Declassified and Approved For Release 2013/07/05 : CIA-RDP80M01009A000100050021-1

THE C.I.A. AND HOW IT GREW

By JACK RAYMOND
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 17—After John A. McCone succeeded Allen W. Dulles as Director of Central Intelligence a few years ago, one veteran of the agency compared the two men as follows: "Allen Dulles ran a happy ship—or at least he did until the Bay of Pigs. John McCone runs a taut ship."

The nautical metaphore, applied to the civilians, came to mind this week as a retired admiral, William Francis Raborn Jr., was named to succeed Mr. McCone. Whether Red Raborn, a jovial, popular military man, can pilot the Central Intelligence Agency as both a *happy* and a *taut* ship he will have ample chance to demonstrate in the inevitably stormy times ahead.

His surprise appointment, however, posed the question whether he, with relatively little experience in high level intelligence work, was suited to the job; and what is the job?

The official job description identifies the director of the C.I.A. as the President's chief intelligence adviser and his representative on the United States Intelligence Board, which includes the heads of the intelligence organizations at the State and Defense Departments plus representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The entire board discusses and assesses intelligence information—advances in the military power of certain foreign countries, forecasts of major political shifts abroad, and other developments that may affect national security. But it is the C.I.A. director who coordinates all views and his recommendations have official primacy.

Wide Range

He is more than the chairman of a board, however. He has his own huge "shop." The C.I.A. director runs one of the most far-flung intelligence organizations in United States history and if it is not the world's greatest, it is certainly the most publicized.

The role of the C.I.A. in the overthrow of governments in Guatemala, Iran, and Laos; in developing and operating reconnaissance planes, and in helping to direct the abortive Cuban rebellion at the Bay of Pigs is common knowledge.

True and false reports of C.I.A. activity flood the world press constantly. But some of the publicity attached to the agency—and its director—derives from the peculiarly American practice in which all Government officials make public speeches and testify before Congress.

The C.I.A. is probably the only intelligence organization ever to hold a news conference—in January, 1964, to put out information it had on a decline in the Soviet economy. It even has an official emblem that adorns the director's stationery among other papers.

Instead of working in a nondescript, secret hideaway, the director of the C.I.A. presides at a $46 million headquarters building. Its location at nearby Langley, Va., is known to all. The total personnel, supposedly secret, is estimated at more than 20,000. The annual budget, also a secret, is estimated at from $500 million to $2 billion.

The C.I.A. director's foremost responsibility, of course, is to satisfy the President's need for full and speedy information. But his task is affected also by another peculiarly American aspect, and that is the prevailing distrust of his mission. Elsewhere, government intelligence activity is accepted without question. In this country, although carried on since the days of Washington, it has been frowned upon as somehow indecent and undemocratic.

The C.I.A. director, therefore, spends much of his time justifying his organization's existence, especially before Congress. Certain small committees of Congress control the C.I.A.'s appropriations and are briefed regularly on its operations. But there has been a movement for years to create a Congressional "watchdog" committee, that would exercise even greater controls.

Leadership

Finally, in any noting of the responsibilities of the C.I.A. director, there is leadership. Allen Dulles, listing this high in the requirements of the job, says that the members must be dedicated, must feel they are part of an elite outfit and that their individual tasks are crucial to the safety of the nation.

Admiral Raborn will be the seventh Director of Central Intelligence, the fifth since the agency was founded on its present basis 18 years ago. He will be the fifth chief with a military background, the third to come from the Navy.

Most of the early C.I.A. tasks were quasi-military. But with General Bedell Smith's appointment as director in October, 1950, the C.I.A.'s responsibilities expanded to cope not only with Soviet military belligerence but the pronounced conspiratorial and subversive nature of the Communist threat around the world.

Gen. Bedell Smith ran the C.I.A. along military lines. He had tremendous prestige and a veteran of the agency recalls that many of its own officials were "frightened of him." But he established confidence in the agency among those who worked for it and those who depended upon it.

If C.I.A. activities at this point grew in variety and delicacy, perhaps this was due also to the fact that Gen. Bedell Smith's deputy for a long time was the imaginative Mr. Dulles.

