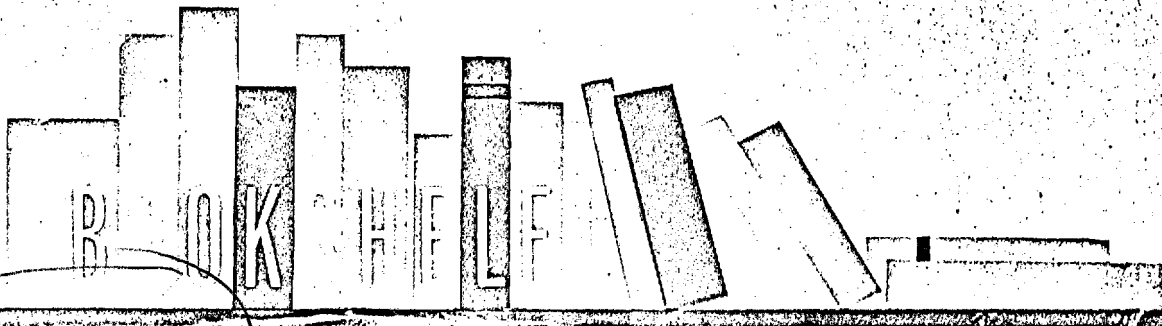


JUL 1964



THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT.

By David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Random House. \$5.95.
Reviewed by Jerry O'Leary Jr.

THE OFFICE of Naval Intelligence, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the other investigative branches of the armed forces come under the microscope of the authors in this controversial new book, although the primary target is the ubiquitous CIA.

With the exception of a middling-long essay on the National Security Agency, technically a creature of the Pentagon, and the cursory sketches of the military agencies, the label "Invisible Government" is clearly intended for the Central Intelligence Agency. As to ONI, the authors may have kissed it off too lightly, but that is not likely to provoke any disappointment among the boys in blue.

There may well be hard feelings for a long time to come, however, from CIA, which has a paramilitary segment of its own, because of the way in which the book has flushed a good number of the cover names used by agents and organizations of the agency. CIA is not commenting, but Washington sources indicate the agency is seething from top to bottom over accusations and disclosures, not to mention about 22 alleged mistakes of significant fact.

The book is far too full of material to attempt to recite any of the disclosures here, but it does purport to tell a series of episodes involving CIA operations in Cuba, Costa Rica, Iran, Egypt, Guatemala, Indonesia and a host of other places. One supposes that the real question is whether the CIA operates too deeply in a shroud of secrecy or, after reading this book, not enough of it.

The book makes the case that the agency is virtually a government unto itself, but the very incidents cited by the authors indicate that the broad decisions are made in the White House. Once again, one wonders whether the agency is to have latitude in its day-to-day operations. Certainly, President Eisenhower approved the Guatemala operation and the beginning of the Cuban invasion, although he did not plunge deeply into the details. This has been said of him in World War II—he is known as a man who depends and trusts his staff.

This book is highly interesting reading, perhaps as much in Moscow as in Washington.

HAWAII

JUL 8 1964

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin

Hawaii's Greatest Newspaper

Wednesday, July 8, 1964

Page 8

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WILLIAM H. EWING _____ Editor

The Strategy Of Deception

Little by little the manner and degree to which ours, a free government, has copied the ways of the dictators are coming to light.

It is always a temptation to be a little bit of a dictator if the opportunity arises (and one can get away with it) and few there are who can resist it.

The public servant who closes a meeting at which public business is conducted is assuming one of the ways of a dictatorship. His salary is paid by the public and he is transacting the public's business. But he will tell you without blinking an eye that it is in the public interest that the meeting should be closed.

Father knows best, is his attitude.

There is, of course, managed news. Few public servants, indeed, are completely frank with the people whose business they manage and whose money they spend. A corporate manager who treated his board of directors or his stockholders the way many public servants treat the taxpayers would be fired out of hand. Then why do they do it? Because they can get away with it.

David Wise has written a fascinating book called "The Invisible Government" which details the manner in which such organizations as the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Information Agency operate behind the scenes. The book is primarily a detailed account of the C.I.A.-sponsored invasion of Cuba in April, 1961. It is a story of incredibly bad planning, indecisiveness and faulty judgment. Its principal lesson seems to be that you can't fight a war secretly in a free country.

Ironically, the press in the eastern and southeastern United States, which knew all about the invasion preparations, kept silent at the request of Washington. More ironically, had the press done its duty the country almost certainly would have been saved from this fiasco.

Vance Packard has written another book, called "The Naked Society," which presents a rather horrifying picture of just how little privacy the individual any longer has in this country. Here it is not only government but business itself which pries loose every facet of the individual's personal life. If he doesn't submit to a lie detector test, at which the most intimate details of his behavior are questioned, he doesn't get the job.

More recently there was the case of "The Strategy of Deception." The United States Information Agency wanted to see this book published for distribution abroad. But the publisher would need to sell it also at home since the subsidy available to the U.S.I.A. was limited. At the same time Federal law forbids use of U.S.I.A. funds to subsidize material for domestic distribution.

Yet to issue the book from the Government Printing Office would immediately stamp it as propaganda, which, of course, it was, so far as U.S.I.A. was concerned. U.S.I.A. needed an "authentic" book. So a deal was made with a publisher to buy 2,000 copies for distribution overseas. The publisher, of course, would then sell all he could at home.

"The Strategy of Deception" is described as a study in world-wide Communist tactics, and it may be highly desirable for all Americans and as many foreigners as we can induce to read. But the fact is that this book would never have come into being in its present form—as an independent study, though the U.S.I.A. censored it before publication—without Federal subsidy. And there is nothing whatever in the book to indicate that the Federal Government had anything to do with its publication.

This is just one more dabble by our government in the field of authoritarianism. The tendency seems to be growing. The lethargy of the public toward such intrusions on their right to know what their government is doing is monumental. Would it not be strange to discover some day that the Russians know more about their government's operation than we know

DAYTON, OHIO
NEWS

e. 154,600
S. 195,438

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: JUL 5 1954

'INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT'

Critics Lash At CIA Power

By JIM NICHOLS, Daily News Staff Writer

"Gentlemen do not read each others mail." These were the words of Henry Stimson, secretary of state in 1939 when he closed the department's "black chamber," its rather primitive decoding room.

It is apparent that the United States has come a long way since then. Almost daily stories in the press, if read carefully show that we have dropped that face of innocence.

But just how great has been the unmasking, and just how far we have to go to correct our naivete is more clearly revealed in the new book, "The Invisible Government," written by David Wise and Thomas Ross and published by Random House.

THIS BOOK is highly critical of the role that the Central Intelligence agency and other security agencies of the federal government are playing in shaping our current foreign policy.

Reports from Washington indicate that the CIA is trying to buy up copies of the book and otherwise suppress it. The CIA claims that the book names "26 or 27 deep cover agents."

The publisher denies this and Bennett Cerf, president of Random House, says, "We think the book is completely accurate. If there are any inaccuracies, we'd certainly want to know about them. As yet, they haven't told us one."

THEY THAT as it may the authors have done a good job of reporting on the nation's most highly secret agencies. It appears they may have been reading a little mail themselves.

But most of what they write is a matter of public record. How-

ever, the record is made more lively by the focus into which the authors place it.

The CIA's role in the Bay of Pigs, the overthrow of the government in Iran and Guatemala and many dealings elsewhere are outlined. The fact that the agencies has actually operated armies, navies and air forces to carry out its plans is a matter for grave consideration by all citizens.

THE ACCOUNT of the Bay of Pigs operation is especially interesting. It also reveals some of the glaring weaknesses of such secret, extensive covert operations.

The late President John F. Kennedy accepted the complete responsibility for the Cuban debacle. As the chief executive of-

ficer of this nation that was his destined role.

But the more you read and learn of the CIA planning for the Bay of Pigs landing, the more amateurish it seems. The desire of the CIA to go ahead, despite an indication from the Joint Chiefs of Staff that chances for success were minimal makes you stop and wonder if the "invisible government" has taken too much power.

