

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

[The following was written circa 1964]

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

"The first is the government that citizens read about in their newspapers... The second is the interlocking, hidden machinery that carries out the policies of the United States..."

"The Invisible Government is not a formal body. It is a loose, amorphous grouping of individuals and agencies drawn from many parts of the visible government. It is not limited to the Central Intelligence Agency, although the CIA is at its heart."

The American people "know virtually nothing about the Invisible Government. Its employment rolls are classified. Its activities are top-secret. Its budget is concealed in other appropriations... A handful of congressmen are supposed to be kept informed by the Invisible Government, but they know relatively little about how it works."

-+- History -+-

"The Invisible Government was born December 7, 1941, in the smoke and rubble of Pearl Harbor." At the end of World War II, President Truman disbanded the wartime Office of Strategic Services (OSS). "Some of the OSS agents went into Army Intelligence. Others were transferred to the State Department. There they formed the nucleus of what became the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, an important branch of the Invisible Government."

"Four months after the OSS closed up shop, Truman, on January 22, 1946, issued an executive order setting up a National Intelligence Authority and, under it, a Central Intelligence Group, which became the forerunner of the CIA."

-+- The "Other Functions" Proviso -+-

"The CIA was created by the National Security Act of 1947." The duties of the newly formed CIA included the following: "to perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct."

Soon, "a decision was reached to create an organization within the CIA to conduct secret political operations... [The Office of Policy Coordination] was in the CIA but the agency shared control of it with the State Department and the Pentagon. On

January 4, 1951, the CIA merged the two offices and created a new Plans Division, which has had sole control over secret operations of all types since that date."

President Truman later stated that, at the time, he had no idea that the National Security Act of 1947 would balloon into such an all-embracing octopus. In a syndicated newspaper article datelined December 21, 1963, he wrote:

For some time I have been disturbed by the way CIA has been diverted from its original assignment. It has become an operational and at times a policy-making arm of the government...

I never had any thought that when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peacetime cloak-and-dagger operations.

-- Washington Post, December 22, 1963

[B.R. It is interesting that this article came out a month after the assassination of President Kennedy.]

The "other functions" proviso of the 1947 National Security Act "has been stretched to encompass activities by the CIA that are not even hinted at in the law. It is not generally realized that the CIA conducts secret political warfare under interpretations of that law."

-+- Domestic Links -+-

"What has really changed since 1947 is not the general amorphous shape of the Invisible Government, but its size, technology, scope, power and importance -- all of which have increased in geometric progression with a minimum of Congressional or public examination or understanding."

"Although few Americans are aware of it, the CIA has offices in twenty cities throughout the country... Since the CIA was created to deal exclusively with foreign intelligence, the question might be raised as to why it has field offices across the nation."

The CIA's domestic field offices are "useful in obtaining intelligence from business

firms that have extensive foreign operations. In addition, the offices serve as contact points with universities. The relationship between the CIA and the universities is two-way -- the CIA secretly finances research programs at some universities; in turn the universities help recruit personnel."

"Despite the possible loss of academic freedom, most universities and professors have shown little reluctance to work for the CIA."

"In addition to its links with the academic community, there is evidence that the CIA subsidizes some foundations, cultural groups and a publishing house as well... [The CIA] is deeply involved in many diverse, clandestine activities right here in the United States in at least twenty metropolitan areas. It can and does appear in many guises and under many names."

-+- The "Special Group" -+-

"All of the Invisible Government's hidden money is buried in the Defense Department budget, mainly in the multibillion-dollar weapons contracts."

"The important decisions about the Invisible Government are made by the committee known as the Special Group... The Special Group was created early in the Eisenhower years under the secret Order 54/12. It was known in the innermost circle of the Eisenhower Administration as the '54/12 Group'... [The Special Group] has operated for a decade [written ca. 1964] as the hidden power center of the Invisible Government."

Around 1955 the Eisenhower administration, alarmed by the mushrooming power of the CIA, established a committee to get to the bottom of things. The Hoover Commission's Intelligence Task Force, headed by General Mark W. Clark, expressed its concern "over the absence of satisfactory machinery for surveillance of the stewardship of the Central Intelligence Agency."

