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# Fulbright Serves Notice He'll Seek Showdown in Senate on CIA July 14

By Bryce Nelson

Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) served notice yesterday that he will press for a showdown vote July 14 on a proposal to place the Central Intelligence Agency under broader congressional scrutiny.

Fulbright announced his intentions in letters to all Senate members.

It marks the break-down of an effort by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) to negotiate a compromise on the politically touchy CIA issue between Senate critics and advocates of the agency.

As Fulbright announced his move the Senate voted unanimously to confirm the nomination of Richard Helms, a 53-year-old professional intelligence officer, to become director of the CIA. Helms now serves as Deputy Director.

The July 14 showdown will center on a resolution introduced by Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.) to create a nine-member Committee on Intelligence Operations—with three Senators each named from the Appropriations, Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees.

At present a seven-member subcommittee of Armed Services and Appropriations con-

ducts friendly annual reviews of CIA budgets and operations. Among the members are veteran Committee Chairmen Carl Hayden (D-Ariz.) of Appropriations and Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) of Armed Services. This group is the agency's staunchest defender on Capitol Hill.

The McCarthy resolution was prompted by dissatisfaction in the Senate—especially in the Foreign Relations Committee—with the CIA's role in foreign affairs.

Among the most common complaints heard from this group is that the agency often tends to side with non-democratic and military regimes. It is also argued by the critics that the agency has acted, at times, to frustrate U.S. foreign policy objectives.

The present intelligence "establishment" at the Capitol has countered that the Foreign Relations Committee was merely trying to "muscle in" on the intelligence field.

Early this year Fulbright clashed with former CIA Director William F. Raborn over his refusal to answer questions before the Foreign Relations Committee.

The McCarthy resolution would empower the proposed committee on intelligence operations to review the programs of all three principal intelligence agencies—the

CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

In another development the president of the American Political Science Association, Stanford University professor Gabriel Almond, charged at a Senate hearing that the CIA has "damaged the reputation of American academics for objective research."

He singled out for criticism such incidents as the agency's controversial relationship with Michigan State University.

Almond testified at the foreign research hearings held by a Government Operations Subcommittee headed by Sen. Fred Harris (D-Okla.)

# BILL ON C.I.A. GOES TO SENATE TODAY

## Measure Would Add Three to Watchdog Committee

By E. W. KENWORTHY  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 21—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will report to the floor tomorrow a bill to add three of its members to the committee supervising activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.

With hopes of a compromise faded, Senator Mike Mansfield, the majority leader, said today that he planned to call the controversial bill up for action when the Senate returns from a Fourth of July recess on July 11.

The bill, which was sponsored by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, Democrat of Minnesota, was approved by the Foreign Relations Committee on May 17 by a vote of 14 to 5.

It would create a Select Senate Committee on Intelligence Operations composed of nine members. The Armed Services Committee, the Appropriations Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee would each supply three.

### Russell Is Chairman

Ever since the C.I.A. was created by the National Security Act of 1947, Senate supervision has been the province of a group made up of ranking members of the Armed Services Committee and the Defense subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. The chairman of the watchdog committee, now numbering seven members, is Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia.

The decision to take the McCarthy bill to the floor for a showdown followed repeated failures by Senator Mansfield and Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, to reach a compromise with Senator Russell and the Administration.

Arguing that his committee, because of its jurisdiction over foreign affairs, should be represented on the watchdog committee, Mr. Fulbright suggested to Mr. Russell that three Foreign Relations members be

added by agreement without recourse to legislation.

Senator Russell refused on the ground that he did not have the authority to make such an agreement.

When Mr. Mansfield likewise failed to make a dent in Senator Russell's opposition to any increase in the watchdog committee, Senator Fulbright wrote on June 13 to Adm. William F. Raborn, retired, then Director of Central Intelligence.

Mr. Fulbright asked Mr. Raborn whether he would give recognition to a subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee and supply it with the information furnished Mr. Russell's group.

Senator Fulbright recalled that when Mr. Raborn appeared before his committee last February to discuss the question of supervision, he declined to answer some questions.

In his reply last Wednesday, Mr. Raborn said of the February meeting:

"The questions to which I stated I was unable to respond were questions directed to the activities of the agency as to sources and methods, rather than to substantive intelligence information."

Mr. Raborn made plain that the C.I.A. would continue to refuse to members of the Foreign Relations Committee any information on "sources and methods."

### Scholarships Cited

It was learned that one of the questions on "sources and methods" Mr. Raborn refused to answer was whether the C.I.A. ever used the Fulbright scholarship program as a cover for its agents.

Mr. Raborn, it was learned, also declined to answer any questions about the cover supplied C.I.A. agents by a technical assistance program in South Vietnam that was run under contract to the Government by Michigan State University from 1955 to 1959.

"Some members, it was said,

were greatly disturbed about the refusal to answer questions about possible use of the Fulbright scholarship program.

Senator Fulbright conceived this program in 1945 when he introduced a bill to use the local currency proceeds from the sale of United States surplus property abroad to finance exchanges of students, teachers and artists. The Fulbright Act was passed in 1948, and exchanges began in 1948.

After the surplus property was sold, the program was financed by local currency proceeds from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities.

Under the program, 28,998 Americans have studied abroad, and 53,572 foreigners have come to the United States.

The Fulbright program has been a source of pride to the Senator. Consequently, he spoke with some feeling on May 16 when Senator Milton R. Young, Republican of North Dakota, who is a member of the Russell group, suggested that the Foreign Relations Committee set up its own subcommittee on the C. I. A.

Without stating what ques-

tions Mr. Raborn refused to answer, Mr. Fulbright said the admiral had conceded that he would answer them if asked by the Russell committee or by the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

Mr. Fulbright noted that eight of the nine members of the board were not Government officials. He said:

"While I do not wish to puff up the importance of Senators, I believe that as elected representatives they are as much entitled to information about this activity as are these private citizens who come from the business life of the nation and also from the ranks of retired generals or semi-retired generals."

It could not be learned today whether Mr. Fulbright had taken up with President Johnson the kinds of questions Mr. Raborn had refused to answer.

## RABORN REBUFFS FULBRIGHT PANEL

Says Senate Should Decide  
Who Gets C.I.A. Data

WASHINGTON, June 17 (AP)—The Director of the Central Intelligence has informed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he is willing to give it "substantive intelligence information"—but will not disclose "sources and methods," which he reveals to another Senate committee.

And that, Adm. William F. Raborn said in a letter Wednesday to Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, was the only kind of question the committee asked that he refused to answer at a February briefing that helped trigger the current Senate clash over who supervises cloak - and - dagger activities.

The exchange of letters, which was learned today, between Admiral Raborn and Senator Fulbright was interpreted as probably killing the last chance for a compromise that would avert a Senate floor fight between the two committees on the touchy issue.

### Up to the Senate

Admiral Raborn put it diplomatically: "I have previously stated, once before your committee, that Senate supervision of the agency (C.I.A.) seems to be one which the Senate itself would want to resolve."

In attempting to keep the Senate from resolving it with a potentially embarrassing floor fight, the Senate Democratic leader, Mike Mansfield, has tried to work out a number of compromises.

Senator Fulbright's group has argued that because of its jurisdiction over foreign relations it should have some role in overseeing activities of the intelligence agency.

He and some committee members were disturbed when Admiral Raborn acknowledged in the February briefing that he did not feel he could give them as detailed information as he gives the Senate's executive C.I.A. watchdog subcommittee.

### Russell Opposed

That committee, headed by Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia and chairman of the Armed Services Committee, opposes a resolution approved by Senator Fulbright's group to add three of its members to

panel.

In what apparently was a compromise move, Senator Fulbright wrote Admiral Raborn Monday and said "it has been suggested" that he find out whether the agency would give its recognition to a C.I.A. subcommittee set up by the Foreign Relations Committee.

In the response two days later Admiral Raborn said of the February meeting:

"The questions to which I stated I was unable to respond were questions directed to the activities of the agency as to 'sources and methods,' rather than to substantive intelligence information."

He said in declining to answer these questions he was following past practice and added, "the subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, according to my understanding, is responsible for Senate oversight of C.I.A. and was thus the Senate body to be

WASHINGTON STAR

JULY 17 1955

# CIA Won't Disclose Methods Raborn Refuses Fulbright

By the Associated Press

The director of the Central Intelligence Agency is not ducking a Senate battle over supervision of his agency.

William F. Raborn has informed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he is willing to give it "substantive intelligence information" — but will not disclose "sources and methods."

And that, he said in a letter yesterday to Chairman J. W. Fulbright, D-Ark., was the only kind of question the committee asked that he refused to answer at a February briefing that helped trigger the clash over who supervises intelligence activities.

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He and some committee members were disturbed by Raborn's acknowledgment in a February briefing that he did not feel he could give them detailed information as he gave the Senate's CIA-wide subcommittee.

Enlargement Opposed That committee, headed by Chairman Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., of the Armed Services Committee, opposes a resolution approved by Fulbright's panel to add three of its members to Russell's seven-man panel.

In what apparently was a last-chance compromise, Fulbright wrote Raborn Monday and said "it has been suggested" that he find out whether the CIA would give its recognition to a CIA subcommittee set up by the Foreign Relations Committee.

In the response two days later, Raborn said of the February meeting: "The questions to which I stated I was unable to respond were questions directed to the activities of the agency, as to 'sources and methods,' rather than to substantive intelligence information."

Cites Precedent Raborn said in declining to answer these questions he was following past practice.

"The subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, according to my understanding, is responsible for Senate oversight of CIA and was thus the Senate body to be so informed," he added.

Raborn suggested that this practice was to be changed if the Senate would have to change it.

## Mansfield Threatens Floor Fight For New C.I.A. Watchdog Panel

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 11—Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana said today that unless a backstage compromise was reached soon on more extensive supervision of the Central Intelligence Agency, he would take the issue to the floor for a showdown battle.

In such a battle, the Senate Democratic leader said, "fearful things might be said that would not help the agency or the Senate."

It was to avoid such a fight that Mr. Mansfield has sought in the last 10 days either to get the leaders of the opposing factions—Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia, and J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas—to reach agreement, or to get the President to use his discretionary powers in effecting a solution to the problem.

But Senator Mansfield acknowledged that he had made "no progress" on a compromise. Mr. Mansfield said that he and Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican leader, had apprised President Johnson of the situation and that Mr. Johnson had said the

issue was "a matter for the Senate to decide."

Mr. Mansfield said he would let another week go by and then call up for floor action a resolution approved 14 to 5 by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last May 17.

