

THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION  
5 December 1977

# How the CIA Kept an Eye <sup>STAT</sup> on Campus Dissent

By Phillip W. Semas

WASHINGTON

The Central Intelligence Agency engaged in extensive monitoring of campus radicals during the late 1960's and early 1970's, according to papers made public last week.

In two of the papers, Richard Helms, then the Director of Central Intelligence, acknowledged that the agency was engaged in activities that fell outside its charter.

The documents were released by the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, a coalition of civil-liberties, church, and other activist organizations.

A suit under the Freedom of Information Act, brought by Morton Halperin, a former White House aide who chairs the campaign, and John Marks of the Center for National Security Studies led to the papers' release.

The suit sought 67 documents provided by the C.I.A. to the House and Senate intelligence committees and to a Presidential commission chaired by Nelson A. Rockefeller, who was Vice-President at the time.

Many of the documents were denied to Mr. Halperin and Mr. Marks. Others had all or virtually all of their contents deleted. The denied and expurgated documents included:

▶ A memorandum on "travel of students and faculty abroad and of foreign elements to U. S. campuses."

▶ A memorandum on "Activities Involving Foreign Students in the U. S."

▶ Several letters from C.I.A. officials to the Senate's special committee on intelligence on the agency's relations with U. S. academic and research institutions.

▶ "Regulations concerning operational use of individuals within the academic community."

Mr. Halperin and Mr. Marks said they would continue to seek the documents they were denied.

## 3 Reports to the White House

The documents that were obtained include three reports on student unrest sent to the Johnson White House and one sent to Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's national security advisor. They indicate that the C.I.A., apparently at the urging of the White House, sought unsuccessfully to find ties between U.S. dissidents and Communist organizations in other countries.

A Nov. 15, 1967, memorandum to President Johnson on "International Connections of the U. S. Peace Movement" says the study "involved extensive research and examination of the Agency's own files as well as access to data in the hands of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the National Security Agency."

The report says that the C.I.A. was unable to find "any source of funds for the costly schedules of prominent peace movement coordinators, many of whom are on the move almost constantly," or any evidence of contact between the most prominent peace movement leaders and foreign embassies, either in the U. S. or abroad."

A note on the report indicates that Mr. Helms took the original to the President.

In a Sept. 4, 1968, memo to President Johnson, Mr. Helms says, "I am disappointed, as perhaps you will be, by our inability to be more precise about the motivation and direction of this worldwide movement."

Because of this lack of information, Mr. Helms makes "a suggestion which lies outside the range of my responsibilities": that the President consider having the F.B.I. "use more advanced investigative techniques in dealing with this problem."

In the memo, Mr. Helms also reminds President Johnson of "the peculiar sensitivity which attaches to the fact that C.I.A. has prepared a report on student activities both here and abroad."

In a 1969 report called "Restless Youth," which dealt with "student dissidence worldwide," the C.I.A. included a section on American student activism. In an accompanying memo to Mr. Kissinger, Mr. Helms said, "This is an area not within the charter of this Agency, so I need not emphasize how extremely sensitive this makes the paper. Should anyone learn of its existence it would prove most embarrassing for all concerned."

## Report on Student Meeting

The C.I.A. also sent the Johnson White House a report on the U. S. National Student Association's 1967 convention, which was the group's first meeting after its past ties to the intelligence agency were revealed.

According to a covering memorandum from Mr. Helms, only two copies of the report were being circulated outside the C.I.A.—to Walt W. Rostow, then President Johnson's national security adviser, and John W. Gardner, then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Mr. Helms said he was limiting distribution "because the Agency should not be reporting at all on domestic affairs of this sort."

Mr. Helms said he had asked "the Agency officer who has dealt with youth and student affairs in recent years" to prepare the report "because I was interested to learn what went on at the recent N.S.A. Congress now that agency has no N.S.A. ties."

The report itself is a straightforward description of what happened at the convention. "Unexpectedly," it says, "the matter of the U.S.N.S.A.-C.I.A. relationship did not materialize as a major Congress issue."

However, the report adds, "the C.I.A. controversy should be regarded as a net gain for N.S.A. . . . In fact, it appears that the N.S.A. leadership has successfully exploited both the C.I.A. publicity and the national media's preoccupation with what students are doing to emerge as the more or less official spokesman for student activists."

The report also discusses various N.S.A. leaders. It says Ed Schwartz, who was elected N.S.A. president that year, "is not a radical, although he occasionally allows himself to be influenced by the New Left for political reasons rather than out of ideological weakness."

STAT

continues

THE BOSTON GLOBE  
5 December 1977

# CIA fights academic restraints

By Al Larkin Jr.  
Globe Staff

Last September, while testifying before a Senate subcommittee in Washington, CIA director Stansfield Turner said his agency no longer sought to sponsor secret research at the nation's colleges and universities.

Today, Turner and his aides are working quietly to soften the effect of a set of Harvard University guidelines designed specifically to limit such work.

The guidelines, which were drawn up earlier this year in response to CIA disclosures that it secretly sponsored millions of dollars worth of research at American campuses, are expected to serve as a model for universities throughout the country.

Harvard officials said recently that, shortly after the guidelines were made public in May, Turner complained that they were too stringent and could violate the individual privacy of university professors who serve as consultants to the agency.

Harvard's general counsel, Daniel Steiner, said yesterday that discussions between the CIA and the university are "ongoing," adding that "there are significant differences between us that we hope we'll be able to resolve."

The dispute is the latest in a series of incidents that have strained the once cordial relationship between the nation's academic community and the CIA.

Since World War II, the CIA and other intelligence agencies have sponsored millions of dollars worth of research at American campuses — much of it classified work — after discovering that the expertise found there was useful.

In the nearly '50s, even as Sen. Joe McCarthy fell into disfavor, the Cold War was taking shape and, with it, an urgency to develop new technology and new ideas to combat the threat of communism.

But it wasn't until early this year that university administrators learned that, in addition to hundreds of projects they had approved, there were hundreds of others that never received their approval.

In September, California's Stanford University—finally informed of its role by the CIA—sent a 900-word message across the country detailing its involvement in \$400,000 worth of such work during the 1950s and early '60s.

The news was neither surprising nor alarming, much of it having been previously reported, but a few hours later Stanford sent another message, this one just 20 words long:

"Stanford outlawed secret research in 1969, and there is no evidence that current faculty is involved in any CIA research."

The mood had changed. College administrators everywhere wanted it understood that they were the unwilling victims in this CIA scheme. And they wanted to prove that it wouldn't, couldn't happen again.

Stanford wasn't alone. Eighty-six universities and hospitals across the country had been used unwittingly by the intelligence agency. The amounts spent in New England were small, among them was the most controversial—the use of LSD on unsuspecting volunteers at the Massachusetts Mental Health center.

Details of other local projects still haven't been disclosed, but Harvard, MIT and other local institutions have, as Stanford, already taken steps to ban all classified research—some because of antiwar protests in the 1960s and others because of the most recent disclosures about the CIA.

But nearly everyone admits that despite the efforts at regulating secret research, the very nature of such research makes it difficult to uncover and abolish.

"And since not every college or university has taken steps to stop classified research, agencies like the CIA can simply move elsewhere with their work," explained Robert Beyers, a spokesman for Stanford University.

Beyers said Stanford's decision to ban classified research as early as 1969, like MIT's, was a direct result of campus antiwar protests rather than any real knowledge of unethical relationships.

And Harvard's decision earlier this

activities on campus came only after the extent of the CIA involvement was made public.

But Harvard general counsel Steiner explained in a recent interview that the university hasn't accepted classified research "for years and years, primarily because the basic rationale is that the university is in the business of developing knowledge and information for the public.

"Classified research provides highly limited access, which is contrary to that rationale," Steiner said.

Coupled with those constraints is the CIA's recent assurance to Stanford officials that "it is contrary to agency policy (now) to obtain unwitting services of any American staff or faculty member of US institutions."

But the statement noticeably excludes contracts with foreign nationals working at US universities and fails to resolve the problem of nonclassified research that the CIA intends to use for purposes other than those stated publicly.

Anthony Wiener, a former guest researcher at MIT who now teaches at the New York Institute of Technology, had one such experience with the CIA while at MIT in the late 1950s.

In 1958, Wiener solicited a \$12,000 grant from the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology — only recently identified as a conduit for CIA funds — to continue a study of the sociological aspects of scientific research in the Soviet Union.

It wasn't until two months ago that Wiener found that the money actually came from the CIA and that the agency actually hoped to use his reports to determine how to locate Soviet scientists who might be convinced to defect.

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4435 WISCONS

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Live News-98 STATION WRC Radio

DATE December 3, 1977 6:17 P.M. CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT CIA Feeling Economic Squeeze

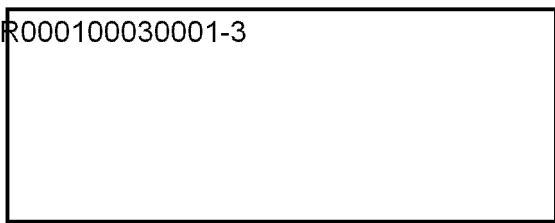
MARGE KUMARKI: The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency says universities are misguided if they pass regulations requiring students and professors to notify university officials if they have any contact with the CIA.

Stansfield Turner says such a regulation at Harvard University singles out the CIA unfairly. He also said the CIA works under guidelines which permits it to effectively gather information that's vital to the United States security.

He did agree, however, with the principle of proposed congressional charters that would prohibit the CIA from hiring clergy or journalists for undercover assignments. Turner said the CIA, like other government agencies, is feeling an economic squeeze these days.

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## Curbing the CIA

STAT

The CIA has been back in the news with disclosures that U.S. academic institutions and their faculties were hired during the last twenty years to carry out secret experiments in such intellectually stimulating areas as the development of mind control drugs, truth serums, and chemicals that would allow subjects safely to ingest large quantities of alcohol.

The Campaign to Stop Government Spying, a coalition of groups opposed to covert operations abroad and political spying at home, is asking leading universities to set up new standards that would prevent CIA infiltration of higher education. The proposed standards would require, among other things, that all CIA contracts with universities or individual professors be matters of public record, and that the CIA halt undercover recruiting of students.

The suggested guidelines reflect a healthy concern for academic freedom, recognizing that CIA contracts and undercover recruiting inhibit free discourse and distort the relationship between faculty and students. Such subversion of our academic institutions is clearly not within the scope of the CIA charter.

Still, the guidelines are likely to have only limited impact; without a rigorously enforced legislative ban, the CIA would still have many ways to circumvent the rules. And even a legal prohibition would probably have minimal effect on an agency whose principal purpose is the subversion of radical political action at home and abroad. The CIA's record makes it all too clear that the agency is rarely deterred by laws or democratic forms in its indefatigable efforts in behalf of the profits and investments of U.S. multinational corporations. Without a major change in the goals of American foreign policy and a reassertion of democratic commitment at home, the CIA will remain immune to periodic displays of public outrage and occasional slaps on the wrist.



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ON PAGE K3

THE BALTIMORE SUN  
13 November 1977

# The ultimate patron of the arts and sciences

By ALBERT SEHLSTEDT, JR.

Albert Sehlstedt, Jr., writes on scientific matters for The Sun.

This summer, the public learned that the Central Intelligence Agency had secretly supported research with so-called mind-bending drugs at certain private institutions during the 1950's and 1960's. The disclosures pleased no one and brought a promise from the new CIA director that this sort of thing would never happen again.

That assurance, however genuine, is hardly the end of the story. The CIA activities are but the tip of an iceberg. The whole iceberg is the enduring fact that the federal government has become the senior partner, with industry and academia, in a \$40 billion program of scientific research that touches virtually every aspect of American life.

The total program isn't secret, by any means, but it is undeniably enormous. Indeed, the significance of \$40 billion can be more fully appreciated, perhaps, when it is realized that the endowment of Harvard, the nation's most affluent private university, is \$1.4 billion. Closer to home, the endowment of the Johns Hopkins University is \$177 million.

Of the \$40 billion being spent this year on scientific research and development, Washington is providing 53 per cent, industry close to 43 per cent and universities less than 3 per cent. Another 1.5 per cent comes from various non-profit institutions.

These figures are compiled by the National Science Foundation, a federal agency which supports a significant part of the scientific research conducted in the United States. The figures demonstrate, of course, that the federal government, in its efforts to clean polluted streams, explore the surface of Mars and find a cure for cancer, has become the patron of science in modern America.

The nostalgic time of the lonely researcher peering through his microscope or watching the colors of a concoction change in a test tube has changed. He may still be as dedicated as Louis Pasteur, and he may still be lonely, but he is not unaware of the fact that out there beyond the quiet campus is "Daddy Warbucks," who resides in Washington.

Today, in the industrialized nations of the world, the name of the game is often "big science"—big computers, big particle accelerators, big programs, and big money to support them.

For example, the Voyager spacecraft which will soon explore the near regions of Saturn and Jupiter will cost the taxpayers \$400 million. The giant accelerator at Batavia, Ill., which is pounding away at atomic particles to understand the nature of matter, cost \$245 million.

This state of affairs has not been reached overnight.

Richard C. Atkinson, director of the National Science Foundation, has pointed out that in recent years "society has increasingly turned to our universities and colleges to help find solutions to many problems through research in such areas as disease, environmental pollution, urban decay, and most recently, energy depletion."

The financial intimacy between government and the campus is not a recent development, however. World War II, for instance, spawned a plethora of scientific achievements, such as the British development of radar, America's solution for the making of the atom bomb, and the German refinement of rocket weapons—all of which helped cement the ties between government and science.

People running governments discovered, if they did not already know, that such things as accurate rockets were not hit-or-miss inventions but the consequence of complex projects directed by learned men long familiar with Sir Isaac Newton's laws of motion and other precepts of science. Sending men to the moon could not be assigned to the Department of Transportation.

"If we try to find out what has been happening to American science and technology since World War II, three features stand out," a recent issue of *Science* magazine stated in an editorial.

"First, science and technology have been politicized because of the one-sided leverage of the government. Next, they are being secularized as lay publics participate in negotiating their right uses. And third, science and technology have been internationalized by the advent of new and tougher problems such as the management of the biosphere, population pressure on life support systems, and the claims of developing countries."

The editorial, written by the magazine's publisher, William D. Carey, was discussing the Carter Administration's plans for reorganization of the government's scientific and technical affairs.

Mr. Carey's concern about the secularization of science inevitably brings to mind last winter's widely-publicized controversy in which the City Council of Cambridge, Mass., attempted to limit the types of recombinant DNA research conducted at Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

That controversy has now reached Washington where Congress has been talking about government regulation of such research. Congressional power in these matters cannot be taken lightly.

Seven years ago, Senator William Proxmire (D., Wis.) led a successful fight to halt federal support of an American supersonic transport program despite the best efforts of industry and some respected legislators to block him.

Mr. Proxmire, among others on Capitol Hill, is not reluctant to challenge scientific and technological programs which he regards as dubious. Two years ago the Wisconsin Democrat called attention to a federal grant of \$84,000 aimed, in part, at studying the subject of romantic love. "I don't believe," the Senator said at the time, "that 200 million other Americans want to leave some things in life a mystery, and right at the top of things we don't want to know is why a man falls in love with a woman, or vice versa."

Coincident with the government's power to turn off the money spigot is Washington's traditional devotion to paper work. Government forms arrive with the money, or before the money arrives at the research laboratory.

George Putnam, treasurer of Harvard, said in a recent telephone interview that paperwork was a tremendous burden for the university's scientists though the administration tried to relieve them of those chores as much as possible. On the other hand, it may be argued that bureaucrats have a right—indeed, an obligation—to know precisely how taxpayers' money is being spent.

The government, therefore, has become the customer of science, and while the customer may not always be right, he is in a position to buy or not buy. That is a fact of retail trade which has worked to the benefit of buyer and seller in a free market for years. But science isn't exactly like retail trade, and scientists are men and women fascinated with the mysteries of nature and invigorated by their attempts to explore them. The best of these people, unlikely and probably unable to survive in a scientific marketplace, are thinking about these problems. Of course, the major asset no customer

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 8INDIANAPOLIS STAR  
12 NOVEMBER 1977SPEAKS AT DEPAUW

# CIA Director Defends Policy Of Working With Scholars

By PAUL M. DOHERTY

Greencastle, Ind. — The head of the CIA defended the intelligence agency's the policy of working with academic persons during a visit here Friday.

— He also displayed a deft hand at publicity gimmicks.

ADM. STANSFIELD TURNER brought up his concern about continued work with college faculty and other academic people in his formal remarks at the DePauw University Performing Arts Center and was asked about it by a faculty member during a luncheon in the Student Union.

Turner said the CIA has academic people on its payroll, but mentioned that the agency's policy is not to have in its pay anyone who works for accredited news agencies.

Some people are taking an unreasonable attitude that any such relationship is improper and unhealthy, he continued.

"I hope very much to reverse this trend," he said.

Turner told of a Brooklyn College professor who traded information about Russia with the CIA and became a center of controversy. He was denied tenure.

Such an attitude is "very discouraging and very improper," he stated.

He claimed some in the academic community made similar mistakes in the 1960s, when some campuses removed reserve military training programs in response to student protests. Some scholars who complained of a typically narrow, right-wing military mind thus "took their hand off the tiller" of influence over future officers, he declared.

TURNER SAID HE is satisfied with the suspended prison term given to former CIA director Richard Helms in return for pleading guilty to lying to a Senate committee. He said a trial might have forced the disclosure of important foreign policy secrets.

In answers to questions from the DePauw audiences and from the press, Turner said congressional control over his agency is much tighter than in the past. He declared he would be remiss if he let the agency's ability to conduct covert operations atrophy. Turner stressed that House and Senate special committees get regular reports from him and that any covert operation would need their approval as well as that of the President.

He stated that "spooks and archeology" go together because aerial photography can detect regular contours of earth that reveal sites of ancient structures in places which might be inaccessible or subject to security restrictions.

IN ANSWER TO a question, Turner said he is not familiar with an as-yet unpublished book claiming a CIA connection with the assassination of Robert Kennedy. Turner added that he has studied the files on John Kennedy's assassination and is sure there was no CIA connection with that event. He said he is confident the



(AP Photo)

## VOLLEY OF QUESTIONS HIT TURNER CIA Director Answers Press Before Tennis

same would be true regarding the Robert Kennedy case.

Asked about microwaves the Russians are beaming at the American Embassy in Moscow, Turner said he is unhappy about the situation and wants it stopped. He added that the beams are below the Russian safety standard, which is 100 times as stringent as the American standard.

Turner refused to discuss the foreign policy aspects of the Panama Canal treaties. But he said he believes that the canal is vulnerable to sabotage or attack.

He said he has no reason to believe President Carter has withheld information about the canal treaties from the American public as was charged by retired Adm. John S. McCain Jr. in Indianapolis Thursday.

Turner got in some tennis while he was at the university and before going on to Wabash College at Crawfordsville.

STUDENT LAWYER

(Law Student Division American Bar Association)

November 1977



# Espionage 101:

## THE CIA AND THE CAMPUS CONNECTION

Consider a professor at a major American university. He knows his students well, he writes scholarly literature for publication, he is an acknowledged expert in his field. During his semesters off, he might travel abroad, perhaps to study the subject of his expertise firsthand. He appears to be like others in his profession, the educators of tomorrow's leaders, scholars who are respected by society and emulated by their students.

But suppose this one is different. Suppose the literature he writes is propaganda, manufactured first-person accounts of conditions in communist countries. Suppose in class he watches his students carefully, deciding who among them would be a likely candidate for his organization. Before he even approaches them, he runs a check on their backgrounds, including groups belonged to, arrest records, political affiliations. When he travels abroad, he gathers intelligence from unwitting sources and studies the political climate in other countries. His role as an academic is merely a cover. He works for the CIA.

That figure is not a character from a cold war novel. He—or she—could be married or single, even a student. But

he, they, hundreds of paid CIA informants exist in universities across the nation and the world. Academics are common instruments, routine instruments, of the Central Intelligence Agency. The uses that have been mentioned are among the many revealed by last year's Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, headed by Senator Frank Church. But in the midst of more sensational, headline-grabbing stories, such as unwitting LSD trips, bungled assassinations, etc., the CIA's campus connections were all but ignored by the press. Unlike those other horror stories, these activities continue unabated. The CIA is, and has been for years, as tightly connected as ivy to the academic walls.

The exact nature of these activities are difficult to guess. On the surface, the majority of them would probably seem harmless, in no way affecting the integrity of an academic institution. Like other governmental agencies, the CIA regularly contracts individuals and institutions to do specific jobs for them. Often it is historical research, economic or political analysis; sometimes merely library research.

The Church Committee, however, makes sinister, though vague,

references to the agency's use of academics to gather intelligence covertly, recruit secretly and write propaganda for distribution in foreign countries. Sometimes these operatives are not even aware they work for the CIA. In most cases, nobody at the university but the individual involved is aware of the CIA connection. Even harmless research is kept secret because of the stigma attached to working for the CIA. And when a professor travels abroad, he or she may use his or her academic status and privileges for what is really an intelligence-gathering operation.

When the Church Committee began its probe into these activities, its access to current information was severely limited. The committee was welcome only to information from before 1967. This was not very surprising. In 1967, the agency was also wracked by scandals unearthed by another investigative committee. It was because of that investigation and the subsequent public furor that the CIA was compelled to change its tactics to prevent public disclosure of its questionable domestic activities. And judging from the lack of specifics in the Church report, those tactics worked.

By MARK FRITZ

CONTINUED

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON DAILY  
21 October 1977

# The UW and the CIA: Should there be policies?

by robert burns

*This is the last in a four-part series examining the Central Intelligence Agency's secret involvement in American and international academic affairs.*

The University currently has no specific policy to guide its relationships with the Central Intelligence Agency, and UW President John Hogness says none is in the works.

Few American academic institutions have formal guidelines for dealings with the CIA, but many have shown interest in the wake of several recent disclosures about secret CIA involvement in academic affairs.

At least six colleges and universities have started work on guidelines and many others have said they will follow suit. Harvard University was the first to act on this when its president approved last spring a set of interim guidelines for dealing with the CIA and other government intelligence-gathering agencies.

It was disclosed this summer that 44 American colleges and universities participated in a secret multi-million dollar CIA research project during the 1950s and 1960s. It is unknown how many more academic institutions have been linked with the agency, but new disclosures are emerging almost weekly across the nation.

Though Hogness has insisted the University has no history of CIA involvement, a former CIA agent who controlled millions of dollars that were channeled into handpicked academic research projects recently told the Daily the University was used by the CIA. James Monroe, a CIA agent from 1957 to 1962, said UW administrators knew of their CIA involvement as early as 1950.

Hogness said he is not interested in adopting a policy, but he has asked for and received from an aide a report of national scope on CIA involvement in academic affairs. The report was given to Hogness two weeks ago, but a spokeswoman for the president said yesterday he will not release it.

"He's awfully busy and he isn't ready to discuss that sort of thing," Darleen Treneer said. "I do not think it is because there is anything newsworthy in

it." She added later: "It's unfortunate that people think that just because we won't release something, that it must contain secrets."

A spokesman for the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, a Washington, D.C.-based public interest group, said yesterday his group has sent letters to 45 colleges and universities urging the development of guidelines similar to those adopted at Harvard.

Hal Candee, the spokesman, said 40 institutions have responded to the letters, either from administration officials or student government representatives. Included in those institutions are some universities that have not been linked to secret CIA academic involvement.

Hogness received a letter from the campaign in mid-September, but has not responded. Hogness said recently he is not interested in developing guidelines because he believes the University does not have and never did have any ties with the CIA. He also said he is less interested in what may have gone on in the past than what will happen during his presidency, adding that he would not allow any secret involvement by the CIA here.

But Morton Halperin, chairperson of the campaign, in Seattle recently, said that in most cases CIA involvement on academic campuses would not be known by top administrators, and therefore a lack of knowledge about such relationships is no indication of the institution's possible ties to the CIA.

Candee said yesterday the University may assume it has had some secret involvement with the CIA, if only because it is the largest and most populated university in the Pacific Northwest and has the only medical school in the region.

Though Hogness has shown no interest in developing a policy for the University, student government leaders have

The ASUW Board of Control has indicated it will consider adoption of a resolution to seek information from the CIA about possible ties to the University in addition to recommending that Hogness adopt formal guidelines.

# CIA used UW study in 'scare tactics' against Vietnamese

by robert burns

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON DAILY  
18 October 1977

The Central Intelligence Agency probably used University of Washington psychological warfare studies to conduct a campaign of "scare tactics" against Vietnam as early as 1954, the Daily has learned.

The University's research project, financed by a 1950 Air Force contract, involved a study of methods of spreading information and rumors by leaflets dropped from the air and by word-of-mouth.

The CIA used some of these methods in North Vietnam in the fall of 1954 when the agency engineered a "black psywar strike" in which leaflets with forged signatures of the Viet Minh tricked thousands of Tonkin residents into fleeing south.

The \$300,000 study, called Project Revere, broke new ground in the science of behavior modification, message diffusion and other areas of human psychology.

Due to the long time lapse since the project and the fragmentary nature of available records, it is difficult to assess the practical military usefulness of Project Revere's findings.

The Air Force's Project Revere coordinator, contacted yesterday in Texas, said the CIA, "very well, could have" put the Revere findings to use, however, in the 1954 psychological warfare scheme in Vietnam that came to light in 1971 with publication of The Pentagon Papers.

Retired Air Force Major James L. Monroe said the Revere findings were made available to the CIA and other members of the military and intelligence establishment in 1954.

Project Revere did not involve the use of CIA funds, but other research conducted here was financed by the CIA, Monroe said.

"The University of Washington received funds from the CIA for research projects, as did most universities in the country," he said.

Monroe said he did not know when such arrangements existed, nor for what projects.

The psychological warfare operations described in The Pentagon Papers began in earnest in October 1954, four months after Project Revere ended. The Pentagon Papers details many secret military and CIA operations in Southeast Asia during and prior to the Vietnam conflict.

One national security expert in Washington, D.C., believes the 1954 Tonkin campaign was deceptive enough to create panic there and cause a massive exodus out of the north.

"We don't know how many came (to the south) because of these scare tactics," John D. Marks, former State Department intelligence analyst, said recently.

Marks, who is working on a book about CIA involvement with American academic institutions, called Project Revere a study in "how to lie."

Regardless of Revere's ultimate military usefulness, it made a major contribution to the science of social psychology, and its researchers point to its accomplishments with pride.

Otto Larsen, a Project Revere researcher and current UW sociology professor, recently said the researchers undertook the project with the sole intention of furthering the science of social psychology.

Several social science books and dozens of articles published in scholastic journals resulted from the extensive research. Larsen and several other researchers earned Ph.D.s on the basis of their Revere research.

Larsen and the other researchers were part of the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, which received the Air Force contract by bid. The laboratory, which died in the 1960s, was a research arm of the UW department of sociology.

