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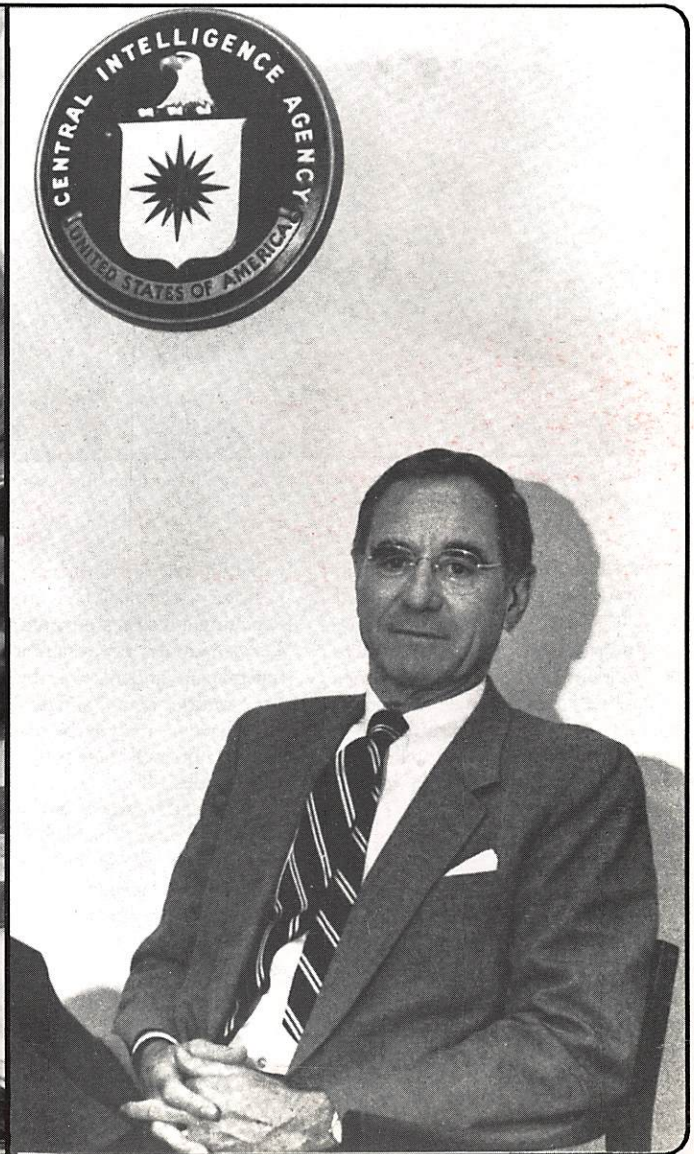
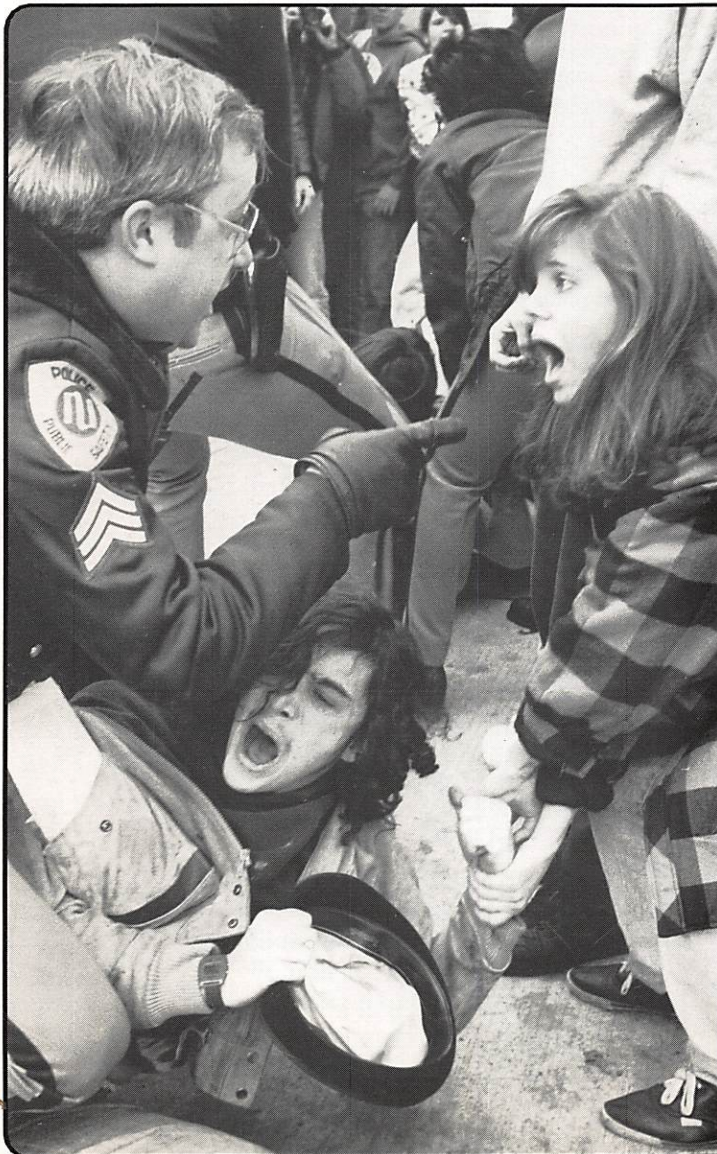
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The Subversion of Higher Education

CIA and DoD Redefine the Three "R"s: Recruiting, Researching, Repression

- RIT: Scandal Hits a Company School
- Attacks on Environmental Movement
- Inkathagate: A South African Report

- Reverend Moon Goes to College
- Arif Durrani: Iran-Contra Fall Guy?
- Resources For Anti-CIA Activists



Editorial

The higher the level of education of a U.S. citizen during the war in Vietnam, the stronger the support for the war; the lower the educational level, the greater the opposition to government policy. All but one of dozens of relevant Gallup polls taken between 1964 and 1973 supported this direct correlation.

Education is not neutral. It is designed and administered to produce useful citizens. But there is the crux of the problem: how and by whom is usefulness defined?

Clearly, those with the most economic and political clout have the most say in shaping U.S. education. Under their influence, schools function to preserve the present distribution of power and wealth by producing students who internalize and accept the values of those elites. These institutions make themselves useful by teaching skills applicable to the workplace and by accustoming the future work force to day after obedient day performing tasks which are, more often than not, meaningless and boring. They also create the conditions under which millions become either malleable consumers of government disinformation, or disenfranchised cynics.

Resource allocations to universities explain much about educational priorities. Government money, liberally supplied by the CIA and Department of Defense, is plentiful for "hard" science research applicable to technology of military control. Business administration schools which produce the mechanisms of economic control dip deep into corporate coffers. And those social sciences which produce the research necessary for social control are well-endowed by both overt and covert funding. Although the arts and humanities are less well endowed, by celebrating the productions and values of white male elites, they too are useful.

Thus, when the CIA and DoD use educational institutions for training, recruiting, research, and legitimation, they are simply and routinely utilizing education for the very functions for which it was designed.

This agenda, however, is veiled. The ideology of education, put out for public consumption, rests on the lofty ideals of independent thought and pure knowledge. We are taught from grade school on that education is meant to enrich our lives, not the wallets of our employers; that learning should serve the needs of the community and individuals, not those of the government and the elites.

The contradiction is extreme. On the one hand is the actual function: education in thrall to the needs of corporations and the state. To this end, large segments of the population — mostly the poor and non-white — are tracked for failure and then blamed because they do not succeed.

On the other hand is the ideal: education in service to social good and democracy. Under this model, quality education would be available to all and would provide the crucial mechanism through which equality of opportunity — essential for true democracy — is realized.

The most blatant manifestation of that contradiction between the disguised reality and the unrealized ideal is the pervasive and growing influence of the war and intelligence machines on U.S. campuses. Anathema to the enlightening role of education, this unseemly relationship between the university and the national security state reeks of secrecy and self-serving biases.

Outside the ivy walls and ivory towers, whole communities and infrastructures are in collapse. Entire ecosystems are dying. A socially useful educational program would vigorously address these failures and seek solutions. That ours does not is a sign, not of the failure of the educational system, but rather of its success.

And succeed it does. The current educational framework accurately mirrors and supports the class, race, and gender structure and interests of the power elites. Conversely, the solving of social, economic and environmental problems would seriously undermine their power and wealth. Precisely because it is so successful, therefore, the educational system will not be fundamentally changed until the socioeconomic system itself is radically altered.

That does not mean, however, that we cannot or should not fight back. Rather, it simply means that the struggle against CIA-DoD on campus is an integral and linked part of the larger struggle for a just world. The activists, organizations, and researchers opposing CIA-DoD presence on campus illuminate the contradictions, reveal the subversion of education, and help us all seize back what is due citizens of a democracy. ●

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Cover: Anti-CIA demo, Northwestern, 1988. (Matt Eggemeyer), and M. Richard Rose at work, Langley, May 1991. (Jim Harmon/Reporter)
Back Cover: Anti-CIA demo, Northwestern, 1988. (Eugene Garcia)

Bulletin: Sept. 3, 1991

**RIT President
M. Richard Rose
announced his
resignation.**

A CIA Subsidiary?

Jean A. Douthwright

President Rose—A Company Man

It was February 1991 and the Gulf War was about to escalate into a ground conflict. Patriotic fervor in the U.S. was on the rise and Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT) President M. Richard Rose seemed to echo the mood of the times. He was taking a sabbatical, he announced on February 15, to serve his country. "When so many young men and women are making personal sacrifices on behalf of their country," he told a student paper, "the very least I can do is serve in an area that maximizes my military, educational, and management experience."¹

Two months later the Rochester *Times-Union* revealed that the "area" was not active military service, as Rose had led the community to believe, but rather a stint at the CIA in Langley, Virginia.² When faculty and students became aware of Rose's choice, many felt he had deceived them. Rose also said that he was "helping to devise new training and educational policies for CIA operatives that will prepare them to deal with the post-Cold War period."³ But CIA spokespeople stated that "Rose let the Agency know he wanted to take a four-month sabbatical...We didn't recruit him...[but] we found his credentials fit."⁴ RIT would only say that their president would be away, working on "national policies and procedures."

It was in this context of disinformation and misrepresentation that the surface was peeled back layer by layer to reveal a long, complex, and pervasive relationship between RIT and the CIA. It was a connection which many in the university community charged was antithetical to the goals, methodologies and values of higher education.

Revealing the Ties

Rumors of ties between RIT's faculty, administration, and students and the CIA have long circulated but until recently have remained relatively minor or largely unsubstantiated.

A CIA memorandum dated October 16, 1975, revealed that the Agency had established "certain relationships [with RIT] which might be categorized as 'special' or 'particular.'"⁵ Other documents showed that the College of Graphic Arts and Photography received about \$200,000 from the CIA in grants from 1966 to 1975.⁶ In 1985 it was reported that "30 RIT...students have gone to work just for the National Security Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency."⁷ Most of the students were from computer science, math, engineering and imaging science programs.

Controversy also occurred at RIT in 1987 when Robert C. "Bud" McFarlane, Rose's longtime personal friend, was paid more than \$70,000 to give three lectures as the Kern Professor of Communications at RIT. These talks occurred during the Iran-contra scandal when the former national security adviser was under investigation and attempted suicide. McFarlane continues his affiliation with RIT.

RIT had other influential friends who helped provide the kind of research and facilities the CIA needed. In 1985, when the new Imaging Science building was dedicated, the CIA deputy director attended and RIT awarded Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.) an honorary degree. D'Amato had been influential in obtaining large amounts of federal monies to subsidize the facility as well as an earlier building to house the microelectronics program.⁸ This funding was criticized in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* because there was no peer review of any proposal. The Senate Appropriations Committee had also criticized lack of competitive bidding in awarding contracts to universities.⁹

Jean A. Douthwright is an associate professor of biology at RIT and faculty adviser for the RIT Community for Peace and Justice. Research assistance was provided by members of the RIT/CIA Off Campus Coalition.

1. Christina Pagano, "President Rose Called for Confidential U.S. Assignment," *RIT Reporter*, February 15, 1991, p. 7.

2. M. Kathleen Wagner, "RIT President Working for CIA," *Times-Union*, Rochester, N.Y., April 10, 1991.

3. Jennifer Hyman, "RIT President Working for CIA," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Rochester, N.Y., April 11, 1991, p. B1.

4. John Machachek, "CIA Confirms Influence," *Times-Union*, Rochester, N.Y., June 13, 1991, p. B1.

5. The memo from the CIA's director of personnel was made public under a Freedom of Information Act suit filed by Morton Halperin.

6. Eugene Marino, "Secret Research Draws RIT Students," *Democrat and Chronicle*, February 16, 1985, p. A1.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Colleen Cordes, "Sen. Byrd Eases Position on University Projects that Avoid Peer Review," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 27, 1989, p. 25.

9. *Ibid.*

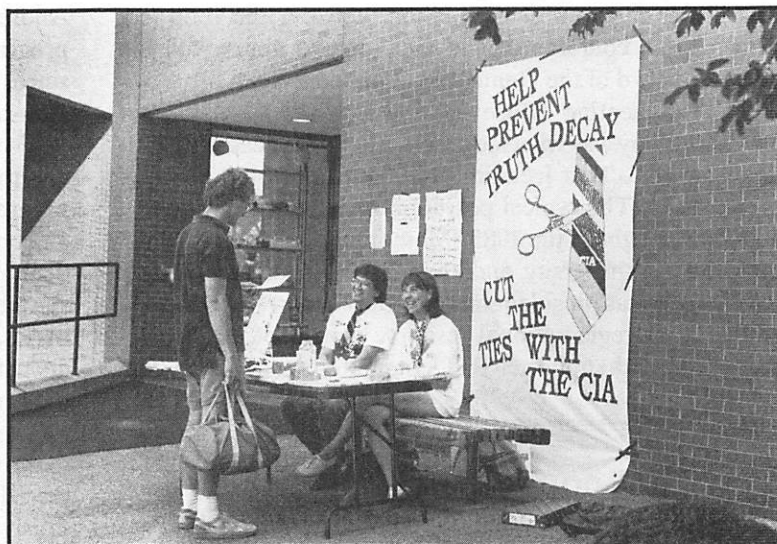
Faculty members wrote letters to the editor denouncing the policies on grants and honorary degrees.¹⁰ When D'Amato and McFarlane came to RIT, they were met with protests.

The current controversy which began over Rose's "sabbatical" at Langley is shedding light on some of the obscure funding sources and arrangements that have helped support CIA activities at RIT. During Rose's 12 year presidency, RIT and its subsidiary, the RIT Research Corporation (RITRC)¹¹ have received millions of dollars of CIA money.¹² The total is not public information despite Rose's assurances that "it is my policy [regarding CIA involvement at RIT] to use every line of communication available to this community to assure that all our members are informed of what is happening all the time."¹³

Also clouding the issue is the relationship between RIT and RITRC through which much of the Agency's work is funneled. This for-profit subsidiary of the university, situated yards from the RIT campus proper, is private and thus less liable to public disclosure of funding sources and expenditures than is RIT itself. What is clear, however, is the rapid growth in CIA presence, influence, and funding under President Rose. The major build-up has occurred since the mid-1980s and now amounts to at least \$2 million a year.¹⁴

Unravelling the Ties

The most recent exposure of the Rose connection to the CIA was triggered by a press conference called by the RIT-CIA Off Campus Coalition (COCC) on April 30, 1991. Jennifer Hyman, a reporter for the Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle*, part of the Gannett chain, had been looking into the CIA-RIT since early April after Rose's stint at Langley was revealed. Since the conference, she has written a major series of rigorously documented articles which revealed a deep and longstanding relationship.¹⁵ The university struck back, de-



Gary Gustafson

CIA Off Campus Coalition organizes against CIA-RIT ties.

nying the accuracy of the reports and challenging the integrity of the reporter. In a letter written to RIT donors, Jack Smith, RIT's vice president for communications complained that "unbalanced stories with misinformation...are examples of reporting that is nothing short of character assassination ...The story emphasis written by...Jennifer Hyman, a foreign national from South Africa, seems to be influenced by her past experiences with the CIT [sic] which tie her philosophically to the handful of people protesting CIA-related programs on the RIT campus."¹⁶

Although they impugned her accuracy and motivation, university officials failed to refute Hyman's evidence. After her initial articles, they met charges with a stonewall of denial, begrudging acknowledgment of small bits of information, or silence — most refused to even speak with Hyman. President Rose has apparently been advised by Hill and Knowlton, the largest and one of the most expensive public relations firms in the country, not to comment to the press. This firm, which RIT recently hired in the wake of the controversy, has also represented the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), the Kuwaiti government-in-exile (Citizens for a Free Kuwait), and handles the United States Catholic Conference's multi-million dollar anti-abortion campaign.

As information linking Rose and RIT to the CIA mounted, so did opposition. COCC, the coalition of peace and justice groups and individuals from the campus, the alumni and the community called for his resignation and for RIT to cut all ties to the Agency. On April 25, the COCC presented its demands to the Faculty Council which voted 19-2 stipulating that Rose return from Langley before May 10 when the campus would begin emptying out for the summer. Rose refused, citing his commitments to the CIA. On May 28, the

10. Carolyn Snyder, *et al.*, "Unethical Gift," *RIT Reporter*, March 21, 1986.

11. The RITRC is supposed to be a separate subsidiary from RIT, but there is considerable use of personnel and funding from the university. For example, Dennis C. Nystrom, who was employed at RIT as a development officer for the imaging sciences program and is the former dean of the College of Graphics Arts and Photography, recruits students for and runs the Federal Programs Training Center (FPTC). He held no official position in the RITRC (Nystrom resigned from RIT and is now employed as a manager of program development with Ektron Applied Imaging in Bedford, Mass. Ektron is part of Eastman Kodak Company's Government Systems Division, which handles Kodak's classified work for defense and intelligence agencies, and work for NASA.). It is unclear how much overlap exists between the RITRC and RIT; however, the RITRC, started in 1980, was heavily subsidized by RIT. The RITRC is still paying off loans to RIT.

12. Jennifer Hyman, "Millions in CIA Funding Pumped into CIA Coffers," *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 16, 1991, p. A1.

13. March 19, 1988, letter from President M. Richard Rose to Dr. Paul A. Haefner.

14. *Democrat and Chronicle*, *op. cit.*

15. Much of the information in this article comes from Hyman's reports.

16. Letter from Jack Smith to RIT donors, undated but sent circa June 1991.

first business day after graduation, however, he returned, held a press conference, and met for two hours with the editorial board of the Gannett newspapers.

At that meeting "Rose insisted that the CIA was not involved in any way whatsoever in influencing academic programs at RIT. That [relationship], he said, would be inappropriate."¹⁷ The cynical posture of that statement became apparent in light of the 1985 "Memorandum of Agreement" between the university and the CIA implemented during Rose's tenure as president in which the Agency "recognize[s] RIT as a strategic national resource worthy of explicit development and support." RIT committed to tailor its cur-

RIT committed to tailor its curriculum to be "responsive to certain defined specialties of the CIA." Memorandum of Agreement

riculum to be "responsive to certain defined specialties of the CIA...[and to] "establish a program leading to a doctorate in imaging sciences." In exchange, the CIA found it "appropriate to support faculty chairs and research projects in various RIT departments."¹⁸ It was inevitable, given this arrangement, that the Agency would influence curriculum decisions, funding and faculty appointments.

The memorandum also revealed that "participants may engage in classified work...without the knowledge of faculty advisers and students participating on that project." RIT's Center for Imaging Science would take on the role of "lead organization" in the new relationship.¹⁹ "There is simply no way," noted a *Democrat and Chronicle* editorial, "to square what Rose said last week [about the lack of CIA influence] with the facts contained in this document."²⁰

Broad Implications of CIA on Campus

Rose, because of his unabashed defense of the CIA's role on campus, and his undeniable ties with the Agency, has become the center of a controversy with broad-ranging implications. At 58, his ramrod bearing, clipped haircut and curt manner attest to his military background. Rose, educated at Slippery Rock State College in Pennsylvania, was in the Marine Corps for five years and was a colonel in the Marine Corps Reserve from 1958 to 1986. He worked as a teacher and high school guidance counselor in Pennsylvania. In 1962 he became an administrator at the University of Pittsburgh where he stayed until 1972. It was there, in 1968 that he met

Andrew J. Dougherty, head of the school's Air Force ROTC program, with whom he has been closely associated ever since. "Doc," as Dougherty is known, is a member of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers.

From 1972 through 1974, Rose served under Nixon as a deputy assistant secretary of defense developing training programs for military personnel, directing policy-making, and budgeting for military training. In 1974 he became president of Alfred University, about an hour from RIT, where he started a university-affiliated research corporation similar to RITRC, before coming to RIT in 1979. He brought Dougherty along first as vice president and then as executive assistant to the president. Dougherty also became the pivotal CIA contact person until early June 1991. Dougherty was then thrown to the wolves by the RIT Board of Trustees which along with the administration hoped that his forced resignation would satisfy opponents of RIT's deep involvement with the CIA and quiet the controversy.²¹

At first CIA involvement at RIT seemed — because of the direct involvement of the president — more dramatic, but not substantively different from that at many other universities. Liberal critics argued that the CIA on campus violated both educational and ethical norms. The covert nature of CIA activities was antithetical to open research, a spirit of inquiry, and the fundamental goals of education. The CIA, irredeemably bloodied by coups, assassinations, drug dealing and general brutality, was morally incompatible with the mission of a university.

These generalized charges were familiar ones and had been more or less successfully ignored, stonewalled or circumvented by the CIA in the past. What made RIT different was Hyman's tenacious reporting in a mainstream press; the presence of an organized group of concerned and un intimidated students and faculty; the particular arrogance and lack of subtlety of RIT's CIA operatives; and sensational, carefully documented evidence demonstrating how the Agency bought and paid for a tame institution suited to its needs. This fortuitous combination of factors exposed, for even the apolitical and amoral to see, how university collaboration with the CIA can affect the educational and ethical fiber of the community.

Tracing Back the Ties That Bind

Located in a secure building on the edge of campus, with a conference room that is regularly swept for bugs, is RIT's CIA-funded Federal Programs Training Center (FPTC). Here, small teams of faculty and students, totalling about 30 full- and part-time employees, work on various secret projects. Handpicked faculty and students with backgrounds in printing and photography develop procedures to identify

17. Editorial, "Rescue RIT from the CIA," *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 4, 1991.

18. "Cover Memorandum for Memorandum of Agreement Among the RIT, the RIT Research Corporation, and the CIA," August 6, 1985.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Editorial, *Democrat and Chronicle*, op. cit., June 4, 1991.

21. Dougherty told the *Times-Union*, on June 6, 1991, that he was "forced" out because of "distorted, twisted news reports." In a story the following day, Rose is reported to have blamed his colleague of more than two decades for RIT's involvement with the CIA. The president claimed he did not know the details of CIA research on campus and his biggest mistake was vesting oversight of Agency activities in one person.

different characteristics in documents such as passports, ID cards, drivers' licenses and visas. Some participants say the purpose of the work is to design research methods to help create more sophisticated and authentic looking forgeries. Particular attention is paid to bar codes, Mylar strips, holograms, embossings or laminates. Students doing the work were told detection of forged documents might affect an agent's life. They are also told not to discuss their work, or to identify the CIA as the sponsor. Another completed project perfected the electronic scanning of 9mm spy film to digitize and store selected images on computer disc.

At least 50 RIT faculty, staff and students had security clearances with the CIA in 1988.²² It could run many times that amount by now. Even the School for American Craftsmen program in woodworking has been infiltrated by the Agency which assigned students classroom projects making desks with hidden drawers and picture frames with secret cavities for listening devices.²³

The proliferation of CIA programs and the large number of people involved at RIT is not a matter of chance. In a 1988 charter, RIT established a Technical Support Program and a Scholars' Program specifically to serve the CIA.²⁴ Students were to be selected, recruited, and trained to do research for the Agency. When Edward McIrvine, dean of the College of Graphic Arts and Photography received his copy of the charter, he urged the administration to reveal it to the entire RIT community.

"It wasn't research any more," said McIrvine, "it was training. I told them that educating students enrolled at RIT for the CIA wasn't part of the Research Corporation mission."²⁵

One particularly blatant way the CIA shaped the educational and research agenda of the University was by contracting with the RITRC to produce reports. McFarlane and other "experts" participated in discussions used to develop these documents. In "Changemasters," funded by the CIA and written in 1990 by Dougherty, Rose committed both himself and RIT to supporting the continuing work of the CIA.

Another report, the confidential "Japan: 2000" described Japanese people as "creatures of an ageless, amoral, manipulative and controlling culture" who are conspiring to dominate the world. The report concludes by congratulating itself that it "provide[s] notice that the 'rising sun' is coming — the attack has begun."²⁶ After Hyman exposed the original and the report was denounced by experts on Japan as crude, racist and full of errors, a revised version was released.²⁷ Although



Federal Programs Training Center where CIA conducts secret research.

the language in this version was less overtly racist, the basic arguments remained unchanged. Two participants in the seminar have subsequently repudiated the report.

Speaking Out Against the CIA

Critics of the CIA on campus pointed to these examples of dubious scholarship as unequivocal evidence of how CIA influence functioned to distort the ethical standards, research agenda, and academic environment of a university.

After "Japan: 2000" was made public, Dean McIrvine called for a change in leadership at RIT. In a May 24, 1991 letter, he further charged that, in the academic equivalent of a coup, the CIA had attempted to completely take over the Imaging Science program. In a reorganization plan authored by Rose, the Center for Imaging Science would be managed by the Research Corporation. "Such a strange proposal," said McIrvine, "made no sense educationally," but it did put the program in a better position "to serve the CIA."²⁸

In an interview with Hyman published June 6, 1991, Dean McIrvine also revealed that RIT officials had conducted a secret background security check on him without his consent in 1988.²⁹ He was one of fifty administrators, deans, faculty and staff members for whom RIT was trying to get clearance. He had previously turned down two requests from Dougherty and Rose asking him for his cooperation with a background check and only discovered the CIA investigation after he refused the Agency access to some of his psychiatric records.

Other faculty members presumably passed initial CIA muster and found out about Agency interest when they were approached for recruitment.

In the mid 1980s, Malcolm Spaul, chair of RIT's Film and Video Department, was asked by Dougherty and two CIA agents to train CIA personnel in video surveillance. Spaul

22. Jennifer Hyman, "CIA Vein Runs Deep Inside RIT," *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 2, 1991, p. A1.

23. *Ibid.*

24. RIT office memo from President Rose, August 18, 1991.

25. Jennifer Hyman, "Dean Says His Privacy Invaded," *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 6, 1991, p. A1.

26. "Japan: 2000," February 1991, draft by Andrew Dougherty, p. 167.

27. Jennifer Hyman, "Revised Report Softer on Japanese," *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 25, 1991, p. A1.

28. RIT office memo from Edward McIrvine, May 24, 1991.

29. It is unclear how many of the 50 RIT individuals with security clearance are aware of their status. At other institutions, the CIA keeps files not only on those who have passed their clearance checks but on those who failed. The Agency does not feel obligated to notify either group.

declined, saying that he would not do any "directly aggressive" work that infringed on human rights. His association of CIA work with human rights abuses was not abstract. It sprang from his close friendship with the family of Charles Horman, the American writer whose abduction and execution by a right-wing death squad in Chile in September 1973 was depicted in the film "Missing." According to Spaul, there is "some evidence that the CIA knew [Horman] was in captivity and acquiesced in his execution."

John Ciampa, director of the RIT American Video Institute, declined to work for the CIA. "[I] simply pointed to a clause in the contract with my institute that says it will engage only in activities that are life enhancing."

Naming Names

Increasingly, research which serves military and corporate needs is routinely conducted at U.S. universities. Their large and sometimes secret grants endow faculty chairs, pay research, graduate student and staff salaries, and build and

Even the School for American Craftsmen has been infiltrated. The CIA assigned students classroom projects making desks with hidden drawers and picture frames with secret cavities for listening devices.

maintain facilities. Needless to say, the military and corporations support those projects which are directly responsive to their needs, not those which simply advance knowledge or serve social or university needs. Any responsible university undertakes to balance these often conflicting agenda through oversight committees which screen and evaluate grants and projects. RIT, however, had no such checks before the CIA scandal broke. Then, in response to faculty concerns, the Faculty Council-Administration Committee on Proprietary Research (CPR) was charged with evaluating the appropriateness of research projects and grant awards.

In the fall of 1989, Dougherty was asked by Vernon Elliott of *Campus Watch* (an anti-CIA watchdog publication) to confirm the presence of a CIA officer-in-residence at RIT. Rose reacted by sending a memo to Vice Presidents, Deans and Faculty Council members calling Philip Agee a drunk, communist, revolutionary, and womanizer. The attack, however, was drawn from a book which clearly referred to Philip Agee, Sr. (albeit erroneously), not Philip Agee, Jr. the co-editor of *Campus Watch* and not the ex-CIA officer who had

become an outspoken opponent of the Agency's excesses.³⁰

Members of the CPR also received the memo. This body had only recently begun raising questions about the secrecy and appropriateness of CIA-sponsored research. Some members of the ten-person committee interpreted Rose's memo as a McCarthyite tactic designed to intimidate them into dropping or softpedaling the inquiry. The effect was not as planned for some committee members. "I felt less intimidated than simply appalled by the left-over Cold War rhetoric lavished on the event," said philosophy professor Dr. Timothy Engstrom. "It was completely inappropriate, given the open discussions which should occur at a university. Rose casually assumed that his views were sanctioned by the academic hierarchy."

While some members felt threatened, others were more sanguine. John Schott and George Ryan had good reason to support a continuing relationship with the CIA, since both were involved in Agency programs. Schott, a professor in the imaging science program, just completed a \$200,000 grant for research on analyzing satellite images. (The CIA has apparently cancelled "all of Schott's work" in the wake of the recent publicity.) Schott, however, maintains that "all the work I do ends up in conference proceedings and journals."³¹

Ryan, the operations manager for the RITRC, along with Dr. Harvey Rhody, an electrical engineer, have recently replaced Dougherty as RIT's CIA contact people. Although they were on the CPR at the time and were aware of it, neither Schott nor Ryan informed the committee of the "Memorandum of Agreement" with the CIA. In fact, Ryan, in response to questions submitted by faculty in late 1989, stated that "RIT has made no commitments or agreements other than the deliverables including final reports..." Shortly before this statement, in April 1990, Rose and Provost Thomas Plough were asked to address a public forum on the issue of proprietary research. Both declined. Plough directed the president of the Research Corporation, Dr. Robert Desmond, to stand in. Although he spoke at the forum, he refused to answer the list of questions from faculty which he had been given well before the event.

If there is conflict of interest within the Proprietary Research Committee, there is an even more blatant one on the current Board of Trustees. One member, RIT alumnus Robert J. Kohler, is a 25 year former CIA official. Rose wrote to Kohler on April 18, 1985, to solicit a list of CIA-approved candidates for director of RIT's imaging science program. Kohler replied in May with three names including one "recently retired from the CIA" who "might be looking for something else to do at this stage of his life."³² Kohler, who worked for the Lockheed Missile Space Company after leaving the CIA, was appointed to the Center for Imaging

30. RIT office memo from M. Richard Rose, October 10, 1989.

31. Denise K. Magner, "At Rochester Institute, a Spectrum of Opinions on Links with the CIA," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 10, 1991.

32. Letter sent from Robert J. Kohler to M. Richard Rose, May 6, 1985.

Science's academic advisory board in late 1985. He became an RIT trustee in 1988, and is vice president of the TRW Avionics and Surveillance Group in San Diego. TRW has long had close working relations with the CIA.

The CIA continued to be involved with the imaging science program according to a July 1986 memo from Dougherty.³³ In it the CIA's Evan Hineman was briefed by Kohler and Keith Hazard. Hineman wanted to see even greater CIA involvement in RIT's Center for Imaging Science. Hazard, a CIA officer who serves as outside advisor, replaced Kohler on the center's advisory board when Kohler became a trustee.

An Investigation Begins

On May 28, 1991, Rose announced that he would suspend all *personal* ties with the CIA, "distance" himself and his office from Dougherty, and appoint a "blue-ribbon" commission to investigate RIT's CIA links.³⁴ A review panel was chosen by the Board of Trustees. After a series of protests charging that it was stacked, the panel was enlarged to include a student, an alumnus, and a faculty member. The panel also hired independent factfinders Monroe Freedman, an expert on legal ethics at Hofstra University, and Jonathan Soroko, a former New York City prosecutor. It is still unclear what access they and the panel will have to information and personnel at RIT and RITRC.

On June 5, papers relating to the CIA were discovered missing from Rose's office. Two days later, documents were mailed anonymously to news organizations in Rochester. They revealed last-ditch efforts by Dougherty to save the CIA programs. "Our sponsor," one document noted, "is increasingly uncomfortable with perceived hostile environment. If we do not solve the situation ourselves within days, we will probably lose it... Gary Conners has indicated an absolute commitment to form a not-for-profit for which we can assign present contracts with no lapse in performance. The new not-for-profit would be a 'university' foundation consisting of University of Rochester, RIT, and other scientists who wish to participate."³⁵ Conners comes from Kodak's Government Systems division, also known in some quarters as its "spook division."

In July 1986, Rose told the CIA "[The CIA-RIT] relationship is rapidly coming to full bloom... We are pleased and delighted with the relationship and the way the relationship has developed to both our advantages."³⁶ The RIT community, however, had seen the root of the bloom. As the editors of a Rochester newspaper wrote, "RIT officials have tried to wrap this controversy in the flag, as if any red-blooded

33. RIT office memo to Drs. Robert Desmond, Harvey Rhody, and John Schott from Andrew J. Dougherty, July 31, 1986.

34. Jennifer Hyman, "Rose Suspends CIA Ties," *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 29, 1991, p. A1.

35. Transcript of telephone call from Andrew Dougherty while in Washington to M. Richard Rose, June 3, 1991.

36. "Report to Evan Hineman from M. Richard Rose Regarding CIA/RIT Relationships," July 29, 1986. Hineman was CIA deputy director for science and technology.

How CIA-RIT Retaliates

Call in the Outside Agitators.

July 2: It is revealed that RIT hired the prestigious firm of Hill and Knowlton (also adviser to BCCI) to help it manage its public relations.¹ RIT VP for Communications Jack Smith denied the hiring had anything to do with the controversy. A letter from Board of Trustees chair Tom Gosnell to the RIT community about the PR firm, however, referred several times to the RIT-CIA relationship.²

Line up the Local Big Guns.

July 4: The Industrial Management Council, a major Rochester business group composed of local executives, announced its support for Rose and the CIA in an op-ed.³ At least five IMC directors were or are RIT Board of Trustees members.⁴

Call in the Favors

July 19: "Rochester Area Businesses" paid \$8,300 for a full-page ad supporting "Rich Rose."⁵ I.C. Shah, an organizer of the ad, whose business is on RIT-owned land adjacent to the campus, said that the piece was simply the independent reaction of twelve medium-sized firms who were tired of seeing a pillar of the Rochester community unfairly attacked by the local press.

Pull up the Moat

July 19: a request by the COCC to meet with the Board of Trustees for a ten-minute presentation was refused.⁶

Attack the Messenger

July 22: the *Democrat and Chronicle* reported that Hill and Knowlton had longstanding ties to the CIA and had worked with numerous CIA fronts in the past. That same week, Gannett-Rochester received a letter from the PR firm threatening to sue over the July 22 article.

1. Jennifer Hyman, "RIT Hires Firm To Improve Image," *Democrat and Chronicle*, July 2, 1991, and M. Kathleen Wagner, "Big PR Firm Helping RIT Handle CIA Controversy," *Times Union*, July 3, 1991.

2. Tom Gosnell, Letter to the RIT community, July, 1991.

3. Tom Aspengill, Gannett Rochester Newspapers, July 4, 1991.

4. Press release, COCC, July 7, 1991.

5. *Democrat and Chronicle*, July 17, 1991.

6. COCC, letter to the Board of Trustees, July 19, 1991.

—Stephen Judd

American should be happy to work for the CIA, no questions asked. But learning to forge documents is not necessarily a patriotic duty. This history of the CIA's meddling in other countries offers ample proof of that. Many other campuses have decided that CIA spying doesn't square with the mission of a university. Rose and his board of trustees need to explain clearly why they think it does."³⁷

37. Editorial, "How Many Secrets at RIT?" *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 17, 1991.

A Marriage Made in Langley

Stephen Judd

The RIT campus had been boiling over since the revelation that its President was employed by the CIA to help establish a close institutional relationship between the Agency and the University.

On May 28, President M. Richard Rose returned from his sojourn in Langley, Virginia with the Agency, and commented that he felt like a "Christian facing the lions." On June 6, he met with the University community, many of whom were confused or angry. The recent exposure of the "Japan: 2000" report (see pp. 4-9) had revealed the international implications of the crisis and the racist, narrowly self-serving agenda which can result from an Agency-University marriage.

So many people wanted to see Rose that the theater where the meeting was scheduled overflowed and monitors were set up in the library, cafeterias and other facilities.

As the 3:30 meeting began, a smiling President Rose sipped nervously from a glass of ice water. He read a short statement announcing the establishment of an "advisory panel" to look into the growing scandal.¹

Rose denied "undue influence on this institution" but admitted it had been a mistake to tie his own office so closely to the Agency, since "we lacked appropriate management controls" in dealing with the CIA. He then went on the offensive. He derided his critics for *personal* attacks on his integrity and targeted the news media, particularly the "liberal" *Democrat and Chronicle*. The President ended his critique with an indignant thrust against the opponents of the CIA, whom he accused of being enemies of academic freedom and free speech. And he revealed that Andrew Dougherty, the author of the "Japan: 2000" report and RIT's liaison with the CIA, had "retired" the day before.²

Faculty and Students Outraged

The question and answer session was strained and dramatic. Among the issues raised was the tenuous position of

foreign national students at RIT. Several students and faculty members gave emotional accounts of the hostility with which the CIA was viewed in their home countries. One Iranian faculty member, staring down at Rose from the amphitheater of seats, said pointedly that the CIA had trained the SAVAK secret police which had murdered tens of thousands, including members of her own family.

Some students said they were uncomfortable that the CIA was present at RIT's invitation and felt betrayed that the school's recruiting literature had not mentioned the Agency. Perhaps underestimating their seriousness and overestimating his ability to handle the controversy, Rose avoided addressing the students. Instead, he appealed to the patriotism inspired by the Gulf War as an explanation for his own decision to work for the CIA.

