secret that former President Eisenhower once got lost trying to find them. Now, under businessman John McCone (left), it is quartered in this new \$50-million building in Langley, Va.

Unsecretive Report On the C. I. A.

By **BEN H. BAGDIKIAN**

WASHINGTON.

A LAPEL button being sold in Washington drug stores these days reads, "My work is so secret I don't know what I'm doing." This has been used as an accusation by some members of Congress and others who want to turn a permanent floodlight on the most glamorous citadel of secrecy in the capital, the Central Intelligence Agency.

Though the C.I.A. has been under increasing criticism for more than three years, the present Congressional agitation is considered the most serious. Some critics would like to keep the agency under constant Congressional surveillance. Others want to dismember it, to separate its three functions—collecting information, evaluating it and carrying out secret operations.

The immediate provocation is the furor in South Vietnam, where at times the President of the United States and the C.I.A. seem to be at cross-purposes. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, under the impression, which is correct, that C.I.A. men in foreign countries are supposed to do what the Ambassador tells them, almost openly challenged the C.I.A. chief in that area. The Saigon episode is the culmination of a series of C.I.A. crises in recent times, most notably the crash of the U-2 plane in Russia just before the summit conference of 1960 and

the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. There have been resolutions to put a rein on the agency in the last 10 sessions of Congress, but this year the possibilities of success are greater than ever before.

The C.I.A. finds itself under fire at an uneasy time in its history as a secret agency. Its existence has always been known, of course, from the time it was created by Congress in 1947, and since 1950, when it assumed its present form, its three chiefs—Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Allen Dulles and John McCone—have all been public figures. But only recently has the C.I.A. taken on the aura of a conventional Government bureau. It used to live in drab anonymity in barrackslike buildings scattered around Washington's Foggy Bottom, behind the cover, "Government Printing Office." Its headquarters were so unpretentious that President Eisenhower and his chauffeur once got lost trying to find it and had to stop and telephone Allen Dulles for instructions.

GRADUALLY, the C.I.A. has risen to high visibility. Today it occupies one of the most imposing new buildings in the Washington area. Its once awesome initials have entered the language of satire: Cuban refugees in Miami say they stand for "Cuban Invasion Authority," and in 1960 the Soviet Information Bureau used the initials for a book on the C.I.A. called, "Caught in the Act."

Public knowledge about the C.I.A. is a blend of rumor, third-hand infor-

mation and a few hard facts, which the agency officially never confirms or denies. It has been accused of harboring geniuses, of which it has more than its share, and also an assortment of nuts, bolts and screwballs, and these also are not unknown. The late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy said it was packed with Communists, and liberals have said it is riddled with rightists.

One reason for the wild speculation is lack of certain knowledge. Its basic statistics are not announced. Its budget is not printed where the public can see it, going through Congress in fragments hidden in appropriations for other Government activities. The number and kind of its employees is an official secret. A few of its grievous failures have been fairly well documented, its successes usually unannounced. There are true heroes and undoubtedly some villains, but you can't tell the players without a scorecard and no scorecard has ever been printed.

Representative John V. Lindsay, of New York, one of the Congressmen proposing a legislative watchdog committee over C.I.A., said in a speech recently that the agency failed to predict the entry of Red China into the Korean War; that in 1956 a C.I.A. agent told President Nasser to ignore a State Department message the Egyptian leader was about to receive; that the C.I.A. was deeply involved in the East Berlin, Poznan and Hungarian rebellions in the 1950's; that it was instrumental in overthrowing the Mosaddegh regime in Iran in 1953 and the Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954.

The C.I.A. has come under fire for fostering the illusion that there was a 3-to-1 missile gap between the United States and Russia in the nineteen-fifties when in fact there was not. Rafael Trujillo's former chief of secret police said the Dominican dictator was assassinated in 1961 with C.I.A. weapons and planning. And French newspapers said C.I.A. was behind the revolt of French Army officers against Charles de Gaulle.

ON the other hand, the C.I.A. is credited with predicting the launching of Sputnik, the anti-Nixon riots in South America, the rise of Khrushchev to Soviet power, and the Anglo-French invasion of Suez. Harry Howe Ransom, of Harvard University, the leading academic student of C.I.A., says such events are "the top of the iceberg of a vast secret intelligence program."

