

EA160 (AGENCIES & RADIO OUT)

ADVANCE FOR AMS SUNDAY DEC. 5--NOTE DATE--FROM AP NEWSFEATURES

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CIA--FRIEND OR FOE? (2300)

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PN PRINT SUBSCRIBERS WILL BE MAILED ILLUSTRATION

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EDITOR'S NOTE--THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY IS VAST, AND POWERFUL, AND SILENT. BUT IS IT GOOD OR BAD? DOES IT MAKE FOREIGN POLICY WHEN IT SHOULD'T? BOTH CRITICS AND FRIENDS ARE LOUD IN THEIR ANSWERS, BUT THEY AGREE ON ONE THING--IN THIS DAY OF "BACK ALLEY WARS," THE CIA HAD BETTER BE GOOD.

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BY SID MOODY

AP NEWSFEATURES WRITER

(ADVANCE) THE SHADOWY BUSINESS OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, BY ITS NATURE, DEMANDS SECRECY. BUT IN A FINGER-POINTING, PROBE-CONSCIOUS DEMOCRACY THERE IS CONSTANT PRESSURE TO LIFT THE LID AND HAVE A LOOK.

SCARCELY A DAY--OR A COUP--GOES BY THAT SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE DOES NOT ACCUSE THE CIA OF MURDER OR KIDNAPING, OF BOMBING OR BLACKMAIL, OF BRIBERY OR UNDERMINING SUKARNO, OR PROPPING UP GEN. WESSIN Y WESSIN OR THREATENING A COMMUNIST CURTAIN, OR SNEAKING SPIES INTO CUBA OR SNEAKING THEM OUT, OR MASTERMINDING THIS IN TANZANIA OR BUNGLING THAT IN SINGAPORE--ALL THE WHILE STREWING AMERICAN DOLLARS HITHER AND YON.

SINCE IT IS INHERENT IN AN INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS NOT TO CONFIRM OR DENY ANYTHING, THE CLAIMS, RUMORS AND CHARGES LEAVE THE PUBLIC CONFUSED AS TO WHETHER THE AGENCY IS EXCEEDINGLY GOOD--OR BAD.

THE FACT THAT IT CANNOT ANSWER FOR ITSELF MAKES THE CIA FAIR GAME FOR THE WILDEST OF CHARGES AND ONLY OCCASIONALLY DOES THIS ICEBERG OF ESPIONAGE SURFACE: SUCH AS THE BERLIN TUNNEL THAT TAPPED THE WIRES OF SOVIET MILITARY HEADQUARTERS, OR THE OVERTHROW OF LEFTIST REGIMES IN GUATEMALA OR IRAN, THE U2 FLIGHTS OVER RUSSIA AND THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION.

WHAT THE CIA DOES CONCERNS NOT ONLY THE KREMLIN. IT ALSO CONCERNS A NUMBER OF CRITICS IN THE UNITED STATES. TO THEM THE CIA HAS GONE TOO FAR INTO AREAS OF FOREIGN POLICY, HAS GONE TOO FAR INTO THE WOODWORK TO BE PROPERLY MONITORED BY THE GOVERNMENT IT SERVES, HAS DEALT LOW BLOWS TO OUR WE-FIGHT-FAIR-WHY-DON'T-THE-OTHERS IMAGE.

HAS IT?

THE CIA HAS MANY SPIES, FEW SPOKESMEN. IT DOESN'T TALK. BUT A TYPICAL SAMPLING OF ALLEGATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS AND WHICH ARE PART OF THE ACCEPTED PICTURE OF THE CIA IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD PROVIDES SUCH AS THE FOLLOWING:

ALLEGATION 1:

-TWO SYRIANS TESTIFIED AN AMERICAN EMBASSY OFFICIAL OFFERED THEM \$2 MILLION IF THEY COULD DELIVER A SOVIET NAVAL PATROL BOAT AND ITS ROCKETS TO CYPRUS. HE WAS ASKED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. THEY WERE HANGED.

ALLEGATION 2:

-THE CIA HAS RIGGED ELECTIONS IN LAOS. AND AN AMERICAN NEWSMAN SAID HE SAW COMMUNIST AND CIA AGENTS LITERALLY BUMPING INTO EACH OTHER WHILE VISITING CONGOLESE PARLIAMENTARIANS TO BUY VOTES DURING A CRUCIAL VOTE OF CONFIDENCE.