The director of Project Revere, Stuart C. Dodd, was a UW sociology professor. He died recently, but in an early 1970s address to a Brown University seminar, he talked of Project Revere in terms of its obvious practical usefulness to the military.

Larsen said he often has thought about how the Revere findings ultimately might have been used by the military, and in retrospect, he would seek a "more neutral source" of financing if involved in a similar project today.

Another Project Revere researcher who is currently a sociology professor at the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque recently said some of the information resulting from Project Revere is "just the sort of thing" the CIA sought when it sponsored dozens of projects at other universities and colleges.

The professor, who asked to remain anonymous, said he would "bet anything" the CIA was "behind" Project Revere.

A growing list of CIA-financed research projects conducted at American universities and colleges in the 1950s have been disclosed in the press recently.

But Monroe, the Air Force's coordinator for Revere, said the Air Force was the sole sponsor of the project. The original contract is not included in UW records.

"The CIA was not involved in Project Revere," Monroe said.

At the time of Project Revere, Monroe was chief of the Air Force's psychological warfare division at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama.

In 1957 he became executive director of the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology, a CIA dummy foundation that secretly funneled CIA money to research projects at many American and foreign universities and colleges. Monroe was employed by the CIA until 1962.

He called Project Revere a "legitimate, effective scientific endeavor carried out by a marvelously talented group of men."

This is the first of a four-part series examining several aspects of the CIA's secret involvement in American and foreign academic affairs.

Tomorrow's installment will include a UW professor's disclosure of a secret CIA link to a 1960 research project with which he was indirectly involved.



**FORMER NSC STAFFER:****CIA suspected at 'U'**

By BOB ROSENBAUM

Morton Halperin, former National Security Council staff member under President Nixon, and now an outspoken gladiator against covert CIA activities in this country, insisted yesterday that the intelligence agency could be operating secretly at the University.

Halperin came to public attention for his successful lawsuit against the former President, and other White House administrators, in which Halperin claimed his constitutional rights had been violated by an FBI wiretap of his home phone. The three defendants were fined \$1 apiece in damages. Halperin is now head of the Washington-based "Campaign to Stop Government Spying."

HE APPEARED on campus yesterday to try to convince members of

the University community to adopt special guidelines which would prevent future CIA activities here.

"It is impossible to believe that the CIA would not seek agents on this campus," Halperin told one group, attempting to stamp out notions that the agency would ignore the Michigan campus in its domestic recruiting, spying and research activities.

Those covert activities were pointed up in a summer 1976 Congressional study which revealed that the CIA had secret "operatives" on more than 100 U.S. campuses.

HALPERIN urged several members of the Faculty Senate Advisory Committee on University Affairs (SACUA) to adopt new rules — similar to those already established by Harvard — which would require faculty members to report any attempted recruitment by the CIA to the administration.

SACUA members at the afternoon meeting expressed fears that such guidelines might infringe on the rights of faculty members themselves. They added that, if CIA faculty — recruits are sworn to secrecy, they would be hesitant to surrender their cover to University officials under any circumstances.



Halperin

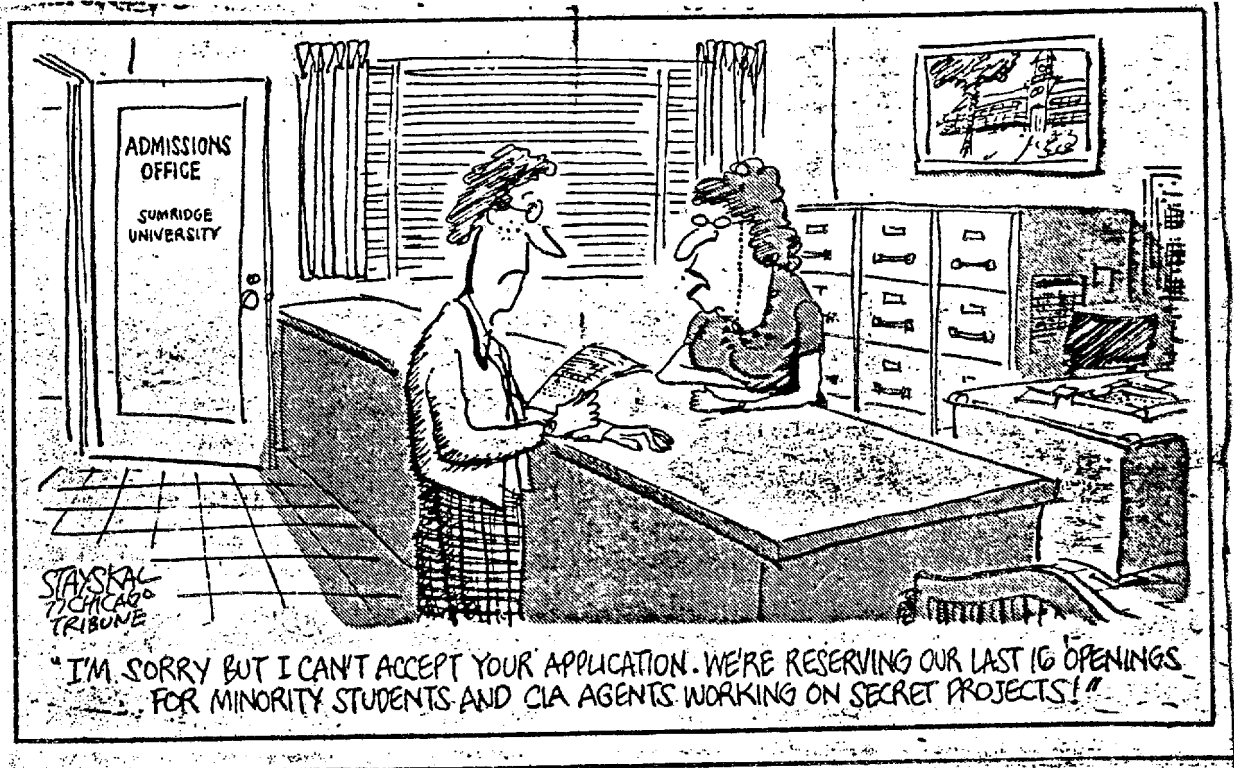
"If it is something secret, why should the (professor) tell their dean?" one SACUA member said afterwards. "It's like asking all hijackers to report to a desk at an airport."

HALPERIN maintained that — if actually requested to do so by their institutions — many faculty members would give up any CIA associations willingly. The existence of rules on such activities would also make it easier for students to report any attempts by their profs or the CIA to recruit or blackmail them.

The implementation of CIA guidelines by campuses nationwide would be "only the beginning" of the agency's removal from college campuses, Halperin emphasized.

"Ultimately (national) legislation is needed which forces the CIA to observe the rules which Universities lay out on this question," he said.

MINNESOTA DAILY  
5 October 1977



MANAGEMENT

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## CHAPTER I: ACADEMIC RELATIONS

## 1. GENERAL

Since its inception, CIA has sought and benefited from extensive relationships with scholars and academic institutions throughout the United States. Leading scholars and some of their best pupils have brought a high degree of intellectual energy, curiosity, and integrity to our profession and have made sure that our analytical efforts continually take account of the best research available in the private sector. Many of the components and practices of the intelligence profession have been built on academic models. American scholars who have been willing to share information and interpretations of developments in the international arena have contributed valuably to intelligence support of the United States foreign policymaking process. Without the continuing assistance of the academic community, our ability to provide the President and other senior officials with objective and enlightened analyses and estimates would be hampered. It remains in the best interests of both the intelligence and academic communities to expand and refine their contacts in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

## 2. DEFINITIONS AND LIMITATIONS

- a. ACADEMIC INSTITUTION means any United States college, university or other institution of higher learning that conducts classes for credit and confers degrees.
- b. ENTITIES AFFILIATED WITH ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS include institutes, centers, or other entities that derive a major share of their financing, staff, information, support or other services from an academic institution. They may be separately located or incorporated. They may provide some services that are not strictly academic or scholarly, although their main objectives should be in these areas.
- c. FACULTY AND STAFF mean full-time employees of academic institutions, including employees who are on sabbatical or on leaves of absence for definite periods. Visiting lecturers, part-time instructors, or other individuals who do not derive their main source of employment or income from an academic institution are not included. Students attending United States academic institutions, regardless of their citizenship, are also excluded.

3 October 1977

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- e. THE APPROPRIATE SENIOR MANAGEMENT OFFICIAL of an academic institution is a person who supervises the staff or faculty member and is in a responsible management position at the institution.
- 3. CONTRACTS WITH ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS
  - a. CIA is authorized to enter into classified and unclassified contracts and other arrangements with academic institutions in the United States to provide research, analytical and developmental services, and specialized expertise in the furtherance of the Agency's mission. These services may be based on classified or unclassified materials.
  - b. In all such cases Agency sponsorship must be made known to the president or chief executive officer of the academic institution, to the senior project official(s), and, as appropriate, to other senior officials.
  - c. If an academic institution performs services for the Agency on an indirect basis as a subcontractor, consultant to contractors, or in some other manner and the circumstances of the arrangement are such that CIA participates in the selection or approval of the use of the institution, then appropriate officials of the institution must be made aware of the Agency's involvement.
  - d. When United States academic institutions utilize individual faculty or staff members to provide services in support of or in fulfillment of a contractual agreement with CIA, it is Agency policy that the individuals normally should be made aware of CIA sponsorship. Such notification is the responsibility of appropriate officials of the academic institution and the manner of and exceptions to such notification will be left to the discretion of these officials.

MANAGEMENT

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4. CONTRACTS WITH RESEARCH INSTITUTES, CENTERS, AND OTHER ENTITIES AFFILIATED WITH UNITED STATES ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS
  - a. CIA may enter into classified and unclassified contracts and other arrangements with research institutes, centers, and other entities affiliated with United States academic institutions to provide research, analytical and developmental services, and specialized expertise in the furtherance of the Agency's mission.
  - b. The Agency prefers that the president or chief executive officer of the academic institution be advised of contractual relationships between affiliated institutes, centers, or other entities and CIA.
  - c. When an institute, center, or other entity is only loosely affiliated\* with a United States academic institution, or if it operates on a profitmaking basis, the decision concerning whether and in what manner to inform senior officials of the academic institution of a relationship with CIA should be left to the discretion of the chief executive officer of the research entity.
5. PERSONAL SERVICE CONTRACTS AND OTHER CONTINUING ARRANGEMENTS WITH FACULTY AND STAFF MEMBERS OF UNITED STATES ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS
  - a. Each individual staff or faculty member of a United States academic institution entering into a personal services contract or other continuing arrangement with CIA will be reminded that, depending upon the rules of the institution, he or she may wish to advise an appropriate senior management official of the institution of his or her affiliation with the Agency.
  - b. This does not apply when:
    - (1) An Operating Official determines, with the concurrence of the appropriate Deputy Director, that security or operational considerations preclude such a disclosure in a given case, or

\*"Loosely affiliated" in this context refers to research entities that derive a substantial portion of their income or operating funds from sources outside of the academic institution, operate with a charter or act of incorporation that establishes them as autonomous or semiautonomous entities, conduct research and perform other services with only partial reliance on the information and other tangible support of the academic institution, or meet a major portion of their personnel payroll from independently derived funds.

3 October 1977

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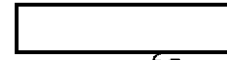
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- (2) The individual staff or faculty member objects to making any third party aware of his or her relationship with CIA.
- c. With the exception noted in 5b above, the decision concerning whether and in what manner to inform senior officials of a relationship with CIA will be left to the discretion of individual scholars.
6. CIA ACCESS TO ACADEMIC RECORDS
- a. BACKGROUND. Pursuant to the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (20 U.S.C. 1232g), academic institutions are prohibited from allowing access by any person or agency to school records of a student without the express written permission of the student or, if the student is under the age of 18, his or her parents. School records include personally identifiable data such as academic achievement records, test scores, family background information, health data, teacher or counselor ratings and observations, reports of behavior patterns, and similar type information. The law makes no distinction as to the nationality of the student and therefore includes non-U.S. persons.
- b. POLICY: Agency representatives must neither solicit nor receive, directly or indirectly, a student's school records as defined in paragraph a above without the express authorization of the student or his or her parents. CIA representatives are further precluded from accepting any such records that are voluntarily offered by officials of the academic institution concerned without the required authorization by the student or his or her parents.
- c. LIMITATIONS. The prohibition set forth in this paragraph covers only access to identifiable school records. It does not preclude the receipt of basic biographical or other factual information, as well as subjective assessments, relating to a student if orally conveyed by an official of an academic institution and based on the official's personal knowledge, provided that the official is first made aware that he is dealing with a CIA representative (this proviso does not apply to Office of Security investigations where Agency or U.S. Government interest should not be revealed). Lists of students and student directory-type information apparently do not come within the purview of the law. Nevertheless, Agency representatives must defer to the views of the institution or official thereof in each case regarding the statute's applicability to such lists and information as outlined in this paragraph. Agency representatives must refrain from any attempts to persuade

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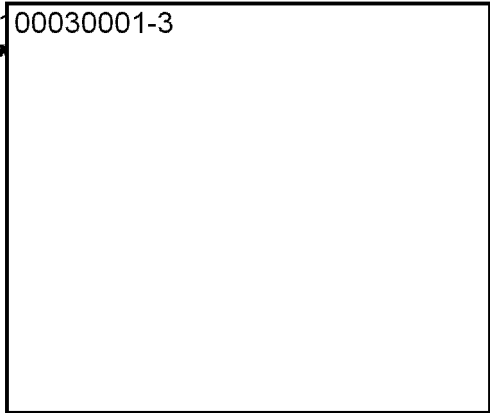
an otherwise reluctant official of an academic institution to provide to the Agency any factual data relating to any student or otherwise engage in a debate with the official over applicability of the act to certain types of information.

3 October 1977

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ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 2

Approved For Release 2007/01/20 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100030001-3  
28 SEPTEMBER 1977



### Colleges urged to curb secret work

Washington

A coalition of civic, religious, and peace groups has called on 42 colleges and universities to adopt guidelines aimed at keeping government intelligence agencies from doing secret work on campuses.

In a letter to the presidents of the schools, Morton Halperin, chairman of the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, recommended that the colleges and universities adopt guidelines similar to those of Harvard University.

The Harvard guidelines stress that it is proper for schools and individual scholars to contract with the CIA or work for the agency but only if the contract is made public.

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DDA 77-5188

21 SEP 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

VIA : Acting Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : Michael J. Malanick  
Acting Deputy Director for Administration

SUBJECT : Regulations on CIA Relationships with the Academic  
Community

1. Action Requested: Your signature on the attached addition to [redacted] (Restrictions on Intelligence Activities) concerning relationships with academe and an implementing handbook, [redacted]

2. Background: In response to IG recommendations resulting from the survey of the DDS&T, a task force was formed to develop a CIA regulation governing Agency relationships with the academic community. The task force began its work in February of this year and incorporated the Harvard dialogue and subsequent Agency policy into its deliberations.

3. Basic Data: The attached regulation provides general guidance on relationships with the academic community. It is unclassified on the assumption that the policy will be made public. The implementing handbook, [redacted] goes into detail on the restrictions in this area, defining terms and distinguishing categories of relationships. [redacted] does not include the restrictions pertaining to operational activity since that information is classified and more appropriately covered in the newly revised DDO instruction [redacted] "Restrictions on Operational Use of Certain Categories of Individuals or Occupations."

4. Staff Position: All directorates, OGC and a representative from the DDCI staff participated in the discussions and concurred in the draft.

5. Recommendation: Your signature is requested on the attached regulatory issuances enunciating Agency policy as regards relationships with academe.

/s/ Michael J. Malanick

Michael J. Malanick

Attachments:  
Addition to [redacted]

[redacted]

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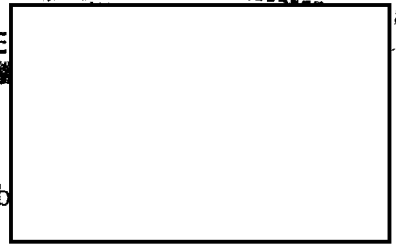
2305-77

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE


WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

National Intelligence Officers

7 September



MEMORANDUM FOR: Distribution

FROM :  O/D/DCI/NI

SUBJECT : "Campaign to Stop Government Spying"

1. On Thursday, 1 September 1977, at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, I attended a special seminar organized by Morton Halperin of the Center for National Security Studies, on the subject: "United States Intelligence Agencies and the Academic Community." The seminar was not listed in the APSA program under the heading of "Courtesy Listing of Unaffiliated Groups" (of which there were 16 pages) but was announced by a single large poster on one of the pillars in the Registration area of the convention. Possibly for this reason the total attendance at the seminar was only about 35, though the fact that the time was 4:15 P.M. may also have contributed to the sparse attendance.

2. Perhaps I should say that I have known Mort Halperin since the late fifties when he emerged as the youngest and one of the brightest and most productive of the academic "civilian strategists" of that era. When he first came to Washington in the sixties I used to see him fairly regularly for lunch. But I have seen very little of him since The Cold Dawn and his suit against Henry Kissinger et al. made him famous. I had, and still have, the highest regard for his abilities and his integrity. On the other hand, his zealotry in his latest cause does seem to me to be leading him to extremes.

3. The seminar was entirely Halperin's show. He began by calling attention to the statement of the Church Committee that the academic community should make its own rules with regard to its relations with the intelligence community. He then said, however, that as the CIA had been allowed to censure the Church Committee report, only part of the story (of CIA misdeeds presumably) had been told. Indeed, the discussion that followed conveyed the impression that in Halperin's judgment anything that had happened in the past in the way of CIA "abuses" on campus and elsewhere might still be happening. The following were among the highlights of that discussion:

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**Administrative - Internal Use Only**

SUBJECT: "Campaign to Stop Government Spying"

a. On-campus ("faculty") spotters recruit for the CIA for various purposes. Individuals suggested are "checked out", hence files are prepared on them, without their being told. These files, moreover, are kept by the Agency, whether or not the individuals are then approached. Various means are employed to obtain the services of unwilling academic community members, including their unwitting employment through cover organizations. As an especially distasteful example, Halperin cited the Iranian students, saying that any one of them who had expressed sentiments at all unfriendly to the Shah could be threatened with exposure to the SAVAK if he did not agree to serve CIA purposes. He did not say that this actually happens but indicated clearly that it was the kind of thing that could happen.

b. The CIA views the giving of information to the American public under the Freedom of Information Act as just another "operation."

c. Only one branch of the Fulbright program is not penetrated by the CIA. (In fairness it should be added that Halperin also noted that much research was performed on campus with CIA support under the "Katzenbach rules" and he did not accuse the Agency of violating those rules).

4. In answer to questions, Halperin made the following points:

a. He said he knew of no evidence that the CIA had interfered in faculty matters such as promotions though he said that the FBI had done so. He also remarked that the CIA and the FBI "cooperate more than they fight" and cited as an example CIA recruitment of "under 18s" for the FBI when the latter's house rules (some years ago) limited the age for recruitment to 18 and above.

b. He noted that a FIO action is pending which calls on the Church Committee to release all the information given it by the CIA. He also said that the ACLU has been looking for a case of the unwitting investigation of an individual as basis for a suit but has thus far been blocked by the Supreme Court rule on "standing."

c. He said that there is no way of identifying CIA agents on campus. (In response to the question that prompted this reply and on at least one other occasion, Halperin said: "We do not want witch hunts in the academic community.")

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**Administrative - Internal Use Only**

SUBJECT: "Campaign to Stop Government Spying"

5. On the current "campaign to Stop Government Spying," Halperin said that he personally would prefer to abolish all "covert intelligence activities" (presumably in the United States) in peacetime. In reply to a question he said that wartime was different. But though he would prefer a more sweeping program, for the present he and his organization were going along with the Harvard Guidelines. He said the campaign would start with letters addressed to some 45 universities and colleges, chosen, he said, because of their prestige or the number of foreign students they had, and with some regard to geographic distribution, urging them to adopt similar guidelines. He said the letters to the institutions would be followed up and that student newspapers would also be approached. He further said that if this campaign was not successful the next step would be to go to Congress for appropriate legislation. In response to another question, he said that he would not release the names of the 45 institutions but would be happy to inform any member of the audience who asked whether his (or her) institution was on the list.

6. Miscellany:

When a member of the audience asked why a persuasive appeal could not be made to conservatives on the score of duplication and other "money wasted on useless intelligence" by the intelligence community, Halperin replied that conservatives do not behave like conservatives when national intelligence is in question. In this or in some other connection he remarked that the CIA was made up largely of liberals, who voted 75% for McGovern -- though he wondered how anyone could know in such a secret organization.

In another connection Halperin said that he was not opposed to intelligence per se and then made the familiar charge that the CIA is dominated by the operators while analysis is weak.

The second paragraph of the Harvard Guidelines states that while individual academic community members may "enter into direct or indirect consulting arrangements for the CIA to provide research and analytical services" such individuals should report the existence of such arrangements in writing to his or her Dean, who should then inform the President of the institution. Halperin volunteered the information that this paragraph is not supported by the American Civil Liberties Union, which regards it as contrary to the individual's right of privacy.

**Administrative - Internal Use Only**

SUBJECT: "Campaign to Stop Government Spying"

Literature distributed at the meeting included, besides quotations from the Church Committee Report and the Harvard committee that drafted the guidelines, three folders on "The Campaign to Stop Government Spying." Two of these list 20 speakers (including Halperin himself), 37 "member organizations" (including the ACLU, the ADA, the American Friends Service Committee, the Federation of American Scientists, the Friends of Earth, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), and 23 "cooperating organizations".

The pamphlets also list as "basic principles" the following:

- End covert operations abroad.
- End political spying in the United States.
- End Secret Budgets and Secret Charters of the Intelligence Agencies.

And the pamphlets call for:

- Criminal penalties for violation of laws governing the intelligence agencies.
- Criminal penalties for officials who purposely lie to the public or to Congress.
- Appointment of a special prosecutor to enforce these laws.
- Protection of government officials who expose official lies of (sic.) illegal activities.
- Compensation to victims of intelligence agency abuse.

7. I shall be glad to share the pamphlets with anyone who is interested.



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## INQUISITION AT BROOKLYN

by Miro M. Todorowich

THE ORDEAL OF MICHAEL SELZER, THE BROOKLYN College professor of Political Science, whom his colleagues wanted expelled from the school because of his contacts with the Central Intelligence Agency, has been treated sporadically in the press. The case has gained considerable notoriety because it represents one of the rarer instances of attack on the academic freedom of one faculty member by other members of his own department, but it is symptomatic of the tenor of the times in that it is one of a number of attempts to harass academics with any connection to the CIA.

After the departmental imbroglio chronicled below, President Kneller entrusted a collegewide committee with the inquiry into the matter. While the investigation was in progress, he turned down a recommendation of the Political Science Department (made before the outbreak of the controversy) that Professor Selzer be promoted to Associate Professor. But finally, on April 21, 1977, he ruled that "there are not sufficient grounds to warrant instituting formal charges against Professor Selzer. No such action will be taken." This apparently closes the book on the attempt to dismiss Professor Selzer. The question of his tenure or promotion remains, however, wide open.

Despite the steamy rhetoric which rose to envelop the case, the facts of the matter are straightforward. During the winter of 1975, Professor Selzer wrote the CIA, requesting any psychological test data it might have on contemporary terrorists. He wished to compare it with the materials he had already gathered on Nazi war criminals. Since he did not receive a reply to his inquiry, he telephoned the Agency in early May, repeated his request and asked in addition for some other World War II related information. During this phone conversation he was asked whether he would agree to discuss cooperation with the CIA on a certain unspecified matter. He agreed to a meeting for June 1, 1976. In the interim he had some discussions with a former chairman of the Department, Albert Gorvine, about the possible nature of the CIA's interest. Both concluded that the Agency might wish to debrief Professor Selzer upon his return from his forthcoming trip abroad.

That is indeed what the CIA representative suggested during the June 1 meeting. He told Professor Selzer that the Agency routinely makes such requests of the large number of businessmen, academics and others who frequently travel abroad. The CIA, he recounted, needs voluminous amounts of non-secret information for its work, and the least expensive, yet reliable method for obtaining it is through the voluntary debriefing of travellers. While stating the particular interest of the agency in military, economic and scientific affairs, according to Professor Selzer, the CIA representative did not suggest any particular focus. Dr.

Selzer was not asked to contact any particular individual or type of individual, or to search for specific information of any kind, nor did the official suggest solicitation of contacts for colleagues or anyone else. Professor Selzer was not asked to go anywhere, look for anything or do anything at all beyond his willingness to be debriefed. In return he was offered no access to data nor any other reward.

The meeting thus went along the lines which Professor Selzer had expected. He told the CIA representative that he would think the matter over and, in case of a positive decision, would contact him upon his return from Europe. He discussed the request soon thereafter with his brother-in-law and colleague in the Department of Political Science, Dr. Michael Kahan. According to Selzer, Professor Kahan disapproved of the idea of allowing a debriefing, but said he thought it was a matter for personal decision.

In July Professor Selzer visited five European countries to gather the psychological records of Nazi collaborators and to search for data on the Dachau concentration camp. He insists that he did not look for, do or say anything he would not have looked for, done or said if he had not been approached by the CIA. He did not report anything to the CIA that he had learned from any contact supplied to him by his colleagues. The entire conversation lasted at most fifteen minutes. A few days later Dr. Selzer told Professor Kahan about the debriefing conversation.

The storm broke at an Appointment Committee meeting on December 6. Professor Selzer had been asked to appear to discuss his tenure, but he was suddenly asked to describe his "connection with the CIA." The controversy reached the whole Department at a meeting on December 15. Departmental minutes state that Professor Selzer "was asked if he would be willing to provide the CIA with any information of a political, military, or economic nature which he might obtain in the course of his research activities or through personal contacts with individuals he might encounter." They go on to claim that "Professor Selzer agreed to this relationship but indicated that his activity was to be limited to data gathered from outside the United States," though later they report that Professor Kahan agreed that Professor Selzer had told him that his relationship was casual and tangential, as well as confined to foreign activities. According to Professor Berkowitz, it was Professor Kahan who "had come to him with information that Professor Selzer was engaged in relationship with the CIA . . . ."

The discussion was continued at another meeting on December 20 and revolved mainly around a) the degree of Professor Selzer's cooperation with the CIA and b) "what is /the Department's/ reaction to an involvement of a member of /the/ faculty with any clandestine organization whether government or otherwise." A motion was approved without dissent and one abstention establishing a special committee to look into the matter.



# Notes from the Director

No. 11

25 August 1977

## CIA RELATIONS WITH ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

In May of this year, Harvard University published guidelines for relationships between the University and intelligence agencies. In brief, the guidelines state that:

- the existence of any CIA-university contacts must be public
- private consultation arrangements must be reported in writing to the dean and president
- CIA recruiters must be identified to dean, president, and placement office in writing
- Harvard community members may not volunteer names of other members without their permission
- Harvard community members should not undertake intelligence operations for the CIA.