This resolution would set up a Select Senate Committee on Intelligence Operations. Three of its nine members would be from the Armed Services Committee, three from the Appropriations Committee and three from the Foreign Relations Committee.

The fight centers on the admission of members of the Foreign Relations Committee to the exclusive group that has provided "legislative oversight" for the C.I.A. since the agency was created by the National Security Act of 1947.



The New York Times

### Senator Mike Mansfield

In the Senate, the watchdog subcommittee has been composed of seven members, drawn from the Armed Services Committee and the Defense Appropriations subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. Mr. Russell, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, also heads the watchdog subcommittee.

In the House, watch of the C.I.A. has been conducted by a subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee and a subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. The House subcommittees meet separately.

To avoid an open contest, Mr. Fulbright tried to get Mr. Russell, without legislation, to accept three members of the Foreign Relations Committee on the watchdog subcommittee on the ground that C.I.A. activities affected foreign policy. Mr. Russell refused, saying he did not have the authority to do this.

### McCarthy Offers Plan

After this refusal, the Foreign Relations Committee adopted the resolution for a new select committee, which had been offered by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, Democrat of Minnesota.

Mr. Russell announced that he would fight the resolution. An expansion of the watchdog subcommittee, he asserted, will jeopardize security by increasing the danger of leaks.

Senator Russell unquestionably had the votes to defeat the

resolution. But it was believed he might also be embarrassed by the number of votes for the resolution. Furthermore, it was generally agreed that Mr. Russell might have to yield the next time a C.I.A. operation went awry and aroused controversy.

In this context, Mr. Mansfield and others looked for a compromise. The one they favor would provide for the creation of a Foreign Relations subcommittee that would get regular briefings from the director of the C.I.A.

The hitch in this compromise is that it requires the cooperation of the President to be effective. The Foreign Relations Committee has the power to set up its own watchdog subcommittee, but only the President can direct the C.I.A. to give the subcommittee the kind of information it now gives the Russell group.

So far, President Johnson has shown no inclination to help Senators Fulbright and Mansfield.

Among those familiar with the way the Senate operates, not much credence is given to the fears expressed by the Russell group of security leaks. Instead, they see the members of the present watchdog subcommittee, most of whom are firmly entrenched in the power complex of the Senate, protecting one of their power bases from invasion.

Thus, Mr. Mansfield noted that there were 15 members on the two House Oversight subcommittees and yet there were no leaks there.

The great obstacle to compromise, he said, is that the members of the Russell group would like to keep the subcommittee as it is, and some of them believe is already too large.

The expansion of supervision, Mr. Mansfield said, does not involve a "vote of no confidence" in the C.I.A.

"Every one realizes the C.I.A. must be safeguarded," he said. "Everything it does, could not and should not be open to Senate inspection."

Nevertheless, he said, the C.I.A. operates in an area that involves it in foreign policy, and therefore "some senior people" on the Foreign Relations Committee should be given representation.

"The purpose," he said, "is not to denigrate the C.I.A. but safeguard it."

JUN 1 2 1966

# CIA SUPERVISION FIGHT CONTINUES

## No Progress Seen in Effort To Avoid Senate Debate

Washington, June 11 (AP)—Senator Mansfield, the Democratic leader, said today he is "making no progress" in his efforts to avert a Senate showdown over supervision of United States cloak-and-dagger activities.

Mansfield said President Johnson indicated he would not enter the dispute over the Central Intelligence Agency that pits against one another two of the Senate's top committee chairmen—Richard B. Russell of Armed Services and J. W. Fulbright of Foreign Relations.

Mansfield, acting as mediator, said if a compromise isn't struck fairly soon "We'll have to take it to the floor and battle it out."

But this, he said, would not be before late next week and would probably be later.

To avoid a heated public debate on the delicate issues involving United States intelligence and espionage, Mansfield persuaded both sides to postpone a showdown scheduled June 1 to try to work out a compromise.

Fulbright held off on a resolution, approved by his committee, that would expand the present

CIA supervisory panel by adding three Foreign Relations Committee members to it.

This was opposed by the present seven-man CIA panel, made up of veteran members of the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees, and headed by Russell. Their chief arguments have been that the present set-up is adequate, and that enlargement of the watchdog committee would increase the danger of leaks.

### Committee Role Urged

Mansfield said he would "like to see the Foreign Relations Committee get some kind of representation" in overseeing the CIA.

"While the CIA does not make foreign policy," Mansfield said, "it is without question involved in foreign policy."

Mansfield said because of this he feels the Foreign Relations Committee should have a role in supervising CIA activities.

One suggested compromise would be for the Foreign Relations Committee to set up its own CIA subcommittee with the President instructing the CIA to report to it as fully as it does to Russell's group.

### Johnson Appraised

Mansfield said he appraised Mr. Johnson of the situation but did not seek any kind of commitment from him. The President, he said, indicated the dispute is something the Senate should work out.

Mansfield said he wants to keep the issue from flaring into public debate because "I'm fearful that things might be said that wouldn't help the agency (the CIA) and wouldn't help the Senate."

JUNE 7, 1966

## Still Gunning For CIA

Despite the sharp setback suffered by Senators J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas and Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota, seeking to nose out secrets of the Central Intelligence Agency, foes continue their efforts to cripple or destroy the CIA operation, so essential to the President, the State and Defense Departments.

\* \* \*

The CIA makes a helpless target for marplot accusers. It can't answer back. The hush-hush nature of its function gags the agency.

For more than a year, enemies of CIA have been potshooting at it with scattergun charges that it "makes" foreign policy and is guilty of all kinds of amoral conduct.

The most constant agency attacker is Senator Fulbright, spearhead of the appeaser, quit-Vietnam bloc in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

\* \* \*

McCarthy, with the stanch backing of Fulbright, has offered a measure to put three members of the Foreign Relations Committee on the CIA's supervisory body, now composed of seven senior members of the Senate's Armed Services and Appropriations Committees. The Foreign Relations group is notable for being perhaps the leakiest of all committees in the Senate.

The CIA is active in Vietnam. Few doubt that if the McCarthy proposal for expanding

the overseer group were adopted, Fulbright and McCarthy would be added to CIA supervisors. Few also can doubt that these men would use CIA data to impugn the President's Viet policy and smash our commitment to defend the freedom of South Vietnam.

Last week a showdown on the McCarthy Fulbright resolution to gain secrets, perhaps control, of CIA was saved from a floor vote when it was apparent the measure would have been defeated more than two to one.

It's too bad a ballot was not permitted and this assault on an absolutely necessary intelligence agency mortally scotched.

\* \* \*

Senator Stuart Symington, a member of both the CIA supervisory committee and the Foreign Relations Committee, has stoutly defended CIA, with whose operation he has been closely familiar for 10 years. One after another he has debunked false charges against the agency.

CIA has done an effective, competent job. Its mistakes are publicized; its many successes never come to light because of its purpose and nature.

To make Fulbright and his ilk privy to CIA work and data would be like putting national intelligence on a world-wide tv hookup.

It could demolish a vital agency of the State and Defense Departments and a prime channel of White House information.

CLAYTON FRITCHEY

## Russell's CIA Words Cut 2 Ways

The showdown in the Senate over whether the Central Intelligence Agency is to be subjected to real surveillance has been temporarily postponed, but the chief opponent to a broadened supervision of the CIA has himself provided the best argument for doing precisely what he is opposed to doing.

The safety of the nation, as we have been learning, may very well depend on the outcome of the struggle between Sen. Richard Russell, D-Ga., chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and Sen. J. W. Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, over the efforts to enlarge the small Senate watchdog committee now charged with overseeing the CIA.

The so-called watchdog group is headed by Sen. Russell, and includes three other senators from the Armed Services Committee, plus three senators from the Appropriations Committee, but there are no senators from the Foreign Relations Committee which is supposed to advise and consult with the administration on the conduct of foreign policy.

Many of the most distinguished members of the Senate including Mike Mans-

field, the majority leader, have long sought (in vain) to create a new joint Senate-House committee to handle CIA affairs, just as a similar joint committee does with the super-secret Atomic Energy Commission.

Now, Fulbright and a large majority of the Foreign Relations Committee have voted for a compromise, which would add three members of this committee to Russell's seven-man watchdog group, but the Georgian is flatly opposed to any change.

Advocates of the plan contend that the watchdog committee's check on the CIA has been superficial and that the agency doesn't even bother to keep the group informed on many vital operations. Russell has denied this, insisting that the group has always fully carried out its mission, and has been adequately informed.

Now, however, Russell has confessed that he knew little about the CIA plan to invade Cuba, which was not only a disaster in itself but led to the most dangerous confrontation in post war history, the Cuban missile crisis.

"I only wish I had been consulted," says Russell, "because I would have strongly advised against this kind of operation if I had been." Here

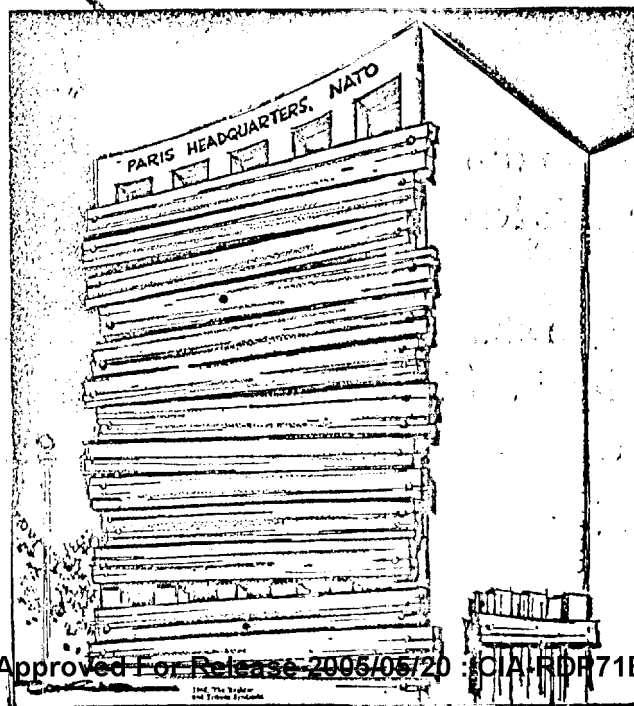
is proof positive from Russell himself that the CIA not only did not consult the watchdog group, it didn't even deign to inform it.

The worst of this is that if Russell had been properly informed, and had then advised against the invasion, it might never have occurred, for Russell carried great weight with a president who already was very dubious about going ahead with the attack.