A week later, on June 13, three RIT students filed a bias suit against Rose and ten officers of RIT contending that the preparation of

"Japan: 2000" constituted a violation of RIT policy against harassment or discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin.³ On June 28, President Rose sent a two-page formal letter of apology to all the Japanese students on campus.

On July 1, in a letter to Thomas Gosnell, chair of the Board of Trustees, the Coalition warned that if the Institute did not act to protect its foreign national students, then the CIA Off Campus Coalition (COCC) would call for international students to boycott RIT. The Coalition asked that such students be declared off-limits to CIA recruiters and that the Institute acknowledge the CIA relationship in all recruiting material. The COCC had already established the credibility of this threat earlier in the month. When it learned that a visiting delegation of rectors from Polish technical universities was scheduled for the last week of May, the COCC wrote to the Kosciusko Foundation which co-sponsored the visit to inform it of the RIT-CIA relationship.⁴

One Iranian faculty member, staring down at Rose, said that CIA-trained SAVAK police had murdered tens of thousands, including members of her own family.

Stephen Judd is a graduate student at RIT and a member of the Coalition. He also taught at Duke University.

1. Press release, RIT Office of Communications, June 6, 1991.

2. The President's talk recorded on video.

3. Steve Orr, "Three File Bias Complaints Against Rose, 10 Others," *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 14, 1991.

4. COCC letter to the Kosciusko Foundation, June 6, 1991.

Shredded Credibility

The other major issue to emerge at the meeting was the security of relevant documents. In an exchange with the increasingly distracted President, Dr. Mary Sullivan, former Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, demanded that all such documents be collected, locked up, and placed under guard. "OK, that could be done," he said. "That's not a problem."⁵

A month later, Rose's promise appeared to have been shredded along with a substantial load of documents. After initial challenges to its composition, an investigatory panel announced the appointment of Monroe Freedman as factfinder to oversee the inquiry and safeguard evidence.⁶ Freedman was the former Dean of Cardozo Law School of Hofstra University, and is a man with impeccable liberal credentials.

The next day, the Coalition held an afternoon press conference, piled plastic garbage bags in the foyer of the administration building and dumped the contents on the floor. The piles of cross-shredded confetti, said group spokespeople, had been CIA-related documents from both the Federal Programs Training Center and the RIT Research Corporation and had, despite Rose's assurances, been deliberately destroyed. They accused the administration of engaging in a cover-up and charged that the investigation had been rendered meaningless.⁷

Monroe Freedman contacted one of the COCC members the next day and asked the group to turn over the shredded documents to him for possible reconstruction. In a two-hour meeting on July 29, Freedman and the COCC agreed to share information. The factfinder also said he would consider a COCC request to publish a report separate from that of the committee and give periodic public statements of progress.

The Expanding Universe

The Coalition is hoping that one of the areas the panel will investigate is the far-reaching implications of the RIT involvement with the CIA. On June 30, the *Democrat and Chronicle* ran a front-page story on RIT's "global efforts," citing possible ill effects from fallout over the controversy.⁸

5. Video of meeting and written transcript provided by Gary Gustafson.

6. Dr. Mary Sullivan, letter to the RIT Community, July 27, 1991.

7. Press release, COCC, July 27, 1991; press statement, COCC, July 28, 1991.

8. Jennifer Hyman, "Many Feel Ties to CIA Taint RIT's Global Efforts," *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 30, 1991.

The article also cited RIT's attempts to create "satellite" schools in Japan and South Africa.

Overseeing activities is the National Intelligence Technical Support Program. Under NITSP, which seems to be a prototype for other such centers,⁹ are three entities:

The Federal Programs Training Center (FPTC) provides a secure on-campus facility, housing an ambitious program of CIA-financed "studies" such as the controversial "Japan: 2000" and "Changemasters" reports. Documents in COCC's possession provide a broad sketch for a program under NITSP's aegis projected to be national in scope. "The RIT Research Corporation," wrote Rose in an August 18, 1988, letter to administrative staff and deans, "will not only host but will in fact direct all the activities of this center."

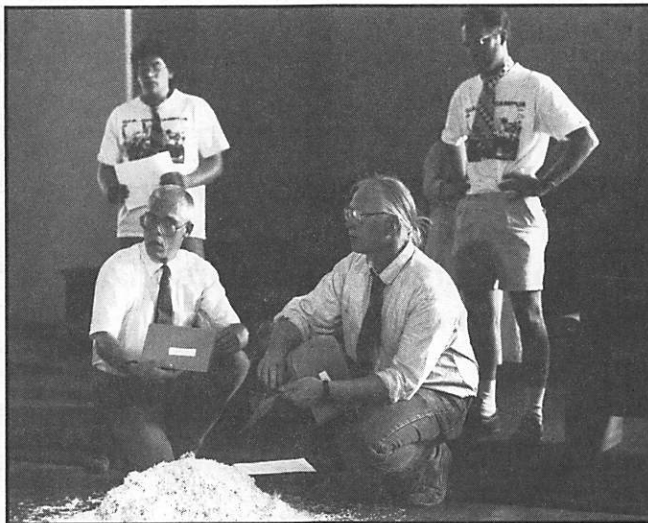
The National Trends and Intentions Advisory Board (NTIAB) makes periodic technology assessments.

The National Intelligence Scholars Program (NISP) not only aims at recruiting college students for CIA programs. It also makes a "concentrated effort" to target high school students—particularly minorities and handicapped—planning to study in advanced technological areas.

This complex pattern of organization demonstrated the broad involvement between RIT and the Agency. Documents suggested that the subject matter of its research includes both technical hardware and intelligence gathering. Until the scandal broke, the quantity of RIT-

CIA cooperation was growing and research was becoming increasingly sophisticated. The areas of critical interest are "intelligent systems"—a specialty area of Dr. Harvey Rhody, director of intelligent systems at RITRC—and the creation of a superspeed computing storage and retrieval system to function on a national scale.

What effect the media revelations and the work of the Coalition will have on slowing this growth, or ending the special relationship, remain to be seen. ●



Steve Gustafson

Members of the CIA Off Campus Coalition display documents shredded at RIT despite President Rose's promise to protect all relevant materials.

9. In August 1988, President Rose and Andrew Dougherty launched the NITSP, to be controlled and administered by the RITRC, and to function cooperatively with the CIA's Office of Technical Services, a part of the Science and Technology Directorate. Its charter stated, "(T)he program is designed to assist the Intelligence community to carry out its tasks in support of national security objectives of the United States of America. The sponsoring organization is the Central Intelligence Agency. ... (to) provide educational and training programs, technology reviews and assessments and research." It is comprised of members from RIT, the private sector, and the CIA, and meets regularly.

Harvard in Service to the National Security State

John Trumbour

Harvard is the wealthiest and most influential of U.S. universities. MIT, Cal Tech, Johns Hopkins, Stanford and the University of California are Washington's scientific bulwark. But it is Harvard which still provides more of the social science concepts and more of the personnel who occupy the command posts of the modern welfare-warfare state.

At the dawn of the Reagan era, Norman Stone, the conservative Oxford historian, traveled to Harvard for a conference on spying. Financed by the Defense Department and, in his words, "organized by American intelligence," the conference gave Stone his introduction to Reaganism. At odds with the "Kremlin on the Charles" description popularized by right-wing critics, the distinguished historian found himself amidst "youngish, besuited, presidential advisers with triangular green eyes, speaking deadpan about how to destroy communism."

"There was talk of nuking," he reminisced a decade later. "There was further talk, to the effect that a really big build-up of modern American weaponry would force the Soviet Union to compete. That competition would ruin the Soviet economy...And lo and behold, America has spent...\$2.4 trillion in the past eight years. Mikhail Gorbachev is now leading the dismantling of communism. What is the connection? I would suspect direct."¹

Stone's warm words for such earnest scholarly enterprise were matched years earlier by Harvard President Nathan Pusey (1953-71). He also understood the importance of the university in waging the Cold War.

"The sort of activities that goes on in the classrooms and laboratories of Cambridge is contributing vastly to the immense national efforts we are making and shall have to make to live up to our nation's acquired responsibilities in the world and to compete effectively in this life-and-death struggle in

which it seems that we are to be engaged for a long time with our alien rival, the U.S.S.R....Our university has done its part — and more — in every conflict in our nation's history."²

Speaking before an ROTC panel in 1955, then Harvard Dean McGeorge Bundy spelled out the stakes for the University alliance with the military. "We are committed in a larger sense to developing the connection between our University and the Armed Forces in a wide variety of ways."

Bundy termed the Cold War "a period in which the techniques of academic learning, both in the Social Sciences and in the Natural Sciences, are more closely connected than ever before with those of the National Defense. A university," he scolded, "which does not try to develop to a maximal degree the interest, cooperation, and understanding between its staff members and those of the National Defense forces is not doing its full job."³

U.S. intelligence always depended more "on a community of scholars than on a network of spies."

—George Bush

Roots of the Military-Academic Complex

The aftermath of World War II and attainment of the permanent war economy represented the triumph of those who envisioned the university as a service station for the national security state. The foundations for the creation of the military-academic complex, however, were laid as early as World War I. Harvard itself featured a war curriculum enrolling 864 students in "Military Science I" during 1916, and President Lawrence Lowell had the Harvard Yard dormitories converted into military barracks in 1917.⁴ An earlier nationwide trend of student disdain and outright rioting against campus military drill had been reversed in the mighty quake of hyper-nationalism unleashed by World War I. According to the *Report of the Commissioner of Education*

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1. Norman Stone, "A Farewell to the Arms Race," *Sunday Times* (London), books supplement, February 11, 1990, p. H8.

2. Nathan Pusey, *Harvard and Cambridge* (pamphlet, 1959). Pusey's text was delivered in May 1959 at the Commander Hotel in Cambridge.

3. Bundy quoted in booklet, *How Harvard Rules* (1969 edition). The 1969 version reproduces many documents on Bundy's role in expanding international studies. For a fuller historical treatment of these issues, see the 1989 book version: John Trumbour, ed., *How Harvard Rules* (Boston: South End Press, 1989).

4. For an essay actively lauding this development, see the right-wing Harvard publication, *Peninsula*. Roger Landry, "Harvard Was Once Allied With the Allies," *Peninsula*, April 1991, pp. 28-29.

(1918), U.S. Bureau of Education, Chicago, Columbia, Michigan, and Harvard “lost nearly all of their leading professors of physics” to the research work of the government during World War I. The *New York Times* (March 9, 1917) reported that 95 percent of Harvard’s administration and faculty signed a petition urging President Wilson “to lead the people to defend at all costs the integrity of the nation.”⁵ The National Board for Historical Service placed the nation’s top historians “at the service of the government.” It helped produce and disseminate such scholarship as “The Repulsiveness of the German State” by George H. Mead of the University of Chicago and “The Deeper Roots of Pan-Germanism” by Chicago medievalist James Westfall Thompson, who observed that French bestiaries of the Middle Ages gave “French names to the finer kinds of animals and German names to the wolf, the ass, etc.”⁶

Those not willing to join the NBHS crusade faced chilling reprisal. Dissident historian Charles Beard stepped down from his post at Columbia in 1917 after “a very humiliating inquisition” from the board of trustees “in the presence of three or four of my colleagues...who seemed to think the process quite right and normal.” In 1918, reformist feminists and pacifists Katherine Coman and Emily Balch (the latter a 1946 Nobel laureate), were purged from the Wellesley faculty. Their students were further quarantined from their influence when the college’s entire social science program was shut down for close to a decade.⁷

Cold War, Warm Bedfellows

The end of World War I did not mean an end of what had proven to be a mutually beneficial relationship. “The infusion of money, equipment, prestige, and political power which accompanied the intellectuals’ participation in the war left them far more receptive to the principle of centrally administered, mission-oriented research,” concludes education historian Clyde Barrow. “Public service was institutionalized in research and manpower training programs that would promote capitalist economic development and in assigning intellectuals responsibility for defending the American state against internal and external threats to its legitimacy.”⁸

5. For these citations, see: Clyde W. Barrow, *Universities and the Capitalist State: Corporate Liberalism and the Reconstruction of American Higher Education, 1894-1928* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), pp. 135, 142, and 283n.

6. See Waldo G. Leland, “The National Board for Historical Service,” *Annual Report of the A.H.A. for the Year 1919, Volume 1* (Washington, D.C., 1923); George H. Mead, “The Repulsiveness of the German State,” *History Teachers Magazine*, IX, November 1918; and James Westfall Thompson, “The Deeper Roots of Pan-Germanism,” *History Teachers Magazine*, IX, October 1918. I am grateful to Cyrus Veese for showing the connections between the NBHS and the rise of Western Civilization courses.

7. Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 325-26.

8. Barrow, pp. 124-25. Also see: David Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York: Knopf, 1977).



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Pres. Derek Bok (1971-91), left, Nathan Pusey (1953-71), wife and Ivy.

World War II further boosted the level of cooperation between the government and the university. “When OSS, America’s wartime secret intelligence service, was set up in 1941,” wrote Roger Hilsman, another former JFK-LBJ adviser, “one of the basic ideas behind it was the novel and almost impish thought that scholars could in some respects take the place of spies.”⁹

With the rubble of World War II barely settled, the Cold War commenced. The OSS was transformed into the CIA which continued the cooperative tradition. Sumner Benson, Harvard Ph.D. and holder of the “Exceptional Intelligence Analyst Award” for his efforts in the CIA’s Office of Political Analysis, noted that the Agency “has closer ties with the academic community, including the historical profession, than most other federal agencies,” [and it] “has maintained a reputation as probably one of the two most academically selective agencies in the federal government.”¹⁰

New mechanisms were developed in the post-war era through which the complementary relationship between government and academia was institutionalized. Harvard’s McGeorge Bundy and others masterminded the expansion of international studies programs. Prior to World War II, the number of these programs could be counted on both hands. By 1968, however, there were 191 centers, most of them “manned, directed, or stimulated by graduates of the OSS,”¹¹ according to Bundy. Ninety-five of these were concentrated at twelve universities.¹²

9. Roger Hilsman, *Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions* (Glencoe; Ill. Free Press, 1956).

10. Benson from essay in the *Public Historian* cited by R.J. Lambrose, “The Abusable Past,” *Radical History Review*, 28-30, 1984, pp. 67-72.

11. Bundy in: *Dimensions of Diplomacy*, Edgar A.G. Johnson, ed., (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1964), pp. 2-3.

12. Data on area studies from David Horowitz, “Sinews of Empire,” *Ramparts*, October 1969.

Protest Brings Cosmetic Reforms

There have been few breaches in the universities' service to the state. Politicians such as U.S. Senator Karl Mundt (R-S.D.) might later complain before a 1963 Princeton University conference that the universities were failing to do enough. "According to our top Soviet authorities," he wrote, "Lenin established the first three communist-operated political warfare schools in Western Europe. *We have yet to create our first training institution devoted solely to this important task...*" (Emphasis in original.)

"For in the Cold War our major striking power is ideas, with highly-skilled and well-trained men to implement them. When, I ask, are we going to begin to close the widening gap in the training of Cold War combatants?"¹³

At last, the turbulence surrounding Washington's massive invasion of Vietnam brought for the first time a major upsurge in protests and revelations of the university's complicity with the national security state. This potentially explosive situation was defused by a series of largely cosmetic reforms including: a 1967 federal law forbidding the CIA from funding covert research at the universities; the movement of many ROTC programs off-campus; and pledges like that of Harvard president Derek Bok (1971-1991) to refuse secret research.

These inconveniences were soon circumvented and the happy marriage of academia and state returned to what now passed for normal. George Bush, CIA director in 1976 and 1977, helped engineer the CIA's campus resurgence by arguing that U.S. intelligence always depended more "on a community of scholars than on a network of spies."¹⁴

One of those cheered by the reconciliation was Ernest May, the Harvard historian who helped lead the conference on spying described by Stone. "Harvard has always been intimately involved in the diplomatic and military spheres," he noted, "and the period of the late 60s and early 70s was only an interruption of that." May was soon to benefit directly from the restoration of the symbiotic relationship. He and professor of government Richard Neustadt were awarded a \$1.2 million grant from the CIA for a study of intelligence.¹⁵

This grant was one of a series of large contracts which came to Harvard in the late 1980s and became a showcase for Bok's commitment to conducting what he called "open" research for the CIA. The purity of Harvard's prohibition of "secret" research had been sullied when media leaks revealed in 1985 that two of its leading political scientists, Samuel P. Huntington and Nadav Safran, were ongoing recipients of CIA funding. While denying that their research was covert, the Bok administration gave vague assurances that future CIA enterprises at Harvard would be open.

13. Karl E. Mundt, "Need for a National Freedom Academy," in John Boardman Whitton, ed. *Propaganda and the Cold War: A Princeton University Symposium* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1963), p. 79.

14. Quoted by R.J. Lambrose, *op. cit.*, pp. 516-17.

15. *Ibid.* For greater background on these developments, see John Trumbour, ed., *How Harvard Rules*, 1989, pp. 67-72.

Moving In-house

Also circumvented in the 1980s was the liberal objection that programs such as ROTC were controlled by instructors *outside* the university community. While reaffirming the "independence" of the university from outside influences, the Bok regime oversaw the expansion of a broad range of programs tailored for the leaders of the national security establishment. These were to be taught *in-house* by the university's own faculty.

Bok described the transformation of the Kennedy School of Government (KSG) as his proudest achievement. During his reign it saw a more than ten-fold increase in endowment and under Dean Graham Allison (1977-1988), the KSG became heavily soaked in Department of Defense sponsorship. "Application procedures," boasts the current promotional literature for the KSG's "Programs for Senior Officers in National Security, "[are] administered by the Employee Career Development and Training Division of the Secretary of Defense." This arrangement makes "independent" Harvard a veritable extension school for the Pentagon and the rest of the national security elite.

Harvard [has become] a veritable extension school for the Pentagon and the rest of the national security elite.

"A representative sampling" of 1990 participants includes "Special Agent in Charge, CIA," "Commanding Officer, Naval Research Laboratory," "Prospective Commanding Officer, U.S.S. Inchon." General Norman Schwarzkopf is a 1985 graduate of the program. "The Program also runs an extensive research effort," concludes its slick brochure, "including a series of case studies on counter-narcotics and counter-insurgency in Peru."¹⁶ Two months after the 1991 session of the Senior Officers program broke up, the Bush administration announced plans to send Green Beret and naval personnel to Peru to help its army crush guerrillas and drug traffickers. The Peruvian army, admitted the *New York Times* on August 7, 1991, "is known for a dismal human rights record."

16. See brochure: "Program for Senior Officers in National Security, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University," April 1-May 24, 1991. It provides the following notes on eligibility for admission:

"Senior Officers in National Security is designed for civilian officials in the national security community of GS-15 or equivalent rank and for military officers at the colonel or Navy captain rank..."

"The full support and sponsorship of each applicant's employing organization is required..."

"Prospective candidates from inside the Department of Defense who do not receive one of the OSD-sponsored slots may apply directly. Applicants from outside the Department should also apply directly."

In April 1990, protesters against the militarization of the university and the exorbitant cost of the eight-week program to the taxpayers—\$15,250 per student—staged a peaceful sit-in at the KSG. Program director Bernard E. Trainor, a former *New York Times* correspondent and Marine general, issued a formal statement denouncing the demonstrators as “fascistic.” Apparently joining the ongoing neoconservative campaign against the so-called totalitarianism of the PC (politically correct), Trainor employed the Orwellian *jujitsu* turnaround that today renders the peace movement as a latter day version of Mussolini’s goosestepping blackshirts.¹⁷

Polishing the General

Meanwhile, Bok had enunciated Harvard’s goal of becoming a center for training future global leaders. An early beneficiary of this putative internationalism is Guatemalan General Hector Alejandro Gramajo Morales, holder of Harvard’s Mason fellowship and recipient of a master’s degree from the Kennedy School of Government in June 1991. Gramajo was General Lucas Garcia’s minister counselor for

“We have created a more humanitarian, less costly strategy...which provides development for 70% of the people while we kill 30%.”—Gramajo

political affairs in Washington in 1980-81. Under this regime, “the death squads were running wild, killing an estimated 25,000 people,” according to journalist Michael Massing. “Gramajo defended his regime to the end.”

When General Efraim Rios Montt came to power in a March 1982 coup, Gramajo transferred his loyalty and took charge of a “pacification” campaign against Indians in Guatemala’s western highlands modeled on the strategic hamlets the U.S. installed in Vietnam. In one massacre alone, soldiers hacked with machetes and smashed in the heads of over 300 unarmed civilians, including old people, children, and infants. “Gramajo acted ruthlessly,” concludes Fernando Andrade Diaz-Duran, foreign minister under Rios Montt’s successor. “Villages were bombed, and a lot of civilians got killed.” The Washington Office on Latin America estimates between 50,000 and 75,000 peasants were killed while even the army puts the number at 10,000 dead.¹⁸ In November 1989, a U.S. nun, Diana Ortiz was captured, tortured, and

17. Michael E. Balagur, “Activists Sit-in, Protest K-School Ties to Pentagon,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 2, 1991, pp. 1 and 7.

18. Patrick Brogan, *The Fighting Never Stopped* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), p. 432.



Associated Press

Guatemalan President Cerezo, left, with Gen. Gramajo, right.

sexually molested by Guatemalan security forces. Gramajo responded that her story was a fabrication, a futile attempt to cover up a lesbian love affair. Americas Watch termed Gramajo’s allegation a “pure invention.”¹⁹ In an interview with the *Harvard International Review*, Gramajo explained his commitment to military reform and human rights:

We aren’t renouncing the use of force. If we have to use it, we have to use it, but in a more sophisticated manner. You needn’t kill everyone to complete the job. [You can use] more sophisticated means; we aren’t going to return to the large-scale massacres.

We have created a more humanitarian, less costly strategy, to be more compatible with the democratic system. We instituted Civil Affairs [in 1982] which provides development for 70 percent of the people while we kill 30 percent. Before the strategy was to kill 100 percent.²⁰

When the *Harvard Crimson* asked if these statements accurately represented his views, he retreated, suggesting that the transcript reflected a certain lack of linguistic dexterity, his characteristic use of “broken English.” “I really did not mean exactly ‘kill,’ ” but rather that soldiers cannot “renounce coercive action” and that the military is now “going to make a very clear distinction between [civilians and insurgents].” During his tenure as Guatemalan minister of defense from 1987 to 1990, Gramajo oversaw a military accused of butchering dozens of university students, provoking Anne Manuel of Americas Watch to find “a sort of tragic irony” in Harvard’s ardor for educating him.²¹ Gramajo is believed to have chosen to come to Harvard as part of his plan to run for

19. Michael Massing, “The New Game in Guatemala,” *New York Review of Books*, October 25, 1990. See also: Tim Golden, “Controversy Pursues Guatemalan General Studying in U.S.,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1990. Gramajo admitted he lacks evidence for his allegation against Ortiz.

20. Gramajo quoted by Joshua A. Gerstein, “Rights Issues Haunt Graduating General,” *Harvard Crimson*, June 4, 1991, pp. A1 and A7.

21. *Ibid.*

Guatemala's presidency in 1995. And Harvard, as U.S. Representative Chester Atkins (D-Mass.) observed, appears to be in the business of "laundering reputations."

The Fortunes of War in the Gulf

The recent crisis in the Gulf has produced another opportunity for Harvard's foreign policy braintrust to be heard in the corridors of power. From the very beginning, the White House turned to the Kennedy School. Lecturer Richard Haass was "one of a handful of advisers constantly at Bush's side during the crisis," wrote the *Boston Globe*, and an architect of "the 'no negotiation' approach Bush is taking."

"If this thing turns out well," an admiring colleague observed, "the sky is his limit."²²

Other Harvard intellectuals emerged in the vanguard of the pro-Gulf War movement. Nadav Safran, previous recipient of a \$107,000 grant from the CIA for a book on Saudi Arabia, authored a December 27, 1990, *New York Times* op-ed piece calling on the administration to reject any Iraqi

...Harvard experts who called for the pursuit of diplomacy in the Gulf were stamped by the herd rampaging toward war.

overtures as they were tainted with linkage. Harvard lecturer and *New Republic* commander-in-chief Martin Peretz, avowing superior knowledge and expertise on the region, complained that his lack of invitations to appear on news shows during the crisis was indicative of the media's supposed anti-Israeli bias. More popular as a media-approved expert was Laurie Mylroie, Harvard Center for International Affairs (C.F.I.A.) fellow and co-author of a bestselling biography of Saddam Hussein pumped out just in time for the war. Known in some circles as "the Weathervane" for shifting her scholarship to the prevailing winds in Washington, Mylroie wrote essays in the mid to late 1980s on the benefits of military alliance with the regime in Baghdad. In them, she marvelled at Saddam's march towards democracy, only to switch in 1990 to outraged calls to smash Iraq and the PLO.

For those who thought that Michael Dukakis might have pursued a less crusading interventionism than Bush, Harvard has an answer. Joseph Nye, an undersecretary of state during the Carter years, and Graham Allison, ex-KSG dean and consultant to Reagan Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, had been projected for high foreign policy posts under the future Democrat administration. Both waxed enthusiastic about the need for decisive military intervention.

22. Stephen Kurkjian, "Of Strategy and Stamina," *Boston Globe*, September 24, 1990, p. 3.

"If we had gone along and given [Saddam Hussein] three weeks," said Nye in opposition to the February 1991 Soviet peace initiative, "it is plausible [Saddam] would change his mind and set other conditions."²³ The minority of Harvard experts who called for the pursuit of diplomacy throughout the crisis were stamped by the herd rampaging toward war.

Onward to Eastern Europe

The next major frontier for Harvard social science is the conversion of the command economies of Eastern and Central Europe, especially that of Poland, to capitalism. Several countries of the region have turned to a Harvard economist to carry out the transition. Professor Jeffrey Sachs, the advocate of shock therapy in Latin America, has advised Poland to ingest a bracing tonic of high unemployment and decline in living standards, which he reassures will be temporary. Budapest-born Harvard Professor Janos Kornai is Hungary's leading guru of privatization.

Harvard academics are also promoting capitalist reforms in the U.S.S.R. KSG's Graham Allison runs the Carnegie Corporation and Getty Foundation-sponsored "Strengthening Democratic Institutions" project which, with Russian Federation deputy prime minister Grigory Yavlinsky, is proposing privatization linked to a Marshall Plan-type aid package. After Allison and Yavlinsky met with Bush, Yavlinsky reported the President said "[I] liked what I heard."²⁴

Liberal Boutique

Harvard is widely perceived as an "ultra-liberal boutique," — a stock phrase in the campaign oratory of George Bush throughout 1988. One anonymous alumnus of the Program for Senior Officers in National Security, had apparently accepted the neoconservative picture of universities as overrun by what former Secretary of Education William Bennett called "academic totalitarians... whose principal talk is to raise revolutionary consciousness."²⁵ He was pleasantly surprised to find that "[t]he quality of the faculty and the course rekindled my faith in Harvard."²⁶

His sentiments were echoed by another CIA veteran. "I am certain," declared the Agency division chief and 1988 graduate of the program, "the framework will serve me well for the rest of my career."²⁷

Their endorsements are striking testimony that the twentieth century university remains a sanctuary for the Pentagon and the CIA and a modern monument to knowledge in the service of Empire. ●

23. Lan Nguyen, "Who's Right?" *Harvard Crimson*, March 1, 1991, p. 3.

24. "KSG Proposes 'Grand Bargain' to Aid U.S.S.R.," *Harvard Gazette*, July 5, 1991, p. 7, and Graham Allison and Grigory Yavlinsky, "Different Drummer, Different Market," *New York Times*, July 3, 1991, p. A19, op-ed.

25. Quoted in David Bell, "Ghosts of Leftists Past," *New Republic*, August 11-18, 1986.

26. Quotations of KSG alumni from 1991 KSG promotional brochure.

27. *Op. cit.* 1989. On the KSG's service to the Reagan administration and the Right, see: Richard Cravatts, "Kennedy School: Conservative Hotbed," *New York Times*, July 15, 1988, p. A31, op-ed.

Covert Hand in the Academic Cookie Jar

Ami Chen Mills

The history of the CIA on college campuses is a long one. Its activities in the world of academia stretch back to the days of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS, the World War II precursor to the CIA), when most agents were recruited through "old boy" networks at Ivy League universities. Today, the CIA has been exposed as working at every level of the university system, from undergraduate recruiting and foreign student coercion to the establishment of entire institutes, research funding and faculty recruiting.

Since the initial revelations in the 1960s and 1970s of complex and compromising CIA-university ties, there is good reason to believe that the number of relationships has increased rather than diminished. As recently as 1986, Robert Gates told professors at a public speaking engagement: "We need your help." He indicated that the Agency wanted further access to "that vast reservoir of expertise, experience and insight in the community of university scholars."¹ He also asserted that the CIA would continue and strengthen the kinds of programs it ran in universities in the past. As evidenced by the recently uncovered CIA plague at the Rochester Institute of Technology, the CIA never even slowed its efforts to wring benefits from academia. Compared to other universities in the country with which the CIA does business, RIT rates only 10th in terms of graduate recruiting and 52nd in "overall" importance to the Agency.²

Studying War Some More

What used to function as a shadow network that approached its recruits with a soft tap on the shoulder and an invitation to sit down and talk has become an aggressive, corporate-style campaign, complete with high-gloss, multi-

colored brochures and representatives in spiffy suits at campus job fairs. The CIA's recruitment efforts — dampened by the civil rights and peace movements in the 1960s and 1970s — are up to full swing in the 1990s. They're back. And they're thirsty for college grads from liberals to arch-conservatives.

As part of going public with its recruiting process, the Agency has opened ten new recruiting centers across the country. It is actively working with university placement services and even high school guidance programs to collect

resumés and set up screening interviews with prospective employees for permanent positions or temporary work programs for academic credit.

Sometimes the initial interviews are open to anyone with an interest in the CIA. In other cases, the Agency recruiters have their own list of students and will initiate contact themselves.

The sources of these lists are never publicly revealed. Most often, the Agency will establish working relationships with sympathetic professors and administrators (who may already be working with the CIA in another capacity) and ask them to recommend students. According to a CIA Entrance Examination booklet published in 1988, even if the CIA does not come directly to your campus to recruit students, "almost all college facilities will have someone within the school who has the contact(s) you need."³

In *Campus Watch*, a newsletter on the CIA and academia, Philip Agee, Jr. asserts that some faculty members are actually paid a salary to "spot and assess" students and other faculty members for potential Agency employment.

"Spotters" gather as much information as they can about a given prospect and hand it over to the recruiters who begin a file that includes a background check. They are looking for college students who have specific training in areas from agronomy and architecture to political science and sociology. The Agency produces a slick brochure for each field enticing students to join up with "the Company" and sends memos to universities and high schools announcing its latest occupa-

Student research on Western Europe's disarmament, labor, women's and environmental movements was secretly passed on to the CIA.

Ami Chen Mills was a student activist at Northwestern University and is author of *CIA Off Campus: Building the Movement Against Agency Recruitment and Research* (Boston: South End Press, 1991) from which this article is adapted.

1. Steve Bennish and Frank Mullen, "007 Hitt Street," *Columbia Daily Tribune*, June 17, 1988, p. 39.

2. John Machacek, "CIA confirms influence," *Times-Union* (Rochester, N.Y.), June 13, 1991, p. 1B.

3. John Quirk, *CIA Entrance Examination* (New York: ARCO, 1988), p. 39.



Associated Press

Prof. Nadav Safran left director's position at Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Affairs after his CIA ties were revealed.

tional needs. The placement offices along with various specific departments of many universities distribute these pamphlets to graduating students; they may also offer their services (resumé and transcript collection, interview set-ups and interview facilities) to the Agency for its convenience.

Looking for a Few Good Moles

CIA-paid "spotters" train their eyes not only on promising young American recruits but on foreign students as well. From the Agency's perspective, young foreigners who come to study in the United States have great leadership potential back home. According to author William Corson in *The Armies of Ignorance*, the OSS and, later, the CIA have examined "with varying degrees of intensity" more than a million foreign students for "mole" potential.

The Agency's attempts to "own" foreign students are less than aboveboard. In 1979, Iranian students were threatened with revelations of their use of university office phones to call their families in Iran. The CIA told them they would be "disgraced, punished, expelled and possibly prosecuted" for the stolen calls if they refused to spy for the Agency.⁴

Foreign students have been approached by agents under a Defense Department cover, asked to perform "some small service" and reimbursed for costs incurred. The students are asked to sign a "U.S. government receipt 'for services rendered'" and then blackmailed into spying with the threat that the CIA will turn the receipts over to the students' local

4. Ken Lawrence, "Testimony to the University of Wisconsin at Madison Faculty Committee on CIA Campus Activity," September 9, 1985, p. 2.

embassies if they refuse to do so.⁵ One Afghani student who refused to comply with the Agency was hassled by the Immigration and Naturalization Service with threats of deportation, even though he was married to a U.S. citizen.

The Agency's underhanded tactics put the potential foreign recruit in a humiliating and dangerous position: betray your country or be disgraced in this one. Since 1948, more than 40 agents recruited by the CIA in U.S. universities "have committed suicide in response to the fear of exposure of their relationship with America's intelligence services."⁶

Administrative Complicity

Well-placed administrators have facilitated CIA recruitment and penetration of U.S. campuses. Since 1985, the Agency has run special "seminars" for university officials on "the agency's operations and employment needs." In 1990, one such seminar included "deans from 11 law schools around the country," who were "briefed by the CIA's director, William H. Webster, and heads of each of the agency's other major components, including the clandestine operations chief, Richard F. Stolz." Hermann Viets, dean of the University of Rhode Island's School of Engineering, claims that the CIA seminar he attended "focused almost exclusively on recruiting." Dean Edward Fagan of St. John's University School of Law also participated in a CIA recruiting seminar. The Agency will not release the names of participating university officials who have not already admitted to attending the seminars.⁷

Paid Professors: Moonlighting for the Agency

As of the late 1970s, approximately 5,000 professors were doing CIA work in some capacity, either "spotting" U.S. or foreign recruitment candidates, participating in secret research and grant work or carrying out more active programs like foreign police training. It is estimated that about 60 percent of these academics were aware of the nature of their employment, while the remaining 40 percent did the CIA's bidding in the dark—through front companies or foundations.⁸ In the 1990s, the number of academics on the CIA payroll has undoubtedly increased.

In 1986, Professor Nadav Safran left his director's position at Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Affairs when it was revealed that he was on the CIA's payroll.⁹ Safran's experience parallels that of professors across the nation who are working secretly for the CIA: he received \$107,000 from the Agency to write a book on Saudi Arabia and \$45,000 to organize a university conference on Islam. The contract

5. "How the CIA Turns Students into Traitors," by the editors, *Ramparts*, April 1967, p. 23.

6. William R. Corson, *The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire* (New York: Dial Press, 1977), p. 313.

7. Jeff McConnell, "East bloc's changes a CIA struggle," *Boston Globe*, November 15, 1990, p. 3.

8. Corson, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

9. Robert Witanek, "The CIA Off Campus," *CAIB*, Winter 1989, p. 28.

Safran signed with the CIA required that he conceal the source of his funding and submit his book to the Agency for censorship.

Just a year earlier, the former director of Harvard's Center for International Affairs Samuel P. Huntington, "was also uncloaked as a CIA 'asset,' " working secretly with a CIA consultant and publishing documents that were both paid for and censored by the Agency.¹⁰ Andrew Kopkind notes that the "F" in the Center's acronym CFIA is given capital status for obvious reasons.¹¹

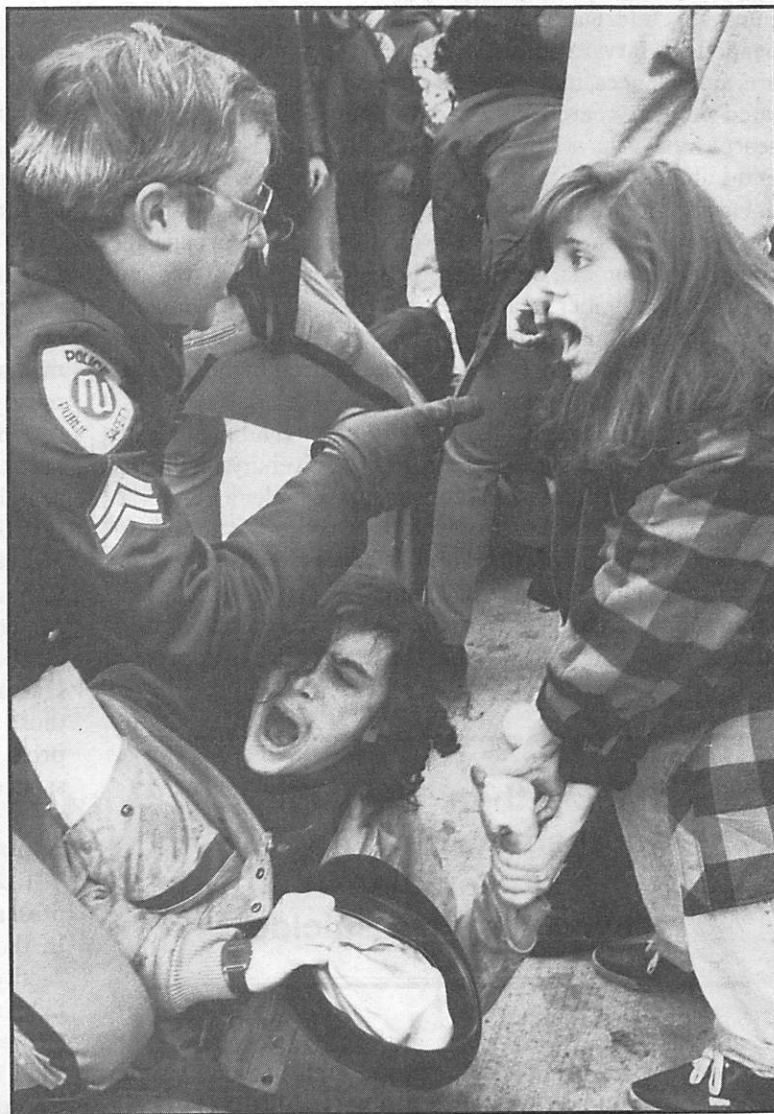
The rule is that for every uncloaked professor, there exist a dozen others in hiding. "It is safe to assume that only a small percentage of CIA academics is ever exposed while the great majority remains secret."¹²

Scholars who do secret CIA work, whether research or wiretapping, compromise their positions as independent intellectuals and jeopardize their relationships with the universities by using their positions to gather information for the CIA. Research assistants or students involved in a professor's research without knowledge of CIA funding become pawns in a game they may not want to play.