THIS IS NOT a spy book. It is the story of the updating of our intelligence system—a phase of international relations in which we were centuries behind. Not only the CIA, but the National Security agency and the Defense Intelligence agency are examined by the authors.

Undoubtedly they have re-

vealed things that the agencies would rather have kept covered. But that's the way this nation works. Secrets concerning governmental policy are still abhorrent to us.

Despite this, the book does let the public know that in the vital matters of intelligence we are finally on a firm footing with the rest of the world. Gentlemen may not read each other's mail, but then who ever claimed that international politics was a gentlemanly game?



WATERBURY, CONN.
REPUBLICAN

m. 24,059
S. 50,455

Front Edit Other
Page Page Page

Date: JUL 1 1964

CIA Under Fire

Is the Central Intelligence Agency an instrument of government or a government itself?

The Central Intelligence Agency, Washington's hush-hush bureau for gleaning intelligence abroad, is again under public indictment. Two veteran national correspondents have dissected the CIA as "The Invisible Government," and there has been a flurry of argument and counter-argument over the need for congressional supervision of the super-sleuth operatives.

Because of the nature of its activities and need for secrecy at home and abroad the specific functions and policies of the CIA may never be made public. Any discussion of new or increased congressional watchdog powers over the CIA must be done with dark glasses on.

Administration officials in the White House, Pentagon, and State Department are privy to the CIA, and a handful of key congressmen are briefed on its activities, but usually not much more extensively than is needed to pad the budget for CIA funds.

Realists know that the CIA cannot be responsible to the Congress in a manner of other Federal agencies, even though it must rely on the Legislature for funds. It is a creature of the Executive Branch, its

most secret servant, and is not responsible to congressional or public pressure.

This can be changed, of course, and the charges leveled against the CIA in the aftermath of the U-2 incident, and more vociferously in the debris of the Bay of Pigs failure, would seem to indicate that the CIA needs increased supervision. No one has disputed the agency's role in gathering intelligence, or even in the sometimes unpleasant and sometimes embarrassing role of undercover revolutionary. But evidence exists that the CIA has on certain crucial occasions made policy instead of merely executing it, and that in more numerous cases the line of demarcation between the source of decision and the instrumentation of decision has been blurred.

And yet the affairs of the CIA are so delicate that one might well hesitate before turning them inside-out before Democratic and Republican congressmen. The CIA, despite more heady charges, is not autonomous. It is responsible to the office of the President of the United States, and if it oversteps its bounds it violates the President's delegated power.

Many observers are distrustful of the CIA. But there are some points on which the public must have confidence in the President and his ability to control his agents.

7 JULY 1964

What People Talk About

The CIA Not So Unbridled

To the Editor—A recent Sunday editorial entitled "Cloak-and-Dagger Stuff," discusses the problems of conducting secret operations in a democracy. The materials for the editorial are drawn from the book, "The Invisible Government," by Wise and Ross.

The major thesis of this book is that the Central Intelligence Agency is a free-wheeling operation subject to grossly inadequate control by either the President or the Congress.

In your own editorial you state without qualification, "Subject to no control or accounting by Congress, it (the Central Intelligence Agency) has been able to topple foreign governments..." This is simply not true.

There are four subcommittees of regular standing committees of Congress that exercise regular and continuing control of CIA funds and activities. These are not, as the book claims, "shadowy" subcommittees "controlled by the most conservative members of Congress." They are composed of some of the most senior and respected men of Congress. Sen. Saltonstall is one of them.

The Congress can never be accused of reticence in carrying out its constitutional function of legislative oversight over the activities of the executive branch. Yet it has voted down several resolutions offered by individual members to set up a special CIA watchdog committee. The only reasonable conclusion that can be drawn is that as a whole Congress believes that present arrangements provide an adequate mechanism for control.

In the Globe's editorial you ask "why are its (CIA's) subversions of foreign governments usually in the form of a palace coup, or of the installation of an unpopular government." The answer is again that it isn't so.

The authors of the book convey this impression from the few examples they have selected to prove their contentions. These examples are told in a racy style to imply to the reader that the authors were right by the side of the President or the chief CIA agent when the fateful operation took place. Clearly they weren't and their sources are often gossip, hearsay, and self-serving statements after the fact.

There can be no disagreement that the reconciliation of secret operations with a democratic government operating in an open society is a very difficult problem. But this book appears more interested in peephole revelations than in contributing constructively to public understanding.

May I say that I served in OSS with resistance groups in occupied Europe during World War II and participated in the work of two presidential committees concerned with defense policies and the operations of the National Security Council.

FRANKLIN A. LINDSAY
Belmont

Handwritten initials: *LSW*, *HCK*, *GLC*, and a signature.

**HOUSTON, TEXAS
POST**

m. 224,649
S. 250,301

Front Edit Other
Page Page Page

Date: JUN 28 1964

When Is an Expose a Poor Joke?

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT, by David Wise and Thomas E. Ross, 356 pp. New York: Random House. \$5.95.

A New York drama critic once wrote the most cogent review of a new Broadway play, which was also the shortest on record: "This," he said, "is the play lousy!"

Actually this expose of the CIA is more bilious than bad. It is a work conceived with rare and admirable imagination and well-written in a lucid, breezy style, but it leaves a nausea in its wake, a mawkish wonder how two chronologically-mature men (both authors admit to a ripe old 34) could seriously promote such an absurd and fulsome thesis.

IN THE BEGINNING THE reader is asked to believe that here in this most open of democracies our people live in a state of naive political delusion. They think they know the truth about our governmental structure and how it functions; they even believe they have an important voice in what it is and does. Governing authority, they are certain, lies in the White House, the Congress and the Supreme Court.

"Not so, O Deluded Ones!"

insinuate our imaginative authors. Underlying every executive pronouncement, every congressional action, every judicial determination, there is a slinky, clandestine force at work — a "shadow government," unseen but real, and busily engaged in "shaping the lives of 190 million Americans" and "making major decisions, sometimes involving peace or war . . . even without the knowledge of our elected representatives."

By what mysterious alchemy or blessed gift (or is it just imagination?) these two can see what ordinary mortals cannot, is obscure; but see it they do. "There are two governments in the United States today," they devine. "One is visible. The other is invisible. The first is the government that citizens read about in their newspapers. The second is the interlocking, hidden machinery that carries out the policies of the United States in the Cold War."

BEING INVISIBLE, the outlines of the second are not clearly discernible even to our informants, but they are sure it is "a loose, amorphous grouping of individuals and agencies" that make up the intelligence community in the visible government. They know

also its GHQ lies in the Central Intelligence Agency and that its activities are controlled by a small directorate "the name of which is only whispered . . . unknown outside the innermost circles of the Invisible Government" itself. The authors, however, are not afraid to say it out loud — it is called the "Special Group," or if that isn't cloak-and-dagger enough, the "54-12 Group."

The suspicion grows that Wise and Ross are pulling the reader's leg. It blossoms into conviction at the next incredible revelation. Do you know who it was who spawned this cancerous growth in our national bosom? It was Harry S. Truman, because it was he who signed that dastardly Executive Order on Jan 22, 1946, that set up our first National Intelligence Authority. Poor maligned Harry — as though he didn't have enough unwarranted scars to remember his sojourn at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

UP TO THIS point it has been fairly easy, even amusing, to go along with the gag. But then the authors feel it necessary to prove their thesis and the going gets sticky. They rely on the tired device of "for-the-first-time-told" accounts of what REALLY hap-

pened in Guatemala, Iran, Indonesia, Cuba and other messy spots around the world, complete with "evidence" to demonstrate it was the Invisible Government that botched them up and made them messier. They waft the reader with them into privileged sanctums of the "Special Group" with verbatim quotes from conversations and secret deliberations that took place in far away places, some of which occurred before Wise and Ross had learned to shave.

They stretch credibility to the breaking point by naming names, although as experienced journalists who know the sting packed in a libel suit they preface their disclosures with time-tested disclaimers to preclude legal action. They assume, speculate, allege, infer and generalize in order to condemn; and suddenly the book isn't fun anymore. It becomes clear the boys aren't joshing. They are in dead earnest and they confidently expect the reader to believe them.

It also becomes abundantly clear that our drama critic is well worth plagiarizing.