ALLEGATION 3:

-THE CIA POPPED GEN. MOBUTO OUT OF OBSCURITY AND PERIODICALLY PROPPED UP HIS MORALE, BANKROLL AND RAGTAG CONGOLESE ARMY. THE AGENCY WAS ACTIVE IN SUPPORT OF THE WHITE MERCENARY ARMY IN THE CONGO AND THE PARATROOP ATTACK THAT LIBERATED STANLEYVILLE.

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ALLEGATION 4:

-CIA AGENTS ADULTERATED A SHIPMENT OF SUGAR ABOARD A RUSSIAN FREIGHTER DOCKED IN PUERTO RICO. THE AIM WAS TO SOUR THE SOVIET SWEET TOOTH ON CUBAN SUGAR. PRESIDENT KENNEDY BECAME ANGERED WHEN HE LEARNED OF IT, AND THE SUGAR THEREUPON WAS DESTROYED BY A MYSTERIOUS FIRE.

ALLEGATION 5:

-A CIA AGENT TAILED A COURIER GOING FROM CAIRO TO THE CONGO WITH \$100,000 IN A BRIEFCASE FOR THE CONGOLESE REBELS. WHILE IN KHARTOUM THE COURIER BRIEFLY PUT THE BRIEFCASE DOWN IN THE GENTLEMEN'S. THE AGENT PROMPTLY WALKED OFF WITH IT.

ALLEGATION 6:

-THE CIA TRIED TO SUPPRESS THE BOOK "THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT", WRITTEN BY NEWSMEN DAVID WISE AND THOMAS ROSS ABOUT ITS ACTIVITIES AND THREATENED TO BUY UP ALL THE FIRST EDITION. FORMER CIA DIRECTOR ALLEN DULLES LABELLED THE BOOK SCUTTLEBUTT. PRIVATELY SOME CIA PEOPLE GAVE IT PASSING GRADES FOR ACCURACY.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CIA, IN FACT OR MYTH, MARK THE GREAT DISTANCE U.S. INTELLIGENCE HAS COME FROM SIMPLER PRE-COLD WAR DAYS.

AS RECENTLY AS 1929 THEN SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY STIMSON DISBANDED THE DEPARTMENT'S "BLACK CHAMBER" CODE-BREAKING OPERATION SAYING "GENTLEMEN DO NOT READ EACH OTHER'S MAIL. "LESS THAN TWO DECADES BEFORE THE U2 AND THE SAMOS SPY SATELLITES, THE GOVERNMENT WAS ASKING ITS CITIZENRY TO SEND IN ANY POSTCARDS IT MIGHT HAVE OF PACIFIC SCENES TO AID THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN.

JUST HOW MUCH THE U.S. MAY BE SPENDING ON INTELLIGENCE A YEAR IS ANYBODY'S GUESS. ROSS AND WISE ESTIMATE IT AT \$4 BILLION. THERE ARE FEW ESTIMATES THAT GO BELOW \$2 BILLION.

WHO NEEDS IT?

THE UNITED STATES, SAYS SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK, WHO ADDS THAT A "BACK ALLEY WAR" IS GOING ON ALL OVER THE WORLD. TO SPURN ITS SORDID, RUTHLESS STEALTH RUNS THE RISK OF FALLING VICTIM TO IT.

"IF WE DON'T SUBVERT, WE'RE GIVING OUR ENEMIES WHO OPERATE SOLELY BY SUBVERSION AN UNDUE ADVANTAGE," SAYS REP. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, D-WIS., ONE OF THE CIA'S CLOSER OBSERVERS. FURTHERMORE, IN AN ERA OF COLD WAR KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT THE ENEMY WILL--OR CAN--DO IS VITAL: IF YOU CAN LEARN IT.

"OUR GOVERNMENT, UNTIL WE HAVE A WORLD OF STABILITY, IS GOING TO HAVE TO HAVE INTELLIGENCE," SAYS A HIGH RANKED CIA VETERAN. "AND IT IS GOING TO HAVE TO BE ON A WORLD WIDE BASIS. THERE IS NO PLACE WE DON'T NEED INFORMATION--RUSSIA, EGYPT, ISRAEL. WHAT WOULD WE DO IF THEY GET NUCLEAR WEAPONS? CAN THEY?"