In 1984, Professor Richard Mansbach, head of the political science department at Rutgers, assigned an undergraduate class to do data-intensive research on Western European political culture. Student research on Western Europe's disarmament, labor, women's and environmental movements was secretly passed on to the CIA.

Mansbach had been hired by the Agency to participate in its "European Non-State Actors Project," a moonlighting job that his students knew nothing about and were assisting without their consent.¹³ As of 1989, Mansbach was heading the political science department at the University of Iowa at Ames.

Even professors who condemn the actions and motives of the CIA contribute to CIA-backed research unwittingly. John Marks's book on the CIA's mind-control experiments, *The Search for the Manchurian Candidate*, details examples of socialist professors who lent their expertise to co-workers who were secretly doing research for the Agency. "If I had known that this study was sponsored by the CIA, there is really, obviously, no way that I would have been associated with it," remarked one of the professors who was unwittingly involved in CIA research.¹⁴ Other professors



Matt Eggemeyer

Angry students challenge campus police arresting protesters at anti-CIA demonstration, Northwestern University, November 1988.

have had their mail opened, read and filed by the Agency without their consent.¹⁵

In 1982, the CIA brazenly proposed that *all* scientific research papers written in the United States by U.S. academics be submitted to the Agency for "prior review."

CIA-funded research, whether overt or covert, is under way in North American universities in epidemic proportions. In the 1960s, Georgetown University participated in the creation of the International Police Academy (a CIA police training headquarters) and provided Latin American CIA trainees with English lessons through its American Language Institute.¹⁶ With the financial support of the Agency, the

10. *Ibid.*

11. John Trumpbour, "Living With the Bomb," in Trumpbour, *How Harvard Rules: Reason in the Service of Empire* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), p. 130.

12. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-4.

13. Witaneck, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

14. John Marks, *The Search for the Manchurian Candidate* (New York: Times Books), 1979, p. 57.

15. Phil Agee, Jr. and Vernon Elliott, "Professor Recalls CIA Opening Mail," *Campus Watch*, Spring 1990, p. 1.

16. Eugene Walsh, "The CIA at Georgetown: A Secret Tradition," *The Georgetown Voice*, April 20, 1989, p. 6.

Fund for International Social and Economic Education, headed by Harvard's assistant dean of the graduate school of arts and sciences, underwrote a series of labor- and union-related projects geared toward developing nations.¹⁷ CIA research monies have surfaced at Cornell's School of Industrial and Labor Relations, in Stanford's engineering department, at Harvard in prodigious amounts and at Michigan's Institute for Social Research.¹⁸ The CIA has contracted projects at Berkeley, Columbia, Princeton, the University of Denver and Yale; and a number of academics have used their fieldwork to collect information for the Agency.¹⁹ The list goes on and on and includes almost every well-recognized higher education institution in the nation.

Recently disclosed cases of CIA research funding indicate a sustained trend. As of spring 1990, University of Illinois political science professor Steven Seitz was under a \$1 million contract with the CIA to develop "a computer model to forecast the spread of AIDS" and its impact in Africa.²⁰

University of Missouri at Columbia chancellor Haskell Monroe says that CIA agents contacted him in the fall of 1988 to announce their presence and their intentions to approach

More than 40 agents recruited by the CIA in U.S. universities have committed suicide.

professors at the school. In the past, agents had also visited him "shortly after he took over top posts at Texas A & M University and the University of Texas at El Paso."²¹

CIA spokesperson Sharon Foster said in 1988 that the CIA has enough professors under Agency contract "to staff a large university."²²

Beyond Research: CIA-Sponsored Training Programs

With ample facilities for experimentation and an abundance of physical sites, college campuses are ideal for carrying out much larger and more insidious CIA programs. U.S. universities have housed some CIA activities that go beyond research and into active covert operations.

Michigan State University (MSU) was under a \$25 million contract with the CIA from 1955 to 1959 to provide academic

cover to five CIA agents stationed in South Vietnam. MSU professors also helped draft the South Vietnamese government's Constitution and provided police training and weapons to the repressive Diem regime.²³

During the same years, professors from Cornell and MIT's Center for International Studies were training an elite group of Indonesian military and economic leaders—later to be christened "the Berkeley Mafia"—at the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies at UC Berkeley. These trainees returned to Indonesia and "became the impetus behind the coup that brought Suharto to power."²⁴ The result was the massacre of from 500,000 to more than a million Indonesians, mostly ethnic Chinese and anyone with vaguely leftist politics.

Universities also made up a network of bases for the CIA's MKULTRA mind-control experiments in the mid-1950s. Research for MKULTRA was conducted at 44 colleges and universities in the United States. At the Georgetown University Hospital, Professor Charles Geschickter lent his name to a CIA research front foundation, the Geschickter Fund for Medical Research, and tested mind-control drugs on psychiatric and terminally ill cancer patients.²⁵ Students from Harvard and other Boston area universities were among those who were given doses of LSD through the MKULTRA program at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, now the Massachusetts Mental Health Center.²⁶

Spooks-in-Residence

Recently, the CIA has become more blatant in its campus presence and is even trying to establish academic legitimacy. In the recently initiated "Officer in Residence" program "active CIA officers teach college courses relating to their field of experience."²⁷ These officers are openly identified as CIA representatives at the university.

A 1988 *Campus Watch* interview with the CIA's former Coordinator for Academic Affairs, Arthur Hulnick, revealed that the Agency has placed officers in upwards of ten schools across the country. Though Hulnick would not give the names of the schools, *Campus Watch* came up with a partial list that includes: Boston University (Arthur Hulnick); Harvard University (William Kline); University of Miami (Michael Kline); George Washington University (formerly Laurie Kurtzweg, now Stanley S. Bedlington); Jacksonville University (David Matthews); University of Texas at Austin (James McInnis); Rochester Institute of Technology (formerly Jim Frye, now Robert Meriesko); Seattle University (Tom Lauer) and Georgetown University (Noel Firth and Harold Bean).²⁸ In

23. Witaneck, *op. cit.* p. 25; and Warren Hinckle, "The University on the Make," *Ramparts*, April 1966, pp. 11-12.

24. Witaneck, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

25. Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

26. *Op. cit.*, pp. 60 and 118.

27. Vernon Elliott, "CIA Continues to Expand Officer-in-Residence Program," *Campus Watch*, February 1989, p. 1.

28. Vernon Elliot, "Inquiry Over Officer-in-Residence Program at RIT Stirs Controversy," *Campus Watch*, Spring 1990, p. 1; and Elliott, "CIA Continues..." p. 1. Some of these officers may have left their posts at the universities, given the temporary and controversial nature of the program.

17. Jerrold L. Walden, "Proselytes for Espionage: The CIA and Domestic Fronts," *Journal of Public Law*, v. 19, no. 2, 1970, p. 193.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

19. Jon Weiner, "School for Spooks," *The Nation*, September 5, 1987, pp. 204-6.

20. Amit Joshi, "Coalition protesting CIA funded research," *Daily Illini*, March 14, 1990, p.1.

21. Bennish and Mullen, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

22. *Ibid.*

May 1991, CIA public affairs representative Ceferino Epps told RIT students that there are now 17 officers in residence nationwide.²⁹

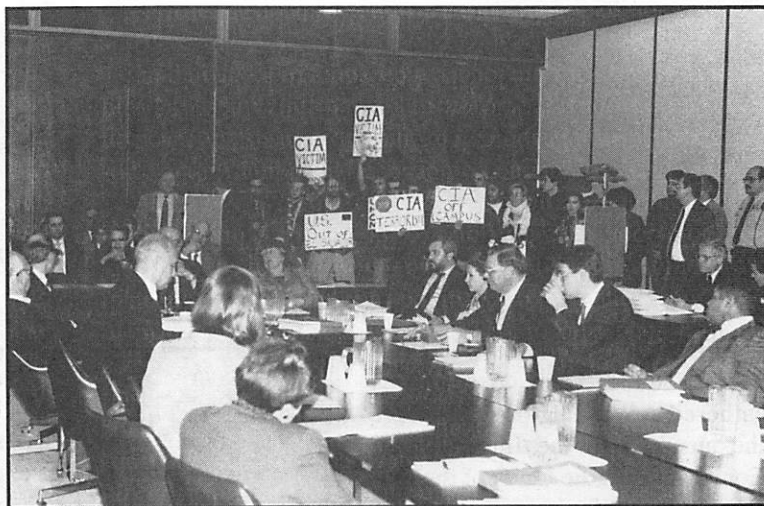
The Agency's public reasoning for initiating the program is to "demonstrate the quality of CIA people," "to serve as role models," to strengthen Agency ties to the academic community and "to enhance" its recruiting efforts.³⁰ University administrators are encouraging professors to work with the officers, and students seeking further information about the Agency are directed to the officers as well.

Institutional Allies

In addition to using individual professors as "spotters," recruiters and researchers, the CIA has both overtly and covertly established entire university institutes and research departments.

In cooperation with the American Metal Climax Corporation, a U.S.-South African mining company, the CIA established the African-American Institute in 1954 (now located in New York). The purpose of establishing the Institute was part of a larger effort to generate academic interest in African studies that could subsequently be tapped by the CIA and other government agencies.³¹

Unsatisfied with the creation of one think tank, the Agency began funding the joint Harvard/MIT Center for International Studies (CENIS) and developed its African Research Program through a network of academics-turned-agents and agents-turned-academics. Max Millikan, an ex-director of the CIA's Office of National Estimates, was appointed director of the Center for International Studies. He, in turn, appointed State Department official Arnold Rivkin to head the African program. "Together, the two supervised studies for the CIA's use."³² Durwood Lockard, assistant deputy to the CIA's Near East Division, became assistant head of the Center's Middle Eastern Studies Department in 1957. From the base of these cozy, institutional relations in the early 1950s, Harvard and MIT embarked on tight working relationships with the Agency, during which "several officials and faculty members of the Harvard Business School founded and helped to administer front organizations for the CIA."³³ Both schools published a number of books in two versions: one classified for CIA reading and one unclassified and released to the general public.³⁴



Walt Herrs

Demonstrators at University of Illinois confront Board of Trustees, 1990.

As recently as 1987, Harvard University agreed to take on a \$1.2 million study in conjunction with the Agency to study problems in intelligence assessment and foreign policy, using the Philippines as a model.³⁵ The CIA analyst in charge of that study was William Kline.³⁶

Bedfellows of the Establishment

The CIA and academia have an almost fully cooperative relationship: trading information and resources and supporting each other in the face of hostility.

Very rarely do university administrators and professors resist working with government agencies like the CIA, and when they do the Agency takes great offense.

The Agency vehemently objects to any attempt to block its efforts to "tap the wisdom of academia." If restrictions are placed on its activities, the CIA finds some way to work around them.

Although Harvard and a few other universities have expressed some resistance to the academic arm of the Agency (Harvard is still one of the CIA's most loyal and active academic supporters), most university administrators have no problems with the CIA.

Even if they question some Agency activities, administrators are reluctant to give up the grant money offered by the CIA or to imperil government funding in general.

The struggle against the Central Intelligence Agency and university militarism in general will not be carried out by those who run our universities. It will be carried out by the students, faculty and community members who are not entrenched in CIA business and who do care about the truth and about acting on it. ●

29. Emil Venere, "Spokesman defends CIA," *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 7, 1991.

30. Louis Wolf, "News Notes," *CAIB*, Summer 1988, p. 68.

31. Ken Lawrence, *Dirty Work 2: The CIA in Africa*, Ellen Ray, et al., (Secaucus, N.J.: Lyle Stuart, 1980), p. 80.

32. *Op. cit.*

33. John Trumbour, "Harvard and the Cold War and the National Security State," in Trumbour, (ed.), *How Harvard Rules: Reason in Service of Empire* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), p. 70.

34. Ken Lawrence, "Academics: An Overview," (Secaucus, N.J.: Lyle Stuart, 1980, p. 80.

35. Jeff McConnell, "CIA's College Program Questioned," *Boston Globe*, December 17, 1987, p. A21.

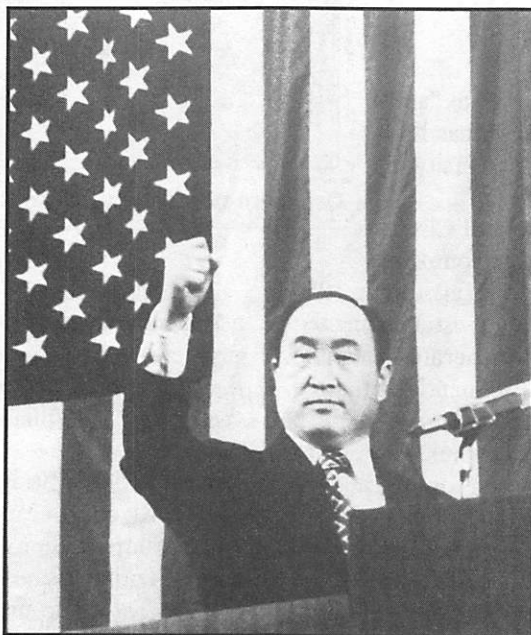
36. Susan B. Glasser, "CIA Analyst to Interview Agency Officials," *Harvard Crimson*, February 24, 1988, p. 1.

Rev. Moon Goes to College

Daniel Junas

On Labor Day weekend in 1984, 240 academics from 46 countries gathered in Washington D.C. under the auspices of the International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences (ICUS), a front organization of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church. The *Washington Post* portrayed this remarkable scholarly conference as part of an expensive effort by Moon to cleanse his tainted image.² Ever since Moon achieved notoriety in the 1970s, the media have tended to portray him as a kooky cult leader whose aspirations for political power are not to be taken seriously.

By interpreting the conference and the Moon Organization's³ efforts to court academia simply as a PR ploy, the *Post* (which, is the journalistic rival of the Moon-funded *Washington Times*) underestimated the sophistication of Moon's strategy. Since its inception, Moon has provided an important link between academia, intelligence agencies, and the political Right. Gaining legitimacy and influence within the academic establishment and having access to its resources have long been central to Moon's mission.



CAUSA

"The policy-makers in the background are the professors. Even though they represent the cultural field, more than anything we need scholars in the scientific fields, in the political, cultural, and economic fields."¹ Rev. Moon

In 1954, when the Rev. Moon founded the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity in Seoul, he immediately began proselytizing on college campuses.⁴ His first political mission in Japan was in 1960 during the massive student-led protests objecting to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. From that point, with the backing of certain elements of the Japanese Right, Moon worked to build a right-wing student movement. For the next decade and a half, the Moon Organization used this network to respond to similar threats to U.S. foreign policy objectives emanating from student-led protests in South Korea and the United States.

Moon's academic operations reflect both his extensive Japanese backing and his alliance with the U.S. foreign policy establishment, including a longstanding and complex relationship with the CIA and its South Korean offspring, the KCIA. The International Cultural

Foundation (ICF), the umbrella for Moon's various academic fronts, was founded in Japan in 1968. The ICF's political arm, the Professors World Peace Academy (PWPA) was founded five years later, and one of its first projects was a study of Japanese national goals. But PWPA also provided Moon, in collaboration with ex-CIA official Ray Cline, with a vehicle to extend Moon operations into Africa, and to exhort African academics to support the U.S. intelligence community.

The Moon Organization must be seen, therefore, not as an independent entity, but as an extension of the national security state and as a mechanism for linking its proponents around the world. Moon's academic connections are inextricably linked to this agenda, and despite the religious trappings, Moon on campus is the political and moral equivalent of the CIA on campus.

Daniel Junas is a researcher living in Seattle, Washington. He is currently writing a book on the Moon Organization to be published next year by Political Research Associates.

1. "Investigation of Korean-American Relations, Report of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations" (hereafter IKAR), U.S. House of Representatives, October 31, 1978; Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1049.

2. Isikoff, Michael, *Washington Post*, "Moon Spends Millions to Boost Image," September 17, 1984, p. A1.

3. "Although there is no entity named the 'Moon Organization,' according to the investigation by IKAR, 'the numerous churches, businesses, committees, foundations, and other groups associated with Sun Myung Moon, emerged as parts of what is essentially one worldwide organization under the centralized organization and control of Moon... The subcommittee came to view them as one unit and refers to them in the aggregate as the Moon Organization.'" IKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

4. IKAR Appendix, Vol. II; *op. cit.*, p. 1293.

Japanese Origins

In 1955, one year after its founding in South Korea, Moon's church was rocked by a sex scandal, prompting Moon to seek powerful allies.⁵ Moon began recruiting South Korean military officers, who later provided important links between the Moon Organization and the Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

Meanwhile, in 1958, Moon's first missionary travelled to Japan, where he later made contact with Ryoichi Sasakawa, a powerful "godfather" of the Japanese Right.⁶ Before World War II, Sasakawa had been a prominent fascist organizer; after the war, he was imprisoned by the U.S. Occupation authorities as a suspected Class A war criminal. While in Sugamo Prison, he struck an alliance with two other war crimes suspects—his old comrade-in-arms Yoshio Kodama, and Nobutsuke Kishi, who served in Prime Minister Tojo's wartime cabinet.

In December 1948, this trio was released without trial, leading many to believe that a deal had been struck with the U.S. Occupation authorities.⁷ Indeed, soon after his release, Kodama went to work for U.S. intelligence, and in 1958 he was placed on the CIA's payroll.⁸

When Kishi was elected Prime Minister in 1957, his top priority was negotiating a revised Security Treaty with the U.S. Approved by the Japanese Diet under duress in 1951 at the end of the Occupation, this agreement seriously undermined Japanese sovereignty. Kishi, a close ally of the U.S., sought to remove only the most blatantly objectionable provisions, such as permitting the U.S. to intervene in domestic disturbances at the invitation of the Japanese government. He anticipated stiff resistance to the agreement, however, from the communist-dominated Japanese student movement, which, along with a majority of the Japanese people, objected to the suspected presence of nuclear weapons at U.S. bases in Japan, and to the rearmament of Japan then taking place under the political cover of the treaty.⁹ In preparation, Kishi called on his ally Kodama to assemble a repressive force consisting of rightists and *yakuza*, the Japanese organized crime syndicates.



Associated Press
Japanese protest U.S.-Japan treaty. Banner reads: Reject the Road to War! Down With Japanese Imperialism! Let's Fight Together! 1988.

In 1960, when Kishi rammed the treaty through the Diet, enormous street demonstrations erupted. Despite Kishi's preparations, President Eisenhower was forced to cancel a visit to Tokyo commemorating the passage of the treaty and Kishi stepped down as Prime Minister.¹⁰ The treaty, however, remained and sealed an economic as well as military alliance.

Building the Student Right

The treaty struggle, which marked a watershed in the U.S.-Japan relationship, represents the true founding moment of the Moon Organization as a political entity. Moon's first missionary had founded the Japanese Unification Church—known as *Genri Undo*—on the eve of the treaty struggle, and by some accounts, Moon himself served as a go-between among competing right-wing factions during preparations for the demonstrations.¹¹ In 1960, Moon also adopted anticommunism,¹² as he adjusted his ideology to suit the political needs of his new Japanese allies.

In the wake of the treaty struggle, Kishi and Sasakawa were working together to organize numerous student organizations.¹³ These efforts followed the outlines of a comprehensive strategy devised by right-wing academic Juitsu Kitaoka to build a right-wing student movement and rid Japanese campuses of Marxist influences.¹⁴ *Genri Undo* became an essential part of this strategy. A decisive moment came in late 1962, when Osami Kuboki, a leader in Kishi/Sasakawa student fronts, apparently engineered the conversion of 50 leaders of a Buddhist sect to *Genri Undo*.¹⁵ Also in 1962 Moon's

5. *Op. cit.*, IKAR, Appendix, p. 1170.

6. John Roberts, "Happiness Ginseng from Earth-Conquering Moonies," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 23, 1978, pp. 57-60.

7. This pattern was a familiar one in the wake of World War II. Placing its highest priority on eliminating anti-fascist resistance movements—often dominated by left and communist elements—U.S. postwar planners threw their support behind the same fascist leaders they had so recently fought. In Italy, Germany and France, as well as in Japan, war criminals, fascists, nazis, and collaborators were recruited to battle the "international communist menace" and support U.S. interests.

8. The single best source on the postwar careers of Sasakawa, Kodama, and Kishi is David E. Kaplan and Alec Dubro, *Yakuza* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 63-69 and 78-83.

9. Jon Halliday, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 201-2. See also: George R. Packard, III, *Protest in Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966).

10. Kaplan and Dubro, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-7.

11. Roberts, *op. cit.*

12. IKAR, Appendix, Volume II, *op. cit.*, p. 1030.

13. Hayashi Masayuki, "OISCA," AMPO, Vol. 19, No. 1, p. 2, *et seq.*

14. Ivan I. Morris, *Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan: A Study of Post-War Trends* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 285-88.

15. Jeffrey M. Bale, " 'Privatizing' Covert Action: The Case of the Unification Church," *Lobster* (Hull, UK), #21.



Wide World Photos

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), left, Juanita Castro (Fidel Castro's sister), and Ryoichi Sasakawa, then-president of the World Anti-Communist League, after a WACL rally in Tokyo.

primary student front, the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles (CARP), was founded.¹⁶ Kitaoka subsequently became a key official in Moon's Japanese operations, while Kishi became a front man and Sasakawa a behind-the-scenes patron.¹⁷ Despite Moon's Korean origins and his links to the South Korean military and intelligence, he essentially became a tool of his Japanese backers.¹⁸

Since these figures were closely allied with the United States, it seems likely—despite lack of hard evidence—that the CIA had a hand in developing the Unification Church. Kodama, who was also active in right-wing student politics, was both a CIA asset and an ally of Kishi and Sasakawa. Dampening the influence of the Japanese Left was part of the CIA's mission in Japan at that time. Then Japan-based CIA officer Donald Gregg was part of these efforts.¹⁹

Further evidence that Moon was linked to the CIA can be found in South Korea. In 1961, a CIA-backed coup brought to power that nation's first pro-Japanese government since the end of World War II.²⁰ The architect of the coup, Kim Jong Pil, established the CIA-founded²¹ Korean Central In-

telligence Agency (KCIA) shortly thereafter. Kim also turned to the Japanese as a source of political funds. Kodama provided a back channel and Kishi masterminded the negotiations, which aimed to normalize relations between former enemies Korea and Japan.²² At the same time, Kim was also establishing close ties with the Unification Church.²³

When, at the urging of the U.S., Japan and South Korea finally normalized relations in 1965, student-led protests erupted in South Korea. The following year the South Korean chapter of CARP was founded.²⁴

The new relationship between South Korea and Japan was also closely linked to the then-escalating Vietnam War. President Johnson had persuaded South Korea to provide troops to the war effort, while Japan began assuming part of the U.S.'s foreign aid burden for South Korea, leading to the creation of a strategic U.S.-Japan-South Korea triangle.²⁵

This arrangement dovetailed with Kishi's agenda. As *eminent grise* of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, he controlled Japan's foreign aid programs, and he used his leverage to make South Korea his economic "territory."²⁶ At the same time, the Vietnam War proved extremely lucrative to Kishi's corporate allies, who helped supply the war effort.²⁷

Once again, however, this strategy was threatened by a student-led protest movement, this time in the U.S. And once again, the Moon Organization sought to build a right-wing student movement as a counterweight to the Left.

Counteracting the Student Left

Although Moon had begun sending his missionaries to the U.S. and a smattering of other locales in 1959, their influence and numbers were very limited. In 1965, however, he prepared for expansion by touring the world and dedicating holy grounds throughout the U.S., Europe, the Middle East and Asia. At the same time, Moon was undertaking an alliance with the nascent World Anti-Communist League—an international conglomeration of hardline conservatives, fascists and anti-semites—enabling him to establish links with rightists in the U.S. and around the world.²⁸ WACL grew out of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, which had been founded by Taiwan and South Korea in 1954. Two key behind-the-scenes players in WACL were Moon's patron Sasakawa, and Ray Cline, who was CIA chief of station in Taiwan from 1958 to 1962 when plans were laid for WACL, and who was later associated with the Moon Organization as well.

16. *Op. cit.*, IKAR, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1297.

17. Roberts, *op. cit.*

18. For a more detailed investigation see: Daniel Junas, "Rising Moon: The Unification Church's Japan Connection" (Institute for Global Security Studies, Seattle, 1989).

19. Gregg served in Japan from 1953-63. Steve McGuire, *CounterSpy*, December 1976, p. 34. He was Vice President George Bush's national security adviser and an important player in the Iran-contra affair. Now U.S. ambassador to South Korea, he is under investigation by Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh for his alleged role in the 1980 "October Surprise."

20. From before World War I to 1945, Japan had occupied Korea and imposed brutal military dictatorship during which even speaking the Korean language was a capital crime. Enmity of Koreans for Japan ran deep, as did Japanese prejudice against Koreans. U.S. political, economic, and military domination of the region, as well as the convergence of interests among elites, was even stronger than the animosity.

21. "It was the U.S. CIA which helped to set up the KCIA, thereby providing to the diffuse authoritarianism of the Rhee regime (1948-1960) an organizational weapon which has kept Park in power through 18 years of Korean dissent and upheaval." (*Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, June 1977, Vol. 9, Number II, p. 2.)

22. Jounghwon Kim, *Divided Korea: Politics of Development, 1945-1972* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1975), p. 241; Takano Hajime, "Kishi: Scavenger in the Shadows, Kingpin of the Japanese Right," *AMPO*, Vol. 1, p. 18.

23. IKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-5.

24. IKAR, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1297.

25. IKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

26. Hajime, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

27. Jon Halliday and Gavan McCormack, *Japanese Imperialism Today* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp. 107-8, and Hajime, *op. cit.*

28. On Sasakawa and WACL, see: Roberts, *op. cit.*; also Roberts, "Ryoichi Sasakawa: Nippon's right-wing musclem," *Insight*, April 1978, p. 8, *et seq.* On Cline and WACL, see: Jon Lee Anderson and Scott Anderson, *Inside the League* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1986), p. 55.

The Moon Organization's involvement with WACL was closely linked to its student and academic operations. Kitaoaka was a member of the Japanese delegation at WACL's founding conference in Taiwan.²⁹ Also in 1967, a secret meeting was held to plan the Japanese chapter of WACL, the International Federation for Victory Over Communism (IFVOC). The participants included Kodama, Sasakawa, Moon and Kuboki, who became a key official of the IFVOC and the International Cultural Foundation (ICF) (the umbrella for Moon's various academic fronts), which were both founded in Japan in 1968.³⁰

A similar leadership pattern prevailed in the U.S., where the IFVOC was known as the Freedom Leadership Foundation (FLF). When the U.S. WACL chapter, the American Council for World Freedom (ACWF), was founded in 1970, FLF leader Neil Salonen held a seat on the board, and when ICF was incorporated in New York in 1973, Salonen became its president.³¹

The FLF had been formed in August 1969, the month after President Nixon announced his Nixon Doctrine.³² Student-led protests — along with the financial cost of the war — had forced Nixon to retrench the United States's commitment to Asia. According to his new policy, Asians would have to fight their own wars, although the U.S. would continue to provide material support. FLF's response was to lobby for the hawk position on Vietnam, and to work to undermine the student anti-war movement on college campuses.

"Father [Moon] said that college campuses are a major battlefield, and if we win there we will definitely win America."

Such efforts were welcomed by the Nixon White House, which by 1970 was providing money to Moon operatives from a secret slush fund to support student activities.³³ FLF continued building a right-wing student movement throughout the early 1970s, when Moon was also encouraging his followers to make friends in the FBI and CIA.³⁴

In the 1970s Moon's designs were frustrated by the storm of negative publicity that battered his cult. But when the Reagan administration came to power, both WACL and the

Moon Organization became partners in the aggressive foreign and military policy known as the Reagan Doctrine, which sought to roll back the Soviet empire, and support such anti-communist "freedom fighters" as the Nicaraguan contras³⁵ and UNITA in Angola.

Meanwhile, the U.S. branch of CARP, which Moon had founded in

1973, moved swiftly to counteract the student Left. In the early 1980s, CARP conducted a smear campaign against the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, accusing it of "Marxist ties."³⁶ More importantly, CARP aided the FBI's illegal investigation of CISPES by spying on the solidarity organization and providing information on CISPES' campus activities to the Bureau.³⁷ In 1980, Moon also created his transnational political front, CAUSA.



Associated Press

Yoshio Kodama, early Moon ally

Creating the New World Culture

Counteracting the student left is only one side of Moon's academic intrigue. The other is gaining access to professors and their research, winning them over to Moon's political agenda, and using them to influence policy. The patina of legitimacy provided by these academic connections also provides a useful byproduct to the Moon Organization.

One of the earliest and most important ICF fronts was the International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences (ICUS), which has sponsored lavish, all-expense-paid academic conferences annually since 1972.³⁸ These conferences, however, are not simply benign gatherings devoted to interdisciplinary discussions. Nor are the lavish grants and awards Moon dispenses to favored academics, or the opportunity to be published by his Paragon House press, merely impartial efforts to advance knowledge and promote international cooperation.³⁹ Moon is using these academics in pursuit of his ultimate goal: the creation of a global, transnational, theocratic state to be controlled by Moon and his devotees.

29. "Proceedings: The First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League," September 25-29, 1967, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, p. 4.

30. Anderson and Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 69; IKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

31. Anderson and Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 85; IKAR, *ibid.*

32. IKAR, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1296.

33. Alan Tate Wood, *Moonstruck* (New York: William Morrow, 1979), p. 81 *et. seq.*

34. Alan Tate Wood, "Ex-Members Against Moon," Press Conference, Washington, D.C., November 15, 1979, p. 3.

35. CAUSA, created in 1980, was Moon's main vehicle for political and material support for the contras. (See *CAIB*, Number 22, pp. 31-33.)

36. Leaflet, undated, CARP, Seattle, Washington.

37. *Washington Post*, Associated Press, "Moon Group Told FBI About Activists," April 23, 1988.

38. Russ Bellant, "Rev. Moon's Search for Scholars," *Texas Observer*, January 24, 1986, pp. 11-12.

39. Karl Pribram, a professor of neuroscience at Stanford University, who is on the board of both Paragon House and PWPA received a \$50,000 grant to study "the relationship between modern warfare and the establishment of social dominance hierarchies." Eugene Wigner, who won the 1963 Nobel Prize in physics, was given an ICF Founder's (*i.e.* Rev. Moon's) Award of \$200,000.

In a 1973 speech to his closest followers,⁴⁰ Moon laid out the special role he envisioned for academics. ICUS, he said, was to develop a philosophy, based on his own religious teachings, known as "Unified Thought," which would "win over any ideology or ism in the world."⁴¹ Speaking to the 14th annual ICUS conference in 1985 in Houston, Moon himself asked the attending scientists and philosophers to "create the new world culture which must be established at any cost."⁴² The professors "were charged...with finding a new basis to 'guide' cultural transformation, [as well as developing] ways for ICUS to increase its campus influence."⁴³ When an ICUS official was asked how the Houston conference's work would be taken advantage of, he said "we have our spies in each of the committees."⁴⁴ The Moon Organization apparently uses ICUS to cast a wide net, and then determines which academics it wishes to court.

At a July 1990 symposium in Tokyo, for instance, lectures on Unification Thought were presented to six chairmen and former chairmen of ICUS committees, as well as to other scholars who attended previous symposia.⁴⁵

Moon's Academy

While ICUS concerns itself with scientific, philosophical and cultural issues, the Professors World Peace Academy is the division of ICF most directly connected to the Moon Organization's political objectives. As Moon made clear to his own followers, he sought to use professors "to direct the world policies toward the same goals."⁴⁶

Like the IFVOC and CARP, PWPA was grounded in the U.S.-Japan-South Korea triangle. Initiated in Seoul, one of its first ventures was its "National Goals project for the study of Japan's strategy in the 1980s."⁴⁷ At the same time, PWPA was also making plans for the United States. In May 1974 an internal Moon Organization publication reported:

Father [Moon] wants to mobilize 20 or 30 of the Korean professors to influence American academia, both professors and students. Because of this, Father stressed the importance of building up CARP...to serve as the foundation for their work when they arrive. Father said that college campuses are a major battlefield, and if we win there we will definitely win America.⁴⁸

The U.S. Division of PWPA was established in 1979 and was headed by Morton Kaplan, a professor of International Relations and director of the conservative Center for Strategic

and Foreign Policy Studies at the University of Chicago. Kaplan, who has called Moon the greatest religious figure of all time,⁴⁹ also chaired ICUS's Change and Development Committee, and four ICUS meetings, from 1980 to 1983.⁵⁰ Kaplan is also associated with Moon's D.C.-based think tank, the Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy.⁵¹

One of PWPA's projects was forging a relationship with the government of South Africa, which was the topic of PWPA's first U.S. conference in May 1979 held in New York. Then in June 1981 in Athens, Greece, Morton Kaplan moderated a small, private conference convened by PWPA for South African government officials and representatives of all South African racial groups--excluding, of course, the then-outlawed African National Congress. According to a U.S. State Department cable, South Africans attending the session included the Chief Constitutional Planner in the office of the Prime Minister, other government representatives, officials of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha, and various social and political leaders. A public controversy erupted in Athens when the Unification Church's sponsorship of the conference was revealed. One of the participants said afterward that, "it was extremely unfortunate that the publicity surrounding the Moonie connection had cast a shadow on what had been extremely useful and productive conversations on South Africa's future constitutional arrangements."⁵²

The Moon Organization uses ICUS to cast a wide net, and then determines which academics it wishes to court.

At the same time PWPA was establishing a secret relationship with South Africa, it was also cultivating African academics. In November 1981 the Moon Organization flew academics from 20 African nations, along with several African academics living in the U.S., to an ICUS conference in South Korea. During this same period, PWPA also founded its African branch. Since PWPA sought to attract a large African following, it downplayed its ties to South Africa.⁵³ PWPA apparently felt no compunction, however, about revealing its support for U.S. foreign policy. Addressing the U.S. PWPA

40. IKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

41. IKAR, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1047.

42. Bellant, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

45. Paul J. Perry, "ICUS Professors Discuss Unification Thought," *Unification News*, September 1990, p. 17.

46. IKAR, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1049.

47. International Cultural Foundation brochure, undated, c. 1975. *op. cit.*, Roberts, p. 59.

48. IKAR, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 1291.

49. Bellant, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Salonen became PWPA-USA head this summer.

50. Department of State Telegram, R 1013422, August 1980, From Secretary of State to: American Consulate, Johannesburg, Subject: Professors World Peace Academy.

51. Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy brochure, undated, c. 1983-84.

52. Department of State Telegram, R 151510Z, June 1981, from: American Embassy, Pretoria, to Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., Subject: South Africa, Unification Church Connection Alleged to Athens Conference on South African Politics.

53. "Moonies over Africa," *Africa Now*, January 1983, p. 64, *et seq.*

gathering in 1981, former CIA official Ray Cline said, "I'm annoyed at you, academics — you have to give more support to the intelligence community."⁵⁴

When some of the Africans present said it would taint their credibility in Africa to be associated with the CIA, Cline replied that "it's only people who are not allied with the U.S. who talk like that."⁵⁵

Cline currently serves on the Executive Advisory Board of *The World & I*, a telephone-book sized glossy magazine published by Moon's News World Communications. The magazine's Editor and Publisher is Morton Kaplan, and its Advisory Boards are composed of over 100 scholars from nearly as many nations, including national representatives of Professors World Peace Academy chapters.⁵⁶ U.S. members include Richard Rubenstein (Florida State University), Nicholas Kittrie (American University), S. Fred Singer (University of Virginia), Lee Congdon (James Madison University), and Baroness Garnett Stackelberg (unaffiliated).

Penetrating the Communist World

One of the apparent purposes of PWPA is to provide the leaders of the Moon Organization with information and analysis about international political developments. Thus while the Moon Organization was an active partner in the Reagan Doctrine, seeking to roll back the Soviet empire, PWPA was

**"I'm annoyed at you,
academics — you have to give
more support to the intelligence
community." —Ray Cline**

preparing for the ultimate success of this policy. In August 1985, just five months after Gorbachev had taken power, PWPA held a conference in Geneva, Switzerland on "The Fall of the Soviet Empire: Prospects for Transition to a Post-Soviet World."⁵⁷

When change swept through Eastern Europe in 1989, the Moon Organization moved with alacrity. Rev. Chung Hwan Kwak, a top Moon aide and an ICF official, travelled through Eastern Europe in October 1989 to make contacts among professors and religious leaders.⁵⁸ He also organized an Introductory Seminar on the Unification Movement, which was held in December 1989 in Poland and attracted 49 scholars and

^{54.} *Ibid.*

^{55.} *Ibid.*

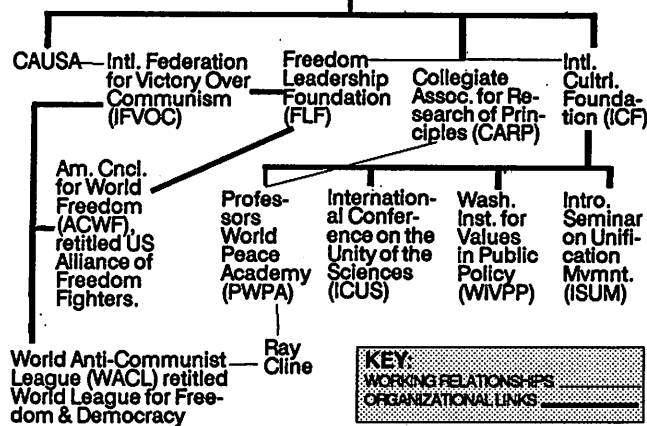
^{56.} Masthead, *The World & I*, April 1991, p. 3.

^{57.} *Orbis*, Spring 1989, pp. 305-6; Book Review of *The Soviet Union and the Challenge of the Future*, Alexander Stromas and Morton A. Kaplan (no author listed for review).

^{58.} Gordon L. Anderson, "Teaching Unificationism in Poland," *Unification News*, January 1990, p. 5.