JOHN O. WEAVER

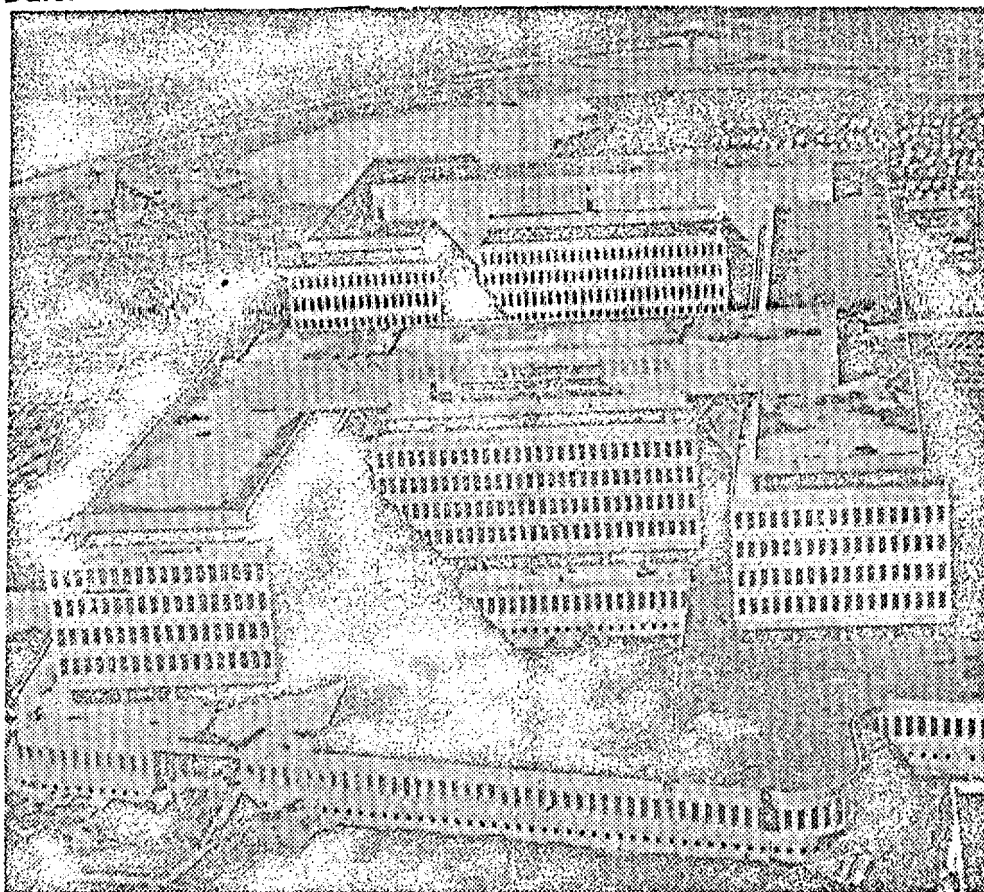
Col Weaver is on the faculty of the American University in Washington, DC.

WORCESTER, MASS.
TELEGRAM

m. 59,451

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: JUN 22 1964



The CIA complex as it was being built

The Word Is Out

Now Everybody Knows About the Secret CIA

By John H. McMillan
Of the Editorial Staff

Continued

The Central Intelligence Agency and other U.S. security bureaus spend \$4 billion a year, employ 200,000 men and women, sponsor coups in foreign countries, sometimes work at cross purposes with our foreign policy, and mock American political theory.

Those are the broad lines of the charges that David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, newspaper reporters in Washington, lay down in "The Invisible Government," the year's most controversial book. Although it is being published only today it already has been subjected to vigorous criticism within the government.

According to The Minneapolis Tribune, the CIA asked Random House, the publisher, to suppress or censor the book. Random House admitted that the CIA called parts of the book inaccurate but said the CIA refused to specify how or where.

Some Theory

Jack Raymond of The New York Times Washington Bureau declared, "Officials assert the Wise-Ross book's identification of certain persons with specific incidents is believed to have done considerable damage to the United States' clandestine operations."

The CIA apparently is operating on the theory, difficult to believe, that two American journalists have been able to find out more than Communist spies here and abroad.

But it is not surprising that the CIA is upset about "The Invisible Government." For Wise and Ross tell of CIA ineptness as well as describing a wide range of CIA operations.

CIA's sponsorship of the U-2 spy flights over Russia from 1956 to 1960 is well known. So is the CIA supervision of the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

Quiet Facts

Less well known are these activities which Wise and

Ross attribute to the CIA:

—Suppression of a revolt in Guatemala in 1960 and support of a successful revolution there in 1954;

—The overthrow of Premier Mohammed Mossadegh of Iran in 1953;

—Financing of a West German intelligence network, operated by ex-Nazis and infiltrated to the highest levels by the Communists;

—Attempts in 1953 and 1954 to oust Jose Figueres, the president of Costa Rica;

—The support of 12,000 Chinese Nationalist troops in the 1950s within the borders of Burma;

—The provision of aerial support in 1958 for a revolt against President Sukarno of Indonesia;

—The backing of ineffective right-wing forces in Laos during the Eisenhower administration against a neutralist regime;

—Efforts to overturn the policy of the U.S. Army in South Viet Nam.

Justification

The authors justify their publication of details about these and other operations this way:

"The premise of this book is that even in a time of Cold War, the United States government must rest, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, on 'the consent of the governed.' And there can be no meaningful consent where those who are governed do not know to what they are consenting.

"In the harsh conditions of the mid-20th century, the nation's leaders have increasingly come to feel that certain decisions must be made by them alone without popular consent, and in secret, if the nation is to survive. The area of this secret decision-making has grown rapidly and the size of the 'Invisible Government' has increased proportionately."

In addition to the issue of secret decision-making in a

CIA CONTACTS U.S. TOURISTS

"The Invisible government" suggests that Marvin Makinen, of Ashburnham, imprisoned by the Russians in 1961 and freed in 1962, was an agent for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The book declares:

"It is not unusual for the CIA to contact Americans about to go behind the Iron Curtain as tourists . . .

"In a similar case in 1961, another American, (Makinen), was arrested while touring Russia . . . The Russians said he had confessed to spying . . .

"Makinen had little to say to reporters when he stepped off a BOAC airliner at Idlewild International Airport . . . When asked about his arrest, he replied in a low voice: 'I guess it was mainly because of my confession.'"

free society, the book raises two other major questions:

—How can policy, as determined by CIA and its intelligence compatriots, be harmonized with the policy being pursued by the Defense Department, the State Department, and the President?

—To what extent should CIA be allowed to operate within this country, as in its financial sponsorship of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology?

Wise and Ross suggest that U.S. ambassadors control or at least be alerted to CIA operations within their countries; that a blue-ribbon panel of Congress be established to supervise CIA much as the joint atomic energy committee oversees the Atomic Energy Commission; that the President look not only to the intelligence community but also to other sources before approving particular overseas operations, and that the CIA stop trying to mislead the American public by lying.

WICHITA, KANSAS

EAGLE

m. 123,792

e. 78,077

S. 159,867

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

4-B
JUN 28 1964

Date:

Thoroughly Organized

CIA Examined By 2 Newsmen

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Random House, 457 Madison Ave., New York 22, \$5.95.

Eisenhower planned it; Kennedy executed it; and the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) fumbled it.

The abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961 was a direct covert action of the United States' "Invisible Government" to topple the Castro government in Cuba.

CUBA WAS A LARGE SCALE operation that failed. It was by no means the first such sortie engaged in by the CIA, but it was big enough and grotesque enough to direct some inquisitive eyes toward the CIA, its organization and its varied operations.

The facts presented by Authors Wise and Ross for the most part are not surprising. They have been heard before—out of context.

"The Invisible Government" presents the reader with a thoroughly organized study of the CIA and the other members of this country's intelligence community, of which the CIA is the core.

CLOAKED IN A VEIL of secrecy, the CIA is presented in this book as an independent government within a government, working outside the boundaries of its parent.

President Truman provided a backbone for the Invisible Government through the National Security Act of 1947, establishing the CIA.