"INTELLIGENCE," SAID ANOTHER CIA OFFICIAL, "IS OUR FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE."

"WE CANNOT SAFELY LIMIT OUR RESPONSE TO THE COMMUNIST STRATEGY OF TAKE-OVER SOLELY TO THOSE CASES WHERE WE ARE INVITED IN BY A GOVERNMENT," WROTE FORMER CIA BOSS ALLEN DULLES. "WE OURSELVES MUST DETERMINE WHERE AND HOW TO ACT."

THIS BRINGS A WHOLE NEW DIMENSION TO U.S. FOREIGN RELATIONS.

THE COMMAND OF THIS LINE OF DEFENSE HIDES BEHIND UNMARKED, PASTEL-HUED DOORS IN A WOODS-ENCIRCLED, KING-SIZED NEW BUILDING IN LANGLEY, VA., OUTSIDE WASHINGTON. IT IS ANONYMOUS SAVE FOR THE CARVED INSCRIPTION "YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YE FREE." NO SIGNS LEAD TO CIA HEADQUARTERS ALTHOUGH ITS EMBLEM, AN EAGLE SURROUNDED WITH THE WORDS "CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY," IS MASSIVELY INLAID ON THE TERRAZO FLOOR INSIDE THE FRONT ENTRANCE.

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BASICALLY WORK AT THE CIA IS DIVIDED IN TWO. THERE IS "PLANS" WHICH HANDLES THE AGENTS WHO DO THE CLOAK AND THE DAGGER WORK. ESPIONAGE PROVIDES LESS THAN 20 PER CENT OF THE CIA'S INTELLIGENCE.

THE "INTELLIGENCE" END CONCERNS ITSELF WITH EVERYTHING FROM TECHNICAL JOURNALS, FIELD REPORTS AND FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS TO MONITORING RADIO BROADCASTS IN MORE THAN 60 LANGUAGES TO THE TUNE OF 6 MILLION WORDS A DAY.

FROM ALL THIS THE AGENCY PREPARES BOTH PERIODIC "NATIONAL ESTIMATES," PREDICTING FUTURE EVENTS AROUND THE WORLD, AND DAILY DIGESTS OF INTELLIGENCE REPORTS WHICH ARE SEEN BY THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF STATE AND DEFENSE (AND THE WORKADAY PRINTERS WHO SET THEM IN TYPE).

THE CIA'S CONCERN IS CATHOLIC: HOW DID MAO LOOK AT THE LAST PEASANT'S PARADE, WHAT IS THE LATEST IN SOVIET BIOLOGICAL RESEARCH, HOW MANY TRAINS RUN THROUGH MINSK EACH DAY. ("IT'S FINE T KNOW ABOUT TRAINS," SAID AN EX-AGENT. "IT'S BETTER TO HAVE A PLANT IN THE POLITBURO.")

THE CIA MAN IN THE FIELD MAY BE RATHER OPENLY ATTACHED TO AN EMBASSY WHERE HE USUALLY IS THE OBJECT OF GOSSIP, INFORMED OR OTHERWISE. HE MAY BE UNDERGROUND OR HE MAY BE A PAID INFORMER IN THE NATION INVOLVED. (SUCH "PLANTS" START AT ABOUT \$100 A MONTH, IN PART TO KEEP THEM FROM ACQUIRING MORE YACHTS, MISTRESSES AND GAMBLING DEBTS THAN THEIR NORMAL SALARY WOULD ALLOW).

THE CIA RECRUITS ITS AGENTS FROM COLLEGE CAMPUSES, TRIES TO MAKE CAREER MEN AND WOMEN OF THEM AND HAS HAD A HIGH PROPORTION OF IVY LEAGUERS. IT WANTS THE MOST NORMAL, STRONGLY MOTIVATED PEOPLE AVAILABLE. ONLY ONE APPLICANT IN 10 IS HIRED.

"WE WANT THEM TO REACT AS PREDICTABLY AS POSSIBLE," SAID A ONETIME CIA OFFICIAL. "WE CAN'T BE PSYCHOANALYZING THEM FROM WASHINGTON ALL THE TIME."

SOME FEEL CAREER EMPHASIS MAY TURN OUT STEREOTYPED SPIES AND MISS THE EARLIER CIA DAYS WHEN PERSONNEL WERE OF MORE VARIED BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE.