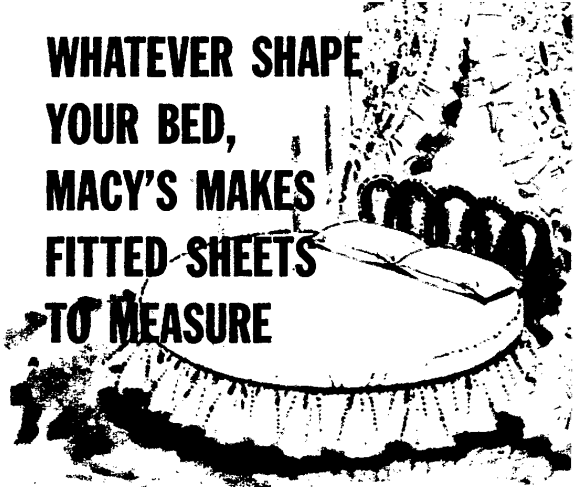
According to Professor Ransom, the United States spends \$2 billion a year on intelligence operations, of which C.I.A. spends "over half a billion." It is the only agency of Government whose books are not open to the General Accounting Office or even to Congress. It has about 10,000 employees in Washington and maybe as many more elsewhere. In the past it has drawn heavily on Ivy League circles for leadership but today it employs a wide variety of bright young lawyers, both Ivy and non-Ivy, and acute businessmen, plus some middleaged foreigners who know how to parachute from airplanes.

If the (Continued on Page 108)

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN is a veteran Washington reporter now with The Saturday Evening Post.

Unsecretive report on the C.I.A.

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(Continued from Page 19)
American public knows little about the C.I.A., foreign intelligence agencies honor it with unrelenting scrutiny. During the Korean war an important but officially anonymous C.I.A. executive, whom we will call Scattergood, was walking by the door of the Czech Mission in Washington when the doorman bowed and said gravely, "Good morning, Dr. Scattergood."

It is a truism that 80 per cent of intelligence is pure analysis of conventional documents to provide the basic picture illuminated by shafts of less orthodox light sent in by secret agents. Most of its work is a boring battle of routine words and numbers, but upon it depends the reliability of the world-wide intelligence report the C.I.A. hands the President every morning and its estimates of national power and intentions at critical moments.

THE present controversy, though, is not concerned so much with either the secret agents or the wan specialists reading foreign budget reports. It is over the more or less secret C.I.A. men abroad who work out of American embassies. At the middle ranks of American diplomats, the political-officer level, about half the men in an embassy may be C.I.A. employees. If there are guerrilla or other paramilitary operations, several hundred of the experts may be from C.I.A.

Career diplomats have a common complaint about C.I.A. reporters abroad. They are, say Foreign Service men, not sufficiently sophisticated but they have money to spend and so have incomparably more freedom and power than regular diplomats. The C.I.A. traditionally pays for information, though not necessarily in cash but through personal friendships that make cars and apartments easy to find, thereby cultivating a sense of obligation and sympathy. The C.I.A. rates its information on a scale from "1" for absolutely reliable to "6" for unreliable and thinks this scale quite stringent (legend has it that a report of Allen Dulles was once rated "2").

But career diplomats think free information is usually a lot better, and that the masses of data collected by free-wheeling C.I.A. men fall mostly in the 2-3-4 categories while the limited cables and professional perceptions of Foreign Service officers are sounder.

DOES the C.I.A. make policy? Allen Dulles in his new book, "The Craft of Intelligence," calls this the most harmful myth about C.I.A. Yet much may hinge on what is meant by "policy." The C.I.A. certainly does not set national goals or make foreign policy. But such goals and

policy are usually general and their implementation is left unspecified, permitting vast discretion as to how best to achieve national goals. The head of C.I.A. sits in the small and crucial Executive Committee of the National Security Council; the President has many advisers but few get as respectful attention as he.

IN the field C.I.A. men are nominally, but not necessarily in practice, under orders of the U.S. Ambassador. They may decide which unions to back, which opposition parties to subsidize, which newspapers to strengthen. In one case, a high State Department official wanted a few thousand dollars to back an important union in danger of being taken over by Marxists, but the source of money, the C.I.A., demurred. Thus C.I.A. does not make policy in any formal way but it is a major influence in the shaping of national behavior abroad.