Moon Organization Academic Network

Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (HSA-UWC) (Unification Church)



religious leaders from Poland, the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and East Germany.⁵⁹

PWPA soon established a foothold in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. PWPA chapters were officially registered in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.; a PWPA office was opened in Hungary; and PWPA meetings were held in all those countries and in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.⁶⁰ In September 1990, PWPA held an international meeting in Poland on "The Historical Dimension of Transformation in Eastern Europe."⁶¹ At the same time, the Unification Church began bringing Soviet students to the U.S. under the auspices of both its International Leadership Conference and CARP.⁶²

Given Moon's vigorous support for the Reagan Doctrine, it appears likely that these operations reflect a second stage in the implementation of that Doctrine. Now that political, social, cultural, and economic changes are sweeping through the formerly communist bloc nations, the Moon Organization is clearly using its academic fronts to influence the direction of those changes, just as it did previously in Japan, South Korea, the United States, Africa and elsewhere. And given the Moon Organization's longstanding alliance with the CIA, it also appears likely that these operations are being undertaken in conjunction with the Agency. Moon's reach, stretched with the help of his allies in the national security state, is becoming global. ●

^{59.} *Ibid.*

^{60.} Gordon L. Anderson, "Bringing Unificationism to Eastern Europe," *Unification News*, April 1990, p. 14; Gordon L. Anderson, "PWPA Opens a Chapter in Moscow," *Unification News*, May 1990, p. 6s.

^{61.} Gordon L. Anderson, "Building Unity in Eastern Europe," *Unification News*, February 1991, p. 12.

^{62.} Jack Corley, "Soviet Student International Leadership Conference," *Unification News*, October 1990, p. 12; Felicity Barringer, "New Flock for Moon Church: The Changing Soviet Student," *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1990 p. 1.

"The CARP movement is attracting thousands of students from all over the country," crowed the July 1991 *Unification News*. "The CARP staff members are working day and night just to keep up with the demand for lectures and information. The same is true of the Unification Church leaders and the PWPA office." (pp. 23, 35.)

Targeting the Environmental Movement:

Bombs, Lies and Body Wires

Johan Carlisle

- An FBI agent provocateur infiltrates an activist group and instigates members to sabotage a power line. Those involved — except the agent — are arrested and charged with terrorism. Other members are arrested for conspiracy.
- Two activists are repeatedly threatened on the phone and in person. A poster with their portraits, with the crosshairs of a rifle scope superimposed, is put on their office door. Soon after, they are seriously injured in a car bombing. The police arrest them in the hospital as prime suspects.
- A right-wing group publishes bomb-making diagrams, falsely attributes them to an activist group, and is caught planting a fake bomb at an activist's office.
- A major news service distributes an unconfirmed story based on an "ex"-CIA counter-terrorism expert's theory that activists and mad scientists are secretly plotting to unleash a virus to wipe out humanity.

In the 1960s the FBI unleashed COINTELPRO, a campaign designed to divide and destroy Black liberation and anti-Vietnam War, feminist, and other social movements of that turbulent period. At the time, the FBI program seemed like a series of unconnected incidents and anyone who had suggested a coordinated government campaign would have been dismissed as a paranoid conspiracy theorist.

Eventually, tenacious investigation uncovered hard evidence that the U.S. government used propaganda, promotion of internal splits within organizations, physical intimidation, disinformation in the media, conspiracy trials and murder to eliminate movements it considered undesirable.

The incidents above could have been taken from the files of COINTELPRO. In fact, they all happened within the last few years and were directed against the environmental movement. Increasingly, these radical (i.e., effective) organizations have been harassed, infiltrated, smeared in the media, and even threatened by assassination attempts. Increasingly, serious researchers and activists are concerned — given the similarity to the techniques employed in COINTELPRO — that there could be tolerance or coordination from above.¹

The two environmental groups under the heaviest fire are Earth First! and Greenpeace. Both are outspokenly non-violent yet considered radical because they practice direct action, carry out high-profile media events and civil disobedience, and because they are affecting corporate profits with their numerous successful campaigns to halt or slow environmental destruction.

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1. See: Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: the FBI's Secret War Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (Boston: South End Press, 1988).

Earth First!

On the morning of May 24, 1990, Earth First! organizers Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney were driving from Oakland to Santa Cruz, California. They planned to address a rally promoting the upcoming Redwood Summer protests against the destruction of the last remaining old growth forests in northern California. Suddenly, a pipe bomb with nails taped to it exploded directly under Bari's seat. She was severely injured and at first doctors thought she might not survive. A year later, she is still in pain, has trouble walking and cannot stand or drive for long periods of time. Doctors say she will be permanently maimed. Cherney was nearly blinded in one eye.

The attack on Bari and Cherney was the culmination of a steady build-up of death threats and confrontations in northern California. A year later Bari said:

The bombing represented the end of innocence for our movement. Sure, we had seen violence before, but this was different. The logger who broke Mem Hill's nose, the log truck driver who ran me off the road — themselves victims of the timber industry — in the heat of the moment took out their anger on us. But whoever put that bomb in my car was a cold and premeditating killer.

The FBI's attempt to frame me and Darryl...made us realize what we are up against. Not only are they willing to use lethal force to protect their 'right' to level whole ecosystems for private profit; they are also backed by the full power of the government's secret police."²

2. Bari is a unique threat to the timber industries. She is also a Wobblie (Industrial Workers of the World) union organizer, and the first to bring timber workers and Earth First!ers together.

Although neither activist had a record of violent activities and both were ardent proponents of nonviolence, the Oakland police and the FBI immediately targeted them as the prime and to this day only suspects. Cherney was treated and released from the hospital the night of the bombing and then taken to jail. Bari was placed under arrest in her hospital bed.

A letter containing detailed information was sent to the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat* four days after the bombing. "The Lord's Avenger," written in flowery, biblical prose took credit for the attack. The FBI's immediate reaction, despite lack of evidence, was to ascribe the letter to Bari (written from her hospital bed) or her accomplice. It failed to consider other suspects or follow up other explanations.

Day after day, local media dutifully reported "evidence" which the Oakland police — citing the FBI — offered as proof that the Earth First!ers had been transporting an anti-personnel bomb which allegedly detonated prematurely. Police claimed the bomb was on the floor in the back of the car when it went off and that therefore Bari and Cherney must have known about it.

Now, 16 months later, no charges have been filed. Bari and Cherney remain prime suspects despite the fact that their attorneys and investigators have developed and fed the police a number of leads which the police and FBI have apparently failed to investigate including: an alleged agent provocateur, who persuaded Bari to pose with an automatic rifle (the picture of which was later sent to the local police and was published in a local newspaper); a series of memos³ from the director of public relations for Pacific Lumber Company to the company president which showed a clear pattern of approval for violence against Earth First! activists; and dozens of death threats prior to the bombing.

In May 1991, Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney filed a federal lawsuit against the FBI and several law enforcement agencies seeking damages for covering up the identity of the real bomber by obstructing the investigation.⁴

"I don't know if the FBI had anything to do with putting that bomb in my car," said Bari in a speech at a May 5th rally, "but I know for certain that they tried to frame me for it and made sure the real bomber wasn't found. They removed my [car's] whole floorboard with a blowtorch and sent it to their crime lab in Washington, D.C., thereby destroying the evidence that would prove they were lying about the location of the bomb."

3. The memos were obtained from Pacific Lumber by Cherney's lawyers.
4. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 22, 1991, p. A7.

The Missing Link?

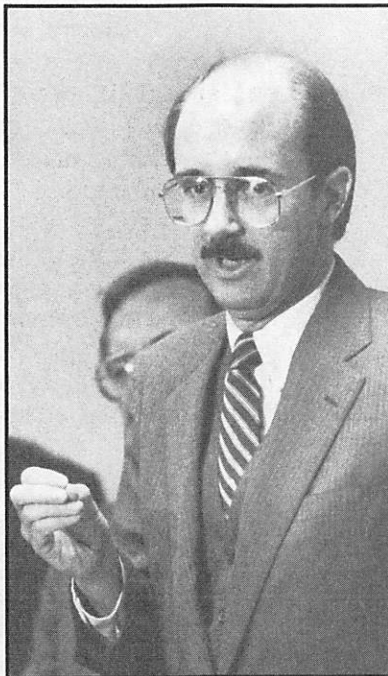
The FBI agent in charge of the Bari/Cherney bombing investigation is Richard W. Held, a name familiar to activists from the Black Hills of South Dakota to Puerto Rico to Los Angeles.⁵ Held was the director of the Los Angeles COINTELPRO operations in the late 1960s, when the Bureau conducted a massive disinformation, harassment and alleged assassination program against the Black Panthers and numerous other activist groups and individuals.⁶

Held was instrumental in the Los Angeles-based part of the FBI campaign which used cartoons and forged letters to create divisions in the Black Power movement.⁷ Eventually, this national effort decimated the movement and led to the shooting death of two Panthers who believed the forgeries.

Later, from 1969-72, down Highway One in San Diego, a secretive FBI-funded right-wing paramilitary group called the Secret Army Organization (SAO) waged a vicious campaign against the underground press, Black and anti-war activists. Held was involved there as well.⁸

In a July 1976 press conference, Held acknowledged that he had also worked in Minneapolis where he was responsible for COINTELPRO activities during the 1960s and 1970s.

Held went on from there to the Pine Ridge, South Dakota campaign conducted by the FBI and Pentagon which resulted in the death of at least 70 American Indian Movement activists, the 1975 military assault on the reservation, and the framing and jailing of Leonard Peltier.⁹



Associated Press

Richard W. Held's involvement in operations targeting social change movements spans decades.

5. Richard W. Held should not be confused with former deputy to J. Edgar Hoover, Richard G. Held, his father, who retired in 1987.

6. See *CAIB*, Number 24, pp. 26-7 and Number 25, p. 54.

7. In December 1969, "four days after a similar raid on a Panther apartment in Chicago (a raid which left Mark Clark and Fred Hampton dead), 40 men of the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) squad, with more than a hundred regular police as backup, raided the Los Angeles Panther headquarters at 5:30 in the morning...The Panthers chose to defend themselves and for four hours they fought off police, refusing to surrender until press and the public were on the scene. Six of them were wounded. Thirteen were arrested. Miraculously, none of them were killed." (Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 82.) See also for reproduction of the cartoons: *CAIB*, Number 36, pp. 34-35.

8. *San Diego Union*, January 11, 1976; *New York Times*, January 11, 1976; "Nanda Zoccino, 'Ex-FBI Informer Describes Terrorist Role,'" *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 1976.

9. This was one of the first-known joint military/FBI/SWAT operations in "Operation Garden Plot," the Pentagon national master plan for civil disturbance control which is still in effect. It was the product of paranoid government leaders who were convinced that widespread armed revolution was inevitable. Peltier is still in prison, sentenced to two consecutive life terms, and is considered a political prisoner by Amnesty International.

In 1978 Richard Held was transferred to Puerto Rico where as Special Agent in Charge (SAC) he oversaw a massive surveillance and counter-insurgency operation against a growing independence movement. The state police intelligence agency admitted in court that files were kept on at least 74,000 people. Over a 15 year period preceding and during Held's tenure, hundreds were attacked, bombed, and shot. Pro-independence newspapers were bombed repeatedly and activists' houses were burned to the ground. "Although rightwing organizations claimed credit for nearly 70 of these attacks, not one person has ever been arrested or brought to trial."¹⁰

According to Ward Churchill, "During the 1980s, the FALN [Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña] and other pro-independence organizations have been the target of some of [the FBI's] most intense covert operations. FBI activities on the island culminated on August 30, 1985 with a massive paramilitary operation bearing a striking resemblance to the operations on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations a decade earlier. More than 300 heavily armed FBI agents and U.S. marshals participated in raids throughout Puerto Rico, kicking in doors, conducting warrantless searches, wrecking the contents of homes, impounding personal property and arresting scores of activists on 'John Doe' warrants."¹¹

Richard W. Held was rewarded once again and became Special Agent in Charge in San Francisco where he is currently leading the investigation into the Earth First! bombing.

The Monkeywrench Gang

Meanwhile, in Prescott, Arizona, the U.S. government is prosecuting five Earth First!ers for an alleged conspiracy to sabotage power lines, nuclear power plants, and a ski resort. Two First!ers were arrested May 1989 in the desert. A heavily-armed FBI SWAT team caught them cutting a power transmission tower. The next day, a third activist, Peg Millett, who had escaped the previous evening's bust, was arrested at work. Earth First! co-founder, David Foreman was roused out of bed in Tucson by heavily-armed FBI agents and taken to jail in Phoenix. The fourth member of the tower cutting crew was not arrested — and the Earth First!ers quickly real-

ized that their trusted comrade, Michael Fain aka Mike Tait, was an FBI agent provocateur and that he, and paid informant Ron Frazier, had set them up with the FBI.¹² "[Fain] was a fellow monkeywrencher," said Earth First! spokesperson Karen Pickett, "who had not only encouraged the plan but had facilitated its implementation by renting the acetylene tanks, filling his truck with gasoline and driving the crew out

to the desert where SWAT lay in wait." Fain had slowly worked his way into the activists' confidence, trying to get to Foreman, the ultimate target. Pickett said, "He was a dinner guest in their homes, he took Peg out dancing and was dating one of her closest friends. He played on their sympathies and compassion. Then he brought out the big screw."¹³

The FBI's real plan, behind the estimated \$2 million intelligence operation, was revealed when defense attorneys read in their opening remarks the now-famous line mistakenly recorded by Fain's body wire as he chatted with a fellow agent, unaware that he had neglected to turn off his recorder: Fain was frustrated at his inability to get Foreman to incriminate himself. "Foreman isn't the guy we need to pop. I mean, in terms of an actual perpetrator. [Foreman] is the guy we need to pop to send a message. And that's all we're really doing..." The message is the same one sent by COINTELPRO: the more effective a movement for social change, the more tenaciously it will be targeted.

The Sahara Club

In Spring 1990, as Earth First! prepared for Redwood Summer, a small group of off-road bikers launched a new organization. The Sahara Club, said founder Rick Siemán, would provide an alternative to groups like Sierra Club and Earth First! which are full of "eco-pigs" bent on "spreading panic and hysteria" about environmental threats. "We want people to be able to get under one umbrella organization to fight the eco-freaks and the Nature Nazis," he continued. "Everything we do — including the name Sahara Club is designed for maximum irritation."¹⁴



Judi Bari, recovering from carbomb.

Associated Press

10. Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 368; quoting from Alfred Lopez, *Dona Licha's Island* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), p. 146.

11. Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

12. Karen Pickett, "FBI Targets Earth First!" *Anderson Valley Advertiser* (Booneville, California), July 3, 1991, p. 8.

13. Pickett, *ibid.*

14. "Sahara Club Targets 'Eco-Freaks,'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, Associated Press, December 12, 1990, p. B4.

Not much is known about this small group of burly bikers which claims 4,000 members. Their political debut was a direct action campaign launched against Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Cal.) for his Desert Protection bill which would prevent them from riding their motorcycles in the environmentally sensitive desert outside Los Angeles. They now appear intent on destroying Earth First!.

"They crashed [Earth First!er] Mark Davis's talk in California at a religious college," Bari told CAIB, "There were about 30 of them wearing normal clothes who suddenly stood up, removed their shirts to reveal matching black T-shirts with a picture of someone strangling an Earth First!er. They not only shouted Mark down but they pushed their way up onto the stage and took away his microphone."

The group's newsletter has grown more vicious as well as more sophisticated over time. Issue #2 contains a highly detailed schematic drawing of a semi-buried booby trap explosive described as "one example of a death trap from Earth First!...This deadly device is planted in the ground over a trail that bikes or ATVs use, and when the wheel makes contact, the shell is fired, shooting the charge up into the face of the rider." The newsletter contends that the illustration "is taken directly from an Earth First! book on how to set traps to kill or maim dirt bikers. This is not a joke folks."

Indeed, no one is laughing. Earth First!, unable to get a copy of the manual at the Grenada Hills, California address listed in the newsletter, doubts that the publication exists. If it does, charges Bari, "it was obviously made up by them, not by us...that this diagram came out one month before I was bombed may be significant."

The Sahara Club newsletter supports Bari's contention that the Club promoted harassment. During Redwood Summer, the Club newsletter boasted that the group held dirty tricks workshops for local anti-environmentalists. "Whether they did or not," noted Bari, "dirty tricks started to happen to us shortly after these guys arrived on the scene." On August 30, 1990, for example, alleged Sahara Clubber Timothy Harold Haynes delivered a bundle of his organization's newsletters to an Earth First! office in Arcata, California. He or someone had wrapped the package in duct tape so that it appeared to be a bomb. He was later arrested and convicted of a misdemeanor count for "placing a facsimile bomb."

Greenpeace

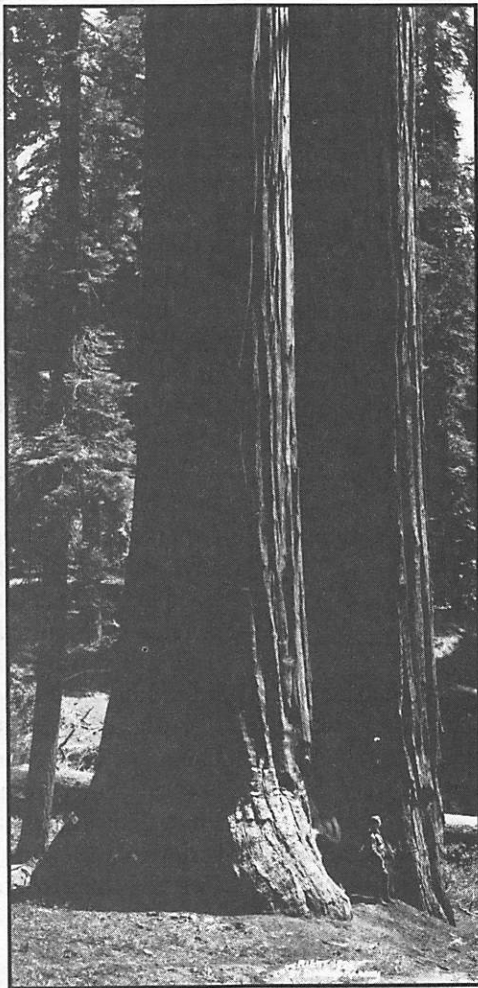
In an act of state-sponsored terrorism, in July 1985, French intelligence agents in New Zealand bombed the Greenpeace ship, *Rainbow Warrior*, killing photographer Fernando Pereira. Since then, Greenpeace has grown stronger and is now involved in nonviolent environmental actions around the globe. Its opposition has responded with violence and harassment.

In March 1991, Pat Costner, a research scientist working with Greenpeace, returned home to find her office and rural home burned to the ground. More than 20 years research on toxic waste and, ironically, incineration, was destroyed in the fire which local officials classified as an accident. Greenpeace, however, hired investigators who found evidence of arson and plans to offer a reward for the arrest and conviction of the arsonist.

Harassment campaigns against the organization are becoming increasingly sophisticated as Greenpeace's effectiveness and influence threaten vested interests. Using the same techniques which resulted in media portrayal of Earth First! as "Eco-Terrorists," major corporations are devising secret strategies to marginalize and smear environmentalists.

A confidential plan developed by the Pittsburgh-based Ketchum Public Relations firm for Clorox Corporation and leaked to Greenpeace reveals the siege mentality which has been observed at other corporations, private security conferences, and government agencies.¹⁵ "Crisis Management Plan," a 60-page memo, advised how to counter "worst-case scenarios" for environmental issues "which hold potential for presenting a public relations crisis" for Clorox.

Ketchum prepared a strategy to greenwash its image, neutralize "green journalists" and counter Greenpeace's campaign against the toxic effects of chlorine.¹⁶



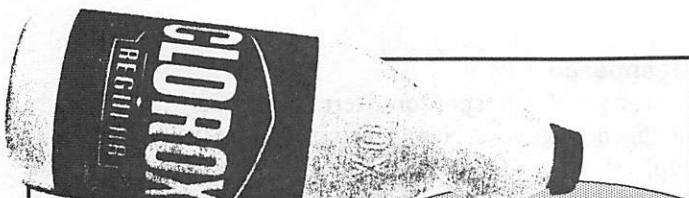
Oakland Tribune

An endangered old growth redwood.

15. *Pensacola News Journal*, "PR Firm's Damage Control Plan for Bleach Company is Leaked," May 13, 1991, p. 2A.

Chip Berlet, an investigative journalist for Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts, reports that in conversations with participants at the American Society for Industrial Security (ASIS) conference in 1988, he detected a "troubling trend among a few hard-line outfits. Over breakfast a Navy security staffer said he had attended a naval intelligence briefing where Greenpeace was described as a 'terrorist' group with ties to 'international communist groups.' See also: Chip Berlet, "Taking Off the Gloves," *Greenpeace Magazine*, September/October 1990, p. 17.

16. *Greenpeace Magazine*, July/August 1991, p. 6.



**Clorox Leak
Stains
Corporate
Image**

- The Issue: Greenpeace has announced a worldwide effort to rid the world of chlorine by 1993—Chlorine Free by '93, they call it. Greenpeace is well known, both for its dramatic campaigns, often associated with violent tactics, and with spurious research, generated more for its shock value and fund-raising appeal than its scientific utility.
- Industry Association (Chlorine Institute?) advertising campaign: "Stop Environmental Terrorism."
- Conduct research to determine if and how a slander lawsuit against the columnist and/or Greenpeace could be effective.
- [Use] third party scientific spokespeople [who] are prepared to cast doubts on the methodology and finding of the reports [damaging to Clorox and still unwritten].
- Enlisting the support of the union and the national union leadership since jobs are at stake.

Excerpts: Ketchum Public Relations "Crisis Management Plan."

In an attempt to spin this embarrassing leak, Clorox told the press that it was "not involved in [the plan's] preparation, and [is] not acting on its recommendations. The consulting firm's language and overly descriptive analysis detracts from its central theme."

The corporation apparently had no problem with the central theme itself—how to discredit environmentalists in the press and local communities where controversial environmental issues are being debated. Bill Walker, a Greenpeace public relations and media spokesperson, recently attended a convention of the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA). The title of the conference was "Our World in Transition" but Walker observed that after looking through the program it looked more like "How to Make Your Corporation Look Like a Friend to the Planet While Reaping Billions in the International Waste Trade."¹⁷

One workshop at the conference, "Building Public Support by Resolving Disputes Through Consensus," focused on how corporations should learn to neutralize activists and build relations with the locals. According to a participant:

When you're dealing with a group of outside agitators—Greenpeace or somebody like that," remarked a participant, "they usually have a different agenda than the people in the community where you're trying to place

your facility. If you let them rant and rave and foam at the mouth, the community will sometimes get turned off and...then you can arrange a private meeting behind [the activists'] backs."

The War on Eco-Terrorism: Who Drafted the Press?

Sometimes charges concocted against targeted groups are so wacky that it is hard to imagine anyone will take them seriously. "Ex"-CIA agent, Vincent Cannistraro¹⁸ recently revealed to the press that he has "evidence" that a few "highly educated scientists" are secretly developing a virus that will kill all humans but leave all other species intact. He offered no proof of these "small organized clandestine cells" but assured the press that they constituted "potentially the most lethal of all terrorist movements."¹⁹

Newhouse News Service assigned a young reporter to research Cannistraro's theory. Jonathan Tilove spent three weeks talking to all kinds of environmentalists and was still unable to come up with any proof.²⁰ Tilove explained to *CAIB* that his article was written in an obviously ironic, tongue-in-cheek style which no one would take seriously.

Entitled "Mad Scientists Plot End of Mankind," the article went out on the *New York Times* syndicate to hundreds of papers around world. It was published on Sunday, April 14, 1991, weeks before the first anniversary of the Bari/Cherney bombing, by the *San Francisco Examiner*. Its Sunday edition is read by hundreds of thousands of people in northern California, an area where Earth First! is very active and where it is treated by many with suspicion, fear and violence.

Although Cannistraro's statements to the press did not name any environmental groups, Tilove's Newhouse News Service article printed in the *Examiner* mentioned Earth First! eight times.²¹ The *Examiner* published the story as a serious news feature on page two along with a picture of Earth First! co-founder David Foreman.

18. Cannistraro was giving a paper on the many terrorist threats around the world at the inaugural meeting of the Counterterrorism Study Group. This body was convened by and is run out of the Washington office of the National Strategy Information Center, a right-wing think tank co-founded by William Casey in 1962.

Cannistraro is no ordinary spook. For one thing, he calls himself an environmentalist. He was also a career CIA operations officer who, until the Iran-contra scandal in 1986, was CIA Director William Casey's "man" at the National Security Council where he was detailed as Oliver North's assistant in charge of monitoring covert operations. He slipped through his testimony unscathed at the Iran-Contra hearings and moved back to CIA headquarters, where he was the head of counterterrorism until his early "retirement" in 1989.

19. Jonathan Tilove, "Tale of a plot to rid earth of humankind," Newhouse News Service, April 14, 1991 by *San Francisco Examiner*, p. A-2.

20. Zack Stentz, freelance writer from Santa Cruz, noted that: "La-Rouche followers have been especially active in the campaign against environmentalists through their group 'Stop Eco-Fascism,' who last year distributed a videotape that juxtaposed shots of Earth First! demonstrations with Nazi rallies." *Anderson Valley Advertiser*, June 19, 1991, p. 12.

21. It should be noted that the *Examiner*, the Hearst flagship paper, has become decidedly more liberal since Will Hearst III took over a few years ago. Its excellent environmental reporter, Jane Kay, told *CAIB* that she had no involvement in the decision to run the "mad scientist" article.

17. Bill Walker, "Green Like Me," *Greenpeace Magazine*, May/June 1991, p. 9.

In light of the violence directed against Earth First! in northern California, the publication of this article shocked a number of media analysts and environmentalists. An *ad hoc* group organized a protest outside the *Examiner's* office and forced a meeting. On April 23, Steven Cook, the senior editor who ran the "mad scientist" article, listened to representatives from Earth First!, Greenpeace, *Earth Island Journal*, and *Propaganda Review*. He admitted that he hadn't given much thought to the article. It was, he thought, "an interesting look at the subject of population control."

Eventually, he apologized and promised to give more thought to future articles about environmental groups. Judi Bari, outraged by the "mad scientist" article, wrote an op-ed which the *Examiner* printed the following Sunday challenging Tilove's lack of documentation. The best the author of the article can come up with, Bari charged, "is an anonymous letter-to-the-editor from a 1984 *Earth First! Journal*, carefully excerpted for maximum shock value."²²

Bari was skeptical that a reporter in Washington, D.C. would have waded through 10 years of *Earth First! Journals'* letters to the editor²³ just to find this one letter. As it turned out, Tilove saved himself the legwork and got the letter from a paper on "eco-terrorism," written for the Heritage Foundation by Doug Bandow, an analyst for the Cato Institute.²⁴

"We want...one umbrella organization to fight the eco-freaks and the Nature Nazis."

Rick Sieman, Sahara Club Founder

Looking Back, Moving Forward

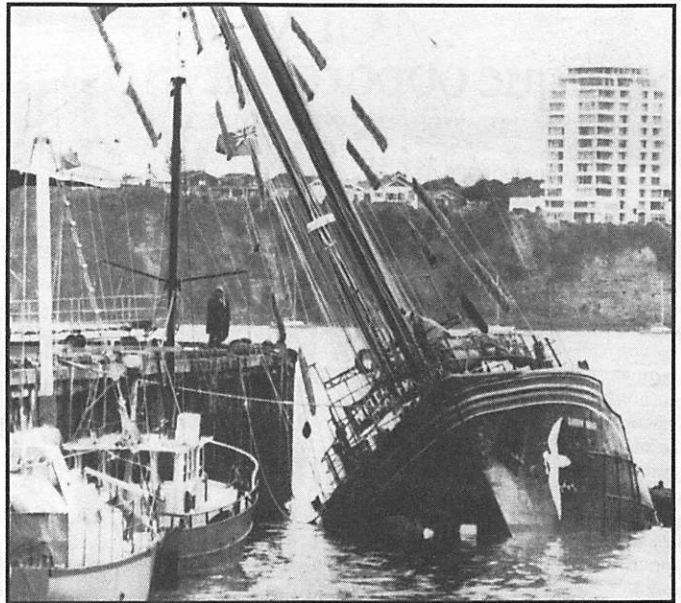
The environmental future of our planet is looking worse each day. Given the obvious fact that all other social movements will be meaningless if the earth is uninhabitable, the radical environmental groups may well be at the forefront of political and social change. "The effectiveness of the environmental movement," said Greenpeace activist Josh Karliner, "can be measured not only by the documented attacks, but also the fact that the movement is growing every day."²⁵

22. Judi Bari, "Tabloid Attack' on Earth First!," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 21, 1991, p. A19.

23. The letters to the editor feature of the Earth First! Journal is discreetly titled "Dear Shit fer Brains."

24. According to Zack Stentz, "Bandow himself was not above spreading disinformation in the past. In a 1990 *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, Bandow included among the crimes of 'eco-terrorism' the bombing of sawmills and the stringing of piano wire to decapitate motorists. 'The sawmill bomb he's talking about was planted by the same person who tried to kill me,' said Bari, 'and the only people who claim to have seen this piano wire are Sahara Clubbers.' See: Zack Stentz, "Disinformation Epidemic," *Anderson Valley Advertiser*, June 19, 1991, p. 1.

25. Interview with author, August 8, 1991.



Associated Press

The Greenpeace Rainbow Warrior was sunk by French intelligence agents in New Zealand in 1985, killing one person.

In the 1960s, activists had no idea how extensively the FBI, the CIA and the military were infiltrating and harassing their organizations. The daring investigative work of progressive journalists, researchers and activists in the 1970s revealed the scope and horror of those massive espionage operations aimed at wiping out the challenges to authority that characterized a broad spectrum of U.S. society in the 1960s.

In the 1990s, said Earth First!er Chris Manes, "The government is treating [environmentalists] like terrorists although no person has ever been hurt by an Earth First! action."²⁶

Given the potential economic and political impact of an effective movement, it is only reasonable to anticipate a strong, organized and even violent reaction from those interests which profit from the status quo. "The reason why corporations are 'greenwashing' their images, the reason why we have an 'environmental president,' and the reason why Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney got blown up," said Karliner, "is the increasing threat posed by the environmental movement."

While it is true that many radical environmentalists advocate profound changes in our polluting, wasteful, consumer society, they are not terrorists and there is no evidence that anyone is plotting such absurdity as wiping out humanity. When the press repeats this type of bizarre and undocumented disinformation it feeds the myth that groups like Earth First! and Greenpeace have a secret agenda of terrorism and total destruction of the American way of life.

Evidence of government reaction is mounting. "We need to deal with the repression of our movement," Carliner warned, "but we should not dwell on it." ●

26. Stentz, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

CIA... the unique opportunity

Does the Central Intelligence Agency spy on Americans? Does it keep a file on me?

No. The Central Intelligence Agency is expressly prohibited by Presidential Executive Order from routinely engaging in the domestic use of such techniques as electronic, mail, or physical surveillance; monitoring devices; or unconsented physical search. Such intrusion into the lives of Americans by any Government agency could take place only under the most extraordinary conditions of concern for the national welfare and, even then, only when approved by the Attorney General. Similarly, the Agency does not maintain files on private citizens.

Overseas assignments are often stimulating and exciting. They give you a chance to enjoy new cultures, to learn new languages, to meet interesting people, and to make new friends.

Where we work ...the world

The main factor is secrecy, clandestinity. All of it taken together is as wonderfully simple and as amazingly complex as the closest friendship. It is an ancient art that is expanded and modernized each day. It is a highly individual, ever-changing, creative, dynamic, exciting way of life.

"We conduct our activities and ourselves according to the highest standards of integrity, morality and honor and according to the spirit and letter of our law and Constitution."
Credo, Central Intelligence Agency

It is not insignificant that, when U.S. installations abroad are evacuated of "non-essential personnel", CIA operations officers, communicators and secretaries are unlikely to be removed during such emergencies.

Does the Central Intelligence Agency engage in drug trafficking?

No. To the contrary, the Central Intelligence Agency assists the U.S. Government effort to thwart drug trafficking by providing intelligence information to the Department of Commerce, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the State Department.

In the interest of our nation, virtually all Agency work is done in secret.



... where your career is America's strength

"We are going after the real stuff, things that count ..."

Besides its primary job of collecting intelligence, the Clandestine Service — also called the Directorate of Operations — seeks to change adversaries into friends or neutrals through covert operations by political, psychological, or paramilitary means. It works with friendly intelligence services toward mutual goals.

The Clandestine Service is dynamic and imaginative. It's the job done. It recruits agents, gathers their data, processes it — all within the framework of clandestine tradecraft.

In its construction, the Center is very much like

CIA seeks people with impeccable person

The Clandestine Service intelligence people — a variety of nations, decisions, human intelligence, economic infrastructure, destiny of

the cornerstones of a career in

It will help if you have an adventurous

Questions from a CIA entrance examination:
Can you carry out a direct personal command from your superior if you disagree with it?

Have you ever been refused a loan? If so, explain.

Have you ever had any contact with a homosexual activity or

Please describe in 50 words or less your feelings toward homosexuality in society today.

Discuss the differences and the likely users of the terms "Democratic Resistance" and "National Liberation."

What is "plausible deniability" and why is it important?

What are your feelings toward the Soviet Union?

Essay: Discuss what you know about the development of world communism.

On the intellectual side, individuals with "people

Career
Logistics Dis

Few fields afford such a high calibre of individuals one meets in the operations. CIA, by necessity, focuses overseas positions of consequence or have access to every part of the world, from "Third World" developing industrialized countries, CIA deals with movements, threats, ideas, ideologies and issues challenge the United States.

The Clandestine

ant pursuit of informa-
al Intelligence Agency
ke a university.

Integrity...

gets

es

Extensive education and
training programs
you never stop learning.

"I like independence, variety... I consider myself patriotic,
action oriented... I am attracted by the mystique of the work,
and I see it as a unique situation, one that can be found no
where else in our society."

Career Trainee, female,
paramilitary trained

Careers of consequence

[T]his is not what one would consider a 'big bucks' profes-
sion, anyone entering an operations officer career, unless he
or she has independent wealth, has pretty much joined the
American middle or upper middle class eternally.

"... All they guarantee is you won't die of boredom."

Operations officer, GS-12, male,
now on third field assignment

Your professional career at the CIA ...new horizons

A staff member of the
Central Intelligence Agency,
while you do not make policy
decisions for the United States,
you significantly contribute to
the decision-making process
concerning issues and events
around the globe. How well you
do your job will impact the
conduct of the nation's
affairs. You are in the heart-
beat of the United States
government.

The sophisticated hardware and
systems we need cannot be purchased
ready-made. They have to be
developed by us. So we decide what
is needed and set forth the programs
to get the job done. Our engineers
and scientists direct each program,
control it, and contract with various
private corporations to supply some
of the bits and pieces. The rest we
do ourselves.

This gives the CIA scientists and
engineers overall project responsibility
and the opportunity to follow the
project from basic research all the way
to an operational system. Our counter-
parts in industry are seldom given
this challenge.

And we have the resources required
to launch and complete new projects
from basic research all the way
to an operational system. Our counter-
parts in industry are seldom given
this challenge. The long and short of it is, that
when you join the CIA you are given
targets of opportunity rarely available
elsewhere. Salaries are similar to
private industry in many cases, and
promotion can be very rapid since
we are not under Civil Service.

With these opportunities for success
and advancement, it is not surprising
that the CIA has a low turnover in
professional personnel.

You can advance rapidly
There are several factors which help
promote your personal and profes-
sional advancement at the Central
Intelligence Agency.

Promotions are competitive and
based on your accomplishments. You
are given more responsibilities as soon
as you are ready to assume them. Your
performance and future potential are
evaluated frequently, and your super-
visor reviews each evaluation carefully
with you.

Your professional advancement
is also enhanced by working on
important projects at the forefront
of your particular field of interest.
You will associate with senior experts
in your field, not only at the Central
Intelligence Agency but at other
government agencies, in universities,
and in private industry.

The CIA is much like an academic institution

To better understand the CIA as
a place to build a career, it is helpful
to compare our organization with a
university and a private corporation.

In our constant pursuit of
information, the CIA functions very
much like a large university. We
engage in research and analysis as
well as dissemination of our findings.
We make use of every academic dis-
cipline. We employ specialists and
generalists. We work at the leading
edge of knowledge. We use state-of-the-
art technology to support our efforts. And
we constantly strive for new and better
ideas to solve problems. We even have
a campus where we seek the truth.
Persons familiar with the CIA often
refer to us as being "the best think-
tank in the free world."

However, unlike the university, our
work place is more dynamic and your
contributions are put to immediate
and practical use. Our focus is on
current and anticipated events. Also,
better and advancement is more rapid
at the CIA than in the academic world.

How does the CIA compare with private industry?

For the purpose of comparison, let
us look at engineering and the physical
sciences.

CIA Undergraduate Scholar Program

Can you meet the challenge? Are you a student, particularly a minority or
disabled student, planning to enroll in a four/five year college program and thinking of
becoming a Computer Scientist, Cartographer, Engineer (EE, ME), Mathematician,
Economist, Physicist, Linguist, Accountant, Imagery Scientist, or Political Analyst? If
so, the Central Intelligence Agency just might have that special program and career
position for you.

"Education, A Route To Success"

Clandestine Service... the cutting edge of American
Its operational terrain is the human mind, where
one or together — make decisions, develop inten-
to go to war, make peace, change history. It is the
lect dealing with problems — not computers, eco-
structure, or defense budgets — that changes the
ations and the world.

s bent...

Equipped with the best operational skills and training, and
supported by the Agency's administrative and communications
personnel, Clandestine Service men and women venture forth
to seek information that defines intentions, fills gaps, predicts
events, makes a difference.

the freedom to grow and the freedom to do are
the clandestine service.

Opportunities in
disciplines

opportunities for dealing
the field of clandestine
on people who either
knowledge and power. In
knowing areas to highly
ch the people, leaders,
which concern

Clandestine Service demands the best.

Professional Career Appointments

Central Intelligence Agency

Does the Central Intelligence Agency
participate in assassinations?

No. Presidential Executive Order No.
12333 explicitly prohibits the Central
Intelligence Agency, either directly or
indirectly, from engaging in
assassinations. Internal safeguards and
the Congressional oversight process
assure compliance.

We Advance the
State-of-the-Art
... Consistently

The Trial and Conviction of Arif Durrani

Bordering on Treason?*

Lawrence Lifschultz and Rabia Ali

In April 1987, an Assistant U.S. Attorney, Holly Fitzsimmons, stood before a jury in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and asked that the members reject the fantastic claims of the defendant. "If Mr. Durrani is telling the truth," she said, "...the CIA is lying to you, [and] the National Security Council [NSC] is lying to you."¹

The jury, suspicious of the bizarre stories of a foreign arms merchant engaged in shipping weapon parts to Iran, believed the CIA and the prosecution. After ninety minutes of deliberation, it returned a guilty verdict.