ONCE IN THE FIELD, THE AGENT MAY OBSERVE, SPY OR DECIDE TO ACT. IF THINGS IN A GIVEN COUNTRY LOOK BAD, HE MIGHT SAY "LET'S SUPPORT GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, HE'S A MIDDLE OF THE ROAD GUY." THE AGENCY THEN BEGINS TO PLANT PROPAGANDA, SPEND MONEY, RECRUIT SUPPORT. BUT, THE CIA REPORTEDLY POINTS OUT, NONE OF THIS CAN OCCUR WITHOUT APPROVAL OF A POLICY AGENCY IN WASHINGTON OUTSIDE THE CIA.

(MORE)

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EA173 (AGYS & RADIO OUT)

UNDATED--FIRST ADD CIA FRIEND OR FOE?

AP-N ADVANCE FOR SUNDAY, DEC. 5 (A160-132) XXX THE CIA.

THIS COULD BE THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE BOARD (USIB) COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS U.S. INTELLIGENCE ARMS--CIA, THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, MADE UP OF THE SEPARATE ARMED SERVICES INTELLIGENCE BRANCHES; THE FBI, THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. OR IT COULD COME FROM THE "SPECIAL GROUP", AN EVER-SO-SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE CIA DIRECTOR, THE SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE AND STATE AND THEIR DEPUTIES AND A HIGH PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER, LATELY MCGEORGE BUNDY.

THE USIB OVERSEES OPERATIONS AND COORDINATES THE VARIOUS REPORTS FOR THE PRESIDENT. DISSENTS BY MINORITY VIEW HOLDERS ARE PERMITTED. VERY HUSH-HUSH DECISIONS ARE MADE BY THE SPECIAL GROUP. IT REPORTEDLY KNEW BUT THE USIB DID NOT, FOR INSTANCE, ABOUT THE BAY OF PIGS.

THE CIA WAS FORMED IN 1947 TO BRING THE INTELLIGENCE ARMS UNDER ONE CONTROL. HAS THIS BEEN DONE AND IS THERE, INDEED, CONTROL?

SOME CRITICS CLAIM THE CIA HAS BEEN GIVEN AUTHORITY OVER MEN AND MONEY FAR BEYOND ANY OTHER U.S. AGENCY. IT HAS ALL BUT A BLANK CHECK FROM THE U.S. CONGRESS. ITS FUNDS ARE HIDDEN THROUGHOUT THE FEDERAL BUDGET, PRESUMABLY IN THE HUGE DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS.

"IT ACTS AS A LAW UNTO ITSELF," SAID SEN. STEPHEN YOUNG, D-OHIO.

ABOUT 20 WELL ESTABLISHED CONGRESSMEN OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS AND ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEES ARE PRIVY TO CIA ACTS AND SPENDING. THESE SUBCOMMITTEES MEET PERIODICALLY IN SECRET, HOPEFULLY AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH, ACTUALLY MUCH LESS.

WHILE THESE CONGRESSMEN (AND ONE WOMAN, SEN. MARGARET CHASE SMITH, R-ME.) DECLINE TO DISCUSS THE CIA, THEY ECHO REP. MENDEL RIVERS, D-S.C., OF THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE IN SAYING: "I CAN TELL YOU WE GET EVERYTHING WE ASK FOR AND MORE."

BUT, AND IT IS NOT A SMALL BUT, IF THE CIA PROVIDES ALL THE ANSWERS, DOES IT POINT OUT AS WELL THE PROPER QUESTIONS?

"WE TRY TO INFORM THE COMMITTEES OF ANYTHING WITH WIDESPREAD REPERCUSSIONS," SAID A CIA OFFICER. "I WOULDN'T BE CATEGORICAL AND SAY THEY ARE TOLD EVERYTHING, BUT THEY ARE GIVEN AS MUCH AS WE CAN."

"CONGRESS DOES NOT SET UP COURSES OF ACTION FOR THE CIA," SAID A PAST MEMBER OF A CIA SUBCOMMITTEE. "WE MAY GET A FULL DAY'S BRIEFING ON BRAZIL, BUT WE AREN'T TOLD WHAT IS GOING ON, SAY, IN LITHUANIA."