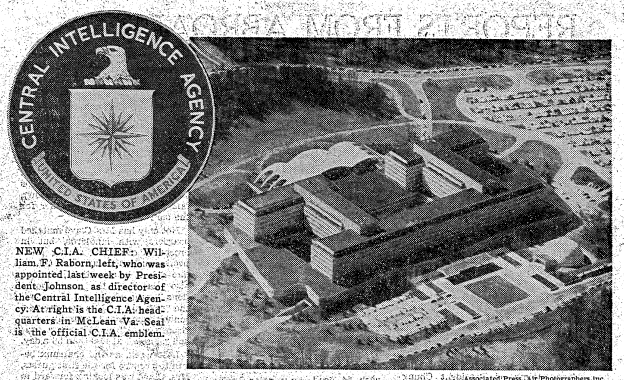
The brother of the then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and member of a distinguished family of officers and diplomats, Mr. Dulles had been professionally engaged in intelligence operations since World War I. With his appointment in February, 1953, to the top post, the C.I.A. for the first time had a civilian director.

"Master Spy"

Led by a professional, the agency flourished. Mr. Dulles became known as America's "master spy." His most rousing failure, the downing of the U-2 plane, was also his most rousing success, as it was revealed that the United States had secretly criss-crossed the Soviet Union on reconnaissance missions for four years.

But when Mr. Dulles retired, Nov. 29, 1961, after the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs, public furor centered on the charge that the agency had indulged in operations that went far beyond its intended primary role as an intelligence gathering and coordinating body. Significantly, however, when Mr. McCone took over the C.I.A. President Kennedy reaffirmed the C.I.A.'s operational responsibilities.

The change in command to a big businessman who had served as Under Secretary of the Air Force and chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission provided a contrast that underscored some recent problems of the director's job.



NEW C.I.A. CHIEF: William F. Raborn, left, who was appointed last week by President Johnson as director of the Central Intelligence Agency. At right is the C.I.A. headquarters in McLean Va. Seal is the official C.I.A. emblem.

Associated Press, Air Photographers Inc.

As noted, Mr. Dulles ran a happy ship. The agents knew him as a colleague. He bore down on what he considered essentials, sacrificed lesser objectives if necessary. He believed in "compartmentalizing" the agency. Sometimes the left hand did not know what the right hand was doing, this was precisely what the C.I.A. director intended.

Some Confusion

When Mr. McCone came in, he tightened the management. He set up business-like echelons of command. He dealt with five key deputies or "vice presidents." He saw outside agents only occasionally. He introduced interoffice memos. He succeeded to some extent in re-establishing confidence in C.I.A. operations, but the esprit of the place seemed to suffer. C.I.A. men do not blame Mr. McCone, however. They say President Johnson has not had any meetings with the C.I.A. director and his aides, that he has tended to support the Pentagon's burgeoning defense intelligence agency rather than the C.I.A.

In view of all this, the challenge to Admiral Raborn appears to be twofold: to strengthen the management of the C.I.A. and its relationship to the White House, and to restore the confidence of the C.I.A. personnel in their mission. For both challenges the 59-year-old Admiral Raborn has good credentials.

He gained fame as the manager of the Polaris missile program and its complicated scientific, military and production problems. In doing so, he also demonstrated a capacity for inspiring the most cynical plant workers around the country as he exhorted them to beat delivery dates.

If the fact that Admiral Raborn has had virtually no experience in high level intelligence operations is a handicap, then the choice of Richard M. Helms as his deputy balances it. For Red Raborn, in his Polaris achievement, listened to his experts. In Mr. Helms, he has an expert.

There is little question that Mr. Helms will have the day-to-day responsibility of running the agency, while popular Red Raborn, the team captain, will be cheering on the men in the field and winning friends for them at the White House and Capitol Hill. He may even, for the first time in American history, win some respectability for what Allen Dulles calls "the craft of intelligence."

END YOUR SILENCE

We are grieved by American policies in Vietnam. We are opposed to American policies in Vietnam. We will not remain silent before the world.

We call on all those who wish to speak in a crucial and tragic moment in our history, to demand an immediate turning of the American policy in Vietnam to the methods of peace.