Today, alas, Russell angrily charges the Foreign Relations Committee with trying to "muscle in" on his domain, as if this committee had no responsibility for foreign policy. Actually, since the CIA is supposed to operate only in the foreign field, the Fulbright committee should have an interest superior to any other committee.

Sen. Russell also wants to exclude members of the Foreign Relations Committee on the grounds of security. He has made much of the danger of "leaks," the implication being that his group is to be trusted more than the Foreign Relations senators.

This is a debatable argument at best, but "security" is what the CIA always falls back on when it is threatened with serious congressional surveillance.





JUN 2 1960

## SENATORS DELAY C.I.A. SHOWDOWN

### Compromise Plan Is Sought on Overseeing Agency

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 1

Contending Senate leaders in the quarrel over supervision of the Central Intelligence Agency postponed a showdown today in the hope of reaching a compromise.

Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, had planned to present for floor action a resolution to add three members of his committee to a "watchdog" group now headed by Senator Richard E. Russell, chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

This resolution, sponsored by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, Democrat of Minnesota, had been approved 14 to 5 by the Foreign Relations Committee on May 17.

Two hours before the Senate convened at noon, however, the majority leader, Mike Mansfield, called Senators Fulbright, Russell, McCarthy and John Stennis of Mississippi to his office.

Afterward, Mr. Mansfield said that the McCarthy resolution would not be brought up this week because "we are still trying to work out a compromise solution in consultation with various interested Senators."

#### Backed by Mansfield

Mr. Mansfield strongly supports the contention of Senators Fulbright and McCarthy that the activities of the intelligence agency affect foreign policy and that consequently the Foreign Relations Committee should be represented on the group exercising legislative "oversight" of the agency.

Ever since the agency was created in 1947 by the National Security Act, seven Senators

and the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee handling the defense budget have constituted the group to which the agency's director has reported. On the House side, the director has reported to two subcommittees of Armed Services and Appropriations committees.

Senator Russell vigorously opposed the McCarthy resolution in a floor speech two weeks ago on the ground that inclusion of Foreign Relations Committee members might result in leaks. So far, he said, "there has never been a security leak" from his subcommittee. He denied that the agency had a role in foreign policy and charged that Mr. Fulbright and his committee were trying to "muscle in" on the armed services committee.

#### Defeat Was Expected

Mr. Russell, it was agreed, had the votes to defeat the McCarthy resolution. But the prospect was that perhaps 35 Senators might support it. This might be sufficient to cause Mr. Russell some embarrassment and possibly ensure enactment of the resolution if a C.I.A. operation should go awry and arouse criticism.

In any event it seemed today that Senator Russell was amenable to compromise.

Senator Mansfield reported that all of those present at the meeting "had open minds" and "seemed to be not averse to a compromise if one could be worked out."

Senator Stennis, a member of the present watchdog group, said it was "highly important" to avoid a floor fight.

Senator Mansfield suggested two possibilities for compromise.

One, he said, would be the acceptance by Russell's group of two or three members of the Foreign Relations Committee without a resolution.

The other, which Mr. Mansfield said had been discussed, would be the creation of a Foreign Relations subcommittee

on the assurance by the White House that the intelligence agency would report as fully to this group as to Mr. Russell's

WALL STREET  
JOURNAL

JUN 2 1966

The fight over CIA supervision in the Senate may be resolved without a floor fight after rivals in the dispute agreed to try to work out a compromise. Chairman Fulbright of the Foreign Relations Committee had planned to present on the Senate floor yesterday a resolution to put three members of his committee on the Senate panel that oversees Central Intelligence Agency operations. Such a change is opposed by the panel, whose seven members are from the Armed Services and Appropriations committees.

JUN 2 1966

## Johnson May Be Called On In CIA Clash

By the Associated Press

President Johnson may be asked to step in as the ultimate peacemaker to head off a Senate clash over the Central Intelligence Agency, sources said today.

Johnson may be asked by an emissary — probably Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield—to direct the agency to accede to the Foreign Relations Committee's desire to get full reports on CIA activities, the sources said.

This, they said, is one of the compromises being discussed—but not yet approved—in effort to keep the dispute over Senate supervision of the agency from erupting on the Senate floor.

Mansfield got both sides yesterday to agree to put off a showdown on the Foreign Relations Committee's resolution

that would revamp the present CIA watchdog committee.

Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., who heads the CIA panel made up of seven senior members of the Armed Services and Appropriations committees, has denounced the Foreign Relations group's bid as an effort to "muscle in."

MAY 31 1966

## *Russell and the CIA*

In rebuffing what he calls the Foreign Relations Committee's effort to "muscle in" on the job of overseeing our intelligence effort, Senator Russell has based his case on the legislative history of the National Security Act of 1947. Since the Act establishing the CIA was originally channeled through the Armed Services Committee, the Senator argues, the central responsibility for overseeing the Agency falls on his committee. He then cites the Legislative Reorganization Act as his authority for this contention.

Even in the narrowly legalistic terms within which he has drawn his case, Senator Russell appears to be on somewhat tenuous ground. Section 136 of the Reorganization Act does provide for "continuous watchfulness" by standing committees of "the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within (their) jurisdiction." But nothing in this or any other clause of the Act links the task of oversight to whether or not a particular committee handled the original legislation creating an agency. Senators Fulbright and McCarthy might well maintain that the subject matter of the National Security Act falls within the jurisdiction of Foreign Relations. If Senator Russell has a valid argument on this score, it lies not in the letter of the law but in the conventions of the Senate.

The task of oversight went as a routine matter to Armed Services as the original custodian of the Act and secondarily to Appropriations as the watchdog of expenditure. At the beginning, no one cared very much who exercised the overseer's role. The

United States was new to the intelligence game. Few in Washington imagined how big the CIA (and now, the Defense Intelligence Agency or DIA) would become. What has radically changed the situation in the years since 1947 is the gradual realization that a vigorous and consolidated intelligence effort—activist by its nature—inevitably becomes a major operating arm of our foreign policy. The Foreign Relations Committee is simply reflecting this belated realization in seeking to assert its proper interest in our intelligence activities.

Senator Russell has made no serious effort to dispute the existence of such an interest. He has laughed it off by saying that since "the size of the armed forces are largely determined by our foreign relations," his committee should regularly sit in with the Foreign Relations Committee.

But this blithely dodges the basic issue. The broad general relationship between defense and foreign policy is hardly comparable to the intimate connection between the CIA and our diplomacy. When the CIA seeks to manipulate the balance of internal political forces in a country it constitutes the business end, as it were, of our representation abroad.

The Senate has many precedents for recognizing a mutuality of interest among different committees in national security matters. One obvious example was the referral of the Eisenhower Middle East program in 1958 jointly to Armed Services and Foreign Relations. Senators Fulbright and McCarthy are making a modest proposal in seeking representation for their committee in the existing oversight process, and they clearly deserve the support of the Senate.

MAY 30 1963

## Dulles Pleads On CIA Rein

United Press International  
Senate supporters of a tighter congressional rein on the Central Intelligence Agency might try to enlist the backing of its former director, Allen W. Dulles, as their drive approaches a floor showdown Wednesday.

Dulles was chief of the spy agency in 1961 when the Senate rejected a proposal for a joint House-Senate Committee to oversee the CIA's operations. At that time, he opposed any change in the existing special legislative "watchdog" subcommittee.

But Dulles now is understood to believe that broader congressional scrutiny of the CIA would be worth any additional problems it might create if it would quiet concern over such affairs as the Bay of Pigs and build public confidence in the agency's highly secret operations.

On Wednesday, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is to file a formal report on a resolution it has approved, 14 to 5, calling for the seating of three Committee members on a new, nine-member CIA watchdog panel.

The CIA now is the province of a special seven-member subcommittee, consisting of three members each of the Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees and headed by Sen. Richard B. Russell, (D-Ga.), who strongly opposes any change as he did in 1956.

In the test of strength Dulles's views could be influential.

The House also will be busy on Wednesday when it takes up a bill that would authorize appropriations of up to \$17.8 billion for aircraft, missiles and ships and weapons-related research. This is \$981 million more for weapons than requested by President Johnson, and about \$300 million more than approved by the Senate.

The House also will take up an Administration proposal that would allow Federal judges to let narcotics addicts choose commitment for medical treatment instead of trial for the criminal offense; an Administration request to let Federal judges release accused persons regarded as trustworthy on their own recognizance or at sharply reduced bail; and a proposed five-year, \$475 million extension of the Federal highway construction and services program.

*See Com.*

cial sub-unit of the Armed Services and Appropriations committees known by the nickname of "The Secret Seven"—the number that presently makes up its membership. Inevitably, the wisdom of this arrangement comes up for regular questioning, particularly whenever the CIA is in the headlines as often as it has been in recent weeks (NEWSWEEK, May 9). Last week the debate began all over again.

On the surface, the point of dispute was a contention that the CIA intrudes on the making of foreign policy. "It is sheer poppycock," said Georgia's Sen. Richard B. Russell, "to say the CIA makes foreign policy." "In many countries," replied Foreign Relations Committee chairman J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, "it is more influential than our ambassadors . . ."

Neither Russell's angry "poppycock" nor Fulbright's low-key response disposed of the superficial issue—and the real one had not reached the Senate yet. Triggering last week's squabble was a resolution before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee proposing that three of its members be added to the Senate's CIA review panel. As innocuous as that seemed, it was enough to nettle Dick Russell—who happens to be the zealous and jealous chairman of the CIA review panel. Russell left little doubt that the issue moving him was not the CIA but Senatorial power. "There is no justification whatever," he said, "for any other committee to muscle in on the jurisdiction of the Armed Services Committee so far as the CIA is concerned."

Under the resolution that got Russell's dander up, the Senate would check up on the CIA through a select committee of nine members, three each from the Armed Services, Appropriations and Foreign Relations committees. Sponsored by Minnesota's Sen. Eugene McCarthy, the CIA resolution won a favorable 14-to-5 vote in Fulbright's

Foreign Relations Committee last week.

As he warmed to the fight, Russell slipped into one tactical blunder. It was in answering Alaska's Ernest Gruening, who wondered how, with knowledge of the "tragic misadventure" of the CIA-planned Bay of Pigs invasion, Russell could contend the intelligence agency had no part in foreign policy. Russell replied that President Kennedy "with the soul of a poet and the heart of a lion . . . took full responsibility for the complete fiasco of the Bay of Pigs." Listening attentively, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy did a slow burn, a staffer later confided, and the remark assured that when a showdown comes on McCarthy's resolution, the Kennedy brothers—who had yet to take a position on the issue—would stand in the anti-Russell corner.

