

Figure on N. Vietnam's Killing 'Just a Guess,' Author Says

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

"It was just a guess, an estimate that nobody could figure," said the author of a book the White House has cited in documenting President Nixon's charge that the North Vietnamese massacred "half a million" people while imposing land reform in the 1950s.

Hoang Van Chi, author of "From Colonialism to Communism," said in an interview yesterday that he arrived at a figure in that range by projecting countrywide the experience in his own North Vietnamese village of about 200 persons. He said about 10 people died there from Communist persecution, one from execution and the rest by such "other means" as imposed starvation.

He said he used that 5 per cent rate in his village, plus what he learned from others in North Vietnam, as the basis for declaring in his 1964 book that there was a "massacre of about five per cent of the total population" in North Vietnam.

President Nixon's National Security Council, in listing Chi's book as one source for Mr. Nixon's massacre figures, said that 5 per cent of the North Vietnamese population when Chi made his estimate "would be about 700,000" people.

Mr. Nixon has cited the massacre figure of "half a million" in making the case for continued United States support of the South Vietnamese government. On April 16, 1971, he said: "I think of a half a million by conservative estimates in North Vietnam who were murdered or otherwise exterminated by the North Vietnamese after they took over from the South."

More recently, on July 27, President Nixon said from 1954 to 1956 in the North Vietnamese Communists' "so-called land reform program 50,000 were murdered, assassinated." Mr. Nixon added that the Catholic Bishop of Danang told him in 1956 that "there were at least a half million who died in slave labor camps in North Vietnam."

D. Gareth Porter, a research associate at Cornell University's International Relations of East Asia Project, charged in a paper distributed by the university on Monday that "careful investigation" showed such bloodbath charges were "a myth." Chi's book was "the central piece" in "a deliberate propaganda campaign by the South Vietnamese and U.S. governments to discredit" the North Vietnamese government, Porter claimed.

Donald Brewster of the National Security Council staff said Chi's book was only one of several sources used in making the "half a million" estimate. Porter claimed some of the other sources cited by the council appeared to drawn from Chi's work.

Chi himself, a course chairman at the State Department's Washington Training Center and lecturer in Asian affairs, made these points yesterday in responding to Porter's attacks on his credentials and scholarship:

- CIA sponsorship. Chi said he thanked the Congress for Cultural

Freedom in the foreword to his book for its financial assistance but had no way of knowing back then that Central Intelligence Agency money went to the organization. "Porter tried to link me to the CIA," complained Chi.

- "Wealthy" landowner charge. Porter charged that Chi could not be impartial in discussing land reform in North Vietnam because he was a "relatively wealthy landowner" before leaving there for the South in 1955. Chi said he had sold off the acreage he had inherited and was down to 2.7 acres in the North in 1953.

A man with that little land, said Chi, is not a wealthy landowner. Besides, he said, Communist Party members all the way up to and including Ho Chi Minh owned more land than he did in North Vietnam at the time of land reform.

"I'm for redistribution of land," said Chi, "but against the method that was applied" in North Vietnam. He said he was considered a revolutionary in the Vietminh, resistance against the

French but was not a formal member of any Communist Party.

- Translations. Porter accused Chi of distorting North Vietnamese policy statements and slogans by inaccurately translating them into English for his book. Chi conceded he had not stuck to the literal translation in all cases because he was trying to impart the true meaning—the one that mattered. "I should have added a footnote" explaining that, Chi said.

His experience on the ground in North Vietnam influenced his translations, and, he argued, made them more meaningful to the reader trying to perceive what was really going on.

"I deplore the ease of many scholars who try to understand communism by reading documents," Chi said. "You cannot read books on communism and know it. You have to live under a communist regime to know it."

Declaring that his book was printed in both Vietnamese and English, Chi said Vietnamese who have read both versions would have complained if his

translations were inaccurate. He said he had received no such complaints.

Porter in his paper charged Chi had mistranslated a basic Communist slogan in discussing the party's takeover of North Vietnam. "I report what I hear," said Chi, "not what they put in documents."

"I stick to my view," said Chi, "that land reform (in North Vietnam) was a pretext for a mass purge. I'm for land reform for South Vietnam. I left North Vietnam for the way land reform is practiced."

"Some of my family died from starvation," he said in discussing the persecution in North Vietnam during land reform. "I'm not very firm about the figure" of how many were purged "because it was only an estimate." Chi said since his book came out, a defector has estimated 300,000 North Vietnamese were purged during the land reform campaign.

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Scene

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Think Tank Party

By David Legge

When the Rev. R. J. Henle began his presidency of Georgetown University three years ago, students demanded he shut down the university's Center for Strategic and International Studies "because they thought it was supported by CIA funds, a tool of the military-industrial complex and because it was conservative and fascist," he said last night.

Henle spoke to some 200 members of the international corporate and intellectual community who had come together to mark the 10th anniversary of what is popularly known as Georgetown's "think tank."

Though little-known even among Georgetown students (the Center's offices are located off-campus at 1800 K St. NW), the Center has been turning out esoteric publications on the state of the world since Adm. Arleigh "31-Knot" Burke, former

chief of Naval Operations, founded the operation in 1962.

Last night, Burke ended his formal active duty with the Center to become as he put it, the "out-of-residence son of a bitch" and "to get to know my wife" (to whom he's been married for nearly 50 years).

Burke has been chairman of the Center for nine of the last 10 years, "an unpopular position," Burke said last night, "because it's always unpopular when you present all sides of the issues."

Burke said he expects no great change in direction at the Center, although one former fellow said its orientation has been changing gradually over the years away from its mainly militaristic studies toward more liberal topics and points of view.

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CIA FUNDING CHALLENGED

PRESS SUPPRESSES STORY

Mass Media Ignore Item

A virtual news blackout has been declared by the nation's press concerning the major legal challenges that have been launched against the Central Intelligence Agency.

The August 10 filing of a suit in Washington against CIA Director Richard Helms and other government officials was a matter of court record and easily accessible to the news media. In addition, a news release containing essential facts about the story was hand delivered to the Washington Post, the Evening Star, the Associated Press and United Press International.

A week later, not one line concerning it had appeared anywhere in the country.

Earlier this year on July 20, an important decision in the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals guaranteed that the CIA would be brought to court on a challenge that had been in process since 1968. America's greatest newspaper "of record" the New York Times, ignored the story, as did the Washington Evening Star and most other papers. The Washington Post carried the story as a small item on page ten.

It was confirmed that editors were well aware of the story and its importance.

A call to one of Washington's two dailies produced this comment from a leading reporter: "You can call it a 'press conspiracy' if you like, but we're not going to print it and I'm sure no one else is either."

Court Moves Hit Secrecy

**Special to the Virginia Weekly*

America's "invisible government," the Central Intelligence (CIA), owes its existence to a piece of legislation that is unconstitutional.

This is the likely import of recent actions in Federal Courts in Washington and Philadelphia.

In a suit filed August 10, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, three Washingtonians challenged the secrecy of the CIA's funding and accounting.

The Washington suit followed closely a trail-blazing decision on July 20 of this year by the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. In that decision a majority of the court held that there was a serious legal question concerning the constitutionality of the CIA act of 1949 which established a secret procedure for financing the agency.

A VIRTUALLY IGNORED CLAUSE

Both court cases are based on a virtually ignored clause of the United States Constitution specifically requiring that "a regular Statement and Account of the Receipt and Expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time." The CIA act of 1949 just as explicitly states "...Sums made available to the Agency may be expended without regard to the provisions of Government funds."

The spy agency receives somewhere between four and twenty billion dollars each year in public funds (how much is a closely guarded secret) that are carefully hidden throughout the appropriations figures for the entire federal government.

The new suit also asks for a state-by-state and nation-by-nation breakdown of CIA expenditures, as well as separating the money into categories by functions. CIA Director Richard Helms and Eliot Richardson, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare are brought into the local suit.

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Assembly At SIU Peaceful

By A Courier Staff Writer

CARBONDALE, Ill. — About 400 demonstrators gathered in front of the president's office at Southern Illinois University here Thursday evening for a peaceful 45-minute show of disapproval of the Indochina war and the SIU Vietnam Study Center.

The display came in the wake of more violent action Wednesday night when 1,500 students ignored an 11 p.m. curfew—resulting in 54 arrests — and \$5,000 damage to store windows in the downtown area.

SIU president David Derge condemned the rampage as the "work of small destructive groups which has been attempting to perpetrate such violence for more than a month."

One of the demands of the group Thursday night was that assistant philosophy professor Doug Allen be reinstated and given the tenure he was refused in February for "subversive influence upon students," a source said.

CIA Backed

The demonstrators also called for a severance of ties between the University and the SIU Vietnam study Center — A research program accused by the protesters of being "a CIA backed agency."

The SIU Student senate voted Thursday afternoon to help pay the \$5,000 window damage in the 15 stores and to condemn the Wednesday demonstration and warn students against participating in further night protests.

Derge said the candlelight rally which preceded the violence in the downtown area was sanctioned by the student government and peaceful.

He placed the number of the group at a maximum of 200 persons and said members have allied themselves with Allen whose tenure has been denied and who is greatly opposed to the Vietnamese Studies Center on campus.

Derge said it was "regrettable" the violence occurred "in the company of a large number of persons who themselves were not bent on violence."

Carbondale authorities placed the number of persons on the streets during the rampage at 2,000.