FEW IF ANY CONGRESSMEN DISPUTE THE CIA'S NEED FOR SECRECY. SOME FEEL--AND STRONGLY--THAT THE AGENCY SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE SUBJECT TO MORE FREQUENT AND STRINGENT CONGRESSIONAL SCRUTINY, PREFERABLY A JOINT WATCHDOG COMMITTEE WHICH WOULD INCLUDE REPRESENTATION FROM THE COMMITTEES ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHICH ARE NOT NOW INCLUDED.

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"ALL THESE (ESPIONAGE) ACTIONS MAY BE NECESSARY IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST," SAID SEN. JOSEPH CLARK, D-PA. "I DO NOT SAY THEY ARE NOT. WHAT I DO SAY IS THAT ... AT LEAST SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SHOULD HAVE KNOWLEDGE IN ADVANCE AND SHOULD BE KEPT CURRENTLY INFORMED AS TO WHAT THE DEPARTMENT OF DIRTY TRICKS HAS UP ITS SLEEVE. THE SURVEILLANCE AND SUPERVISION BY CONGRESS HAS HERETOFORE BEEN MORE IN THE NATURE OF THE POLITE INQUIRIES OF A VISITING COMMITTEE OF ALUMNI LOOKING INTO THE ENGLISH DEPARTMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY FROM WHICH THEY GRADUATED THAN PRETTY TOUGH SUPERVISION."

BOTH ZABLOCKI AND SEN. EUGENE MCCARTHY, R-MINN., SUPPORT A JOINT CIA COMMITTEE. THE AGENCY FEELS THIS WOULD ONLY INCREASE THE POSSIBILITY OF LEAKS BECAUSE OF A NECESSARILY EXPANDED STAFF. THE WATCHDOG DEBATE GOES ON, AND SO DO ITS PROPONENTS.

"WE CAN ONLY HOPE," SAID REP. LESLIE ARENDS, R-ILL., "THAT THE

HOUSE HAS CONFIDENCE IN OUR (CIA) SUBCOMMITTEE. TO ACCEPT OUR ASSURANCES WE ARE KEPT WELL INFORMED."

ULTIMATELY, THE PROBLEM OF SUPERVISION OF THE CIA COMES TO THE DESK OF THE PRESIDENT BECAUSE IT IS TO HIM THE AGENCY ULTIMATELY REPORTS. SO THERE IS YET ANOTHER BOARD--THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ADVISORY BOARD, CREATED IN 1956 AT THE PROMPTING OF THE HOOVER COMMISSION.

"THEY (THE FIAB) SIT BACK AND ACT AS A HAIR SHIRT RATHER THAN TRY AND RUN THE AGENCY," SAID ONE OF ITS ALUMNI. THE FIAB TRIES TO MEET ONCE A MONTH FOR A DAY OR SO EXAMINING WHAT THE CIA DID OR DID NOT DO. ONCE A YEAR IT RECEIVES A COMPREHENSIVE WRITTEN REPORT.

THIS WATCHDOG'S WATCHDOG IS COMPOSED OF PROMINENT MEN OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT SUCH AS CLARK CLIFFORD, FORMER ADVISER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN; GEN. JAMES DOOLITTLE; FRANK PACE, FORMER SECRETARY OF THE ARMY; DR. EDWIN LAND, PRESIDENT OF THE POLAROID CO.; ROBERT MURPHY, FORMER UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE AND DR. WILLIAM LANGER, HARVARD HISTORY PROFESSOR.

EA175 (A&R OUT)

THUS THE CIA BELIEVES IT IS AS CLOSELY MONITORED AS ANY AGENCY IN GOVERNMENT. WHILE ADMITTING CABINET LEVEL BODIES MAY NOT HAVE ENOUGH TIME FOR MINUTE SCRUTINY, THE CIA NOTES THERE ARE AT LEAST WEEKLY MEETINGS AT TOP LEVELS WITH DEFENSE AND STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS AND DAILY LIAISON AT JUNIOR LEVELS.

AND IT BOASTS (OFF THE RECORD) OF BEING AS TIGHT-FISTED AS IT IS TIGHT-LIPPED. WHILE THE CIA DIRECTOR AND FIELD AGENTS CAN DISTRIBUTE FUNDS SOLELY ON THEIR SIGNATURES, THESE VOUCHERED MONEYS ARE CHECKED TO THE LAST PENNY BY THE CIA'S OWN AUDITORS. EACH STATION IS ON A BUDGET. IF IT IS NOT PRODUCING, THE BUDGET IS GONE OVER. THE SPECIAL GROUP AUDITS LARGER BUDGETARY ITEMS. THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET ALSO HAS SIX MEN WHO KNOW THE CIA'S FINANCES INTIMATELY AND HAS AN EXAMINER AT LANGLEY ALMOST DAILY. THE CIA APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ALSO MUST APPROVE THE CIA BUDGET, WHICH IT DOES WITH ONLY OCCASIONAL CUTS.