A PROTEST OF WRITERS AND ARTISTS

LIONEL ABEL : SAMUEL N ADLER : GEORGE ABBE : WILLIAM ALFRED : THEODORE AMUSSEN
JACK ANDERSON : HOWARD ANT : EMIL ANTONUCCI : ELISE ASHER
GEORGE ANTHONY : RUDOLF ARNHEIM : DAVID ANTIN : HANNAH ARENDT
DORE ASHTON : ELIOT ASINOF : EDWARD AUERT
RUDOLF BARANIK : LEONARD BASKIN : ED BAYNARD : JEROME BEATTY JR : HAROLD BECKER
SYLVIA BERKMAN : WILLIAM BERKSON : CAROL BERGE : WENDELL BERRY
ELIZABETH C BESTON : MORRIS BISHOP : PAUL BLACKBURN
SAM BLUM : LOUISE BOGAN : PHILLIP BONOSKY : PHILIP BOOTH : DAVID BOROFF : KAY BOYLE
SAM BRADLEY : GEORGE BRECHT : HARVEY BREIT : GERMAINE BREE : BESSIE BREUER
JAMES BROOKS : MICHAEL E BROWN : ROBERT BRUSTEIN : STANLEY BUETENS
J R DE LA TORRE BUENO : KENNETH BURKE : MARGARET F CABELL : JOHN CAGE : HORTENSE CALISHER
VICTOR CANDELL : HAYDEN CARRUTH : EMILE CAPOUYA : GIORGIO CAVALLON
REMY CHARLIP : ALAN CHURCHILL : ROBERT M CHUTE : MARVIN CHERNEY : ROBERT CLAIBORNE
ELIZABETH COATSWORTH : ROBERT M COATES : ARTHUR A COHEN : WILLIAM COLE
J L COLLIER : GRANDIN CONOVER : JANE COOPER : EVAN CONNELL : PHILIP CORNER
M JEAN CRAIG : ROBERT CREELEY : ROBERT M CRONBACH : ROBERT DASH
WESLEY DAY : JUNE OPPEN DEGNAN : DOROTHY DEHNER : SUZANNE DE KOONING
GUY DANIELS : BABETTE DEUTSCH : ALEXANDER DOBKIN : NOLA L DOLBERG : DOUGLAS F DOWD
DAVID DEMPSEY : ROBERT DUNCAN : BARROWS DUNHAM : JOE EARLY : GALEN FREEL
GEORGE ECONOMOU : RICHARD ELMAN : GEORGE P ELLIOTT : KENWARD ELMSLIE : ROBERT ENGLER
SYLVETTE ESSIG : BARBARA EPSTEIN : JASON EPSTEIN : SEYMOUR EPSTEIN
CLAYTON ESHLEMAN : ELEANOR ESTES : GERTRUDE ESSRIG : HOWARD FAST : MORTON FELDMAN
LAWRENCE FERLINGHETTI : LESLIE FIEDLER : EDWARD FIELD : DONALD FINKEL
JOSEPH FIORE : RICHARD B FISHER : DUDLEY FITTS : ADRIENNE FOULKE : KATHLEEN FRASER
RONALD FREELANDER : ANN FREILICH : LLOYD FRANKENBERG : ANNE FREMANTLE
JEAN FOREST : SIDEO FRONBOLUTI : HOWARD FUSSINER : JEAN GARRIGUE : MAXWELL GEISMAR
JACK GELBER : HUGO GELLERT : HANS H GERTH : WILLIAM GIBSON : ROCHELLE GIERSON
JEAN GLEASON : RALPH J GLEASON : HERBERT GOLD : MIMI GOLDBERG
MITCHELL GOODMAN : JONATHAN GREENE : JEAN GOULD : HAROLD GREENFELD
SEYMOUR GRESSER : ANTONI GRONOWICZ : CHAIM GROSS : RENEE GROSS : BARBARA GUEST
ALBERT J GUERARD : ROBERT GWATHMEY : YVONNE HAGEN : DONALD HALL
JAMES BAKER HALL : MARGARET HALSEY : SID HAMMER : DAVID HARE : JAMES HARRISON
BURT HASEN : CURTIS HARNACK : ROBERT HATCH : H R HAYS : ROBERT C HAWLEY
ROBERT HAZEL : SHIRLEY HAZZARD : MACDONALD HARRIS : AL HELD : LILLIAN HELLMAN
JOSEPH HELLER : NAT HENTOFF : JOHN HERSEY : THOMAS B HESS : JOHN H HICKS
DICK HIGGINS : JOSEPH HIRSCH : GEORGE HITCHCOCK : DANIEL HOFFMAN : SANDRA HOCHMAN
PAULA HOCKS : MARGO HOFF : HENRY BEETLE HOUGH : FLORENCE HOWE : IRVING HOWE
HELEN HOWE : LEO HURWITZ : DAVID IGNATOW : ROBERT INDIANA
EMMETT JARRETT : PAUL JACOBS JESS : EDDIE JOHNSON : CROCKETT JOHNSON
MATTHEW JOSEPHSON : DON JUDD : MERVIN JULIUS : H PETER KAHN : JOSEPH KAPLAN
ALLEN KATZMAN : LEANDRO KATZ : STANLEY KAUFFMAN : ALFRED KAZIN : WILLIAM MELVIN KELLEY
CALVIN KENTFIELD : BASIL KING : WILLIAM D KING : KATHERINE T KINKEAD : GALWAY KINNELL
FREDA KIRCHWAY : GEORGE KIRSTEIN : ERIK KIVIAT : NEIL KLEINMAN : HANS KONINGSBERGER
KARL KNATHS : JOSEPH KONZAL : ALBERT KRESCH : SEYMOUR KRIM : RUTH KRAUSS
LOUISE KRUGER : KATHARINE KUH : LEE KRASNER : STANLEY KUNITZ : TULI KUPFERBERG