In correspondence with President Bok of Harvard on this subject, I have made the following points:

“... American scholars who have been willing to share information and interpretations of developments in the international arena often have contributed valuably to intelligence support of the U.S. foreign policy-making process. Without the continuing assistance of the academic community, our ability to provide the President and other senior officials with objective and enlightened analysis and estimates would be hampered. I believe strongly that in this increasingly complex and competitive world it remains in the best interests of both the academic and intelligence communities to expand and refine their contacts in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.”

“... Current CIA policy covering our relations with American staff and faculty members of U.S. academic institutions is already, to a large

degree, consistent with the Harvard guidelines. Present Agency policies may be summarized as follows:

All of our contracts with academic institutions are entered into with the knowledge of appropriate senior management officials of the institution concerned.

All recruiting for CIA staff employment on campus is overt.

It is against our policy to obtain the unwitting services of American staff and faculty members of U.S. academic institutions.”

“ . . . I take exception to the provision in your guideline which requires your faculty members to report such arrangements in writing to the dean of their faculty. . . . I believe that attempts to regulate the private lives of our citizens in a manner discriminatory to any particular group, profession or segment of society poses serious risks. I believe that we would be far safer not to single out any group, despite what may be transient enthusiasm for so doing. In point of fact, it is our policy in these cases to suggest to individual scholars that they inform appropriate officials at their universities of their relationship with CIA. Frequently, however, scholars object to advising any third parties on the understandable grounds that to do so would violate their constitutional rights to privacy and free association and possibly expose them to harassment and damage to their professional careers. . . . Thus, the decision on whether to advise their institution of a relationship with CIA is left to the discretion of the individual. We intend to continue respecting the wishes of individuals in this regard.”

This issue, of course, transcends the relationship with academics. All American citizens must continue to have the freedom to choose whether or not they want to cooperate with any government agency, and, if they choose to assist the CIA in its work, we must be able to ensure the confidentiality of that relationship.

## **PROPOSED INTERNAL REVENUE ACTION ON ALLOWANCES**

I share the concern of our operating components and the employees overseas with respect to the possible repeal of Section 912 of the Internal Revenue Code, which would mean that allowances paid to employees at foreign posts would become taxable income to them. The matter of employees' entitlements has been discussed at the President's Cabinet meetings, and I assure you that the agencies and departments concerned are acutely aware of the implications and the impact it can have on morale. The Secretary of State and I have sent letters to the Secretary of the Treasury to urge that the provisions of Section 912 be retained. Copies of these letters have been



disseminated to the overseas posts and to the Headquarters components which support them, and I assure you that the Agency will do whatever it can to preserve the entitlements of our employees overseas.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Stansfield Turner". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "S" and "T".

**STANSFIELD TURNER**  
Director

# FSU Faculty To Consider CIA Policy

Miami Herald  
Monday, 8 August 1977

TALLAHASSEE — (AP) — Florida State University faculty members want to know if any of their colleagues are working clandestinely for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Faculty Professional Relations Committee will consider today a proposed policy that would require public exposure of CIA recruitment and research on campus.

Jim Fendrich, a sociology professor who helped draft the proposal, said university officials have denied there is CIA activity on campus, but the professor wants to make sure.

"I can't frankly say that there is," Fendrich said. "I can't say there isn't. I just know there are strong rumors among some of the faculty about indirect types of funding."

HE SAID a U.S. Senate committee reported last year evidence of CIA activities at more than 100 universities, but did not identify them.

His proposal would prohibit Florida State faculty members from engaging in any intelligence operations for the CIA. FSU professors would be required to report an ongoing relationship with or occasional advice to the CIA in writing to university President Bernard Sliger.

The policy says that faculty members should not give a colleague's name to the CIA without his or her consent.

Faculty members could enter into research contracts with the intelligence agency if such contracts conformed to normal university rules and were reported in the University Bulletin.

CONSULTING arrangements for research and analytical services would have to be reported in writing to the president.

The policy would also require faculty members who accept more than \$1,000 a year for outside employment to report the employer and nature of the employment, Fendrich said.

Another provision of the proposed policy would prohibit faculty members from participating in propaganda and lending their names to things they know to be untrue.

**ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET**

SUBJECT: (Optional) Miami Herald Article Entitled: "FSU Faculty To Consider CIA Policy," dated 8 August 1977
 STAT

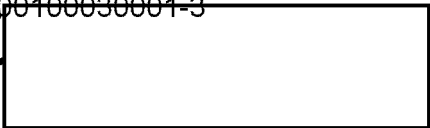
FROM: Deputy Chief for Field Operations, DCD  
 912 Key Bldg.
 EXTENSION NO.

DATE: 12 August 1977
 STAT

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)
 DATE
OFFICER'S INITIALS
COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
	RECEIVED	FORWARDED		
1. DA/DCI/PA 1 F 04 Hqs.			<i>[Signature]</i>	FYI -- I doubt that many faculty members would accept the underlined requirement, but this is another symptom of a sad trend. Faculty members always fought any encroachment on their freedom. Now they're trying to restrict their colleagues and themselves. <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 20px;"> <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 100px; height: 40px;"></span> <span style="margin-left: 5px;">STAT</span> </div>
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CONSULS  
Anti-CIA Bill



(UPI) (AP) Florida State University faculty members want to know if any of their colleagues are working clandestinely for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Faculty Professional Relations Committee will consider on today a proposed policy that would require public disclosure of CIA recruitment and research on campus.

Jan Fendrich, a sociology professor who helped draft the proposal, said university officials have denied there is CIA activity on campus, but the professor wants to make sure.

"I can't frankly say that there is," Fendrich said. "I can't say there isn't. I just know there are strong rumors among some of the faculty about indirect types of funding."

He said a U.S. Senate committee reported last year evidence of CIA activities at more than 100 universities, but did not identify them.

"The CIA has a charter and they're not supposed to be involved in domestic affairs in the United States," Fendrich said. "There's a clear indication that this charter has been violated in a number of cases. In the past the CIA was using researchers on college campus to develop social science programs to deal with insurgents in South America."

His proposal would prohibit Florida State faculty members from engaging in any intelligence operations for the CIA. FSU professors would be required to report an ongoing relationship with or occasional advice to the CIA in writing to University President Bernard Seger.

The policy says that faculty members should not give a colleague's name to the CIA without his or her consent.

Faculty members could enter into research contracts with the intelligence agency if such contracts conformed to normal university rules and were reported in the University Bulletin.

Consulting arrangements for research and analytical services would have to be reported in writing to the president.

The policy would also require faculty members who accept more than \$1,000 a year for outside employment to report the employer and nature of the employment, Fendrich said.

Another provision of the proposed policy would prohibit faculty members from participating in pro-

## *Involvement on Campus*

TALLAHASSEE (AP) — A Florida State University faculty committee planned to consider today whether to force disclosure of campus connections with the Central Intelligence Agency.

"I can't say that there is. I can't say there isn't. I just know there are strong rumors among some of the faculty about indirect types of funding," said sociology Prof. Jim Fendrich.

Fendrich was one of the authors of a proposal requiring public exposure of CIA recruiting or research on campus.

The proposal was due for consideration today by the school's Faculty Professional Relations Committee.

It would prohibit FSU faculty members from engaging in any direct intelligence operations for the CIA. Moreover, direct relationships such as giving occasional advice to the agency would have to be reported in writing to the university president.

It also would ban a faculty member from giving a colleague's name to the CIA without consent.

The policy would allow faculty research contracts with the agency as long as they conformed to normal university rules and were in the University Bulletin. In addition, consulting arrangements and any outside income of more \$1,000 would have to be reported.

*Gainesville Sun, 8 Aug 77*

## *FSU Committee Urges Disclosure of CIA Work*

TALLAHASSEE (AP) — Florida State University President Bernard Sliger has been sent a recommendation by a faculty committee that professors be required to disclose any work done for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Faculty Professional Relations Committee unanimously approved the proposed policy Monday but offered no possible penalties. Proponents said they have no knowledge of CIA involvement on campus but suspect professors might not disclose CIA ties.

"It's up to President Sliger now," said Jim Fendrich, a sociology professor who proposed the policy. "We've hit the ball into his court."

If FSU adopts the proposal, it would be at least the second university to adopt guidelines for regulating faculty contact with the CIA. Harvard University already has followed the recommendation of the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee by adopting such rules.

Under Fendrich's proposal, faculty members would be allowed to have consulting contracts with the CIA as long as they were made public and

conformed with consulting contracts in general. Faculty members also would be required to report any contacts with the intelligence agency.

"We're not saying the CIA can't be on campus," Fendrich said. "It's just that the clandestine and secret aspects of CIA activities are inconsistent with the university's academic mission to explore issues in the open."

He acknowledged that faculty members might not want to publicly disclose relationships with the secret intelligence agency even though the policy would require them to.

"They might not," he said. "But there could be an aggressive investigative reporter or former aide who might disclose such a relationship. If we have the policy and it happens, it would show that some people on the faculty are ignoring the policy."

The measure also proposes a looser standard for reporting faculty members' outside work. Under the proposal, they would have to report work from which they earn \$1,000 a year. Under current rules, they must report work from which they make \$250 a year.

*Gainesville Sun, 9 Aug 77*

3

ARTICLE APPEARED ON PAGE A1-12

WASHINGTON POST  
3 AUGUST 1977

# Lengthy Mind-Control R

## by CIA Is Detailed

By George Lardner Jr. and John Jacobs  
Washington Post Staff Writers

The Central Intelligence Agency for many years conducted a top-secret "behavior control" program that included experiments involving alteration of sex patterns and discrediting by aberrant behavior.

The research was carried out at well-known medical research centers and hospitals in both the United States and Canada with the help of CIA money funneled through private foundations.

According to one former CIA offi-

cial, the program was considered so sensitive that it could not even be included in a secret 1968 study by the CIA itself of the agency's relationships with the academic community.

"Suddenly this subject of dope and drugs popped up," Victor Marchetti, a former CIA official turned CIA critic, recalled of the study for which he was staff officer. "Everyone just kind of froze."

Senate committees have previously covered various aspects of the CIA's drug testing and behavior research, but details are coming to light as the result of newly discovered documents cited in a July 16 announcement by CIA Director Stansfield Turner.

More than 400 heavily sanitized pages were made public yesterday in response to Freedom of Information Act requests. Turner is scheduled to testify about the program today at a public hearing of the Senate Intelligence Committee and the Senate subcommittee on health. Three former CIA officials with knowledge of the behavior research also will be called. The mind-control efforts first started in 1949 under the name of Project Bluebird as a defensive reaction

to the "bizarre conduct of [Jozsef] Cardinal Mindszenty" at his trial in Budapest when he confessed to treason.

Within a few years, the records indicate, the CIA began contemplating methods of behavior control for offensive purposes.

A June 9, 1953, CIA memo for the record about a proposed manual on LSD research suggested organizing the data gathered at that point into "operationally pertinent material along the following lines:

- "Disturbance of memory."

### CIA, From A1

- "Discrediting by aberrant behavior."
- "Alteration of sex patterns."
- "Eliciting of information."
- "Suggestibility."
- "Creation of dependence."

Some of the research was done under the auspices of the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology, a CIA-supported operation that was disbanded in 1965. According to a report in yesterday's editions of The New York Times, other conduits included the Office of Naval Research and the Geschickter Fund for Medical Research, a still extant foundation that once contributed \$370,000 toward construction of a \$3 million building at Georgetown Hospital here.

Military contracts arranged by the Office of Naval Research reportedly enabled the CIA to test LSD and other drugs on prisoners at the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital in Lexington, Ky., purportedly as part of a project aimed at finding a substitute for codeine as a mild pain killer.

Much of this research was said to have been conducted by Dr. Harris Isbell, now retired and living in Eastland, Tex. He refuses to comment.

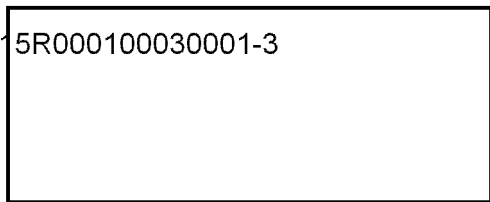
"I have a personal rule: I don't talk

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...isting work with schizophrenics, the society's one-time executive director and treasurer, James F. Monroe, recalled yesterday. "We provided the funds to keep his work going. He was using drugs and a total [psychological] bombardment of the individual—trying to break through in communication." This involved "24-hour conversations" with patients by teams under Cameron's direction who focused on one individual.

"They had some rather remarkable successes," Monroe, a former Air Force colonel and expert in brainwashing, said. "They introduced me to one man who had been completely catatonic until he was brought into the program. By the time I saw him he could converse, he was a human being again."

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12 July 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Distribution

FROM : Coordinator for Academic Relations  
and External Analytical Support

SUBJECT : University Guidelines Governing Relations  
with CIA

1. I am attaching a copy of a recent article from the St. Louis Post Dispatch reporting on interest at Washington University in emulating the Harvard Guidelines. The article points out that Washington University and a number of other academic institutions are being encouraged by the Campaign to Stop Government Spying "to bring an end to CIA undercover activity on campus."

2. I am also enclosing a copy of a New York Times editorial of 1 July that refers to similar guidelines drafted by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Center for National Security Studies. I plan to continue advising you of any additional developments concerning guidelines governing relations with the Agency as I learn of them.



STAT

Coordinator for Academic Relations  
and External Analytical Support

Attachments:  
As Stated

**Page Denied**



PH

Thurs., June 30, 1977

11A-

# Washington U. Amenable To Curbs On CIA

By VICTOR VOLLAND  
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

Washington University officers say they can live with suggested policy guidelines that would keep any on-campus activity by the Central Intelligence Agency out in the open.

The guidelines were drawn up by the newly formed Campaign to Stop Government Spying as a result of hearings last year by the United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The hearings disclosed "operational exploitation" of teachers and administrators by the CIA and other intelligence agencies.

The recommended guidelines were adopted last month by Harvard University. Other institutions, including Washington University, are being requested by the Campaign to Stop Government Spying to bring an end to CIA undercover activity on campus.

A controversy arose at Washington University in April 1975 when it was disclosed that Daniel H. Gashler, director of the news bureau at the Medical School, had provided information to the CIA on travel plans of faculty members.

Gashler admitted supplying data on faculty members who planned trips abroad, even though at one point Chancellor William H. Danforth had instructed him not to.

A faculty committee censured Gashler, who has since left the university.

Also in 1975, an Iranian graduate student at Washington University, Ahmad Jabbari, was reported to have been recruited by CIA agents on campus to return to Iran for two years as a paid CIA agent. Jabbari pretended to co-operate, but instead of becoming an agent, secretly taped his conversation with the CIA recruiter at the Colony Hotel in Clayton.

He told his story to writer Frances Fitzgerald, who reported it in an article in the Jan. 23, 1976, issue of New Times magazine along with long excerpts from the recorded conversation.

The Harvard guidelines require that university research requested by the CIA follow normal contracting procedures with the contract to be made public; that individuals doing research for the CIA, directly or indirectly, report the fact in writing to the dean of faculty and president; that any teacher or administrator recruited by the CIA report the fact to the school; that campus personnel refrain from propaganda activities if they know the materials are misleading or untrue, and that they refuse to assist the CIA in obtaining the unwitting assistance of another.

Washington University Provost Merle Kling said yesterday that the guidelines seemed reasonable but that any new university policy could be adopted only after consultation with the entire faculty.

"I just wonder, though, how you can prohibit secret activities unless the agency goes and is exposed," he said. Kling said he knew of no new undercover CIA activities at the university since those disclosed in 1975.

Dr. Samuel Guze, the university's vice chancellor for medical affairs, who dismissed Gashler as Medical School news bureau chief after disclosure of his CIA links, said:

"I think the university's long-standing policy against secret research protects us from a lot of these problems. In that respect, I think we may be more stringent than Harvard.

"In regard to recruiting faculty for secret intelligence, there are greater difficulties in controlling the extra-university activities of our faculty members. I'm not sure if we should have any controls.

"But when they involve the university and others here, I think the university has to be concerned," Guze said, defending his dismissal of Gashler.

Dr. Virginia Weldon, chairman of the faculty Council, which oversaw the Gashler inquiry, agreed that the Harvard guidelines appeared reasonable but cautioned against a "cure worse than the disease" in regard to academic and personal freedom.

"I think the faculty consciousness was sufficiently raised by the Gashler episode that we would have known of any other CIA activity since. It's all pretty much a done deal now," she said.

NEW YORK TIMES  
1 July 1977

Topics

NYT 1 July

# Professionals, Professors, Pornographers

## Publicizing Fees

The Supreme Court's decision to lift the ban on the advertising of fees by lawyers was a major victory for consumers. It should lower the cost of some routine legal services. It may also lead to similar cost-cutting advertising in other professions.

Every state prohibits price advertising by attorneys. These laws, modeled on portions of the American Bar Association's Code of Professional Ethics Responsibility, were represented as necessary to maintain the dignity of the profession and to discourage unscrupulous solicitation. In practice, however, they prevented competition and tended to reduce the availability of services that require little specialized skill.

The Court's ruling will not significantly affect the cost of litigating complex civil suits or defending accused felons. States will still be able to ban ads that are likely to mislead. But the decision should encourage the growth of legal "clinics" that rely on para-professionals to reduce the cost of uncontested divorces, simple wills, and other uncomplicated proceedings. As a result, basic legal protection could be extended to middle-income families and small businesses.

Though the Court considered only advertising by lawyers, the ground for its opinion—the First Amendment guarantee of free speech—suggests that blanket prohibitions of advertising in other professions are unconstitutional as well. Clear listings of fees for group obstetrics or denture

fittings, for instance, may not be far off.

## Academic Intelligence

The Central Intelligence Agency has always found college teachers a valuable resource. Some are specialists in areas that touch on the national security. Some have contacts in other countries from whom they pick up interesting tidbits of information. Some are willing to recruit for the C.I.A. in their classrooms. The agency has for years maintained relations with academics on more than 100 campuses. But professors have periodically been embarrassed by revelations of their extracurricular activities and critics have wondered about the subverting effects of a teacher's covert connection to the C.I.A.

A set of guidelines, drawn up by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Center for National Security Studies, addresses the matter in a reasoned way. It would require faculty member to report to his dean any contracts with the C.I.A. for research, information from abroad, or recruiting. No student's name would be conveyed to the C.I.A. without his approval. Scholars would not be permitted directly to gather intelligence or to spread propaganda.

Harvard adopted similar guidelines several weeks ago. They clear a path for teachers to serve their country openly and within sensible limits. Other schools should take heed of this intelligent academic's guide to intelligence.

## Bad Language

Shocking reports of the exploitation of young children by pornographic moviemakers and publishers inspired the New York Legislature to ban the use of children in explicitly sexual films and books. It is a necessary and widely supported measure. Unfortunately, its overly broad language would tend to discourage the publication and distribution of reputable works.

Because one outlawed practice—promoting a sexual performance by a child—was not modified by the word "obscene," it could be read to apply to a publisher with the most edifying intentions. Mere nudity even in the interests of science or scholarship, might be construed as "a sexual performance."

For example, a well-known sex education book, "Show Me," contains photographs of a little girl and a little boy exploring each other's bodies, and so might fall under the new ban even though it has been found free of obscenity in several court tests. A bookseller might choose to avoid trouble by removing "Show Me" from his shelves rather than risking a heavy penalty or getting involved in costly litigation.

The veto of any bill aimed at pornography would not enhance Governor Carey's popularity, but that is what this ill-drawn censorship measure deserves. It should be clarified to make certain that it hits the right target—the people who in fact recruit and photograph children for pornography, in obscene and not just vaguely sexual context. The Governor should urge the legislators to try again—and to watch their language.

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ON PAGE 5

CHICAGO METRO NEWS  
9 JULY 1977

# Campaign Launched To End CIA's Secret Activities

The Campaign to Stop Government Spying and two of its member organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Center for National Security Studies, announced recently that they are launching a nationwide effort to end the CIA's operations on college campuses which the Church Committee asserted in its final report raise troubling questions as to the preservation of the integrity of American academic institutions. In conjunction with this coordinated effort, the ACLU filed suit recently against the CIA for documents relating to the CIA's operational use of the academic community.

Morton H. Halperin, chairperson for the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, called upon universities across the country to adopt academic guidelines for CIA activities on campus, following those put into effect at Harvard University and endorsed by the ACLU national board at its June 19 meeting.

The Harvard guidelines, according to Halperin, contain the first authoritative description of the CIA's current

recruitment activities on university campuses which was at the heart of the Church Committee's concern. The Harvard report describes this process as follows:

The second method of recruitment involves the use of individuals who may be professors, administrators or possibly students and who have an ongoing and confidential relationship with the CIA as recruiters. The job of these covert recruiters is to identify for the CIA members of the community, including foreign students, who may be likely candidates for an employment or other relationship with the CIA on a regular basis. Although we are not certain how the recruiting process works, we understand that when the recruiter believes that a likely candidate has been identified, the name of the candidate is reported to the CIA, which then conducts a background check on the individual and creates a file with the information it obtains. Neither the recruiter nor the CIA informs the individual at this stage that he or she is being considered for employment or other pur-

poses by the CIA. Both the Harvard and ACLU guidelines condemn secret recruitment. They require that all of those who regularly recruit for the CIA publicly identify themselves, and that names not be supplied to the CIA without the consent of the individuals concerned. Other aspects of the Harvard guidelines include limits on contacts with the CIA, a ban on intelligence operations and preparations of reports known to be misleading or untrue. The Harvard guidelines also ask the CIA to avoid the unwitting use of any member of the academic community.

The ACLU lawsuit, stemming from a Freedom of Information Act request submitted by John Marks of the Center for National Security Studies last December, asks for all written materials on universities which the CIA made available to the House and Senate Committees on Intelligence, and the Rockefeller Commission. It also includes a request by Halperin for the CIA's internal directives dealing with the operational use of individuals with-

in the academic community, which the CIA has refused to release.

As part of the overall campaign to end CIA's abuse of the academic community, letters will be sent on behalf

Government Spying, the Center for National Security Studies, and the ACLU Academic Committee to university presidents, urging them to appoint committees to consider the role of CIA on their campus, and to adopt guidelines similar to those endorsed by Harvard for its faculty. These groups will also call on the CIA to agree to abide by the guidelines.

STAT

DDA 77-3802

1 JUL 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : John F. Blake  
Deputy Director for Administration

SUBJECT : Status Report - Development of Regulations  
Relating to CIA Relationships with the  
Academic Community

1. In your memorandum of 29 January 1977 dealing with the IG Survey of the DDS&T, you stated that the DDA should establish a task force chaired by a DDA representative and composed of representatives of the concerned Agency components to deal with the subject of developing a consolidated CIA regulatory issuance governing the Agency's relationships with the academic community.

STAT 2. Such a task force was established under the chairmanship of [redacted] of my staff. This task force began meeting in February 1977 and dealt with the definitions and scope of activities which it would be proper for the proposed Agency regulation to cover. It was determined that even these areas proposed significant problems and that our progress toward developing a consolidated regulation would be slow.

3. Subsequent meetings were held and limited progress was made up until the point when we were advised that Harvard University was proposing a set of formal guidelines to deal with the relationships between Harvard and CIA. At this point, many of the members of the original task force were asked to participate in dealing with the proposed Harvard guidelines. It was also generally agreed that the original task force should pause and await the outcome of the negotiations between Harvard and CIA regarding the guidelines so that we could incorporate into our basic Headquarters regulations any policies that were developed.

4. As you are aware, the Harvard guidelines affair took more time than was anticipated. As a result, the task force was delayed. Now that the Harvard matter has been dealt with, we are picking up the pace. The task force met during the week of 20 June and is scheduled to meet again on 6 July to discuss a proposed regulation which has been drafted. We have established 29 July as a goal to present to you a coordinated Agency regulation dealing with this matter. We are aware of the external pressures which relate to this matter and the need for timely response. Nonetheless, we feel that to shorten the deadline would increase the risk of an inadequate regulation being provided for your consideration.

/s/ John F. Blake

John F. Blake

STAT AI/DDA [redacted] (1 July 1977)

Distribution:

Original - Addressee

1 - ER

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1 - HGB Chrono

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ON PAGE A 22

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
1 JULY 1977

### Academic Intelligence

The Central Intelligence Agency has always found college teachers a valuable resource. Some are specialists in areas that touch on the national security. Some have contacts in other countries from whom they pick up interesting tidbits of information. Some are willing to recruit for the C.I.A. in their classrooms. The agency has for years maintained relations with academics on more than 100 campuses. But professors have periodically been embarrassed by revelations of their extracurricular activities and critics have wondered about the subverting effects of a teacher's covert connection to the C.I.A.

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Harvard adopted similar guidelines several weeks ago. They clear a path for teachers to serve their country openly and within sensible limits. Other schools should take heed of this intelligent academic's guide to intelligence.

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ON PAGE 45

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
30 June 1977

### U.S. SUIT WOULD BAR C.I.A. IN ILLEGAL CAMPUS ACTIVITY

WASHINGTON, June 28 (UPI)—The American Civil Liberties Union filed suit Tuesday against the Central Intelligence Agency in an effort to determine if the agency is conducting illegal activities on college and university campuses and to bar any such activities.

The suit, filed in Federal District Court here, was called the first step in a national effort by an organization known as the Campaign to Stop Government Spying to end C.I.A. activities on campuses.

Morton H. Halperin of the Center for National Security Studies and a plaintiff

in the suit, told a news conference that he believes "there is a (C.I.A.) person on every major campus" in the United States.

When the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence issued its report on domestic spying, it said the C.I.A. activities raised "troubling questions as to the preservation of the integrity of American academic institutions."

Mr. Halperin said C.I.A. activity at domestic colleges and universities was a violation of both academic freedom and of the agency's charter, which prohibits it from domestic activities.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH  
30 JUNE 1977

# Washington U. Amenable To Curbs On CIA

By VICTOR VOLLAND  
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

Washington University officers say they can live with suggested policy guidelines that would keep any on-campus activity by the Central Intelligence Agency out in the open.

The guidelines were drawn up by the newly formed Campaign to Stop Government Spying as a result of hearings last year by the United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The hearings disclosed "operational exploitation" of teachers and administrators by the CIA and other intelligence agencies.

The recommended guidelines were adopted last month by Harvard University. Other institutions, including Washington University, are being requested by the Campaign to Stop Government Spying to bring an end to CIA undercover activity on campus.

A controversy arose at Washington University in April, 1975 when it was disclosed that Daniel H. Gashler, director of the news bureau at the Medical School, had provided information to the CIA on travel plans of faculty members.