Senator Mike Mansfield, of Idaho, introduced a resolution to create a Joint Committee to oversee the operations of the CIA. When introducing the resolution, Mansfield declared, "An urgent need exists for regular and responsible Congressional scrutiny of the Central Intelligence Agency... If we accept this idea of secrecy for secrecy's sake, we will have no way of knowing whether we have a fine intelligence service or a very poor one. Secrecy now beclouds everything about the CIA." Mansfield's resolution was defeated 59 to 27.

-+- "Black" Radio -+-

"The Invisible Government is heavily engaged in 'black radio' operations of every conceivable type." These activities range from the Voice of America "to highly

secret CIA transmitters in the Middle East and other areas of the world... [Many] radio operations, financed and controlled in whole or in part by the Invisible Government, are [skillfully concealed]."

Some of the CIA's radio operations "are hybrids -- broadcasting organizations that solicit funds from business corporations and the general public but also receive secret funds from the CIA. While allegedly 'private' organizations, they receive daily policy direction from the State Department and take orders from the CIA."

"In some cases it is possible, indeed probable, that lower-level employees of such an organization are unaware of the true point of control of the particular activity."

"It is sufficient to note that an inevitable by-product -- as in clandestine operations generally -- is that the American public has been beguiled by some of this allegedly 'private' broadcasting work."

-+- A Conclusion -+-

"The Invisible Government emerged in the aftermath of World War II as one of the instruments designed to insure national survival. But because it was hidden... it posed a potential threat to the very system it was designed to protect."

As President Truman warned in the previously mentioned *Washington Post* article (December 22, 1963):

We have grown up as a nation, respected for our free institutions and for our ability to maintain a free and open society. There is something about the way the CIA has been functioning that is casting a shadow over our historic position and I feel that we need to correct it.

Despite the CIA's "wide-ranging clandestine activities, and despite the importance, the power and the vast sums at the disposal of the CIA and the other agencies of the Invisible Government, there has not been enough intelligent public discussion of the role of this secret machinery. In general, critics of the CIA have been hobbled by a lack of sure knowledge about its activities."

Yet "even when a clear policy [regarding the CIA] has been established, a

President may find it difficult to enforce. Presidential power, despite the popular conception of it, is diffuse and limited. The various departments and agencies under his authority have entrenched sources of strength."

Furthermore, "a President operates under a constant awareness of the capacity of disgruntled members of the Invisible Government to undercut his purposes by leaking information to Congress and the press... The Invisible Government has achieved a quasi- independent status and a power of its own."

Congress "has been denied information about the increasing involvement of the Invisible Government in domestic activities... No rationale has been offered for a broad spectrum of domestic operations: maintenance of a score of CIA offices in major cities; the control of private businesses serving as CIA covers; academic programs; and the financing and control of freedom radio stations, publishing ventures and of exile and ethnic groups."

"There should be a thorough reappraisal by private organizations and by the universities of the wisdom of their ties to the Invisible Government. There is a real danger that the academic community may find itself so closely allied with the Invisible Government that it will have lost its ability to function as an independent critic of our government and society. The academic world should re-examine its acceptance of hidden money from the CIA."

"These unseen domestic activities of the CIA have become disturbingly complex and widespread. To the extent that they can be perceived, they appear to be outside the spirit and perhaps the letter of the National Security Act. No outsider can tell whether this activity is necessary or even legal. No outsider is in a position to determine whether or not, in time, these activities might become an internal danger to a free society."

"In a free society attention should be given as well to the increasing tendency of the American Government to mislead the American people in order to protect secret operations. For example:"

U-2 Spy Plane Incident: "There was absolutely no -- NO -- no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet airspace. There never has been." -- Lincoln White, State Department Spokesman

Bay of Pigs: "The American people are entitled to know whether we are intervening in Cuba or intend to do so in the future. The answer to that question is no." -- Secretary of

State Dean Rusk

Missile Crisis: "The Pentagon has no information indicating the presence of offensive weapons in Cuba." -- Department of Defense

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

*[Above excerpted from *The Invisible Government* by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. New York, Random House, 1964]*

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"The State is the coldest of all cold monsters." -- Nietzsche