

OBERLIN, OHIO, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1972

CIA plans meeting with blacks

STATINTL

By R. DROGIN

PRESS TIME RELEASE

Representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency, including two black agents, planned to meet with students at 4 o'clock this afternoon at the Oberlin Inn in an effort to recruit black students for employment within the agency.

At press time, it was uncertain as to whether or not the proposed meeting would take place, due to efforts to protest the presence of the CIA. The CIA will not conduct their discussions if this group is "truly vehemently opposed" to the CIA sessions, Hal Payne, assistant dean of students said, thus denying those who had signed up for interviews "the right of free speech."

Last week black juniors and seniors received through the campus mail a letter notifying them of the CIA's presence in Oberlin. The letter, dated February 18, 1972, was from Assistant Dean of Students Hal Payne, who made arrangements for the meeting as the principle liaison with the CIA representatives.

The letter explained that the CIA, as an Equal Opportunity Employer, is participating in an all-government drive to recruit more minority group citizens into the different organs of the government, and according to Mr. Payne's letter "Oberlin came to their attention because of the nationwide publicity given our Black Caucus admissions and recruitment program. They feel that Oberlin will be attracting the kind of black students who would be of interest to the agency."

The general student body was not notified of the agency's presence. Although the Office of Placement and Graduate Counseling (OPGC) and Office of the Provost have known of the agency's efforts to establish a meeting with students since October 1971 when a CIA representative first approached OPGC with the proposal, no general publicity was given in the past months to the meeting today. The session at the Inn today was not advertised in OPGC.

J. Byron Crosman, a member of the CIA who visited his son, a

student here, spoke in confidence in the fall with Associate Provost William Davis to discuss the proposal for a CIA meeting with students which was accepted by a "collective effort" of Mr. Davis, Mr. Payne, and George Langelier, dean of students.

Meeting off-campus

Although Mr. Crosman wished to hold the meeting in Afro House, Mr. Davis felt that "it would be better for all concerned" to hold the session in the technically off-campus Inn.

The administration bypassed the usual OPGC procedure, and coordinated the special meeting today through Mr. Payne's office. The deans insisted, however, that the CIA is just another government agency, and the procedure in this case was according to Mr. Langelier, "in no way unusual." However, the last government agencies to recruit in Oberlin, the Internal Revenue Service, and the Social Security Bureau, held their interviews directly through OPGC.

Desire to communicate

Mr. Davis said yesterday that the agency's intent in coming to Oberlin lay in a sincere desire to communicate with students, and a wish to explain opportunities for careers for black students within the CIA. Three or four students have evinced an interest in this regard. He added that "there is something more here for the CIA than just a recruiting process."

Mr. Davis explained that although the College could have refused all co-operation with the CIA, such a policy would not have been effective in keeping the agency actually out of Oberlin. Asserting that fears about newly-recruited student agents hired by the CIA are groundless, he "could not say with certainty that the CIA recruiters have not been here already." The CIA has not held formal interviews in Oberlin for at least five years.

Dorothy Smith, director of OPGC, guidelines formally established for the barring of any particular insti-

tution of employment," including the Central Intelligence Agency, or even, she added, the Navy recruiters. The campus demonstration of 1968 concerning military recruiters on campus left no written agreement or even tacit understanding of any barring, she said.

Verbal confrontation

Mr. Davis said that allowing the CIA to come to Oberlin would give "students an opportunity to verbally confront the CIA." In the case of

black students, he added, this confrontation could be especially enlightening in view of the CIA's alleged involvement in the suppression of the African national liberation movements."

The College did not invite the CIA to come here, but as long as they have come, it shouldn't be a question of not permitting them to present their stand, Mr. Langelier said.

Mr. Davis hoped many students would pose questions to deal with the reality and image of the agency, for example, with the CIA's role in black societies in this country and around the world. It is an opportunity, he said, for blacks to critically review their roles in dealing with a police power.

Students change CIA?

The discussion will also present alternatives to the students, according to Mr. Davis, and considering that the "CIA doesn't hesitate to infiltrate groups like the Black Panthers and Students for a Democratic Society, to subvert them, there's no reason that radical Oberlin students can't join the CIA to try to change its course."

The black students on campus discussed the issue at the last meeting of ABUSUA and agreed with Mr. Davis in general principle about allowing the CIA on campus. Although there was a decidedly negative response to the CIA as an institution, no formal plan of action was decided upon other than for black individuals to attend the meeting as they choose. No attempt at all-campus publicity

continued

1 NOV 1971

LETTERS

Secrets from the CIA

Cambridge, Mass.