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Antiwar forces hit the streets

Strike called, new actions set

By Irwin Silber

Massive, nationwide protests against the U.S. escalation of the Indochina War—and particularly the renewed bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong—are developing a vigorous momentum.

At Guardian press time (April 19), actions, demonstrations, strikes and rallies had been reported from more than 50 cities and scores of college campuses.

The antiwar response was focusing on three main actions:

—A nation-wide student strike called for April 21, by the National Student Association (NSA) in conjunction with more than 30 student government presidents.

—The April 22 mass marches and rallies in New York and Los Angeles called by the National Peace Action Council (NPAC) and a similar action in San Francisco under the auspices of the Anti-Imperialist Coalition. All sectors of the antiwar movement were uniting in support of these demonstrations.

—An Emergency National Antiwar Moratorium calling for one-hour (noon to 1 p.m.) rallies, work stoppages and similar actions on May 4, the second anniversary of the Kent State murders.

Strike wave builds on campuses

The April 21 student strike, called on one week's notice, was shaping up as the most massive outpouring of campus antiwar protest since the spring of 1970 when student reaction to the invasion of Cambodia virtually shut down the nation's colleges for more than a week.

Even before the national strike date, a wave of strikes and other militant actions began erupting on campuses across the country. As of noon on April 18, students were already reported out or taking strike votes at Columbia University, Stanford, the University of Illinois in Champaign, University of Wisconsin, Amherst College and Chicago Theological School. Groups of students at Colgate University, N.Y., and Grinnell College, Iowa, were reported on hunger strikes. From Boston came a report that demonstrating students at Holy Cross University had set fire to the ROTC building on campus.

At the same time, campus demonstrations spilled out onto the streets in Washington, D.C. where students at American University blocked traffic on Massachusetts Avenue and at the University of Maryland where students severed Route 1 and temporarily stopped traffic on this key interstate artery. Police opened the road again with tear gas.

At Harvard, students briefly occupied the university's Center for International Affairs,

accused of being a training center for CIA agents among other things. About 200 students broke into the building while another 300 remained outside. Office equipment was damaged or tossed out windows and antiwar slogans were spraypainted on walls inside. A small fire was reportedly set but it was quickly put out.

The building occupation came early in the evening April 18 when the 500 students broke away from a larger march of 2000 people who were marching from the Boston Commons to Harvard Square. Police in riot gear sealed off the square, fired tear gas and arrested at least two persons. A 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew also was imposed. With the square sealed off, other students marched into the business district of Cambridge, Mass., where they broke windows in the post office building, several stores and an IBM office.

The protests were started by 1000 students and other young people at the University of Wisconsin in Madison who marched on the State Capitol on April 13 in a demonstration against the bombing called by the student government and several local government officials. The demonstrators invaded bank offices, rallied on the state capitol grounds and burned an effigy of Nixon. At one point they overran police lines. Four days later, more than 3000 youths in Madison marched on the University's ROTC building and smeared blood on the walls.

Major actions were also reported at Columbia University in New York City (April 17) where 2000 students marched down Broadway to demonstrate against the bombing of Haiphong; the University of Florida in Gainesville, University of Chicago, San Francisco State, Brown, Holy Cross, Boston U., Utah and dozens of others.

A representative of NSA told the Guardian that more than 200 colleges and universities were expected to shut down on April 21 in response to the strike call. Student newspapers at eight Ivy League Colleges—Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton and Yale—carried a joint editorial endorsing the April 21 strike.

April 22: Mass protests

Meanwhile, the April 22 mass demonstrations in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco were shaping up into massive outpourings of protest. Originally seen as actions of somewhat modest proportions the three marches and rallies were building into huge demonstrations. Many tens of thousands of protesters who had been at best lukewarm about the mass marches, were now planning to participate and help

build the actions as the most immediate and effective response to the renewed bombings.

NPAC reported that its offices were being flooded with endorsements of the April 22 demonstrations by labor leaders, congressional figures, civic officials, student leaders, cultural figures and others. Among the most recent endorsers are Victor Reuther of the United Automobile Workers Union and Victor Gottbaum of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Senators Gravel, Hart, Hartke, Mondale and Muskie; Wendell Anderson, the Governor of Minnesota; also Betty Friedan, Joseph Heller, Bess Meyerson, Arthur Miller, Kate Millet, Huey Newton and William Styron.

Original estimates of a march of 50,000 in New York, 10,000 in Los Angeles and 20,000 in San Francisco were being revised upward by the hour. More than 100,000 are expected to throng the streets of New York on April 22. Large delegations of demonstrators from Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia and cities in Connecticut, New Jersey and upper New York State were making plans to come to the New York action.

A key factor in the developing support for the April 22 demonstrations was the renewed "vigorous support" given the actions by both the national office and regional offices of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). At a press conference in New York City, PCPJ spokesman David McReynolds restated the organization's call for "full support to April 22." He urged all antiwar forces to participate in the action.

Among the contingents planning to participate in the New York march was the Attica Brigade. Describing itself as "an anti-imperialist coalition," the group plans to carry flags of the National Liberation Front and to demonstrate with slogans of support for the Vietnamese liberation struggle and support for the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples at home. The group, which expects upward of 3000 people to march together in a disciplined fashion, expressed full support of the rally. Asked about charges that the contingent had disrupted the Nov. 6 antiwar assembly in Central Park, Attica Brigade representatives denied the accusations and stated that they were opposed to any disruptive actions directed against the April 22 demonstration.

Moratorium called

The May 4 Emergency Moratorium is being organized by a group of individuals associated with the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., in conjunction with the NSA and some of the

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the world being the way it was it could only cause me and the Agency problems. He readily agreed not to.

3. All of this took about 2 minutes. The rest of the conversation dealt with the purposes and dynamics of professional meetings such

**ADMINISTRATIVE
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Chinese Full of Questions About U.S.

STATINTL

By Richard Bernstein
Special to the Washington Post

The writer recently spent five weeks in China with a delegation of Concerned Asian Scholars.

PEKING—Most Chinese are very curious about the United States. At first, however, they are often shy about asking questions of the rare American visitor they encounter.

But once the ice has been broken and the Chinese reserve overcome, questions put to Americans in China are likely to be numerous and varied.

The questions, moreover, often say more about the way Chinese look at America than the visitor's answers are likely to tell him about what America is like.

The most common question I heard in China was "What are the conditions of the American peasantry?"

One has to allow for the fact that in Chinese there is no way of distinguishing farmer from peasant.

Concern About Farming

Still, people who live in a country where 85 per cent of the population consists of peasants are bound to be concerned with agrarian life in the United States, even after they learn that only 6 per cent of Americans earn their living by farming.

Many Questions

In Shenyang, in the northeast province of Liaoning, officials in the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture asked me a long series of questions about American agriculture.

They wanted to know the size of the average farm, the proportion of farm laborers to farm owners, and the average yield per acre of various crops.

They also asked questions with a historical perspective: What is the size of the average farm, and how

much has it increased over the past several decades?

Large theoretical questions, phrased quite naturally in Marxist terms, were also frequent.

"Can you describe the American social structure?" was one request I met with a couple of times. Or, "What is the form of struggle of the American working class?"

Workers, as one might expect, ask questions about workers, such as how much they make, whether they live in dormitories, and whether workers can be fired at the whim of their employer.

In a workers' dormitory where I lived for two nights, the three young men with whom I shared a room had lots of specific questions about salaries, rents, the prices of food and clothing.

Rent \$1

In the dormitory, they pay about \$1 a month for rent and about \$7 for food out of their monthly \$20 salaries. Their response on being told American prices was to report quite proudly, "We always thought Americans were very rich people. But now we see that your life is actually much more difficult than ours."

When I pointed out that many American workers were actually well off by comparison with Chinese workers, they countered, "But American workers don't own the means of production like Chinese workers do. They are still exploited."

At Wuhan and Peking Universities, many people wanted to know about the American student movement, its tactics and organizations.

"Now," I was asked frequently, "can the students be openly opposed to the Vietnam war and still remain in the United States?"

'Serve the People'

A couple of times after hearing the International, the world Communist anthem, students and workers both wanted to know if the song could be sung openly in the United States. Some seemed a bit dubious when I claimed it could.

At the universities, questions about teaching methods, curriculum and student-teacher relations are comparatively rare. So are questions about students' future plans. In fact, if a Chinese

is asked what he wants to do after graduation, his reply more often than not will be: "That depends on the needs of the state. I'll do whatever I can to serve the people."

Only once did somebody state a specific choice for the future. A young female student at Peking University who had been a barefoot doctor in the countryside told me she hoped to become a doctor after graduation.

There are also a lot of detailed questions. Shih Yung-Chih, an old Honan peasant at whose home I lived for a couple of days, was interested in knowing how old people live to be in America and how far it is from the eastern to the western borders. He also asked how cold it gets in winter, on what kind of beds Americans sleep, and whether they eat primarily millet or wheat for breakfast.

He also wanted to know how much my watch, my camera and my coat cost. And he was very curious to know why, when I detached my camera lens and held it at arm's length, the image appeared upside down.

At the university, I met several professors who had received their Ph.D.s at American universities before the Chinese revolution. They asked primarily after people they had known, especially after their old American teachers, many of whom had died. Others, I had never even heard of.