VERA R LACHMAN : KENNETH LAMOTT : JOHN LANGE : JEREMY LARNER
ALEXANDER LATTIMORE : RICHMOND LATTIMORE : JOE LASKER : SIDNEY LAUFMAN
JAMES LAUGHLIN : DONLLA VIERE TURNER : JACOB LEED : DENISE LEVERTOV : SI LEWEN
HARRY LEVIN : LEONARD O LEVIN : OSCAR LEWIS : JACK LEVINE : ROY LICHTENSTEIN
BETTY JEAN LIFTON : LINDA LINDEBERG : RON LOEWINSOHN : EPHRAIM LONDON
ROBERT LOWELL : WALTER LOWENFELS : LOIS LOWENSTEIN : ROBERT M MACGREGOR : JACKSON MACLOW
IRIS LEZAK MAC LOW : BERNARD MALAMUD : LEO MANSO : JACK MARSHALL : DAVID MANDELL
LENORE G MARSHALL : AGNES MARTIN : DAVID MCREYNOLDS : CAREY MCWILLIAMS
AMY MENDELSON : EVE MERRIAM : W S MERWIN : SIDNEY MEYERS : ROBERT MEZEY : ARTHUR MILLER
EDWIN H MILLER : WARREN MILLER : JESSICA MITFORD : HARRY T MOORE : FREDERICK MORGAN
IRA MORRIS : FREDERIC MORTON : MARTIN S MOSKOP : STANLEY MOSS
ROBERT MOTHERWELL : HOWARD H MYER : DANIEL NAGRIN : HOWARD NEMEROV : ALICE NEEL
MARY PEROT NICHOLS : ROBERT NICHOLS : IRIS NOBLE : ISAMU NOGUCHI
JAMES L NUSSER : NED O'GORMAN : GEORGIA O'KEEFE : TILLY OLSEN : GEORGE OPPEN
MARY OPPEN : JOEL OPPENHEIMER : PETER ORLOVSKY : ROBERT OSBORN
BARBARA OVERMYER : ROCHELLE OWENS : ALFREDO DE PALCHI : RAYMOND PARKER : BETTY PARSONS
FELIX PASILIS : DAVID PASCAL : MERLE PEEK : GERI PINE : PAUL PRENSKY
JAMES PURDY : SIMON PERCHIK : HENRI PERCIKOW : PRUDENCIO DE PEREDA
VIRGILIA PETERSON : GEORGE PLIMPTON : JAMES TENNEY : ANTHONY TONEY : EDNA AMADON TONEY
TONY TOWLE : PAUL ELLSWORTH TRIEM : EVE TRIEM : NICCOLO TUCCI
MARTIN TUCKER : JOHN R TUNIS : JULES RABIN : PHILIP RAHV : HENRY RAGO
ROBERT E RAMBUSCH : MARGARET RANDALL : F D REEVE : ANTON REFREGIER : AD REINHARDT
PHILIP REISMAN : KENNETH REXROTH : DAN RICE : ADRIENNE RICH : CAROL RITTER
HENRY ROBBINS : RALPH ROBIN : M G ROGERS : MEYERS ROHOWSKY
NED ROREM : W K ROSE : BARNEY ROSSET : HENRY ROTH : PHILIP ROTH : JEROME ROTHENBERG
MARK ROTHKO : ROSE ROSBERG : MURIEL RUKEYSER : ARTHUR SAINER
WOOP SANDERS : DONALD SCHENKER : HERMAN SCHNEIDER : STEVEN J SCHNEIDER
NINA SCHNEIDER : CAROLEE SCHNEEMAN : ARMAND SCHWERNER : RICHARD SEAVER : THALIA SELZ
PETER SELZ : ANNE SEXTON : BERNARD SEEMAN : BEN SHAHN : WILFRED SHEED
HERMAN SHUMLIN : MAURICE SIEVAN : ERNEST J SIMMONS : JOEL SLOMAN : MICHAEL SMITH
JOSEPH SOLMAN : JAY SOCIN : THEODORE SOLOTAROFF : SUSAN SONTAG
VIRGINIA SORENSON : GILBERT SORRENTINO : TERRY SOUTHERN : MOSES SOYER
RAPHAEL SOYER : A B SPELLMAN : NORA SPEYER : JEAN STAFFORD : GEORGE STARBUCK
FRANCIS STEEGMULLER : FRANCES STELOFF : STAN STEINER : EMMA G STERNE
BRITA STENDAHL : RUTH STEPHAN : DANIEL STERN : MAY STEVENS : DONALD STEWART
HAROLD STRAUSS : GEORGE SUGARMAN : WILLIAM STYRON : ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND : HARVEY SWADOS
WOLIE SYPHER : GRETA SULTAN : MARK DI SUVERO : LOUIS UNTERMEYER
CONSTANCE URDANG : STAN VANDERBEEK : ROBERT VAS DIAS : TONY VEVERS : MARIUSA VER BRUGGHE
ESTEBAN VICENTE : ELIZABETH GRAY VINING : AMOS VOGEL : IVAN VON AUW
IRA WALLACH : THEODORE WEISS : NAT WERNER : MILDRED WESTON : ALLEN B WHEELIS
MORTON WHITE : DAN WICKENDEN : THEODORE WILENTZ
MRS. WM. CARLOS WILLIAMS : EDMUND WILSON : MITCHELL WILSON : SOL WILSON
CLARA WINSTON : RICHARD WINSTON : ISRAEL G YOUNG : MARGUERITE YOUNG
JACK YOUNGERMAN : ADJA YUNKERS : LOUIS ZUKOFSKY
MANY OTHER SIGNATURES WERE RECEIVED TOO LATE TO BE INCLUDED