"But in 1963 the intelligence apparatus had taken on dimensions which Truman said he had never anticipated," the book points out.

IT QUOTES TRUMAN as saying: "There are some searching questions that need to be answered. I . . . would like to see the CIA be restored to its original assignment as the intelligence arm of the President, and whatever else it can properly perform in that special field — and that its operational duties be terminated or properly used elsewhere."

Wise and Ross cite covert CIA "operations" in Burma, Laos, Indonesia, Viet Nam and Guatemala, as well as Cuba.

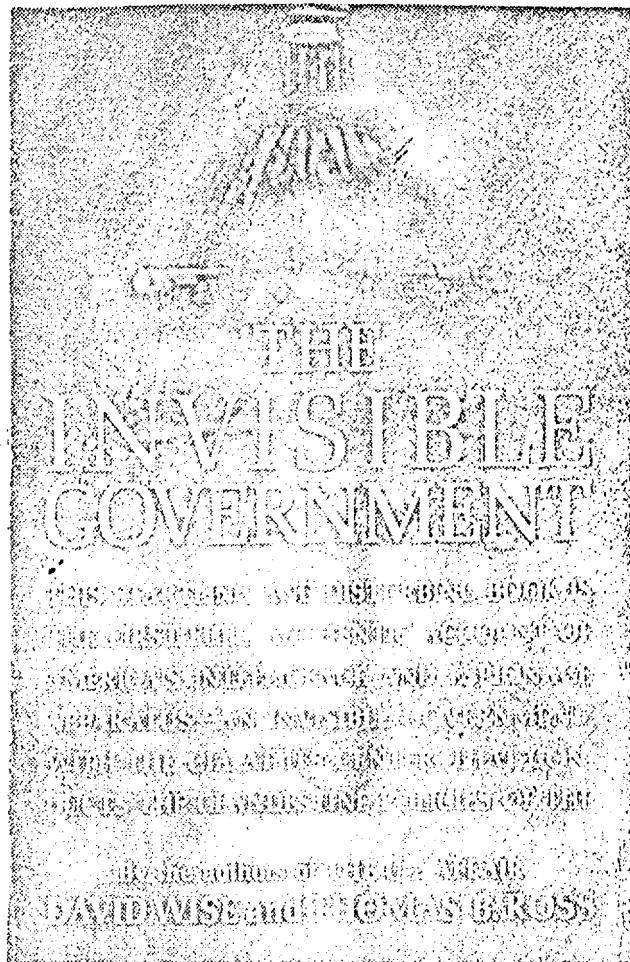
THERE WERE CASES, they say, where ambassadors, the President's personal representatives in foreign lands, were kept in the dark about CIA activities, and actually thwarted in the performance of their duties.

The authors have pulled together a blow by blow description of the tragic Bay of Pigs fiasco, pointing out a definite lack of adequate planning and the lack of alternate plans to fall back on.

They tell a story of the widows and families of those four Alabama National Guard fliers who were killed while making last ditch support flights over the beaches.

"UNFORTUNATELY, AT present neither CIA nor any

Continued



other government agency possesses the slightest pertinent information on your son's disappearance," a flier's mother was told in a letter from the White House.

The book charges that misleading statements of the agency's covert operation have raised havoc even with the electoral process, naming the 1960 presidential campaign as an example.

CIA activities have played such a major role in international relations over the past few years that the average American has no basis on which to assess the activities of its own government, because he doesn't know whether or not to believe his government's statements.

THE AUTHORS CALL FOR a re-evaluation of the Invisible Government and the role it plays in the sphere of democratic government.

"Most important, the public, the President and the Congress must support steps to control the intelligence establishment, to place checks on its power and to make it truly accountable, particularly in the area of special operations," they say.

Wise and Ross have done an outstanding job in presenting an "almost" inside picture of the Invisible Government — a story that must be told — and read.

JUN 28 1964

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
TRIBUNE

m. 215,803
S. 651,844

Front Edit Other
Page Page Page

Date: JUN 28 1954

Random House is stirring up official Washington circles considerably this month. "The Invisible Government" by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross charges that the CIA annually spends \$4 million taken from the federal budget but concealed under other appropriations. In the book "It's Your Money: Waste and Mismanagement in Government Spending," Ladislav Farago claims that the Air Force spent \$1 apiece for 5-cent screws and that \$1,040,355,000 went into production of a nuclear-powered plane that never flew . . .

TUCSON, ARIZ.
CITIZEN

e. 40,825

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Date: JUN 19 1954

Why Blame All On CIA?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

This column does not accept the conspiracy theory of history. But it does think rather well of the contagion theory. This can involve conspiracy at the outset to float rumors, to slander characters, and to impute motives. The first thing you know everyone and his brother are saying something that is either witless or unprovable, or both.

AT THE PRESENT moment the "contagion" is spreading stories designed to discredit the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency. A book has been written about the CIA called "The Invisible Government," by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. I don't want to defend or attack details in the book, for I hear conflicting stories about the CIA, and I don't know whether Wise and Ross have been guilty of compromising 27 CIA agents by naming them. But what bothers me about the "contagion" that currently holds our Central Intelligence operatives to be a danger to democracy is that the butts of all the rumors can't in the nature of things stand up and defend themselves.

There is the case of Richard Bissell, for instance. Bissell had a lot to do with planning the Bay of Pigs operation which failed so lamentably when U. S. air cover failed to materialize over the beaches held by the anti-Castro Cuban invasion brigade. Bissell is the inferential goat of the recent book by Haynes Johnson called "The Bay of Pigs: The Leaders' Story of Brigade 2506." Maybe he deserves criticism. But the point is that he can't very well speak up in his own defense without involving others.

ON THE FACE OF it both the CIA and the Pentagon did plan for an ineffective invasion of Cuba. The critics say that the underground was not alerted, that the maps of the Bay of Pigs coast did not reckon with the coral reefs that snagged some of the invasion boats, that the anti-Castro Cubans were misled by people who "gave them to understand" that the U. S. was totally committed to their success. But the real failure was one of will, and this cannot be held against Richard Bissell and the CIA.

Mr. Johnson makes the CIA the goat in its failure to tell the late President Kennedy that control of the beaches by American air power might be necessary. Bissell, indeed, did ask for it after things began to go wrong. At this point Kennedy offered an "air umbrella" to protect the anti-Castro Cubans' own planes, a handful of B-26s based in Central America. But this, on its face, was ambiguous: Were we behind the Cubans, or were we not? Who could have told?

IN OUR NATIONAL fear of anybody with positive convictions (they are "extreme," you know), the point was lost that when you plan to upset a status quo, you must will the means to do it. We didn't lose at the Bay of Pigs because of technical failures. We lost because there was no will in Washington to win. If the CIA operatives are told to march without being provided with marching orders, why blame them for anything they do?

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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
EXAMINER

m. 292,539
S. 435,887

Front Edit Other
Page Page Page

Date: JUN 24 1964



THE BOOK CORNER

Secrecy Disclosed

By Donald Stanley

"WHEN THE public positions of candidates for President are shaped (or reversed) by secret operations which the voters are not entitled to know about, something has happened to the American system, and something for ill."

This lies close to the heart of the Constitutional danger posed by the U. S. intelligence and espionage apparatus as viewed in a detailed and sensational new book, *The Invisible Government*. Its authors are two able, hard-nosed reporters (David Wise of the New York Herald Tribune and Thomas Ross of the Chicago Sun-Times) whose disclosures began drawing Washington fire long before publication.

During the 1960 campaign, Richard Nixon came out against American support for an exile invasion of Cuba even though he favored such a policy. He opposed because he feared his advocacy would endanger plans, already secretly under way, for just such an operation.

The Bay of Pigs was a not-so-covert operation of the CIA, most powerful arm of the "invisible government." Nixon's campaign dilemma, say Wise and Ross, meant the CIA had penetrated "the very heart of democratic government," the electoral process.

As opposed to the visible government, whose behavior is subject to Congressional check and voter decision, the invisible government is carefully veiled from judgment. Yet the agencies of which it is composed, say the authors, spend some \$4 billion a year and employ about 200,000 people with no public accounting. Well, so be it. Or can we take that attitude?