The most informed and

searching questions anybody asks in China are those of Premier Chou En-lai's. In a recent interview with a delegation of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, the premier remarked that he has not yet had a chance to go to the United States, though many Americans have come to China. Until then, he added, discussions in Peking would have to serve as his window on the West.

With that brief preface, the premier launched into a series of casual, but penetrating, questions about various aspects of American life. He asked about pollution, about industry, about social changes in American cities. He also wanted to know if there was a CIA agent this year studying at the Harvard East Asian Research Center.

To those who had been to Taiwan, he asked about the conditions of life there and whether Taiwanese students would like to visit the mainland.

And he admitted that the Chinese know little about the West and that they should know more.

The discussion was informal, but Chou was not making small talk. His questions were searching, and he built succeeding questions on prior responses. He was not satisfied with easy generalizations.

The premier was relaxed and gracious. But one thing was clear. He, like many Chinese, wanted to know.

**IN THE MIDST OF WARS:
 An American's Mission
 to Southeast Asia**

by Edward Geary Lansdale
 Harper & Row, 386 pp., \$12.50

Reviewed by Jonathan Mirsky

■ With the exception of the Pentagon Papers, Edward Geary Lansdale's memoir could have been the most valuable eyewitness account of the internationalizing of the Indochinese war. Lansdale, a "legendary figure" even in his own book, furnished the model for the Ugly American who, from 1950 through 1953, "helped" Magsaysay put down the Huk revolution in the Philippines. He then proceeded to Vietnam where, between 1954 and 1956, he stuck close to Ngo Dinh Diem during Diem's first shaky years when Washington couldn't make up its mind whom to tap as the American alternative to Ho Chi Minh. Lansdale's support insured Diem as the final choice for Our Man in Saigon. While the book's time span is, therefore, relatively brief, the period it covers in the Philippines and Vietnam is genuinely important.

There is only one difficulty with *In the Midst of Wars*: from the cover to the final page it is permeated with lies. That Harper & Row finds it possible to foist such a package of untruths on the public—and for \$12.50!—several months after the emergence of the Pentagon Papers, and years after the publication of other authoritative studies, exhibits contempt for a public trying to understand the realities of our engagement in Vietnam.

The lie on the jacket describes Lansdale merely as an OSS veteran who spent the years after World War II as a "career officer in the U.S. Air Force." In the text Lansdale never offers any explicit evidence to the contrary. Indeed, on page 378—the last of the text—he states that at the very time Diem was being murdered in Saigon, "I had been retired from the Air Force."

For all I know Lansdale drew his pay from the Air Force and, as the photographs in his book attest, he certainly wore its uniform. This is irrelevant. Lansdale was for years a senior operative of the Central Intelligence Agency; on page 244 of the Department of Defense edition of the Pentagon Papers, Lansdale, two other men, and Allen Dulles are identified as representing the CIA at a meeting of the President's Special Committee on Indochina held on January 29, 1954.

Why is this important? Because if there is one word Lansdale uses repeatedly it is "help"—and he uses it personally, simulating a Lone Ranger-like urge to offer spontaneous assistance. Thus, the first day he ever saw Diem, "... the thought occurred to me that perhaps he needed help. ... I voiced this to Ambassador Heath. ... Heath told me to go ahead." The informal atmosphere continues when Lansdale, upon actually meeting Diem, immortalizes him as "the alert and eldest of the seven dwarfs deciding what to do about Snow White."

Further desires to serve inform Lansdale's concern for the "masses of people living in North Vietnam who would want to ... move out before the communists took over." These unfortunate, too, required "help." Splitting his "small team" of Americans in two, Lansdale saw to it that "One half, under Major Conein, engaged in refugee work in the North."

"Major" Lucien Conein, who was to play the major role the CIA had in the murder of Diem in 1963, is identified in the secret CIA report included by the *Times* and Beacon editions of the Pentagon Papers (see SR, Jan. 1, 1972) as an agent "assigned to MAAG [Military Assistance Advisory Group] for cover purposes." The secret report refers to Conein's refugee "help" as one of his "cover duties." His real job: "responsibility for developing a paramilitary organization in the North, to be in position when the Vietminh took over ... the group was to be trained and supported by the U.S. as patriotic Vietnamese." Conein's "helpful" teams also attempted to sabotage Hanoi's largest printing establishment and wreck the local bus company. At the beginning of 1955, still in Hanoi, the CIA's Conein infiltrated more agents into the North. They "became normal citizens, carrying out everyday civil pursuits, on the surface." Aggression from the North, anyone?

Lansdale expresses particular pleasure with the refugee movement to the South. These people "ought to be provided with a way of making a fresh start in the free South. ... [Vietnam] was going to need the vigorous participation of every citizen to make a success of the noncommunist part of the new nation before the proposed plebiscite was held in 1956." Lansdale modestly claims that he "passed along" ideas on how to wage psychological warfare to "some nationalists." The Pentagon Papers, however, reveal that the CIA "engineered a black psywar strike in Hanoi: leaflets signed by the Vietminh ... how to behave for the Vietminh take-

over of the Hanoi region in early October [1954] including items about property, money reform, and a three-day holiday of workers upon takeover. The day following the distribution of these leaflets, refugee registration tripled."

The refugees—Catholics, many of whom had collaborated with the French—were settled in the South, in communities that, according to Lansdale, were designed to "sandwich" Northerners and Southerners "in a cultural melting pot that hopefully would give each equal opportunity."

Robert Scigliano, who at this time was advising the CIA-infiltrated Michigan State University team on how to "help" Diem, saw more than a melting pot:

Northerners, practically all of whom are refugees, [have] preempted many of the choice posts in the Diem government. ... [The] Diem regime has assumed the aspect of a carpet bag government in its disproportion of Northerners and Centralists ... and in its Catholicism. ... The Southern people do not seem to share the anticommunist vehemence of their Northern and Central compatriots, by whom they are sometimes referred to as unreliable in the communist struggle. ... [While] priests in the refugee villages hold no formal government posts they are generally the real rulers of their villages and serve as contacts with district and provincial officials.

Graham Greene, a devout Catholic, observed in 1955 after a visit to Vietnam, "It is Catholicism which has helped to ruin the government of Mr. Diem, for his genuine piety has been exploited by his American advisers until the Church is in danger of sharing the unpopularity of the United States."

Wherever one turns in Lansdale the accounts are likely to be lies. He reports how Filipinos, old comrades from the anti-Huk wars, decided to "help" the struggling Free South. The spontaneity of this pan-Asian gesture warms the heart—until one learns from Lansdale's own secret report to President Kennedy that here, too, the CIA had stage-managed the whole business. The Eastern Construction Company turns out to be a CIA-controlled "mechanism to permit the deployment of Filipino personnel in other Asian countries for unconventional operations. ... Philippine Armed Forces and other governmental personnel were 'sheep-dipped' and sent abroad."

Elsewhere Lansdale makes much of Diem's success against the various sects, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, and Binh Xuyen. He was advised by Lansdale who, at one pathetic

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Our Slant

Berkeley Most Radical City

By ED MINTEER

SAN FRANCISCO—Berkeley, seat of the University of California, probably must be rated as the nation's most radical and leftist city—at least its city government.

The Berkeley City Council has moved to halt any expansion of war-related industries. In a resolution adopted by a vote of 6-2 the Council ordered the planning commission to begin investigation of the city's ability to regulate activities and locations of all war-related industries and to use "city ordinances and zoning laws to prohibit any further expansion of such industries."

The city attorney's office was directed to "work with interested persons in the community to prepare reports every three months on what war-related industries are operating in the city. The resolution defined war-related industries as those that have "contracts with the Department of Defense or Central Intelligence Agency related with the war in Southeast Asia."

Presumably the resolution also included the university. The radical action did not end with that resolution. A second resolution passed by the same 6 to 2 vote called on the U.S. "to stop all bombing in Southeast Asia, cease all support of the Saigon regime and withdraw all troops from Southeast Asia now."

IN ITS LAST CITY election Berkeley elected three avowed radicals to the council along with a mayor who displayed considerable sympathy with their political philosophy.

Bay area radicalism had its first major eruption some seven years ago when UC Berkeley staged a major campus revolution. That was the beginning of a militant campus regime that spread rapidly to many other campuses over the nation.

The UC Berkeley campus after a long period of demonstrations, fires, bombings, violence and great property damage has settled down and approached what might be termed "near normalcy."

In the meantime Berkeley had become the mecca for young radicals and leftists who had no connection with the university. They were attracted to the university city because of the school's militant activities. Thus Berkeley's radical and leftist population greatly increased.

These radicals and militants do not yet constitute a majority but are numerous

enough to make for a powerful political factor when they "hang together."

That is what they did in the election that catapulted three radicals into the city's council. The majority vote of middle-roaders and conservatives was divided among too many candidates. A conservative group is now seeking to amend the city's organic law to call for run-off elections. If that movement is unsuccessful Berkeley is likely long to remain branded as the country's most radically governed city.

STATINTL

Is everyone in the CIA?

By Dan Pinck

What do John Gardner, head of Common Cause; Richard Ellman, literary critic; Hugh Gregg, former governor of New Hampshire; Dong Kingman, artist; Leroy Anderson, composer; Eugene McCarthy, presidential candidate in 1968; George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and Everett E. Hagan, head of MIT's Center for International Studies and Daniel Ellsberg's boss — have in common?

Well, they're all loyal Americans and they all share space in a remarkable reference work called "Who's Who in CIA."