Several weeks later Arif Durrani was sentenced to ten years in prison and fined two million dollars. As he passed sentence, Judge T. Gilroy Daly told Durrani, "I find throughout greed and lies, money and perjury, avarice and conniving. You are not charged with it...but your behavior might under other circumstances be considered by some as bordering on treason."

In June, nearly five years after Durrani's arrest, a senior CIA official, Alan Fiers, pleaded guilty in a Washington court to having lied to Congress and federal investigators regarding the Iran-Contra affair. Fiers became the first insider to "name names" and provide information implicating officials at the highest levels of the CIA in an apparent scheme of deliberate perjury designed to sustain the veil of secrecy surrounding the Iran-Contra operation.

Lawrence Lifschultz has been South Asia Correspondent of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hong Kong). He has also written extensively on South and Southwest Asia for the *Guardian* (London), *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Paris), the BBC and *The Nation*.

Rabia Ali has recently completed her doctoral research at Cambridge University and is working on a study of modern Pakistan entitled *Inheriting the Earth: Zulfigar Ali Bhutto and the Pakistan People's Party*.

1. See: *The United States of America v. Arif Durrani, United States District Court, District of Connecticut, Criminal Action No. B-86-59 (TGFD)*, March-April 1987. All quotes pertaining to the trial proceedings, unless otherwise cited, are from the court transcripts.

Adapted from a pamphlet: *Bordering on Treason?:

The Trial and Conviction of Arif Durrani,

Lawrence Lifschultz, Steven Galster, and Rabia Ali

Pamphleteer's Press, E. Haven, CT., 1991. To order, see p. 65.

Regardless of new confessions in Washington, after almost five years behind bars, Durrani still claims for himself the unique distinction of being the only person imprisoned in the United States for the Iran-Contra affair. He continues to insist that he has been wrongfully convicted.

Prior to his arrest and imprisonment, the Pakistani-born Durrani had built his own version of the American dream: he had become a successful businessman of a particular kind, a licensed arms dealer operating with the sanction of the State Department. As the managing director of Merex Inc. of

California, Durrani had amassed considerable wealth through the sale of weapons to some of the more unsavory regimes of Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East.

In October 1986, Durrani's luck ran out. He was arrested by U.S. Customs agents in Danbury, Connecticut, for violating export regulations by selling arms to Iran — a country formally under a U.S. arms embargo. Brought to trial

in Bridgeport, Durrani defended himself by claiming that he was a link in the tangled chain that made up the Iran-Contra affair. He stated that the arms transaction for which he had been arrested was part of a joint arms-for-hostages initiative undertaken by the U.S. and Israeli governments.

A key figure in Durrani's story was Manuel José Pires, a mysterious Portuguese arms merchant. In the spring of 1986, Durrani says, he was contacted by Israeli government intermediaries who urged him to meet with Pires. The Portuguese dealer, he was told, was in search of certain difficult-to-find HAWK missile parts which were to be delivered to Iran. This introduction to Pires inaugurated a collaboration which would ultimately prove to be Durrani's undoing.

Through the Portuguese, Durrani claims he met a U.S. official at the London Hilton who sought assurances that the parts needed to complete the final "package" for Iran had indeed been secured. The official, Durrani says, was NSC Deputy Director for Politico-Military Affairs Oliver North.

Durrani's defense — that he was contracted to aid the purposes of U.S. policy — was dismissed by the prosecution as pure invention. His arrest preceded by six weeks the revelations of the Iran-Contra scandal, the details of which were to emerge slowly while his trial got under way. Connecticut

prosecutors maintained that Durrani, a private supplier of arms to many countries, was operating entirely for his own personal profit. The prosecution categorically denied that Durrani had any connection whatsoever with any covert operation being run by U.S. government agencies.

These opposing views will be aired in court again this autumn, in response to a motion for a new trial by Durrani's attorneys. The motion claims that the prosecution withheld crucial evidence that could have aided Durrani's defense. At the fall hearing, the court will decide whether sufficient new evidence has emerged to warrant a new trial.

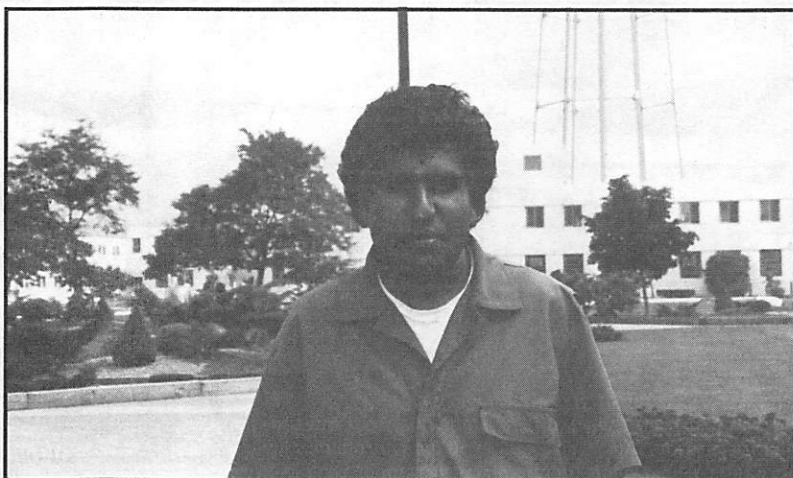
Demonstrating or disproving the link to Iran-Contra has been an elusive task for both the defense and the prosecution. Durrani's arrest on October 3, 1986, for buying spare parts for the U.S.-designed HAWK missile system occurred a month before the American public learned that officials at the highest level of the U.S. government were intimately involved in the covert export of weapons to Iran which included HAWK parts. In the spring of 1987, while the press was preparing to cover the dramatic cross-examinations on Capitol Hill of Oliver North and John Poindexter, CIA and NSC officials quietly travelled to Bridgeport to deny Durrani's allegations that his arms purchases were made on behalf of the U.S. government. Based in part upon this testimony Durrani was convicted and sentenced. The case has been virtually unknown outside the district court in Bridgeport where it was originally tried.

After an inquiry which spanned more than a year, and which drew us into a labyrinthian network of underground arms merchants in Europe, we have unearthed new information that lends credence to Durrani's claims that his activities were indirectly linked to the Iran-Contra operation. This information, however, also has much broader implications. Our investigation in Europe yielded evidence indicating that the scope and volume of arms illegally shipped to Iran from NATO states and NATO suppliers were hundreds of times greater than the value of shipments revealed as the basis of the Iran-Contra scandal.

Relying on interviews with arms traders directly involved in the traffic and a hitherto confidential police inquiry conducted by a special intelligence unit of the *Gendarmerie* in Brussels, we were able to unlock the details of several illicit arms networks linked to the U.S.-Israeli effort to supply Iran with weapons officially prohibited for export. The obscure and peculiar Durrani case served as a window to a more expansive panorama of illegality and deception.

The Backdrop

The four months preceding Durrani's arrest had been a period of intense secret diplomacy between Iran, Israel and the United States, each pursuing its own ends. At a crucial meeting in February 1986, Amiram Nir, a special adviser to



Arif Durrani in prison in Danbury, Conn. awaiting a hearing for a new trial. Lawrence Lifschultz

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, met with high-level Iranian officials and hammered out an agreement whereby the U.S. and Israel would supply a variety of armaments, especially TOW missiles and spare parts for the U.S.-designed HAWK air defense system, in return for Iran's cooperation in securing the release of Western hostages held by pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon.²

According to documents provided to the Tower Commission, on July 29, 1986, in Jerusalem, Nir informed Vice President George Bush that the Iranians had also "asked for other items...there were 240 [additional] items [HAWK spares] and we agreed to it."³ The same day in a memorandum to Vice Admiral Poindexter, Oliver North asked that he "obtain [President Reagan's] approval for having the 240 HAWK missile parts shipped from Israel to Iran as soon as possible ...delivery of the 240 should help assure the Iranians that we will keep our word."⁴ The following day, July 30, Poindexter had secured the President's written approval.⁵

However, the parts which the Israelis shipped did not cover all the items on the 240 item list. The Iranians were searching in particular for the "heart" of the HAWK system known as a klystron tube, without which the entire missile system was useless. It was the time known in Iran as the "war of the cities" when vast urban areas, lacking the protection of surface-to-air defense systems, were being laid waste by Iraqi air attacks.

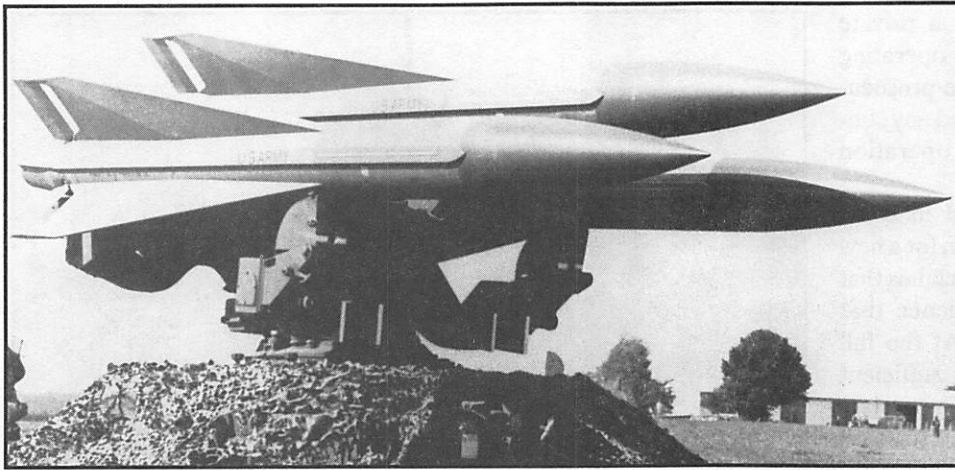
While readying their arms package for Tehran, both Israel and the U.S. also began an intensive search to locate the

2. Report of the President's Special Review Board, hereafter referred to as *The Tower Commission Report*, February 26, 1987, cited in *The National Security Archive, The Chronology: The Documented Day-by-Day Account of the Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Contras*, Malcolm Byrne, ed., 1987, p. 443.

3. *Ibid.*

4. North to Poindexter, July 29, 1986, *The Tower Commission Report*, cited in *The Chronology*, p. 440.

5. *The Tower Commission Report*, cited in *The Chronology*, p. 441. Also see: the *Washington Post*, February 8, 1987.



Department of Defense

HAWK missile parts were the subject of extensive searches by the Reagan administration for supply to Iran as part of the Iran-Contra deal and also by Durrani who was convicted for their illegal export. This "trio of HAWKS" photo is captioned "three tons of fun" by the DoD.

missing items on the list. The problem was that Iran's HAWK system was nearly a decade old; parts for the older version were not readily available. Therefore, a closer, broader search was necessary.

It was at this stage in the spring of 1986 that Durrani claims he was contacted by the Israeli government's purchasing office in New York. Durrani's firm, Merex, had maintained active contacts with the Israelis as one of their suppliers in the U.S. market. In the netherworld of the international arms business, Durrani was known for his multiplicity of contacts, and on his Pakistani passport he had traveled frequently to Iran since the early 1980s.

Approached by Israeli intermediaries, Durrani flew to Europe and on to Israel where, he claims, he met with Israeli representatives, including members of the Israeli Air Force, to discuss the list of requirements specified by the Iranians. Ari Ben Menashe, a retired intelligence officer in the Israeli Defense Force, confirms Durrani's visit.⁶ Returning to Europe, he had a meeting with Rahim Malekzadeh, the Chief of Logistics in the Iranian Revolutionary Guard. Malekzadeh impressed upon Durrani the urgency of securing badly needed materiel for Iran's war effort against Iraq.

With both the Israelis and the Iranians urging him to get involved, Durrani arranged in Geneva for his first rendezvous in the spring of 1986 with the Portuguese arms merchant, Manuel José Pires.

Manuel Pires and the Quest for HAWKS

Pires, an established figure in the European arms market, had worked on a number of transactions involving Israel. Frequently referred to as that "gangster" by numerous associates in a business known more for an unmarked bullet than a kind remark, he had managed to build an unusual reputation in the international arms trade.

At the Geneva meeting, Durrani claims, he and Pires were joined by an Iranian official responsible for Iran's HAWK system. Durrani indicated that he was optimistic about locating at least some of the missing HAWK parts on the 240-item list from private suppliers once he returned to the United States.

Meanwhile, in mid-April, North had already alerted Poindexter that their operation was having difficulty locating all the HAWK parts. "We have a problem on our side," wrote North, "in that over 50 of the parts now do not appear to be in stock or are no longer made for our version of the system. Nir is checking in their [Israel's] older inventories to see if they have them on hand."⁷

In early May 1986, Durrani visited Radio Research in Danbury, Connecticut, seeking HAWK parts and the possible repair of several klystron tubes. In July 1986, Radio Research executives suspicious about the ultimate destination of the HAWK parts contacted U.S. Customs.

Special Agent Steven Arruda began monitoring Durrani's telephone calls to Radio Research and organized video surveillance of his ensuing visits. For more than half a decade under a program code-named *Operation Exodus* the Customs Service had made an elaborate effort to staunch the export of weapons to Iran. Durrani was now swimming into *Exodus*.

On August 29, Durrani's first shipment was permitted to leave the country and tracked through a series of freight forwarding companies in New York and Brussels. Its ultimate destination was Iran and not Jordan as Durrani had stated to Radio Research. Court records establish that both Durrani and Manuel Pires were present at Kennedy Airport to see off the shipment. As far as the Customs Service was concerned, the moment the shipment left the U.S. without a license, Arif Durrani had violated the Arms Export Control Act. They would arrest Durrani on the next shipment. Pires, however, would never be indicted. It was an omission which would haunt the case.

Unknown to Customs officials supervising *Operation Exodus*, exactly 30 days earlier, President Reagan had specifically authorized delivery of HAWK missile parts to Iran at the request of Poindexter and North. And, according to CIA documents provided to the Iran-Contra committee, "on August 3, the United States delivered 12 pallets of HAWK spare parts to Iran."⁸ A single pallet had already been delivered on May 26 when McFarlane, North, Nir, and the CIA's George

(continued on p. 61)

6. Ari Ben Menashe, private interview, New York, December 7, 1990.

7. North PROF note to Poindexter, April 16, 1986, *The Tower Commission Report*, cited in *The Chronology*, p. 344.

8. *The Tower Commission Report*, cited in *The Chronology*, p. 450.



Associated Press

Inkathagate: Covert Funding - Overt Violence

Ruth Elizabeth Tomaselli

Interfactional violence between supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha, a Zulu national cultural organization, has cost thousands of lives in South Africa. The origins for what has been termed "black on black" violence have commonly been ascribed to tribal, gang, and political rivalries and power struggles. In CovertAction's Winter 1991 issue, Tomaselli analyzed how this phenomenon and its characterization in the press served government interests. Since then, more than 1,500 people have died in politically associated violence.

Tomaselli also detailed a mounting pattern of evidence showing that the De Klerk government had instigated divisions among non-white South Africans in order to perpetuate white minority rule. Despite recent irrefutable documentation, the pattern of government-aided violence continues.

Funding Violence

Money, say some cynics, is thicker than blood. When money changes hands for nefarious purposes, proof of collusion is often close behind.

On March 5, 1991, Kobus Jordaan, Democratic Party Member of Parliament, asked whether any section of the National Intelligence Service or the SAP had given financial

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Photo: Armed Inkatha members rally as police and army stand by.

or organizational support to groups such as Inkatha. Jordaan's parliamentary inquiries concerned an allocation of 5 million Rand (U.S. \$1.7 million) within the budget of the Department of Foreign Affairs for covert operations. Speaking on behalf of President F.W. De Klerk, a Deputy Minister stonewalled. To answer the charges, he said, would "defeat the legal protection of security information."¹

For the next month, similar questions were rebuffed by the Defense Minister, General Magnus Malan, and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. On April 9, De Klerk finally

1. *Weekly Mail* (Johannesburg), July 19, 1991.

Before Inkathagate: May 1990

At a rally in Northern KwaZulu, a large body of Inkatha marchers joined others under an Inkatha flag:

I was astonished to observe that as the marchers reached the bridge and prepared to cross the river with the armed group, the security forces began withdrawing all their units from the area until not a single soldier or policeman was left behind. I observed that not only was the group not being disarmed, but they were also being allowed to march to the rally through a residential area, unmonitored by the security forces.

Roy Ainslie, co-ordinator of the Democratic Party's political unrest monitoring group repeatedly warned the commanding officer of "the potential for conflict developing" and asked him to "take preventive measures." The police, however stood by during the ensuing violence while a large group of Inkatha supporters attacked an unarmed group of ANC youths. An unknown number of critical injuries and deaths inevitably resulted.

"...[O]ne of the major contributory factors in the violence," testified Ainslie under oath, "...was the refusal of the security forces to disarm those attending the rally. Unless a clear instruction is given to police to disarm people at further gatherings of this kind, I have little doubt that we can expect continued violence in Natal.

Source: Affidavit, Roy Ainslie, May 21, 1990.

After Inkathagate: Aug. 6, 1991.

Two hundred Inkatha supporters marched into Alexandria township heavily armed with whips, iron poles, axes and a few garbage bags. One of the Inkatha supporters was Bruce Anderson a white member of the neo-Nazi British National Front. "I see no weapons," he told NPR reporter John Matisonn.

The garbage bags were for a "clean up" of living conditions—Inkatha's pretext for the day's events. The violence which followed "left disturbing signs that the relationship between the government and Inkatha may be as strong as ever."

The day before the "clean-up," Adriaan Vlok, outgoing Minister of Law and Order, had dropped Alexandria as a designated unrest area, thereby allowing the Inkatha supporters to march armed. The timing of the rule change, according to Colonel Leon Malette, was coincidental.

The violence occurred despite the presence of a hundred police in four large troop carriers and several vans "intermingled" with the Inkatha members. No arrests were made, no files opened and not a single investigation was started, although ten people were injured and three are in serious condition including one who "was disembowelled on an Alexandria street." Police later admitted that they saw Inkatha members stone the shacks of people believed to be ANC supporters.

Source: John Matisonn, "Morning Edition," National Public Radio, transcript, August 6, 1991.

responded. "It is not Government policy," the president replied, "to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organization."²

Two months later, evidence to the contrary was published in the London-based *Independent* on June 11. Retired South African Defense Force (SADF) Major Nico Basson charged that the SADF has deliberately fanned the township violence and was funding the Inkatha Freedom Party. "The South African Defense Force (SADF)," he said, "is buying AK-47 rifles on a large scale, notably from Mozambique, and supplying these weapons to Inkatha."

Although Basson's revelations were denied by both the government and Inkatha, his wealth of detail, including names of senior military officers and intimate knowledge of how Military Intelligence works have convinced lawyers and journalists that the Major is a very credible witness.

The U.S. government, like its South African counterpart, appeared to discount the charges. At a July 10 news conference, President Bush announced the lifting of sanctions. When asked if the U.S. was satisfied that the South African

government was not perpetuating violence by Inkatha against the ANC, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said that the U.S. had "deployed our own resources to find out...but we have seen no evidence that the government entities are doing anything in that line."³

Kobus Jordaan, a centrist South African parliamentarian who favored lifting sanctions, had been scheduled to visit the U.S. on a State Department-sponsored tour. Outraged by Cohen's statement he cancelled the trip; "...[M]y conscience does not allow me to accept U.S. state funds," he declared, "as long as the present administration continues distorting the realities in South Africa. I have no option therefore, but to pull out of my proposed visit."⁴

Opening Inkathagate

Later that month, however, in a series of disclosures immediately dubbed "Inkathagate" by the media, evidence of collusion between the state and Inkatha became irrefutable. The *Weekly Mail*, an independent Johannesburg newspaper,

2. *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), July 28, 1991.

3. "The Talk of the Town," *New Yorker*, August 19, 1991, p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*

published top-secret Security Police documents confirming the payment of \$86,000 to Inkatha for the purpose of organizing rallies and other anti-ANC activities.⁵

In a leaked memorandum Durban-based Security Policeman Major Louis Botha told his superior officers in Pretoria that Inkatha leader Buthelezi had personally thanked him for the police funding of two Inkatha rallies.

The memorandum also revealed extensive discussion between Buthelezi and a senior security policeman on ways of damming the stream of support which had been flowing away from Inkatha to the ANC.⁶ Another letter from Brigadier J.A. Steyn, deputy regional chief of the Security Police in Natal to his commanding officer in Pretoria, asks that Buthelezi's "thanks and great appreciation be passed on to those responsible for passing on the funds... Chief Minister Buthelezi," the letter continued, "was very emotional when a copy of the receipt was given to him. He could not say thank you enough and said that he had not expected it."⁷

Major Botha's memorandum gives a rare insight into the Security Police view of Inkatha's role as a counterweight to ANC influence. He argues that the police must support Buthelezi when he is under pressure from some of his own Ministers, and losing constituency support. "It is this region's fear," said Botha, "that... the Chief Minister might consider throwing in his lot with the ANC with far-reaching consequences for Natal and the RSA [Republic of South Africa]."⁸ Botha refers to discussions with Buthelezi over a two-to-three week period, as well as a previous Security Police report on "Conflict within Inkatha as a result of peace negotiations."

The report continues:

[T]he perception is formed, and reinforced, that almost all the blacks (and many whites, Indians and coloureds) support the ANC/MDM/UDF. This distorted image of support is then used abroad to put pressure on the RSA (and Inkatha) during negotiations. As an antidote for this one-sided propaganda, the Chief Minister is busy planning a massive Inkatha rally at Kings Park, Durban on 1990-03-25. The theme of the meeting will be anti-violence, anti-sanctions, pro-evolutionary (change) and will carry a message to the country and the world that

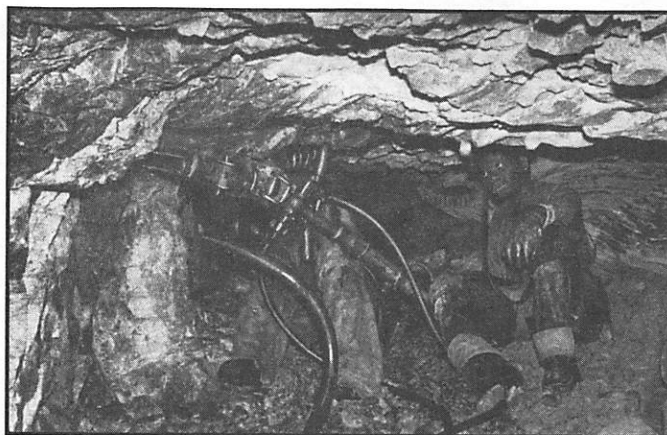
5. *Weekly Mail*, July 19, 1991.

6. "If [Chief Minister Buthelezi] attempts to effect reconciliation with the ANC, the possibility exists that he will be accepted and will then be removed from the scene, or alternatively the ANC would simply reject him and thus ruin him politically. If he stands on the sidelines of politics, he will not be able to take part in the game later which would be politically debilitating (according to the Chief Minister)."

"...[T]he actions and political maneuvers of the ANC have caused a degree of concern to the Chief Minister, especially if the falling Inkatha membership and the implications of this for him are taken into account." (Transcript sent February 13, 1990, by Office of Regional Chief, Security Branch, Durban, to Central Security Branch, Pretoria, of telephone conversation on February 8, 1990, between Captain Koekemoer and Major Louis Botha of the Natal region.)

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*



Matt Franjola

While the De Klerk government funds anti-ANC unions, on average, one South African miner dies every day.

inside the RSA a great mass exists which does not support the ANC/MDM/UDF, especially their policy. This aspect holds important advantages for the government and Inkatha (Buthelezi) during any negotiations.

During the meeting the Chief Minister envisages further expounding on the advantages of his negotiations, politics, and opposition to violence and sanctions, and to praise the State President for his political vision and actions thus far.⁹

It was at this point that Major Botha threw government financial support behind the rally. "This region," said the Major, "believes that it is urgently necessary that we should make a financial contribution to such a gathering. It is of cardinal importance that there be enough people at Kings Park to support the Chief Minister and to prove to all that he actually does have a strong base. The results of a failed meeting are self-explanatory. The question must be asked as to whether we can afford (politically) not to support such a meeting." It was for this rally that the bulk of the money accounted for so far was given to Inkatha.¹⁰

Amid feverish attempts at damage control by government officials, Major Botha recanted the comments made to his superiors that Buthelezi had personally known about the money, or that Buthelezi had "briefed me [Botha] personally and exclusively...[on] his political support and leadership problems."¹¹ Few believed the retraction was inspired by anything other than political expedience and/or coercion.¹²

Who is Lying?

No amount of news management has been able to disguise the gap between the State's version of events and Inkatha's. The day after the *Weekly Mail* broke the story, the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok admitted that the money had

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Sunday Tribune* (Johannesburg), July 28, 1991.

12. *Daily News*, (Johannesburg), July 29, 1991.

been paid to Inkatha, but claimed that the support was "non-party political"¹³ and came "from funds earmarked by the Government for the combating of sanctions," not out of police funds.¹⁴ He further admitted that, in an attempt to "counter intimidation, illegal actions and related violence on the labor front," the South African Police (SAP) had provided financial support to the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA). This labor organization was set up by Inkatha to oppose the socialist-oriented Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which was formed in 1986.

The saga took a more dramatic turn when on July 20, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha admitted in a news conference authorizing the money to Inkatha — "strictly with-

"...it is urgently necessary that we should make a financial contribution...[and] that there be enough people at Kings Park to support [Buthelezi] and prove to all that he actually does have a strong base." —S.A. Intelligence document

in the mandate to combat sanctions against South Africa."¹⁵

"If we see that we can persuade people that it is true that the majority of blacks oppose sanctions," he continued defiantly, "we will pay [to do so]." The minister's explanation of the government's motivations, however, contradict Major Botha's revelations that the government was trying to strengthen Inkatha's position at the expense of the ANC. A further problem with the sanctions explanation is that the other vehemently anti-sanctions organizations, e.g., the Democratic Party, have never received money.

On an influential television discussion program, *Weekly Mail* reporter Anton Harber¹⁶ confronted Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. Who was the liar, Harber asked, Major Botha or Buthelezi? Vlok evaded the question contending that "senior Inkatha officials" had accounted for the money.¹⁷ Harber then told Vlok on air that his paper would publish evidence to the contrary in its next edition. It did so and called Vlok "a liar."

Although Buthelezi, who appeared later on the program emphatically denied any knowledge of money deposited in his organization's bank account by the police, he was visibly

unnerved and refused to resign if the charge were eventually proven.¹⁸ Soon after, Zakhele Khumalo, Buthelezi's low-profile personal assistant resigned and took complete responsibility for accepting the money and for not informing Buthelezi. Inevitably, he was seen by many as a public scapegoat. Further damage to Inkatha's cause resulted from later documentation showing that at least four other top Inkatha officials knew about the secret funding and the projects it financed. Furthermore, the funds used to repay the police had been drawn from Buthelezi's personal account into which Kerry Packer, the Australian media mogul, and British businessman John Aspinall had placed millions of rands.¹⁹

Anti-SWAPO Government Funding Revealed

Inkatha's credibility was further shattered when the *Weekly Mail* disclosed documents showing that UWUSA was far from the independent labor union it and Inkatha officials repeatedly claimed. Under a program code-named, "Operation Omega," UWUSA was jointly controlled by Inkatha and the SAP.

In his press conference, Pik Botha also stated that more than \$34.7 million was paid to anti-SWAPO political forces in Namibia where, from 1964 to 1988, SWAPO had fought a war of liberation against South Africa.

A small part of what happened to this money was indicated in Nico Basson's June revelations in the *Independent*. While on active service in Military Intelligence in Namibia during 1989, he claimed to have been part of an elaborate SADF-orchestrated scheme code-named "Operation Agree," designed to prevent SWAPO from winning the 1989 U.N.-supervised elections. The plan, which failed, was devised at the end of 1988 by Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha and Minister of Defense Magnus Malan — the moving force behind the doctrine of "Total Strategy" from the mid 1970s.²⁰ The then Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and the present chief, General "Kat" Liebenberg, were the moving spirits behind the Namibian operations to manipulate information in favor of the pro-South African "democratic parties" opposing SWAPO. The Department of Foreign Affairs, Basson said, had worked hand-in-glove with the SADF. Once again, the Defense Force denied all knowledge of any covert propaganda action in Namibia.²¹

These revelations raised speculation that the current wave of U.S. funding for Inkatha through the Agency for International Development and the National Endowment for Democracy might be similarly designed to manipulate the negotiating and electoral processes and influence the balance of power in South Africa.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Sunday Times*, July 28, 1991.

20. "This doctrine," according to William Minter, Africa expert and scholar-in-residence at American University, "called for the coordination of all aspects of government strategy from covert action, to diplomacy, to reform in order to counteract subversive threats."

21. See: Sue Dobson, "ANC Activists: Inside the South African Government," *CAIB*, Number 34 (Summer 1990), pp. 14-16.

13. *Daily News*, July 20, 1991.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Sunday Times*, July 21, 1991.

16. On South African Broadcasting Corporation's television discussion program *Agenda*, July 21, 1991.

17. *Ibid.*

Even after the South African cabinet reshuffle and the flood of documentation, the U.S. stood firm. According to "administration officials...AID is preparing to grant \$2.5 million to the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party."²² Testifying before Congress on July 31, Cohen was asked again about the South African government's involvement in violence. He replied: "We do not have any evidence."²³

The Political Outcome

For most of the rest of the world, the case was airtight. "Politically the revelations provide the first hard proof of suspicions that the South African government has been trying to construct an anti-ANC alliance, which exploits tribal rivalries and encourages a climate of violence."²⁴ The end was indefinitely extending National Party rule by weakening the ANC; the means was covert action.

**The end was indefinitely
extending National Party rule by
weakening the ANC; the means
were covert actions.**

"Our investigation revealed not only that the police turn a blind eye to Inkatha atrocities," concluded a joint investigation by the BBC and the *Independent*, "...but we found occasions when the police joined in the murders."²⁵

The most obvious fallout of the scandal has been the substantial loss of credibility to the National Party and President F.W. De Klerk himself. Few believe the President was unaware of money channeled to Inkatha and then used against the ANC.

"If the Government lied about aid to Inkatha, working with Inkatha against the ANC," asked Harold Pakendorf, a reformist Afrikaaner political commentator, "then how do we know it is not also lying about the rest? We don't of course."²⁶

In the heady days immediately following the *Weekly Mail's* revelations, 60 percent of a large multiracial sample in greater Johannesburg answered that question by supporting the resignation or firing of Vlok.²⁷ Others demanded that Pik Botha step down. "I have not considered resigning," said the foreign minister, "...[because] [i]t has never bothered my conscience to fight against sanctions, to get jobs for black people."²⁸

Indeed, in South African politics, there is no tradition of ministerial resignation even for dishonesty or incompetence.

22. Don Oberdorfer, "AID Plans \$2.5 Million Grant to Inkatha," *Washington Post*, August 4, 1991, p. A27.

23. *New Yorker*, op. cit., p. 20.

24. *Guardian* (London), July 24, 1991.

25. Quoted in: *New Yorker*, op. cit., p. 19.

26. *Natal Witness* (Natal), July 26, 1991.

27. *Daily News*, July 24, 1991.

28. *SABC's Agenda*, July 21, 1991.

The most that could be expected was a cabinet reshuffle, and that is what De Klerk announced on July 29 when he, in effect, demoted the two key architects of the national security state of the 1970s and 1980s. General Malan was moved from the key post of Minister of Defense to the relatively insignificant Ministry of Water Affairs and Forestry, while Minister of Law and Order Vlok was demoted to Minister of Correctional Services (i.e., prisons). Foreign Minister Pik Botha survived intact.

De Klerk's Balancing Act

De Klerk is walking a political tightrope. His demotion of Vlok and Malan is a tacit admission of their culpability in mishandling the policing of political violence, and an acknowledgment that they are stumbling blocks to further negotiation. At the same time, the reshuffle stops short of a total reversal of policy which dismissal from the cabinet would indicate.

He also promised to scale down covert action and said he

**"Buthelezi...could not say thank
you enough."** —government intelligence report

had ordered a major review of the legislation governing secret projects, and the cancellation of existing projects: "The scalpel must cut deep."²⁹ Meanwhile De Klerk defended past secret projects, which were initiated when the state was "in a state of war" with the ANC.

The President also defended the security forces, claiming that "neither the police nor the Defense Force are involved in the institution, promotion or commission of violence." However he did concede that individuals might break the law, and stressed that "relentless action" would be taken against them. "It is most important that we assure that our security forces must not be controversial. They have become controversial, and I hope [these steps] will alleviate attacks on them."³⁰

A commitment to less controversy, some point out, is not the same as a dedication to justice and may in fact lead to more secrecy rather than greater reform, especially if those who rule benefit from the present system or feel their power is threatened. Clearly, the negotiating process under way to restructure South Africa will be affected by the crisis. Both the ANC and the government have expressed commitment to keep the process from being derailed. On August 15, the ANC, Inkatha and the De Klerk government announced a joint meeting for September to work out a way to end township violence.

Optimism based on De Klerk's "pragmatism," and Inkatha's diminished credibility, however, are tempered for most ANC supporters by the country's history as a national security state in which patterns of oppression have been structured into the architecture of the state. ●

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

CIA Off Campus: The Media and the Message

Deborah Crawford and Ami Chen Mills

Over the past five years, students at more than 80 colleges in the U.S. staged demonstrations against the CIA's presence on campus. In the 1980s, the Agency was greeted with protests at approximately one-third of the campuses it was discovered to have visited for recruitment and other purposes.

At Northwestern University, University of California, Santa Barbara, University of Colorado, Boulder, Princeton, Columbia, Brown, Rutgers, the State University of New York at Albany, the University of Pennsylvania and dozens of others, the CIA has either been forced to end its recruiting efforts, cancel its Officer in Residence program, or been banned entirely. At other schools, restrictions have been placed on Agency access. Faced with the prospect of protests, the Agency has increasingly voluntarily fled off campus to conduct its recruiting.

Activists argue that opposing CIA operations is not only a moral responsibility but an educational tool—a way to make public the secret foreign policy of the federal government. CIA Off Campus activists continue to target CIA recruitment visits, Officer in Residence programs, CIA funded research, and faculty and administration members who have a relationship with the CIA. The year and a half old organization seeks to generate principled thought about U.S. policy, the Agency's role, and the interrelationship between the CIA and institutions of higher learning.

Media Cooperation

When covering anti-CIA protests, the national media focus on only a few larger actions, usually portraying them as isolated incidents rather than as part of the spontaneous and widespread national movement. Further downplaying the movement, the mainstream press confines its coverage to the issues of academic freedom and independence.

The academic freedom argument, while valid, is limited and frames the debate so that options for solutions are also carefully constrained. Although secret research and covert funding arrangements are clearly incompatible with the stated mission of most universities, at a more fundamental level it is the nature of the research itself and the ends it serves that concerns anti-CIA groups. For them, university complicity with the illegal and immoral activities of the CIA is not solved simply by making research public, or bringing CIA employees out of the closet, but only by ending the unseemly relationship and expelling the Agency from the campus.

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Ami Chen Mills was a student activist at Northwestern University and is the author of "CIA Off Campus: Building the Movement Against Agency Recruitment and Research," (Boston: South End Press, 1991).

Rights vs. Privileges

That is not to say that concerns about academic freedom and openness are either inconsequential or irrelevant. If a university is concerned with the integrity of its research and the independence of its direction, the CIA's covert hand in university operations is at least controversial.

Because much of the CIA's research must be done secretly, results cannot be made available to the rest of society. The Agency's ideological control and review of, for example, published works by CIA contract professors negate the ideal of independent and objective scholarship.

The CIA argues that it has the "right"—as do other research contractors—to utilize the knowledge of university faculty and to recruit from undergraduate and graduate pools of qualified students. When CIA recruitment is threatened, the Agency and its supporters claim that its "freedom of speech" is being denied.

But granting university facilities to employers or contractors is a privilege, a part of a mutually beneficial arrangement, not a right, and the argument, while superficially compelling, is fundamentally specious.

National Media Flunk Out at RIT

The depth of CIA penetration and the breadth of the implications of its presence became clear at Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT). In April 1991, it was discovered that RIT President M. Richard Rose was spending his spring sabbatical at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. An anti-CIA coalition formed and uncovered an extensive network of covert connections which influenced curriculum, faculty hiring and exerted almost total control over entire RIT departments and over an RIT subsidiary company, the Research Corporation.¹ Also revealed was a blatantly racist report, "Japan: 2000," prepared under CIA auspices, on the threat posed by Japan to U.S. interests.

Largely because of the international implications, the rapidly unfolding stories of RIT's many and varied contracts with the CIA generated a flurry of national press coverage.

Only one article, however, in *The Progressive* addressed the concerns of the anti-CIA group at RIT by placing the CIA's activities in historical context and discussing the Agency's international covert activity and illegal operations.²

1. Jennifer Hyman, "CIA: The Campus Connection," a series in the *Democrat and Chronicle*, April-July, 1991. See this issue: Douthwright, p. 4.

2. Editors, "Dump the CIA," *The Progressive*, July 1991, p. 9.

The *New York Times*, *USA Today*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Education* ran articles focusing on the issue of academic freedom alone.³

Similarly, the *International Herald Tribune*⁴ side-stepped the issue at the heart of the CIA Off Campus movement. When CNN aired a three minute segment ("CIA Goes to School," June 27), it featured interviews with one student, one professor and President Rose—all of whom supported the CIA's work with RIT—and downplayed the opinions of students and faculty in the anti-CIA group.

Even coverage in the generally progressive *In These Times* focused primarily on issues of academic freedom without even mentioning the presence of an activist group at RIT.⁵

Joseph R. DeTrani, Director of CIA Public Affairs reinforced the straw man argument in an op-ed designed to define the issue for the RIT community. Titled "CIA: We're No Threat to Academic Freedom,"⁶ DeTrani's piece spun its web around the academic freedom argument exclusively and never touched charges that the Agency was implicated in lying to Congress, massacres, assassinations, military coups, secret wars, drug and arms smuggling, and genocide.

Slippery Slope: Setting Ethical and Legal Standards

Universities, like most institutions, are reluctant to allow ethical standards to be used as criteria for judging the appropriateness of a project. Once issues of justice or morality enter a debate, there is no telling how ethical an institution may have to become.