This "government" does not simply

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT. By David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Random House: 375 pages: \$5.95.

gather intelligence. It also carries out policy—policy it has had an inordinately strong hand in shaping, say the authors.

Wise and Ross give detailed accounts of CIA "special operations" which (besides the U-2 and Bay of Pigs programs) tried to overthrow Sukarno in 1958, toppled governments in Iran in 1953 and Guatemala in 1954, and operated outside the context of proclaimed U. S. policy in Laos, Vietnam and Burma.

Not even other Federal branches are immune from CIA "penetration." One of the Peace Corps' biggest problems is trying to maintain its purity by making sure the CIA doesn't fit an agent with this perfect "cover"—thus endangering the whole program.

THERE ARE also revelations of fantastic developments in electronic-age espionage: satellite cameras "capable of resolving two objects three inches apart from 125 miles up" for instance. This is obviously a book that will be on the shelf of every spymaster on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Given the world as it is, few need be shocked by the extent of our information-gathering machinery. Spies are vital. Rather, it is the "special operations" that worry the authors and they ask of this proliferating secret bureaucracy, "Has the dagger, in short, become more important than the cloak?"

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

TRIBUNE

m. 215,803

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Date: JUN 28 1964

Cloak Is Taken Off U.S. Cloak-and-Dagger Deals

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT, by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, (Random House, 375 pages, \$5.95).

Reviewed by
CHARLES W. BAILEY

One of the persistent and troublesome problems of American government in the age of Cold War is the proper role of what can loosely be termed "cloak-and-dagger" activity — spying, intelligence-gathering, and other clandestine operations.

None but the naive would deny the need, if only in the interests of self-preservation, for the United States to engage in this kind of thing. But many, acknowledging this need, still wonder what we are doing — and whether we are properly controlling what we do.

Two experienced Washington newspapermen now offer, in "The Invisible Government," a detailed look at many, if not all, of the things we are doing in this area.

IN ADDITION, they provide compelling and often disturbing evidence that the traditional organs of government have dangerously inadequate control over this secret work.

Wise and Ross provided a glimpse of the secret government when they wrote their first book on the U2 spy plane affair. This time they have probed U.S. involvement in a great many other matters, including the 1961 Cuban invasion, operations in Laos and Viet Nam, and revolutions in Latin America, Iran and Indonesia.

They also present new details on the structure of the American "invisible government," its cost, and the ways in which it has reached out to take root in this country as well as abroad.

THERE HAS been a good deal of semi-anonymous criticism from "official sources" about this book. It is alleged — though neither the Central Intelligence Agency nor any other officials will say so publicly — that the book contains errors of fact and disclosures that could endanger national security.

Clearly, the book must be embarrassing to the CIA and other agencies and individuals involved, since it lays out in detail a number of matters which those concerned would obviously prefer to have left unrecorded.

But a reading of "The Invisible Government" also leads the reader to conclude that the authors have done their work with care. The book is well-documented — a first-rate piece of reporting in an area where no official cooperation whatever could be expected. And there are dozens of places where Wise and Ross have obviously avoided the gratuitous use of names and other specifics that might have spiced up their account.

AN ARGUMENT can be constructed — indeed, this was the thrust of the under-the-table efforts to suppress the book — to the effect that the book published. But it's not much of

a case. The need for clandestine operations in today's world does not cancel out, and in fact increases, the need for us to know, at least in general, what's going on.

"The Invisible Government" is well-written, and reads in many places like a spy novel. But this is not the only reason why it should be read; far more compelling is the fact that it will give most Americans their first good look at a vastly expensive, highly important and extremely risky sector of government operations.

When secret government activity reaches out so far as to affect the conduct of a presidential campaign — as the authors convincingly claim the Cuban operation did in the 1960 contest between Kennedy and Nixon — it is time that the country, even if it accepts the situation, knows about it. As Wise and Ross conclude, "the . . . danger of exposure is far less than the danger of secret power."

CHARLES W. BAILEY is a staff writer for the *Minneapolis Tribune* Washington Bureau.

DENVER, COLO.
POST

e. 255,318
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Date: JUN 28 1964

12 • ROUNDUP • June 28, 1964

Readers' Roundup

● STANTON PECKHAM

TWO most talked-about books in the book trade these days are "The Invisible Government" (reviewed here today) and a sickening, salacious opus about a long-deceased movie star, who and which shall be nameless. There is general agreement that the book about the late actress never should have been written in the first place, nor published in the second. (Here is another instance in which a modicum of self-censorship on the part of the publishers might not have been out of order.)

The case of "The Invisible Government" is quite different. The authors have done a good job on it. It contains information on the operations of the CIA, the National Security Agency, and "an even more top secret central coordinating group." Unnamed "high government officials"

... The Good and Bad of It

have howled that the book contains 112 breaches of security, some so bad that the usefulness of certain agents is destroyed by their disclosure. They wanted the government to buy up all 20,000 of the first printing, and the book revised.

Any "high government officials" making such a suggestion must be off their rockers. The security was breached when the authors got their information, not when they published it, and it must be assumed that any unfriendly government agents would be equally clever in going after information really vital to them. Furthermore, the publisher of the book attests that all the information it contains has been published in one form or another, so there is no point in not collecting it for the information of the general public, since "the enemy," if he is interested, already has it.

PORTLAND, OREGON
OREGONIAN

m. 216,367
S. 356,753

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Date: JUN 21 1964

'Invisible Government' Rapped; Intelligence 'Out Of Control'

By MALCOLM BAUER
Associate Editor, The Oregonian

"THERE ARE two governments in the United States today," two reputable Washington, D.C., newspapermen contend in *The Invisible Government* (Random House, \$5.95). "One is visible. The other is invisible."

The latter, obviously, is the subject of this well assembled documentary by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. It is not, in the true sense, a government. Rather, it is a loose grouping of executive agencies known as "the intelligence community," composed of the National Security Council, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, Army - Navy - Air Force Intelligence, State Department Intelligence, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and—at its heart—the Central Intelligence Agency.

Wise and Ross replay the tragi-comedy of the Bay of Pigs with the shadowy intelligence agents calling the turns. And they fortify their warning with other U.S. spy dramas less known.

"There is no doubt at all," they write, "that the CIA (led by Kermit Roosevelt, grandson of Teddy) organized and directed the 1953 coup that overthrew Premier Mohammed Mossadegh (in 1953 in Iran)." And they cite other secret and sinister operations in Viet Nam, Guatemala, Egypt, etc.—and within the United States.

The premise of the authors is not that there should be no intelligence community, but that it should be under greater control and scrutiny.

Perhaps the most disquieting parts of a disquieting book are to be found in the undeniable quotations of high officials who knew at the time they were lying to protect secret operations. Some examples:

"The American people are entitled to know whether we are intervening in Cuba or intend to do so in the future. The answer to that question is no."
—Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

"There was absolutely no — N-O — no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet airspace. There never has been." Lincoln White, State Department spokesman, on the U-2 incident.

There is evidence here that both Richard Nixon and John Kennedy knew of Cuban invasion plans during the campaign of 1960 and that both deliberately misled their audiences on the subject.

"The secret intelligence machinery of the government can never be totally reconciled with the traditions of a free republic," the authors conclude persuasively. "But in a time of Cold War, the solution lies not in dismantling this machinery but in bringing it under greater control. The resultant danger of exposure is far less than the danger of secret power."

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
NEWS-CALL BULLETIN

e. 190,260

Front Page Edit Page Other Page 1
Date: JUN 27 1964

Controversial Report

A Peek Under CIA Curtain

"THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT," by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross (Random House; \$5.95).

An "incredible" time zone mix-up deprived Cuban exile bombers of needed jet fighter cover during the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961, according to Washington newsmen David Wise and Thomas B. Ross.

The book is already a subject of controversy in the capital, with allegations that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) attempted to have portions of it suppressed or, failing that, to buy up all the copies in print.

WISE IS chief of The New York Herald-Tribune's Washington Bureau, and Ross is on The Chicago Sun-Times capital staff. They claim that an "Invisible Government" of top secret intelligence agencies, with the CIA at its center, has grown in power during the United States' long twilight struggle with the Communist world.