For at least a decade, broad areas of American intelligence operations have been known intimately by members of the press and by leading newspaper, magazine and broadcasting executives. Some of these people were in the service of the CIA themselves. Others presumably allowed members of their staffs to cooperate with and report to the CIA.

This information does not come from The New York Times or the Columbia Broadcasting System. It does not come directly from classified documents within the CIA. It does not come from a gossip column or a late-night news show. It does not come from the Rand Corporation.

It comes from a 605-page book titled *Who's Who In CIA* and subtitled *A Biographical Reference Work of the Officers of the Civil and Military Branches of the Secret Services of the USA in 120 Countries*.

Dan Pinck is a freelance writer, teacher and education consultant who lives in Belmont. Graphic art is by Herbert Rogalski.

Who's Who's In CIA was published in English, in 1968, by Julius Mader, 1066 Berlin W66, Mauerstrasse 69.

In his introduction publisher Mader refers to the United States' "disposal-subversionist war" and he writes that "the intelligence service in the USA is the largest and most influential in the imperialist world" and further observes that "the intelligence service of the USA has always been the domain of the fanatical enemies of democracy and a stronghold of the anti-communists." There's no doubt where Mader's sympathies lie. In his introduction he also notes those who helped him compile the book. These include Mohamed Abdelnabi, of Beirut, Lebanon; Ambalal Bhatt, of Bombay; Fernando Gamarro of Mexico City, and Shozo Ohashi, of Yokohama. There are 3000 entries in the reference work and they range from US ambassadors, artists and museum curators to the directors of Asian and Russian research centers at leading American universities to political affairs officers, cultural affairs officers and AID controllers at various US embassies overseas to employees of The New York Times and CBS. The listing is an impressive one and even allowing for errors that even intelligence services can make, it is likely a reasonably accurate accounting of certain leading operatives and associates of the CIA.

I bought my copy of *Who's Who in CIA* in a book shop in Georgetown, in Washington, D.C. for \$4.95. The bookshop is not a subversive one; its main fare is academia, fiction and literary biographies. It was bought because of my curiosity about intelligence services in general, an interest that began when I was in the OSS in China, as the nearest American to Hong Kong. A cursory sampling of names were recognizable to me, bearing out my own personal knowledge

In the intervening months I read the book through, and with the publication of the Pentagon Papers, it became a lively and fascinating resource and complement to the published secret documents.

In one embassy with approximately 55 staff members, for example, the book picked out one person as the CIA operative. Since that particular name was known to me it began to give a ring of authenticity to the entire listing. When it noted certain US officials that I had met on several tours in 16 African nations as being CIA-associated, the sense of authenticity grew firmer; when it listed the name of Dan A. Mitrone, who was kidnaped and killed in Brazil several years ago and who was identified at that time as an AID official, as an operative of the CIA, it's additional evidence that the work is as legitimate (and as nefarious) as it can reasonably be.

The book lists the operatives who have served throughout the world. The German Federal Republic leads the roster with 264 operatives. Monaco and Antarctica bring up the end of the list, with one each. In between: Ghana (14); the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (99); Mexico (90); Barbados (22); Ireland (17); Nigeria (32); France (141); Uganda (8); Vietnam (133); Ethiopia (24) Chile (42); and Hong Kong (71).

The book lists operatives in newspapers and magazines, including Time, Life, Fortune, Newsweek, Sports Illustrated, US News and World Report; in a number of industrial firms, including Bankers Trust, First National City Bank, Westinghouse, RCA, NBC, CBS, Gulf Oil Corp., Standard Oil Company, Bank of America, Litton Industries, Kimberley-Clark Corporation of Canada,

22 NOV 1971

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Asia Anthropology: Science or Spying?

By Stephen Isaacs

Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Nov. 21—

One of America's foremost intellectual societies, the American Anthropological Association, ended its 70th annual meeting here today, but it did not end the volatile, distinctly unintellectual uproar within its membership over whether some members' research in Southeast Asia has been more political than scientific.

The association went through two explosive sessions on the issue, finally adopting a position on its late Saturday, a position decrying new dangers in anthropology.

For the last 20 months, the organization has feuded over the implication that some anthropologists working among hill tribes in northern Thailand, supposedly studying ways of life as anthropologists do, were in fact spies for the U.S. Department of Defense and the royal Thai government.

Underlying the thousands of words and multiple sub-issues raised by the various factions is the worry that anthropologists' detailing of the life style of a group of people—including such seemingly mundane details as forest trails, working times, gathering places and so forth—end up in diagrams for a low-level bombing run.

If nothing else, the debate underscores the U.S. government's extensive funding of social scientists' research in Southeast Asia through the Agency for International Development, through the Central Intelligence Agency and through various agencies of the Department of Defense.

One faction of the Anthropological Association believes fellow members in Thailand provided information to help put down revolution. Another faction believes the anthropologists fought government attempts to subdue revolution there.

Activities of the anthropologists in Thailand surfaced in March, 1970, when a research assistant copied documents from the files of Dr. Michael Moerman of the University of California at Los Angeles. The information made its way first to the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (and into its publication) and to Dr. Eric Wolf, who is chairman of the Anthropological Association's ethics commission.

Dr. Wolf, the students and many other members of the association contend that the documents prove the anthropologists in Thailand were spies.

When Wolf wrote to the four anthropologists identified in the document to obtain explanations, and then told his board that he had done so, the dike opened.

The association's board of directors accused Wolf of exceeding his authority and of acting precipitously, imputing guilt to the four men in his letter without first having talked to them.

Wolf and another ethics committee member, Dr. Joseph G. Jorgensen, both then angrily quit the ethics committee, accusing the organization's leadership of ducking the ethical issue of whether an anthropologist should properly be studying man or, instead, influencing government's hold over men.

"The board," said the two in resigning, "averts its eyes from the real source of a danger which threatens not only the integrity of the association, but the fate and welfare of the people among whom we work."

The issue has since been raised among the membership in furious statements published in the association's monthly news letter.

The board finally appointed a committee to investigate all aspects of the situation, naming its most famous member, Dr. Mar-

The committee's lengthy report was presented at the association's meeting here, and its conclusions—which include absolving any members of ethical wrongdoing in Thailand—were emotionally rejected by the association's membership.

Dr. Mead herself was furious.

"I never intended for anybody to vote up or down on this thing," she told a reporter after a meeting. "You make it clear in your paper that this wasn't intended to be a resolution. It was for background information. I just wanted it presented at the meeting, not voted on. But the board wouldn't let me do it that way."

She indicated that she had been tricked by the board, and said they would not even let her make a statement about the report before it was presented unless she first cleared the wording with board members.

"The makeup of the board changed between the time they asked me to do it and now," she said glumly.

What became clear in the meeting was that the association's younger members see the 69-year-old Dr. Mead as a kind of anthropological Uncle Tom. And it became obvious very quickly that the younger members had the vote. The first vote was 308 to 74 to reject the report's initial portion on anthropological activities in Thailand over the years.

The Mead committee's report made conclusions on all sides of a number of issues, including a provision that Dr. Mead said she considered most important:

"A new ethical imperative has emerged, the obligation to protect data on communities which might expose them to wholesale destruction." This means disguising names, places and identities, she explained.

No one disagreed with that conclusion, but other sections of the report brought hisses and laughs. Its allusions to "McCarthyism of the left" by members who questioned the activities in Thailand were in themselves heckled as McCarthyism.

A contention in the report that studies "under the heading of counter-insurgency" are "much the same activities that were called 'community development' at an earlier time" raised particular hostility.

The report said that expecting funding for research regardless of how it was labeled was "well within the traditional canons of acceptable behavior for the applied anthropologists."

Dr. Steve A. Barnett, a young Princeton social scientist, disagreed, saying that "this is not acceptable behavior for anyone except an imperialist."

Dr. Mead and fellow committee member Dr. David L. Olmsted emphasized that they have read all the evidence available on activities in Thailand and feel the Americans there were doing only good. "Their affection for the country as a whole seemed to shine through very strongly," said Olmsted.

"At the time," he said, they "hoped to change things for the better." They became disillusioned when their efforts in behalf of hill people were thwarted by the government, he said, and "one by one they dropped out."

Dr. Mead, who was president of the association a decade ago, chided members for talking against taking research money from the Department of Defense.

"Almost everyone in this," she said, "has benefited by funds labeled Defense, or at least their students have."

The mood of the 700 members, after an acrimonious four hours that ended early Saturday, was to get rid of the issue. They voted overwhelmingly to reject the report in full and refer the issue back to the board. Dr. Mead and her committee voted with the majority.

Later Saturday, however, the association unanimously approved a resolution incorporating the sense of the Mead committee's important paragraph. Dr. Mead herself seconded the resolution.

This resolution orders the board to set up a continuing body to study organizations that fund and utilize social scientists "in such areas as

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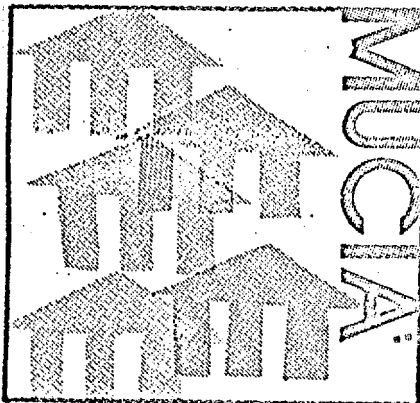
2 Nov 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000100220001-9

By DAN CRYER
First in a series

A \$1 million grant from the main foreign aid arm of the U.S. government has made the University part of an unusual cooperative effort to make technical assistance to underdeveloped countries more effective.