BUT THERE ARE CRITICS WHO FEAR NOT THAT THE CIA HAS OVERDRAWN THE TREASURY BUT THAT IT HAS OVERGROWN ITS ORIGINAL TERRITORY WHICH WAS TO COLLECT AND INTERPRET INFORMATION. THEY CLAIM THE EXPANDED SCOPE OF ITS WORKS AND THE LEGACY OF HAVING HAD THE TWO DULLES BROTHERS OPERATING SO CLOSELY AS HEADS OF CIA AND THE STATE

DEPARTMENT HAVE LEFT THE AGENCY TOO INVOLVED WITH ACTUAL POLICY MAKING.

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY DID NOT QUITE ANSWER THE CHARGE WHEN HE SAID THE CIA "DOES NOT CREATE POLICY; IT ATTEMPTS TO EXECUTE IT IN THOSE AREAS WHERE IT HAS COMPETENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY."

BUT SEN. ERNEST GRUENING, D-ALASKA, HAS SAID THE CIA DOES PLAY A PART IN SHAPING POLICY BECAUSE "THE EVALUATION IT PRESENTS HAS IN THE PAST DETERMINED OUR POLICY TOWARDS GOVERNMENTS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES."

IT IS SOMETIMES SAID THE CIA PRACTICES ITS BEST DECEPTIONS ON U.S. AMBASSADORS, AGAIN TO THE CONFUSION OF FOREIGN POLICY.

EA176 (A&R OUT)

TRADITIONALLY, THE U.S. AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN IN CHARGE OF AMERICAN OPERATIONS IN HIS PARTICULAR COUNTRY. AMBASSADORIAL PROTESTS THAT THIS IS NOT ALWAYS SO CONCERNING THE CIA WAS GIVEN SOME CREDENCE IN 1961 WHEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY ISSUED A MEMO REASSERTING THE AMBASSADORS' PRIMACY.

AN EX-CIA OFFICIAL SAID IF AN AMBASSADOR OBJECTS TO A CIA OPERATION "THE CHANCES ARE 99 TO 1 IT WON'T HAPPEN." BUT TWO YEARS AGO A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE REPORTED "TO A DEGREE THE PRIMACY OF THE AMBASSADOR IS A POLITE FICTION."

THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS OF SOME POLITE FRICTION BETWEEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE CIA, PARTIALLY BECAUSE THEIR REPORTING DUTIES SOMETIMES OVERLAP AND BECAUSE THE AGENTS CAN USE DOLLARS INSTEAD OF JUST DIPLOMACY IN THEIR PURSUITS. BUT THERE APPEARS TO BE GENERAL AGREEMENT THE DIPLOMATS SHOULD STICK TO DIPLOMACY AND THE CIA TO FINDING OUT, AS ONE CONGRESSMAN PUT IT, "WHO IS SLEEPING WITH WHOM."

YET THE VERY EXISTENCE OF THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY CAUSES SOME CONCERN IN THE CIA. THE DIA WAS CREATED IN 1961 TO COORDINATE THE REPORTS OF THE ARMY, NAVY AND AIR FORCE INTELLIGENCE BRANCHES, INCLUDING THE WORK OF THE MILITARY'S SAMOS SPY SATELLITES.

WROTE ALLEN DULLES: "THERE IS, OF COURSE, ALWAYS THE POSSIBILITY THAT TWO SUCH POWERFUL AND WELL FINANCED AGENCIES AS CIA AND DIA WILL BECOME RIVALS AND COMPETITORS. THERE IS OBVIOUSLY ALSO ROOM HERE FOR AN EXPANSION OF TRADITIONAL ARMY AMBITIONS TO RUN A FULL-FLEDGED AND INDEPENDENT COVERT COLLECTION SERVICE OF ITS OWN, WHICH IS HARDLY JUSTIFIABLE UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES."