Gashler admitted supplying data on faculty members who planned trips abroad, even though at one point Chancellor William H. Danforth had instructed him not to.

A faculty committee censured Gashler, who has since left the university.

Also in 1975, an Iranian graduate student at Washington University, Ahmad Jabbari, was reported to have been recruited by CIA agents on campus to return to Iran for two years as a paid CIA agent. Jabbari pretended to co-operate, but instead of becoming an agent, secretly taped his conversation with the CIA recruiter at the Colony Hotel in Clayton.

He told his story to writer Frances Fitzgerald, who reported it in an article in the Jan. 23, 1976, issue of New Times magazine along with long excerpts from the recorded conversation.

The Harvard guidelines require that university research requested by the CIA follow normal contracting procedures with the contract to be made public; that individuals doing research or analysis for the CIA, directly or indirectly, report the fact in writing to the dean of faculty and president; that any teacher or administrator recruited by the CIA report the fact to the school; that campus personnel refrain from propaganda activities if they know the materials are misleading or untrue, and that they refuse to assist the CIA in obtaining the unwitting assistance of another.

Washington University Provost Merle Kling said yesterday that the guidelines seemed reasonable but that any new university policy could be adopted only after consultation with the entire faculty.

"I just wonder, though, how you can prohibit secret activities unless the agency goof and is exposed," he said. Kling said he knew of no new undercover CIA activities at the university since those disclosed in 1975.

Dr. Samuel Guze, the university's vice chancellor for medical affairs, who dismissed Gashler as Medical School news bureau chief after disclosure of his CIA links, said:

"I think the university's long-standing policy against secret research protects us from a lot of these problems. In that respect, I think we may be more stringent than Harvard.

"In regard to recruiting faculty for secret intelligence, there are greater difficulties in controlling the extra-university activities of our faculty members. I'm not sure if we should have any controls.

"But when they involve the university and others here, I think the university has to be concerned," Guze said, defending his dismissal of Gashler.

Dr. Virginia Weldon, chairman of the faculty Council, which oversaw the Gashler inquiry, agreed that the Harvard guidelines appeared reasonable but cautioned against a "cure worse than the disease" in regard to academic and personal freedom.

"I think the faculty consciousness was sufficiently raised by the Gashler episode that we would have known of any other CIA activity since. It's all pretty much a dead issue now," she said.



# Washington U. Focus Of Anti-Spy Group

By RICHARD DUDMAN  
Chief Washington Correspondent  
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, June 29—A new coalition, the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, designated Washington University in St. Louis yesterday as one of the campuses where it will seek to stop any undercover activity by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Morton H. Halperin, who heads the campaign, recalled at a press conference that a Senate select committee had alerted colleges last year that they faced a problem in the "operational exploitation" of teachers and administrators by the CIA and other intelligence agencies.

"We believe that there is a person on every major American university campus whose job it is to recruit for the CIA right at this moment," Halperin said. "We believe this is a violation of the CIA's charter, which prohibits it from operating inside the United States, and a violation of academic freedom."

John D. Marks, a freelance writer who is active in the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, cited Washington University on the basis of a report that an Iranian graduate student in economics had been recruited in 1975 to return to Iran for two years as a paid CIA agent.

The student, Ahmad Jabbari, pretended to co-operate, but, instead of becoming an agent, secretly taped his conversation with the CIA recruiter at the Colony Hotel in Clayton, Mo., and told his story to Frances Fitzgerald, a writer. She told it in an article in the Jan. 23, 1976, issue of *New Times Magazine*, with long excerpts from the transcribed conversation.

Other incidents of CIA activity on campuses were reported by the Select Committee on Intelligence, which was headed by Senator Frank Church (Dem.), Idaho. As a result, Harvard University last month adopted guidelines to limit the relationship of the university and its faculty and administrators with the CIA and other intelligence agencies.

Halperin said the coalition would write in about two weeks to colleges and universities where it had reason to

believe CIA activity might still be going on, asking them to adopt procedures similar to the Harvard guidelines.

After about two months, he said, the coalition will announce the names of the institutions canvassed; together with their responses to the request.

Halperin said he expected there would be "activity on the campuses in the fall" to encourage the colleges to adopt the guidelines.

Marks predicted that the campaign would cause the Federal Government to restrict the CIA's use of college campuses.

"We don't believe the Carter Administration will be willing to take the heat," Marks said. "It will be like it was with the CIA's use of missionaries a few years ago. People began complaining about it, and within six months the CIA caved in."

President Derek C. Bok of Harvard published for comment the guidelines drawn up by a faculty committee and asked that they be followed pending any revision. He said they would serve the interests of both Harvard and the United States.

The Harvard guidelines include the following:

—Harvard may do research for the CIA provided normal contracting procedures are followed and the existence of the contract is made public.

—Individuals may do research and analysis for the CIA, directly and indirectly, but they must report in writing to the dean of faculty and the university president.

—Any member of the Harvard community who has an relationship with the CIA as a recruiter should report that fact. A recruiter should not give the CIA the name of another member of the Harvard community without that person's consent.

—Individuals should not undertake intelligence operations for the CIA, nor should they participate in any propaganda activities if they know the materials are misleading or untrue.

—No individual should assist the CIA in obtaining the unwitting services of another, nor should the CIA employ members of the Harvard community in an unwitting manner.

Marks said the campaign had "nothing per se against the CIA's having an open involvement on the campuses—that is, if someone puts up a notice that he is recruiting for the agency."

A controversy arose at Washington University in April 1975 when it was disclosed that Daniel H. Gashler, director of the news bureau at the medical school, had provided information to the CIA on travel plans of faculty members.

Gashler admitted supplying data on faculty members who planned to attend foreign scientific meetings, make trips abroad or attend scientific meetings in the United States at which delegates from the Soviet Union might be present.

A faculty committee censured Gashler and called for setting up guidelines on the activities of university personnel in their relations to investigative agencies.

Gashler, who has since left the university, told the faculty committee that he had supplied information to the CIA for about six years, despite an order to stop from Chancellor William H. Danforth.

Meanwhile, Halperin and Marks, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, filed suit against the CIA and its director, Adm. Stansfield Turner, to obtain under the Freedom of Information Act documents bearing on the CIA's use of colleges and universities.

The Church Committee's report last year said that the CIA was then using several hundred college administrators, faculty members and teaching graduate students on more than 100 campuses to provide leads, "make introductions for intelligence purposes" and occasionally write books and other material to be used for propaganda purposes abroad. It said a "few score" others were used "in an unwitting manner for minor activities."



FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM The Daily Drum STATION WHUR-FM Radio  
 HOWARD UNIVERSITY

DATE June 29, 1977 6:15 PM CITY Washington, D. C.

SUBJECT CIA Recruitment Investigated

BENJAMIN JOHNSON: A lawsuit has been filed seeking to make public the recruiting activities of the CIA. One of the groups filing the suit is the Washington based Center for National Security Studies.

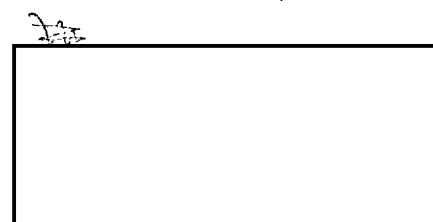
Spokesperson Christie Massey said the Center is especially concerned about the CIA's recruiting activities on college campuses.

CHRISTIE MASSEY: We will be focusing on a number of ones that have -- certainly have a number of foreign students, and also with certainly a number of them with high numbers of black students, because the CIA is getting more interested in recruiting black students at this time.

JOHNSON: The other organization which joined in filing the suit was the American Civil Liberties Union.

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A-6

THE WASHINGTON STAR (Green Line)  
29 JUNE 1977



## Halperin Sues CIA Over Campus Agents

United Press International

Morton Halperin, a national security expert, believes the CIA has "a person" on every major U.S. college and university campus and filed suit yesterday to get the agency to tell what they are doing there.

He said a Harvard University report found they were recruiting at the schools.

Halperin, a former National Security Council staffer whose phone was tapped in former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's search for leaks, was represented by the American Civil Liberties Union in the Freedom of Information Act suit filed in U.S. District Court. It is part of an effort by 70 groups called the Campaign to Stop Government Spying.

Halperin, now a member of the Center for National Security Studies, told a news conference he believes "there is a (CIA) person on every major campus."

Halperin said CIA activity at domestic colleges and universities would violate both academic freedom and the National Security Act, which bans the CIA from activities within the United States.

ADMINISTRATIVE-INTERNAL USE ONLY

13 June 77

14 June 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: See Distribution

FROM : Cord Meyer, Jr., SA/DDCI

SUBJECT : Letter to President Bok, Harvard University

Attached is the final version of the Director's letter to President Bok of Harvard, signed by him on 13 June 1977. You will note the changes he has made and I think the equities of all directorates have been protected. We are proceeding promptly to revise our internal regulations. Please get in touch with me if you have questions.

[Redacted Signature]

Cord Meyer, Jr.

Distribution:

[Redacted Distribution List]

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PITTSBURGH, PA.  
PRESS

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JUN 13 1977

## Unscholarly Jitters

Sadly, many responsible Americans are permitting their jitters about the CIA to affect their judgment.

Universities have canceled research contracts with the CIA. Professors have been publicly humiliated for serving as consultants for the CIA. Some corporations won't do business with the CIA.

Universities, professors and businesses are afraid of guilt by association, presumably. No matter that the CIA and the nation need all the expertise and brain power they can find to solve the toughest intelligence dilemmas.

The hip-shooting paranoia about the CIA recently reached a new low.

Teachers at a Washington, D.C., high school petitioned to stop CIA computer experts — not agents — from voluntarily tutoring minority students needing help in their computer classes.

The teachers, without a shred of evidence, charged that the CIA is trying to recruit black students by pretending to teach them about computers. Shame on those teachers, not for damning the CIA but for hurting their students' chances of learning needed job skills.

Dunce caps for the teachers are in order.

*Stephen S. Rosenfeld*

A 27  
WASHINGTON POST  
3 JUNE 1977

# Harvard Comes in From the Cold

CAMBRIDGE—So seldom is the vexing relationship between the national security and the private society handled with responsibility and tact that the rare success deserves note. Here is how Harvard now plans to get along with the CIA.

The Senate's Select Intelligence Committee reported last year that, while secret CIA financing of American universities was halted in 1967, covert operational use of *individual* American academics was still rife: Several hundred people in over 100 institutions were providing leads, making introductions and assisting in propaganda.

Such self-restraint as the CIA practiced in campus dealings, the select committee found, arose from a fear of being unmasked, not from a concern for the integrity of the academy. But—and here is the niceness on the Senate's side—the committee decided that legislation would be intrusive and unenforceable. It called upon the academic community to police itself.

To push it along, Sen. Charles Mathias (R-Md.) called a half-dozen college presidents together. Senior staffer William Bader briefed them. And the other day, Harvard responded. It became the first university to accept the

committee's charge and produce guidelines to control the associations of an academic community with the intelligence community.

Written by four men (Archibald Cox, Don K. Price, Henry Rosovsky, Daniel Steiner) at home in the intricacies of the government/university tie, the guidelines start from the premise that intelligence is a valid activity worthy of academic support but that the connection "must be structured in ways that protect the integrity of universities and the academic profession, and safeguard the freedom and objectivity of scholarship."

The drafters lacked the information to size up the full dimensions of past Harvard-CIA activity and they chose not to offer value judgments on it. It was enough, they figured, to deal with the current-day situation.

Against their reluctance to restrain the individual activities of members of the academic community—a notoriously prickly crew—the drafters balanced the responsibility they felt to set standards reflecting a campus consensus and to protect the university.

The guidelines themselves are quite simple:

- Harvard as an institution will continue to make contracts for unclassified research. The contracts will routinely be made public.

- Individuals can continue to contract to do research—and to be debriefed by the CIA after foreign travel. These contracts must be reported to the appropriate dean.

- Academics who recruit for the CIA should tell their dean. Recruiters must inform a prospective recruit before passing his name to the CIA. (The recruiting guideline reveals the existence of a CIA practice on campuses that was not mentioned in the CIA-edited Senate report.)

- Taking part in intelligence or propaganda operations is out.

"We recognize that our recommendations, if adopted [and President Derek Bok did adopt them], may make it more difficult for the CIA to perform certain

tasks," the drafters wrote. "This loss is one that a free society should be willing to suffer. We do not believe that present relationships between the CIA and the academic community, as outlined by the select committee, can continue without posing a serious threat to the independence and integrity of the academic community."

Campus reaction, as I measured it in a quick sweep across the Yard, seems to be that of approval. The fire is out of the CIA issue at Harvard and most other campuses.

Morton Halperin, director of the Project on National Security and Civil Liberties in Washington, expressed delight with the new guidelines, which, he says, are similar to those currently being developed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

At the CIA, which received a courtesy copy, a spokesman said the agency is "seriously considering" whether to respond to Harvard, though no response was sought. Current internal CIA regulations permitting the agency to recruit for operations "any consenting adult" are at odds with Harvard's new guideline forbidding its people to take part in operations. Will the CIA respect the Harvard guidelines and back off? The spokesman indicated that the agency is chewing on the question. He noted that the guidelines constrain Harvard, not the CIA.

Regardless of how the CIA finally comes down, the guidelines represent, I think, a conscientious effort by a university to fill a policy vacuum wisely left by Congress. The result is sensitive at once to the demands of the larger society and to the values of the academic community. Other universities, please copy.



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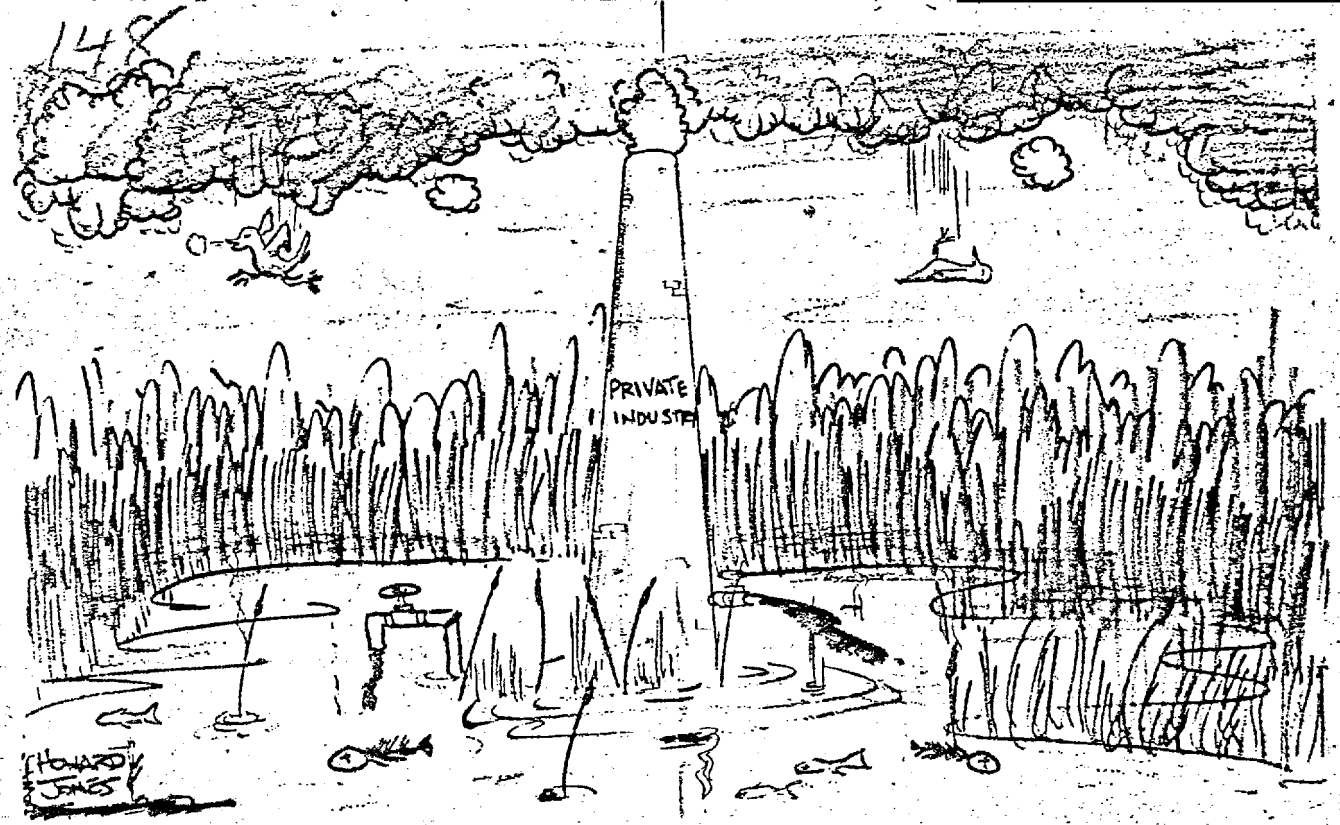
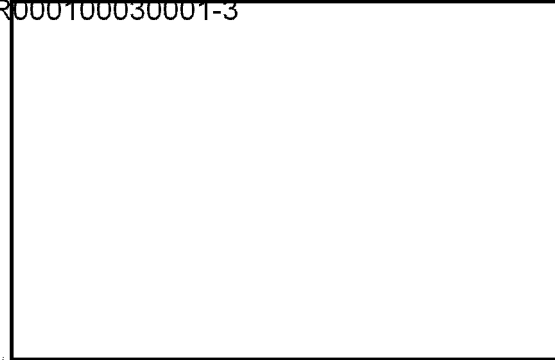
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JUNE 77



# Open contracts a step forward

Harvard's recent step to make all contracts with the U.S. intelligence community open is a nice start, but does not go all the way.

Ideally, institutions of higher education should never enter into pacts with the CIA or any other intelligence operation. Harvard's move would insure, however, that any contracts, no matter how innocuous on the surface, will be guaranteed public scrutiny and possible public objection.

Harvard adopted guidelines last week to make its contracts with the intelligence community open. This move resulted from information released in an April 1976 U.S. Senate report, which disclosed that 100 universities had, at one time or another, secret contracts with the CIA or other spy agencies. The universities were not specifically named, but most of the major institutions of higher learning were known to be included.

be refuted. The University meddled in internal politics in Vietnam during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The project received wide criticism when exposed in Ramparts magazine.

To deny all future contracts with the intelligence community would effectively remove the dirty maneuvers of government spying from the field of academics.

Harvard has done the next best thing by making all contracts open. It is significant to note that the burden of denying contracts is on the public and not the university; simply making something "open" does not mean the fact is free of bureaucratic cover-up.

MSU must, for the sake of academic purity, dissolve all contracts with the intelligence community and vow to take on no more. The next best thing, opening up the books, would allow the students to critically evaluate how their resources

MEMPHIS, TENN.  
PRESS-SCIMITAR

E - 125,738

MAY 30 1977.

## Dunce Caps for Teachers

Sadly, many supposedly responsible Americans are permitting their jitters about the CIA to affect their judgment.

Universities have canceled research contracts with the CIA. Professors have been humiliated publicly for serving as consultants for the CIA. Some corporations won't do business with the CIA.

Universities, professors and businesses are afraid of guilt by association, we presume. No matter that the CIA and the nation need all the expertise and brain power they can find to solve the toughest intelligence dilemmas.

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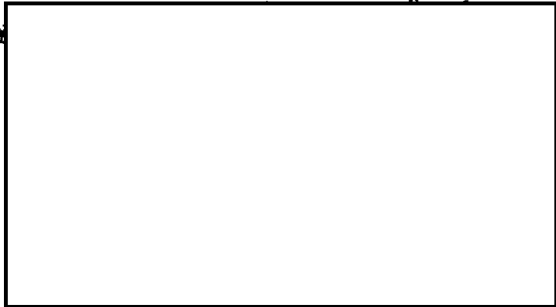
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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26 May 1977

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Distribution

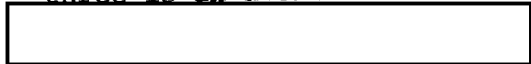
FROM : DDI Coordinator for Academic Relations  
and External Analytical Support

ATT  
3

SUBJECT : Harvard Guidelines

1. Cord Meyer asked me to convey the attached items to you. Attachment one is the final version of the Harvard Guidelines as they appeared in the Harvard Gazette on May 20 accompanied by a "Dear Colleague" letter from President Bok. Attachment two is an article about the guidelines from the Harvard Crimson. Attachment three is an article from the Boston Globe.

25X1



2. If there is anything else that I can do for you in this matter or in regard to other questions of Agency academic relations, please feel free to contact me.

25X1



Attachments:  
As Stated

25X1



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~  
ON PAGE 24

NEW YORK TIMES  
21 MAY 1977



### HARVARD ADOPTS GUIDE ON C.I.A. RELATIONSHIP

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., May 20 (AP)—Harvard University promises not to spy or recruit for the Central Intelligence Agency but will allow faculty members to engage in Government propaganda under guidelines issued today.

The university said that, under the guidelines, neither it nor members of its faculty were allowed to make unwitting use of any person for the C.I.A. or other intelligence agencies. The guidelines do, however, allow Harvard and its staff to do consulting work for spy agencies as long as the contracts are made public.

Harvard's general counsel, Daniel Steiner, said in a telephone interview that faculty members who violated the guidelines could be dismissed.

The guidelines, implemented by Harvard's president, Derek C. Bok, represent the first effort by a university to respond to a 1976 Senate committee report that, in part, explored covert relationships between the C.I.A. and academics, Mr. Steiner said.

The committee that prepared the guidelines said, "Neither we nor President Bok have any specific knowledge of any covert relationships with members of the Harvard community, and we have no way of determining whether any such relationship exists."

# Guidelines on Intelligence Groups Released

Interim guidelines for Harvard faculty and staff members on interactions with U.S. intelligence agencies were issued today by President Derek Bok.

The guidelines, adopted on the recommendation of a committee of four Harvard administrators and faculty members, are contained in the "Report of the Committee on Relationships between the Harvard Community and United States Intelligence Agencies." (Full text begins on page 6 of today's issue.) The 18-page document is the result of a year-long examination of questions raised by an April 1976 report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities.

In that report, the Select Committee expressed concern about recent relationships between the American academic community and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) because of the potential such relationships hold for compromising academic autonomy and integrity. The Select Committee concluded that legislation would be an inappropriate approach to the problem and that the academic community should establish its own ethical and professional standards in this area.

In May 1976, Mr. Bok created the four-member Harvard committee in response to the Select Committee's recommendations.

The Harvard report notes that the committee has made recommendations "where there have been none in the past" and that the report is "not intended as a criticism of the action of any member of the Harvard community." The committee said that it has "no specific knowledge of past or present covert relationships at Harvard."

In drawing up the recommendations, the committee was guided by four assumptions: (1) Because of present international tensions, the U.S. must have "an effective system of foreign intelligence"; (2) U.S. foreign intelligence efforts can, like professional and public service activities, benefit "considerably" from the support of direct or indirect university research activities; (3) Relationships be-

tween U.S. foreign intelligence agencies and universities must be structured to "protect the integrity of universities and the academic profession, and safeguard the freedom and objectivity of scholarship"; and (4) The guidelines should apply equally to relationships with U.S. intelligence agencies other than the CIA.

The interim guidelines fall into six categories:

(1) *Institutional Relationships with the CIA.* Harvard may enter into research contracts with the CIA "provided that such contracts conform with Harvard's normal rules governing contracting with outside sponsors and that the existence of a contract is made public by University officials."

(2) *Individual Consulting Arrangements with the CIA.* "Individual members of the Harvard community may enter into direct or indirect consulting arrangements for the CIA to provide research and analytical services." Such arrangements are to be reported in writing to the dean of the individual's faculty. The dean in turn will inform the President of the University.

(3) *CIA Recruiting on Campus.* There should be no covert recruiting at Harvard. Any member of the Harvard community who is a CIA recruiter should report that status in writing to the dean of the appropriate faculty, who will inform the President and "the appropriate placement offices within the University." Recruiters should not give the CIA names of other Harvard affiliates without the individual's prior consent.

(4) *Operational Use of Members of the Academic Community.* Members of the Harvard community should not undertake intelligence operations for the CIA, nor should they lend their names or positions to the endorsement of materials known to be misleading or untrue.

(5) *The "Unwitting" Use of Members of the Academic Community.* Individuals should not assist the CIA in obtaining the unwitting services of another member of the Harvard community. Neither should the CIA employ Harvard affiliates "in an unwitting manner."

(6) *Interpretation and Application of These Guidelines.* Questions on the interpretation and application of the guidelines should first be discussed with the dean of the appropriate faculty. If necessary, they may be discussed with the President or a member of his staff.

"We recognize," the report states, "that our recommendations . . . may make it more difficult for the CIA to perform certain tasks. This loss is one that a free society should be willing to suffer. We do not believe that present relationships between the CIA and the academic community, as outlined by the Select Committee, can continue without posing a serious threat to the independence and integrity of the academic community. If the academic community loses some of its independence, self-respect and the respect of others, our society has suffered a serious loss. We believe that the potential harm to the academic enterprise, and consequently to our society, far outweighs the potential losses that the CIA may suffer."

Members of the committee are Archibald Cox, Carl M. Loeb University Professor; Dean Don K. Price (Faculty of Public Administration, John F. Kennedy School of Government); Dean Henry Rosovsky (Faculty of Arts and Sciences); and Daniel Steiner, General Counsel to the University.

**Page Denied**

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# Stricter Control On DNA Research

All recombinant DNA research above the minimal risk (P1) level should be confined to maximum containment (P4) facilities, Robert Sinsheimer, director of the division of biology at the California Institute of Technology, said last night.

Speaking to an audience of about 250 in Baker 200, Sinsheimer argued that present safety regulations create an "unjustified risk" that novel forms of life will escape and wreak havoc in the biosphere.

While stopping short of calling for a ban on recombinant DNA research, Sinsheimer said "we must proceed with maximum precaution."

In a lecture emphasizing the philosophical and historical context of the DNA controversy, Sinsheimer — considered the leading and most articulate critic of recombinant research — said the new technology presents "a potentially grievous hazard and a portent of things to come."

Specifically, he warned, the ongoing experiments are the first step in a possibly unstoppable movement towards human genetic engineering.

"Once launched on genetic engineering, we are forever on



ROBERT SINSH  
Calls for Restr

our own," he added.

Calling for a restraint on man curiosity, Sinsheimer the "Galilean impetu- unlock every secret misinterpreted as a rather than a challenge.

Instead of "new knowledge" Continued on Pa

STAT  
WHEELING: A Cornell student learns how to use a wheelchair as part of Disability-day festivities. See story, Page 16.

## CIA Critic Declares Faculty-Agency Ties Permissible if Open

By SUSAN COHEN

A faculty member has the right to work for the CIA, as long as he does so publicly, according to John Marks '65, an advocate of ending the agency's covert activities.