Despite criticism of past foreign aid practices—especially because of alleged CIA connections—the United States Agency for International Development (AID) has funded a five-year research program proposed by the Midwest



Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA).

MUCIA, whose member universities are Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, and Michigan State, was formed by the schools in 1964 to pool their collective expertise in aiding underdeveloped nations.

Although the grant is to MUCIA, headquarters for administration and coordination of research will be at the University. Davis Bobrow, director of the Quigley Center of International Studies, will serve as program director.

The purpose of the \$1 million grant is not to prepare another "development project," but rather to encourage basic research to test what makes for effective development. Such research is necessary because of dissatisfaction with technical assistance on the part of both donor and recipient countries, according to Gail Benjamin, associate program director.

"We've found out you can't just go into a place and toss out a little technology and expect any lasting changes to take place," she said.

In recent years the University's "service" thrust frequently has taken the form of overseas development projects administered and staffed by University faculty. Current and past projects have included economic development in India,

agricultural education in Chile and Indonesia and veterinary medical aid in South Vietnam.

Especially since World War II, the University has seen itself as part of a world community. In that 25-year period, the University has expanded enormously its course offerings in foreign-area studies and languages, particularly in non-Western subjects. Its non-immigrant foreign student population has jumped from 355 in 1947-1948 to 1,661 last year.

The grant money will be used to support research on institution-building in underdeveloped countries, to train graduate students, and to set up a "documentation center" of development studies at the University.

The expected result is that MUCIA, which one faculty member calls "sort of a holding corporation for American talent," will become a "center of enduring competence" whose accumulated expertise may be tapped by both private and government development agencies.

Benjamin said research would study such specific questions as "Does it make any difference to the country if you have a university with extension services to farmers?" She also indicated that interdisciplinary research would be designed to propose and test "systematic theories of social development."

The "basic optimistic assumption" of development projects in poor countries, Bobrow explained, is that changing social institutions will bring "better payoffs of a specific kind." Introducing modern agricultural methods, for example, should increase the country's food supply. But, Bobrow contended, in view of some past discouraging results, it is important to find methods of predicting and overcoming obstacles to development success.

"Ours is really a diagnostic role," Bobrow said. "We aren't treating the social system (of a foreign country) ourselves. But if we look at the social symptomology of the system, we can say what course of action should be taken."

"It's one step back from trying to do something like a five-year plan," he said.

Technical assistance programs have been criticized because they are sometimes planned and administered by experts in a particular specialty. Their lack of interdisciplinary perspective sometimes results in misunderstanding of the foreign culture and, consequently, ineffective programs.

If a project is designed to increase economic productivity in an arid country with a migrating population, Bobrow said, it will have to take into account such variables as labor patterns, rainfall, and the distribution of wealth. "If you're dealing only with economic criteria,

obviously your analysis is very incomplete," he said.

Thus a key feature of the MUCIA program will be the recruitment of interdisciplinary research teams from MUCIA universities. That task, however, may not be easy.

The problem, according to Bobrow, is that institution-building questions "don't fit neatly into most social science disciplines." Benjamin said, "Everybody knows interdisciplinary research is a good thing, but it's very hard to get people to do it."

Trying to impose American ideology on the recipient country is another mistake of past aid programs, Bobrow said. Calling that approach a "pretty fruitless game," he said "one of the few good things to come out of the Vietnam war is that we've learned we can't influence the other country. The whole question of donor control is vastly overplayed."

"Ignoring the autonomy of the recipient is not only wrong normatively, but if you leave it out of the analysis you're going to be wrong empirically, too," Bobrow said.

The revelation several years ago that a Michigan State University police-training project was funded secretly by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) under the guise of AID money still is reverberating in University development circles. But even as it has made them wary of possible CIA involvement, it has not frightened them into refusing AID grants.

William E. Wright, head of the Office of International Programs and campus MUCIA liaison, discounted any possibility of CIA involvement, but said there is "always danger of that happening."

"If we had the slightest odor of CIA, we'd run. In fact, MUCIA refused a recent project in Vietnam because it was too politically charged."

"I don't know if CIA has ever been interested in plant and soil science. None of our people overseas would have any truck with the CIA," Wright insisted.

Benjamin granted that most social science research could be used for "social manipulation or social engineering. I guess you decide what you're going to do about that when you become a social scientist."

A student at Michigan State when the CIA involvement was revealed, Benjamin said, "If I thought it was involved (in the MUCIA project), I wouldn't be involved in it."

Bobrow stressed that AID itself wants the project findings open to anyone. There will be no AID review prior to publication. And there will be no constraints—including security clearances—on the selection of project personnel.

Tomorrow: Some specific AID programs are examined.

October 18, 1971

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nation and a world of people in the search for enlightened truth—this is no easy chore. But with the hopes, dreams and faith in man's ability to reason, and most of all—with open minds—we can succeed and will—

With the strength and fortitude of Columbus, with the persistence and perseverance that drove him to try and try until he obtained sponsorship for his courageous undertaking—in the face of ridicule and scorn from the most respected and authoritative quarters—

And with the strong conviction that we are right and that we will succeed—the same conviction that drove Columbus on through the angry, uncharted seas—and allowed him to rise above the fears and threats of his unwilling crews—

We can and will accomplish our mission just as he did—

By forgetting our differences—by forgetting our prejudices—by putting away stigmas and bigotries—

And thinking only of our common goals—the goals of mankind—

Because history teaches us that success—the kind of success we're talking about—comes only through a meeting of the minds—not through force or coercion or demonstration of superiority.

A meeting of minds—that's what Columbus had going for him, and he kept it going naturally through his attitude of acceptance and understanding.

For although his family and his people had been victimized by religious prejudice—driven from their homes and their homeland in a holocaust not duplicated until Hitler's time.

Columbus sailed from that same land with a crew that was a coalition of many diverse ethnic groups. He had drawn upon the resources of many nations to achieve success—he borrowed from the knowledge, wisdom, finance, advice and comfort of many people.

For while Christopher Columbus was an Italian born in Genoa, Italy—

The woman he married in 1479 was Portuguese—

And his first son in 1480 was born in Lisbon—

And his second son was born in 1482 of a Spanish wife—

And the astronomer who in 1481 advised Columbus was Italian—

And his geographer who gave him considerable advice was French—

And his voyage was financed by Queen Isabella of Spain—

And his official interpreter on that first voyage was a Jew, who spoke many tongues including Arabic and some African dialects—

And it was a Portuguese who first sighted land in the Western Hemisphere and gave his name to the two great continents discovered through the cooperative efforts of that great and diverse coalition—

This is the kind of assimilation of ideas, peoples, and nations, that was required for successful global progress in 1492, and is also the kind of relationship that is absolutely necessary for meaningful and lasting progress today—

And in America more than anywhere else, we have for 200 years had the opportunity to prove a basic point—and that is that no two people are alike and that our superficial differences are a definite, positive asset—not a liability, not a basis for judgment—

For these superficial differences, differences of color, language, culture, and background—are the elements that have come together and been melted and mixed into a strong, flexible and durable alloy—the United States of America.

Ladies and gentlemen, even the most American of Americans will concede that this Nation—its leaders—and its people have made mistakes—and that we have not yet perfected the whole of society—but this Nation's soul is not corrupt—this Nation continues to be credible—for the vast majority of its people are decent people—who abide by the law—and work hard—and fear God as did their forefathers—they are aware of the imperfections in the system but they are trying desperately to secure needed improvements—

I say to you—let the historians argue about the Norsemen from Nova Scotia and the Mongolian monks from far off Tibet—because while they argue the Congress of the United States declared Columbus Day, for the first time this year, as an official national holiday which will be commemorated on October 11.

This is extremely important. First of all it recognizes officially the actions of that supreme navigator and intrepid explorer as the discover of the New World—and secondly it establishes Columbus as the first Italian-American to set foot in the New World.

Ladies and gentlemen—those of us of Italian-American heritage have a special thanks to give—because we can hold our heads high with a special pride and dignity—for our people, from Columbus to the present, have given the world and our country a great deal—because in addition to Columbus, the great explorer—our people have given us—

1. Inventors—Such as Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo.

2. Superstars in sports—Such as Joe DiMaggio, Phil Rizzuto, and Rocky Marciano.

3. Arts—Michelangelo—Verdi.

4. Explorers—Vespucci and John Cabot.

5. Police work—Charles J. Bonaparte who founded the F.B.I.

6. American Revolutionary Hero—Joseph Bگو.

7. Do you know who originated "All men are created equal"?—Joseph Mazzell.

8. Financial genius—Founder of the Bank of America—Amedeo Gianini.

9. Signer of Declaration of Independence—William Pecca.

10. The greatest patriot of them all—Giuseppe Garibaldi.

11. The Father of Nuclear Energy—Enrico Fermi.

12. And how about our women—Gina Lombardi, Virni Lisi, Sophia Loren, and Josephine DiCarlo.

This is a remarkable area of history and greatness—That has contributed to the improvement of our society—and it represents a challenge to all of us Italian Americans to continue to lead and to excel, in every field that we can, and to be proud and to have humility and to have compassion and to have dignity and to have grace and to have understanding.