2177 (A&R OUT)

WHETHER THE DIA, WITH ITS 5,751 EMPLOYEES (UNLIKE THE CIA IT REPORTS THAT FIGURE BUT BURIES ITS BUDGET, WHICH MAY BE BIGGER THAN THE CIA'S), WILL COME TO HAVE MORE IN COMMON WITH CIA THAN ITS INITIALS REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

A CIA VETERAN SAID: "THE DIA IS HANDLING MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. AT TIMES THE MILITARY IS GOING TO BE PART OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SO THERE IS GOING TO BE SOME OVERLAPPING. FOR EXAMPLE THE CIA SAID THERE ARE THIS MANY RUSSIAN MISSILE SITES WE DEFINITELY KNOW ABOUT. THE STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND WANTS TO KNOW ALL POSSIBLE SITES, NOT JUST THOSE CONFIRMED. SO THE MILITARY IS A USEFUL HAIR SHIRT."

OF SECRECY IN U.S. INTELLIGENCE PRESIDENT KENNEDY SAID: "WE DECIDED LONG AGO THAT THE DANGERS OF EXCESSIVE AND UNWARRANTED CONCEALMENT OF PERTINENT FACTS FAR OUTWEIGHED THE DANGERS WHICH ARE CITED TO JUSTIFY IT. EVEN TODAY THERE IS LITTLE VALUE IN OPPOSING THE THREAT OF A CLOSED SOCIETY BY IMITATING ITS ARBITRARY RESTRICTIONS. EVEN TODAY THERE IS LITTLE VALUE IN INSURING THE SURVIVAL OF OUR NATION IF OUR TRADITIONS DO NOT SURVIVE WITH IT."

"IF WE ACCEPT THIS IDEA OF SECRECY FOR SECRECY'S SAKE," SAID SEN. MIKE MANSFIELD, CURRENT SENATE MAJORITY LEADER, SOME TIME AGO, "WE WILL HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING WHETHER WE HAVE A FINE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE OR A VERY POOR ONE."

SOME CIA VOICES WOULD ANSWER THE ONLY WAY TO HAVE A FINE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY IS TO SHUT UP ABOUT IT. THEY HAVE SAID THE CIA IS NOT SECRET ENOUGH, IS TOO CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OVERSEAS, SHOULD BE MORE LIKE THE SECRET SERVICE IN BRITAIN WHERE ITS HEAD IS NOT PUBLICLY KNOWN AND WHERE DANIEL DEFOE, AUTHOR OF "ROBINSON CRUSOE," HAD BEEN DEAD 50 YEARS BEFORE ANY ONE KNEW HE WAS CHIEF OF ENGLISH INTELLIGENCE.

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HOWEVER, SAID A CIA ALUMNUS, "IF THE AGENCY IS UPSET ABOUT ROSS AND WISE FOR NAMING NAMES IN 'THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT,' THEY SHOULD BLAME ONLY THEMSELVES FOR NOT CONCEALING THEM BETTER. IF THEY THINK THOSE TWO WERE UN-AMERICAN, THEY BETTER CHANGE THEIR BRAND OF CIGARETTES BECAUSE THIS FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IS ONE OF THE FREEDOMS WE ARE TRYING TO DEFEND AND THEY BETTER GET USED TO THERE BEING AT LEAST ONE BOOK A YEAR ON THE CIA. THERE IS NO MORE INTERESTING GOVERNMENT AGENCY."

IN JUDGING THE CIA THE PUBLIC SHOULD CONSIDER THE DIFFICULTY OF THE TASK UNDERTAKEN, THE AGENCY HAS SAID IN ITS DEFENSE, AND NOT WRITE OFF MISFIRES AUTOMATICALLY TO INCOMPETENCE. ITS VERY SECRECY MAKES IT A HANDY SCAPEGOAT FOR OTHER AGENCY'S MISTAKES. IT HAS CONCEDED TWO BLUNDERS AND ATTRIBUTED THEM TO AMATEURISM, BUT SAYS NEITHER HAS BEEN MADE PUBLIC.