DEAR SIR: With the exposure of the papers from the Media, Pa. FBI office last spring, the investigation of Army surveillance activities, and finally the publication of the Pentagon Papers, the public has had an unparalleled opportunity to understand the similarity of the government's foreign and domestic covert action programs. The most sophisticated arm of the U.S. secret agency--the CIA--had, however, escaped public scrutiny until last month. Now major excerpts from a secret document which details the CIA's global strategies have been made public. The complete text of the document, "Intelligence and Foreign Policy," together with an introduction and other studies of the CIA's activities is available for \$1 (plus 25¢ for postage and handling) from the Africa Research Group, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Africa Research Group

~~AFRICA RESEARCH GROUP~~
AFRICAN STUDIES IN AMERICA
THE EXTENDED FAMILY
OCTOBER 1970

STATINTL

Government Network

As the American empire expanded in the post-war period, the U.S. government created and staffed an immense network for administering it. By one piece of legislation, the National Security Act of 1947, the various branches of the military, and new Air Force, were placed under a centralized Department of Defense with the power to draft in peacetime. The Act also formed the National Security Council (NSC) and gave unprecedented powers to a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Together these well funded agencies erected the apparatus of the Empire: instruments for intelligence collection and military intervention that formed the backbone of America's heralded rise to the status of "World Power".

That power depends in no small part on the government's ability to know what people and other governments throughout the world are planning and doing. As the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations observed in a study on the "Operational Aspects of U.S. Foreign Policy," American policy abroad is "predominantly concerned with the internal affairs of other countries. ...there is no country in the world whose changing internal power structure is irrelevant to U.S. foreign policy." Keeping tabs on the internal political and economic situation in every country in the world is a vast and delicate enterprise. Its maintenance is essential for the ability to predict political events and covertly intervene when necessary on the Empire's behalf.

The Central Intelligence Agency performed the critical task of conceptualizing and coordinating the vast network of interlinked research and intelligence agencies. In 1969, the Federal government spent \$33.3 million for social and behavioral research on foreign areas and international affairs. In 1967, the same government agencies spent \$40.6 million in contracted research that drew on virtually every major academic center in the nation and many abroad. These millions are only a fraction of what it takes to keep the Intelligence and Defense Agencies alive. Moreover, each of these government complexes--the Defense agencies and the intelligence community--support secret research for which figures are not available.

The actual attention Africa receives from U.S. government-sponsored research is greater than the figures lead us to believe. In 1969, only 11% of all the government research funds allocated to out-house work (research not conducted in government agencies) was directly about Africa. But Africa cannot be isolated from the larger international context. American research on Europe, for example, has to consider Africa as well, and Africa's economic underdevelopment is often researched in the context of international economic and political problems. In this way, research about Africa is often hidden under different names.

The activities of U.S. Federal agencies clearly illustrate how an imperialist government collects and analyzes data about Africa to form its varied strategies of intervention. The scope of the research and action programs carried out by these agencies, which are coordinated with varying degrees of bureaucratic "efficiency", present a picture of formidable U.S. impact on Africa countries.

JUN - Oct 1970

STATINTL

The CIA in Africa

Throughout the world, revolutionaries are studying the strategies and tactics of their central enemy: US imperialism. They realize that in order to defeat a powerful but not omnipotent foe, some detailed understanding of the ways the US Empire works is necessary. While US capital dominates and distorts the economies of its colonies, agencies such as the CIA work to manipulate political developments to favor US interests. The exposure of the CIA's work was not only a set-back for US manipulators, it has also been instructive to radicals in the white mother country in revealing the outlines of a sophisticated strategy for social control.

For the CIA, there has never been any real distinction between its intelligence (i.e., information-gathering) and its action functions. In target countries--virtually the entire Third World--the CIA staff is integrated into a coordinated "multi-agency country team," often in leadership positions. Its operatives often direct the overall thrust of US penetration into the target country, seeking to fashion a strategy of "cumulative impact." The idea is simple: create or reinforce pro-Western institutions which individually might not suffice but which cumulatively control the country's economic and political direction. Towards this end, CIA-funded scholars such as those at M.I.T. have worked to rationalize foreign aid as a policy weapon. A network of organizations--teachers, students, cultural, trade union, etc.--were founded or covertly subsidized through various conduits. Many of these sought to coopt important African leaders and act as channels of US influence.

This article, first published in Ramparts and reprinted in the Black Panther newspaper and elsewhere, spotlights the way the CIA has promoted black cultural nationalism to reinforce neo-colonialism in Africa. Activists in the black colony within the US can easily see its relevance to their own situation, as in many cases the same techniques and occasionally the same individuals are used to control the political implications of Afro-American culture. It reveals how reactionary nationalism can serve imperialism while revolutionary nationalism represents a threat to the US Empire.