And we Italian Americans have a special obligation and a special responsibility to help our country become greater because of its discovery by one of our own forefathers.

Ladies and gentlemen—We are a great people—Ohio is a great State and America is a great Nation.

And we must have the vitality, the exuberance, the courage, the vision, the vigor and the energy to become even greater—and to move ahead with optimism and hope and humility—We can become as great as we want to be or we can regress and move backward in desolation and despair.

It may have been Columbus who discovered the New World—

But it is up to you and I to rediscover America.

THE CHINA EXPERTS AND OUR NEW CHINA POLICY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, most Americans are by now well aware that the new China policy has been ushered in by a well-financed and coordinated publicity campaign. Many are still wondering how and why there has been a complete reversal under the apparent leadership of President Nixon. An interesting and most informative document which throws considerable light on the new China policy appeared in the *Herald of Freedom* for September 1971.

The documented *Herald of Freedom* report confirms what informed Americans have known and others suspected for years—that is, our State Department cannot make a mistake in favor of the United States so long as it follows the advice of experts who are Peiping's dear American comrades. No country could prevail in diplomacy by following a surrender blueprint prepared by its enemies.

It makes one wonder what happened to Mr. Nixon's pre-election promises that when elected President he would clean out the State Department.

I include the September 3 issue of the *Herald of Freedom*:

[From the *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 3, 1971]

CHINESE COMMUNISTS, FRIENDS, AND SYMPATHIZERS

The fact that the Attorney General of the United States has failed to add the names of Communist-front organizations to his Subversive List during the last fifteen years does not mean that the Communists have ceased to follow the instructions of Otto Kuusinen, secretary of the Communist International, in his report at the Sixth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations, sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes. . . . We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our party. (Quotations taken from the Communist, May 1931, pp. 402-423.)

Although the Federal Bureau of Investigation has referred to the Attorney General over 50 organizations, groups and special cases over the past 15 years, almost none of these cases has ever been referred to the Subversive Activities Control Board. Communist-front organizations (as defined by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities) "are characterized by their common origin, the rigid conformity of these organizations to the Communist pattern, their interlocking personnel, and their methods generally used to deceive the American public. Being part of a conspiratorial movement, their essence is deception."

A new organization which is obviously a Communist front (Chinese) but which, like its predecessors during the last fifteen years, will fail to be added to the Attorney General's list, is the U.S.-China Friendship Association. Using the address of P.O. Box 40738, San

NORFOLK, VA.
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U of I Weapons Research Ban Rejected by Faculty

By Larry Eckholt
(Register Staff Writer)

IOWA CITY, IA. — Deciding that it is unethical to restrict the pursuit of knowledge in any form, the University of Iowa Faculty Senate Tuesday rejected a proposal to ban all military weapons research on campus here.

By a convincing vote of 44-9, the Faculty Senate defeated proposals which would have banned any research project aimed at the production of a military weapon.

Debate at Tuesday's meeting centered more on the principles of academic freedom and professional ethics than on the morality of war and war-related research.

Define "Weapon"

The proposals, offered by the Faculty Senate's standing committee on "University Relations with the Federal Government," defined a military weapon as "any artifact or natural or artificial substance or object one of whose primary uses is killing, injuring or incapacitating human beings or destroying their means of livelihood, shelter or natural environment and which is used by military or police forces."

Critics of the proposals objected to what they referred to as "vague generalities" contained in the proposals which could conceivably restrict other kinds of research.

Supporters of the amendments argued that the university should maintain neutrality and autonomy in government-sponsored research when it relates to weapons research.

But the overwhelming concern of most Faculty Senate members was the individual professor's right to pursue knowledge, not the morality of an emotional issue, such as war.

Sees Leftist Threat

English professor Robert Corrigan, noting that threats to academic freedom have come in the past, said:

"Increasingly, the threats to my freedom are coming from the left. Banning weapons research is an intrusion into the rights of the faculty just like other groups have tried."

After defeating more amendments which would have controlled the process by which research "directly or indirectly" sponsored by the U.S. Defense Department or by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is funded, the Faculty Senate approved the original report on research guidelines adopted last May by the University Research Council.

U of I President Willard Boyd had referred the council's final report to the Faculty Senate for comment.

Briefly, the guidelines state that all U of I research is expected to fit within or be consistent with university policies and objectives, including the education of students, "the advancement of knowledge through research and scholarship, the preservation and dissemination of knowledge, and the advancement of the public welfare."

Must Contribute

The guidelines state that "no research grant or contract shall be accepted which does not contribute to the educational programs of the university."

It also recommends that a list of all university research — naming its title, amount of funding and source of funding — be of "easy availability to all interested persons" on

The adoption of the University Research Council's report by the Faculty Senate means that the report will be sent to the U of I administration for final approval and implementation.

20 May 1971

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CIA Operates at

By Bill Evers

It used to be generally thought that the leading institutions of American society had separate proper spheres of activity. The tradition of separation of church and state and the conflict between town and gown were aspects of this institutional "separation of powers."

But with increased fusion of governmental activity with industrial activity during the Progressive era and the New Deal and the rise of the military-industrial complex after the Second World War, the actions of the major institutions of American society came to be joined and coordinated at the top levels of their hierarchical structures.

This new institutional configuration found its apologists in academia, who found the modern Leviathan to be an inevitable fact of life and considered it at the same time to be the best of all possible worlds.

Nonetheless, the inhabitants of the Multiversity, or in Clark Kerr's phrase, "the federal grant university," continued to have certain antiquated self-conceptions of their activities.

In 1966 when the news media broke stories which detailed the cooperation between the CIA and Michigan State University, panic broke out in academia.

Stanford Agitation

Stanford was no exception. The lead story in the *Stanford Daily* of May 3, 1966, began: "Armed with pickets declaring 'The Winds of Freedom Get Hotter All the Time,' 'The University and the CIA Have No Common Business,' and 'Come to the Inner City—Find the CIA,' approximately 35 students and faculty members gathered outside the office of Associate Provost for Research Hubert Jeffner shortly after 1 p.m. yesterday. The group distributed statements protesting the Electrical Engineering Department's contract with the Central Intelligence Agency."

Professor William Rambo's CIA contract came with him when he moved from Harvard to Stanford. He was working on electromagnetic propagation, one of whose uses is over-the-horizon radar. In order to conceal from the University community the subject matter and the funding agency for Rambo's contract, in the words of Professor Pierre Noyes of SLAC, "the President of the University, and one or two others in the Administration who had appropriate security clearance had been informed of the CIA sponsorship, and had arranged a dummy entry on the [University] budget to cover the contract, whose significance could not be traced outside of this closed circle."

Second Contract

In an interview with the *Daily* in the spring of 1966, President Wallace Sterling said that there were two CIA contracts at Stanford. The first was for the development of the second was bibliography research. It was financed by

Stanford

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a CIA front. Sterling told the *Daily* that the contract "came from a cover which we had no reason at the time to think was a cover for the CIA." More precise information as to the nature of this research project and the names of the researchers has not yet been uncovered.

At that time, according to what CIA employee Kennedy Lunt "Ken" Wilson told his fellow Stanford students in casual conversations, there were a total of five or six persons working for the CIA and going to school at Stanford, with a similar contingent at UC Berkeley.

Independent confirmation that CIA employees attend Stanford comes from a student contemporary of Wilson's, Garry Quinn, who was an employee of the Department of Defense International Security Agency while attending Stanford, and who told fellow students about a CIA employee who was studying at Stanford financed jointly by grants from the government and the Ford Foundation. In recent years, Vice Provost Robert Rosenzweig has told me on two separate occasions that there are CIA employees at Stanford.

Wilson, electrical engineering major and CIA employee, worked separately from Professor William Rambo, who held the CIA contract the students and professors were protesting on Inner Quad. Wilson took courses in engineering and economic systems and in radio science. He obtained an M.S. from the University in 1966, but stayed on through academic years 1966-67 and 1967-68. While he was here he lived off campus at 2439 Burnham in Palo Alto, and pursued academic subjects which aided his regular CIA work of reviewing foreign technical journals. Wilson now lives in Falls Church, Virginia (a suburb of Washington, D.C.), at 7415 Venice Street.

Teaching Stint

During academic year 1966-67, Wilson was for a short while a teaching assistant for Engineering 235, taught by Professor Bruce Lusignan. As a result, the "Acknowledgements" page in the final report of the Advanced System for Communication and Education in National Development project, issued in June 1967, states: "The members of Engineering 235 wish to thank Dr. Bruce Lusignan, Dr. William Bollay, Dr. Jean Mayers, Hunt Small, Al Horley, and Ken Wilson for their interest, guidance, and tactful direction throughout the ASCEND project."

Wilson was originally teaching the section on "Political and Economic Factors and Programming" of Engineering 235, which is the regular "project course" of the School of Engineering. That year, the course topic was communication and educational television satellites for Brazil, India, and Indonesia. Wilson, however, was section

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continued

New Md. U. Curbs Authorized

By LANCE GAY
and JAMES E. POWLAND
Star Staff Writers

Gov. Marvin Mandel today gave National Guard officials authority to ban anyone from the troubled University of Maryland campus and expel any troublemakers already there.

The emergency proclamation was issued in Annapolis as reports circulated that students were planning to take over one or more buildings at College Park.

There were reports that activist Rennie Davis, whose speech on campus Wednesday preceded by hours a student blockade of U.S. Route 1 by students, was en route to the campus.