Issues of the illegality of CIA operations are casually cast aside. "Activities at CIA," said Robert Gates, answering charges of immoral acts by the Agency, "are carried out within the law, with the approval of appropriate authorities, and with the oversight of the Congress."⁷

This assertion is belied by hundreds of examples of blatant violations of both domestic and international law and its own charter. As recently as July 1991, former CIA official Alan D. Fiers, Jr. admitted he was ordered by superiors to lie to Congress about the Iran-contra scandal.⁸

His confession follows those of dozens of other CIA officers before him who, coming in from the cold, admitted to both exaggerating the actual temperature in the Agency's fields and distorting the events unfolding there. The consistent failure by

Congress to institute safeguards against this pattern has given rise to the comment that the intelligence oversight committees should be renamed the overlook committees.

The Good Fight

Most anti-CIA coalition members have primarily been moved to action not by the contradictions between a covert agency and open inquiry, or even by the consistent illegality of the Agency, but rather by a sense of conscience. Their opposition grows from the Agency's appalling history of covert operations, terrifying human and civil rights violations at home and abroad, and role as the mailed fist enforcing an economically motivated foreign policy.

In 1987 in Amherst, Massachusetts, students who were arrested for trespass while protesting CIA recruitment on campus were acquitted by a six-member jury, a jury that even a local district attorney described as "representatives of conservative, middle America."⁹

Defense attorney Leonard Weinglass successfully asserted that "a person having knowledge" of international crimes committed by individuals—regardless of state complicity in such crimes—"has a legal duty to take reasonable steps to prevent such crimes and at least make them known to the public eye and higher authorities."¹⁰

Further, the defense argued and expert witnesses testified, the Central Intelligence Agency was and is guilty of committing grievous infractions against international law, and should therefore be stopped, be it by Congress or by the students, faculty and staff of a university.

The case was solid and the activists were exonerated.

The Amherst demonstrations and trial provided a significant victory for the movement and has been followed by others. At RIT, the CIA Off Campus group and its supporters have forced the resignation of the President's executive assistant and compelled the university to appoint a committee to investigate CIA connections to RIT.

Fledgling movements are gaining momentum and will, if all goes well, fulfill the prophecy of one CIA-linked academic at RIT that "if the [anti-CIA group] can point to victory at RIT, look for a long and intensifying attack... a broader attack on the CIA's relationship with higher education in other universities."

3. William Glaberson, "Soul Searching at University Over CIA Links," *New York Times*, June 20, 1991, p. 1.; Jennifer Hyman, "New York School Chief Defends CIA Ties," *USA Today*, June 7, 1991, p. 3-A.; Laurie Goodstein, "Cap and Gown, Cloak and Dagger at Rochester Institute of Technology," *Washington Post*, June 30, 1991, p. A-3; and Dennis K. Magner, "At Rochester Institute, a Spectrum of Opinions on Links with CIA," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 10, 1991, p. 1.

4. Paul F. Horvitz, "CIA Study Warns That Japan Seeks Economic Domination," *International Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1991, p. 1.

5. John B. Judis, "Lacking a Cold War, the CIA Engineers a New Field of Study," *In These Times*, July 10, 1991, p. 2.

6. Joseph R. DeTrani, "CIA: We're No Threat to Academic Freedom," *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 6, 1991, p. A13.

7. Panel discussion at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, 1986, reprinted in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 26, 1991, p. 27.

8. "Iran-Contra Thread," *Washington Post*, July 11, 1991, p. A14.

9. Chandler Rosenberger, "The Case Against the CIA," *Boston Phoenix*, April 24, 1987, p. 7.

10. "Defendants Trial Memorandum," *Commonwealth v. Amy Carter, et al.*, District Court for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, April 5, 1987, p. 12.

**For information on CIA Off Campus
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Corporate Interference:

Endowing the Right-wing Academic Agenda

Sara Diamond

At most U.S. universities, few students or faculty will ever come in contact with CIA recruiters. More likely, they will be approached by the numerous private and federal intelligence and policymaking agencies that do much the same work as the CIA. The list of these cooperative institutions includes the RAND Corporation, the Institute for Defense Analyses, the U.S. Information Agency internship programs in foreign broadcasting, and the various "language schools" through which the government trains and recruits covert operatives.

More likely still, students will bump up against the scores of tenured professors who, flush with grants from the large corporate foundations, hold sway over much of what passes for scholarship. The recent epidemic of newspaper editorials and magazine articles purporting to warn of a "politically correct"¹ gang of deviant leftist academics—out to indoctrinate young minds—is a by-product of more than a decade of heightened corporate influence at the university level.

Where the Bucks Start

During the 1960s anti-war, civil rights and women's movements, the Right had its mechanisms to monitor and disrupt progressive campus activism. Although the federal government itself played the largest role,² private organizations were developing their own independent capabilities. Between 1968 and 1972, William F. Buckley's *National Review* published lurid reports on campus activists in a biweekly bulletin called "Combat." Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), founded by Buckley in 1960, conducted a "Tell it to Hanoi" campaign of disruption against anti-war activists. For its efforts, YAF earned public praise from Vice President Spiro Agnew, and various members of Congress wrote fundraising letters on YAF's behalf.³

Still, it wasn't until the late 1970s that right-wing strategists, particularly those of the neoconservative tendency, began thinking

beyond mere confrontational tactics to a campaign designed to thwart campus leftists.⁴ In 1978, former Treasury Secretary William E. Simon and neoconservative writer Irving Kristol founded the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA). In 1990, IEA changed its name to the Madison Center for Educational Affairs (MCEA).

IEA began with start-up grants of \$100,000 from each of four major right-wing corporate foundations: the John M. Olin Foundation, the Scaife Family Trusts, the JM Foundation, and the Smith-Richardson Foundation.⁵ IEA quickly assembled a donor base of dozens of corporations, including Bechtel, Coca-Cola, Dow Chemical, Ford Motor Company, General Electric, K-Mart, Mobil and Nestlé.⁶

The idea was for corporations to donate directly to IEA, whose sophisticated board of experts would then spend the necessary time sorting out grant applicants. Once established, the young right-wing writers and analysts could then be placed where they would have the greatest influence: heading activist organizations, working on right-wing student publications, serving within federal agencies, or on the editorial boards of leading publications, like the *Wall Street Journal*.

At a Board meeting early in IEA's career, Irving Kristol suggested that the group ought to consider publishing "outstanding work by recent Ph.D.'s in order to give their work impact and promote their careers." Another officer suggested "that assistant professors actually needed support more than did graduate students and added that their past performance made it comparatively easier to choose among them in terms of the likelihood of future success."⁷

Lucre for the True Believers

A constant theme in IEA deliberations was the need to promote scholarship that would subtly make the case for the morality of capitalism. One early recipient of IEA largesse was the Ethics and Public Policy Center (EPPC), for a "book-length study of the involvement of church groups in the boycott of the Nestlé Company for its infant formula marketing program."⁸ The EPPC is a Washington, D.C.-based think tank

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1. For some cogent analysis on the use of the "PC" label to discredit multicultural educators, see Michael Berube, "Public Image Limited: Political Correctness and the Media's Big Lie," and Richard Goldstein, "The Politics of Political Correctness," both in *Village Voice*, June 18, 1991; Matthew Goodman, "The Alchemy of Bias" and Elizabeth Martinez, "Willie Horton's Gonna Get Your Alma Mater," *Z* magazine, July/August 1991.

2. Frank J. Donner, *The Age of Surveillance* (New York: Vintage, 1981).

3. YAF documents collection, 1962-1975, obtained by author.

4. For background on the neoconservatives, though with a strong liberal bias, see Sidney Blumenthal, *The Rise of the Counter-Establishment: From Conservative Ideology to Political Power*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1986).

5. Fred Clarkson, "Reagan Youth: The War of Ideas," *Interchange Report*, Winter-Spring 1985.

6. Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA), 1980 Annual Report.

7. IEA board meeting minutes, dated March 1, 1979.

8. IEA 1980 Annual Report.

established in 1976 with the objective of stemming negative public attitudes toward corporations.

"U.S. domestic and multinational firms find themselves increasingly under siege at home and abroad," wrote EPPC founder Ernest W. Lefever in a 1978 memorandum. "They are accused of producing shoddy and unsafe products, fouling the environment, robbing future generations, wielding inordinate power, repressing peoples in the Third World, and generally of being insensitive to human needs...we as a small and ethically oriented center are in a position to respond more directly to ideological critics who insist that the corporation is fundamentally unjust." Lefever proposed that his and other think tanks would retrench their efforts to promote the morality of the corporate sector, and he specifically highlighted the need for "meticulous research and assessment" on "the attack on the multinational firms by university groups and so-called public interest lobbies."⁹

Buying Agitprop: from "Newspapers" to Dissertations

From the start, one of IEA's rhetorical devices was to position itself as "alternative" with a combative self-image as a persecuted minority. To this end it established and endowed the "Collegiate Network" of right-wing campus newspapers.

The notorious *Dartmouth Review*, begun in 1981, was the first.¹⁰ By 1985, the network included 58 publications.¹¹ The number had risen to 64 by mid-1991. In 1990 IEA, now called the Madison Center for Educational Affairs (MCEA) spent \$330,617 on its Collegiate Network of newspapers, and a total of \$1 million on all its projects.¹²

Aside from whatever particular scandals the *Dartmouth Review* or its counterparts provoke on any given campus,¹³ the papers give right-wing college students hands-on "journalism" training and put them on a career fast track. Former *Berkeley Review* editor Phaedra Fisher Walker, for example, graduated in 1989 and moved quickly to the Assistant Editorship at the prestigious right-wing *National Interest* journal.

While the spotlight has been on the Right's corporate-sponsored campus press network, university-oriented stra-



Walt Herrs
Counter-demonstration at an anti-CIA rally. Obscured placards: "Keep your Ideology off my resume," and "CIA-YES." Northwestern University, February 1990.

tegrists have been busy on at least two other levels as well: direct funding of academic scholarship and non-student organization building.

Vast corporate foundation troughs for right-wing scholars were set up especially in the fields of economics, business administration, social sciences, history and law. In 1989, the Olin Foundation alone dispersed nearly \$15 million to about 200 different institutions, including both public and private universities and several dozen "independent" think tanks.¹⁴ A similar array, but smaller number of organizations received a total of \$4.8 million from the Smith-Richardson Foundation's Public Policy Program in 1989.¹⁵ The Scaife Foundation spends about \$8 million annually, mostly on private right-wing think tanks, the largest recipient being the Heritage Foundation.¹⁶ The Earhart Foundation disperses about \$2 million per year, and makes relatively small (\$10,000) donations to scores of individual professors, mostly in departments of economics, philosophy and political science.¹⁷ These are only some of the best known right-wing foundations. Others include Coors, JM, Bradley, Gates, Kirby, the Lilly Endowment, plus the myriad in-house foundations run directly by corporations.

Each major grant to a think tank, academic department or individual scholar enables the grantee to hire research assistants to produce a large proportion of the available books, monographs and journal articles on a given topic. Through this process, corporate elites perpetuate their control over debate on public issues.

Organizing for Academic Rollback

Not content with mere economic dominance, however, in the 1980s, the IEA network of neoconservative strategists began a methodical effort to organize faculty and students.

9. Ernest W. Lefever, "The Corporation Project," unpublished memorandum dated July 18, 1978.

10. See "Conservative Paper Stirs Dartmouth," *New York Times*, October 13, 1981. The Olin Foundation authorized grants totalling \$150,000 for the *Dartmouth Review*, but had only transferred \$25,000 as of December 1990. John M. Olin Foundation, Inc., "1990 Annual Report," p. 15.

11. Clarkson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

12. Madison Center for Educational Affairs, 1990 Annual Report. See also Susan Dodge, "A National Network Helps Conservative Students Set Up 58 Newspapers on College Campuses," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 9, 1990, pp. 35-37, for a fairly current list of locations and titles. The Right's campus press network has received extensive media attention. See: e.g., Larry Gordon, "The Right Presses Case on Campus," *Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1989; and Fran R. Schumer, "The New Right's Campus Press," *The Nation*, April 3, 1982, p. 395-98.

13. See: e.g., Matthew L. Wald, "Students at Dartmouth Face Off Across Widening Political Divide," *New York Times*, January 24, 1986; Matthew L. Wald, "Dartmouth Suspends 12 for Attack on Shanties," *New York Times*, February 12, 1986; and James O. Freedman, "Bigoted Students, Doting Adults," *New York Times*, October 11, 1990.

14. John M. Olin Foundation, Inc. 1989 Annual Report.

15. Smith-Richardson Foundation, Inc. 1989 Annual Report.

16. Sarah Scaife Foundation, Inc., IRS Form 990-PF, 1987.

17. Earhart Foundation, IRS Form 990-PF, 1988.

The Smith-Richardson Foundation has a history of sponsoring CIA-linked media projects and leadership training programs for CIA and DoD personnel.

The first manifestation was the Campus Coalition for Democracy, started in 1982 and headed by Stephen H. Balch, a professor of government at the City University of New York. Funding for the Coalition was solicited from IEA and its leading member foundations.¹⁸

In late 1984, following some of the Coalition's initial meetings, Roderic R. Richardson of the Smith-Richardson Foundation¹⁹ circulated a confidential memo, "The Report on the Universities." It proposed to distinguish between two possible anti-left strategies at the university level: "deterrence activism" versus "high-ground articulation," also termed "idea marketing." Deterrence activism, wrote Richardson, "exists purely in response to the left-wing agenda. It is not very interesting...and it is the kind of activism sponsored heretofore. At best it is a form of cheerleading that can focus some attention on stirring media events." Instead, Richardson advocated "high ground activism" or

the attempt to steal one or another highground away from the left, by...doing things like insisting on rigorous discussion and debates, setting up political unions, battling divestiture and other causes, not by calling their goals wrong...but by proposing better ways of solving the problem. Student journalism is a highground approach. It is...an approach geared to long run success.²⁰

Keeping Tabs on Heretics

About the same time that Richardson and company were trying to figure out the best strategy for academic activists, a more militant faction than the IEA neocons launched Accuracy in Academia. A spin-off of Reed Irvine's Accuracy in Media,²¹ AIA recruited classroom spies and began compiling a database on professors AIA labelled "left-wing propagandists." AIA's first executive director, Les Csorba, was a 22-

year-old activist fresh from the University of California at Davis, where he had organized a harassment campaign against visiting lecturer Saul Landau in 1985.²² AIA's president John LeBoutillier, a former member of Congress, was then a leader of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), as were three other members of AIA's initial advisory board. Irvine had at one time been prominent within WACL and served on its "Psychological Warfare Committee." At the time of AIA's founding in 1985, WACL was one of the most important coordinating bodies for death squad activities in Central America and elsewhere.²³ While AIA was busy collecting field data on campus "subversives," the group's Latin American counterparts were among those blowing up schools in Nicaragua, and systematically assassinating progressive students and professors in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Battling the Reds, the Browns, and the Blacks...

In 1987, the National Association of Scholars (NAS) was started as the first concerted effort to organize right-wing faculty against "politically correct" multicultural education.²⁴ NAS is bankrolled by the Olin and Smith-Richardson foundations, among others.

Thus far, NAS has had its biggest success at the University of Texas, Austin, where the faculty group has been part of a broader anti-progressive thrust.²⁵ NAS entered the limelight in the spring of 1990 amidst controversy over proposed changes in a lower division writing course. In response to an increasing number of racial and sexual harassment incidents at UT, an English professor had proposed that the course include readings about civil rights issues from a sociology textbook on race and gender. NAS faculty led heated opposition to the plan, and the net outcome was that the proposed changes were tabled.²⁶ While the writing course debate raged, NAS faculty also encouraged a right-wing student group to spearhead a successful defunding campaign of UT's Chicano student newspaper *Tejas*.²⁷

Meanwhile, across the country, NAS currently claims about 1,400 members, numerous campus chapters, statewide affiliates in 17 states,²⁸ and emerging caucuses within the

18. See Sara Diamond, "Readin', Writin', and Repressin'," *Z* magazine, February 1991, for details on this group.

19. The Smith-Richardson Foundation has had a history of sponsoring CIA-linked media projects and leadership training programs for CIA and DoD personnel. It was also privy to some of the covert operations conducted on behalf of the Nicaraguan contras. See John S. Friedman, "Public TV's CIA Show," *Nation*, July 19-26, 1980, pp. 73-77, and Sara Diamond, "'Private aid' to Soviet right has official ties," *Guardian*, May 9, 1990.

20. Inter-Department Memo, dated December 20, 1984, from R. Randolph Richardson, titled "The Report on the Universities."

21. On AIM, see Louis Wolf, "Accuracy in Media Rewrites the News and History," *CAIB* Number 21, Spring 1984, pp. 24-38.

22. See Sara Diamond, "New Right's student shock troops target CISPES," *Guardian*, April 17, 1985. A number of the 1980s campus activist groups—YAF, the Council for Inter-American Security, and the Moonies' Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles (CARP)—spied on the anti-intervention movement for the FBI. Required reading on this subject is Ross Gelbspan, *Break-ins, Death Threats and the FBI: The Covert War Against the Central America Movement* (Boston: South End Press, 1991).

23. See Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside the League* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1986).

24. Sara Diamond, "Readin', Writin', and Repressin'," *Z* magazine, February 1991. The Olin Foundation gave \$125,000 to NAS in 1990. Olin Foundation 1990 Annual Report, p. 21.

25. See Martine Torres-Aponte and Kathy Mitchell, "Capital and the Corporate Canon," *Z* magazine, September 1990.

26. For details on the controversy, see Charley MacMartin, "Multiculturalism: Right against, Left ambivalent," *Guardian*, March 27, 1991; and a series of articles by Kathleen S. Mangan in *Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 21, 1990, February 13, 1991, February 20, 1991.

27. Torres-Aponte and Mitchell, *op. cit.* note 25.

28. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 12, 1990.

Among those at the Student Forum's July 1990 founding conference was Supreme Court-nominee Judge Clarence Thomas.

American Sociological Association, the American Historical Association, and the Modern Language Association. NAS has flourished amidst a corporate media frenzy over "politically correct" campus radicals run amok.²⁹

Media Myths, Social Realities

The backdrop to this media mythology is the fact that race is increasingly a real issue in consideration of university resource allocations. A couple of trends are foreboding in this regard. While the economy is tightening and disparity grows between a small wealthy class and a majority of middle and working class people,³⁰ there are ever more students needing to be educated, particularly in the most populous states. A recent *Chronicle of Higher Education* report noted that "by 2005, California's college enrollment is projected to increase by at least 700,000 students — pushing the public-college population to 2.6 million — and a large proportion will be minority and non-traditional students."³¹

At the same time, propaganda against "politically correct" multicultural education is escalating. In 1990, the MCEA launched a new project called the "Student Forum," to recruit minority students who will organize against ethnic diversity in academia.³² Among those at the Student Forum's July 1990 founding conference was Supreme Court-nominee Judge Clarence Thomas.³³ Thus far, the Student Forum has recruited only 80 activists. But the group has big plans, including a new national magazine, *Diversity*, scheduled to have a circulation of up to 100,000 copies, "distributed free on seventy select college campuses" beginning in the fall of 1991.³⁴

As progressive students and faculty struggle to weather across-the-board budget cuts, the corporate-backed opponents of racial, gender and class equality will try to confuse people who can't afford to send their kids to college. They will try to define university education as a privilege — not a right of all citizens in a democratic society. •

29. For a useful survey of media treatment, see Laura Fraser, "The Tyranny of the Media Correct," *Extra!*, May/June 1991, published by Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR).

30. For hard data on this trend, see Kevin Phillips, *The Politics of Rich and Poor: Wealth and the American Electorate in the Reagan Aftermath* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).

31. Mary Crystal Cage, "California's Budget Crisis Threatens Its Commitment to Provide All with Equal Access to College Education," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 15, 1991, p. A19.

32. See Sara Diamond, "'Politically incorrect' minorities," *Guardian*, March 27, 1991, p. 9.

33. Madison Center for Educational Affairs, 1990 Annual Report, p. 11.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Tracking the Flow of Funds: How to Research Foundations

- The *Foundation Grants Index* is published annually by the New York-based Foundation Center. It is available at most university libraries and larger public libraries. While not comprehensive, it is very useful. Organized first by state and then by foundation, entries show dollar amounts and describe projects funded. Cross-indexed for foundation, grant recipient, and subject. Includes full addresses of the foundations, alphabetized.
- Once you know the location(s) of the foundation(s) you're interested in, call or write to request an "annual report." Many foundations provide these free to inquirers. A well-produced annual report gives you itemized lists of grant recipients, dollar amounts and brief project descriptions.
- If a foundation does not produce an annual report or is unwilling to send it, grant listings are available through the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). All tax-exempt private foundations must file an annual "Form 990-PF" (PF stands for private foundation) with the IRS. On this form, the foundation lists its assets, officers, and an itemized list of grantees.
- 990-PF forms are maintained at IRS regional service centers. The addresses and geographical boundaries of the centers change, so you should get current addresses from your local IRS office.
- Once you know the address for the regional center covering the location of the foundation, write to that center and request "Form 990-PF." Give the name of the foundation, the address if possible, and the year for which you're requesting. Filings for 1991 may not be available until 1992.
- Some regional centers will send you a bill which you must pay before the materials are mailed. Others send Forms 990-PF right away, accompanied by an invoice. For a single year of a large foundation's filings, expect to pay at least \$10.
- To research organizations receiving corporate foundation money, start with the *Encyclopedia of Associations* and the *Research Centers Directory*. Both multi-volume sets are published by Gale Research, Inc. and are available at university libraries.
- Useful source: John Ullmann and Steven Honeyman, eds., *The Reporter's Handbook: An Investigator's Guide to Documents and Techniques*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983).



Unmasking the Academic-Military-Industrial Complex:

Cap and Gown As Camouflage

Rich Cowan

In the sixteen years between the Vietnam and Gulf Wars, U.S. colleges and universities re-armed. Pentagon funding for research contracts exploded, from just over \$203 million in 1975 to almost \$1.5 billion in 1990, in constant dollars.¹ Despite the military buildup, colleges and universities present themselves as apolitical institutions dedicated to the unfettered exploration of knowledge. The academic defense of this myth is a study in the psychology of collective denial.

The Gulf War divided most of academia into two camps. One group, forced to confront reality, are shocked at the extent of campus militarization. Another group claims to be proud of higher education's patriotic service.²

The militarization does not end with DoD research contracts. Professors own, direct, and consult for companies producing military equipment.³ Some have formed professional associations and scientific societies which lobby for increased military funds.⁴ And finally, influential administrators and faculty serve on over 40 federal committees advising military and intelligence-related agencies.

Clearly, universities produce far more than "objective" scientific theory and scholarly treatises. Political decisions based on academic knowledge are made not only in Washington but also in Cambridge, Berkeley, Baltimore, Ann Arbor, Austin, and Chapel Hill. It is not surprising that those with the most significant political role have the greatest skill in denying their responsibility.

In May of 1985, MIT President Paul E. Gray had a problem. Through heavy promotion and budget maneuvers, the Pen-

tagon had earmarked \$70 million annually for "Star Wars" research at the school. The MIT community was anything but enthusiastic; many ridiculed the program openly.

Worse yet, the Pentagon was trumpeting MIT's involvement in order to legitimate the SDI program in congressional budget battles.⁵ Student opponents gathered 791 signatures in one week of petitioning.⁶ A confrontation was brewing.

Gray resented the DoD's "manipulative effort" to use MIT to win support for SDI. But he was not upset enough to turn the money down. In his June 3 commencement speech Gray proclaimed: "Any participation at MIT in SDI-funded research should in no way be understood or used as an institutional endorsement of the SDI program."⁷ Several faculty members echoed the hypocrisy: they would do SDI research, but refrain from endorsing the program!

Gray's speech won liberal acclaim and undercut attempts to reduce MIT's Star Wars boondoggle. He reinforced the myth of an "apolitical university," maximizing "academic freedom" by allowing professors to follow priorities determined elsewhere through the allocation of funds. The disclaimer quickly crumbled. The following year students learned that Gray had quietly lobbied the Pentagon and Congress for increased support for "basic" research.⁸ It was also discovered that he had served on the White House Science Council in the early 1980s. The next time MIT tried the "neutrality" ploy, student activists were better prepared.

Rubber Stamp Brain Trust

Since World War II, federal advisory committees have given universities and corporations a part in the elaborate bureaucratic planning from which much federal policy originates. The work they do is so low-profile, it is almost invisible. With effort however, useful information is available. In 1987, activists discovered direct MIT participation in government policy formation by researching committee records.

According to the Federal Advisory Committee Act (PL 92-463), every government advisory panel must send copies of

Rich Cowan earned an MS in Computer Science from MIT in 1987. He co-founded *The Thistle* student newspaper the same year. During the Gulf War, he launched the War Research Information Service (WRIS), which assists those probing military research on their campuses.

1. "Educational and Nonprofit Institutions Receiving Prime Contract Awards for R, D, T, & E, FY 1990," (DoD: Directorate for Information, Operations, and Reports, 1990); and "Science Support by the Department of Defense," Committee on Science and Technology, Science Policy Task Force Report #8, U.S. House of Representatives, 1986.

2. See *Science for the People*, January/February 1988, Special Issue on Science and the Military; Rich Cowan, "Uncovering the Pentagon Connection: Does your school work for the Military?" *Science for the People*, November/December 1988, p. 13; Roger Kerson, "Investigating the Investigators," *Radical Teacher*, Fall 1984, p. 9; David Noble, "Professors of Terror: Meet the Scholars who Burned Iraq," *The Progressive*, September, 1991.

3. Rich Cowan, "Academia Unincorporated," *Z* magazine, 2/90, p. 47.

4. Robert Krinsky, "Swords and Sheepskins: Militarization of Higher Education in America and Prospects for its Conversion," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, number 1 (1988).

5. Jeffrey R. Smith, "Star Wars Grants Attract Universities," *Science*, April 18, 1985, p. 304.

6. Diana ben-Aaron, "Committee on military funding chosen," *The Tech* (MIT), Tuesday, July 9, 1985.

7. Paul E. Gray, "Charge to the Graduates" (commencement speech of June 3), *Tech Talk*, June 5, 1985, p. 5.

8. Letter: Paul E. Gray to Prof. Vera Kistiakowsky, December 1, 1986.

its publications, annual reports, charter, and closed meeting reports to the Library of Congress. Unfortunately the collection turned out to be worthless for current research. MIT activists persisted however, and eventually found what they needed at the General Services Administration (GSA).

Annual reports, membership lists, and charters are available for public inspection at GSA's Committee Management Secretariat in Washington, D.C. Closed meeting reports, minutes, the compensation of individual committee members (up to \$1000 a day), and declassified reports are obtainable from any committee listed in the annual "Report of the President on Federal Advisory Committees."⁹ These can be acquired by sending a letter or Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request to the Committee Management Officer listed in the report.

The Advisory Maze

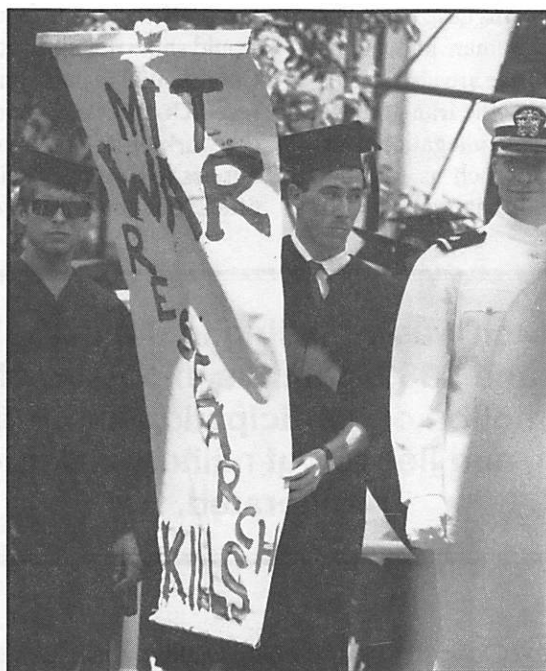
At the end of this article are appendices which map the academic membership and activities of 32 committees dealing with national security issues. These committees include 189 academics from over 110 universities, not including the National Security Agency Scientific Advisory Board, which failed to report its membership. MIT, the University of California, and Harvard predominate.

After the protests, MIT Provost John M. Deutch assumed responsibility for addressing the issue of military research on campus. Deutch was, and is, a member of the senior DoD advisory panel, the Defense Science Board (DSB).

Established in 1956, the DSB advises the Secretary of Defense, the Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition. Thirty-six members serve on the DSB, including the chairs of the "three primary public advisory committees of the three Military Departments and the Strategic Defense Initiative Office."¹⁰

Four committees hold ex-officio seats on the Defense Science Board: the Army Science Board, the Naval Research Advisory Committee, the Air Force Scientific Advisory Board, and the SDI Advisory Committee.

A sampling of Board topics includes "University Respon-



MIT Commencement exercises, June 1989. Graduate Dara O'Rourke unfurls a banner after receiving his diploma.

Michael Franklin

siveness to National Security Requirements" (1982), "Forward Area Laser Weapons" (1982), "Application of High Technology for Ground Operations" (1983), and "Implications of Third World Urban Involvement" (1985). Almost all DSB meetings are secret, but closed meeting reports offer a glimpse of how the Board operates.

Langley's "Yellow Rain"

In case DSB members lack the requisite level of political sophistication, the Board is briefed at each meeting on the latest political developments. The dinner speaker on Saturday February 9, 1983 was Robert M. Gates, former CIA Deputy Director of Intelligence and Bush's Iran-Contra-haunted nominee for Director of Central Intelligence (DCI).¹¹ At the following Board meeting on May 25-26, members listened to special briefings on Navy Shipbuilding, Falklands Lessons Learned,

MX Status, DoD Laser Program, Strategic Forces National Intelligence Estimate, Tactical Aircraft Operational Capabilities, and Current Events (Central America).¹²

The committees theoretically provide the government with independent, external advice. It's doubtful that this is the case. In 1983, after an extensive Congressional investigation, Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), Chair of the U.S. House Committee on Government Operations concluded, "Clearly, the DoD used the Board to rubber stamp its predetermined position."¹³

How might this interaction affect a university? On December 20, 1984, at CIA headquarters, the CIA and Defense Intelligence Agency briefed members of the DSB Task Force on Chemical Warfare and Biological Defense on the subject of "Yellow Rain" and its alleged use by the Soviets in Afghanistan.¹⁴ The Chair of that task force, MIT's Dean of Science John M. Deutch, urged at least one MIT professor to apply for DoD funds to study tricothecene mycotoxins, the biological agent the CIA claimed was causing yellow rain.¹⁵

In July of 1985, Deutch became Provost at MIT. Simultaneously, three MIT professors began one-year research contracts totalling \$229,000 on mycotoxin work. Professor Paul Newberne (now at Boston University) wrote in his proposal,

11. 1983 "Report on Closed Meetings of the Defense Science Board."

12. *Ibid.*

13. "Defense Science Boards: A Question of Integrity," Twenty-Seventh Report by the Committee on Government Operations, Nov. 28, 1983, p.15.

14. 1984 "Report on Closed Meetings of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Chemical Warfare and Biological Defense."

15. Steve Farber and Tom Hsu, "Cutting Students out of the Process: Committee Report Suppressed," *The Thistle* (MIT), May 27, 1989, p. 1.

9. General Services Administration, Committee Management Secretariat. Nineteenth Annual Report of the President on Federal Advisory Committees, FY 1990. Call (202) 501-4884 for a copy.

10. "Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Defense Science Board: Background, Biographical Sketches, and Activities." Pamphlet produced in 1987.

"There is convincing evidence that mycotoxins have been used in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia on human and animal populations with severe consequences. There are also suggestions that mycotoxins may have been used in the Iran-Iraq war in recent months." These CIA-manufactured allegations were rapidly debunked by reputable scientists such as Matthew Meselson of Harvard who demonstrated that "yellow rain" was, in fact, bee feces.¹⁶ Unfortunately, the damage was already done. The "Yellow Rain" hoax was part of the successful effort to torpedo any possibility of Senate approval of a chemical and biological weapons treaty with the Soviets. It was also used in justifying continued "covert" U.S. support for the Afghan contras and the Khmer Rouge.¹⁷

In October of 1986 Deutch told the *Boston Globe*: "It would be inappropriate to have mission-oriented research on campus."¹⁸ Deutch was whistling in the dark. In 1988 and 1989, campus exposure of his promotion of, participation in, profits from, and lies about military research, proliferated. The stories were picked up by the mainstream press, and helped to end his candidacy for the presidencies of both MIT and Johns Hopkins.¹⁹

Achilles Heel: Laying the Connections Bare

Debate about MIT's military connections was an enormously educational and effective experience precisely because the connections were a well-kept secret. Under Reagan, R&D spending hidden under the Pentagon's "black budget" grew from \$626 million in 1981 to \$9.12 billion in 1988.²⁰ Information has been blockaded in other ways. *Federal Information Sources and Systems* was last published in 1984 and the publications catalog of the Defense Documentation Center, publicly available up to 1980, was suddenly classified in 1981.

Federal control of information is only part of the problem. The desire to avoid conflict leads many academics to self-censorship. Most engineering literature, for example, makes no mention of the military uses for the technology it describes. A respected technical writing text advises those publishing mili-

tary work to "delete from the manuscript certain portions that would show the motivation of your paper... defense Secret or Confidential results can be published if you describe the basic research or development but do not reveal the motivation for the work or its potential applications."²¹ The same situation applies to dozens of scientific and technical fields, and quite often younger academics do not even understand the initial stimulus or final result of their work.

In the computer science specialization of Artificial Intelligence, recent trade papers have promoted "hot" areas of research such as "decision-making under conditions of uncertainty" without mentioning the prime mover: the DoD's Strategic Computing Initiative. Many materials science students have worked

on Gallium Arsenide semiconductors without recognizing the military's interest in the chips, reportedly ten times more resistant to the Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) produced by nuclear explosions than silicon.

Meanwhile, curriculums change slowly every year to reflect military needs, in a process former University of California President Clark Kerr described as "subtle, slowly cumulative, and gentlemanly."²² A famous study by Stanford University students in the early 1970s pointed out, "Since the DoD receives four to ten times as many proposals as it can fund, it merely selects those projects which fit its needs."²³ To see the pattern, you have to look at the larger picture, something which academics seldom do. Examining the social and political context of personal work runs counter to the tightly compartmentalized specialization which is the norm in academic training. Instead, academics blindly argue that their political connections or research sponsors have no effect on the topics they study or the outcome of their research. "Science is science," such apologists will claim, "no matter where the money comes from."

The facts, however, tell a different story. ●

21. "How to publish your 'confidential' results," *IEEE Aerospace and Engineering Systems Magazine*, September 1986, p. 1.

22. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 57-8.

23. Stanton A. Glantz, Norm Albers, et al., "DoD Sponsored Research at Stanford," Volumes 1 and 2, study by Stanford Workshops on Political and Social Issues, 1972, summarized in "Department of Defense R&D in the University," *Science*, November 22, 1974, pp. 706-11.

Publication of Interest:

Campus Watch, a quarterly newsletter dealing exclusively with Agency infiltration of higher education and the movement to expel it. \$10/year. P.O. Box 9623, Warwick, RI 02889.

16. Matthew Meselson, "The Military and the New Biology," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, May 1985, p.10; Robinson, Guillemin, and Meselson, "Yellow Rain," *Foreign Policy* 68, pp. 100-117, 1987; Meselson, Matthew, "Yellow Rain," *Scientific American*, September 1985, p. 128.

17. See: Louis Wolf, "This Side of Nuclear War: The Pentagon's Other Option," *CAIB* Number 17 (Summer 1982), pp. 8-13.

18. Tom Ehrenfeld, "At MIT, debate grows over role of military research," *Boston Sunday Globe*, October 19, 1986, p. A13.

19. Deutch was making \$205,000 over and above his MIT salary of \$160,000, simply through his military-industrial connections. See: Pat Meisol, "Penn State, MIT Provosts Vie for Hopkins Presidency," *Baltimore Sun*, January 5, 1990, p. 1; "Academics on Corporate Boards," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 10, 1990, p. 1.

20. Tim Weiner, "A growing 'black budget' pays for secret weapons, covert wars," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 8, 1987, p. 1.

Militarism in Academia: a Resource Guide

The appendices below name academics at over 110 campuses in order to give you a head start in discovering your school's military ties. Also see the September 1991 issue of *Z* magazine for a list of the 140 universities performing the most military research. In addition, schools like the Rochester Institute of Technology or Monmouth College (linked to Fort Monmouth in New Jersey) may have well-hidden connections that only local activists can dig up. Documents from Congressional testimony, state government commissions, research consortia, internal university meetings, and professional associations may provide the needed evidence.

If accused of conducting a "witch hunt," point out that you have no intention of making personal attacks on individuals. You are simply questioning the *actions* and *positions* of people who represent the university to the wider community. By entering public service, they have agreed to meet the requirements of public accountability.

Questions to consider include:

- Why are "public service" activities restricted to solving military problems when problems involving housing, education, public health and environmental issues, are more pressing?

- Have academics who receive regular briefings by the State Department or the CIA developed a distorted view of world affairs?
- Does advice to the government by university officials represent the public, the campus community, the military companies who sat on the board of trustees, or their own personal interests?

For additional research and organizing leads, please send \$1 to WRIS for sample issue or \$20 for a student subscription (4 issues/year). October 29 wedding ceremonies between the DoD and many universities are planned, in conjunction with the newly formed Youth and Student Coalition Against Militarism (Y/SCAM). Please call any Y/SCAM group listed below for tips on opposing, respectively, DoD research, military recruiting and investments, restrictions on curriculum or educational opportunity, and CIA influence:

- **War Research Information Service (WRIS)**
P.O. Box 748, Cambridge, MA 02142, (617) 354-9363
- **People for a Socially Responsible University**
358 N. Pleasant St. #307, Amherst, MA 01002, (413) 549-4625
- **Education for the People Project**
1801 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 234-0041
- **CIA Off Campus National Clearinghouse**
523 S. Plymouth Court, Chicago, IL 60604, (312) 427-4559

Appendix A: 1990 Activities of Principal Science Advisory Committees to the DoD

[Source: Annual committee reports filed in January of 1991 for the previous fiscal year, which ended in October 1990.]