Marks, speaking last night to a Kaufmann Auditorium audience of 75, specifically addressed the case of Prof. Myron Rush, government, a Kremlinologist who is working for the CIA while on sabbatical this year.

In March, a resolution written by government graduate students denounced faculty involvement in the CIA or other organizations engaged in illegal activities.

Although no professors were named in the resolution, it appeared to be aimed at Rush.

At the time, several other government professors criticized the resolution as "McCarthyism of the left."

Marks said he was contacted by the graduate students earlier this year and asked to investigate Rush's affiliation with the CIA.

He concluded from the investigation that Rush was not involved in illegal activities.

A professor has "an inherent right to work for whomever he damn well pleases" as long as he identifies his work to the university, his students and colleagues, Marks added.

Marks founded the Center for National Security Studies, an organization aimed at curbing the CIA's covert activities, and co-authored "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence."

Marks, Prof. Richard Polenberg, history, and Prof. Robert A. Sedler, law, were panelists at a forum on "CIA and Academia" sponsored by the Cornell Chapter of the New York Civil Liberties Union.

Marks reiterated claims made last fall that Cornell has "a long tradition of working secretly with the CIA." In the 1950s and 1960s the Cornell Medical College was "a front for the CIA's behavior modification research" Marks said.

"The Society for the Study of Human Ecology," a research group at the medical college, did "brainwashing research for the CIA," he said. The connection between the research group and the CIA was kept secret, Marks said.

He also claimed that in the early 1960s the New York State School of Industrial and Labor

## Uranus' Rings: The Story of

By BILL STERNBERG

Last month, a team of Cornell researchers discovered what are believed to be five thin rings encircling the planet Uranus, the first major structures in the solar system to be found since 1930. Here is the story of their discovery.

March 13, 1781 — Astronomer William Herschel, making a routine telescopic survey of the sky in the constellation Gemini, discovers a seventh planet from the sun, which is later named Uranus.

1787 — Herschel observes what he thinks are rings at right angles to each other around Uranus. Further tests, however, convince him he is mistaken. The idea of rings around Uranus is forgotten.

1973 — Astronomer Gordon Taylor predicts the temporary disappearance (occultation) of a faint star, SAO 158687, behind Uranus. This is a rare event; since 1952, only five bright stars have been occulted by planets, and none by Uranus. The occultation is forecast for March 10, 1977, and is expected to cover the entire Earth.

Spring, 1978 — A team of Cornell researchers begins coordinating plans to study the Uranus occultation. The Cornell team is headed by James L. Elliot, senior research associate at the University's Center for Radiophysics and Space Research. He is assisted by Edward W. Dunham grad and computer



THE TEAM: Research and Douglas Mink excluded on the charter

# CIA Research Should Be Open To Professors

Continued from Page 1

CIA-sponsored foundations.

Marks presented no evidence for either of his claims last night.

He said he wrote a letter to President Dale R. Corson last fall requesting a statement of Cornell's policy with respect to CIA activities on campus. He said Corson replied that privately the faculty could "do what they please." Corson also denied the existence of any University involvement with covert CIA activities, Marks said.

Under current University guidelines set up after a controversy over classified research several years ago, professors are allowed up to five hours per week in off-campus consulting but are prohibited from engaging in classified work while on campus. Off campus, however, there are no regulations aside from prohibitions against any illegal activities.

Prof. Albert Silverman, physics, the forum's moderator, said he "doesn't know any case where the University policy restricting faculty involvement with the CIA has been violated."

Polenberg said a faculty member should be allowed to work for the CIA "on an open basis" and said "the national interest may be served" through such work. He said he personally would not work for the CIA because their policies are "illegal and immoral."

Any scholar who has worked for the CIA, is "marked for life," Polenberg said.

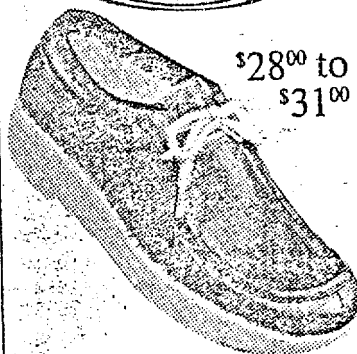
Sedler said he "strongly emphasizes" a professor's right to work for the CIA if "this could advance his or her knowledge." He added that the University should not engage in secret research, however.

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—Plans for 1977-78 Will Be Discu

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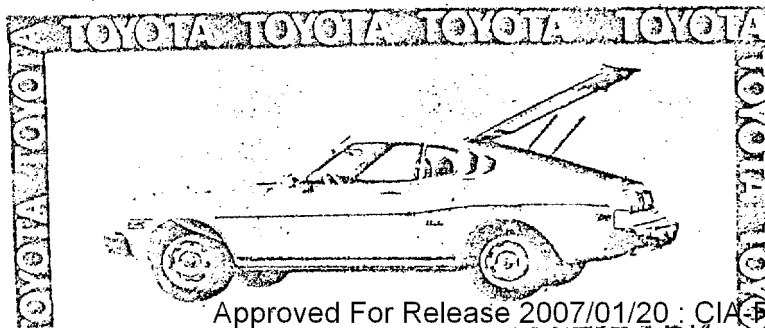
RESOLVED, THAT THE PUR SHOULD BE MORE IMPORTA NEGOTIATIONS.

# FORMAT

One-person to debate resolution

# INFO

Register at the Cornel at 307 Lincoln Hall on 7:30 pm, Thursday, April meetings will be held 307 Lincoln Hall for e QUESTIONS ?? Call: Ja



ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 7

THE NEW REPUBLIC  
7 May 1977

## Correspondence

### The Selzer Case

To the editors:

As a long-time subscriber to *The New Republic*, a sometime contributor and a scholar recently cited by TRB, I was appalled at the quality of Diane Ravitch's article on Professor Michael Selzer of Brooklyn College and the current investigation of his relationship with the CIA ("Brouhaha in Brooklyn," Mar. 12). That I disagree with the author's assessment of the issues is less important than the repeated and entirely inexcusable distortions of fact.

1. The first sentence of the article states that the Political Science Department "voted... to ask the college president to dismiss [Professor Selzer] because of his involvement with the Central Intelligence Agency." That is untrue. We asked the president to hold a hearing to ascertain the facts, and then to take whatever action seemed appropriate. Ms. Ravitch quoted but apparently did not understand the language of the resolution; *i.e.*, Selzer's actions "would warrant removal from the college" (emphasis added). "Would" does not mean "does;" it means that if he has done that of which he has been accused, dismissal would be warranted.

2. Second sentence: "For all they knew, Selzer's service to the CIA involved nothing more than a 15-minute phone conversation following a trip to Europe last summer." Exactly—but the Department has never claimed to be certain of that, or any of the other facts. As I told Ms. Ravitch when she telephoned me before writing her article, Professor Selzer admitted to the Department that he had a relationship with the CIA—period. Professor Selzer has repeatedly refused to give the Department a complete account of his CIA-related activities. It is thus true that "The department failed to make any objective determination of the facts." We had no sources on the basis of which to make an "objective determination." That is precisely why we asked the college president to hold a hearing that would both place Professor Selzer under compulsion to impart information and protect his due process rights—neither of which the Department could do on

3. According to the article, the ad hoc committee convened by the Department was "chaired by the wife of one of Selzer's accusers" (the editor's note speaks more dramatically of "one of Selzer's chief accusers"). I chaired the committee. My husband is one of the members of the Department from whom Professor Selzer solicited contacts abroad and feels strongly about professor's use of academic "cover" to gather information for the CIA, but to speak of him as a "chief accuser" is nonsense. Having no independent knowledge of the facts, neither he nor I accused anybody of anything. The editor's note in effect accuses the ACLU of being "aligned with the forces against" Selzer, primarily because I am a member of its national academic freedom committee, and, again, because my husband is a "chief accuser." (I am uncertain whether the editors think I should resign from the ACLU or if they would prefer for me to give up my husband. They do not muster convincing reasons for either.) If there are

"forces against" Selzer, I do not know who or what they are. It seems obvious that a member of the ACLU's academic freedom committee would, at the least, have a deep commitment to safeguarding academic freedom, and not engage in "McCarthyism of the left." It is also fairly nauseating to discover that a supposedly informed, "liberal" journal assumes that a woman professor is automatically and definitively influenced by her husband's opinions.

The real question, still to be discussed, is whether the agreement of an academic to use his or her credentials as a subterfuge under which to gather information for a government intelligence agency threatens the collegiality of the academy, the credibility of other scholars doing research abroad, and the rights of students.

Philippa Strum  
Brooklyn College

The editors reply:

Since Philippa Strum does not assert that there were any errors of fact in Diane Ravitch's article, readers of the article can judge for themselves who is engaging in "distortion." Does she believe the last paragraph of her letter also is "not accusing anybody of anything"? If so she is a master of the distinction between accusation and innuendo truly worthy of the McCarthy era.

The editors don't want Professor Strum to give up either her husband or the ACLU. Given her husband's intense involvement in the case, however, she might have declined to serve as chairman of the departmental committee which investigated Selzer. However "obvious" it might be that a member of the ACLU academic freedom committee would be committed to academic freedom, Ms. Strum's position with the ACLU doesn't give her a free pass from criticism. And of course it is "obvious" we would be just as concerned about a wife influencing her husband as the other way around.

LA SALLE COLLEGE  
19 APRIL 1977

## There's More Intelligence In Classrooms Than You Think

Despite last year's Senate Select Committee's report on Intelligence saying there was massive CIA influence in U.S. universities, the Central Intelligence Agency is still in the education business. The CIA is still funding research conducted on many of the nation's campuses, is still recruiting students and professors for extracurricular activities and is still helping foreign spy agencies keep tabs on dissident foreign students.

The full scope of CIA involvement on campuses may never be known. According to the final report of the Committee, scores of professors, administrators and graduate students are actively engaged in "open" and "clandestine" CIA work. They recruit American and foreign students, write propagandistic literature, conduct research and travel abroad using their cloak of academic status for cover.

Specifics of these operations were deleted by the CIA before the Committee released its final report, including the names of whatever individuals and institutions that had been cooperating with the CIA. And due to a Presidential order given last year, the CIA will continue to enter into "contracts and arrangements" for "classified or unclassified research... with academic institutions." It is not yet known whether or not President Carter will continue this policy.

However, an increasing number of students and faculty members throughout the country have become very vocal in their disapproval with the too-cozy relationship between the CIA and colleges. The unsavory flavor associated with a multitude of CIA activities has led several national academic associations to condemn clandestine CIA presence on campus.

Although they have received little national attention, the National Student Association, the American Association of University Professors and the Council of American Political Science Association have passed resolutions opposing any initiation by government agencies to involve academia in covert intelligence operations under the guise of academic research and have asked their members not to participate in such activities.

But for some, that is not enough. Nathan Gardel, a student attending the University of California in Los Angeles, wants to know the full extent of involvement between the CIA and the University system. He has filed for this information through the Freedom of Information Act and is currently trying to have the \$3,000 copying fee waived to get it. Gardel, however, has not stopped there.

He wants to see all correspondence between the CIA and the nine-school university system relating to the CIA recruitment drive of last year and all information about UC contracts. Gardel believes that the UC president, David Saxon, has not been entirely free with the information. Gardel explained "this is not to say he (Saxon) knows everything" but we'd like to see what he does know. At present, the CIA is openly funding weather climate research at UC San Diego. Climate warfare was used by the CIA in Vietnam and Cuba.

More recently, an alleged CIA connection with a college professor of Brooklyn College in New York has stirred controversy to the point where the faculty members of the political science department have asked for their colleague's removal from the staff.

The professor, Michael I. Selzer, has been charged by several faculty members, one of them his brother-in-law, with being associated with the CIA. In a statement to the president of the college, the department members said that because of Selzer's "admitted agreement in covert intelligence activities for the CIA, he has violated... understood, accepted statements (by national associations) and casts grave doubts of his credibility as a teacher, scholar and professional colleague... and that his actions as described warrant removal from the college."

Selzer, according to one professor, first became involved with the CIA last spring. Selzer is quoted as saying "his work for the CIA was only confined to Europe." No other details are known.

Selzer supposedly admitted his CIA connection at a recent departmental meeting. He is now

in Israel on a leave of absence, but when contacted there by several New York newspapers, Selzer denied that he had any contact with the CIA. He also said that he'll take legal action if dismissed and is contemplating libel charges.

A spokesperson for the college said the president, Dr. John Kneller, has already set up a committee to investigate all facts and allegations pertinent to the case and assured all that Selzer's rights would be protected.

In a prepared statement, however, Kneller said, "It is up to an individual faculty member whether he wants to establish an 'open' relation with an intelligence agency. I stress the word 'open' because I think there is no place in the academic community for a clandestine relationship of any kind."

One organization, based in Washington, D.C., is attempting to college and distribute any and all information regarding CIA-campus related activities. The Center for National Security Studies offers information, education material, pamphlets and speakers for those who wish to join in ending covert operations on campus. Write or phone Christy Macy at the Center, 122 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 544-5380.

STAT



THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION  
18 April 1977

■ Cornell Students Protest  
Professor's CIA Ties

Graduate students in the department of government at Cornell University have denounced the involvement of students and faculty members with the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The protest, in the form of a resolution, came in response to the employment of Myron Rush, a professor in the department, as a "scholar in residence" at C.I.A. headquarters in Langley, Va. Mr. Rush, a specialist in Soviet internal affairs, is on leave without pay from the university while he is with the C.I.A. He is expected to return to Cornell next fall.

The graduate students' broadly worded resolution—an early draft of which called for Mr. Rush's dismissal—urged the university to adopt a policy preventing faculty members' involvement "with organizations which engage in illegal activities."

STAT

The Director  
Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

7 April 1977

Ms. Christina H. Macy  
Center for National Security Studies  
122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Ms. Macy,

This is to acknowledge your letter of March 31  
in response to Mr. Falkiewicz's letter of 16 March.  
Mr. Falkiewicz has moved to another position.

What the new Director of Central Intelligence  
is seeking is an ethical relationship that will serve  
the mutual interests of the intelligence and academic  
communities. The main point of Mr. Falkiewicz's letter  
was to emphasize our goal to strengthen cooperation  
between the academic community and the U.S. Intelligence  
Community to the benefit of this country. The problem  
is to define the proper and legitimate relationships  
that should exist between the two. This is an active  
concern of the Director, and I can assure you the  
matters you raise are receiving proper attention.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

Herbert E. Hetu  
Assistant for Public Affairs  
to the Director of Central Intelligence

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AD/DCI/PA: [Redacted]  
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To: The Senate

From: Tom Kerr

Subject: *CIA*

In its Final Report last year, the Select United States (Church) Committee to Study Government Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities wrote as follows:

"The Committee is disturbed both by the present practice of the CIA's operationally using American academics and by the awareness that the restraints on expanding this practice are primarily those of sensitivity to the risks of disclosure and not an appreciation of dangers to the integrity of individuals and institutions. Nevertheless, the Committee does not recommend a legislative prohibition on the operational exploitation of individuals in private institutions by the intelligence agencies. The Committee views such legislation as both unenforceable and in itself an intrusion on the privacy and integrity of the American academic community. The Committee believes that it is the responsibility of private institutions and particularly the American academic community to set the professional and ethical standards of its members. This report on the nature and extent of covert individual relations with the CIA is intended to alert these institutions that there is a problem.

"The Central Intelligence Agency has long-developed clandestine relationships with the American academic community... [It] is now using several hundred American academics, who in addition to providing leads and, on occasion, making introductions for intelligence purposes, occasionally write books and other materials to be used for propaganda purposes abroad. Beyond these, an additional few score are used in an unwitting manner for minor activities.

"These academics are located in over 100 American colleges, universities, and related institutes. At the majority of institutions, no one other than the individual concerned is aware of the CIA link. At the others, at least one university official is aware of the operational use made of academics on his campus. In addition, there are several American academics abroad who serve operational purposes, primarily the collection of intelligence."

As Zecharia Chafee has pointed out, "An independent university is as essential to the community as an independent judiciary," and he added that universities should not be transformed "into loud speakers for the men who wield political power" (*The Blessings of Liberty*). It is clear that independence and freedom from external and internal perversion are essential if universities are to function as centers of uncoerced, independent, critical and creative thought from which society derives incalculable benefits and upon which, in substantial degree, human progress depends. Freedom from perversion of the academic process is essential, too, if American universities and scholars at home and abroad are to maintain their credibility as genuinely engaged in the uninhibited search for truth.

It is extremely important that administration, faculties, and students be made aware of a serious, pervasive and continuing threat to the independence and freedom of the university and take appropriate action to obviate the threat.

Accordingly, I recommend debate upon the following resolution by our Faculty Senate:

## Resolution

*WHEREAS*

the CIA uses university professors and administrators to carry out disguised research, to "spot" and recruit students, and to travel abroad to spy on foreign countries;

*WHEREAS*

the CIA uses "academic cover" to conceal its agents abroad;

*WHEREAS*

the CIA suborns foreign students and pressures them into spying on their own governments;

*WHEREAS*

the CIA continues to place students under surveillance, to run background checks on them without permission, and has recently been given the authority to infiltrate and influence foreign organizations, like foreign student groups;

*WHEREAS*

these secret practices violate the open atmosphere necessary for learning and experimentation and compromise the integrity and independence of the university community;

WE CALL upon the President of this university to:

1) DISCLOSE any CIA-related activities or covert relationships on campus and seek assurance from CIA that no activities will take place without prior, public notice.

2) PROHIBIT, as a matter of university policy, the following practices:

a) All CIA-funded research unless the source of funding is public information;

b) All secret contractual relationships of university personnel with the CIA to spy, recruit, or perform any other activity for the Agency;

c) All secret CIA recruitment;

d) The presence, for surveillance or any other purpose, of secret CIA agents on campus;

e) The provision of any information concerning students or faculty to the CIA without prior approval of the person involved.

3) CONDEMN the use of academic cover by CIA agents abroad.

The text of this resolution is to be sent to the President of the United States, the Director of the CIA, appropriate members of Congress, and the local press.

- TK

THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION  
4 April 1977

## POINT OF VIEW

By Sidney Hook

ACCORDING to Ronald Clark, his biographer, Bertrand Russell executed some secret commissions in 1950 for the British Foreign Office on his trips abroad. According to the faculty members of the department of political science at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, such behavior would have made Bertrand Russell unfit to teach.

By what process of reasoning could such a horrendous conclusion be reached? By the same reasoning which has led a majority of the political-science department to conclude that one of their colleagues who had talked to someone in the Central Intelligence Agency about his experiences abroad was guilty of unprofessional conduct warranting dismissal. [See *The Chronicle*, Jan. 24.] That he was engaged in covert intelligence gathering, they argue, has impugned "his credibility as a teacher and scholar." They also allege that his behavior violates his professional responsibility, since he has become privy to secrets that he cannot discuss with colleagues and students. And so in the name of academic freedom, the professor is to be deprived of his academic freedom.

Before exposing the nerve of this particular kind of asininity, it should be recalled that not long ago similar arguments by individuals of the same political kidney as those calling for the dismissal of their colleague were directed against faculty members engaged in classified defense research in various scientific scholarly fields. The campaign was amazingly successful. Some scientific departments and laboratories were demoralized. Faculties were pressured into passing measures barring any classified defense research on campuses, discouraging scientists from engaging in it, and, in effect, morally excommunicating from the academic community those who regarded it as their patriotic duty to do so.

And this, despite the fact that the classified-weapons research on the campuses of English and American universities, *before* and during World War II, contributed significantly to the defeat of fascism and the preservation of free institutions, meaning academic freedom. It was a letter from Albert Einstein to Franklin Roosevelt written when the United States was not at war that inspired the Manhattan Project.

IT IS ESSENTIAL to be clear about the meaning of academic freedom. The most adequate definition is that academic freedom is the right of professionally qualified individuals to inquire into, teach, and publish the truth as they see it in the field of their competence without let or hindrance from any religious, political, or extrinsic authority. Of course, like all rights, academic freedom cannot be absolute. It does not mean that "anything goes" in laboratory or classroom. It is limited by professional standards. A scientist who "cooks" the results of his research or a scholar guilty of plagiarism cannot legitimately invoke the protection of academic freedom. It is also limited by certain ethical standards. There are some kinds of experiments, *e.g.*, those involving the torture of human beings, that no civilized community would permit anyone to conduct under the cloak of academic freedom.

Regardless of the refinements and implications of the principles of academic freedom, its practice—indeed, the very existence of the university as a fraternity of free and independent minded scholars in *all* disciplines—is integrally bound up with the preservation of a free and open society. Were any totalitarian system to prevail—as is only too apparent in communist and fascist countries—academic freedom would be completely destroyed.

It follows that to the extent that one is committed to the preservation of academic freedom, moral consistency requires that one be committed to the preservation of the free society that makes it possible. If the society that nurtures the free university, as ours does, is under attack, then the practice of academic freedom is under attack, too. If the free society requires defense, the free university is morally obligated to aid in its defense. For, if what I have said is true, in so doing it is not taking a partisan stand, but defending itself, trying to keep an open house for any or all ideas that its faculty members advance.

Today American universities impose no doctrinal orthodoxy, no metaphysical, religious, or political dogmas upon their scholars in any field, allegiance to which is a condition of employment. Needless to say, this does not require that the university as an institution enlist itself to follow the national interest, however that is conceived or by whom. Nor does it justify the government's imposing any specific obli-

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THE NEW REPUBLIC  
2 April 1977

## Correspondence

### The Selzer Case

To the editors:

I have read with considerable interest the sensitive article by Diane Ravitch, "Brouhaha in Brooklyn" (TNR, Mar. 12), concerning the case of Professor Selzer and his involvement with the CIA.

Since I am mentioned in the article in a rather significant way, and inaccurately at that, I should like to correct the facts concerning my position as stated by Ms. Ravitch. Prof. Selzer spoke with me in late May 1976 stating that he had received a call from the CIA and asked me for advice about speaking with them. I replied that I had no objections to his talking with them and I cautioned him with the simple phrase "be careful."

The sequence of events as mentioned in the article simply is incorrect in respect to Professor Selzer's discussion with me. In checking his diary Professor Selzer has confirmed the fact that he spoke to me before his meeting with the CIA representative. At that time, I was unaware of what the CIA wanted from Professor Selzer and the term "debriefing" never came up. Our conversation simply involved considering what the CIA might want. However Professor Selzer may have interpreted his conversation with me, in no way could our conversation be construed as my having sanctioned, as Department Chairman, Professor Selzer's involvement with the CIA nor of my having no objections to his being "debriefed" by them.

Albert Gorvine  
Brooklyn College

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
28 March 1977

# Letters to the Editor of the Journal

## The Selzer Case

*Editor, The Wall Street Journal:*

Your editorial of February 28 concerning Professor Michael Selzer of Brooklyn College and the CIA calls on academics to "answer the hard questions" about the relationship between the CIA and the academic community. As members of the Brooklyn College Political Science Department, we should like to attempt to do so.

The issue is not whether the CIA is good or bad; it is whether academics violate the norms of their profession by making secret agreements with the CIA to use their academic credentials in order to collect information for the agency. Your reference to the Black Panthers is irrelevant, for the issue is neither Professor Selzer's political philosophy nor his membership in an organization. On the contrary, we would defend his right to remain on the faculty if he were a member of the Black Panther party or any other political organization whose credo we as individuals might find antithetical to our own beliefs. But one does not "join" the CIA the way one joins the Black Panthers or a political party; one either accepts assignments for the CIA or one does not "belong" to it. Academics have indeed "argued that academic freedom protects Marxist and revolutionary faculty members." If what is at issue is their beliefs, were they to engage in subversive or revolutionary acts it would be another matter. We voted to have the facts of the Selzer incident investigated—(please note: what we requested was a full due process hearing to ascertain the facts, as Professor Selzer has yet to comply with repeated departmental pleas for a full statement)—because academics, whatever their political views and their voluntary associations, must be dedicated to an open search for the truth, and because this ethic is violated by agreements to collect information secretly for a government intelligence-gathering agency.

One can also approach the problem from an entirely utilitarian angle. Some years ago, American scholars were welcome almost everywhere outside Communist bloc countries. In large part because of the close relationship of a small but unidentified minority of American academics with the CIA, this attitude has changed, and, in many countries, has become hostile and closed. The United States has thus lost a major mechanism for understanding foreign societies, i.e. the access normally given trained academics. The fruit of academic research may be at least as important to an understanding of the world as are the activities of the CIA bureaucracy.

MORTON BERROWITZ

PHILIPPA STRUM

MICHAEL KAHAN

HERBERT WEISS

MARTIN FLEISHER

Brooklyn College, Department of  
Brooklyn, N.Y. Political Science



**Letters**

**Academia and the C.I.A.**

To the Editor:

As a former graduate student in government at Cornell University, I was disappointed to read of my former colleagues' protests of Prof. Myron Rush's status as scholar in residence at the C.I.A. This is guilt by association as well as an infringement of Professor Rush's freedom of association while not on the university payroll. There appears to be nothing covert or illegal about his relationship with or activities at the C.I.A.

It is rather naïve to condemn broadly any affiliation with the C.I.A. Is academia to close itself off from all legitimate contacts with agencies that have violated their charters in the past and thus retreat even farther behind the walls of the ivory tower?

I also find surprising the claim that Professor Rush's C.I.A. link will have a "chilling effect" on free expression on campus. My personal experience with Professor Rush indicates an openness to the expression of diverse opinions. I would hope Cornell graduate students have enough confidence in their convictions to be undeterred by such unfounded paranoia.

JEFFREY LEVI  
Alexandria, Va., March 20, 1977

NEW REPUBLIC  
26 MARCH 1977

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## Correspondence

### ACLU and CIA

To the editors:

Last October, the American Civil Liberties Union sent a letter to colleges calling their attention to a passage in the Final Report of the Church committee. It noted the existence of long established clandestine relationships between the CIA and members of college faculties. The letter urged that the problem be publicized on college campuses and that Congress should enact a legislative prohibition on "the operational exploitation" of college faculties by the intelligence agencies.

In the March 12 *New Republic*, a sidebar from the editors that accompanied an article by Diane Ravitch ("Brouhaha in Brooklyn") implies—without ever quite saying so—that this letter shows the ACLU will not defend college faculty members whose academic freedom or right to due process is violated in the name of antagonism to the CIA.

The record belies any such inferences. To cite just one example, in the 1960s the ACLU issued a statement condemning actions by students on college campuses interfering with the free speech of others. Subsequently, the ACLU undertook the defense of a great many students either improperly charged with interfering with the free speech of others or disciplined through the use of improper procedures.

Ms. Ravitch, in her article, makes the point that it is improper to punish people for conduct that was deemed innocent at the time it took place. The ACLU agrees. But that hardly argues against the circulation of a letter such as the ACLU sent to colleges last October. It is by calling attention to a problem such as clandestine relationships with the CIA that one gets rules made proscribing it. The ACLU is continuing its consideration of this matter, and we expect to suggest specific rules to colleges.