As it has developed thus far, the controversy shapes up as a pure power struggle between the Senate's Young Turks and its old guard, the inner club epitomized by Russell. In spite of the favorable committee vote, there was no question that Russell had the votes to cancel the resolution on the floor.

## CONGRESS:

### The Secret Seven's Secrets

From the time it came into being nearly twenty years ago, the Central Intelligence Agency has shared knowledge of its supersecret activities with only those senators who are members of the select CIA review panel, a spe-



Associated Press

Fulbright and Russell: Talk of policy, power and 'poppycock'

MAY 29 1965

CARL T. ROWAN

## The CIA's Role in Making Foreign Policy

With a pain-in-the-side sort of amusement, I am watching the argument over which senators should watchdog the Central Intelligence Agency.

The debate arises out of some senatorial doubts as to whether the President or the CIA makes U.S. foreign policy. What I can't understand is how they got the question narrowed down to those two.

Anybody who can read knows that Nguyen Cao Ky, the South Vietnamese premier, was making U.S. policy last week. A week or so earlier it was Charles de Gaulle. Next week it may be Juan Bosch, or Joaquin Balaguer or some colonels in the Dominican Republic that neither you nor the CIA ever heard of.

Sadness and cynicism aside, U.S. foreign policy has become largely an exercise in responding to crises that other people make. The present administration has refined this somewhat and made the ducking of as many international responsibilities as

possible (as in Rhodesia) or of trying to minimize the domestic political damage as much as possible (as in Viet Nam).

Any senator who pretends the CIA makes the decisions in these fields is also pretending he never heard of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

The CIA isn't bossing around Mr. Johnson anymore than Senators Eugene McCarthy and Albert Gore were dominating him when he was Senate Majority leader.

The CIA and its supervision are extremely important—but for this basic reason: How the president responds to Ky or de Gaulle or Bosch is determined in large measure by the "intelligence data" supplied by CIA.

CIA reports could have been the determining factor in our deciding to send, or not to send, troops into the Dominican Republic; to get rid, or not, of Ngo Dinh Diem, the former Vietnamese ruler; to ditch Ky now or keep him in power.

But the simple truth is that

it doesn't matter whether the CIA watchdog team is composed of members of the Armed Services, Appropriations or Foreign Relations Committee, or all three. Not a single senator will see all the CIA reports (or the memoranda from State, Defense, USIA or the Democratic precinct leader in Peoria) on which the President bases his decisions.

Until we change our system, the validity of U. S. foreign policy will rest on the Chief Executive and his wisdom, his ability to sense phony or weak intelligence, his sober judgment, his lack of impulsiveness. Our policy will hardly be better than the men the President chooses to advise him, to sit in the Cabinet, or on the National Security Council—and, of course, the use the President makes of them, which is questionable.

So senators who aren't willing to challenge the President directly are wasting their time (and doing the nation a disservice) by trying to pin the liability on the CIA.

Unpalatable as that agency and its snoopers, its schemers, its looking and listening devices, may be to some of us, the country needs it. And it does not need a watchdog committee whose chief function would be to debate on the political campaign trail every clandestine action take by CIA.

Sure, the CIA is deeply involved in foreign policy, which may give the foreign relations committee some claim to knowing what CIA is doing. But that committee never has known fully what State or Defense or USIA was doing, or recommending to the President: And it isn't likely ever to know where the CIA is concerned.

Some Foreign Relations Committee members obviously find our foreign policy frustrating. But I question whether the country ought to try to purge its frustrations by holding a lynch party for the CIA—especially when there are so many other candidates for culprit-at-large.

MAY 29 1966

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The New York Times (by George Tamms)

**KEEP OUT!** Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, chairman of the C.I.A. watchdog subcommittee, opposes a move to expand the mem-

bership of the group. He contends the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, which voted for the change, is trying to "muscle in."

## How Many Watchdogs for C.I.A.?

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21—Once again, after a lapse of 10 years, the United States Senate is going to have a chance to do something, if it so desires, about the vexed question of "legislative oversight" of the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Two weeks ago, the Foreign Relations Committee approved, 14 to 5, a resolution to set up a nine-man Select Committee on Intelligence Operations, with the Armed Services, Appropriations and Foreign Relations Committees each furnishing three members. The resolution is now scheduled to reach the Senate floor next Wednesday.

Ever since the C.I.A. was established by the National Security Act of 1947, the director of the agency has reported in tightest secrecy to subcommittees of the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees of both houses. The House subcommittees meet separately; those in the Senate, because of duplicating membership, for convenience sake meet together.

### C.I.A. Influence

The proposal for the enlarged watchdog committee was sponsored by Eugene J. McCarthy, Democrat of Minnesota, and it

had the full support of J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, the committee chairman.

Supporters of an expanded committee base their case on the assertion that the C.I.A., if it does not make foreign policy, certainly influences it, and therefore the Foreign Relations Committee should have a role in the legislative oversight.

Other reasons that, because of senatorial courtesy, cannot be publicly avowed, are that the present watchdog subcommittee of seven members is neither very aggressive nor inquisitive, that it is satisfied to be told no more than the director of the agency volunteers; that it is inclined to be content with military justifications for an operation without considering its possibly unfortunate political consequences; and that the information it receives about an operation is supplied after the event, too late for the exercise of Congressional caution or advice.

In an obvious effort to influence the committee vote on the day before it was taken, Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, chairman of both the Armed Services Committee and the C.I.A. watchdog subcommittee, bitterly assailed the McCarthy resolution on two grounds.

First, the Foreign Relations Committee is trying to "muscle in" on the jurisdiction of

the Armed Services Committee.

Second, he asserted, enlargement of the C.I.A. subcommittee would put its necessary secrecy in jeopardy and probably endanger the lives of C.I.A. agents and their informants. He is proud to say, Mr. Russell went on, that there has never been a "harmful leak" from the subcommittee. But he had read articles based on leaks from the Foreign Relations Committee, and a "segment of the press" was now exerting pressure to expand the C.I.A. subcommittee in the hope of getting information now denied it.

The first reason was widely regarded as the "real" reason for Mr. Russell's alarm, and the second as merely a "good" reason. In fact, the Senator's appeal to security aroused some smiles in the press gallery and some ire among some of his colleagues.

On the one hand, Mr. Russell seemed to be suggesting, since representatives from the Foreign Relations Committee would be chosen, according to custom, from the four ranking members, that Democratic Senators Fulbright and John Sparkman of Alabama, and Republican Senators Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa and George D. Aiken of Vermont, could not be trusted with secret information. The implication was plainly insulting.

Continued



### Question of Leaks

On the other hand, Mr. Russell seemed to be saying that House members could be more trusted than Senators, since there are 15 members on the two house subcommittees dealing with the C.I.A.

Reporters were somewhat amused also at the aspersions cast on the Foreign Relations Committee, since the only leak of any consequence from that committee in a long time involved the executive hearings last summer into the Dominican crisis. No military security was involved in the testimony taken from officials. However, the hearings did contain highly embarrassing evidence of conflicts between what happened in Santo Domingo and what high Administration officials said had happened.

The C.I.A. subcommittee is part of the power complex that is centered in the committees on Armed Services, Appropriations and Aeronautical and Space Sciences. The members can be counted on to fight to preserve their power against dilution. Furthermore, they can count on help from other members of the Senate's power hierarchy, such as the then freshman Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana discovered a decade ago.

### Toward Compromise

He introduced a resolution to create a joint committee on the Central Intelligence Agency in line with a recommendation of the Hoover Commission. He had 34 co-sponsors. But by the time

his resolution came to a vote, 14 of them reversed themselves, and the resolution was defeated, 59 to 27.

It is likely that the McCarthy resolution will suffer the same fate as Mr. Mansfield's if it comes to a vote. However, the vote could be so close as to embarrass Mr. Russell. Therefore, the expectation here is that Senator Russell may negotiate a face-saving compromise with Senator Fulbright; for example, one that would permit three members of the Foreign Relations Committee to be ex-officio members of the C.I.A. watchdog subcommittee.

There has been a week's delay in the original schedule of bringing the McCarthy resolution to the floor, partly, some observers feel, because Senator Fulbright noted that a member of the present C.I.A. watchdog group was presiding at the time he planned to make the move.

Since Senator Russell has indicated he will try a parliamentary maneuver to have the resolution referred "to some other committee," the measure's proponents felt they would do better to await a more propitious time.

In the interval, Senator McCarthy has sent letters to colleagues whose support he regards as at least possible, urging them to vote against any move to refer the resolution to another committee—and its probable death. Let's have a vote on the "substance of the matter in an orderly manner," he asked.

MAY 27 1966

## Secret Operations And Public Policy

By Marquis Childs

GIVEN the order of battle, there should be little doubt about the outcome of the Senate hassle over the Central Intelligence Agency. The Senate establishment, led by its most conspicuous member, Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, holds the CIA in fond embrace and is determined to repel all invaders.

But there are doubts; and, if the 14-to-5 vote in the Foreign Relations Committee is a portent, Russell may have to use all his skill at parliamentary maneuver to put down the revolt. It is a test that will show whether the interlocking directorate—between the Senate establishment, the intelligence apparatus and the Armed Services—has the muscle to keep out interlopers.

Partly, of course, it is a personal feud. The challenge comes from members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who are convinced they should be represented on the top-secret joint supervisory committee overseeing the CIA's operation. This pits Chairman J. William Fulbright and his critical view of the Vietnam conflict against Russell, who, as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, goes down the line for the Administration.

But the controversy is more than a personal vendetta or even a dispute over Vietnam. The issue is the use of American power with roots deep in the American temperament. The isolationism of the first decades of this century grew out of a conviction of America's special destiny and the imperative need to stand free of the power struggles of the corrupt old world.

IN THE RECENT Senate exchange those arguing for supervision by members of the Foreign Relations Committee—three to be added to the six from Defense and Appropriations—were not saying the CIA is inefficient. On the contrary, they passed out generous bouquets for CIA performance.

The argument was that the CIA exercises a direct influence on foreign policy and, therefore, should come under the scrutiny of Senators concerned with that field. Not so, say Russell and the members of the supervisory committee, who contend that the agency has solely an operating function and

does not intrude on policy-making.

While the CIA maintains its sphinx-like silence in public, the Senate establishment unquestionably speaks for it. The reason for wanting to keep the number of Senators overseeing CIA operations to a minimum goes beyond the increased danger of security leaks inherent in an enlarged committee, although this is the argument chiefly pressed in public. What disturbs the CIA is the likelihood that Senators with a conviction of their expertise in the foreign field would want to call the shots.