This statement was formulated three weeks before the President announced that he was willing to begin "unconditional discussions" with "the foe." Will his speech be followed by action?—peaceful, responsible action, NOT the further use of force?

The American people have begun, in letters to Washington and in the statements published by other concerned groups, to voice their horror at a policy of violence. The President has replied to this expression of public opinion. Let us not now relax our insistence on the necessity for an immediate cessation of the bombings in North Vietnam. Let us support that part of Mr Johnson's speech which seems to offer hope of negotiations, and at the same time let us persist energetically in expressing our opposition to any but peaceful policies. WRITE TO THE PRESIDENT

Co-Secretaries; Denise Levertov ; Mitchell Goodman ; WRITERS AND ARTISTS PROTEST Post Office Box 1358 Church St. Station New York NY 10008

Pinpoint your growth opportunities in

HELPFUL TENNESSEE

Tennessee likes industry . . . and industry likes Tennessee! Locating in helpful Tennessee gives you the advantages of favorable government and realistic taxes . . . plus labor supply and skills, central location, water and electric power, local financing plans, low building costs, etc. See about Tennessee . . . now! Write on company letterhead or use coupon below.

ABUNDANT TENNESSEE
DIVISION FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Office of the Governor
2-13 Cordell Hull Bldg., Nashville, Tennessee
Please send Tennessee industrial data.
Name
Firm
Address
City State

Declassified and Approved For Release 2013/07/05 : CIA-RDP80M01009A000100050021-1