The Michael Selzer case at Brooklyn College was the focus of the Ravitch article and the accompanying editorial sidebar. As the editors note, Selzer has not asked the ACLU to represent him, at least up to this time. If he does seek representation by us, as is our practice,

York Civil Liberties Union. Selzer did make some preliminary inquiries of NYCLU before any proceedings were instituted against him. He was advised to get back in touch with us if some action were taken against him, but has not yet done so. If he does seek our help, the New York CLU will determine whether to represent Selzer on the basis of its evaluation of the case, and nothing more.

*Aryeh Neier*  
American Civil Liberties Union  
New York, New York

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NEW REPUBLIC  
26 MARCH 1977

### The APSA resolution

*To the editors:*

The resolution of the American Political Science Association referred to in Diane Ravitch's article on the Selzer case at Brooklyn College ("Brouhaha in Brooklyn," *TNR*, Mar. 12) has faults which I hope will be corrected. I can perhaps put it in a more favorable light by saying that the resolution did recognize "the importance of the academic community's participation in the conduct of government and formulation of government policies" and did not condemn all participation by political scientists in CIA or other government intelligence activities but asked only that such participation be fully disclosed.

The resolution failed to define with any precision the kind and degree of involvement that should be avoided and, especially to be regretted, said nothing to insure due process for accused individuals or (in your words) to "warn against a relapse into civil-libertarian myopia." I should also point out, however, that the Council did not regard this resolution as the final word on the question but, at the same meeting, referred it to the Association's Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom which will, I am sure, in due course bring in a more carefully considered statement.

*Samuel H. Beer*  
*President*  
*American Political Science Association*

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## NEW YORK TIMES

20 March 1977

# Professor's Employment by C.I.A. Draws Cornell Students' Protest

Special to The New York Times

ITHACA, March 14—A Cornell University professor of government, on leave this year at the Central Intelligence Agency, has sparked a protest by graduate students in government here who believe faculty members should not be working for the Central Intelligence Agency in any capacity.

The controversy comes at a time when colleges and universities across the country are examining ties and suspected ties to the intelligence agency in the wake of the report by a Senate committee last spring that the agency's links to the academic community were widespread and covert.

The students at Cornell recently charged that faculty involvement with the C.I.A. "undermines the trust necessary for the survival of the academic community and basic academic freedoms." They also said it had a "chilling effect" on the free expression of opinion on campus.

### Involvement Is Opposed

The professor, Myron Rush, a specialist in Soviet internal affairs, was invited last summer to be a "scholar in residence" at the C.I.A.'s headquarters in Langley, Va. He accepted the offer last fall, informing his colleagues and several of his students, according to Dr. George H. Quester, chairman of the government department at Cornell. Dr. Rush is currently on leave without pay from the university while he is with the C.I.A.

This notification was in accordance with guidelines established last June by the American Association of University Professors. The guidelines call on "all academics associated in any capacity with a governmental agency to disclose the nature of this association to professional colleagues, students and others who are affected by it, as well as in publications resulting from" the association with the agency.

The professional group also declared its firm opposition to any initiative by government agencies to involve academics in "covert intelligence operations under the guise of academic research."

As word of Dr. Rush's appointment spread, the graduate students became increasingly disturbed. After weeks of debate they approved a resolution two weeks ago condemning any faculty involvement with the C.I.A. or other organization engaging in "illegal activities." They also urged Cornell to adopt policies prohibiting faculty ties to such agencies.

The response to the graduate students' resolution has not been favorable. Several government professors have called it "McCarthyism of the left."

Although no names were mentioned in the resolution, the students behind it acknowledge that it was Dr. Rush's involvement that triggered it. In fact, they say, his name was mentioned in an early draft in which several students urged that he be dismissed from the department.

The controversy at Cornell is unusual in that Dr. Rush has not been particularly secretive about his role with the C.I.A. He denies having had any ongoing relationship with the agency, as some students fear, and defends his use of classified research material that is unavailable to other members of the academic world.

There are problems with using classified research, Dr. Rush said, "but the solution to the problem is not willful ignorance." Dr. Rush is presumed to be analyzing the question of who is likely to succeed Leonid Brezhnev as leader of the Soviet Communist Party, since this is his special area of concern.

Dr. Rush also said he did not believe he was violating the intent of the students' resolution because, he said, President Carter has asserted that the intelligence community is currently not engaged in any illegal activities.

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20305

18 March 1977



STAT

Mr. Cullen Murphy  
Associate Editor, Change  
NBW Tower  
New Rochelle, New York 10801

Dear Mr. Murphy,

Thank you for your note of February 17 and the attached clipping. I want to assure you that I am concerned about the Agency's relationships with the academic community and that I believe, as you do, there are important questions of principle involved.

Certainly, it seems to me, one of the most important principles involved is that there should be no inconsistency between the objectives of the academic community and the Central Intelligence Agency -- the search for the truth in regard to world affairs and the need for the U.S. Government to benefit from the knowledge of the scholarly institutions of this country. To divorce the Agency, which provides advice and analyses to the highest levels of our government, from scholars and their product would seem to me to be the height of folly. I believe our mutual objective should be to strengthen that relationship on bases that are agreeable to both the government and the academic institutions.

To that end, I assure you I will give the matter my attention and that we will, as you suggest, examine the matter with care.

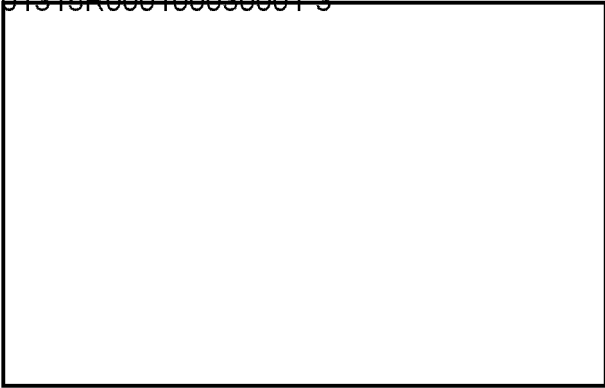
One final point: your editorial indicates you may not have seen the reply of my predecessor, Mr. George Bush, to Professor Van Alstyne. I am therefore enclosing, for your information, both Professor Van Alstyne's letter and Mr. Bush's reply.

Incidentally, I am intrigued by your deduction from the Amherst Student report that we shared the same room at the Chi Psi house. I can believe that the pipes and the radiators were the same, but that mattress was already 30 years old when I was there!

Yours sincerely,

STANSFIELD TURNER  
Admiral, U.S. Navy

Enclosure




## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

16 March 1977

DCI,

Recommend that response to the Center for National Security Studies be handled by letter from me, in order not to expose you to the continuing sterile confrontation with this outfit. The DCI should not join battle with askers of "have you issued directives to discontinue wife-beating?" type of questions. IG, as you know, is working on a brief for you on the Marks testimony in your hearing. We will also have a brief on the questions raised by Macy. The whole question of largely externally-inspired "strong concern" in universities has been handled by us in parallel with the now essentially settled matter of relations with the media, and you may wish to discuss its various aspects when you have time.

Andrew T.  Falkiewicz

STAT

*Academe and the CIA/p.3*

THE ITHACA  
NEW TIMES

WOMEN IN THE  
Interviews with Ely Danoway  
and Talla Sline/p.14

March 10, 1977 Vol II No 23 COMPLEMENTARY



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# Academicians in the CIA

## Can a Free and Open University Maintain Associations with an Organization that Undertakes Clandestine Activities?

By NANCY K. BEREANO

Authors Victor Marchetti and John Marks note in their book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, that the following inscription is carved in the marble-walled lobby of the CIA headquarters in Langley, Va.: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

In spite of this biblical admonition, the CIA has not been characterized by its reputation for veracity. Most observers agree, in fact, that the disclosures made during the recent Senate inquiry headed by Idaho's Senator Frank Church, coupled with several highly publicized accounts of their exploits written by defectors from CIA ranks, reveal only the tip of the intelligence operation's iceberg.

Cornell University, an academic institution dedicated to "free and unfettered inquiry," as one supporter commented, is once again being asked to examine its relationship to the CIA. This time the challenge comes from within the university community in the form of a resolution passed by a vote of 27 to 5 several weeks ago by the government department's Graduate Student Organization.

The resolution was prompted by the fact that Myron Rush, one of the department's senior tenured faculty and a member of its Soviet Studies Program, is on a year's leave of absence while serving as a professor-in-residence with the CIA. The Graduate Student Organization has asked Cornell to go beyond its present policy of leaving it to the discretion of individual academics to decide what they believe to be an appropriate use of their private professional time.

The resolution reads in part: "We . . . believe that the involvement of faculty and students, including those of our department, with organizations which engaged in illegal activities undermines the trust necessary for

the survival of the academic community and basic academic freedoms. We denounce this involvement in the strongest terms . . . We urge students and faculty in all departments and the university at large to adopt policies preventing such ties."

### Jeopardizing Credibility?

Thomas Brannon, one of the graduate students instrumental in getting the resolution adopted, explained that three principal positions were represented within the group who favored passage: "People who thought it was wrong to be involved with the CIA in general, people who thought it was wrong to be both an academic and involved in work with the CIA and people who were afraid that their future professional credibility would be jeopardized."

Although Rush was not available for comment in his office in Langley, he has not been particularly secretive about his plans for the 1976-77 academic year. According to George Quester, chairman of the government department, Rush told his class last spring of his intentions. Quester himself filled out forms at that time as part of the CIA security clearance process. Quester assumes that Rush's work at the CIA is concerned with Succession—what will happen when Breshnev is no longer the head of the U.S.S.R.—since this is Rush's area of specialization.

Quester indicated that he has "no concern" over Rush's activities since they conform to existing university policy. Byron Saunders, dean of the faculty, reaffirmed this stance. "The university should not be in a position of dictating one's private life as long as there is no criminal or moral turpitude," he stated.

When John Marks, a former Cornell student and currently a staff member of the Washington-based Center for National Security Studies, levelled charges of Cornell-

CIA complicity last September, W. Donald Cooke, vice president for research replied: "Cornell has no projects funded by the CIA . . . . Additionally, Cornell has a long-standing policy prohibiting classified research. Nor do we accept any research funds which prohibit full publication of the results of research findings." Cooke also said that he was not aware of any "secret CIA presence on campus or otherwise under the auspices of Cornell."

### Academic Involvement

A much bleaker picture is painted in the final report of Senator Church's Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. With an editorial note explaining that this particular section has been "substantially abridged at the request of the executive agencies, that document asserts: "The Central Intelligence Agency is now using several hundred American academics ('academics' includes administrators, faculty members and graduate students engaged in teaching), who in addition to providing leads and, on occasion, making introductions for intelligence purposes, occasionally write books and other materials to be used for propaganda purposes abroad. . . . These

academics are located in over 100 American colleges, universities, and related institutes."

The minority report of the Church Committee, signed by three members of the committee including then-Senator Walter Mondale, concludes that "the discussion of the role of U.S. academics in the CIA's clandestine activities has been so diluted that its scale and impact on the American academic institutions is no longer clear."

While no one has come forward with any evidence linking Rush to either long-term CIA connections, undisclosed research or recruiting of graduate students for the CIA, a number of students have expressed their fears. One of them, Wendy Mink, talked about "the chilling effect of the (CIA) association itself."

Harvey Fireside, chairman of Ithaca College's politics department and a Soviet Studies specialist, spoke in general about the relationship between the university and the CIA. "The university is not a fit place for cloak and dagger work," he said. In a more caustic vein he noted, "There should be no fusion of secret activities and academia. Once you've lost your virginity to the CIA, you're available as a whore." □

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R. J. JAMESON

CHIEF OF STAFF

Founded in 1880  
Incorporated 1905  
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# The Cornell Daily Sun

*"Ithaca's Only Morning Newspaper"*

VOL. XCIII—106

ITHACA, NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1977

Approved For Release 2007/01/20 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100030001-3

# Gov't Grad Students Condemn Faculty CIA Involvements

By JEFF BIALOS

A resolution, written by government graduate students, denouncing any faculty involvement in the CIA or in other organizations engaging in illegal activities has been sharply criticized by some government professors as "McCarthyism of the left."

The resolution, passed recently by a new, loosely knit organization of government graduate students by a 27-5 vote, has triggered a growing controversy among students and professors in the department.

The controversy focuses not only on whether and within what limits professors should be connected with the CIA, but also on the procedural question of the students' motives and tactics in presenting the condemning resolution.

The students have been

charged by some professors with practicing "McCarthyism of the Left," because, although no names were mentioned, it appears the resolution was directed toward criticizing Prof. Myron Rush, government. Rush is a Kremlinologist who is working for the CIA while on sabbatical this semester.

He is widely known as an expert on changes in the leadership of the Soviet Union and Eastern European nations, and it is believed that he is now working on the question of who will succeed current Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

The professors charge that by leaking the vague, open-ended resolution to the press, the students are really making unsubstantiated charges against Rush and implying "guilt by associa-

Continued on Page 6

# Graduate Students Condemn Work with CIA

Continued from Page 1

tion."

The graduate students, however, for the most part deny there was any attempt to publicize or spread either the resolution or innuendos about Rush. The graduate student organization has no further plans to pursue the issues.

Most contacted, in fact, stressed that the resolution was an in-house poll of graduate students' feelings on the subject that should not have been made public.

Moreover, they stress that the resolution is not a personal attack on Rush's activities, but a more general indictment of any aca-

demie involvement in the intelligence community because of its association with illegal clandestine activities in recent years.

The students, however, do admit that it was Rush's involvement with the CIA that sparked the resolution. In fact, his name was mentioned in an early draft, and was excised because of the overwhelming opposition of the graduate students to its inclusion, they said.

Some graduate students and professors also said they believe there are several graduate students in the department, who together with members of the radical community, seem to want to see Rush's association propagandized in the media.

The controversy over the resolution may also hinder the recent attempts of the graduate students to gain an inroad into faculty decision-making on issues like tenure, academic content and hiring as well as worsen what some see as a communications gap between students and faculty.

## Professor In Residence

Rush, contacted last night at his home in Virginia, denied the allegations of several students that he had any on-going ties with

the CIA. He said, however, that he was invited last summer to become a "Scholar-in-Residence" at the CIA and decided to accept the offer.

He said he is continuing to do the same work he was doing at Cornell — political analysis of the Soviet Union — and that working at the CIA gives him access to important facts not available in the academic community.

Rush, accepting President Carter's statement yesterday that the intelligence community is currently not engaged in any illegal activity, said he would still be willing to come into the organization even if he thought illegal actions were going on if he believed he could do something to eliminate such things or do valuable work there.

Rush defended the importance of classified research to scholars in many fields, saying there is "nothing objectionable if a person is doing it freely." He called the view that members of the academic community should not use classified materials closed to other scholars "Know-Nothingism." There are problems with classified research, "but the solution to the problem is not willful ignorance," he added.

"I hope that students would recognize that I'm a person who speaks the truth as he sees it and I hope they'll listen," Rush added, expressing concern that the resolution does not worsen relationships between the faculty and students.

The resolution, passed after a meeting several weeks ago and mail balloting by students not present, states:

"We the concerned graduate students of the government department of Cornell University believe that the involvement of faculty and students, including those of our department, with organizations which engage in illegal activities undermines the trust necessary for the survival of the academic community and basic academic freedoms.

"Having taken this action, we urge students and faculty in all departments and the University at large to adopt policies preventing such ties."

A copy of the resolution was obtained from a student who acted unofficially, not on behalf of the organization.

## Professor Reaction

All professors contacted defended Rush as an outstanding

Continued on Page 11

# Graduate Students Condemn Faculty Working for CIA

Continued from Page 6  
and highly ethical academician. They expressed unanimous disbelief of the idea he was involved in any illegal activity.

Moreover, they say the implication of guilt by association with the CIA is wrong, as many of its functions deal with intelligence work necessary for the on-going foreign relations of the United States.

The CIA and the entire intelligence community has gained a rather tarnished reputation in recent years after revelations of assassination plots on foreign leaders, domestic spying plans and other illegal activities. However, defenders of the agency have pointed out that such covert operational activities comprise only a small part of what the CIA actually does.

Prof. George H. Quester, Chairman of the Government Department, said it is better if the CIA uses intelligent people from outside the intelligence community to find out what's happening than relying merely on its own personnel.

"If we have a way of knowing what's going on in the Kremlin, it's our duty to find out for ourselves and for the world."

Quester criticized a blanket ethical opposition to the CIA, saying the students "haven't seen the backlash of somebody else's ethics" and the problems they raise for academic freedom, alluding again to McCarthyism.

"It's lamentable that they (the students) didn't discuss it with us (the faculty) before they made a public issue out of it," Theodore J. Lowi, John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions, said.

By not confronting the faculty directly, "they're assuming that

we're the CIA, we're vindictive," that we would allow differences on politics to impinge on other decisions, he said.

Prof. Werner J. Dannhauser said he regarded it as "unconscionable and filthy" that he found out about the resolution from The Cornell Daily Sun and not the students themselves, and added a faction of the Government department is being served which couldn't get the resolution with Rush's name in it passed honestly.

Of the resolution, Dannhauser said, "It's disquieting and revolting McCarthyism of the left."

Lowi also said the people releasing the resolution "were trying to subvert their own majority, and called The Sun 'irresponsible.'" He said McCarthyism was a product of journalists not looking behind McCarthy's accusations and repeating them verbatim.

Quester said the radical community probably wanted to show solidarity with The Third World and "strike a blow for revolution" by propagandizing Rush's employment with the CIA.

Other professors contacted were less critical in their remarks, terming the resolution "ill-advised," or just wrong, while a number of other faculty members also refused to comment, saying they preferred to discuss it at a later date.

## 'Not A Vendetta'

"It was not a vendetta against any single professor, but just a statement of concern by the majority of graduate students who voted on the resolution," Elizabeth Sanders, grad said.

"If the faculty views it in personal terms, that's not the graduate students' fault," she

added.

The students admit, however, that Rush's involvement prompted them to pass the resolution, to go on the record opposing academic ties to the CIA.

While most of the students indicate they supported the resolution to bring the CIA issue before the department, and go on record as being opposed to CIA ties, several did appear to have been directing it at Rush.

They admit, however, there may be several students who are seeking to publicly denounce Rush's involvement.

"Everyone knows that's who it's about," one student said, while another admitted that two or possibly three students wanted to incorporate Rush's name in the resolution.

There was also other circumstantial evidence that supported this view.

—The Center for National Security Affairs in Washington, a group headed by John Marks that does research on the CIA, said through a spokesman that it was contacted by graduate students at Cornell and asked to investigate Rush's affiliation with the CIA earlier this year.

—The Sun has been contacted by several anonymous sources earlier this week who suggested an investigation into the resolution and Rush's CIA links.

Most of the graduate students contacted refused to have their names used by The Sun for fear of reprisal by faculty members in terms of either grades on upcoming comprehensive examinations they face or lack of support in finding academic positions after

Continued on Page 12

# Graduate Students Condemn Faculty Working for CIA

*Continued from Page 11*  
attaining their Ph.D.s.

The intensity of faculty opposition to the resolution on procedure grounds, coupled with the graduate students' denial of their criticisms, has buried the question of to what extent faculty members ought to be involved with the CIA.

Most professors took the view that faculty members should be allowed to do classified research and work for the intelligence agencies as long as their work is not illegal if they are on leaves of absence of sabbaticals. To deny professors access to certain types of secret information relevant to their field of study would impinge upon their scholarship, they say.

Moreover, they say that denying professors access to confidential information would preclude not only affiliations with the CIA and FBI, but also the Treasury Department, State Department and a host of other government agencies and non-government corporations.

While professors defended these rights for faculty members on leaves, some said they believed that faculty members working on campus should not be allowed to engage in classified research, that is, use materials that are inaccessible to other scholars, and cannot be published.

Under current university guidelines set up after a similar controversy over classified research some years ago, professors are allowed up to five hours per week in off-campus consulting although being prohibited from engaging in classified work while on campus. Off campus, however, there are no regulations over what they do, aside from prohibitions against any illegal activities.

After several exchanges of proposals between the faculty and graduate students, the student organization was recently allowed to appoint several representatives to faculty meetings and meet with

the heads of faculty search committees.

Such graduate student input is unknown in many other departments of the University. Quester said his experience with graduate student involvement has shown an interest in getting the procedure set up for such input, and than a following lack of interest in the substance.

Besides such opposition on practical grounds, there also may be repercussions from the controversy over the resolution.

Dannhauser has already stated that he will not attend faculty

meetings for the rest of this year because of the presence of the student representatives and their association with "McCarthyism of the left."

Other professors and students indicated that there is already a communications gap between the two groups, and some have said they expect it to grow, while others deny its existence.

The professors, when contacted by the Sun, had to either be shown or read the resolution, as they had not seen it and there apparently there has been little dialogue over it between the faculty and students.

## FCR Votes on Proposals

*Continued from Page 1*  
sentation on the Academic Freedom and Responsibility Committee.

The FCR resolutions, along with results of the campus government referendum announced yesterday and a report from President Dale R. Corson, will be sent to a trustee committee for consideration.

The council did not pass resolutions on all parts of the Chester report. A note accompanying the resolutions stated the FCR dealt with those parts of the report that were of "more direct concern than others."

The council took no action on the fourth chapter of the report, which concerns the departments of the Division of Campus Life. It neither endorsed nor rejected the recommended procedure in that chapter for faculty appointments to campus life committees.

The FCR strongly rejected three resolutions submitted by Prof. Arthur Berkey, education. They would have taken away the power of the President to arbitrate disputes between the Campus Affairs Committee and the Vice President for Campus Affairs, the power of department heads to resolve unilaterally matters under consideration by committees or boards, and the power

of department heads to "make small variations in policy" without committee approval.

Another Berkey amendment shifted the source of delegated power from the President to the Board of Trustees. All the amendments would have returned the government to the way they are currently constructed.

Ian R. Macneil, Frank B. Ingersoll Professor of Law, said the recommendation in the report on increasing community representation on the Board of Trustees was "very salutary."

He supported the recommendation that the board include one student, one employe and one faculty member on its executive committee, saying "you have to have representation on the executive committee if you want to get anything done."

Prof. Robert A. McGinnis, sociology, requested the council to reject the report's recommendation on forming an assembly.

McGinnis said if the trustees form an assembly, "there will be something phony about it," because "it'll be a powerless body." He said because it would not have legislative power over non-judicial matters, "you're not going to get interest or people willing to be members in it."

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 18THE NEW REPUBLIC  
12 March 1977

Is anti-CIA hysteria turning into McCarthyism of the left?

## Brouhaha in Brooklyn

by Diane Ravitch

Michael Selzer's colleagues in the political science department at Brooklyn College, where he is an assistant professor, voted overwhelmingly in January to ask the college president to dismiss him because of his involvement with the Central Intelligence Agency. For all they knew, Selzer's services to the CIA involved nothing more than a 15-minute phone conversation following a trip to Europe last summer. John W. Kneller, president of Brooklyn College, has asked the college provost to set up a panel to determine whether disciplinary action is appropriate. Selzer claims that his dealings with the CIA were entirely innocuous and that he is a victim of "McCarthyism of the left." His departmental colleagues assert that he engaged in covert intelligence gathering for the CIA and that the presence of a "CIA agent" on the faculty threatens their freedom. The CIA has maintained ties, open and covert, with members of American academia for years. In the wake of the bad publicity the agency has received in recent years, the propriety of these ties is being reexamined. Groups such as the American Association of University Professors, the American Political Science Association and the American Civil Liberties Union recently have adopted policy statements against the use of academic credentials as a cover to gather information for the CIA. Whether this is what Michael Selzer did depends on your interpretation of the facts of his case, most of which are undisputed. There is little doubt, however, that until very recently his behavior would have been considered innocuous.

The man at the center of the dispute has an unusual personal history. Michael Selzer's parents, both Jewish physicians, fled Nazi Germany in 1937 and settled in Lahore, India (now Pakistan). In 1940, shortly after his birth, his parents were accused by a local physician of being German spies, and his family spent the war in a British prison camp. After the war his parents sought to emigrate to the United States, but were denied a visa because of their prison record. When he was 12, he was sent to Bedales School in England and subsequently received bachelor's and master's degrees at Balliol College, Oxford.

After he finished Oxford Selzer moved to Israel, where his parents now live. Doubtless because of his own background, he found himself attuned to the grievances of the "Oriental" Jews, those who had emigrated from North Africa and other non-European countries. He became an outspoken critic of Israel and Zionism and in 1966 arrived in the United States to work on behalf of the Council of the Sephardic Community in Jerusalem, an organization devoted to the interests of Oriental Jews. His job, as he describes it, was to "raise the consciousness of American Jews to the problems of discrimination against Oriental Jews in Israel." He soon joined the staff of the American Council for Judaism, an anti-Zionist political pressure group.

In 1967, Selzer's first book appeared, entitled *The Aryanization of the Jewish State*. The substance of the book was less strident than the title, but its appearance in the year of the Six-Day War created a small sensation. He later published several other books on Zionism and anti-Semitism, which were focused on the problem of Jewish identity and Jewish history. (Despite his own active anti-Zionism, his parents moved to Israel from Lahore in 1972 in the aftermath of an outbreak

Diane Ravitch teaches history at Columbia University.

continued



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ON PAGE 20

## WALL STREET JOURNAL

9 March 1977

# Thinking Things Over

By VERMONT ROYSTER

### *A Small Confession*

Back in the summer of 1962—and a long time ago it seems now—12 American editors were offered a unique opportunity to visit the Soviet Union as guests of the Union of Soviet Journalists. Although they were, as travellers always are in that strange land, shepherded by their Communist hosts they nonetheless saw more than most visitors.

The group included, besides me, representatives of most of the major American newspapers—Lee Hills, head of the Knight papers and then president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors; Paul Miller, head of the Gannett papers and president of the Associated Press; Robert Estabrook, chief European correspondent of The Washington Post, to mention only a few. There were also editors from geographically scattered smaller newspapers.

When we returned after a journey of some 8,000 miles from Leningrad to Central Asia, we spent an afternoon with Ambassador Thompson sharing our impressions. Later a few of us were invited to visit President Kennedy, and all who would were asked to visit the State Department to talk with officials there.

I do not know what the others did but I spent more than an hour one morning with State Department officials especially interested in Soviet affairs; the group may have included, for all I know, someone from the CIA. I also answered questions, at its request, from the Joint Economic Committee of Congress about economic conditions, as I saw them, in the Soviet Union.

All this personal reminiscence would be nothing more than a minor footnote to history except for the fact that there has lately been much public controversy about the propriety of journalists and others who may acquire foreign information "cooperating" with the CIA and similar government agencies.

\* \* \*

Not long ago there was quite an uproar when it became known that a number of American foreign correspondents share such tidbits of information as they may come by with the American mission in that country. It was argued, at least in some quarters, that this made them "spies," not journalists.