The tug of war over the CIA is aggravated by a spate of news stories putting the intelligence agency, which Fulbright says has more employees than the State Department, in a dubious light. The climax came with a suit filed by the widow of an applicant for a CIA job who claimed her husband was drugged during the examination for the post and died as a consequence. Drugs plus cloak-and-dagger stuff made an unbeatable sensation.

THE LAWSUIT that has caused genuine concern is that in which the CIA insisted in a Baltimore court that the right of secrecy prohibited any response to a claim by a Latvian emigre that he is the victim of a calculated CIA slander which pictured him as a "Communist agent." This suggests one of the unhappiest aspects of the CIA operation, which is the role it plays with refugee groups in this country.

When Nikita Khrushchev came to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1960 and wildly shouting refugee groups greeted his every appearance, it was reported that the CIA had a lot to do with the organizing of these demonstrations. New York City has ever since been trying to get \$3 million out of the Federal Government for the extra cost of police protection for Khrushchev and the other heads of government who drew such an uproar.

Few knowledgeable observers would disagree with the criticism that the CIA grew too fast and luxuriantly in the postwar years. Coming out of the wartime Office of Strategic Services, the agency carried into another era many of the freewheeling habits of a cloak-and-dagger operation sanctioned by the urgency of war.

The basic question often lost sight of is whether a corollary of American power must be a highly organized intelligence operation. If the answer is "yes," then this must be a secret operation with congressional intervention kept to a minimum.

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**ARTHUR KROCK**

# Broader Surveillance Could Endanger CIA

(C) New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — Interwoven in the proposal to include members of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate group which checks the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency is the native American distaste for a network of espionage.

The responsibility assigned to the C.I.A. for protecting the national security requires matching and frustrating the covert and often criminal activities of foreign agents to undermine this security. And these are practices, generated by the world power struggle between the Communist and Democratic systems, that Americans have been taught to associate with "evil" foreign regimes.

## More Surveillance Urged

But, though it is generally accepted that the subversive designs and tactics of world communism compelled a responsible American government to establish the counterforce embodied in the C.I.A., a feeling has increasingly developed that the agency should be exposed to more critical and broader surveillance.

The immediate product of this feeling is the proposal favored by a majority of the members of the committee on foreign relations.

That presents the Senate with an unusually difficult choice. The effectiveness of the C.I.A., also the lives of its agents in certain foreign countries, depend on the complete secrecy of their activities. These agents include nationals of the foreign countries as well as Americans working under a "cover" which disguises what they actually are doing there.

Not only in Washington, but particularly here, experience has shown that the larger the number entrusted with secrets, the larger the "leaks" of those secrets into the public domain.

In opposing the addition of three foreign relations committeemen to the seven

from Armed Services and Appropriations, Senator Russell of Georgia, chairman of the Seven made this general point.

But Senator Lausche of Ohio added an observation which Russell's colleagues suspect to be the real basis of his objection. The Foreign Relations Committee, said Lausche (he is a member of it), "has also distinguished itself for the frequency of leaks that come out of its hearings" in executive session. Not one has ever come from the Seven.

Senator Fulbright and his committee majority want equal representation on the Russell group with Armed Services and Appropriations on the ground that the C.I.A. plays an important role in the "making" of foreign policy, in which the Senate is the President's constitutional junior partner and the Fulbright committee is its deputy.

## Only in a Sense

This ground is substantial, but only to a degree. If the C.I.A. confines itself to its appointed functions — the gathering and weighing of intelligence in the field of international activities — then it "makes" foreign policy only in the sense that this is shaped, as necessarily it is, by international events and the designs of other nations.

And the Russell group vigorously assents the C.I.A. strictly limits itself to these functions.

This affirmation supports assurance given publicly by former directors Dulles and McCone several times in recent years. Moreover, as has been pointed out in behalf of the Russell committee, having given clearance for access to secret intelligence reports to senators outside the group whose official responsibilities entitled them to it, the same would be readily available to chairman Fulbright for the asking.

DAVID LAWRENCE

WASH. EVENING STAR, 18 May 66

## Danger Seen in Proposal on CIA

There is more than meets the eye in the innocent-looking proposal to allow the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to add three members of its own to the "legislative oversight" committee of the Senate which, in a confidential way, keeps in touch with the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Just why, for instance, should the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wish to check up on the special committee now composed of a small group from the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Appropriations Committee? The reason given by Senator J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is that the people in the CIA "very greatly influence foreign policy."

But, in rebuttal, Senator Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., chairman of the special committee which now supervises CIA operations, says that "it is just pure poppycock that the CIA fixes, and makes, foreign policy."

On the surface, it might seem that the whole thing is merely a matter of procedure and that theoretically some representation from the Foreign Relations Committee, along with members of the Appropriations Committee and the Armed Services Committee, would be logical. But the truth is that the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency could be imperilled if members of the Senate who are primarily interested in arguing about

foreign policy were entrusted with the secrets of the agency.

It is customary for various senators every now and then to divulge things they have learned in confidence about domestic policy. But with respect to what's going on in foreign countries, there has to be restraint. For if the information obtained by the CIA is dealt with casually and "leaked" to the press like domestic news, this could cause serious damage to American interests around the world.

The risks in changing the nature of the membership of the special committee that keeps in touch with the CIA are considerable. The public knows hardly anything about the devious efforts of foreign governments to get secret data in Washington. They employ go-betweens who themselves may not know just who is behind the request for information that comes to them. After long experience with the technique of keeping things really secret, the CIA has concluded that the fewer the people who know anything about the operation, the better in the long run.

After World War II was over, the late Admiral Ernest King, chief of naval operations, told this correspondent that in two of the important engagements in the Pacific he never even told the secretary of the Navy ahead of time that a certain battle plan was about to be put into operation.

"My job," he said, "was strictly within the armed services, and if the secretary

of the Navy wanted to find out what was coming, he could always ask the commander in chief—namely, the President of the United States."

This kind of caution is just as important in a "cold war" as in a "hot war." The President, of course, has access to everything the CIA is doing.

Senator Frank J. Lausche, D-Ohio, says that, while Senator Russell's subcommittee has "distinguished itself" by not leaking information, the Foreign Relations Committee—of which he is a member—"distinguishes itself by the number of leaks that have come out of that committee."

Senator Russell thinks that overexposure of the CIA would make difficult the gathering of information, because it would cause many people to hesitate to help for fear of eventual reprisals if their identity became known. The Georgia senator, in his speech to the Senate this week, said that the mere discussion of what appears to be a jurisdictional squabble "has a tendency to chill" some of the CIA informants even in the national capital.

It takes many years to develop contacts in foreign countries, where the CIA operates almost entirely. To require the agency to reveal much of its information to members of the Senate who are themselves involved in foreign-policy controversies could result in a substantial drop in the efficiency of the organization.

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A-18 \*\*

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1966

## Watching the CIA

It would be difficult to find any cloak-and-dagger organization that is more closely supervised than the Central Intelligence Agency.

It is watched over by the President and the National Security Council. By designation of the President, a non-governmental group headed by Clark Clifford closely scrutinizes what the CIA is doing. Finally, its activities and its expenditures, though concealed, have to run the gantlet of two congressional committees. In the Senate, this committee is made up of three representatives each from the Armed Services and the Appropriations committees.

There would seem to be no need for any additional watchers. Senator Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee, however, wants to add three of its members to the watching group. Senator Russell, who heads the supervisory committee, is strongly opposed.

Because there are already so many watchers, it might be wondered what valid objection there is to adding three more, especially if they come from Mr. Fulbright's committee, since CIA activities undoubtedly influence foreign relations.

The reason for the objection was not quite spelled out in Monday's debate. But its essence emerged clearly enough.

Ohio's Senator Lausche, himself a member of Foreign Relations, said that committee "has also distinguished itself for the frequency of leaks that come out of their (executive) hearings."

Later on, Senator Morse, who thinks

the CIA is a "police state institution," said: "I do not accept the major premise that the elected officials of the American people should not have an opportunity to be briefed in executive sessions of their committees in regard to what their checking committee has found."

This lets the cat out of the bag. While no senator would stand up on the floor and say so, the obvious fact is that the opponents of enlarging the watchdog committee are afraid of leaks if representatives of Foreign Relations should be added to the watchdog group. And this would be especially true if all 19 members of Mr. Fulbright's committee would be briefed, as Senator Morse advocates, "on what their checking committee has found out."

The "leak" from executive sessions to favored newsmen is an ancient institution on Capitol Hill. But there have been no leaks from Senator Russell's watchdog committee. The tightness of its security has been remarkable. And this is as it should be.

Why? Because secrecy, like it or not, is essential to the successful operation of the CIA. Without it, vital sources of information, carefully cultivated over a long period of time, would vanish, not to mention the informants themselves. Consequently, in the absence of a substantial showing of need, and there has been no such showing, we hope the Senate will turn down the bid by Foreign Relations to "muscle in" (Senator Russell's words) on the watching process.

## FULBRIGHT PANEL VOTES FOR A ROLE IN POLICING C.I.A.

Russell Expected to Oppose  
Move for Equal Voice in  
His Watchdog Group

By E. W. KENWORTHY  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 17

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved today a resolution that would give it an equal role with the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees in supervising the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency. The vote was 14 to 5.

The resolution would create a select committee of nine members to be known as the Committee in Intelligence Operations. The chairmen of the Armed Services, Appropriations and Foreign Relations Committees would each name three members, of whom no more than two could be from the same party.

At present, seven members from the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees have jurisdiction over the Senate's "legislative oversight" of the C.I.A.

Before the vote was taken, Eugene J. McCarthy, Democrat of Minnesota, amended it by deleting three provisions.

### Two Goals in Mind

The first of these would have brought the counterespionage activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation within the purview of the expanded watchdog committee.

The second and third would have given the committee power to hire a staff and draw on the Senate's contingency funds for expenses.

Mr. McCarthy had two objectives in those revisions.

First, he hoped to win additional support for his resolution in a floor test by meeting criticisms raised yesterday by its opponents.

Second, he sought to avoid referral of the resolution to the Rules Committee, where it might have been bottled up. The provisions on staff and financing would have required such referral.

Later the Senate Parliamentarian, Floyd M. Riddick, told reporters that the deletions would eliminate the need to send the resolution to the Rules Committee.

Nevertheless, the resolution will face two other hurdles before it reaches the floor.

Richard B. Russell, who is chairman of the Armed Services

Committee and also of the present watchdog committee, said he would move to have the McCarthy resolution referred to his Armed Services Committee.