SOME OF ITS BRIGHTER MOMENTS HAVE. IN 1948 THE CIA CORRECTLY PREDICTED THE RUSSIANS WOULD NOT FIGHT OVER THE BERLIN AIRLIFT. IT KNEW IN ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH-FRENCH INTERVENTION IN THE SUEZ, OF THE OVERTHROW OF PREMIER KASSEM IN IRAQ, OF A RECENT COUP IN A FRIENDLY MIDDLE EAST COUNTRY ALTHOUGH THE U.S. AMBASSADOR INSISTED IT COULD NOT HAPPEN. A YEAR BEFORE SPUTNIK I THE CIA REPORTED THE RUSSIANS HAD THE ABILITY TO LAUNCH A SATELLITE.

ABOUT A YEAR AGO THE AGENCY ASKED IN SOME NEWSMEN--A CIA FIRST--AND BRIEFED THEM TO THE EFFECT THAT THE SOVIET ECONOMY WAS IN TROUBLE. ("WE HAVE AS MANY PHD'S STUDYING THE SOVIET ECONOMY AS ANY ONE IN THE WORLD, MAYBE RUSSIA ITSELF," SAID A FORMER INTELLIGENCE PERSON. "I SOMETIMES WONDER WHAT EFFECT OUR REPORT HAD ON KHRUSHCHEV'S DEPARTURE.") IN ANY EVENT, RECENT UPHEAVALS IN THE RUSSIAN WAY OF DOING BUSINESS WOULD SEEM TO GIVE THE PHD'S GOOD MARKS.

-(MORE)--LA/DBS58PPS

A184 (AGENCIES AND RADIO OUT)

ADVANCE FOR AMS SUNDAY DEC. 5--NOTE DATE--FROM AP NEWSFEATURES
(ADVANCE)--SECOND ADD CIA, FRIEND OR FOE, ADVANCE FOR AMS
SUNDAY DEC. 5, A160-162, A173-178 XXX GOOD MARKS.

"THE CIA IS NOT AS GOOD AS IT SHOULD BE," ONE WHO SHOULD KNOW SAID RECENTLY. "BUT IT IS CONSTANTLY IMPROVING. I DON'T THINK, ANY RESPONSIBLE INTELLIGENCE OFFICER IS GOING TO SAY IT IS AS GOOD AS IT SHOULD BE UNTIL WE KNOW WHAT OUR ADVERSARIES ARE GOING TO DO AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF ANY CONFRONTATION ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. RUSSIA MAY GET MORE INTELLIGENCE WITH THE HELP OF ITS COMMUNIST PARTIES AROUND THE WORLD, BUT I SUBMIT THEY HAVE MORE TROUBLE ANALYZING IT. I THINK WE ARE THE BEST IN THE WORLD IN PROVIDING INTELLIGENCE TO OUR POLICY MAKERS."

TO HIM THE CIA WILL BE BATTING 1,000 PER CENT WHEN IT HAS INFILTRATED EVERY FOREIGN, SECURITY AND DEFENSE MINISTRY OF EVERY GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD.

"DO I REALLY EXPECT WE CAN FIND, IN THE HARSHTEST TERMS, SOME ONE WHO IS TREASONABLE IN ALL THESE COUNTRIES? I MAY BE A CYNIC, BUT I THINK THE CHANCES ARE GOOD. MONEY HELPS. BUT SO DOES REACHING AN IDENTITY IN MOTIVATION. THE CONTACT MAY WANT A FREE AND INDEPENDENT LOWER SLOBOVIA. SO DO WE. SO WE GET TOGETHER."

BUT PERHAPS THE FINAL JUDGMENT OF THE CIA DOES NOT LIE IN ADDING UP THE BLACK EYES AND BALANCING THEM AGAINST THE MERIT BADGES. CONSIDER, RATHER, THIS: IF LACK OF INTELLIGENCE IS A ROAD TO WAR, HAS THE UNITED STATES INTENSIFIED USE OF IT LED AWAY FROM WAR?

"I SHUDDER TO THINK WHAT SORT OF NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL WE WOULD HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO IF WE DIDN'T HAVE THE U2'S OVER RUSSIA AND CUBAN," SAID THE KNOWLEDGEABLE INFORMANT. "IF WE HADN'T HAD THE CIA, I WONDER IF WE WOULD HAVE EVEN SURVIVED. AND IF WE MAINTAIN OUR INTELLIGENCE, IT IS JUST POSSIBLE WE CAN GET THROUGH THE REST OF THE CENTURY WITH JUST SMALL WARS."

(END ADVANCE FOR AMS SUNDAY DEC. 5. SENT NOV. 20

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