More recently there has been a flap at Brooklyn College because a political science professor there, whose special interest is research in terrorism, agreed to report to the CIA any interesting information he came across on a research trip to Europe. There are those at Brooklyn College who think he ought to be fired forthwith.

This raises an interesting philosophical question. If an American citizen travelling abroad acquires some information that might be useful to his government in understanding conditions in a foreign country, what should he do? Should he share the information with those in his government to whom it may be useful? Or should he refuse?

It's not a question that arises for journalists or political scientists alone. A knowledgeable businessman travelling abroad may gather information about industrial production methods that would be highly useful in understanding economic development in that country. So might a banker about impending currency developments or an airline pilot about the state of aeronautical technology.

Sometimes even an ordinary tourist who has a local friend, or perchance strikes up an informal acquaintance, may glean from conversation some clues as to the mood of the country helpful in assessing possible future developments. Rarely is such information meaningful by itself. Put together with a mosaic of other information it might be very useful in understanding social, economic and political developments in the country.

\* \* \*

Certainly there were no "secrets" uncovered in that Soviet visit of long ago; we saw nothing and heard nothing but what our hosts allowed. But we did spend two and a half hours with then Premier Khrushchev, many hours with the editors of Pravda, Izvestia and local editors from Georgia to Uzbekistan. We saw farms and factories, talked with peasants, university professors, young students, actors, musicians and poets.

Whether any of that was helpful to those whose task it was to better understand the Soviet Union, I cannot say. I doubt whether those journalists who later made similar visits to Red China, including Robert Bartley of The Wall Street Journal, can say that this or that piece of information they came upon was a revelation to those seeking to understand that inscrutable country.

But that is not the question, really. The question, rather, is whether the journalist—or the businessman or college professor or casual tourist—having had the experience is acting improperly if he shares his information, impressions and judgments with interested officials of his own country.

I confess that 15 years ago the question never occurred to me. Neither I nor anyone in the group had stolen secret Russian papers, bribed any informants, taken any forbidden pictures or otherwise done

Yet I saw no reason why I should not talk about what I had seen and heard if, perchance, there was some observation which put together with other information might be helpful to those who had to deal with the Soviet Union. It never crossed my mind that the foreign affairs officials of my country were somehow "enemies" to be avoided.

Today, at least in some quarters, that attitude is considered immoral and it may even get a poor college professor fired. That's because in many intellectual circles there is a war on against the CIA and all intelligence gathering agencies. Much of this the CIA has brought on itself with its rather strange covert activities. But by some alchemy that criticism has been converted into the idea that it is wicked for a citizen to do anything to help those in his government better understand what is going on in the countries with which it must deal.

Perhaps so. But while I cannot speak for my colleagues, I confess that I do not cease being a citizen of my country because I am a journalist and I do not think that, as a citizen, it is immoral for me to share with my government such information as I may gather about the world around us.

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## Nonacademic question

Michael Selzer is a professor of political science at Brooklyn College who has been doing research on terrorism. Last year, Professor Selzer called the Central Intelligence Agency to ask whether it had any unclassified material in its files on the psychological testing of terrorists.

CIA officials said they had no such information, and asked Professor Selzer what he was up to. He told them of his research, and mentioned that he would be traveling to Europe in furtherance of his project. The CIA officials asked him to do them a favor and let them know if he came up with anything interesting.

On his return from Europe, Professor Selzer called the CIA and, he says, spent 15 minutes telling an official about his European trip. He claims he wasn't paid for his information. He also claims he never tried to keep secret his impromptu connection with the CIA.

Several months ago, 20 members of the political science faculty at Brooklyn College, after two meetings — one of which Professor Selzer was asked to attend — passed a resolution asking that he be dismissed because of his "covert activities for the CIA," as the resolution put it.

A three-member faculty committee appointed by Brooklyn College President John W. Kneller has just completed an investigation of the allegations against Professor Selzer, and is ready to make its report. The findings should be interesting.

Professor Selzer's tribulations raise questions about the relationships between college faculty members and agencies that engage in covert activities and whether a faculty member should be disciplined for personal beliefs.

If Professor Selzer accepted payment from the CIA for his activities on its behalf, his dismissal would be warranted under regulations of the New York City Board of Higher Education which prohibit full-time faculty members from accepting paid employment outside the City University community. Professor Selzer's dismissal then would become merely part of an internal bureaucratic dispute. If Professor Selzer did not accept payment for activities on behalf of the CIA, and he is nevertheless discharged, it would raise the question of his academic freedom.

Shouldn't he be permitted to lend his talents to the CIA if he believes it is a necessary agency to protect the integrity and safety of the United States? Shouldn't his activity on behalf of the CIA be treated with the same tolerance as the membership of another teacher on a committee supporting Angela Davis, or the Black Panthers, or any other peaceful cause in which an instructor may believe?

President Kneller will have to wrestle with these questions before he makes a decision on Professor Selzer's continued presence at Brooklyn College. It will be interesting to see how Mr. Kneller answers them, for his reply may indicate whether a double standard of academic freedom has developed on American campuses.

836-6080

836-6300 Ext. 13

# The Gauntlet

FAIRLEIGH DICKINSON UNIVERSITY  
1000 River Road, Teaneck, New Jersey 07660

February 5, 1977

Mr. George Bush, Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. Bush;

This is a request under the Freedom of Information Act as amended (Title 5 U.S.C. s552).

We believe that it is in the general public interest that all past and present contractual arrangements or agreements and personnel relationships between the CIA and Fairleigh Dickinson University be made public under the statutes of the Freedom of Information Act. This letter is such a request for the above named information.

By contractual arrangement or agreement we mean research contracts (witting or unwitting on the part of the researchers), and training contracts or agreements, and recruiting agreements with Fairleigh Dickinson University.

By personnel relationships, we mean any person that is in the employ of the CIA or receives funding from the CIA (witting or unwitting), and persons who (paid or unpaid, witting or unwitting) "provide the CIA with leads, make introductions for intelligence purposes, occasionally write books and other material for propaganda purposes"; collect or disseminate information on a regular or non-regular basis, and engage in "spotting" and/or recruitment of foreign nationals who are students at Fairleigh Dickinson University. This category would also include those activities that are unknown to us and not mentioned above.

Personnel includes non-academic staff, research assistants, teaching assistants, graduate students, professors, undergraduate students, administrators, student athletes and coaches.

By Fairleigh Dickinson University, we include our three major campuses: Teaneck, New Jersey; Rutherford, New Jersey; Madison, New Jersey.

As the Act requires, we request a response within 10 working days. I would appreciate the fair and expedient handling of this matter.

Yours truly,

*Marc J. Medoff*

Marc J. Medoff  
Editor-in-chief

*Feb. 7, 1977*  
*Katherine Letrop*

WILMINGTON, DELA.

NEWS

M - 44,988

NEWS-JOURNAL

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JAN 17 1977

# Don't aid the government?

All you college professors out there, be careful. Do not become involved with the CIA. For if you do, you may end up out on the street, job hunting.

That at least is the message coming from Brooklyn College in New York, where Michael Selzer, a 36-year old professor of political science, is in deep trouble. Prof. Selzer, it seems, agreed last year prior to undertaking a trip to Europe that he would report to the CIA any information that might be of interest. According to the professor, who is well known for his psychohistorical research, his actual reporting upon his return consisted of nothing more than a brief telephone conversation.

But his colleagues in the political science department do not care about the extent of his CIA involvement. They say that any such connection threatens academic integrity and hence is ground for removal, suspension or other disciplining. They cite recent resolutions from the American Association of University Professors and the American Political Science Association to bolster their position that "covert intelligence activity" violates academic integrity.

Nonsense.

Since when is it a crime for an American

willingly to supply information to any branch of his government? Our government on all levels draws heavily on the academic community to fill policy-making positions, to consult, and to do research. Should the CIA be excluded from tapping that talent pool?

The integrity of a professor's scholarly work is as much (or little) threatened by the quest for federal funds as by contact with the CIA. But what kind of a "threat" are we talking about? The threat is nothing more or less than support for our government in the sense that if you are in any way on the government's payroll you may lose your academic objectivity.

To assume that kind of inevitable cause and effect is to give little credit to the academicians. And it overlooks the well-known academic nay sayers during the McCarthy and Vietnam eras.

For a university department to attempt to tell its members what they may or may not do on their own time of their own will in dealing with their own government is presumptuous, to say the least. Brooklyn College should be pleased that Prof. Selzer is smart enough to have information to share not only with his students but also with the CIA.

D 12  
NEW YORK TIMES

14 JAN 1977

## C.I.A. Declines Specific Comment On Ties With Brooklyn Professor

By PETER KIHSS

The Central Intelligence Agency said yesterday that it would "not deprive people from voluntarily offering information to their Government," but it declined specific comment on its involvement with a Brooklyn College faculty member.

Dr. John W. Kneller, the college's president, assigned Donald R. Reich, provost, to make an official inquiry into charges raised by the political science department late Wednesday that Michael Selzer, an assistant professor, had violated academic standards by what the department said was "agreement to engage in covert intelligence-gathering" for the C.I.A.

Professor Selzer has denied involvement in any "covert" program, telling newsmen he had agreed only to a request to pass on anything interesting he might by happenstance learn on trips abroad. He is currently on medical leave in Jerusalem, slated to return Feb. 3, and he said he would fight any disciplinary action—on which he is assured full due process.

### C.I.A. Will 'Hear Out Any Citizen'

A spokesman for the C.I.A. said it "has a policy of refraining from comment on individual cases," but added:

"We have 30-odd offices of our domestic collection division which will hear out any citizen who would like to offer information to the Government. They have been in existence about 25 years, and they would not be around if there were not enough Americans willing to cooperate with their Government."

The spokesman suggested that most people would regard it wasteful to spend large sums otherwise for "extensive operations abroad to gather information which is overt and which is readily available from knowledgeable American citizens here at home."

The effort to discipline or even oust Professor Selzer may be the first based on alleged C.I.A. roles. George Bush, the C.I.A. director, last February ruled out any paid or contractual relationships with newsmen and churchmen, on the ground of their special status under the Constitution, but there is no policy against similar collaboration with members of other occupations.

The report by Brooklyn College's political science department cited policy statements, including a 1976 resolution by the American Association of University Professors, that intelligence agencies' exploitation of scholars "has risked undermining the credibility of published research and risked compromising the position of academics."

It also quoted a resolution last September by the council of the American Political Science Association opposing government involvement of scholars "in covert intelligence operations under the guise of academic research."

The council urged nonparticipation in any government intelligence activities "unless the sponsorship is fully disclosed" to colleagues, students and the individuals affected.

In Washington, the university professors' group said its resolution last June was based on the Senate investigation led by Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, which implied that the C.I.A. might have involved universities and faculty members in covert activities.

The Political Science Association's recommendations were virtually identical to the rest of the text of the professorial association's resolution, and followed its proposal that specific professional groups adopt such policy statements.

13 JAN 1977

## NEW YORK TIMES

# DISCIPLINING SOUGHT FOR ALLEGED C.I.A. AID

But Brooklyn College Department  
Urges Penalty Less Than  
Dismissal for Colleague

By PETER KIHSS

The Brooklyn College Department of Political Science declared yesterday that a colleague's agreement to gather intelligence covertly for the Central Intelligence Agency had violated standards of academic integrity and "would warrant removal" of the colleague, Prof. Michael Selzer.

However, 17 of the 20 department members present at a closed four-hour meeting on the campus then called on the college president, Dr. John W. Kneller, "to invoke his authority" under an article of the citywide faculty union agreement that could lead to a suspension or lesser form of discipline instead of removal.

Dr. Kneller said later that his personal view was that "there is no place in the academic community for clandestine relationship of any kind." But he said that "the issue of whether to enter into an open relationship with an intelligence agency must be resolved by the individual faculty member."

"Certainly Not True"

Reached last night in Jerusalem, Dr. Selzer said he would fight any action against him. He declared that "the whole perception of this is distorted to the point of being hysterical" and that it was "certainly not true" that he had agreed to engage in intelligence gathering. Professor Selzer, who is on a medical leave until Feb. 3, said a C.I.A. representative had simply made, "as I understand, a very standard request to report back any information that one comes across while one is overseas which may be of interest."

He added: "I was never asked to do and what I have never done is to go around gathering, obtaining, initiating requests for information."

The issue was brought before the department last November by Prof. Michael Kahan, who is married to Professor Selzer's sister. Professor Kahan has said that Professor Selzer first became involved with the C.I.A. last spring, but Professor Kahan said he did not make the information known earlier because he was trying

to "talk him out of it—he is my brother-in-law."

Professor Selzer said last night that he could not understand why Professor Kahan had raised the issue. "This guy sat on his knowledge for six months," he said. "I don't know why he did decide in this most distorted and incorrect and, I would add, most libelous way."

'Witch-Hunting' Charged

Professor Selzer said he had only once been "de-briefed" by a C.I.A. representative, in a 10-to-15-minute telephone conversation about five months ago after a trip he made to England, the Netherlands, West Germany and Sweden.

Bitterly he said that he had offered to produce a C.I.A. representative to describe his contacts to the political science department, but that his offer had been turned down.

He charged there had been a "McCarthyite, witch hunting" investigation which had also refused to hear a report on the case December 15 by Dankwart Rustow, a member of the department and a distinguished City University professor.

Prof. Morton Berkowitz, chairman of the department, last night denied knowing of any offer by Professor Selzer to bring in a C.I.A. representative to explain the situation.

Earlier this week, Professor Selzer said he first telephoned the New York regional office of the C.I.A. early last year to ask if it had any information that could help him in a research project on psychology of terrorist groups.

The reply, he said, was that the agency had no such data, but a couple of months later the C.I.A. did ask if he would notify it of any "interesting" information he might happen to come by during trips abroad.

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

# Professor's Alleged C.I.A. Ties Stir Controversy at Brooklyn College

A political scientist at Brooklyn College, said by a fellow-teacher to be associated with the Central Intelligence Agency, may face dismissal if the college administration decides that his academic integrity has been compromised.

Michael I. Selzer, an assistant professor, was named as having such an affiliation by his brother-in-law, Prof. Michael H. Kahan, at a meeting of the appointments committee that will ultimately decide his suitability for tenure.

At a meeting of the political science department last month, Professor Selzer read a statement that many colleagues understood as an acknowledgement of a C.I.A. connection.

Asked about such a connection by a reporter, Professor Selzer, who is a specialist in psychological profiles of political extremists, declared: "At no point have I ever said that I have or have had any association with the C.I.A."

An ad hoc committee has been formed by Prof. Morton Berkowitz, the department chairman, to study the propriety of relationships between the academic community and the C.I.A. It is slated to make a recommendation regarding Professor Selzer on Wednesday.

## Recommendation to Be Studied

The committee will study the recommendations of professional organizations and the American Civil Liberties Union and the findings of a Senate committee report on the C.I.A., according to Professor Berkowitz.

According to Professor Berkowitz, Professor Selzer acknowledged a connection with the C.I.A. at the departmental meeting and also said that Professor Selzer had asserted that he had cleared his position with a member of the college administration.

Professor Berkowitz said that Professor Selzer had refused to submit a copy of the statement that he had delivered at the departmental meeting, even though he had been asked to do so on three separate occasions.

Last October, Professor Selzer received

a grant from the Ford Foundation for research on psychological records of Belgian and Danish collaborators with the Nazi occupiers of their countries.

According to Professor Kahan, Professor Selzer, who has been at Brooklyn College full-time for four years, first became involved with the C.I.A. last spring.

"He told me his work for the C.I.A. was only confined to Europe," Mr. Kahan said, "but this is creating a moral question of whether a member of the academic community should work for the C.I.A. at all."

## Comment by College Spokesman

A college spokesman said many faculty members in the political science department felt that Professor Selzer had "misrepresented" himself in gathering information that they assumed was for Professor Selzer's own research, but was allegedly actually for the C.I.A. Prof. David Abbott said that Professor Selzer was using his academic credentials to seek out contacts abroad.

"The alleged affiliation of Professor Selzer with the C.I.A. has been called to the attention of President John Kneller," the college spokesman said, adding: "Dr. Kneller intends to meet with Professor Selzer and other faculty members to determine the course of action. Dr. Kneller, who only recently learned of the reported affiliation, deplors any possibility of misrepresentation by any faculty member."

Professor Selzer, who is 36 years old, said:

"I have had extensive relationships with other governments, in the course of my research, but not the C.I.A."

"I have heard that a member of the political science department has called one of my contacts overseas and instructed him not to deal with me because I am a 'C.I.A. agent.'"

Professor Kahan, referring to himself, said he had he waited until November to make known to the department Professor Selzer's alleged C.I.A. affiliation, be-

cause he was trying to "talk him out of it—he is my brother-in-law."

Professor Selzer, a graduate of Oxford University and the City University of New York, is a co-author of a book about Nazi war criminals that uses projective psychological tests as the basis for interpreting their characters.

According to Professor Kahan, the book, "The Nuremberg Mind," was completed before Professor Selzer began his alleged association with the C.I.A., although some faculty members speculate that Professor Selzer's alleged connection with the agency involves some kind of exchange of information pertaining to Professor Selzer's ongoing psychohistorical research.

Professor Selzer said: "This is McCarthyism of the left. There is no way I can prove that I am not a member of the C.I.A. If I am dismissed or denied tenure on these grounds, I'll fight them for as long as it takes."

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS  
8 JANUARY 1977ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 19**PROFESSIONAL OUTRAGE**

Faculty members of Brooklyn College are investigating what some regard as a heinous offense by one of their number, Prof. Michael Selzer.

What Selzer apparently did was cooperate with the CIA. He gave the agency information developed during research overseas in return for its aid in furthering his work.

The professor wasn't a paid agent, nor has anyone suggested that he permitted the CIA connection to pollute his scholarly efforts. In academia, however, just associating with the CIA is deemed a perfidious outrage.

McCarthyism in reverse? Perish the thought.



ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 57

PENTHOUSE  
January 1977

# STAYING SPOOKED

BY TAD SZULC

The spy agencies have been ordered to behave themselves.

But as these sensational, top secret schemes make painfully clear, it's business as usual in the land of dirty tricks.

- *The United States and the Soviet Union are engaged in a top-secret "satellite war" in outer space. The aim is to destroy each other's intelligence surveillance satellites with laser-beam weapons. Thus far the score is 2-0 for the Russians. Washington maintains total silence about this war to avoid public complications in the negotiations for a new strategic-arms pact with Moscow.*

- *Foreign insurgent groups are being secretly trained in guerrilla operations by military intelligence agencies and the CIA in out-of-the-way locations in the western United States. The trainees include Laotians, Cambodians, Afghans, Kurds, and even Russians. This, presumably, portends new covert operations, to be run mainly by the military, all over the world. Appropriate congressional committees apparently have not been informed of it despite legislative requirements.*

- *With the surreptitious aid of American professors, Third World students at United States colleges and universities are being recruited by the CIA as future "agents of influence" for the day when they assume leadership in their countries. Currently, the CIA has its pick of 250,000 foreign students attending our institutions of higher learning. Such a program clearly degrades our American educational system.*

- *The CIA still secretly uses in a variety of ways American news organizations abroad as intelligence "covers" and information sources. This is being done despite the CIA's public pledge to keep its hands off United States news media.*

- *Shortly before the 1973 Vietnam peace settlement, United States military intelligence agencies secretly organized an elaborate "stay-behind" espionage network—linked to a parallel plan for resuming American air operations in Vietnam if the Communists violated the cease-fire—including covert penetrations by special teams from abroad. Thus the United States was prepared to violate the de-*

These five items, touching upon the whole spectrum of United States intelligence activities, are among the many subjects about which Americans have not been told despite three separate investigations of the intelligence community conducted in 1975 and 1976.

In some instances the investigators simply were not informed about highly sensitive operations. The intelligence agencies volunteered very little and, as a rule, were responsive to questions only when the committees developed independent leads or stumbled upon information (as in the case of the cover-up by the CIA and the FBI of crucial facts pertaining to the assassination of John F. Kennedy).

In other instances the intelligence agencies invoked "national security" as a reason for denying investigators access to certain material. Finally, there were compromises: the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, for example, negotiated the extent to which information would be "sanitized" by them—censored, of course, is a better word—before appearing in public reports.

Perhaps the most important area of such compromise on the part of the Senate committee, which engaged in the most exhaustive investigation of all the groups looking into the intelligence scandals, concerned the CIA's use of American news media and the involvement of university professors and administrators—the "academics"—in the recruitment of foreign students by the agency. The majority of the academics, some 60 percent of them, were "witting" (they knew that they were used by the CIA to finger prospective recruits); some were paid for their talent-scouting; others acted out of their perceived sense of patriotism.

But it's not entirely the CIA's fault that this description of the recruiting process failed to surface in the final report. The burden lies chiefly on Sen. Frank Church, the Idaho Democrat who served as the committee's chairman, and who, despite his many public pronouncements of indignation over CIA operations, tended to be rather reluctant to embarrass the intelligence community.

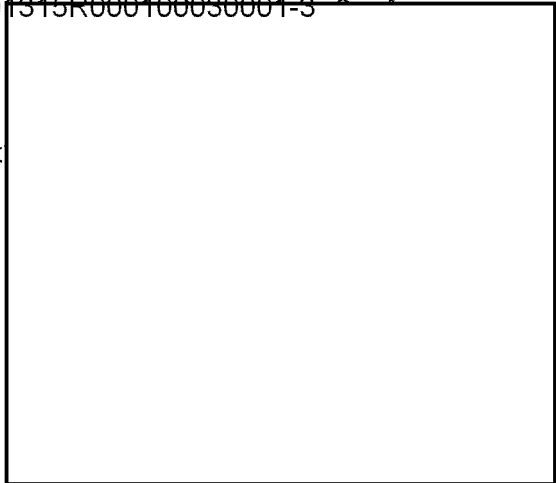
are now being used for such operational purposes as making introductions for intelligence purposes."

The Church committee also compromised to a significant degree on the question of how the CIA's collection of intelligence, a legitimate pursuit, often becomes entangled with covert operations, which was a matter of substantial concern to the investigators. In the year-long tug-of-war between the Senate committee and the agency over what materials could be made available to the senators, the CIA often refused to discuss any number of covert actions on the grounds that intelligence-collection activities could have been compromised in the process. This also applied to "black" propaganda, the CIA's planting of provocative or erroneous information in foreign news organs with the aim of achieving specific political gains.

The agency's argument, forcefully expressed by its outside attorney, Mitchell Rogovin, was that disclosures of all types of covert actions—including political

continued

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505



of  
25

Mr. Peter L. Danner  
Department of Economics  
Marquette University  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

Dear Mr. Danner:

This is in response to your letter of 8 November to our Director, informing him of the views about CIA of the members of the Association for Social Economics.

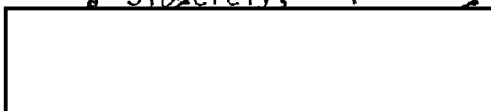
As Mr. Bush stated in his May letter to William Van Alstyne of the American Association of University Professors,

"The Agency has several kinds of relationships with scholars and scholarly institutions. They include negotiated contracts for scientific research and development, contracts for social science research on the many matters that affect foreign policy, paid and unpaid consultations between scholars and CIA research analysts, contacts with individuals who have travelled abroad, and other similar contacts that help us provide the policymakers of our government with information and assessments of foreign developments."

We seek conscious and voluntary cooperation from people who can help the foreign policy processes of the United States. We do not seek to embarrass your profession, to interfere with or betray academic freedom, or to obstruct the free search for and exposition of truth. We fully appreciate the benefits of professional scholarship, and freely admit to you that both the CIA and the government would be less able to act wisely in foreign policy if scholars felt that they should isolate themselves from government or government from the fruits of scholarship.

In sum, we think our academic relations are strong and that they must be sustained. Our problem is to be certain that the relationship of scholars to CIA is understood on all sides. I hope that this letter is helpful in that way.

Sincerely,



Andrew I. Falkiewicz  
Assistant to the Director

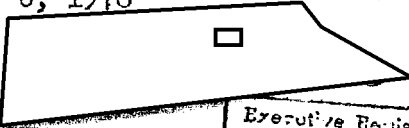
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# Association for Social Economics

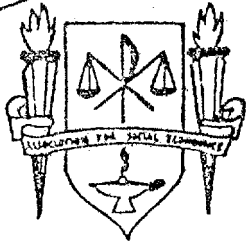
November 8, 1976



STAT

Mr. George Bush, Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D.C. 20505

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**REVIEW OF SOCIAL ECONOMY  
EDITOR**

William R. Waters  
DePaul University  
2323 North Seminary  
Chicago, IL 60614  
(312) 321-8172

Dear Mr. Bush:

The members of the Association for Social Economics have gone on record at their annual meeting, September 18, 1976 in Atlantic City, in joining with the American Association of University Professors in opposing the practice of the Central Intelligence Agency of covertly using members of the academic community when they are engaged in studying, consulting and doing research in foreign countries.

The resolution further cites these reasons as bases for opposing such practices: they are a cause of embarrassment to academic people and programs; they betray academic freedom; and they compromise the free search for and exposition of truth.

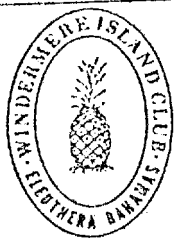
Sincerely yours,

Peter L. Danner  
Secretary-Treasurer  
Association for Social Economics

Copy: Joseph Duffey,  
General Secretary  
American Association of  
University Professors

NOV 11 1976

Cornell Alumni News November



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edly participate, but we need to enlist the support of individual Cornell alumni throughout the country. We can supply more information from the Cornell Career Center, 14 East Avenue, Ithaca, NY. Tom McCarthy Bob Kyle '77

Ithaca

**Cornell & CIA**

*President Corson:* As a 1965 graduate of Cornell, I am greatly concerned about the possibility and the extent of covert relations between the Central Intelligence Agency and the university.

In its final report issued in April, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence reported that the CIA carries on clandestine activities on over 100 American campuses. The committee stated, "It is the responsibility of private institutions and particularly the American academic community to set the professional and ethical standards of its members." As an alumnus, I call upon you as university President to accept this responsibility and to take action to end any secret CIA presence on campus or otherwise under the auspices of Cornell.

I do not know if there is currently any such CIA activity at Cornell, but I am aware of considerable covert cooperation in the past. For example, the *New York Times* on February 26, 1967 wrote how the Industrial and Labor Relations school had received \$289,500 from 1961 to 1963 from foundation conduits for the CIA. Additionally, I am aware from my own research of considerable interlocking relationships during the 1950s between a CIA proprietary organization, the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology (later the Human Ecology Fund) and the Cornell Medical school in New York.