They charge that this shadowy structure spends about \$4 billion a year and employs more than 200,000 persons, but is subject to few controls or checks from either Congress or the White House.

The book documents the dangers of operations that get out of control of the President and of U.S. ambassadors on the scene.

THE AUTHORS cited the Bay of Pigs error as an example of the frequent failure of liaison within the CIA.

They said the late President John F. Kennedy ordered the Navy to provide fighter cover when it appeared that Fidel Castro's air force had gained mastery of the skies over the invasion site, endangering the Cuban exile brigade fighting on the beaches.

Under Kennedy's order, the Navy was to provide one hour of fighter cover on the morning of April 19, three days after the invasion had begun.

But by the time the exile bombers showed up, the Navy jets had come and gone.

"How this happened may never be entirely unscrambled . . . but the evidence pointed directly to the incredible conclusion that the mix-up had occurred because of confusion over time zones."

IT WAS on this bomb-

ing raid, the authors charge, that four Americans—Riley W. Shamburger Jr., Thomas W. Ray, Leo F. Baker and Wade C. Gray, all of the Birmingham, Ala., area — were killed.

Wise and Ross claim that neither the CIA nor any other government department has ever admitted that the four were piloting the Cuban exile planes, nor has ever told the widows of the four men how they met death. All of the widows receive more or less regular pension-type payments, however.

Wise and Ross concluded that:

"The secret intelligence machinery of the government can never be reconciled with the traditions of a free republic. But in a time of Cold War, the solution lies not in dismantling the machinery but in bringing it under greater control. The resultant danger of exposure is far less than the danger of secret power.

"If we err as a society, let it be on the side of control."—U.P.I.

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JACKSONVILLE, FLA.
TIMES-UNION

m. 152,373
S. 166,652

Front Page	Edit Page	Other Page
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Date: JUL 1 1964

An Invisible Government That Makes Our Laws

By Caleb J. King Jr.

Just off the press under the Random House label is a book about one of the most controversial establishments in the federal government, the Central Intelligence Agency. Titled "The Invisible Government," the volume is said to have been criticized by CIA on the charge that it was inaccurate.

Officials of the publishing house in turn have asked for a list of the inaccuracies, at the same time denying that CIA had tried to suppress or censor the book, which is authored by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross.

Created largely as a result of blunders in the intelligence process during World War II, CIA is a central depository for information about potential enemies from all sources. It is aimed at avoiding the "over-the-coffee-cups" method of arriving at the enemy's capabilities. The agency has been under fire since the invasion debacle engineered by the late President Kennedy to liberate Cuba.

About a decade ago an ex-newspaperman drew on his experience as a reporter to give a picture of a different kind of "invisible government." Karl Schriftgiesser, who wrote the book, "The Lobbyists," described the influence business in the nation's capital.

Congress gives legal countenance to lobbying. It permits representatives of various establishments use to stratagems to get legislation they want passed. Some lobbyists undeniably serve in quite a legitimate capacity. Representing complex industries or far-flung trade associations, they provide valuable sources of information and their help is often

sought by congressmen in drafting legislation.

Lobbyists are so active that congressmen find it hard to get a night off from parties staged for their benefit. Lobbyists in Washington are said to outnumber members of Congress three to one.

Nor is lobbying carried on by private enterprise alone. The government constitutes one of the most effective lobbies in the world. This is obvious from the number of public relations employees on the federal payrolls.

The Senate Investigating Committee which early in 1950 rebuked Maj. Gen. Harry Vaughan, presidential aide, for accepting freezers from a concern that obviously was using the gifts to purchase White House influence, put its finger on one of the most unwholesome practices in the American system of government. The reader can bring himself up to date by reading stories about the Bobby Baker scandal.

Said the author of the book, "The Lobbyists":

"Lobbying as it is carried on in Washington today is, the (Buchanan) committee asserts—and all evidence tends to support the assertion—basically a reflection of our economy." And he quoted the committee: "As the management of this economy has drifted into fewer and fewer hands, so too has pressure on the legislative front been sharply accelerated... 'lobbying for all' may be a sacred right but it is a right which some men can make more meaningful than others. It is said, for example, that the individual consumer and the billion dollar corporation have equal rights before the law, but are they equal before the law-makers?"

JULY 8, 1964

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

Sun-Telegraph

First Newspaper West of the Alleghonias
Gazette Established 1786; Post. 1842; Telegraph. 1873;
Sun. 1906.

PAUL BLOCK, PUBLISHER, 1927-1941

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NEW YORK OFFICE: 261 Madison Avenue.
WASHINGTON BUREAU: 1250 National Press Bldg.
HARRISBURG BUREAU: Capitol News Room.

How Accurate?

IN REVIEWING "The Invisible Government," a disturbing study of the vast U.S. intelligence establishment by authors whom he calls "two of the brightest young men of the Washington news corps," one reviewer notes that the policy of secrecy on intelligence work clearly forced the book's writers to labor mightily to piece their account together. And he noted, too, that the absence of official sources "naturally raises the question of how accurate the book is."

In bits and pieces, and often through criticisms of legislators disturbed by untoward international events to which the Central Intelligence Agency was linked, the American public has been given a smattering of impressions about the CIA which the compilation of "The Invisible Government" might well focus into sharp apprehension.

The repeated allegations of the CIA's undercover intervention in the internal affairs of other countries become a source of special concern when there is the suspicion that this agency is not only doing far more than normal intelligence gathering but that it operates without adequate supervision from top responsible officials in our "open government."

Such suspicions would be impossible to dissipate by public revelations, because those revelations would destroy an apparatus whose effectiveness in serving the national security depends in large part upon the very secrecy that may cloak both mistakes and improper activities. But the public could be reassured that the secret intelligence establishment is under effective supervision—and the basic democratic controls over government policy and action protected against erosion—if a blue-ribbon joint Senate-House committee like the one on secret atomic energy matters were established to check on American intelligence activities.

This was what the authors of "The Invisible Government" argued for. And the formation of such a committee has been supported by this newspaper for years past. If the book about CIA, and associated bodies, is inaccurate or overdrawn, then the best—and only—rebuttal possible to its contentions and charges are in private before a tight-lipped and trustworthy committee of Congress.

Such a committee really is possible

PITTSBURGH, PA.
PRESS

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S. 734,077

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Date: JUN 27 1964

Book Review

Writers Attack The CIA

It's Beyond Control, Authors Charge

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT. By David Wise and Thomas B. Ross.
356 pp., notes and index, Random House, New York. \$5.95.

By MARY ROBB

A TANTALIZING background to this discussion of the intelligence and espionage organizations of the United States is found in a paragraph on Page 49 of Publishers' Weekly for June 8.

Certain "high officials" are said to be gravely



Mr. McCone

disturbed by the book's revelations of secret operations and by "112 breaches of security."

These charges are, of course, vigorously — and no doubt happily — denied by the publishers.

Dangerous or not, "The Invisible Government" is certainly an enthralling but chaotically organized collection of facts and incidents supporting the thesis that the United States "intelligence community" is hideously expensive, frequently inept and beyond control by any constituted authority.

The heaviest attack is directed against the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as the organization most responsible for unwarranted intrusions into the political affairs of other nations and for cynical raids upon naive American taxpayers.

Plotting Claimed

To prepare readers for these conclusions, the authors, two experienced Washington newsmen, set forth a series of situations in which, they think, the CIA demonstrated either poor planning or total disregard of the real desires of the people with whose governments it was interfering.

The melancholy procession includes the Bay of Pigs, Burma, Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam and Guatemala, among others.

In all instances two points are stressed: first, that CIA actions were at variance with, if not directly opposed to, official United States policy; and second, that ignorance of what the CIA was doing usually led to embarrassment for regularly appointed diplomats, congressmen and cabinet members—and in 1960 for the presidential candidates.

With their belying pen exhausted on the CIA, Mr. Wise and Mr. Ross devote the second half of their book to a detailed description of the "intelligence community" itself, of which the CIA, headed by John McCone, is merely the cloak-and-dagger department.