Supporters of C.I.A. think it unfair to accuse the agency of usurping State Department functions. They feel, rather, that it is more accurate to say it has expanded into areas unfilled by any other American agency. The post-war years brought a rude awakening to the United States. The world was filled with deadly serious intrigue and manipulation in which foreign societies were no longer stable. Dynamic change was the by-word and many of these societies were on the verge of becoming part of a global system hostile to the United States. Intervention, always a nasty word in American diplomatic history, even when it was practiced, became a major technique of international relations.

The State Department entered this unpleasant new

world at a serious disadvantage. Its tradition, more than that of most powerful foreign offices, was genuinely in favor of open and correct foreign relations. As the official delegation to regimes in power, it had to show extreme delicacy in making contact with opposition groups. And it confronted the post-war diplomatic revolution during one of the saddest periods in its history.

At precisely this time the State Department was reeling under a series of shattering blows. Under President Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, it was attacked by Republicans and other critics, and Acheson was held up as an example of a striped-pants, pussy-footing, cookie-pushing diplomat aflutter before the cynical toughs of Communism. This was, particularly for Acheson, ridiculous criticism. But charges became political issues with a national cry to "clean out" the State Department.

AFTER Eisenhower's victory, Acheson was succeeded by John Foster Dulles. He made no secret of his dislike of most of the State Department career apparatus. This was the era of "massive retaliation." There was a feeling that with the Strategic Air Command a State Department was unnecessary. The crowning catastrophe was the emergence of Wisconsin's Senator McCarthy whose attacks on the department sent its prestige in Congress plummeting, demoralized its workers, and damaged its influence abroad.

It was during this period that the C.I.A. was born and hired its first 10,000 employees. The shift of power and function was eased by the fact that after 1953 Allen Dulles served as head of C.I.A., while



"SUPERSPIES"—Under its last two chiefs, General Walter Bedell Smith (left) and Allen W. Dulles, the C.I.A. attained great power.



CRITIC—Disturbed by C.I.A. activities in Vietnam, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge challenged the agency's authority there.

his older brother led the State Department. In general, they agreed to the new division of labor.

As guerrilla warfare broke out in a number of areas, the C.I.A. enlarged its military function. This was a novel and unwelcome activity as far as the American military was concerned, particularly since the Army was already being reduced to a shadow by budget cuts and the dominance of the Air Force and Navy, which had little interest in petty fights on the ground. By the time of the Bay of Pigs, the C.I.A. was in the paramilitary business on a fairly large scale, but this fiasco cost the C.I.A. some of its men and functions. They were turned over to the Department of Defense. There is now emerging, some observers think, significant tension between Defense and C.I.A., especially with the creation of the Defense Intelligence Agency, which may be the beginning of one of those intelligence rivalries to which the trade is prone.

THE C.I.A. has its own problems, now that it is under fire. In the time scale of the bureaucratic lifespan, it is approaching middle-aged respectability. The most dramatic sign is the agency's new "Spy Palace," a sparkling \$50,000,000, seven-story, million-square-foot edifice of contemporary design in Langley, Va.

Even his friends think that the building is one of Allen Dulles' few serious errors and refer to it sadly as "Allen's Folly." They feel it makes surveillance by enemy agents easier. It is also a revelation of the C.I.A.'s size and power that will raise the covetous hackles of other agencies — the State Department and Defense Department look drab by comparison — and it makes a dazzling target for Congress. Worst of all, it is feared that C.I.A. employees will be encouraged to feel pride in conventional bureaucratic status rather than in an artis-

ocracy of silence, unorthodoxy and anonymity.

The emergence of the C.I.A. as a visible political fixture goes on in small ways and large. A few years ago it was not even listed in the Washington telephone book but now it is, along with the address of its employment office in downtown Washington. (This office, incidentally, is left scrupulously unmarked). The C.I.A. recruits college graduates (starting salary usually around \$5,000) competing with the Peace Corps and General Dynamics. A year ago C.I.A. Chief McCone asked Congress to provide better pensions for spies. And the agency has participated in two of Washington's most authoritative rituals of bureaucracy: it has been picketed (by pacifists) and it has been beaten in a zoning fight (by, among others, Mrs. Kennedy's stepfather).