The Senate Intelligence Committee did not mention activities as specific as these in its report but did reveal a wide range of CIA operations which raise important questions as to the independence and integrity of American universities. For your information, I am enclosing a copy of the relevant passages from the Senate report, which you will note were "abridged" at the CIA's request.

In the past, according to the report, the CIA secretly funded individual professors and even whole departments to carry out secret research and to otherwise perform covert missions for the CIA. In his Executive Order of February 18, 1976, President Ford gave the CIA authority to contract for secret research—with knowledge of CIA involvement limited to "appropriate senior officials of

perhaps unique to our years, such as clandestine pot parties where everyone was smiling and friendly, or the yearly demonstration over some pressing issue just before finals in the spring (with the result of many cancellations), and the surprise when nothing happened our senior year.

There were many experiences, mostly good, some bad; enough to fill more than a single column, and some that cannot be put into writing. But, they are there, and I have to confess that we are glad to have shared in them.

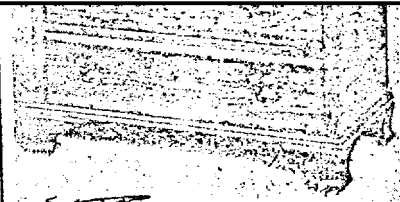
Deborah Cheney Lazar '70  
*New York City*

**Internships Sought**

*Editor:* The Cornell Internship Program (CIP) is revitalizing student interest in finding educational summer employment while affording employers the opportunity to take advantage of the skills of talented Cornellians. Because of the diversity of Cornell's academic offerings, the program encourages the development of opportunities in all career fields.

In brief, the program is designed to refer to employers only those students ideally suited for the specific employment opportunity. The program also helps students procure housing in the area of employment. Financial arrangements between the student and the employer are flexible in order to meet the needs and requirements of everyone involved.

The greatest need for the Cornell Internship Program is to make contacts with employers willing to take advantage of this nearly inexhaustible resource. Over one hundred alumni participated last year. The Cornell clubs of Washington, New York City, and Philadelphia have already adopted CIP as a special project. Many more clubs will undoubtedly



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THE STANFORD OBSERVER  
OCTOBER 1976

# CIA campus spying blasted by Lyman

President Richard W. Lyman has strongly condemned any secret spying on campus organizations and said he was not aware of any secret CIA-sponsored activity at Stanford since becoming provost in January 1967.

His views were expressed in an open letter to David M. Klaus, a 1974 Stanford graduate living in Washington, D.C., who expressed concern about the recent report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities.

Infiltration of campus organizations "for the purpose of spying on or using individuals or groups without their knowledge" is "wrong in principle and corrosive of academic values," Lyman declared.

"I know of no circumstances—and I explicitly include the years of Vietnam protest—in which that kind of secret activity was justified.

"Indeed, the experience of those years demonstrates vividly both the futility of that sort of meddling and the impossibility of separating 'legitimate' counterintelligence from the simple repression of legitimate political dissent.

"There is no circumstance, no matter how pressing it may appear to be, in which secret spying would not undermine the practice of free expression which is the foundation of the university's value to society."

Klaus noted that "in the past, the CIA has secretly funded individual professors and entire departments to carry out its research and gather intelligence." A recent executive order by President Ford permits such contracts to continue with knowledge limited only to "appropriate senior officials of the academic institutions and to senior project officials."

Lyman replied: "If it is true, as claimed, that CIA-sponsored activity on campus was known to 'appropriate senior officials,' then there has been no such activity at Stanford during my tenure, first as provost and then as president, unless one includes the holding of job interviews at the Career Planning and Placement Center—and these were advertised publicly, of course.

"Indeed, even before classified research was ended at Stanford (in 1969), it was the policy of the University not to accept funds for research unless the sponsor was prepared openly to acknowledge the fact of sponsorship.

"Thus the kind of arrangement described in the (Senate) report and your letter could only have existed at Stanford secretly and contrary to University policy. That is, of course, possible, but I have no reason to believe it happened.

"I believe our policy is sound and that any attempt to circumvent it would be met with vigorous action by the University."

Secret sponsorship by the CIA of books written by individual scholars is "deplorable and should be resisted and exposed when it is done," he added.

"The worst examples that one could cite of 'hired' research had to confront vigorous and open conflict of views in the intellectual market. That does not excuse efforts by government agencies secretly to manipulate opinion on important matters....

"The real protection against such abuse, though, is to assure that genuinely free debate is kept alive. That is more likely to be the case if we do not mistake evidence of the abuse of that process for proof of its death."

Perhaps the most difficult problem academic institutions face is what policy to adopt concerning individual faculty who choose to work for, or in cooperation with, intelligence agencies, he continued.

"Stanford's policy is similar to that of most other leading institutions: Faculty are permitted, subject to time limits, to consult for pay with business or government agencies.

"We do not ordinarily know, nor do we seek to control, the identity of the organizations for which the individual works.

"As in so many other areas of university life, we are here faced with a choice between allowing the possibility of abuse of privilege or

guarding against it at a heavy cost of regimentation, intrusiveness, and inhibition of personal and professional responsibility. In this case as in so many others, the institution consciously chooses the former.

"I do not believe that it is the University's proper business to tell its faculty that its members may not do work for the CIA, General Motors, the United Farm Workers, or any other group that the individual believes is relevant to his professional interests, so long as the nature and extent of the work do not infringe on the rights of others and are consistent with University policies.

"I can imagine that particular academic disciplines might reasonably adopt standards of conduct that would preclude certain kinds of employment; I cannot agree that a university would want to impose and police such restrictions."

Lyman heads the Council of Federal Relations of the Association of American Universities, an organization of the nation's leading graduate institutions.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

24 SEP 1976

Mr. John William Ward  
President, Amherst College  
Amherst, Massachusetts

Dear President Ward:

This is in response to your letters of 17 May 1976 and 2 August 1976 to the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) requesting, under the Freedom of Information Act, information concerning "paid or unpaid contacts between the CIA and any faculty member, student or employee of Amherst College."

As you can appreciate, this Agency receives many requests for information under the Freedom of Information Act regarding confidential relationships between the CIA and various foreign and American individuals and institutions. We are obliged, however, to respond to such requests neither affirmatively nor negatively because the DCI has a responsibility, under paragraph 102(d)(3) of the National Security Act of 1947, to protect intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure. To the extent that this constitutes a denial of your request it was made pursuant to the authority of exemption (b)(3) of the Freedom of Information Act.

This determination was made by [redacted] Chief, Services Staff. We would hope that the Director's letter of June 5, 1976 and the above findings will satisfy your concern. However, as specified in the Freedom of Information Act, I am advising you of your right to appeal this decision by addressing your appeal to the CIA Information Review Committee, via the undersigned.

I am sure you will understand that we cannot deny the existence of such relationships in response to one inquiry without being compelled to acknowledge them in some others. Accordingly, please understand that this response should not be taken to imply that Amherst College personnel have been engaged in confidential relationships with the Central Intelligence Agency.



ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 14

HARPER'S WEEKLY  
14 JUNE 1976

# 's USIA Sponsoring A Hidden Curriculum?

by Tom Lewis & John Friedman

The covert relationships between federal intelligence agencies and the academic community are long-standing, immensely complex, and shrouded in secrecy. Recent congressional intelligence investigations have verified that the intelligence community subsidizes the publication of educational books and academic periodicals. Reporters Lewis and Friedman here examine in detail one area of the intelligence-academic community connection.

On March 29, 1976, a small group of political scientists jammed into Professor Arnold Rogow's office at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. They were there not to talk about European parliaments, but about the sale of a magazine.

It was an emergency meeting. Rogow recently had learned of negotiations between the CUNY administration and an obscure Washington, D.C., foundation for the sale of *Comparative Politics*, one of the three most important journals in the field of political science. For some months, unknown to Rogow, the negotiations had been in the hands of Benjamin Rivlin, a political scientist who was Graduate Center Dean for University and Special Programs. The potential buyer was the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation.

Rogow began *Comparative Politics* in 1968. He heads the magazine's five-member editorial board. He sat somberly behind his desk, silent through most of the meeting. Rogow's magazine was in serious financial trouble. It cost \$60,000 a year to publish and income covered just half the cost. For three years, the National Science Foundation had helped make up the deficit, but in early 1975, Rogow was told the grant would not be renewed unless the format of the journal was

search for financial support. Harold Proshansky, president of the Graduate Center, held out the possibility of university money, saying CUNY did not want to lose the magazine, but he was forced to renege when New York City's budget crisis hit in the summer of 1975.

In October 1975, the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation wrote to CUNY inquiring if *Comparative Politics* was for sale. The letter wound up on the desk of Benjamin Rivlin. In February 1976, Rivlin went to Washington to pick up the draft memoranda of agreement between the foundation and CUNY. On March 15, Harold Proshansky sent a memo describing the deal, along with copies of the draft agreements, to the five members of the editorial board. It was the first any of them, including Rogow, had heard of the negotiations.

In a meeting in Proshansky's office on March 18, the deal was presented to the editors as a *fait accompli*. The foundation's offer was \$4,000, plus \$500 per year for editorial costs. The foundation would assume all printing and business responsibilities, and assume about \$12,000 in liabilities for prepaid subscriptions. In practice, control would be in the hands of a newly formed department-wide publications committee, which ensured that the current editors would be replaced within three years. The editors left Proshansky's office in confusion. Rogow then called the emergency meeting held 11 days later to discuss the situation. Privately, several editors expressed their fear that editorial control of the journal would pass to the foundation, even though the memoranda stipulated that control would remain with CUNY. Some questions were raised about the background of the foundation, and its ability to maintain a high editorial standard, and so far the magazine has not been sold. For most of the editors, the foundation remained an unknown quantity.

Helen Dwight Reid was a political scientist who worked mainly for the U.S. Office of Education and the State Department. The foundation's original assets were a legacy left to Reid by her father, a wealthy engineer. The

foundation was established in 1956. Prior to 1965, its main activity was giving modest grants to students for graduate work in foreign affairs.

Reid was killed in Washington in an auto accident in 1965, and the presidency of the foundation passed to Claude Hawley, a political scientist and a graduate dean at CUNY. Hawley died in 1971 and was succeeded at the foundation by Evron Kirkpatrick, executive director of the American Political Science Association. Kirkpatrick has been a foundation trustee since 1960 and treasurer since 1963.

Evron Kirkpatrick is also president of Operations and Policy Research, Inc. (OPR), a tax-exempt research company founded in Washington in 1955 by Kirkpatrick and Max Kampelman, a Washington lawyer and long-time confidant of Senator Hubert Humphrey. Kampelman is now a director of OPR and Helen Dwight Reid. Although the foundation and OPR are legally separate entities and were not always so close, there is now less distinction between them. For the past decade or so, they have shared offices and have been controlled and managed by the same small group of people.

In its first year OPR received at least one contract from the U.S. Information Agency, the government's official propaganda arm, for editorial evaluation of books and manuscripts. OPR has since had research contracts with the State Department but the USIA book evaluation contract has remained OPR's basic source of income. A USIA spokesman said payments

have been made to OPR in every year but one since 1955, and that since 1966, a total of \$621,371 was paid to OPR. For the current fiscal year about \$80,000 is budgeted.

Between 1960 and 1970, OPR, through one of its subsidiaries, the Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems (ICOPS), published a number of books and pamphlets on Latin-American political parties, *coups d'etat*, and elections. The books were written by political scientists, some in teaching positions at American universities, some in government positions.

In 1967, *Ramparts* created a furor when it disclosed that a number of foundations, among them the Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation, had conveyed thousands of dollars from the CIA to the National Student Association for more than a decade. In the February 27 issue of *The Nation*, Robert Sherrill pointed out that the Rabb Foundation gave four times as much money to OPR as to the student group. Evron Kirkpatrick acknowledged to Sherrill that in "1963, 1964, and 1965, OPR, Inc., received CIA money, 'principally' (according to Kirkpatrick) for studies of Latin-American elections." In a recent interview, Kirkpatrick said he had made no such statement.

One political scientist closely connected to OPR during that period said he was told by OPR

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## Professors held used by CIA

Santa Barbara, Calif. (AP) --A former member of the National Security Council says the Central Intelligence Agency uses several hundred professors and others as "secret recruiters" at more than 100 American universities.

Morton Halperin, speaking Friday at the 52d annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors at the University of California at Santa Barbara, said campus recruiters spot people they believe can be helpful to the CIA, such as persons visiting campuses from abroad or those who plan trips overseas.

The secret recruiter then passes along the person's name to the CIA, which investigates his background, Mr. Halperin said.

If the CIA decides a direct approach requesting help from the person is inadvisable, he added, the agency often covertly hires the person to make reports abroad on behalf of a private firm.

Mr. Halperin said he was the first person to make a disclosure of the role of CIA campus contacts. He said the operation was described in the unreleased, uncensored report of Senator Frank Church's committee on intelligence activities.

Mr. Halperin did not identify campuses where CIA workers select potential intelligence agents, nor did he name faculty members, administrators or graduates who are undercover CIA agents.

Mr. Halperin, who is director of the Project on National Security and Civil Liberties, has sued Henry A. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, for allegedly wiretapping Mr. Halperin's telephone while he served on the U.S. National Security Council.

# CIA Agents on U.S. Campuses Alleged

## Foe Claims Intelligence Officers Are Used Mainly to Recruit Others

BY WILLIAM TROMBLEY  
Times Staff Writer

SANTA BARBARA—A leading critic of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency said Friday that the CIA has "one or two or perhaps several secret agents" on each of more than 100 American campuses.

Morton H. Halperin, a former member of the National Security Council, said his information was based on descriptions he has received of secret portions of the recent report

of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, chaired by Sen. Frank Church (D-Ida.).

Halperin told the American Assn. of University Professors, meeting at UC Santa Barbara, that the CIA agents are administrators, faculty members and teaching graduate students who "basically are recruiters."

"They try to spot students or faculty members who might be useful" to the CIA by gathering information at international academic conferences and the like, according to Halperin.

They also "look for other recruiters," he said, "either Americans or foreigners, people who will go back to their countries and be spies for the CIA."

Halperin named no institutions but said, "I assume it's concentrated in universities where there are a large number of foreigners" as students or visiting faculty members.

Campus agents generally are known only to the CIA and to themselves but occasionally their identities are known to one or more college officials, Halperin said.

Some are paid and others work "out of patriotism," he stated.

Once a recruiter spots a potential CIA agent he send the name to the agency, which conducts a security check, according to Halperin.

Halperin also stated, as did the Church committee, that some scholarly research has been secretly funded by the CIA.

The Church committee's report, released in late April, said generally that hundreds of professors, administrators and graduate students, as well as officials of private foundations, have had clandestine ties with the CIA, the FBI and other U.S. intelligence gathering agencies.

However, specific descriptions of these ties were deleted from the final report at the request of the CIA.

Halperin said his speech Friday was the first detailing of just how the CIA works on campuses.

He said his information came from "the secret version of the Church re-

port" but said he had not seen the deleted material himself and would not say where he got the information.

"I am confident that what I am saying is true but I cannot tell you where I got it," Halperin told reporters after the meeting.

Halperin has devoted considerable time and energy in recent months to attacking the CIA for its undercover ties to journalists, academics and others in American life.

He has filed suit against Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and former government officials because, he contends, his telephone was tapped for a 21-month period from 1969 to 1971.

CIA ties with academic figures were defended at Friday's meeting by Gordon D. Baldwin, professor of constitutional law at the University of Wisconsin and former counselor on international law for the State Department.

Baldwin argued that "foreign intelligence gathering is vital to our common good" and said that "in a majority of cases . . . there was no wrong."

He said if the CIA had received more academic input "we might all have profited."

He suggested that there is little difference between a law firm asking a faculty member to recommend a new employe and the CIA asking special campus agents to identify possible recruits.

Halperin replied that scholars should have the right to publish under CIA auspices if they wish but should acknowledge the source of their support.

He also said CIA agents on campus should identify themselves so their students and colleagues would know with whom they are dealing.

And he proposed that names of possible recruits should not be submitted to the CIA without permission of the individuals and that security checks should not be carried out without their approval.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

5 June 1976

Mr. Kenneth Parkhurst, President  
Ohio Conference  
American Association of University Professors  
John Carroll University  
4177 Okalona Road  
South Euclid, Ohio 44121

Dear President Parkhurst:

Thank you for your letter of 20 May 1976, in which you informed me of the resolution recently adopted by the Ohio Conference of the AAUP. As you undoubtedly are aware, William Van Alstyne, President of the AAUP, wrote to me expressing similar concerns. I believe that my response to him was clear, and I take the liberty of quoting from that letter, dated 11 May. I said,

"The Agency has several kinds of relationships with scholars and scholarly institutions. They... include negotiated contracts for scientific research and development, contracts for social science research on the many matters that affect foreign policy, paid and unpaid consultations between scholars and CIA research analysts, contacts with individuals who have travelled abroad, and other similar contacts that help us fulfill our primary responsibility; i.e., to provide the policy makers of our government with information and assessments of foreign developments.

We seek the voluntary and witting cooperation of individuals who can help the foreign policy processes of the United States. Those who help are expressing a freedom of choice. Occasionally such relationships are confidential at our request, but more often they are discreet at the scholar's request because of his concern that he will be badgered by those who feel he should not be free to make this particular choice.

None of the relationships are intended to influence either what is taught or any other aspect of a scholar's work. We specifically do not try to inhibit the 'free search for truth and its free exposition.' Indeed, we



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

Executive Order

76-8004/A

STAT

5 June 1976

Mr. John William Ward  
President  
Amherst College  
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

Dear President Ward:

This is in response to your letter of 17 May 1976, in which you levied upon CIA a Freedom of Information Act request concerning paid or unpaid contact between the Agency and any faculty member, student, or employee of Amherst College. This aspect of your letter has been referred to the appropriate office for handling under procedures designed to implement the Act. You will receive that response in due course.

You raised several other issues in your letter, and their tone suggests that you misunderstand the nature of CIA contact with the academic community. I note that you sent William Van Alstyne, President, AAUP, a copy of your letter to me. As you apparently are aware, he also wrote expressing concerns similar to yours. I believe that my response to him was clear, and I take the liberty of quoting here from that letter, dated 11 May 1976. I said,

"The Agency has several kinds of relationships with scholars and scholarly institutions. They include negotiated contracts for scientific research and development, contracts for social science research on the many matters that affect foreign policy, paid and unpaid consultations between scholars and CIA research analysts, contracts with individuals who have travelled abroad, and other similar contracts that help us fulfill our primary responsibility; i.e., to provide the policy makers of our government with information and assessments of foreign developments.

We seek the voluntary and witting cooperation of individuals who can help the foreign policy processes of the United States. Those who help are expressing a freedom of choice. Occasionally such relationships are confidential at our request,



MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Andrew Falkiewicz ✓

DB

Andrew:

To the best of our knowledge, the DDI has never had any official relationships with the organizations or individuals mentioned in this article. The best person to brief you on any other possible CIA relationships with these people would be [redacted]. I suggest you address your query to him.

LEWIS J. LAPHAM  
Director, Political Research

Att

Date 27 Aug 76

established in 1955, its main activity is to provide modest grants to support graduate work in

Washington in 1965, and the foundation was founded by Hawley, a political science graduate dean who died in 1971. Kirkpatrick, executive director of the American Political Science Association, was a founder in 1960 and trea-

son. Kirkpatrick is also president of the American Political Science Association and Policy Studies Institute (OPR), a tax-exempt company founded in 1955 by Max Kampelman, a lawyer and former assistant of Senator William P. Kirkpatrick. Kampelman is of OPR and

have been made to OPR in every year but one since 1955, and that since 1966, a total of \$621,371 was paid to OPR. For the current fiscal year about \$80,000 is budgeted.

Between 1960 and 1970, OPR, through one of its subsidiaries, the Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems (ICOPS), published a number of books and pamphlets on Latin-American political parties, *coups d'etat*, and elections. The books were written by political scientists, some in teaching positions at American universities, some in government positions.

In 1967, *Ramparts* created a furor when it disclosed that a number of foundations, among them the Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation, had conveyed thousands of dollars from the CIA to the National Student Association for more than a decade. In the February 27 issue of *The Nation*, Robert Sherrill pointed out that the Rabb Foundation gave four times as much money to OPR as to the student group. Evron Kirkpatrick acknowledged to Sherrill that in "1963, 1964, and 1965, OPR, Inc., received CIA money, 'principally' (according to Kirkpatrick) for studies of Latin-American elections." In a recent interview, Kirkpatrick said he had made no such statement.

One political scientist closely connected to OPR during that period said he was told by OPR

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FORM 101 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

On March 29, 1976, a small group of political scientists jammed into Professor Arnold Rogow's office at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. They were there not to talk about European parliaments, but about the sale of a magazine.

It was an emergency meeting. Rogow recently had learned of negotiations between the CUNY administration and an obscure Washington, D.C., foundation for the sale of *Comparative Politics*, one of the three most important journals in the field of political science. For some months, unknown to Rogow, the negotiations had been in the hands of Benjamin Rivlin, a political scientist who was Graduate Center Dean for University and Special Programs. The potential buyer was the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation.

Rogow began *Comparative Politics* in 1968. He heads the magazine's five-member editorial board. He sat somberly behind his desk, silent through most of the meeting. Rogow's magazine was in serious financial trouble. It cost \$60,000 a year to publish and income covered just half the cost. For three years, the National Science Foundation had helped make up the deficit, but in early 1975, Rogow was told the grant would not be renewed unless the format of the journal was

office on March 18, the deal was presented to the editors as a *fait accompli*. The foundation's offer was \$4,000, plus \$500 per year for editorial costs. The foundation would assume all printing and business responsibilities, and assume about \$12,000 in liabilities for prepaid subscriptions. In practice, control would be in the hands of a newly formed department-wide publications committee, which ensured that the current editors would be replaced within three years. The editors left Proshansky's office in confusion. Rogow then called the emergency meeting held 11 days later to discuss the situation. Privately, several editors expressed their fear that editorial control of the journal would pass to the foundation, even though the memoranda stipulated that control would remain with CUNY. Some questions were raised about the background of the foundation, and its ability to maintain a high editorial standard, and so far the magazine has not been sold. For most of the editors, the foundation remained an unknown quantity.

Helen Dwight Reid was a political scientist who worked mainly for the U.S. Office of Education and the State Department. The foundation's original assets were a legacy left to Reid by her father, a wealthy engineer. The

Helen Dwight Reid. Although the foundation and OPR are legally separate entities and were not always so close, there is now less distinction between them. For the past decade or so, they have shared offices and have been controlled and managed by the same small group of people.

In its first year OPR received at least one contract from the U.S. Information Agency, the government's official propaganda arm, for editorial evaluation of books and manuscripts. OPR has since had research contracts with the State Department but the USIA book evaluation contract has remained OPR's basic source of income. A USIA spokesman said payments

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3 MAY 1976

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# “The Central Intelligence Agency has long-developed clandestine relationships with the American academic community.”

By Karen J. Winkler

WASHINGTON

Hundreds of college and university professors, administrators, and graduate students, as well as private foundation officials, have clandestine relationships with the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, according to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities. The committee, chaired by Sen. Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, released a two-part report on U. S. intelligence agencies last week.

The covert relationships with the C.I.A. “range from academics making introductions for intelligence purposes to intelligence collection while abroad, to academic research and writing where C.I.A. sponsorship is hidden,” the committee found.

It said the C.I.A. was still in contact with “many thousands of United States academics at hundreds of U. S. academic institutions.”

While most of those contacts are limited to asking professors about their travels abroad or to consulting them openly about subjects on which they are experts, according to the Senate panel, the C.I.A. also uses several hundred American university people to write books and other material to be used for overseas propaganda.

## Influence on Foundations

Both the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. have also had extensive influence on American foundations that give money to colleges and universities, the committee said.

Its report described the C.I.A. influence on foundations as “massive” in the 1960’s. It said nearly half the grants made between 1963 and 1966 in the field of international affairs by 164 foundations that were studied included C.I.A. funding.

The committee said the 164 donors did not include the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller foundations. It quoted a C.I.A. official as having called those foundations “a trouble area in New York City—reluctant to cooperate on joint ventures.”

“The use of philanthropic organizations was a convenient way to pass funds” to projects the C.I.A. considered important, the report said. “The philanthropic fronts used prior to 1967 funded a seemingly limitless range of covert action programs affecting youth groups, labor unions, universities, publishing houses, and other private institutions in the United States and abroad.”

According to the committee, the C.I.A. money had:

- ▶ Helped establish a research institute in 1951 at a major American university. The institute was set up to study worldwide political, economic, and social changes.

- ▶ Partially supported an international educational exchange program sponsored by a group of universities.

- ▶ Funded a U. S. association of farm organizations that provided scholarships to an international cooperative training center at an American university.

The Senate committee did not identify any institutions or individuals by name “at the request of the executive agencies,” it said.

Because of the deletions, “the discussion of the role of U. S. academics in the C.I.A.’s clandestine activities has been so diluted that its scope and impact on the American academic institutions is no longer clear,” three Democrats on the committee charged. They are Philip A. Hart, of Michigan, Walter F. Mondale, of Minnesota, and Gary Hart, of Colorado.

The committee report also cited at least one instance in which it said the F.B.I. had

The text of higher-education-related portions of the Senate committee’s report begins on Page 7 of this issue of *The Chronicle*.

attempted to use foundation officials to intervene in the internal affairs of a college.

A “confidential source” in a foundation that contributed money to a local college allegedly pressured college administrators to fire an activist professor at the behest of the F.B.I., the report said.

A committee spokesman said that “in most cases they [the foundations] were witting”

After *Ramparts* magazine broke the story in 1967 that the National Student Association had received C.I.A. funds, a Presidential committee chaired by Nicholas Katzenbach, then Undersecretary of State, recommended that “it should be the policy of the United States government that no federal agency shall provide any covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation’s educational or private voluntary foundations.”

The C.I.A. broke off most of its contacts with private institutions, last week’s Senate committee report said, but it then proceeded to step up its connections with individuals on the campuses.

At the majority of colleges and universities where individuals work with the C.I.A., no one other than the professor, administrator, or graduate student involved is aware of the connection, the report said. But at some institutions, it said, at least one university official knows about the C.I.A. contacts.

In some cases, C.I.A. support has not meant C.I.A. control, the report said. “Funding was primarily a way to enable people to do things they wanted to do.” In other cases, however, “support turned into influence,” it said.

There is currently “no prohibition to prevent an increase in the operational use of academics,” the committee noted.

It said it was concerned that “American academics involved in such activities may undermine public confidence that those who train our youth are upholding the ideals, independence, and integrity of American universities.”

Nevertheless, the panel did not recommend that Congress prohibit the exploitation of contacts in private institutions such as colleges and universities.

“The committee believes that it is the responsibility of private institutions and particularly the American academic community to set the professional and ethical standards of its members,” it said.

“This report on the nature and extent of covert individual relations is intended to alert

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