If the Senate supports his move, the Armed Services Committee is expected to bury the resolution or report it out unfavorably. Yesterday Mr. Russell bitterly criticized the resolution as an attempt to "muscle in" on the jurisdiction of the watchdog committee.

If the Senate does not support Mr. Russell's move, the timing of floor action on the resolution is up to the Democratic Policy Committee. Although its chairman, Mike Mansfield of Montana, the majority leader, supports the resolution, at least six of the other eight members on the committee are believed to be opposed to it. Three of them—Mr. Russell, Carl Hayden of Arizona and Stuart Symington of Missouri—are on the C.I.A. watchdog committee.

3 From G.O.P., 2 Democrats

The five members of the Foreign Relations Committee opposing the resolution were Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, Frank Carlson of Kansas and Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, all Republicans; Mr. Symington and Frank J. Lausche, Democrat of Ohio.

Mr. Lausche proposed an amendment that would have required the members of the watchdog committee to be elected by the three parent committees rather than appointed by the chairmen. This was regarded, informed sources said, as a "personal affront" to J. W. Fulbright, the committee chairman, and was defeated by a vote of 7 to 2.

Members of the present watchdog committee argue that expansion would almost certainly increase the likelihood of leaks that would endanger national security and possibly imperil the lives of "deep cover" C.I.A. agents and their informants.

Advocates of expansion con-

tend that the present Senate committee has been largely content to receive without question what the C.I.A. wishes to tell it; that it is "clued in" on operations after, not before, the event and therefore has little restraining influence on the C.I.A., and that it has been too prone to judge C.I.A. operations on the basis of "military arguments" advanced to justify them, without considering their possible unfortunate political consequences.

These critics of the present arrangement believe Mr. Russell inadvertently gave support to their arguments during floor debate yesterday when Ernest Gruening, Democrat of Alaska, cited the "ghastly fiasco" of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April, 1961, as evidence of the influence that the C.I.A. could have on policy. This episode, Mr. Gruening said, was pertinent to the question of whether the Foreign Relations Committee should be represented on the watchdog committee.

Mr. Russell replied that "the operation was hopeless, because from the beginning it was based on mistakes." All those involved, Mr. Russell continued, made mistakes "except the Senator from Arkansas," who "advised against it."

Mr. Russell was alluding to a memorandum that Mr. Fulbright gave to President Kennedy on April 1, 1961, during a flight to Florida in which the Senator opposed United States support for, or participation in an invasion of Cuba. Mr. Russell was also alluding to Mr. Fulbright's opposition later expressed during a State Department meeting three days later at which the President's advisers pronounced the plan militarily feasible.

Mr. Russell told the Senate yesterday that he knew about the training of Cuban refugees in Guatemala but "did not know the timing" of the invasion.

"I only wish I had been consulted," Mr. Russell declared, "because I would have strongly advised against this kind of operation if I had been. That may have been one reason why I was not consulted."

### Earlier Resolution Recalled

Supporters of the McCarthy resolution also recalled today what Leverett Saltonstall, Republican of Massachusetts, said during a debate in April, 1956, when he opposed a resolution by Mr. Mansfield to create a joint Congressional committee on the C.I.A. as recommended by the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

"The difficulty in asking questions (of the C.I.A. director and getting information," Mr. Saltonstall said, "is that we might obtain information which I personally would rather not have, unless it was essential for me as a member of Congress to have it."

Through pressure exerted by Mr. Russell and the late Alben W. Barkley, Democrat of Kentucky, the Mansfield resolution was defeated by a vote of 50 to 27, although it had originally had 35 sponsors.

When Mr. Mansfield introduced his resolution in 1954, he said:

"An urgent need exists for regular and responsible Congressional scrutiny of the Central Intelligence Agency. Such scrutiny is essential to the success of our foreign policy, to the preservation of our democratic processes and to the security of the intelligence agency itself."

# Committees Near CIA Showdown

By Bryce Nelson

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 14 to 5 yesterday to add three of its members to a committee headed by Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.) which watches over the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The action set the stage for a showdown between the Committee majority and the powerful Russell forces, who initiated a Senate debate on Monday to denounce the Foreign Relations Committee's attempt to "horn in" on their operation.

Russell, who has now staked his considerable Senate prestige on keeping the Foreign Relations Committee away from his CIA committee, indicated yesterday that he would attempt to have the proposal referred to either the Rules Committee or his own Armed Services Committee. Such action would be an attempt to prevent the proposal from coming to the floor of the Senate for a vote.

In an attempt to bypass the Rules Committee, Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.), the resolution's sponsor, amended his proposal by cutting out the provisions for a committee staff which would be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate. As originally drafted, the McCarthy resolution would have automatically referred to the Rules Committee.

Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.), a member of both the Rules and Foreign Relation Committees, predicted yesterday that the McCarthy resolution would be defeated if referred to the Rules Committee.

The McCarthy resolution would set up a nine-member "Committee on Intelligence Operations" to supervise the foreign intelligence operations of the United States Government, including those of the Defense Intelligence Agency and the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research, as well as the CIA.

McCarthy eliminated yesterday his provision that the proposed committee supervise the operations of the FBI.

WASHINGTON STAR  
MAY 17 1966

## Senate Committee Votes For Voice in CIA, 14-5

By CECIL HOLLAND  
Star Staff Writer

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee today approved a resolution to create a select committee on intelligence operations which committee members will give it a voice in overseeing activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The vote was 14 to 5.

Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., the committee chairman, said he hoped there would be action on the resolution before the end of this legislative session.

But a battle was in prospect on the proposal. Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., said he would do everything possible to block the committee's efforts to obtain any part in a CIA subcommittee.

### "Muscling In"

"There is no excuse on earth for them muscling in," Russell said in an interview.

Before the resolution was approved, Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, D-Minn., its sponsor, amended it in three respects. One resolution deleted a specific reference including the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Another took out a provision that would have authorized the

committee to employ a staff for its work. A third provision removed from the resolution would have provided that expenses of the committee would be paid from the Senate's contingency fund.

The latter two deletions were a move to avoid having the resolution sent to the Senate Rules and Administration Committee for consideration because it involved the expenditure of Senate funds. Members of the Rules Committee appear weighted in support of Russell's opposition to the resolution.

### Lausche Proposal Defeated

Those voting against the resolution in the committee were Sens. Bourke B. Hickenlooper, R-Iowa; Frank Carlson, R-Kan.; Karl E. Mundt, R-S.D.; Frank J. Lausche, D-Ohio, and Stuart Symington, D-Mo. Symington, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, also is a member of the CIA oversight subcommittee.

In all, 11 members of the 19-member Foreign Relations Committee were present for the vote on the controversial resolution.

Some of the votes were by proxy.

Before the final vote, the committee defeated a Lausche proposal, 7-2, to have members of the Foreign Relations Committee elected rather than appointed to the oversight subcommittee if the resolution should be approved.

Russell said that if it becomes necessary he will move on the Senate floor to have the resolution referred to the Senate Armed Services Committee. He said the Armed Services Committee, which he heads, has jurisdiction over CIA affairs under 1947 legislation.

Approval of the resolution was expected. Then it is scheduled to go to the Senate Rules Committee for consideration.

Fulbright said the Senate parliamentarian would be asked to rule on whether the amended resolution will have to go to the Rules Committee.



## RUSSELL DENIES C.I.A. MAKES POLICY

### Rejects Proposal to Expand Senate Watchdog Panel

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, May 16

Senator Richard B. Russell told the Senate today it was "sheer poppycock" to contend that the Central Intelligence Agency makes or takes over foreign policy.

The Georgia Democrat, who heads a subcommittee charged with overseeing the activities of the intelligence organization, rejected vigorously proposals that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee share in his supervision. Mr. Russell also heads the Senate Armed Services Committee.

"There is no justification whatever for any other committee to muscle in on the jurisdiction of the Armed Services Committee so far as the C.I.A. is concerned," he said.

As for charges he said had been made that the C.I.A. at times operated independently of the State Department and influenced foreign policy actions, Mr. Russell said:

"There simply is not a scintilla of truth in such a charge and not a single concrete case

can be provided where it has done so."

Mr. Russell said these "erroneous charges are calculated to deceive members of Congress." He added that they "affect the sources available to the C.I.A., which are easily disturbed."

He is making a public statement, Mr. Russell said, because the C.I.A. is, by its nature, "compelled to stand mute" when such charges are made.

He noted that the C.I.A. was set up under the National Defense Act of 1947. The Armed Services Committee shepherded that act through the Senate, he said, and thus inherited the duty of overseeing the C.I.A.'s activities.

Senatorial supervision of the C.I.A. is shared by senior members of the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees, which make funds available for clandestine operations.

#### Members Are Listed

Mr. Russell noted that he and Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Republican of Massachusetts, Margaret Chase Smith, Republican of Maine, and John Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, were members of both committees. Other members of the supervisory subcommittee are Senators Carl Hayden, Democrat of Arizona, Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, and Milton R. Young, Republican of North Dakota. Mr. Symington is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee as well as the Armed Services Committee.

Waving a piece of newspaper

Mr. Russell denounced a New York Times editorial. He said it stated that the supervisory subcommittee members had been "screened" by the C.I.A.

"The C.I.A. had no more connection with the selection of these subcommittee members than it had with the selection of the editorial staff of The New York Times," he said.

Mr. Russell praised his committee's record as being leak-proof. He noted the C.I.A. had "sources" throughout the world.

But the possibility of increased public discussion and leaks through an enlargement of the Congressional panel "might cause them to close up like clams . . . or worse than that, to lose their lives."

Another ranking member of the C.I.A. panel, Senator Saltonstall, supported Mr. Russell. He reminded the Senate the C.I.A. was "an important effort for the security of our country."

#### Raborn Silence Noted

Senator Young suggested that the Foreign Relations Committee set up its own "special subcommittee on the C.I.A."

Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, interjected that this had been proposed before.

But Mr. Fulbright said Adm. William E. BARKER, the C.I.A.'s director, when appearing before the Foreign Relations Committee, "took the position he was not authorized under the law to respond to our questions."

Mr. Fulbright added that the proposal in his committee coming up for a vote tomorrow, to add three members to the C.I.A. oversight group, was "in no way a reflection" on Mr. Russell.

But, he said, "the way things have developed in the world has brought the C.I.A. into far more activities than was contemplated when it was created."

And it is clear on the record that the C.I.A. does have an

impact on American foreign policy, he added.

"I think in many countries it is more influential than our Ambassador and I have had Ambassadors who have told me this," Mr. Fulbright said.

He called the resolution to add three Foreign Relations members to the oversight panel "not a radical proposal at all, but rather a modest one."