Writers Evaluated

Costs are astronomical and

usually hidden deep in innocent-appearing budget items. The people involved are everywhere. The tools used are awe-inspiring. And all this since 1947!

The question which must concern every reader is, of course, how fair an appraisal this is. There is some documentation, but many important statements are made without support.

The writers are able, and they tell their story well; but they are full of a deep concern which must be taken into account.

Only an expert can say whether "The Invisible Government" is the whole truth.

It serves a purpose if it persuades the innocent reader to cock a questioning eyebrow at certain kinds of news and to ask more careful questions of his chosen representatives.

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JTSW
MCM
GLC

SALEM, OREGON
OREGON STATESMAN

m. 28,203
S. 29,267

Front Page Edit Page Other Page

JUN 26 1964

Date:

IT SEEMS TO ME . . .

By Charles A. Sprague

A recently published book, "The Invisible Government," by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, is an expose of the Central Intelligence Agency. Its work of espionage makes it "invisible" if it is to function successfully. But the authors build up a case that the CIA is not only invisible, it is "irresponsible." That is, it is an action agency as well as a fact-gathering and weighing agency, and as an action agency it operates without restraint from Congress, often without the knowledge of this body, and apparently with marked freedom from the executive branch of government.

Another recent book giving a detailed narrative of the Bay of Pigs affair reveals the active role paid in that debacle by the CIA. There was the mysterious "Frank" who remains unidentified to the public, who served as a liaison between the CIA and the Cuban exiles. He seems to have had a lot to do with organizing the invasion, supplying it, and building up their hopes of ample U.S. support, particularly air cover.

The failure of the CIA properly to appraise Castro's vulnerability to invasion was freely discussed after the failure at Bay of Pigs. Allen Dulles, the then director, offered to resign. But there was never an official and public accounting. The American people do not know to what degree the CIA was deficient in its forecast or in its organization of the attempt to overthrow Castro. President Kennedy manfully assumed the blame; but that did not give the public any assessment of the failure of the agencies on whom he relied.

Likewise there has never been any accounting of the role of the CIA in Viet Nam. About the time of the Buddhist demonstrations against the Diem regime and the ensuing coup which overthrew it,

there were reports that the CIA was active in Viet Nam, a parallel if not a competing factor to the U.S. embassy and the U.S. military command.

That the CIA is still operating as a secret and quasi-independent arm of the government is the conclusion drawn from what happened recently in the Congo. A rebel group, said to be under leadership of a Communist, has been buffeting the troops of the central Congo government in parts of Katanga province. Then came word that some U.S. T28 combat planes had reached the Congo. It was reported that a few American civilians were being employed by the Congo government on training missions. When news came that they were flying combat missions against the rebels the State Department denied the report. A few days ago State confessed it had been in error, that Americans had been engaged in combat missions in the Congo. State claimed it had been deceived in the affair and that the flights would stop. When the spokesman for the department was asked if

the CIA had recruited the fliers and supervised the operation he responded, "No comment."

The inference is left that again the CIA is functioning as an actionist body, independent of the established agencies. Its previous performance pretty well disproves its qualifications to function in this manner. And anyway we ought not to be assuming any policing duty in the Congo.

Just who is minding the store if the CIA has free rein?

Congress dutifully appropriates hundreds of millions of dollars to finance the Central Intelligence Agency. But Congress is kept in the dark over the ramifications of CIA operations. It gets no accounting for the way the funds are used.

Spying of course is a highly secretive enterprise; but there should be some way to keep the CIA from superseding the State department, shouldering out of the way the Department of Defense and trying both to define and to carry out a foreign policy of its own devising.

JUL 14 1964

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From the Bookshelf

Are Spies Too Influential? By Courtney Sheldon

The Invisible Government, by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. New York: Random House. \$5.95.

The sloganeering title "The Invisible Government" with its sinister undertone is, fortunately, an overstatement, but this book's exciting contents may serve a very useful purpose.

They may alert the public to the danger that the U.S. Government's apparatus for spying on other countries—the Central Intelligence Agency—could become too independent, too secret, and too powerful.

Washington newsmen Ross (the Chicago Sun-Times) and Wise (the New York Herald-Tribune) write with alarm and acerbity. Some of their tales of intrigue are indeed startling when encountered for the first time.

Those who have kept up with the running debate over the CIA, however, will recognize the accounts of operations in such countries as Guatemala, Burma, Iran, Indonesia, Laos, South Vietnam, and Cuba. Naming CIA agents and organizational fronts, as this book does, does not seem particularly wise or necessary, but other countries would have to have very dull-witted espionage not to know much of what "The Invisible Government" contains.

What spying projects and "preventive measures," other than those discussed by Mr. Wise and Mr. Ross, has the CIA attempted in the nearly two decades of its existence? Clearly the authors have told us almost all they know in their skillful correlation of bits and pieces. Most Congressmen probably know less.

Yet many key facts obviously are absent from all public accounts of CIA activities. The CIA occasionally defends itself against attack, but it can't do much crowing about its triumphs without compromising its agents and their sources.

Among the serious questions raised by "The Invisible Government" are whether the CIA is sufficiently accountable to elected officials of government and whether these officials

are kept well enough informed on CIA programs in advance to make intelligent judgments.

The first question can be answered in the affirmative, especially as it pertains to White House control of the CIA. The lines of statutory authority are clear enough and evidence indicates that presidents have had the decisive say.

The second question is not as easily dismissed. But the president has the undisputed responsibility of making certain the CIA tells him all, and in time.

"The Invisible Government" makes much of the cases where CIA operators have not kept other governmental agencies abreast of their dealings. The charge is less easy to establish that the White House was also ill-informed.

In fact, it could be said in defense of the CIA that last minute presidential interference in CIA plans can be as injurious as any so-called independent action.

President Kennedy, for example, canceled a second air strike in the Bay of Pigs fiasco. As matters turned out the air strike was critical to the Cuban exile invasion and the U.S. was already too deeply involved for the Kennedy gesture of restraint to be creditable.

The overriding philosophical question touched on by Mr. Wise and Mr. Ross is this: How lasting is the value of CIA paramilitary operations in countries that either resent this interference or are so ill-suited and ill-prepared for democratic governments that they quickly fall out of line again?

Unless the U.S. is to embark at this late date on forms of imperialism it has condemned in others, it must carefully restrict offensive CIA operational activities in other countries.

This is not easy in a world where small events can affect the security of even so large and powerful a country as the United States.

Regardless of what decision is made, it must be the president's. As long as it is the president's decision and it is in accordance with the guidelines set up by Congress and the Constitution, there need be no invisible government worthy of the name.

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Front Edit Other
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Date: JUN 28 1964

The Invisible Government Probes Behind Covers of Our Undercover Agents

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT. By David Wise and Thomas Ross. Random House, \$5.95.

THIS 356-page book is an excellent bet to be best-seller of the year in Washington—and deserves to be read with thoughtful attention by many people there.

It also will be read with zest by many spy-story addicts, and with mixed feelings—of worry and malicious glee, perhaps—in the chancelleries and spy-shops of other nations.

For Wise and Ross, two first-rate Washington reporters, have written a book eminently readable on two levels.

First, they have laid out in crisp, clean prose the whole shadowy array of U.S. intelligence, counter-intelligence, code-making, code-breaking

and “special operations” agencies—the “invisible government.”

They have a serious point to make in doing this: namely that these agencies have grown to vast proportions in recent years—an educated guess is that they employ 200,000 people, spend \$4 billion a year—wield vast influence on both our own nation and others, friendly and hostile; yet no one in Washington is really keeping tabs on them in any meaningful way.

Congress, which supposedly holds the pursestrings, is not doing it, the authors claim; nor is the General Accounting Office, the congressional agency which audits the spending of all other governmental agencies. Nor are the two executive branch agencies which most Washingtonians assume do this job—the National Security Council and the U.S. Intelligence Board.

The resulting lack of control and coordination is most noticeable in the covert special projects of the Central Intelligence Agency. So the authors have pulled together accounts, some incredibly detailed, some rather sketchy, of CIA operations all over the world. These stories will not only titillate the James Bond fans; some of them shed startling new light on events obscure at the time.