University officials have suspended six student activists and barred two nonstudents from the campus in the aftermath of the demonstration on Route 1.

Dr. Charles E. Bishop, College Park chancellor, made the announcement last night, but declined to identify the persons. However, he said, all eight were among those arrested and charged with assault Wednesday night.

These actions were taken to thwart any attempt by activists to again mass a rock-and-bottle-hurling mob like the 3,000 who swarmed onto U.S. Route 1 Wednesday night and blocked traffic.

The move also is in line with the state's strategy of acting swiftly and decidedly against any protest which shows signs

of escalating like last year's mass demonstrations that caused nearly \$100,000 in damage at College Park, state officials said.

Campus Quieter

Except for a few rallies, the campus was quiet yesterday and students quietly were going to classes or lolling on the grassy mall. Last night, most of the contingent of 1,000 National Guardsmen were withdrawn to a nearby staging area in Greenbelt, although troops still were visible on parts of the campus.

Late last night, elements of the radical Students for a Democratic Society attempted to enter the Computer Science Center with the reported purpose of damaging the center's 1103 computer. They contended that the center handles unclassified projects for the Central Intelligence Agency and the U.S. Army.

Departure Ordered

However, after about a dozen of the militants had managed to slip unnoticed into the building, Guardsmen and university police appeared and told them that there were too many people inside and, because of fire regulations, they would have to leave.

Radicals then held a rally in a nearby women's dormitory and about 100 students assembled voted to attempt to take over a building today.

Most agreed that Wednesday's tactic of blocking the four-lane boulevard which bisects the campus was a mistake and that

they would not engage in "cops and students" activities again today. A noon rally was scheduled in an effort to draw sympathetic students and non-students into today's effort.

Another aim of the militants is to precipitate an action which will bring most of the university's 32,000 students out on strike. "We have to stop the university from being used as a function of the ruling class for carrying out their imperialist policies," Karyn Pomerant, a College Park student, told the group.

However, the administration has maintained that the university will remain open for the remainder of the the spring semester.

Phil Kapneck, special adviser on student affairs to Mandel, said in a statement to the student body today. "What did you gain yesterday (Wednesday)? Nothing. I promise you Route 1 and the university will remain open."

As workmen yesterday replaced administration building windows shattered by rocks during the previous night's violence, some 400 students gathered on the cement front steps to protest the arrest of four students leaders.

The four were seized near Cole Field House for allegedly blocking traffic and disrupting classes by using a bullhorn. They had been traveling around the campus using the bullhorn to make statements against ROTC on campus.

After leaders of the group threatened to sit in Bishop's office until the four were released, Bishop told the group that charges would be dropped and the four would be dealt with under the university's disciplinary code.

4 Address Crowd

The four, who were taken to the Prince Georges County police substation in Hyattsville, later returned to the university and addressed the crowd.

"We were arrested like something out of the Gestapo of Nazi Germany," Mark Woodard of Silver Spring told the group on the administration building steps.

"They let us out because of you," he said, referring to the demonstrators on the steps. "We're going to shut down this school — throw ROTC off campus once and for all," he shouted.

The 400 students then surged down a side street to the nearby Rossborough Inn, site of the faculty club, where Bishop's aides earlier said the chancellor would hold a press conference.

The young people jammed into the conference room only to hear that Bishop would not be present. Thomas Day, vice chancellor for academic planning, told them that the rally on the steps of the administration building did not have any effect on the decision not to press charges.

STATINTL

Antiwar Group Threatens Vietnam Center At SIU

CARBONDALE, Ill., April 17 (UPI) — The Southern Illinois Peace Committee has sharply criticized Southern Illinois University's Center for Vietnamese Studies and has distributed a handbill saying the center would be bodily closed if other means failed.

About 25 peace committee members appeared at a meeting of the university's board of trustees Friday. The peace committee's chairman, Thomas Dempsey, a junior from Arlington Heights, addressed the board.

The center, a target last May for student demonstrations and rioting that temporarily closed the university's Carbondale campus, has been criticized by some students and faculty members because it is funded by the United States Agency for International Development. They say the agency has ties with the Central Intelligence Agency and its operations in the war in Southeast Asia.

Dempsey said his group was prepared to commit acts of nonviolent civil disobedience unless the center was closed. He said some state funds were being used to operate the center, which he said benefitted relatively few persons but which was allowed to operate at a time when the state was cutting back educational funds.

Harold R. Fischer, chairman of the board of trustees, said in a statement that the center would be kept under review by the board and that the board "will not tolerate any nefarious

arrangements" with the Agency for International Development.

But he cautioned that the peace committee's handbill might constitute a violation of the university's interim policy on campus disturbances. Fischer said the peace group members consider what effect their actions might have on their organization and on the welfare of thousands of other students.

The trustees drafted a four-page memo to the Illinois Board of Higher Education expressing their concern over increased centralization of power in the state board. The concern was expressed in response to the state board staff's recommendations for the third phase of the master plan for higher education.

The state board will pass upon the staff recommendations at a meeting next month. If approved, they will become state educational policy.

"The university is concerned with the increased centralization of control and questions the high degree of power assigned in the draft to the Illinois Board of Higher Education to manage the intrastate system," the memorandum said.

It questioned also proposals by the state board staff on the number and scope of graduate programs, the extent of co-operation of state institutions in community service programs and the transfer of functions of the university's vocational-technical institute to the state's junior collegex.

MINNESOTA DAILY
11 March 1971

CIA, FBI cooperation alleged

Faculty 'spies' condemned

By BEN OEHLER

The University should publicly declare intelligence gathering incompatible with the academic community, according to one of the nine professors who last week alleged routine faculty cooperation with the CIA and the FBI.

Speaking during a panel discussion in Coffman yesterday, Erwin Marquit, associate professor of physics, helped give the first public disclosure of academic collusion with civilian intelligence agencies.

Marquit spoke of a "worldwide strategy" to subvert democratic institutions in the name of anti-communism, and read New York Times accounts of several instances of CIA subversion abroad. American scholarship and research have been "made difficult" by the CIA's use of academic research as a cover for its international activities, he said.

In a statement published last week on behalf of the Faculty Action Caucus, it was alleged that faculty members who travel overseas to international academic or professional conferences are likely to be contacted by CIA or FBI agents and asked if they will agree to be interviewed by the agents.

If granted, such an interview usually consists of a briefing of what the particular agency is interested in and what the faculty member should watch for on his trip. While some faculty members

decline to be briefed before their journey abroad, post-journey debriefings are frequent.

He said that the greatest problem for faculty is the conflict between scholarliness and intelligence-gathering. He questioned whether scholars of different nations can meet with free and open relationships if one or both have dual purposes.

"If I take a trip to the Soviet Union, is it for me as a scholar or for me as an agent? Am I given funds for my scholarship or my spying?"

The secret involvement of the CIA in international conferences threatens the progress of international cooperation between scholars, he said.

The fear of loss of funding and research opportunities often forces faculty members to compromise, he said. Those who refuse lose out. "In some cases University administrators have been asked to help pinpoint cooperative faculty members," he said.

"We should take the administration off the hook by declaring any intelligence gathering incompatible with the academic community. There is no protection. I was approached to talk about one of my advisers. How can I tell them to be free and open in the classroom. This is what a faculty member faces when there is no University policy."

Morton Hamermesh, head of the Physics department did not share Marquit's zeal for a policy statement solution to the problem. Hamermesh, in fact, did not

share Marquit's assessment of the danger of the problem.

The greatest problem, Hamermesh said, "is that the CIA is so god-awful inefficient -- wasting the tax payers' money for information which they could obtain for a pittance. Most of the information is public," he said.

Hamermesh called himself "an expert on Russian physics" and said therefore that he had had frequent inquiries from intelligence. "I don't think that I have ever been asked a question that I could not answer openly."

Eugene Eidenberg, assistant vice president for administration and author of the recently released report on military surveillance, also was opposed to administrative policies prohibiting cooperation with intelligence units.

He emphasized that information held by the University should be released only under the strictest of guidelines and that there should be no secret intelligence gathering. But he said that cooperation of individual faculty members "must be a matter of personal judgement."

"Our reaction is to close the institution up as tight as we can. I would urge great caution. We can not relate with our environment if we shut off avenues of communication to the outside by telling faculty what to do," Eidenberg said.

Eidenberg said that since some intelligence gathering is justifiable, the only solution is to demand full public disclosure of operations as they exist.

STATINTL

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MAR 5 1977

Guest Editorial

THE CALMING STORM

[Arizona Republic]

A new quiet has descended on the American campus. The demonstrations are few in number and comparatively mild, particularly compared with last year.

✓ ROTC headquarters are no longer under siege. Corporate recruiters are not asked whether their companies trade with South Africa or accept contracts from the CIA. It's been a long time since a dean was held prisoner in his own office.

Why the abrupt about-face? Two student leaders at Stanford University, recently put it this way: "The entire tactic of violence and disruption ad-

vocated by the junior revolutionaries has to be rejected. Trashing by the radicals is futile self-indulgence . . . counterproductive.

Tony Tankersley is a former University of California student who was convicted of bombing a Pacific Gas & Electric Co. high-tension tower in Oakland in 1968. He fled to Montreal, where he had time for reflection and concluded, "I had been wasting all of my energy figuring out how to destroy, when I could have been getting something good and tangible accomplished."