Mr. Russell commented that Mr. Fulbright seemed to be under the impression that the present oversight group involved informal committees.

"These are not informal at all, they are duly constituted subcommittees of the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees," Mr. Russell said.

Senator Ernest Gruening, Democrat of Alaska, said the failure at the Bay of Pigs showed that the C.I.A. does make foreign policy.

"They were able to persuade two Presidents to go ahead with that project," he said. "They completely misinformed the President."

"Mr. Russell replied that "what you are saying is that the C.I.A. sold the President a bill of goods."

"But the C.I.A. couldn't have moved one foot without the approval of the President," he added.

MAY 17 1966

# CIA Control Sparks Angry Senate Debate

By Bryce Nelson

Washington Post Staff Writer

For the first time in a decade the Senate debated yesterday the question of whether to impose tighter congressional supervision over the super-secret operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The clash came as a prelude to a showdown vote today in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on a proposal to add three of its members to the Senate's present six-man CIA review panel. The resolution is sponsored by Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.). Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), a staunch congressional patron of the agency, denounced as "sheer poppycock" claims that the CIA wields strong influence over foreign policy.

"There is no justification whatever for any other committee to muscle in on the jurisdiction of the Armed Services Committee so far as the CIA is concerned," Russell told the Senate.

Russell is chairman of the special CIA subcommittee, which is comprised of three members each from Armed Services Committee, which Russell also heads, and the Senate Appropriations Committee. The Georgia Democrat praised his subcommittee as leak proof.

In answering Russell, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) asserted: "I think in many countries it (the CIA) is more influential than our ambassadors, and I have had ambassadors who have told me this."

Fulbright added that "the way things have developed in the world has brought the CIA into far more activities than was contemplated when it was created."

Although the CIA was conceived as a top-secret foreign intelligence agency, such celebrated incidents as Francis Gary Powers' ill-fated U-2 flight in 1960, the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and the Dominican intervention last year made unfavorable headlines

for the agency—and roiled its relations on Capitol Hill.

McCarthy's proposal to add three Foreign Relations Committee members to the Russell group is supported chiefly by Senators who fear that the agency exercises too much influence on American policy.

It was to these critics that Russell answered yesterday: "It is sheer poppycock to say the CIA makes foreign policy."

Last Thursday the McCarthy resolution won a test vote in the Foreign Relations Committee with the defeat of a tabling motion by an 11-to-6 vote. Final action was deferred until today.

During yesterday's debate Russell dramatically argued that public discussion of the CIA might cause its secret sources "to close up like a clam for fear that something might happen that would cause a leak, that would identify them and cause them to lose their positions or, worse than that, to lose their lives."

Russell was supported by four members of his CIA subcommittee — Sens. Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.), John Stennis (D-Miss.), Milton Young (R-Neb.) and Stuart Symington (D-Mo.).

Among those who backed Fulbright in the clash were Sens. Ernest Gruening (D-Alaska), Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) and Albert B. Gore (D-Tenn.).

Gruening pointed to the Bay of Pigs as an example of CIA foreign policy-making.

"They were able to persuade two Presidents to go ahead with that project," he said.

Morse expressed fear of

"the growing power" of both the CIA and the military in forming foreign policy.

The debate yesterday strikingly paralleled a similar outburst 10 years ago when Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) now the Majority Leader, and 32 other Senators sponsored a resolution to establish a 12-man joint committee on the Central Intelligence Agency.

Russell then argued: "It would be more desirable to abolish the CIA and close it up, lock, stock and barrel, than to adopt any such theory as that all the members of the Congress of the United States are entitled to know the details of all the activities of this farflung organization."

The Mansfield resolution was defeated in 1956. Yesterday the Montana Democrat took no part in the debate.

MAY 16 1966

## *Overseeing the CIA*

The 12-6 test vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee upholding Senator Eugene McCarthy's proposal for a standing committee to oversee our intelligence agencies is encouraging. Senator Lausche's walkout and the consequent lack of a quorum blocked formal approval of the McCarthy resolution. But early final action has been predicted by Chairman Fulbright, and the issue appears likely to go to the Senate floor.

Mr. McCarthy's proposal deserves support as a responsible and carefully circumscribed approach to the sensitive problem of maintaining surveillance over all facets of the intelligence effort. He has given up his earlier idea of conducting an investigation, complete with hearings, into the activities of the CIA. This would have involved troublesome problems, since the disclosures likely to result from such an inquiry could well have been as damaging to our foreign relations as the activities being investigated.

The oversight committee he has now proposed would operate under the constraints of security appropriate to its role. For the first time, it would establish procedures for continuing surveillance as against the present sporadic visitations by subcommittees of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees. More important, it would place the Foreign Relations Committee on a par with other concerned committees in the supervision process. The new oversight committee would have three members each from Armed Services, Appropriations and Foreign Relations.

The attitude of Senator Russell in rejecting Senator Fulbright's recent request for the participation of Foreign Relations Committee members in the present informal surveillance processes was deplorable. The intimate relationship between overseas intelligence activities and foreign relations is self-evident. Whether or not the Senate accepts the McCarthy proposal for a standing committee, the Foreign Relations Committee should continue to assert what is clearly a proper interest in the intelligence domain.

*Com*

MAY 13 1966

# A C.I.A. CHECKREIN WINS SENATE TEST

## Plan for an Overseer Group Gets Tentative Approval of Foreign Relations Panel

By TOM WICKER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 12—A

proposal for a new and broadened Senate committee to oversee the Central Intelligence Agency won a surprisingly easy victory today in a test vote in the Foreign Relations Committee.

Opponents of the proposal prevented its final approval only when Senator Frank J. Lausche, Democrat of Ohio, walked out of the meeting room and left no quorum present.

Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, then exercised a parliamentary right and objected to a vote when a quorum was not present. Final action was thus postponed until Tuesday, when the committee meets again.

The test vote was 12 to 6 against tabling, and thus killing, a resolution by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, Democrat of Minnesota.

The resolution would establish a formal Senate committee of nine members, empowered to employ a staff, to oversee the nation's foreign intelligence operations.

Its tentative approval by the Foreign Relations Committee was the strongest move toward strengthened Congressional oversight of the C.I.A. since 1954.

In that year, Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Mon-

tana, now the majority leader, brought a resolution for a joint Senate-House oversight committee to the Senate floor with 34 cosponsors. Ultimately, the resolution was beaten, 59 to 27, with 14 of the sponsors abandoning it on the roll-call.

The likely prospect is that the McCarthy resolution also will face a hard fight on the floor, with defenders of the present "watchdog" system expected to prevail.

The Senate now has two informal subcommittees, one of the Armed Forces Committee and another of the Appropriations Committee, that meet together to review C.I.A. activities. Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia, is the senior member of the nine-man "watchdog" group, which employs no staff.

Several weeks ago, Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, proposed that three members of his committee be added to the watchdog group. Senator Russell rejected the proposal, in a letter not yet made public.

The McCarthy resolution went beyond the Fulbright proposal. In effect, it would replace the informal watchdog group with a nine-man standing committee, with three members each from the Armed Forces, Appropriations and Foreign Relations committees.

The committee would have jurisdiction over all of what is known here as the "intelligence community." In addition to the C.I.A., that would include the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the State Department, and other Government agencies dealing in foreign intelligence or counter-intelligence.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation would be included, too, to the extent that it deals with intelligence matters.

Proponents of the resolution, long restive at what they considered the lax operations of the watchdog group, conceded that the major significance of their move would lie in getting the Senate to approve the establishment of a formal committee that would include Foreign Relations members.

They said that if the resolu-

tion were approved, they would not necessarily press for the employment of a staff, which presumably would also be privy to the agencies' secrets and classified information.

The proponents contend that the senior members of the Appropriations and Armed Forces committees on the present watchdog group are too protective and do not sufficiently inquire into the effect of the agency's activities on the nation's foreign relations.

Some sources suggested that if the Foreign Relations Committee approved the resolution Tuesday, as it is expected to, Senator Russell and the present watchdog group might accept the change in order to avoid floor debate about the C.I.A., its activities and the efficacy of Congressional control procedures.

It was more widely believed, however, that Mr. Russell would be able to muster the votes to defeat the resolution on the floor. A proposal to broaden Congressional oversight of the intelligence agency has been approved since Congress established it and the informal watch-

The size of the vote against tabling the McCarthy resolution was surprising. It was made possible when Mr. McCarthy cast proxy votes against tabling for Senators Gale McGee of Wyoming and Thomas Dodd of Connecticut, both Democrats. They had generally been regarded as reluctant to change the present system.

All of those against tabling were Democrats. Joining Mr. Lausche and Mr. Symington in opposition to the McCarthy resolution were Republican Senators Rourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, Frank Carlson of Kansas, John Williams of Delaware and Karl Mundt of South Dakota.

### Long a C.I.A. Critic

Mr. McCarthy, long a critic of the C.I.A. and of the Russell Group, offered the resolution as a substitute for another that would have provided \$150,000 for an investigation of the foreign policy effects of C.I.A. activities.

Mr. Hickenlooper moved to table the McCarthy motion, and lost. Mr. Lausche then moved to send it to the Rules Committee, which ultimately will

have to consider it and approve a budget for the proposed staff. That motion, in the nature of a delaying action, was defeated.

Then Mr. Lausche left the committee room. Mr. Symington objected to further votes and the whole matter was put over until Tuesday.

Senator Fulbright told reporters he thought establishment of the new committee would tend to modify and even eliminate "uninformed criticism of the C.I.A. and would be a step toward better relations" with the agency.

Voting with Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Fulbright against the tabling resolution were Senators Mansfield, Dodd, McGee, John Sparkman of Alabama, Albert Gore of Tennessee, Frank Church of Idaho, Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania, Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island and Wayne Morse of Oregon, all Democrats.

Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, a Republican, abstained from voting on the tabling motion.

MAY 12 1966

# Fulbright Unit Sets Showdown On CIA Panel

By CECIL HOLLAND  
Star Staff Writer

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee scheduled a showdown vote Tuesday on its efforts to obtain representation in an informal group which serves as a watchdog committee over the Central Intelligence Agency.

The committee rejected two attempts to sidetrack the issue which was brought up by Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, D-Minn.

By a vote of 11-6, it defeated a motion to table the McCarthy resolution. On a 12-6 vote it rejected a move to have the matter referred to the Senate Rules Committee.

Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., the chairman, and McCarthy said they considered the two votes as indicating that the committee will approve the resolution.

It would create a select committee of nine, to be known as the Committee on Intelligence Operations. Its duty, the resolution provides, would be "to keep itself fully and currently informed" on the activities of the CIA, the defense intelligence agency and other intelligence agencies within the government.