THE retirement of Allen Dulles and the appointment of John McCone symbolized for many the passage of C.I.A. into a new era. Dulles grew up in the middle of its history, took an active part in international drama, loved intelligence case work and was fascinated by the men who were in the field. He was succeeded by McCone, a businessman, believed to be far more rigid and doctrinaire, and valued for his unsentimental talents as an organizer rather than for his stimulation of creative individuals.

There is an irreparable flaw in any defense C.I.A. makes for itself: It is, in the best of circumstances, contrary to conventional American democratic philosophy. The American ethic calls for self-determination by people abroad, with no outside interference, and it calls for an enlightened electorate at home. It is against secrecy in government, its own and others.

Needless to say, this ethic has always been a goal rather than a perfect achievement, but it puts secrecy and inter-

(Continued on Following Page)



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ference on the defensive. The C.I.A., more than any other single agency, represents the dilemma modern America faces in a world where it proclaims the Democratic ethic but where the consequences of nuclear miscalculation and surprise are intolerable.

It is into this scene of confusion and anxiety that Congress is now moving, to exercise its instinct to watch and control the spending of money. A joint committee of both chambers has been proposed, to act as a select set of supervisors in the manner of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Nothing remotely like the surveillance of atomic-energy matters now exists for intelligence operations. Secret operations of C.I.A. are under the jurisdiction of a special committee of the National Security Council, but this is a highly secure Presidential unit, hardly a public overseer. There is also a Presidential appointed board of consultants, consisting of distinguished citizens, but in its first six years it has had a staff of only one plus a secretary, and its members have been both deferential and incurious.

SUBCOMMITTEES of the House and Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees have nominal jurisdiction over C.I.A. but they, too, have acted gingerly. The attitude was epitomized by Senator Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, a member of two of the subcommittees, who said, after the U-2 affair, that he hesitated to probe too far because "we might obtain information which I personally would rather not have."

The House C.I.A. subcommittee meets about five times a year and each session lasts less than three hours. The Senate subcommittee has had about the same schedule for



the last ten years. It is not likely that there is a thorough review in 15 hours a year of an agency that spends more than \$500,000,000 in over 70 countries.

But intelligence executives are appalled at the idea of Congressional surveillance. The heaviest spectre that hangs over them is that of the late Senator McCarthy. But their fear is even deeper. No intelligence network in the world operates in public. In its operations, lives are at stake, policies are in balance

and crucial relations with both friendly and hostile nations depend on discretion. The agency must move quickly in crisis, and report to the President in utter candor no matter how unpopular its message.

"I wouldn't mind a man like Mike Mansfield," one experienced C.I.A. man said, "but when I think of a wrecker or a blabber it turns my blood cold."

Intelligence operatives re-



member "Tawny Pipit," code name for a C.I.A. operation which McCarthy and his ally, Senator Pat McCarran, both ruthless witch hunters, helped to break up. John Paton Davies, in 1949 a leading State Department expert on the Far East, devised the plan. It would have created an American study group on China made up of distinguished scholars, including some pro-Communists (as well as an unannounced C.I.A. man). The group would inevitably make contact with Red China; the pro-Communists would become the Red Chinese-Russian contacts inside the study group. Then the C.I.A. would introduce phony intelligence about Russia to help sow dissension between the two Communist allies.

MCCARTHY, to publicize his attacks on Davies, used this as "evidence" of Davies' "pro-Communist" sympathies. When General Smith of the C.I.A. told McCarran's Internal Security Subcommittee the truth, it was too late to save either Davies or "Tawny Pipit."

One alternative to Congressional surveillance is more explicit responsibility by the President and the Secretary of State. But this, too, presents a problem. The C.I.A. is a "dirty" operation and the President and the Secretary of State have to stay "clean." Unpleasant things done in a cynical world are rarely admitted by heads of state. And two exceptions, the U-2 affair and the Bay of Pigs, both harmed the position of the President of the United States.

As the glamour of the black arts decreases, the boldness of Congress will grow. Yet the dilemma has no completely satisfactory solution: secret intelligence is defeated by publicity; democracy is defeated by not enough.

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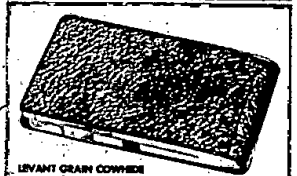
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