Among the organizations disclosed as CIA-connected by various newspapers and magazines have been the following: STUDENT: National Student Association, International Student Conference, World Assembly of Youth, Institute of International Education, African Scholarship Program of American Universities. TEACHER: W.I.G.T.O.P. TRADE UNION: African-American Labor Center, various secretariats connected with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. CULTURAL: Congress of Cultural Freedom, American Society of African Culture, East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs. GENERAL: African-American Institute, Peace with Freedom Inc., Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, Milton Obote Foundation, Kenneth Kaunda Foundation. The US remains involved in channelling money to various factions within southern African liberation movements, hoping of course to mold them in pro-Western directions. (See The Politics of Unity by I. Wallerstein.)

ERRATUM: Writing about the CIA is always hazardous; records are unavailable and the CIA deliberately leaks what it calls "disinformation" to cover its tracks and confuse its enemies. The CIA's own attempts at political camouflage are aided inadvertently by many principled liberals and even radicals. The liberals are so preoccupied with the odiousness of the CIA's secrecy that they often miss entirely the political purposes of the Agency. Radicals have often resorted to unanalytical muckraking or rhetorical CIA-baiting which obscures the real game and, occasionally, assists the CIA in its characteristic strategy of heightening inter-group tensions within radical movements.

Our own factual check of the Ramparts article has unearthed some minor errors in detail which in no way discredit its argument:

1. The height, birth date and facial appearance of James Harris are misrepresented.
2. Harris worked for the N.S.A. and W.U.S. before they received CIA subsidies; he stayed on as consultants to both, however, while they were heavily CIA-backed.
3. The CIA's Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs was not headed by Amory Houghton, President of Corning Glass, but rather by Arthur Houghton, a Director of Corning Glass.
4. The article gives the erroneous impression that the American Negro Leadership Conference was completely CIA-backed. It was not. The ANLC received most of its funding from "clean" liberal sources.
5. ANLC Director Ted Brown was not from AMSAC but from a trade union.
6. The CIA's international trade union program did not channel most of its money through the ICFTU directly; instead several ICFTU-affiliated secretariats were used, including, but not exclusively, the PSI. The PSI representative in East Africa in the period discussed in the article was also working for the ICFTU.

--Africa Research Group

20 JUN 1970

THE PROBLEM: How to disarm them without endangering the free institutions enjoyed by every American.

THE ANSWER...

would you believe it lies in South Africa?

Nathaniel Weyl's new book, Traitors' End, is the first fact-by-fact account of the rise and fall of the Communist movement in South Africa. Weyl reveals how the tactics used by the Reds were chillingly similar to today's revolutionary activities in America. But the big surprise: Rhodesia and South Africa defeated the Communists — by a strategy that stamps out revolution without destroying constitutional freedom!

FIRST IT WAS mushrooming crime. Then, street and campus riots. Now, open attacks on our legal system, and terrorist bombings.

Our leaders look the other way. Or wonder how they can spend another ten billion dollars. Or reach for the old clichés that even some liberals are beginning to question.

Meanwhile the plain American looks at this breakdown of order and asks himself: can the American system survive? *How?*

Until this book, it never occurred to most of us to turn toward southern Africa. Why should we? We are not South Africa, or Portugal, or Rhodesia.

Yet these nations—friends of America despite their differences, and despite our shabby treatment—have something to tell us. Nathaniel Weyl doesn't claim we should imitate their institutions, but he does show where we can learn from their successful tactics. That is the subject of this challenging new book.

In the 50s and early 60s, the South African Reds were a major menace. Working through the African National Congress and other fronts... enjoying support from Bantus, Coloureds, Indians and white Liberals... backed by Russia, the Afro-Asian bloc and JFK, the Communists were moving in for the kill.

Yet today South Africa is strong and booming. Rhodesia has passed through the worst of its crisis — in spite of hostility from London and Washington. Angola and Mozambique are slowly beating back the terrorists. It is an amazing story, and a heartening one — the more

so because southern Africa is one of the few areas in the world where the revolutionaries are losing.

Why they are losing... how they are being beaten — these are facts we desperately need. And that is why Nathaniel Weyl wrote this book: to show America and the West how to win — without giving up our republican form of government, due process, and an independent judiciary.

Nathaniel Weyl travelled widely in South Africa, talked with key people, saw for himself. Result: the only book of its kind. It brims with data never before published in this country:

✓ Angolan terrorists cut their victims in half with buzz saws—while the victims are still alive. Adlai Stevenson defends the terrorists.

✓ Does Rhodesia really neglect its black citizens? Rhodesian statistics on black education compared with those of Liberia, Tanzania, Ethiopia.

✓ UN brands Rhodesia a "threat to international peace," wins cheers from Arthur Goldberg.

✓ Churchill's little-known warning about the "black peril" in South Africa.

✓ "Lord Bunting, Imperialist Bloodsucker."

✓ More than one million blacks move into South Africa illegally — to get in on a little of the "oppression."

✓ Liberals cast South Africa as "pro-Nazi." But South Africa tears up the script, backs Israel.