Defense Science Board

Task Force Reports:

Defense Industrial Cooperation with Pacific Rim Nations; SDIO [Strategic Defense Initiative Organization] Brilliant Pebbles Space Based Interceptor Concept; Improving Test and Evaluation Effectiveness; National Space Launch Strategy

Summer Study Reports:

Low Observable Technology; Noncooperative Identification

Other Task Forces:

Advanced Naval Warfare Concepts; Defense Manufacturing Board; Follow-on Forces Attack; Strategic Defense Initiative Organization Technology; Acquisition Streamlining; Critical Defense Industries; Foreign Ownership and Control; Strategic Sensors; Chemical Weapons Policy; High Definition Systems; Anti-Submarine Warfare

Other Summer Studies:

Tactical Forces & Supporting C3 [Command, Control, & Communications]; Strategic Forces & Supporting C3; Technology and Technology Transfer; Scenarios and Intelligence; RDT&E [Research, Development, Testing, & Evaluation] Strategy Integration

Army Science Board

Reports:

Software in the Army; Tactical Explosive System Review; HDL [Harry Diamond Laboratory] Effectiveness Review; TMEPS [Transverse Mounted Engine Propulsion System] Independent Assessment; Independent Assessment of Longbow; USARIEM [US Army Institute for Environmental Medicine] Laboratory Effectiveness Review; Toxic and Hazardous Waste Management; Total Quality Management

Summer Studies:

International Cooperation and Data Exchange to enhance the Army's Technology Base; Maintaining State-of-the-art in the Army Command and Control System

Naval Research Advisory Committee

Reports:

Report on Countermine Capabilities for Amphibious Operations; Report on Navy International Research and Development

Other Studies:

Tactical Defense Suppression in the Year 2000; Suppression of Enemy Fighter Defenses Over Land in the Year 2000 and Beyond; Determining the Impact of Advancing Technology on Exercise Reconstruction and Data Collection; Aviator Physical Stress; Project Oxbow Follow-on Panel on Tactical Defense Suppression

Air Force Scientific Advisory Board

Written Reports:

Ad Hoc Comm. on Medical Aspects of the Integration of Female Pilots into U-2/TR-1 Aircraft; Ad Hoc Committee on Air-to-Surface Conventional Munitions; Ad Hoc Committee on Electronic Combat; Ad Hoc Committee on Aircraft Infrastructure

Oral Reports:

Science and Technology Broad Program Appraisal; Technical Assessment of the Reliability and Producibility of the AMRAAM Missile; Ad Hoc Committee on Technology Options and Concepts for Defeating Enemy Air Defenses

Other Subcommittees:

Ad Hoc Committee on Extension of Dormant Munitions Storage Life and Insensitive High Explosives Research and Development; Ad Hoc Committee on Munitions Warhead Effectiveness; Ad Hoc Committee on Post Deployment Software Support; Ad Hoc Committee on Space Power Technology; Aeronautical Systems Division Advisory Group; Air Force Operational Test and Evaluation Advisory Group; Arnold Engineering Division Advisory Group; Electronic Systems Division Advisory Group; Electronic Security Command Advisory Group; Engineering and Services Advisory Group; Space Systems Division Advisory Group; Munitions Systems Division Advisory Group; Human Systems Division Advisory Group; Foreign Technology Division Advisory Group; Air Force Communications Command Standard Systems Center Advisory Group; Airlift Cross-Matrix Panel; Logistics Cross-Matrix Panel; Strategic Cross-Matrix Panel; Tactical Cross-Matrix Panel

National Security Agency Scientific Advisory Board

Subcommittees (The title and content of reports are classified):

SIGINT [Signals Intelligence] Exploitation Panel; Advanced Technology Panel; Directed Energy Study; Voice Automation Study

Universities with the Highest Representation on 32 Selected Federal Advisory Committees in Fiscal Year 1990

| School | # Seats | School | # Seats |
|---------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|
| MIT | 21 | Caltech | 4 |
| U of California | 13 | Auburn | 3 |
| Harvard U | 11 | Georgetown | 3 |
| Johns Hopkins U | 9 | George Washington U | 3 |
| U of Texas | 6 | Princeton | 3 |
| Stanford/SRI | 5 | Rutgers | 3 |
| Rockefeller U | 5 | USC | 3 |
| U of South Carolina | 4 | U-Washington | 3 |

Guide to Appendices B-E: 1990 Academic Membership of Key Government Advisory Committees

These tables list known academic participants in important military and foreign policy advisory committees. The entries in each table are organized alphabetically by academic institution to facilitate researching a particular school. The acronyms used for committee names may not correspond to the standard names. Some of the affiliations may be incomplete or outdated; all are derived from committee reports.

Members from UC Livermore Labs, MIT/Lincoln Labs, Johns Hopkins/Applied Physics Labs, and Caltech/Jet Propulsion Labs are included. For a name index and an even longer list of non-academic members, send a SASE or \$1 to WRIS, P.O. Box 748, Cambridge, MA 02142.

Appendix B:

Major Science Advisory Committees

AFSAB (Air Force Scientific Advisory Board)

ASB (Army Science Board)

DPB (Defense Policy Board)

DSB (Defense Science Board)

NRAC (Naval Research Advisory Committee)

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------|---|
| Parks, Paul F. | ASB | Auburn U – Vice President for Research |
| Palubinskas, Felix S. | AFSAB | Bridgewater State College – Professor |
| Adams, Duane | ASB | Carnegie-Mellon U – Principal Research Scientist |
| Alexander, Martin | ASB | Cornell U – Professor |
| Dowell, Earl H. | AFSAB | Duke U – Dean |
| Mense, Allan T. | NRAC | Florida Institute of Technology – VP for Research |
| Loesser, Norma M. | DSB | George Washington U – Prof. Business Admin. |
| Palms, John M. | DSB | Georgia State U – President |
| Schrage, Daniel P. | ASB | Georgia Tech – Technical Director |
| Sheppard, Albert | NRAC | Georgia Tech – Assoc VP for Research |
| Allison, Graham T. | DPB | Harvard U – Professor |
| Cheatham, Thomas | AFSAB | Harvard U – Professor of Computer Science |
| Press, William H. | DSB | Harvard U – Chairman, Astronomy Department |
| Billig, Frederick S. | AFSAB | Johns Hopkins U – Chief Scientist |
| Colver, James E. | NRAC | Johns Hopkins U – Ass't Dir. Applied Physics Lab |
| Eaton, Calvin R. | ASB | Johns Hopkins U – Senior Fellow |
| Evans, Thomas R. | NRAC | Johns Hopkins U – Asst. Supervisor for C3, APL |
| Sleight, Thomas | NRAC | Johns Hopkins U – Director's Assistant, APL |
| Grum, Allen F. | ASB | Mercer U – Chairman |
| Rigas, Harriet | NRAC | Michigan State U – Chair, EE & Systems Science |
| Baron, Judson R. | AFSAB | MIT – Professor |
| Clausing, Don P. | DSB | MIT – Professor of Engineering |
| Covert, Eugene E. | DSB | MIT – Head of Aeronautics and Astronautics |
| Delaney, William P. | DSB | MIT – Assistant Director, Lincoln Laboratory |
| Deutch, John M. | DPB | MIT – Institute Professor |
| Deutch, John M. | DSB | MIT – Institute Professor |
| Drouilhet, Paul F. | ASB | MIT – Assistant Dir. Lincoln Laboratory |
| Mar, James W. | AFSAB | MIT – Professor |
| Morrow, Walter E. | DSB | MIT – Director, Lincoln Laboratory |
| Nielsen, Carl E. | DSB | MIT – Head, Surveillance and Control Division |
| Rasmussen, Norman C. | DSB | MIT – Professor of Nuclear Engineering |
| Reis, Victor H. | DSB | MIT – Assistant Director, Lincoln Laboratory |
| Shea, Joseph F. | DSB | MIT – Adjunct Prof. of Aero/Astro |
| Winston, Patrick | NRAC | MIT – Director, Artificial Intelligence Lab |
| Bennett, Ivan L. | DSB | New York U – Professor of Medicine |
| Denoon, David B.H. | DSB | New York U – Assoc. Prof. Politics & Economics |
| Brill, Downey | ASB | North Carolina State U – Department Head (EE) |
| Isgrig, Elvin D. | NRAC | North Dakota State U – Professor |
| Yang, Henry T. Y. | DSB | Purdue U – Dean of Engineering |
| Lederberg, Joshua | DSB | Rockefeller U – University Professor |
| Johnson, David A. | ASB | Stanford Res. Inst. – VP, Engineering Research |
| Levinthal, Elliott | ASB | Stanford U – Prof. of Mechanical Engineering |
| Teller, Edward | AFSAB | Stanford U – Sr. Research Fellow, Hoover Inst. |
| Edens, B. David | ASB | Stephens College – Professor |
| Shannon, Robert R. | AFSAB | U of Arizona – Director, Optical Science Center |
| Wolfe, William L. | ASB | U of Arizona – Optical Sciences |
| Chapman, Gary T. | AFSAB | U of California – Visiting Research Engineer |
| Lewis, Harold W. | DSB | U of California – Professor of Physics |
| Townes, Charles H. | DSB | U of California – University Professor |
| Stubberud, Allen R. | AFSAB | U of California Irvine – Professor |
| Batzel, Roger | AFSAB | U of California Livermore Labs – Consultant |
| Epps, Harland W. | AFSAB | U of California Santa Cruz – Astronomer |
| Medin, A. Louis | DSB | U of Central Florida – Executive Director |
| Roberts, Harry V. | DSB | U of Chicago – Professor of Statistics |
| Thiele, Gary A. | ASB | U of Dayton – Assoc. Dean of Grad. Research |
| Pipes, R. Byron | ASB | U of Delaware – Dean, College of Engineering |
| Mills, Harlan D. | AFSAB | U of Florida – Professor |

| | | |
|---------------------|-------|--|
| Horn, Dennis R. | ASB | U of Idaho – Associate Professor |
| Horn, Dennis R. | DSB | U of Idaho – Associate Professor |
| Gessow, Alfred | ASB | U of Maryland – Professor and Chairman |
| Conway, Lynn A. | AFSAB | U of Michigan – Professor |
| Barth, Delbert | ASB | U of Nevada – Senior Scientist |
| Lehmann, William L. | AFSAB | U of New Mexico – Prof. NM Eng. Research Inst. |
| Bobrow, David B. | DSB | U of Pittsburgh – Dean, Public and Int'l Affairs |
| Durig, James | ASB | U of South Carolina – Professor of Chemistry |
| Cohen, Danny | AFSAB | U of Southern California – Dir., USC/ISI Systems |
| Harris, Wesley L. | ASB | U of Tennessee – Vice President, Space Institute |
| Powers, Edward J. | ASB | U of Texas Austin – Prof. of Engineering |
| Jones, Anita K. | DSB | U of Virginia – Head, Dept. of Computer Science |
| Harlett, John | NRAC | U of Washington – Dep. Dir. Applied Physics Lab |
| Peden, Irene C. | DSB | U of Washington – Professor of Electrical Eng. |
| Porter, Robert | NRAC | U of Washington – Prof., Applied Physics Lab |
| Piegari, George | ASB | Virginia Military Institute – Prof. Math, Comp. Sci. |
| Rock, Elizabeth J. | ASB | Wellesley College – Prof. of Chemistry |
| Neal, William A. | NRAC | West Virginia U – Chairman of Pediatrics |
| Riggs, Jack E. | NRAC | West Virginia U – Department of Neurology |
| Schultz, Martin H | NRAC | Yale U – Professor of Computer Science |

Appendix C:

History, Social Science and Propaganda

CILTS (Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy)

CUBA (USIA Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting)

HDD (State Dept. Historical Diplomatic Documentation Adv. Comm.)

NSFSES (National Science Found. Special Emphasis Panel in Social & Econ. Sciences)

USIAB (USIA Book and Library Advisory Committee)

USIAR (USIA Radio Engineering Advisory Committee)

VOA (USIA Voice of America Advisory Committee)

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------|--|
| Silber, John | CUBA | Boston U – President |
| Epple, Dennis | NSFSES | Carnegie-Mellon U – Acting Dean |
| Jervis, Robert | NSFSES | Columbia U – Professor of Political Science |
| Wedgeworth, Robert | USIAB | Columbia U – Dean, School of Library Sciences |
| Bates, Robert | NSFSES | Duke U – Prof. of Political Science |
| Schum, David | NSFSES | George Mason U – School of Information Tech. |
| Roberts, Walter | VOA | George Washington U – Diplomat in Residence |
| Spector, Ronald | HDD | George Washington U – Professor of History |
| Campbell, Colin | NSFSES | Georgetown U – Professor of Political Science |
| Cooper, Richard N. | HDD | Harvard U – Professor of Economics |
| Huntington, Samuel P. | CILTS | Harvard U – Prof. of International Affairs |
| Rosenberg, Emily | HDD | Macalester College – Professor of History |
| Morrow, Walter F. | USIAR | MIT – Director, Lincoln Laboratory |
| Hermann, Margaret | HDD | Ohio State U – Assoc. Professor of Political Sci. |
| Tien, James | NSFSES | Rensselaer Polytech – Chair, Decision Sciences |
| Gordon, William E. | USIAR | Rice U – Provost and Vice President |
| Lederberg, Joshua | CILTS | Rockefeller U – University Professor |
| Kimball, Warren | HDD | Rutgers U – Professor of History |
| Rothkopf, Michael | NSFSES | Rutgers U – Professor, RUTCOR Program |
| Stover, Jerry S. | USIAR | Southern Methodist U – Asst. Dean Engineering |
| Shachter, Ross | NSFSES | Stanford U – Engineering-Economic Systems |
| Brady, Henry | NSFSES | U of California Berkeley – Prof. of Political Sci. |
| Young, John | USIAB | U of Colorado – Director of Executive Programs |
| Zamora, Stephen T. | HDD | U of Houston – Professor of Law |
| Kleimuntz, Don | NSFSES | U of Illinois – Prof. of Accountancy |
| Lopes, Lola | NSFSES | U of Iowa – Prof. Business Admin. & Psychology |
| Stimson, James | NSFSES | U of Iowa – Professor of Political Science |
| Perkins, Bradford | HDD | U of Michigan – Professor of History |
| Welch, Susan | NSFSES | U of Nebraska – Professor of Political Science |
| Herring, George | HDD | U of Rochester – Professor of History |
| Glad, Betty | HDD | U of South Carolina – Prof. of Political Science |
| Kattenburg, Paul | HDD | U of South Carolina – Prof. of Political Science |
| Pauley, Robert | VOA | U of South Carolina – Prof. of Business Admin |
| von Winterfeldt, Detlof | NSFSES | U of Southern California – Chair, Systems Sci. |

Appendix D:

Other Science Advisory Committees

AGED (Advisory Group on Electron Devices)
 CNOEP (Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel)
 DCA (Defense Communications Agency Scientific Advisory Group)
 DIAAC (Defense Intelligence Agency Advisory Committee)
 DIABOV (Defense Intelligence Agency Board of Visitors)
 DOE (Secretary of Energy Advisory Board)
 FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency Advisory Board)
 JSTPS (Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff)
 NCTP (National Critical Technologies Panel)
 NSAC (Nuclear Science Advisory Committee DOE/NSF)
 PFIAB (President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board)
 PCAST (President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology)
 SDIAC (Strategic Defense Initiative Advisory Committee)
 WGT (Technology Working Group, Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy)

| | | |
|-------------------------|---------|---|
| Allen, Lew | PFIAB | Caltech – Director, JPL |
| Allen, Lew | JSTPS | Caltech – Director, JPL |
| Everhart, Thomas | DOE* | Caltech – President |
| Koonin, Steven | NSAC | Caltech – Professor |
| Drake, Charles L. | PCAST | Dartmouth College – Prof. Earth Sciences |
| Van Trees, Harry | DCA | George Mason U – Professor |
| Cline, Ray | DIABOV | Georgetown U – Exec Dir. |
| Cooper, Richard N. | CNOEP | Harvard U – Prof. of International Affairs |
| May, Ernest R. | DIABOV* | Harvard U – Professor |
| McFarlan, F. Warren | DIAAC | Harvard U |
| Oettinger, Anthony | DCA | Harvard U – Prof. Applied Mathematics |
| Oettinger, Anthony | DIABOV | Harvard U – Professor |
| Church, Martha | DIABOV | Hood College – President |
| Cameron, John J. | NSAC | Indiana U – Professor |
| Bostrom, Carl O. | DIAAC | Johns Hopkins U – Director, APL |
| Evans, Thomas R. | CNOEP | Johns Hopkins U – Asst. Supervisor for C3, APL |
| Evans, Thomas R. | WGT | Johns Hopkins U – Asst. Supervisor for C3, APL |
| Nathans, Daniel | PCAST | Johns Hopkins School of Med. Prof. of Biology |
| Likins, Peter W. | PCAST | Lehigh U – President |
| Gelbke, Claus-Konrad | NSAC | Michigan State U – Professor |
| Deutch, John M. | CNOEP | MIT – Institute Professor |
| Deutch, John M. | PFIAB | MIT – Institute Professor |
| Deutch, John M. | JSTPS | MIT – Institute Professor |
| Moniz, Ernest J. | NSAC | MIT – Researcher |
| Morrow, Walter E. | CNOEP | MIT – Director, Lincoln Laboratory |
| Rich, Alexander | NCTP | MIT – Professor of Biophysics |
| Manniello, John B. | DIAAC | New York Inst. of Technology – Vice President |
| Masnari, Nino A. | AGED | North Carolina State U – Professor |
| Happer, William | SDIAC | Princeton U – Professor |
| Shapiro, Harold | PCAST | Princeton U – President |
| Wigner, Eugene P. | FEMA | Princeton U – Professor Emeritus, Physics |
| Lederberg, Joshua | CNOEP | Rockefeller U – University Professor |
| Lederberg, Joshua | DOE | Rockefeller U – University Professor |
| Seitz, Frederick | SDIAC* | Rockefeller U – Lab Director |
| Glashausser, Charles M. | NSAC | Rutgers U – Professor |
| Fossum, Robert R. | CNOEP | Southern Methodist U – Prof. of Electrical Engin. |
| Noll, Roger | DOE | Stanford U – Professor of Economics |
| Teller, Edward | FEMA | Stanford U – Sr. Research Fellow, Hoover Inst. |
| Paul, Peter | NSAC* | SUNY Stony Brook – Professor |
| Borlaug, Norman | PCAST | Texas A&M – Distinguished Professor |
| La Port, Todd | DOE | U of California – Professor, Political Science |
| Lee, Yuan | DOE | U of California – Dept of Chemistry |
| McDonald, Charles | JSTPS | U of California – Assoc. Director, Livermore Lab |
| Reed, Thomas | JSTPS | U of California – Consultant, Livermore Lab |
| Nierenberg, W.A. | SDIAC | U of California San Diego – Director |
| Yates, Steven W. | NSAC | U of Kentucky – Professor |
| Mignerey, Alice C. | NSAC | U of Maryland – Professor |
| Posvar, Wesley W. | FEMA | U of Pittsburgh – President |
| Sproull, Robert | SDIAC | U of Rochester – President |
| Unchaper, Keith | DCA | U of Southern California – Assoc. Dean of Engin. |
| Riedinger, Leo L. | NSAC | U of Tennessee – Professor |
| Fisher, William L. | DOE | U of Texas – Dir., Bureau of Economic Geology |
| Mark, Hans | DIABOV | U of Texas – Chancellor |
| Mark, Hans | DOE | U of Texas – Chancellor |
| Mark, Hans | SDIAC | U of Texas – Chancellor |
| Mark, Hans | WGT | U of Texas – Chancellor |

* denotes committee chair

Appendix E:

ROTC and Military University Committees

AFROTC (Air Force Advisory Panel on ROTC Affairs)
 AIRU (Air University Board of Visitors)
 AROTC (Army Advisory Panel on ROTC Affairs)
 CGSC (Army Command and General Staff College Advisory Comm)
 DISBOV (Defense Information School Board of Visitors)
 DLABOV (Defense Language Institute Board of Visitors)

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------|--|
| Miller, Holly | DISBOV | Anderson College – Adjunct Professor |
| Vincent, Lloyd D. | AFROTC | Angelo State U – President |
| Liston, Ramona O. | CGSC | Arizona State U – Asst. to Dean for Public Affairs |
| Orth, William A. | AIRU | Atlantic Community College – President |
| Martin, James E. | AIRU | Auburn U – President |
| Williams, James O. | AROTC | Auburn U – Chancellor |
| Reynolds, Herbert H. | AIRU | Baylor U – President |
| Westling, John | CGSC | Boston U – Provost |
| Haak, Harold H. | AROTC | California State U – President |
| Patterson, Dawn | AIRU | California State U – Dean College Continuing Ed. |
| Ross, Donale E. | CGSC | College of Boca Raton – President |
| McCarthy, Hannah | AFROTC | Daniel Webster College – President |
| White, Joanne F. | AROTC | Duquesne U – Associate Dean |
| Talman, Kenneth L. | AIRU | Embry Riddle Aeronautical U – President |
| Alatis, James E. | DLABOV | Georgetown U – Dean, Language & Linguistics |
| Zinberg, Dorothy S. | AIRU | Harvard U – Professor, JFK School of Gov't |
| Brown, Trevor | DISBOV | Indiana U – Dean, School of Journalism |
| Gonzalez-Valez, Luis E. | AROTC | Interamerican U – Professor of History |
| Whalen, James J. | AIRU | Ithaca College – President |
| Schwartz, Michael | AIRU | Kent State U – President |
| Nakhleh, Emile A. | DLABOV | Mount Saint Mary's College – Political Science |
| Wilson, Harrison B. | AROTC | Norfolk U – President |
| Todd, Russell W. | AROTC | Norwich U – President |
| Stempel, Guido | DISBOV | Ohio U – Prof. Scripps School of Journalism |
| Cornelius, Loretta | AIRU | Old Dominion U – Prof. of Urban Studies |
| Sueltenfuss, Sister E.A. | AIRU | Our Lady of the Lake U – President |
| Hulbert, Samuel F. | AROTC | Rose-Hulman Institute of Tech – President |
| Cobble, James | AIRU | San Diego State U – Dean of Graduate Div. |
| Evans, J. Handel | CGSC | San Jose State U – Executive Vice President |
| Ceddia, Anthony F. | AROTC | Shippensburg U – President |
| Falcone, Frank | AIRU | Springfield College – President |
| Starr, Richard F. | DLABOV | Stanford U – Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution |
| Lytle, Michael | AROTC | Syracuse U – Director, Federal Relations |
| Vandiver, Frank | AIRU | Texas A&M – Dir., Mosher Inst. Def. Studies |
| Lindbergh, Charles | AIRU | The Citadel – Head of Civil Engineering |
| Calgaard, Ronald | AIRU | Trinity U – President |
| Calgaard, Ronald | AROTC | Trinity U – President |
| Austin, Philip E. | AROTC | U of Alabama – Chancellor |
| Kuczun, Sam | DISBOV | U of Colorado – Head, Broadcast Instruction |
| March, George P. | DLABOV | U of Hawaii – Lecturer in History |
| Meier, Wilbur, Jr. | AIRU | U of Houston System – Chancellor |
| Anderson, Kenneth | DISBOV | U of Illinois – Professor & Deputy Vice Chancellor |
| Taylor, Robert L. | AIRU | U of Louisville – Dean of Business School |
| Monroe, Haskell | CGSC | U of Missouri Columbia – Chancellor |
| Weber, Delbert D. | AIRU | U of Nebraska – Chancellor |
| Lucas, Aubrey K. | AIRU | U of Southern Mississippi – President |
| Smith, Samuel H. | AFROTC | Washington State U – President |
| Lesesne, Joab M. Jr. | AIRU | Wofford College – President |
| Kegerreis, Robert | AIRU | Wright State U – President Emeritus |
| Mulholland, Paige E. | AFROTC | Wright State U – President |

Special Offer to Subscribers:

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Database for Democracy

Gerard Colby

For the first time through home computers, average citizens—as well as journalists, historians, librarians, students and other researchers—have an unprecedented ability to learn what has been done in their name by the CIA.

CIABASE is a new, constantly updated and uniquely powerful database on CIA activities. Its capacity for specialized searches makes its 41k search program the most powerful CIA database available outside of Langley, Virginia. All you need is a computer with a hard disk and DOS 2.1 or higher. Its subject base—by juxtaposing all related data in one category—allows readers to discern standard covert techniques. A review of the “ELECTION” category for example, graphically shows how the Agency, over its 44-year history, has used similar methods to manipulate foreign elections.

Empire of Injustice

The timing of its release is fortuitous. The recent Soviet withdrawal from most arenas of international rivalry presents both an opportunity and a challenge. For Americans, this change presents the opportunity to begin reclaiming the history of the Cold War, and recovering from the historical amnesia that has crippled their ability to judge wars like Vietnam or Korea as anything but accidents or crusades for freedom. By penetrating the ideological fog created and maintained by the media, academia, and official censors, Americans may finally see the consistent pattern of intervention which has defined U.S. post-World War II policy. This grim picture stretches from Korea to the recent Gulf War.

In the Third World the vast U.S. economic and military empire has left a blood-soaked trail of dictatorship and suffering. At home it has eroded democracy through inquisitions and political censorship. Self-serving politicians and public servants have made “plausible deniability” a bureaucratic norm and have dangerously extended the parameters of “national security.” The “end of the Cold War” offers more than the opportunity to reveal expedient rationalizations. It also presents the challenge of dismantling the empire. Now that Washington stands alone at the levers of world power, the pattern of its actions and motivations will be more difficult to conceal. Never has the need for uncensored information and direct oversight by the U.S. public been more acute.

Gerard Colby, is the author of *Dupont Dynasty: Behind the Nylon Curtain* (Secaucus, N.J.: Lyle Stuart, 1984). A freelance investigative journalist since 1970, his articles have appeared in a wide range of publications and news sources including *The Nation*, and the North American Newspaper Alliance.

Information vs. Empire

Unlike most of the Agency activities it documents, CIABASE is perfectly legal and proper. The database has been painstakingly built out of unclassified materials, most of them already published and, unfortunately, forgotten. CIABASE rescues these sources from oblivion. Its creator, Ralph McGehee, knows whereof he speaks: he spent 25 years in the CIA before leaving in disgust in 1977 to write *Deadly Deceits: My 25 Years in the CIA* (New York: Sheridan Square Publications, 1983), a searing critique of the CIA's role in Vietnam.

Through CIABASE, McGehee, provides extensive information to those who would understand the central dynamics covertly driving U.S. foreign policy. Despite the complex nature of the subject matter, the program design seems so user-friendly, it's downright deceptive.

One command—a period—gives access to almost 20,000 citations from over 300 sources including newspapers, books, magazines, reports and congressional investigations targeting not only the CIA but other government organs associated with Agency operations. Citations come with a brief and useful summary—an option usually reserved for expensive laser disk programs. The sources, unhampered by political censorship, offer a wide range of political ideologies leaving the choice—and the data—to you.

A steal at \$99, the encyclopedia-sized DOS-compatible program is available on all standard disk types. The four and one half megabytes of annotated entries are broken into more than 100 carefully selected categories. You can peruse these categories using a three page “Subjects” file list, choosing a major category or a variety of qualifying subcategories.

Finally, CIABASE allows you to “stack” your search with up to 99 data requests. You can use categories to broaden or narrow the search. For example, to investigate the legal aspects of Operation Phoenix in Vietnam, you could choose the heading (major category) “LAW,” for instance, which covers “Covert Ops and U.S. Law.” On the same line you can then enter two qualifying strings, for example, “VIETNAM” and “TERROR” and then add the years you wish the search to encompass. (Dates can limit the search, so we choose none in this case.) To finish, type “ENTER,” “PERIOD,” and then watch the dozens of references appear in seconds.

For a broader search, just enter “VIETNAM” as your heading and “TERROR” in the first string to get all uses of terror by the CIA in Vietnam listed in the database. Simply scan these, note the categories they are organized under, and

choose those that interest you for reentry as a search to be dumped into a file or printed.

To search for additional specifics, you would simply enter more headings, adding "VIETNAM" in the spaces reserved for first strings, line after line until you were through and ready for the program to start this stacked search. In our "VIETNAM" example, categories for the heading might be "FLAP" (Embarrassing Exposure CIA Ops), "ASSASSINATIONS" (Planned or Conducted by CIA), "DECEPTION" (Creation of Evidence to Support Ops), "LEAKS" (Leaks to Media), "OVERSIGHT" (Oversight Organizations and Recommendations) or "LIAISON" (With Foreign Intelligence Services). You also can select a specific range of years for any of these. This ability to run stacked searches gives CIABASE its unique power and flexibility.

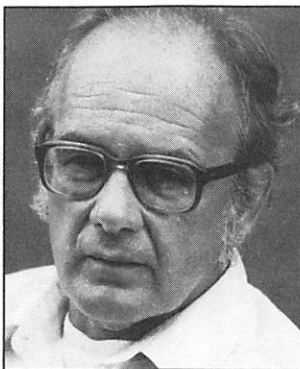
The user can select a stack of categories, plug in a favorite country, company, institution, or person, as a first or second string, and any qualifying years, and then watch the results appear. The information can be scrolled one screen at a time and selectively printed using your "PRINT SCREEN" key, or sent to a printer in either normal or paper-saving condensed format. You can also send the output directly to a user-named ASCII file for retrieval at the DOS prompt, transmission by modem, or conversion into your favorite word processor format for easy editing and additions.

More Would Be Better

In any good new program, there is always room for improvement. It would be useful, for example, if CIABASE allowed you to review data a screen at a time while saving it as a file. As it is, if you choose to send data to a file, the program automatically scrolls the material too fast for accurate viewing.

It would also be helpful if some of the more lengthy stacked search requests, possibly the result of some imaginative thinking, could be saved for minor editing and automatic re-entering. Fortunately, citations are retrieved under the categories into which they have been grouped; but only those categories that have data retrieved are saved for review. There is no easy way to save complicated long requests for minor revisions and automatic re-entering. Nor has the program a capacity to filter out redundancies in data output during a search.

On the data content side, the data entries for the 1960s and 1970s in Latin America, Africa and the Middle East could be increased. Much of the data is drawn from books and articles directly about the CIA. More sources could be included that reveal how CIA activities fit into a bigger picture—such as Jan Knippers Black's *United States Penetration of Brazil* or even Adolf Berle's unusually revealing memoir *Navigating The Rapids*—or into the lives of the corporate rich (Horowitz and Collier's *The Rockefellers* and Thomas McCann's book



Ralph McGehee

on *United Fruit, An American Company*, for example). It would also be useful to have more sources on a specific operation (like Peter Wyden's *Bay of Pigs*) or on backgrounds of individual CIA officers (such as Smith's *OSS*, which shows where top OSS officers ended up in the CIA).

By the same token, data entries from the books already included in CIABASE could be increased. A global search (all data on all files) for a top clandestine services officer, J.C. King, first chief of clandestine services in the western hemisphere until March 1964, produced only a one-page citation from one

source, Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer's *Bitter Fruit* on the 1954 Guatemala coup. *Bitter Fruit's* index, however, lists 10 pages covering this man in matters that could have been included under some of CIABASE's existing categories, as well as under those that might be added. Other sources already in CIABASE's sources include additional material on this officer, but are not cited.

These deficiencies, of course, only underline CIABASE's success: We want more. It's a lot to ask from one man, even a noted former CIA operations officer and analyst. Ralph McGehee's herculean effort to fit conceptually a mountain of published material on the Agency into a manageable number of categories must, by its very nature, be limited. Physical limitations—set by hard disk storage capacity—are diminishing exponentially with better technology. More important limitations are set by the time and sheer energy a single programmer can put into a project to research and input data and develop categories. McGehee's categories, likewise, understandably seem to have been weighted by his experience in Vietnam and by revelations about Contragate.

McGehee has both the imagination and the experience to keep CIABASE growing. He has already devoted eight years to this project, and it shows in the power of CIABASE. As sales of CIABASE grow—and they undoubtedly will—McGehee may be able to expand the database. Meanwhile, he is charging ahead. Already, an updated version of CIABASE, with more data and categories from declassified documents as well as rare out-of-print books, is available. For an additional fee, McGehee provides updates on disk and photocopies of the original articles referenced in the database.

In this much heralded age of "free enterprise" dominated by conglomerates, it's hard to imagine many ventures more politically worthy of financial support and less likely to get corporate grants. At the least, for his gift to democracy through CIABASE, Ralph McGehee should get a public service medal. Considering the fears and biases that permeate Congress and editorial rooms these days, it will probably have to come directly from the U.S. people.

To order, send disk type and check/money order for \$99 to: CIABASE, P.O. Box 5022, Herndon, Virginia 22070.

Asset Recruitment:

Targeting International Students

Vernon Elliott

In the fall of 1990, the University of Connecticut's Dean of International Affairs rejected a request by the CIA to secretly collect information on international students. Dean Richard Vengroff said he was approached by a man named Daniel Alhimook who used a photographic ID to identify himself as an employee of the CIA. Vengroff said that Alhimook had asked for a list of all international students at the university, including their country of origin, major field of study, and the names of their academic advisers.¹ Alhimook said that the CIA intended to open a file on each of the students and that it was particularly interested in students from the Middle East. Vengroff replied that he considered the request "unethical" and urged other deans "not to disclose personal information without asking students' permission."²

Tilling Fertile Soil

The public exposure of student recruitment at the University of Connecticut is only a small fragment of a long hidden history. It is estimated that the CIA has recruited more than 6000 international students from U.S. colleges and universities since 1947.³ According to Victor Marchetti and John Marks, the CIA regards universities as "fertile territory" for

"If he was the right guy, if he had the right assets, if he knew something and wasn't just some guy planting rice in a field, then maybe that's legitimate."

— Arthur Hulnick, former CIA Coordinator of Academic Affairs

the recruitment of spies because many students, particularly those from the Third World, are "destined to hold high positions in their home countries in a relatively few years."⁴

The majority of student recruits are at the graduate level. According to former Director of Central Intelligence (DCI)

Stansfield Turner, "the young, impressionable undergraduate is not usually the person the CIA seeks to win over to supporting us in his home country. He is not likely to have the maturity, the depth, or the clear career direction we are seeking. The more suitable candidates are graduate students, who are often foreign government employees studying on government grants and whose eyes are wide open."⁵

One of the CIA's goals in recruiting international students is to collect intelligence data on the students' home countries. In one known case, the CIA wanted to infiltrate Brazil's nuclear-power program in order to discover whether, as in the U.S., nuclear power technology, materials and research were secretly contributing to the development of nuclear weapons. A professor located and recruited a Brazilian student doing post-graduate work on nuclear physics.⁶

Consistent with the CIA's overall record, Agency interest in students doesn't stop at intelligence collection. Covert operations are always a priority, although the inexperience of student recruits would probably discourage their involvement in such delicate and politically dangerous activities. In the early 1980s however, the CIA, in cooperation with the FBI, recruited 50 Afghans in the U.S. to support its arms pipeline into Afghanistan. Most of these recruits were students.⁷

Vernon Elliott is co-editor of *Campus Watch*, a quarterly newsletter concerned with the CIA in Academia. P.O. Box 9623, Warwick, RI 02889.

1. Alhimook is a 41-year CIA veteran. See Agee and Wolf, eds., *Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe* (Secaucus, N.J.: Lyle Stuart, 1978), p. 345.

2. Katherine Farrish, "UConn Officials Reject CIA Agent's Inquiries," *Hartford Courant*, October 30, 1990; see also Lisa Hayden, "CIA Might Be Trying to Make Friends at UConn," *Norwich Bulletin*, October 27, 1990.

3. According to the "Open Doors" report of the Institute of International Education (New York: IIE, 1990/91), the sum of foreign student attendance since 1947 is approximately 6.5 million. In *Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire* (New York: Dial Press, 1977), p. 312, William Corson asserts that the CIA was recruiting 200-300 students per year when the total number of international students in the U.S. was at 250,000. This means that approximately .01% were successfully recruited. Multiplying this statistic by 6.5 million yields an estimate of 6500.

4. Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York: Knopf, 1974), p. 234.

5. Stansfield Turner, *Secrecy and Democracy: The CIA in Transition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985), p. 108.

6. Ernest Volkman, "Spies on Campus," *Penthouse*, October 1979, p. 86.

7. Dean Brells, "Caravans on Moonless Nights," *Time*, June 11, 1984.

"Spotting" Academic Assets

To recruit international students, the CIA's Foreign Resources Division (FRD) maintains a clandestine network of several hundred or more professors and university administrators. Some are paid a fee for each student they "spot" as a potential intelligence asset.⁸ When one of these "spotters" submits the name of an international student to a case officer in the CIA, a background investigation is conducted to assess the student's potential value to the Agency. In an interview about student recruiting, Arthur Hulnick, former CIA Coordinator of Academic Affairs, explained:

Suppose there was a North Korean student, and maybe he's a guy who really does have access to something. Suppose then that some professor says "I've got this North Korean guy in my class, seems like a nice enough guy, and he's ready to go back to North Korea. Maybe he would be willing to cooperate." How else are you going to find out anything about North Korea? We got to get somebody on the inside. We can't go. If he was the right guy, if he had the right assets, if he knew something and wasn't just some guy planting rice in a field, then maybe that's legitimate.⁹

A background investigation would inevitably include a request to the chief of station in the student's home country. The station would then check the student's name against a list of influential people in the country's government and industry, as well as, presumably, the CIA's "watch list" of those whose left politics or family ties the Agency considers a threat. There is also evidence that students are screened against the watch list before they are even admitted to the U.S.¹⁰

Zeroing In

When the Agency needs additional information, the case officer might arrange an introduction through the "spotter," enabling the officer to meet the student under a cover identity.¹¹ Prior to any direct contact, CIA officers typically disguise themselves so that if the recruitment backfires, the student will be unable to accurately describe their Agency visitor. Onetime



Dolores Neuman

October 17, 1988. Langley, Virginia. Student activists and others from around the country protest U.S. policies in Central America and Southern Africa by conducting civil disobedience in the main driveway at CIA headquarters. Thousands blocked all entries to the building. Over 300 were arrested. Most CIA employees were sent home for the day.

case officer James Everett has said that he would typically don a hairpiece, different glasses, and a stick-on wart in advance of his meetings with international students.¹² At no time during the investigation is the student told that they are being targeted for recruitment as a spy.