The effect would be to add three members of the Foreign Relations Committee to an informal CIA committee now made up of members of the Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees.

Sen. Richard D. Russell, D-Ga., chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, recently rejected a request, made by Fulbright at the suggestion of the Foreign Relations Committee, to give that committee representation on the group.

Russell said jurisdiction over the CIA was vested in the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees.

The Foreign Relations Committee considered the McCarthy resolution was a substitute for one that McCarthy originally proposed calling for an investigation by the committee of the impact of CIA operations on this country's foreign relations.

Fulbright said the committee was reluctant to vote today on the McCarthy proposal because of the controversy regarding it. The resolution would then go to the Senate Rules Committee.

J. Con

# Allen-Scott Report

NORTHERN VIRGINIA SUN

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## Fulbright-CIA Tiff Up in Air



Mr. Allen

MAY 6 1966

By ROBERT S. ALLEN and PAUL SCOTT

It is now squarely up to Senator J. William Fulbright to fish or cut bait on his demand for a voice in supervising the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Flatly rebuffed by the Senate's Joint CIA "Watchdog" committee, Fulbright is faced with either dropping his proposal or taking it to the full Senate.

Inside indications are the Arkansan will resort to the latter. This likely public clash was precipitated by a letter Fulbright sent the Joint "Watchdog" committee asking that it be expanded to include five members of the Foreign Relations Committee, which he heads.

That was unanimously rejected by the bi-partisan seven-member joint committee, headed by Senator Richard Russell, D-Ga.

The committeemen also agreed among themselves to oppose an alternative move threatened by Fulbright—to introduce a resolution calling for the setting up of a special 15-member committee with jurisdiction over the CIA if his expansion plan was turned down.

In effect, the joint committee challenged Fulbright to raise this issue in the full Senate.

The committee has been assured of the full backing of President Johnson.

Committeemen have been told Senator Russell was personally given this word by the President. The latter is credited as saying he is against "having Fulbright meddling in the affairs of the CIA."

This hostility is no surprise. In recent weeks, the Arkansan has been increasingly critical of administration foreign policies, with resulting severely strained relations between him and the president. Fulbright's attitude also has antagonized Russell and other strong supporters of the war in Viet Nam.

Indicative of this backstage feeling is the caustic comment attributed to Russell, who is also chairman of the Armed Services Committee:

"If the Foreign Relations Committee was given representation on the joint 'watchdog' committee, there would be nothing to prevent Fulbright from designating such foes of the CIA as Wayne Morse and Eugene McCarthy. That's the last thing the President wants."

In addition to Russell, members of the joint committee are

Senators Carl Hayden, D-Ariz., chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee; John Stennis, D-Miss., chairman of the Armed Services Preparedness Subcommittee; Stuart Symington, D-Mo.; Leverett Saltonstall, R-Mass.; Margaret Chase Smith, R-Me., and Milton Young, R-S.D.

The "watchdog" committee meets with CIA authorities on an average of once a month for a report on and discussion of the agency's activities.

Senator Fulbright had no better luck in trying to pressure CIA Director William Raborn into answering certain questions.

This polite but firm rebuff occurred at a closed-door meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee, which Raborn was to brief on a wide range of information. He had barely gotten started when Fulbright began questioning him. Raborn balked at answering some of them.

"On certain matters," he explained, "I will have to invoke presidential privilege."

Visibly annoyed, Fulbright testily demanded whether the CIA head would answer those questions if asked by the joint "watchdog" committee. Raborn readily admitted he would.

"I will answer any questions by that committee," he said, "because it has jurisdiction over our operations."

Glaring angrily at Raborn, Fulbright curtly announced the meeting was over.

"There is no use of our proceeding further and wasting our time," he snapped. "As chairman of this committee, I refuse to be bound by any limitations in our interrogation of government officials."

That ended the meeting. The next move is up to Fulbright. It remains to be seen what he does—if anything but talk!

Russia has grandiose ambitions for its new trim, sleek 19,000-ton luxury ship, the Alexander Pushkin.

Moscow is putting out feelers for stop-over privileges in a U.S. port.

That's what Ambassador Foy Kohler has reported to the State Department. He has been sounded out on the possibility of opening negotiations for an agreement under which the Soviet liner would be allowed to dock in New York, as part of a Caribbean cruise run.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1966.

## Controlling the C.I.A.

Espionage has always been among the most sordid of professions, and the cold war has made it more so. The New York Times survey on the clandestine operations of the Central Intelligence Agency has provided a chilling indication of the range of intrigue—from bribery and the buying of elections to coups and military action by proxy—into which the United States has been plunged by the need for countering Communist subversion.

The enormous scope of these activities and their explosive nature make it essential, though peculiarly difficult, for this democratic nation to assure that such activities serve its true interests. The primary responsibility for controlling the Government's clandestine arm abroad clearly lies with the Administration itself. Reforms instituted since the Bay of Pigs disaster undoubtedly have led to a useful tightening-up. But the dimensions of C.I.A. operations and their secrecy make it difficult for normal checks and balances within the Administration to function effectively. Regional experts in the State Department, who are best informed about their areas, often are not consulted about C.I.A. projects. Abroad, the C.I.A. operatives have their own communications and codes, limiting the ability of the Ambassador on the spot to supervise their activities even though he is theoretically in charge.

All this places a heavy burden on the C.I.A.'s director—and the handful of outside officials named by the President to check on the agency's work—in assuring that American foreign policy is implemented, rather than altered in clandestine operations.

The Congress cannot substitute for the Administration in this task. But there is little excuse for the complete abdication of Congressional responsibility that has characterized the intelligence field. In six major government studies and 150 Congressional resolutions since the war—all testifying to the existence of informed concern—there have been repeated proposals for improving the Congressional role. But nothing has come of any of it.

The four Congressional subcommittees, drawn from the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees, that occasionally question C.I.A. officials have functioned less to investigate or "control" the C.I.A. than to shield it from its critics. The choice of members of these subcommittees, extraordinarily enough, has been substantially influenced by the C.I.A. itself. There is a clear need to add knowledgeable Congressional experts in foreign affairs to these groups, as proposed by Senator Eugene McCarthy.

A permanent Congressional "watchdog" committee—similar to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—has frequently been proposed, notably by the Hoover Commission during the Eisenhower Administration. Perhaps broadening the present subcommittee structure represents an adequate substitute. Senator McCarthy, a former advocate of the "watchdog" committee, evidently believes so—or thinks that no more can now be obtained.

But this and many other questions about the American intelligence community deserve thorough examination. A small, select committee of independent-minded members of Congress is needed to investigate the problem.

Is it possible that the very size and efficiency of the C.I.A. lead to "back alley" operations that may not be the most effective—or honorable—instruments of American purpose? While some of these methods may be justifiable against a cold war enemy, should they be employed in allied and neutral countries? Should the agency responsible for clandestine operations also manage intelligence evaluation, particularly the 80 to 90 per cent of intelligence that comes from analysis of open sources?

Most important, firm Administration control of the C.I.A., while vital, is not sufficient to the American system of government. The Administration itself needs legislative scrutiny in this field. Neither in defense nor diplomacy nor in atomic matters, where secrecy also is essential, has it ever been suggested that Congressional advice and consent are unnecessary. Far more significant than whether the C.I.A. is right in subverting this or that government abroad is the question of whether exclusive Executive control of the intelligence community does not subvert the American system of government itself.

*J. Lee P. ...*

Los Angeles Times MON., APR. 4, 1955—(Part 1)

# Fulbright's Unit Seeks Information About CIA

## Intelligence Data Now Given Only to Four Committees of Senate and House

BY DON IRWIN  
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Now that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has suspended its hearings on Asian policy, it may find time for another equally controversial venture including the Central Intelligence Agency.

The effort, so far discussed only behind closed doors, is aimed at broadening the committee's access to information about CIA activities.

Behind the move is a strong feeling of some committee members that the senior congressional committee on foreign policy should be kept abreast of CIA activities that are interconnected with foreign policy.

Toward this end, the committee has initiated delicate negotiations which could provide a solution of sorts with little formal change in present procedures.

If the diplomatic approach fails, some members are ready to bring the row into the open, even though a collision with the executive branch is the likely result.

### Compromise Solution

Such a row will be avoided if the committee chairman, Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), manages to persuade the Armed Services Committee chairman, Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), of the merits of a compromise solution endorsed by the Foreign Relations Committee after a series of closed-door

Under this procedure, senior members of Foreign Relations would be permitted to join Russell and four other senior members of the Armed Services Committee and Appropriations Committee who are regularly given confidential briefings about the activities of CIA. Similar briefings are also given senior members of the equivalent committees on the House side.

If CIA's secrets are safe anywhere, it is with the Armed Services and Appropriations Committee's senior members who are its present confidants on Capitol Hill. They are not talkative types; in addition, they are philosophically disposed toward the tough brand of geopolitics played by CIA on many fronts from Latin America to Southeast Asia. The Foreign Relations Committee, by contrast, includes some of the agency's most determined congressional critics.

The security-shrouded

congressional briefings were initiated several years ago to insure that influential representatives of the committees that vote authority and money for CIA know what they are being asked to vote on. The briefings are a low-keyed substitute for resolutions to create a joint committee to oversee CIA that have been offered in-

termittently in Congress for the last decade. These proposals have been uniformly opposed by Presidents, jealous of their authority over the CIA and who have been skittish about spreading CIA secrets among additional members of Congress.

Fulbright's job will be to persuade Russell that security will not be breached if the Foreign Relations Committee is given a window on CIA. Since Fulbright and others on the committee have been critical of the CIA, it may be hard to sell the compromise.

The compromise could forestall an alternative approach which could raise real difficulties for the agency and for the administration.

It takes the form of a resolution offered by Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.) authorizing \$150,000 for the Foreign Relations Committee to make a "full and complete study" of the impact of CIA operations on U.S. foreign relations.

Under committee protocol, the McCarthy resolution was forwarded to the executive branch for comment two days after its introduction on Jan. 24. No comment has been re-

ceived as yet, and if any does come through, it won't be favorable.

McCarthy believes Fulbright can muster enough votes on the committee to win authorization for hearings on CIA, even though they would not be as sweeping or well-financed as the operation proposed in his resolution.

McCarthy suggests that the administration might

be willing to provide the committee with more data about CIA if the concession would head off a public inquiry.

Fulbright is less optimistic. He feels the administration can block any inquiry. He feels that his committee's best hope for more regular access to information on CIA will depend on his negotiations with Russell.