What a Tangled Web the CIA Wove

Cost Likely To Rise High Into Millions

By Richard Harwood

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T 1967, THE YEAR in which the Central Intelligence Agency was born, a brash young man, John F. Kennedy, was elected President of the United States. In the years that followed, Kennedy's mark on the world in which he served increased according to the power that private spies and private organizations have wielded in the international game of international politics. It was evident to the CIA from the beginning that the agencies more like Fiskal and organizations like the World Trade Organization had an important role to play in what President Kennedy was calling "the long twilight struggle" between the two superpowers.

A Direct Approach

I WAS NOT, however, for the United States to content itself, according to governmental institutions, to finance the American establishment through economic and military means. In the early 1960s, the Agency had more to reach through its own activities.

Operating from that premise, the CIA began in the late 1960s a vast program that was to involve only one such agent as Fiskal, but most of the major private institutions in America. The effect of that involvement and the advantages that it offered the Agency was being deeply grasped as a key to American revolutions or the post-1964 world.

What is known as the CIA's "Fiskal" is still under the heat of battle, and it is not clear what it means for the United States. It is clear, however, that the surface has been hardly scratched of the Agency's potential impact.

The fact is that millions of dollars of public money have been spent for the Agency, with a tremendous amount of public response, but most of the major organizations in America. The effect of that involvement and the advantages that it offered the Agency was being deeply grasped as a key to American revolutions or the post-1964 world.

Top-Level Decision

The overwhelming majority of the Agency's activities in America have been directed at the high-level political and military decision-makers in the United States. These have included, among others, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and others in their representative roles.

The Agency also acted with the full knowledge of the President, and of the American military, police and intelligence services, to ensure that the decision-making process would be conducted in the best interests of the United States.

It was a policy, however, that had the full support of the American public, and of the American people, and of the American military and police, and of the American intelligence services, to ensure that the decision-making process would be conducted in the best interests of the United States.

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Connection

ALEX WHEELER, who runs the CIA's domestic operations, has been described as a "brass figure" in the New York law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, which has been in the business of providing counsel to the Establishment. While he was in the Agency, he was known to be a figure of influence in the legal community, and his name was often associated with the CIA's domestic operations.

A Wall Street investment firm, of which Wheeler was a member, along with "Casey" for at least one CIA Agent, maintained an office in his name as an employee of the firm. Samuel Hefley of the prestigious New York law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy allowed his family's Hefley Foundation to be used as a conduit for CIA funds.

As an incident in this period, there is a well-known story of the Carnegie Corp. John H. Samuels, a former president of the Corporation, who has much of his adult life as a Government official and consultant, and who is representing the Administration in negotiations with the NATO allies over the issue of the American troop-level in Europe.

Bundy on Lend-Lease

WILLIAM WHITNEY DeBakey, one of the distinguished Crawford, Manhattan, and George Bundy, who has had experience as an administrator of the government, has been described as a "brass figure" in the New York law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, which has been in the business of providing counsel to the Establishment. While he was in the Agency, he was known to be a figure of influence in the legal community, and his name was often associated with the CIA's domestic operations.

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In addition, the Agency has on occasion been involved in the affairs of the Vatican, in order to try to influence the course of public affairs in the United States.

To provide secret Government funds to private persons and organizations, the CIA gave its money directly in a number of transactions. They are the names in the first band of the chart. Some were largely operated with other words, some were only CIA conduits. These transactions, in turn, pass the money to other private organizations. They are the names in the shaded bands. One step away from the sources of the money, they could hardly be identified as part of the CIA's money. They pass the secret funds along to specific CIA-approved groups, organizations, study projects. These are listed in the last band of the chart. A few large sums were sent to the money to individuals.

1. They got it first
2. They were secondary conduits
3. They were final disbursals
4. They were the recipients

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I inquired, I got straight answers to my questions."

On balance, it seems likely that few people involved in the worldwide operations of the CIA were victimized. Presidents, Establishmentarians, students and most other beneficiaries of the CIA's millions were like Manning. They saw the connection.

The more pertinent question has to do with the balance sheet for the undertaking. What was gained or lost?

The Administration thus far has avoided the question and there is no reason to suppose any audit will ever be issued. The CIA, as they say, is "unvouchedered."

Allen Dulles claimed last week that "we obtained what we wanted" in terms of counterpropaganda and intelligence. In the case of Ferri Pisani, the return was tangible.

In the case of the NEA, the American Newspaper Guild and the National Student Association, things are not so clear. They may have supplied intelligence. They may have been effective propagandists for democracy. But they were effective only so long as they appeared to be truly private agencies untied to any agency of the United States Government. In the ideological conflicts that lie ahead in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the role these institutions will play is wholly uncertain now.

Students, teachers, unionists and others have engaged in an orgy of self-analysis in the past two weeks and have come to the conclusion that their credibility as free and unofficial spokesmen for the American people has been seriously compromised if not destroyed.

What they fear was expressed in an editorial in a Tokyo newspaper last week: "It is not pleasant to know that this or that American visitor traveling abroad might be a secret espionage agent."