HERE ARE STORIES of the CIA's subversive successes: the near comic-opera overthrow of the pro-Communist Arbenz regime in Guatemala; the ouster of the leftist Mossadegh regime in Iran. In incredible detail, here is the story of the CIA's worst failure, the Bay of Pigs invasion attempt in Cuba. (Some of the material came from public sources, but much of it must have come from CIA and other insiders.)

And here are stories—all too

cross-purposes with the State Department and other U.S. agencies.

Here is the incident in Burma, where the CIA was supporting thousands of Chinese Nationalist soldiers for months while the U.S. ambassador innocently assured the Burmese government we were doing our best to get those Chinese out of Burma.

And of more topical interest here are similar stories of the right hand of the U.S. government not knowing, or caring, what the left hand was doing in Laos and South Viet Nam.

ALREADY THERE ARE bleats from Washington and elsewhere that Wise and Ross have spilled important secrets in this book. This seems doubtful. The most hurtful disclosures we can detect are names of business firms which serve as “covers” for CIA activities. Such names are subject to overnight change.

While other institutions, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Radio Free Europe, may be slightly embarrassed at being linked with CIA, the links presumably have been known by any U.S. adversaries who needed to know.

And that is the prime value of this book. Who until now has ever heard of the “Special Group”—the rather informal set of people who, the authors report, do what coordination is done between the visible and invisible segments of our government? Probably the Russians know about it, but most Americans don't.

Facts gathered together in this book, and the point it has to make, are things informed Americans need to know—and to ponder. There is a sticky problem in governmental management here, and this book presents it superbly.

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Front Page Edit Page Other Page

Date: JUN 21 1964

The Tribune's Page for
Editorials and Opinions**Conspiracies Can Be
Convenient as Devils**By ROBERT W. SMITH
of the editorial page staff

ABOUT SIX MONTHS AGO (Feb. 9), this column paid tribute to the usefulness of devils—as scapegoats to blame when things go awry in politics and foreign policy. We should not overlook the convenience of conspirators in the same context. "Great conspiracy" theories can be put together to explain all kinds of things that go wrong.

Generally one finds the conspiracy addicts around the outward reaches of the political spectrum. And this is quite understandable.

For it is those who inhabit the left and right of politics who are most deeply convinced that their ends are morally right or historically inevitable. Therefore, when those ends are frustrated, it just cannot be the result of normal political give and take. It must be the result of some fiendish conspiracy.

AS ONE APPROACHES the extremes of the political spectrum, the fancied conspiracies become most fantastic. Perhaps the classic conspiracy nightmare is that of the anti-Semites and their "Protocols of Zion" myth.

But not-so-extremists have their conspiracies, too. Out some way left of center one finds believers in "the Wall Street conspiracy," which is variously held accountable for domestic economic ills, unpopular foreign policies, and the general failure of ours to be the best of all possible worlds.

Right of center one finds the sort of thing embodied in a little paperback book pushed by some Goldwater partisans at the Republican state convention.

The "great conspiracy" spun out in this book is one of stereotyped easterners, king-makers, etc., who presumably stole the Republican presidential nomination for Wendell Willkie (from Dewey), frustrated the rightful presidential hopes of Sen. Robert A. Taft, and are now (presumably) trying to euchre Sen. Goldwater out of the nomination.

BUT THE MOST AWESOME of the current great conspiracies is that outlined in a new, controversial book, "The Invisible Government," by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Here are the broad dimensions of their great conspiracy:

"There are two governments in the United States today. One is visible. The other is invisible."

The invisible government "gathers intelligence, conducts espionage, and plans and executes secret operations all over the globe.

"(It) is not a formal body. It is a loose, amorphous grouping of individuals and agencies drawn from many parts of the visible government. It is not limited to the Central Intelligence Agency, although the CIA is at its heart. Nor is it confined to the nine other agencies which comprise what is known as the intelligence community."

"The Invisible Government includes, also, many other units and agencies, as well as individuals, that appear outwardly to be a normal part of the conventional government. It even encompasses business firms and institutions that are seemingly private.

"To an extent that is only beginning to be perceived, this shadow government is shaping the lives of 190,000,000 Americans."

WELL, THERE YOU HAVE IT. The authors then embark on a prolix, melodramatic, James-Bondish recital of illustrative case histories. There is, of course, the CIA's involvement in the ill-fated Bay of Pigs attempt to overthrow Castro. Before that there were more successful ventures in Iran (against Mossadegh in 1953) and Guatemala (against Arbenz in 1954). And others of varying degrees of success.

But what does it all prove? Nothing much, really. Anyone who has bothered to read the great volume of material published on the Bay of Pigs adventure already knew that the CIA had horribly bungled the organization of that affair. Even our more secretive participation in air drops over Red China had been fairly well ventilated.

But that all of this cloak and dagger activity—which is not unique to our government—constitutes an Invisible Government . . . Well, Ian Fleming might sell the idea, within the bounds of his special paperbacked world, but for all their emulation of his style, the authors fail to achieve even his level of reality.

**THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT* by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Random House, 375 pages, \$5.95.

**The National Security Council, the Defense Intelligence Agency, Army Intelligence, Navy Intelligence, Air Force Intelligence, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

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Newest Book On The CIA

Sales of "The Invisible Government," a book critical of the Central Intelligence Agency which came out this week, ought to be considerably enhanced by the reports that the CIA has tried to suppress, censor or buy it up. Authors of the book are David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, Washington reporters.

Look magazine, which printed excerpts from the book in advance, is reported to have made a number of text changes at the CIA's request. The Minneapolis Tribune has reported that both CIA Director John McCone and CIA Deputy Director Lt. Gen. Marshall S. Carter complained about the book to Random House, the publisher. Bennett Cerf, head of the firm, said Jan. 9: "We think the book is completely accurate. If there are any inaccuracies, we'd certainly want to know about them. As yet, they haven't told us of one."

One of the interesting aspects of the controversy is that information about the agency, which is purposely shrouded in secrecy, was available to the authors through public records. There were no spy-

ing or security breaches involved. For example, part of the controversy concerns the alleged naming of 26 or 27 CIA agents. Right-wing columnist William F. Buckley Jr., who suggests that Wise and Ross are "close to unpatriotism," said these agents were in "deep cover." Yet the publishers insist that the book names no agents who have not been named publicly somewhere else—in newspapers, printed transcripts of hearings, court records, etc.

Assuming, as Cerf does, that the book is accurate, the CIA might find that it fares better after the book is published than before. Since the Bay of Pigs invasion-fiasco, people are just about ready to believe anything they're told about the CIA. And there are plenty of assertions made about the agency's activities.

What should be of most concern is what is implied in the title of the book—that the CIA is shaping policy as well as carrying it out. Few would deny that espionage, which has been called a "dirty business," is a requirement of waging the cold war.

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The Invisible Government

Look Magazine has a provocative article in the current issue. Entitled "The Strange Case of the CIA Widows," the article is adapted from the book, "The Invisible Government," which is out this month. It is written by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross and published by Random House.

The Look article deals with the death of four American airmen and the mysterious paychecks that arrive every two weeks to their widows. While consistently denied by the United States government, the writers charge that the four fliers, killed during the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion, definitely were under contract to the Central Intelligence Agency.

Since that fateful day of the Cuban invasion in 1961 the airmen's widows have received benefits totaling more than \$6,000 a year. The checks come through an unidentified trust fund in a New York bank. The money, the article says, is actually coming from the CIA.

In 1960 President Eisenhower gave the green light to the CIA to organize Cuban exiles. Because the exiles would be using B-26's the CIA began looking for men who had flown these planes in wartime. Men of the Air National Guard in Alabama, Virginia and Arkansas were the last state units to fly this plane. From these states, some two dozen airmen signed up through the Double-Check Corporation, fronting for the CIA.

The four fliers who lost their lives at the Bay of Pigs were all from Birmingham, Alabama. Each American who signed up with the CIA was sworn to secrecy regarding their assignments. That agency has steadily denied any connection with the Cuban operation. The Look article will prompt many a person to read all of "The Invisible Government." The latter, by the way, has had some persons in Washington apprehensively awaiting its publication.