Tankersley has returned to the United States and turned himself in. He says, "I feel freer now in prison than I did when I was a radical."

The campus revulsion against violence was well expressed by an editorial in the Stanford Daily: "Confusion, fear and revulsion are now everywhere on campus. If we are asked why, we must look to the same radicals who brought [the war] home to us, some of whom believe that people actively opposed to [Pigs] should be beaten unconscious, should be thrashed, should be offended.

"Actions such as these are simply inhuman. Inhuman also is the desire to create an atmosphere of hatred and violence . . . radical inhumanity is the same as institutional or governmental inhumanity—sickeningly obscene."

For a time at least they are gone—all the Weathermen and Black Panthers and White Panthers and Communists and anarchists who once sought to destroy the government by disrupting the academy.

It could be the calm before the storm, a breathing space during which the radicals are preparing to destroy the campuses again. But more likely the quiet stems from the genuine disenchantment.

2 Mar 1971

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Intelligence agents in academic cloaks

STATINTL

Editor's note: the following statement is intended by it's authors to provoke debate on academic collusion with government intelligence agencies. It is their hope that open discussion of the matter will lead to the formulation of University policy that would prohibit such activity. The statement was written on behalf of the Faculty Action Caucus by: Lenore Burgard (CLA), John Dahler (chemical engineering), Clayton Giese (physics), J. Woods Halley (physics), Erwin Marquit (physics), Grover Maxwell (philosophy), Martin Roth (English), Matthew Stark (Student Activities Bureau) and Donald Swanson (classics).

The activities of military intelligence agents on campus have been receiving much attention, but a far greater threat to the University comes from other intelligence agencies. Informal discussions indicate that perhaps a third of University faculty members who have attended international conferences abroad or who have traveled abroad in connection with their academic interests have, at some time, been briefed or debriefed by the CIA or FBI before or after their trips. Last summer, for example, two related international conferences were held in the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that there is no classified research going on either in the United States or in the Soviet Union in this particular field (elementary particles) many of the U.S. participants were visited by the CIA or FBI. As a matter of fact the question of whether a conference deals with fields involving classified research appears to be unrelated to the intelligence agencies' interest in it. History, sociology, medicine, English, as well as physics, engineering and computer science are only some of the departments that have come under the eye of the CIA.

great harm to the national interest by creating obstacles to international cultural and scientific exchange.

Consider what must be involved when an agency such as the CIA is interested in obtaining some information from an international conference. The CIA must decide whether to brief selected faculty participants (whose discretion and cooperation can be relied upon) in advance of the conference, or depend primarily on a large-scale debriefing afterwards, or a combination of both. It is precisely here that information accumulated about individuals through surveillance, questioning of colleagues and superiors, and compilations of names of petition signers, contributors to causes, etc., plays an important role. Suppose, for example, the CIA asks a department chairman, as it has been known to do, if one of the members of his department will cooperate with them. Any definitive answer to such a question is necessarily tantamount to a political characterization of the faculty member under discussion, at least as far as the CIA and its fraternal agencies are concerned. Refusal to answer or deliberate ambiguity in the answer will lead to a political characterization of the chairman and possibly the entire department as hostile or, at best, politically naive (with possible broader repercussions).

Is this a legitimate burden for department chairmen to carry? Should not the University have a clear-cut position on such matters? What about the faculty member who is asked to supply information to the intelligence agency? While many would prefer not to have any dealings with such agencies, it takes a good deal of courage to refuse. Does not the University have the duty to shield the faculty from such pressures, especially in the case of those who depend heavily on federal funds for research and junior, inexperienced faculty who feel that their entire careers may be jeopardized by a "wrong" attitude?

Perhaps the more serious question is the impact intelligence activities have on the atmosphere at international gatherings, the impediments they place to the development of international collaboration and free exchange of information in all fields. When this question was raised with one Midwest

The broad involvement of the University in intelligence activities not only leads to violations of

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Continued

27 Feb 1971

STATINTL

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Blue Ribbon Panel endorses Viet Center

By Paula Musto and Rich Davis
Daily Egyptian Staff Writers

The Blue Ribbon Panel's report on the Center for Vietnamese Studies, which was released by Chancellor Robert G. Layer Friday, has recommended the continuation of the Center subject to nine conditions.

The report said that despite the Center's serious problems it has the potential for developing into a viable academic program if the conditions are met.

The nine conditions are:

—The Agency for International Development (AID) grant, which funds the center, must be renegotiated to assure the academic character of the center, a clear separation from technical assistance and non-interference by AID or any other government agency.

—Both the grant and the center should be placed under the control of the Carbondale chancellor.

—The center should build a properly qualified academic staff within a reasonable time. Effort should be made to obtain the cooperation, support and participation in formulating center policy on the part of related departmental faculties.

—Formal contract stipulations should assure the academic freedom of persons employed in an academic capacity by the center or through a department or through a center-related expansion position.

—Center policies should be verbalized in a "formal operating paper" which would be available to any interested persons.

—SIU funds used by the Center (including overhead and the Journal), whether restricted or appropriated monies, should not exceed spending from the grant over the five-year period during which the grant is in force. When the grant money has been spent or returned to AID, the University should reassess its own financial commitment to the center.

—A policy committee with power to formulate policy should replace the present center advisory committee. The policy committee should be representative of SIU departments, faculty and students.

—The accomplishments of the center should be reviewed at the close of the grant's third year (in 18 months). If the review is negative the center should be disbanded.

—Future graduate student fellowships and awards through the center should follow the guidelines of the general Graduate School policies.

The report also included a section on the original negotiation for the grant by SIU officials.

Discussing the original purpose of the center, the report said that only a benign and beneficent import or the Vietnam post-war construction seems to have crossed the minds of those who negotiated the AID contract.

"The evidence available to us does not indicate that the CIA, through AID, sought out SIU and then duped it into taking on the Vietnamese Studies project," the report said.

The report went on to say that although SIU may not have been the best prepared institution for establishing the center, there is a possibility for developing a good center.

The report concluded by pointing out the necessity for SIU to set up guidelines concerning "acceptable kinds of grants" in the future.

Although the report was accepted by the entire panel, Mark Bordsen, graduate student in community development, noted he personally felt the recommendation as being only the minimum requirements of the center. Bordsen said he would prefer an immediate renunciation of the AID grant.

"By accepting AID funding, the University tends to condone morally

and politically the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, even if only symbolically," he said in the report.

Layer said he agreed completely with seven of the recommendations. He said although he did not disagree with having a formal operating paper for the center, the panel should explain why the present statement of goals is inadequate.

Layer said he is not sure about the recommendation to place control of the center under the Carbondale chancellor. He said it might prevent the Edwardsville campus from using some of the AID funds.

Layer said he does not think the University should wait until 18 months before reviewing the center. He suggested it be done next winter quarter for financial reasons, allowing early planning for the 1973-74 budget.

As for the renegotiation of the grant, which is scheduled next month, Layer said AID officials will have to accept it if the center is to stay at SIU.

"If they can't accept it, then I say give it up," he said.

The panel, established last summer by then-acting chancellor Willis Malone, consisted of five faculty and three student members.

Faculty members were Willis Moore, co-chairman and chairman of the philosophy department; Lewis E. Hahn, research professor in philosophy; C. Addison Hickman, chairman of the economics department; Randall C. Nelson, chairman of the government department; and Nicholas Vergettes, professor of art.

SAN DIEGO, CAL.
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JAN 28 1971

UCSD Faculty Requests End To 'Secret' Research Projects

The Academic Senate of the University of California at San Diego is asking an end to classified or "secret" research, including that funded by such federal agencies as the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency.

In approving a resolution requesting this, the senate said research programs should be judged on the basis of their content and service to the university and the public, rather than on the needs of an agency seeking the research.

Fund Report Asked

In a companion resolution, the senate requested the Office of Graduate Studies to provide an annual report on the amount, source and nature of research funding on the campus.

"This report should serve to indicate the degree to which freedom of research is being maintained for the faculty," the resolution said.

The senate, which represents the university's 454-member faculty, asked for less reliance on "mission ori-

ented research . . . research in which the funding agency demands specific results and sometimes severely circumscribes the methods to be used by the researcher," said Dr. Gabriel Jackson, chairman of the senate.

8-Month Study Cited

Jackson said such limitations often interfere with the "unfettered pursuit of truth which must always be the main objective of a professor engaged in research."

The action comes after an eight-month study of research being conducted at UCSD.

Dr. Herbert Stern, chairman of the 10-member study committee, said no UCSD students work in classified or restricted research.

However, he said some professors are working on classified projects, most of which are for the Navy.

Reasoning Explained

"The question was whether military funded research programs were distorting the purpose of the university," Stern

said. "No student can be educated in graduate school if that education is in a classified area, since under those circumstances, work would not be open to inspection."

Stern emphasized it was not just defense oriented and military-funded projects that concerned the faculty, but all types of research.

The faculty senate is concerned because there is "an emphasis on immediate visible products of research . . . making the university purely interested in technology," he explained.

Grants Total \$39 Million

In 1969-70, UCSD had about \$39 million in all types of research grants and contracts.

Jackson also said the "overwhelming majority" of about 100 faculty members attending the Senate meeting favored the end of restricted projects because "the university voluntarily surrenders to an outside agency the power to determine who will be permitted to work on the research and who will learn of its results."