During the actual recruitment attempt, the CIA typically offers money and a promise of U.S. citizenship after a specific number of years. Such was the case of Iranian student Ahmad Jabbari. In 1975, while working on his Ph.D. in economics at Washington University in St. Louis, Jabbari was approached by a CIA officer who identified himself as Mark Ellerson. Ellerson asked Jabbari to return to Iran, get a job in the government, and then feed information to the CIA. As compensation, Jabbari was told he would receive a one-time \$750 payment, a monthly stipend deposited in the bank of his choice, and assistance in obtaining permanent resident alien status within two years.¹³

Blackmail

Blackmail is also a typical Agency tactic. A former Agency officer involved in recruiting students in California, for example, said he would tell targeted students that "we have to do something about the communist menace," and then ask them to secretly collect information about other students. "I'd pay him for his expenses and have him sign a receipt that had 'U.S. Government' on it," the officer said. "Then he was in...it might only be \$10, but if he balked I would kite the amount to \$1000 by adding a few zeros and threaten to expose his 'valuable cooperation' with us if he didn't cooperate."¹⁴

8. Volkman, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

9. Author's interview with Arthur Hulnick, November 15, 1988.

10. 1982 CAIB interview with a Kenyan studying in the U.S. In a meeting with a "consular officer" at the U.S. embassy regarding his visa application, the student was shown a thick folder of materials dealing with his life, including his leftist political activities. The embassy employee was a known CIA officer, listed in *Dirty Work 2: The CIA in Africa* (1979).

11. Hulnick was asked "When you meet him [a potential recruit], do you make it clear that you're the CIA and he's under consideration?" Hulnick responded "Hardly. He'd be scared to death."

12. David Wise, *The American Police State: The Government Against the People* (New York: Vintage, 1978) p. 188.

13. Ami Chen Mills *CIA Off Campus: Building the Movement Against Agency Recruitment and Research*, (Boston: South End, 1991), pp. 24-25.

14. William Turner, "Assignment: Recruit Foreign Students Into the CIA," *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, March 2, 1978.

After agreeing to spy for the CIA, students might be instructed to tell their friends that they're going away on a "job interview" in another city. Instead, the student is sent to a CIA safehouse for training in tradecraft. If the student happens to be an especially valuable asset, the CIA might rent a safehouse in the area under an assumed name and fly in specialists from Langley. "The secret writing specialist, the lock-picking specialist, the demolition specialist, the clandestine radio specialist, they'd all come out there one at a time... The guy would stay in the house, never step out the door, no phone calls. That way you knew that he couldn't blow up anything on you," said a former CIA officer.¹⁵

That Old Liberal Guilt Thing

Harvard's 1977 report on its relationship to the CIA, prompted by the Church Committee report, remarked that:

The existence on the Harvard campus of unidentified individuals who may be probing the views of others and obtaining information for the possible use of the CIA is inconsistent with the idea of a free and independent university. Such practices inhibit free discourse and are a distortion of the relationship that should exist among members of an academic community, and in particular the relationship that should exist between faculty members and students.¹⁶

The report also addressed several other issues, among them the invasion of privacy:

[W]e question whether it is appropriate for a member of the Harvard community to trigger a secret background investigation of another member of the Harvard community. Such an investigation is an invasion of privacy... moreover, the conduct of a secret investigation is likely to lead to additional secret governmental intrusion into the campus as the CIA tries to develop more information about the subject of the investigation. Finally, it is impossible to know to what uses the information may be put in future years and in what ways the life of the subject of the investigation may be adversely affected.¹⁷

The committee's remark that student lives "may be adversely affected" is a gross understatement of the dangers that students face in spying for the CIA. It sometimes happens that spies recruited as students find themselves years later in a no-win situation: If they stop spying, the CIA might expose them, and if they continue spying, they face a 75% chance of eventual capture.¹⁸ Considering that spying against one's country is usually viewed as treason, punishable almost

anywhere by a long prison term or execution, it is not surprising that "more than 40 of the agents...recruited [on U.S. campuses] have committed suicide in response to the fear of exposure of their relationship with America's intelligence services."¹⁹

The CIA's activities can even be dangerous for students with no interest in spying whatsoever. Some, frightened by a brush with the CIA, have turned to their own government's diplomats for support, only to be propositioned to work as a double agent.²⁰

Bottom Line: Business As Usual

The recruitment of international students was first acknowledged thirteen years ago by then DCI Stansfield Turner, but the CIA continues to be evasive in its discussion of the issue.²¹ In a 1989 forum at the University of Maine, Michael Turner, the CIA's Coordinator of Academic Affairs, was asked whether the Agency conducted "covert recruitment" operations on the campus. Turner replied that as far as he knew covert recruitment was no longer conducted, conveniently presuming that the question referred to staff employees. Only after a professor, Michael Howard, later wrote Turner asking whether the CIA secretly recruited "intelligence assets" was he more direct:

I am sorry that I cannot respond to [your question]. The Director of Central Intelligence is required by law to protect sources and methods, and your query falls squarely within that area. In other words, it is the kind of question that prompts the CIA to say that it can "neither confirm nor deny" the statement.

In other words, Agency business on campus is business as usual. ●

19. William Corson, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 311-12.

21. Ellen Coughlin, "Turner Says the CIA Recruits Foreign Students in U.S., Defends Agency's Use of Professors," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 19, 1978, p. 1.

Documentation Project

The Lesbian and Gay Declassified Documentation Project will collect and index government surveillance and investigatory files on the lesbian and gay movements, related publications and activists. The project was started by a librarian at U.C. Irvine. If you have received or want to receive your personal or organizational file under the Privacy Act, Freedom of Information Act, or state or local Open Records Acts, contact: Daniel C. Tsang, P.O. Box 28977, Santa Ana, CA 92799-8977; (714) 751-2856.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Archibald Cox, Don Price, Henry Rosovsky, and Daniel Steiner, "Report of the Committee on Relationships Between the Harvard Community and the United States Intelligence Agencies," 1977.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Turner, *op. cit.*

(continued from p.38)

Cave made their secret journey to Tehran. Israel provided the logistical assistance in arranging the delivery. However, the shipment of HAWK parts was incomplete.

"When the Iranians inspected the HAWK parts shipped in August, they...found the shipment incomplete," notes the Congressional Iran-Contra Investigation Report. "By August 20, Iran had identified 177 items in the original order which had not been included in the shipment."⁹ Two weeks earlier, on August 8, Oliver North had acknowledged the problem during a London meeting with Amiram Nir where he proposed supplying the Iranians with the "177 missing units."¹⁰

In late August, North was reporting to John Poindexter: "[Chief of Near East Division, Directorate of Operations, CIA] has assigned an officer to work w/army logistics in an effort to find (or manufacture, if necessary) the missing/wrong [HAWK] items."¹¹

Back in Connecticut, Durrani continued his negotiations with Radio Research for additional HAWK parts. By early September Durrani informed Pires that the second shipment would be ready within a month. On September 8, 1986, a week after Durrani and Pires had dispatched their first shipment, North rather coincidentally reported to Poindexter the discovery of "a significant number of HAWK parts which had previously been listed as 'unavailable'...Director Casey [of the CIA]," North continued, "conducted a review of the Iranian project today and has directed his people to initiate necessary preparations for acquiring the parts used in earlier discussions with the ans."¹²

According to Durrani, toward the end of September he was urgently summoned to London by Pires. It was at this stage that Durrani claims to have met Oliver North. North, Durrani says, questioned him on the status of his HAWK shipment. He assured the NSC official that the parts would be ready for delivery but stated that "there was a problem with the export licenses." Durrani claims that North told him, "you don't need them. It's all going to be authorized."¹³

Meanwhile in Connecticut, *Operation Exodus* was in full swing. Customs was ready to pull in the net. On October 3, having returned from London, Durrani visited Radio Research to take delivery of the HAWK consignment and was arrested.

The State vs. Arif Durrani

In March 1987, Arif Durrani's trial opened in Bridgeport. The prosecution team, led by Assistant U.S. Attorney Holly Fitzsimmons, argued that Durrani was simply weaving his story to fit the daily Iran-Contra revelations then appearing in the press.

To refute Durrani's claim of having met Oliver North in London the week before his arrest, the prosecution presented the testimony of Michael Sneddon from the NSC who testified that no records of such a journey existed. Under cross-examination Sneddon admitted that if North had arranged his trip outside of NSC procedures, there would be no travel records. For example, Sneddon admitted he had no knowledge of North's May 1986 trip to Iran at the time it occurred.

9. *Iran-Contra Investigation Report*, U.S. Congressional Serial Set, Serial No. 13739, 1987, p. 248.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *The Tower Commission Report* cited in *The Chronology*, p. 456.

12. North to Poindexter, September 8, 1987, cited in *The Chronology*, pp. 468, 469.

13. Arif Durrani, private interview, Federal Correctional Institution, Sheridan, Oregon, December 6-7, 1989.

The prosecution's CIA witness, Charles Moyer, testified that the CIA was responsible for procuring the HAWK parts shipped by the U.S. government to Iran in May and August 1986, and that it procured these only from the Department of Defense. He testified further that the CIA made no attempt to procure any parts after May 1986. Under cross-examination, however, he did admit that parts obtained by third parties or intelligence 'cut outs' would not necessarily have been "committed to paper" generating the type of records to which he would have had access.

Time would reveal the existence of an important link between Manuel Pires, other "third parties," and the joint U.S.-Israeli initiative. But during the Bridgeport trial, the defense was only able to maintain that the prosecution had failed to demonstrate conclusively that Durrani had not been involved in exports "made by or for" an agency of the U.S. government. Durrani's lawyers argued that a sustainable conviction required the government to prove *beyond reasonable doubt* that the defendant's activity had clearly *not* been linked to Washington's secret Iranian operation.

The defense had argued that documents in the Tower Commission Report clearly demonstrated that in the autumn of 1986, Oliver North was actively searching for missing HAWK parts which could not be

found within U.S. or Israeli government stocks, and that "third parties" were involved in the procurement effort. However, at the request of the prosecution, Judge Daly ruled that the Tower Commission Report—the only government document on the Iran-Contra affair at the time—was not sufficiently trustworthy to be admitted as evidence. Thus, the jury never saw the communications between North and Poindexter that the defense deemed so crucial.

"The bitterness and vigor with which the Government comes at this sentencing," said Defense Attorney Ira Grud-

berg to the judge, "is unprecedented in my experience in practicing in this district for twenty-six years...I think it is reasonable and proper [in passing sentence] for this court to look at the fact that the President of the United States and people working under him were in fact busily engaged in doing exactly the same thing at the same time."

"Affaire des Missiles TOW"

Conspicuous by his absence at the trial of Arif Durrani was his Portuguese partner in the 'crime,' Manuel Pires. In February 1987, some weeks before the trial opened, Assistant U.S. Attorney Fitzsimmons and Customs Agent Arruda traveled to Lisbon to interview Pires. According to the trial documents, Pires appeared to have been a remarkably cooperative source.

He contradicted Durrani's claims and said that he, Pires, "dealt with the Iranians to make money and had no involvement with any efforts by the U.S. government to deliver military items to Iran."¹⁴ The prosecution decided to accept Manuel Pires's story given during a pre-trial interview in Lisbon. In fact, Pires agreed to testify as a witness for the prosecution against Durrani, although he had refused to set foot in the United States, wishing to give his testimony only from Portugal or Spain. However, halfway through Durrani's trial as the prosecutor and Durrani's defense lawyer prepared to fly to Spain to take Pires's deposition, Pires inexplicably canceled the rendezvous.

Thus Manuel Pires's precise role remained elusive and unclear throughout the trial. Durrani's lawyers admit that they were hamstrung by the time and resources it would have required to investigate Pires's

14. *United States of America v. Arif Durrani, Government's Sentencing Memorandum*, May 6, 1987.

international connections. "Only Pires knows who was above him in the chain," said Assistant Defense Attorney William Bloss. "We had evidence that Durrani was working for Pires. There is no question about that. But we don't know who Pires was working for..."¹⁵

Curious to know more about Manuel Pires we embarked upon a search for the elusive arms trader and several of his rather unusual associates. Pires remained rather shy about meeting journalists studying the Durrani case. Only at the end of our investigation would we finally succeed in establishing direct contact with him, by which stage we had learnt a great deal about Durrani's mysterious partner.

From Poland to China to South Africa to Central America, Manuel Pires had roamed the globe with guns for sale. His multi-million dollar deals with Iran were typical of a man well-known within the arms trade for having gone far by his access to powerful political connections in several countries. According to the respected Spanish weekly, *El Tiempo*, Pires earned some of "his greatest profits supplying all kinds of Spanish weaponry to Tehran with an end-user certificate issued by the Brazilian Defense Ministry."¹⁶ The circumvention of arms embargoes has been Pires's professional forte and the source of exceptional earnings.

In the early 1970s Pires had made his debut in the arms business by selling weapons to South Africa's apartheid regime. By the mid-1980s he was operating a series of shell corporations from the Bahamas to Lisbon under the logos of *Rutland Overseas Trading*, *Rimalpi*, *Risenvest*, and *Interlogistics*, among others.¹⁷

Since Brussels was the transit point for Pires's and Durrani's shipments, we traveled there to look for clues. By good fortune and some effort we secured several hundred pages of documents from a Belgian Special Branch police investigation.

Under the direction of a young officer, Pierre Fievez, the police unit had spent years digging into the myriad connections of Europe's illicit arms bazaar. Among the more prominent personalities they had investigated was Manuel Pires, who in the mid-1980s had established a secondary base of operations in Brussels.

The Belgian police had identified and tracked an entire series of arms transactions involving Pires and his associates in the international arms trade. One which interested them in particular was an immense transaction involving the sale of 10,000 TOW missiles to Iran through Israel in 1985. The missiles were to be delivered to the National Iranian Oil Corporation (NIOC). At various points in the planning for the transaction, they were described as "agricultural pumps." The police were able to document in detail all the personalities in the "Affaire des Missiles TOW." In particular, they identified two trading corporations based in Austria and Panama which were operating on behalf of Israel and were utilized to broker the TOW sale.¹⁸

In a report published in the *Washington Post* in November 1986, it was alleged that as early as the summer of 1985, Vice Admiral Poindexter may have given oral approval for the sale of 10,000 TOWs to Tehran, five times the number publicly admitted by the Reagan

administration.¹⁹ It appears the Belgian police may have actually stumbled upon the network which was carrying out the transaction.

According to a source directly involved with the TOW transaction, Pires had met with two Israeli military officials in Athens in 1985 to discuss acquiring arms for Iran. The venue was provided by Greek arms dealer Georges Drouviotis. The Belgian police's interrogation of Drouviotis confirmed that such a rendezvous did, indeed, occur. The Greek was a participant in the TOW transaction and, according to our source, had been advanced half a million dollars by Pires at an earlier meeting in Lisbon as earnest money toward the shipment of the missiles.

The 10,000 TOWs they proposed to deliver to Iran were an astronomical number to organize even on a covert basis. According to a source in the arms trade, one method of doing so was to orchestrate an elaborate movement of stocks of TOWs of an older design among various NATO states under the pretext of modernizing inventories and by utilizing false end-user certificates. For example, by shifting stocks from NATO bases in Germany to bases in Greece as part of what would appear a normal redeployment of supplies within the Alliance, TOWs could be illegally diverted to Tehran.

The official American record acknowledges that on July 30, 1985, the Israeli government formally requested U.S. clearance to ship at least 500 TOW missiles to Iran. (The speculation in Brussels is that the belated admission by the Israeli and American governments regarding the number of TOWs shipped was only officially off by one zero.) On August 6, 1985, President Reagan gave his oral approval for the shipment of U.S. made arms to Iran via Israel, and agreed to replenish Israeli stocks. "In short," as the Tower Commission noted, "the United States was an essential participant in the arms transfer to

Iran that occurred in 1985."²⁰

David Kimche, a senior Israeli official, had told Robert McFarlane in 1985 that Israel's interest in selling weapons to Iran had been to "ensure a stalemate of the conflict with Iraq." Earlier, Henry Kissinger observed that American policy toward the Iran-Iraq war was designed to ensure that in the end "both sides lost." In a police document, "Some Generalities Concerning The Supply of Arms To Iran/Iraq," Pierre Fievez, director of the Belgian police investigation observed:

Delivery of the weapons to the belligerents in dribs and drabs [because of official embargoes] allows the conflict to be transformed eternally into a series of murderous offensives of short duration stopped only by the lack of munitions. A decisive resolution of the conflict would not serve the goal of destabilization...which the war provokes and for this reason this war needs the private arms merchant for its provisioning.²¹

Manuel Pires and Georges Drouviotis were among the gray legionnaires, the shadow men, who made the deadly process work. The Belgian government dossier makes clear that Pires's firm, *Rimalpi*, had since at least 1983, been actively engaged in supplying arms to Iran. There was also evidence that he had acted in violation of Belgian customs regulations. The police dossier had called for his interrogation and possible arrest.²²

19. Memorandum by businessman and former CIA agent Richard Brenneke to Col. Richard Muller, USMC (Reserve), dated January 1, 1986. Also see: *Washington Post*, November 29, 1986.

20. *The Tower Commission Report*, cited in *The Chronology*, pp. 136-37, 138-39.

21. BPD, Report by Pierre Fievez, October 24, 1984.

22. BPD, Report by Pierre Fievez, December 30, 1986.

15. William Bloss, private interviews, New Haven, December 1989-March 1991.

16. *El Tiempo*, Madrid, December 26, 1988.

17. *Ibid.*

18. The Belgian Police Dossier on the European arms trade, hereafter referred to as the BPD, Report by Pierre Fievez, MDL Chef and Jacques Vanhame, MDL, Gendarmerie, BSR Brussels, March 18, 1987. Accompanying documents—telexes, correspondence, sales contracts, etc.—seized from the residence of Jacques Monsieus, arms trader and an associate of Manuel Pires and Georges Drouviotis.

Witness for the Prosecution?

The Tower Commission had determined independently that the U.S. government was "an essential participant" with Israel in the 1985 TOW shipments to Iran. At the time of Durrani's trial, the prosecution categorically denied that Pires had any direct or indirect association with the U.S. government and depicted as absurd Durrani's claim that his purchase of HAWK spares for Pires was part of the U.S.-Israeli arms-for-hostages operation. But if, in fact, Pires was a "cut out" for the Israelis in the 1986 HAWK shipment, as he, along with Drouviotis, clearly appears to have been in the 1985 TOW transaction, then this crucial aspect of Durrani's defense holds up to scrutiny.

The prosecution's argument that Pires was merely a passive European purchaser supplied by Durrani is belied not only by the official Belgian inquiry but also by the testimony of Pires's close associates.

It was Willy de Greef, the man who knew Pires best, who provided the most compelling testimony. De Greef not only directed Pires's office in Brussels under the corporate logo of *Risenvest*, but had traveled at Pires's side from China to South Africa while Pires pursued a series of covert arms deals. Following Durrani's arrest in Connecticut and the subsequent raids by the Belgian police on his own home and office, de Greef terminated his association with Manuel Pires.²³

Sitting in a cafe in Brussels in the spring of 1990, de Greef described himself as a man who had been stabbed in the back by his employer. He maintained that Pires had channeled the last shipment of HAWK parts through Brussels under a new corporate entity which had never been utilized by their firm before. This shipment had been invoiced as the property of KRAM, Ltd., at an address identical to de Greef's *Risenvest* office in Brussels. But, according to de Greef, KRAM was a new fictitious entity set up by Pires for this specific shipment. De Greef claimed that the illegal shipment had exposed him to risks in Brussels while throughout the affair Pires had maintained a safe distance in Lisbon.

He confirmed numerous details contained in Belgian police files regarding Pires's involvement in a wide assortment of arms transactions, including the frequent use of false end-user certificates. But, most significantly, de Greef possessed first-hand knowledge of Pires's participation in the 1985 TOW transaction.

He confirmed Israeli involvement in the affair, and the specific roles played by Georges Drouviotis and Manuel Pires in the effort to organize the TOW shipment to Iran. When asked whether the United States had knowledge of or involvement in this transaction, de Greef said, "Manuel Pires told me that he had met Oliver North in London twice. He said they fixed everything for the TOW shipment to Iran."²⁴ Until we actually approached de Greef, no one had asked him what he knew about Pires's possible links to the Iran-Contra nexus.

Finally, there is today further testimony which may erode the government's case against Arif Durrani. Ari Ben Menashe, a former member of the Israeli Defense Force's Military Intelligence staff, after much deliberation, has decided to speak publicly about his involvement in a secret operation which sold billions of dollars of weaponry to Iran starting in 1980.

During an interview, Ben Menashe stated that he was a personal acquaintance of Amiram Nir, Oliver North's Israeli counterpart in Shimon Peres's government. (Nir was reportedly killed in 1988 in a mysterious plane crash in Mexico while allegedly trading avocados.)

**From Poland to China
to South Africa
to Central America,
Manuel Pires
had roamed
the globe
with guns for sale.**

In September 1988, the two men met in London where they reviewed their respective roles leading up to the dramatic events of the Iran-Contra scandal.

"My source about Manuel Pires was Nir," says Ben Menashe. "I had long chats in London with Nir in 1988....According to Nir, Manuel Pires was one of the principal operatives run by William Casey. Pires was sent under joint [Israeli-U.S.] instructions to Iran in 1984 to put in the new circuit. Pires had a good channel to Iran's Prime Minister, [Mir Hussein] Mousavi, and was able to establish close contact with Mousavi himself."²⁵

Furthermore, Ben Menashe confirmed as accurate nearly all the details which the Belgian police had come upon in their investigation of "l'affaire des missiles TOW." He says that 13,000 TOW missiles, an extraordinary figure, reached Iran via Israeli channels. Pires, Drouviotis, and their associates were part of one of several schemes designed by the Israeli intelligence community to move equipment into Iran from sources ranging as far afield as China, North Korea, and several European states in both the NATO and the Warsaw Pact alliances.

Ben Menashe also claims to have specific knowledge of an important rendezvous in London at the "very end of September 1986" where Oliver North and Amiram Nir met, among others, Manuel Pires and his Pakistani associate, Arif Durrani. They had gathered to work out the last details of the arms package promised to the so-called "second channel" in early October. Ben Menashe says his knowledge of the details of the London gathering came from Nir.²⁶

Aside from what he claims Nir told him, Ben Menashe states that from his roost inside Israeli military intelligence, he was well informed about Pires's links to Iran and the role he played on behalf of western intelligence agencies shipping weapons to Tehran. Durrani had made his own assertions about Israeli

links with Pires but was never able to substantiate them for no one came forward to corroborate his story or sustain his defense.

A Highly Unusual Visit

On July 9, 1987, at the Federal Correctional Institution in Phoenix, Arizona, Durrani received a most unusual visitor—Manuel Pires himself. He claims that Pires wanted to draw him into a conversation regarding money, assets, and various aspects of their arms transactions, but he ended the meeting angrily reproaching Pires for not telling the truth at the time of his trial. According to Durrani, Pires replied that it was all a mistake and that he had never imagined it would be ten years. "It wasn't supposed to happen that way," he reportedly said.²⁷

The fact that Pires did visit Durrani at the Phoenix prison has been confirmed by federal government sources. And according to Durrani's lawyer, William Bloss, it was a "highly unusual" event. "It is ordinarily a matter of extensive negotiation [and] background checks for a non-family member to visit a federal prison...There is no chance that a foreign national would just show up at the prison saying I want to see my friend and the warden would say 'fine...just go on in.' It is impossible."²⁸

The critical question remains why Pires, who had earlier refused to come to the U.S., within three months of Durrani's trial felt safe to do so without risk of arrest. Durrani's lawyers believe there is a strong possibility that Pires was given assurances of immunity. It remains

23. Willy de Greef, Brussels, May 29, 1990.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Ari Ben Menashe, December 1990, private interview.

26. Ari Ben Menashe, private interview.

27. Arif Durrani, private interview.

28. William Bloss, private interview.



UPI

Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan and campaign advisor William Casey, June 1980.

unclear what terms, if any, were negotiated and why. One federal source, however, has confirmed that, in Phoenix Pires met with Customs Agent Arruda, and Assistant U.S. Attorney Fitzsimmons, and that he was, in fact, working with U.S. authorities on matters which are "classified."

After nearly six months of repeated attempts to contact Pires, we finally succeeded in October 1990. In a lengthy transatlantic interview, Pires denounced Arif Durrani as a "liar." He claimed to be just "a simple buyer... [who] tries to be legal all the time." We informed him that we were in possession of a detailed Belgian police dossier on his activities, and asked him about his involvement with the 1985 TOW affair and the Israeli links to the transaction. Pires denied any such involvement. He further denied he had any relationship with either the Israeli or the American effort to supply weapons to Iran.²⁹

He had, he said, his own reasons for selling arms to Iran. "I am an anti-communist," explained Pires. "This is the only country in the world which has given good, special service to anti-communist people... If in my country they arrest a communist, there are revolutions. In Iran, they kill the communist people..."³⁰

Pires did admit, however, to having visited Durrani in prison. He stated that he had done so "officially... through the legal channel" but only in order to collect the money he was owed by Durrani. He categorically denied having met either Arruda, or Fitzsimmons, during his visit to Phoenix. He was not to know, however, that Fitzsimmons had already informed us that she had, in fact, met him in Phoenix.

The State vs. Arif Durrani: The Sequel

In February 1990, Arif Durrani, seeking a new trial, filed a "2255" motion before the U.S. Federal Court in Bridgeport where he was originally convicted. In this motion, the federal equivalent of a *habeas corpus* proceeding, Durrani alleged that the prosecution had suppressed crucial exculpatory information at his trial. In support of his contention he submitted several supporting documents, including a special stipulation that had been prepared by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Office of the Special Prosecutor for Oliver North's trial in 1988.³¹

29. Manuel José Pires, October 10, 1990.

30. *Ibid.*

31. United States of America v. Arif Durrani, U.S. District Court, District of Connecticut, *Memorandum of Facts and Law in Support of the the Defendant's Motion to Vacate, Set Aside or Correct the Sentence under 28 U.S.C. 2255*, February 20, 1990.

Durrani and his lawyers point to an important detail in the document: between mid and late September 1986, North had secretly traveled to London to meet General Manuel Noriega. Defense lawyers say that during Durrani's trial a distinct impression was conveyed to the jury—particularly through the testimony of the NSC witness—that North had not visited London during this period, thus indicating that Durrani's entire story was a lie. Yet a year after Durrani's conviction a document was produced at North's own trial disclosing that North had been in London during the third week in September—close to the time that Durrani had claimed he had his own encounter with North in London. Clearly, the case of Arif Durrani was never as cut and dried an affair as it was presented during Durrani's trial. It is a complex story and the real measure of fact and fiction in it was never fully established during any stage of the legal process.

The most crucial question centers on the federal prosecutor's key three-part operating premise. First, in August 1986, when Durrani made his first shipment of HAWK parts to Manuel Pires, no third parties were being used in the procurement of HAWK parts for Iran by the CIA. Second, the Agency had procured the parts that it shipped from the Department of Defense and from no other source. And therefore, finally, Durrani's shipment had to be a private arrangement unconnected to the U.S. transfer of weapons to Iran.³²

But the difficulty with this premise is that it is based on information provided by the CIA which is, at best, misleading. The CIA may not, as it had claimed to federal prosecutors, have been using third parties, but the National Security Council clearly was. From what the CIA told her, Fitzsimmons assumed that all the HAWK parts shipped to Iran as part of Iran-Contra—not just some—were procured only and directly by the CIA.

CIA "Facts"

The prosecution's apparent confusion seems to have been further confounded by the testimony of Charles Moyer, the CIA witness at the trial. Moyer had testified that there were no records in his logistics section for any attempt by the CIA to procure any HAWK parts after May 1986. The parts procured in May had been transshipped to Iran via Israel in May and August. The CIA's General Counsel's Office, in a recent letter, confirmed Moyer's testimony.³³

However, since the trial, evidence has emerged from the Iran-Contra investigations that raises questions about the CIA's testimony. It is clear, as described earlier, that even after the last shipment in early August with which the CIA officially identified itself, U.S. officials were compelled to seek additional HAWK parts—identified as missing by Iran—in order to keep the negotiations with the Iranians on track. Furthermore, according to the Tower Commission, some CIA officials were assisting the NSC in its search for the missing parts well after the date of the CIA's officially acknowledged shipments to Iran. At Durrani's trial, Moyer was asked about these efforts, made after the dates when he said that the CIA was no longer procuring any more HAWK parts, but he said no records existed. Moyer had also testified that the HAWK parts shipped by the CIA constituted only four pallets. The congressional investigation established that, in fact, the U.S. had shipped 13 pallets of HAWK parts to Iran. Clearly, there was a discrepancy between Moyer's testimony and the congressional record. In his dogged insistence on "normal procedure" at the CIA, Moyer seemed to adhere to the view that if anything was not in the records he looked at, it quite simply did not happen.

And this, of course, was generally the view that the prosecution seemed to have taken. It therefore appeared to ignore the significance of the fact that Durrani's first shipment of HAWK parts to Pires occurred in late August, several weeks after the last CIA pallets had been

32. Holly Fitzsimmons, private interview, Bridgeport, August 3, 1990.

33. Letter to Lawrence Lifschultz from W. George Jameson, Associate General Counsel, Office of General Counsel, Central Intelligence Agency, dated July 16, 1991.

delivered via Israel to Iran. This was a time when an intensive search by all parties to procure the 'missing' HAWK items was on.

By adhering to the letter of the CIA's testimony, Fitzsimmons had glossed over the part of Oliver North and the NSC in the Iran-Contra drama. The Tower Commission had determined that it was the NSC, rather than the CIA, which had the principal role in organizing arms transfer to Iran.³⁴ In this enterprise, Israel played an indispensable role. On October 2, 1986, the day before Durrani was arrested attempting to make his second HAWK shipment, North, in a detailed memorandum to Poindexter, described how "we [the U.S. government] recognize that Israel's participation in this activity is both politically and operationally important...this is still a joint venture."³⁵

When we asked Fitzsimmons if she had questioned the CIA on Israel's involvement in the HAWK shipments, she said that she had not. According to Fitzsimmons, she had assumed that the CIA's statement about "no third parties" persuaded Israel, and, in any case, she did believe that Israel's role was relevant to the Durrani case. She claimed that Durrani had never argued that he had an Israeli connection.³⁶ But, in fact, during the trial, Durrani had explicitly stated that he had made contact with Pires through Israeli government intermediaries.

It appears that Customs Agent Arruda who had arrested Durrani—and who worked closely with the prosecution—recognized that such a connection to the Durrani case might jeopardize the prosecution's position. In November 1986, when the Iran-Contra scandal hit the headlines, William Bloss, one of Durrani's lawyers, visited the U.S. Customs office and met Arruda. According to Bloss, Arruda "had been on the phone to find out if there had been any connection between Durrani and the government's shipments, and said that, as far as he could see, Durrani had no contact with the government shipments, because the government shipments had an Israeli link. So long as Durrani did not have an Israeli link, there was no government link."³⁷

What Arruda and Fitzsimmons did not seriously attempt to discover was whether Manuel Pires had an "Israeli link" and therefore a link with U.S. shipments to Iran. Had they done so, they might have discovered that Durrani's shipments may not have been an entirely private enterprise.

In her summation, Fitzsimmons had told the jury "if Mr. Durrani is telling you the truth...[the] CIA is lying to you." And yet the CIA was not necessarily lying; it did not have to for Durrani's claims to be true. Of course, the CIA was not telling the whole truth or—there is always the possibility—the CIA did not know the whole truth. In any event, the CIA's testimony misled the prosecutor and thereby the court. The real consequence in this instance was that members of the jury believed their own government and, on the basis of false information, convicted a man who was then sentenced to ten years in prison.

In July 1990, Oliver North testified, under subpoena, before a grand jury in Bridgeport. Although his appearance was dramatic, the question of whether or not the two men could have met in London in September 1986 was no longer crucial. In light of the Belgian government's inquiry, the critical factor had become whether or not Durrani's partner in the transfer of HAWK parts to Iran—Manuel Pires—had any connection with a U.S. or Israeli effort to supply Iran with TOWs, HAWKs and other weaponry.³⁸

34. *The Tower Commission Report*, cited in *The Chronology*, p. 264.

35. North to Poindexter, October 2, 1986, *The Tower Commission Report*, cited in *The Chronology*, pp. 497-98.

36. Holly Fitzsimmons, Bridgeport, Autumn 1990, telephone interview.

37. William Bloss, private interview.

38. Our own letter written last January to North, via his attorney, Brendan Sullivan, regarding North's alleged contacts with Durrani's Portuguese associate, Manuel Pires, has remained unanswered.

According to Nir, "Manuel Pires was one of the principal operatives run by William Casey."

—Ari Ben Menashe

The Belgian police dossier indicates that a group of arms traders based in Belgium who were associated with Manuel Pires did in fact play a key role in brokering the 1985 sale of TOW missiles to Iran through Austrian and Panamanian front companies linked to Israel. Moreover, Pires's former employee and right-hand man, Willy de Greef, alleges that Pires was part of the 1985 TOW deal. Finally, a former intelligence official with the Israeli Defense Force, has stated that Manuel Pires was working with Amiram Nir and Oliver North.

If all this is true, it must now be asked if this was the reason why Pires cooperated with U.S. investigators and managed to avoid being indicted. Furthermore, the precise nature of the arrangement that existed between the U.S. Customs Service and Pires at the time of his surprise visit to Durrani in an Arizona prison needs to be established. And a further question that needs to be answered is whether other ulterior motives may have been involved in keeping Pires out of a U.S. courtroom. In short, was Arif Durrani, a small cog in a larger wheel, allowed to go to prison in order to protect the anonymity of a network associated with foreign intelligence agencies allied to the United States?

There is an obvious asymmetry in the magnitudes of the punishment meted out to those who violated the Constitution and the law through activities that constituted the Iran-Contra affair: the most powerful prime movers were barely touched while minor figures appear to have encountered the full force of the law. Arif Durrani now approaches his fifth year in prison and awaits a judgment on whether he will be granted a new trial. Perhaps, only then will it be possible to finally answer the question: Did this man wrongfully take the rap for Oliver North and the CIA?

Is this the only man in prison for Iran-Contra?

BORDERING ON TREASON? The Trial and Conviction of Arif Durrani

by Lawrence Lifschultz, Steven Galster, and Rabia Ali

A gripping tale about an arms dealer drawn into an off-the-books American intelligence operation and sent to jail as a result.

Bob Parry, PBS, Frontline

The Durrani story is part of the great tangle of the Iran-Contra affair... an exceptional piece of research.

Gary Sick, National Security Council,
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**Bordering
On
Treason?**

*The Trial
and Conviction of
Arif Durrani*

Lawrence Lifschultz
Steven Galster
Rabia Ali

They Never Sleep

Louis Wolf

CIA Public Affairs Marches On

The aerial photo of CIA headquarters under a dawn sky in *Time* (May 14) makes the place look downright inviting. The entire puff piece bolsters the fiction: smiling, crisply dressed young professionals hover studiously over glowing computer terminals, while others practice *tae kwon do* in lieu of lunch. What wholesome discipline!

Time did let snippets of reality creep in, such as a view of soggy mounds of pulp — the remains of shredded and de-inked documents. In a photo captioned “the data game,” a technician examines a robotic filing device inside “...one of nine storage silos. Each silo holds 5,900 computer tapes, containing 1.2 million megabytes of information.” That is mega bytes.

A Bank Made Just for the CIA

Mega improprieties by the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) first surfaced in 1986. William von Raab, formerly Reagan’s Customs chief, speaks openly of how the CIA stonewalled early investigations. According to von Raab, in an October 1988 phone conversation with then CIA Deputy Director Robert Gates, Bush’s golden boy referred to BCCI as “the Bank of Crooks and Criminals International.” (*Financial Times*, July 15)

BCCI operations have included: transferring and hiding millions stolen by such longtime CIA clients as Ferdinand Marcos and “Papa Doc” Duvalier; laundering drug money; arranging pay-offs; operating a clandestine Pakistan unit involved in protection racketeering, drug-running, prostitution, and murder; and facilitating purchases of nuclear weapons materiel. Frustrated by federal resistance to his investigations into BCCI, Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau called BCCI “the largest bank fraud in world financial history.” (*Boston Globe*, August 2)

Agency flacks are laboring to put a cushion between BCCI and the CIA. On July 14 the designated spokesperson stated: “Any allegations of unlawful use of BCCI by the agency are without foundation.” (*Financial Times*, July 15) Read that one again carefully. Is Langley saying the CIA’s “use” of BCCI in the furtherance of its unlawful activities was lawful? Or, that BCCI has been a functioning CIA proprietary? As we know, thanks to Agency secrecy and congressional collusion, proprietaries are entirely legal.

Bravol

In 1987 it was revealed that Southern Air Transport, though ostensibly no longer a CIA proprietary, had evolved into a modern version of Air America. While doing regular contract work for the Pentagon, Southern Air could immediately transform itself into a covert air force for the CIA. (*CAIB* Number 27,

Spring 1987) In Miami, “A jury found in favor of a Miami television station in a libel suit filed by Southern Air Transport after a series of 1987 [TV] reports linking the cargo carrier to a CIA guns-for-drugs scheme.” (*Washington Post*, July 31)

Not NOW

In July, many National Organization for Women (NOW) delegates to the 25th annual convention in New York were a bit surprised. Among the 60-odd booths was one with a large sign asking: “Is your future with the FBI?” An advertisement in a convention program urged: “Add something unique to your wardrobe...and your life.” The ad was illustrated with a woman agent, handcuffs and a revolver. Opponents of this “above-ground” infiltration made short work of the mess. When the FBI personnel departed for lunch, a group of NOW activists disassembled the booth and confiscated the recruitment literature.

Mementos Mori

Scholars once kept skulls on their desks to remind them of the shortness of life. Today you can buy a “Commemorative Desert Storm Bomber Jacket...warm, soft, and rugged,” complete with plush-pile collar, brass zipper, cargo and sleeve pockets, heat-holding ribbed-knit cuffs and hipband, American flag sleeve patch, and Desert Storm chest emblem: an eagle swooping down on Iraq.

The jacket is unexceptional, as such phenomena go: the usual suspects have been frantically scraping the last dollars off the bones of the dead. San Diego’s war parade was sponsored by General Dynamics, Wells Fargo Bank, and Pepsi. Anheuser-Busch held “freedom festivals” in Dallas, Austin, San Antonio, and Houston. Chevron gave away flag decals (with fill-up, of course).

Soldiers who escaped the fire, friendly and otherwise, can get rebates on GM cars, Delta airline tickets, and free admission to Disneyland. Franklin Mint is marketing a \$195 F-14 jet fighter in pewter. A Vermont auto dealer offers a “patriotic” Desert Storm pen and pencil set with every new car.

The Real Cost

On June 29, the South Africa-supported Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO or MNR) conducted a raid on Lalaua, a small town in Mozambique’s northern Nampula province. According to survivors, some 1,000 people in Lalaua and surrounding villages were decapitated, and their heads placed in shop windows and on store shelves. The homes of more than 2,000 peasants were burned down. Right-wing U.S. support for RENAMO is critical to the group’s operations inside Mozambique. ●

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