

Princeton in the CIA's service

By JOHN CAVANAGH GS, SALLY FRANK '80, and LAURIE KIRBY GS

There is nothing covert about the CIA employment interviews taking place today in Clio Hall. But that should not deceive any of us about the nature of the CIA's activities.

As citizens of the United States, we need to be aware of the actions the CIA carries out in our name. As Princeton students and faculty, we must understand the history of covert CIA intrusions into our campus, activity which is still permitted by the university today.

From Iran (1953), Guatemala (1954) and the Congo (1960), to Chile (1973) and Angola (1975), the CIA has made it its business to overthrow governments and to install (or attempt to install) dictatorial regimes sympathetic to United States business and military interests.

These interventions are not merely the dark underside of American foreign policy. Rather, they reflect the mainstream of establishment through from World War II to the present, a consensus which has been nourished in respectable institutions such as this university. Not coincidentally, there is also a long and multi-faceted tradition of Princeton in the CIA's service.

Breeding ground

From Allen W. Dulles '14 (later a Princeton trustee), who was the CIA's first director, to William E. Colby '40, who played a key role in the CIA's secret war in Laos, in the 1973 "destabilization" of democratic government in Chile, and in the Phoenix program of torture and murder in Vietnam, and who was CIA director from 1973 to 1975, Princeton has been a particularly fertile breeding ground for the agency, right up to the present Deputy Director, Frank J. Carlucci '52.

CIA recruitment at Princeton has benefited from the active participation of university officials. Former Career Services director Newell Brown admitted in 1976 to *The Daily Princetonian*, "We are aware of the kinds of people the CIA looks for and when we run into the type we tell them to send a resume."

But not all CIA recruiting at Princeton has been conducted through Career Services. An article in the *Trenton Times* of February 12, 1975, reported the story of a Princeton senior summoned in the late 1960's to meet with the dean of students, at that time the university's chief disciplinarian. However, Dean William D'O. Lippincott '41 had other things than discipline on his mind.

"I understand you've been interviewing with the CIA," the dean said. The senior found the question perplexing. It was true that he had applied for a job at the intelligence agency, but officials there had insisted on complete confidentiality. How had the dean of students found out?

"The answer was soon forthcoming. 'You see,' the student recalls Lippincott saying, 'I'm with the agency. And I thought we might have a talk — confidential, of course — about its work.'"

A spy in our midst

The CIA announced last year that it will continue the secret recruiting of foreign students at American universities. Such students have been used to report on the political activities of their compatriots. These reports are often communicated to secret police agencies abroad with potentially dangerous consequences for the students and their families.

Foreign students' fears about CIA spying are not merely conjectural. In May 1967, the Woodrow Wilson School was forced to admit that several students had been working covertly for the CIA while participating in the school's summer program abroad. Embarrassed WWS officials responded by issuing a ban on "any covert intelligence activity while the student is enrolled in school" (*The Washington Post*, May 4, 1967). The policy apparently applies, however, only to WWS graduate students, not to its undergraduates or professors.

According to Dean of the College Joan Girgus (*The Daily Princetonian*, October 24, 1978), Princeton University has no specific prohibition against the covert recruitment of foreign students. In contrast, Harvard President Derek C. Bok has taken a firm public stand against covert CIA activity on his campus, charging it threatens "the integrity and independence of the academic community."

Princeton professors have been involved with the CIA in many different capacities. Former history professor Joseph Strayer, for example, took a year's leave of absence from Princeton to work at CIA.

CONTINUED

headquarters in Maclean, Virginia, and also worked there several summers.

Paul Sigmund, professor of politics, cofounded (in 1958) and served as Executive Officer of the CIA-funded Independent Research Service, which compiled political dossiers on participants in World Youth Festivals. Since the other cofounder, Gloria Steinem, admitted in *The New York Times* (February 21, 1967) that "the CIA has been a major source of funds" for the organization, it is highly unlikely that Sigmund was unaware of the CIA connection.

A dark area of CIA involvement at Princeton is that of covert research. In 1977 it was revealed that Princeton professors had participated in MK-ULTRA, a secret CIA program in mind control through hallucinogenic drugs. The U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has refused to make public the results of its investigation into CIA university research, however, stating that the CIA considered educational activities "perhaps its most sensitive domestic area."

In its thirty-two-year history, the CIA has exhibited a consistent pattern of participation in coups, assassinations, torture-training, and subversion of people's fundamental right to self-determination. Although this history is too long and extensive to review here, two examples of CIA activities should illuminate the nature of the Agency's means and ends.

On September 11, 1973, democracy in Chile was overthrown in a bloody military coup. The military junta which then seized power has since suppressed all democratic freedoms, murdered approximately 30,000 of its own citizens, and jailed and tortured tens of thousands more.

This coup followed a CIA campaign to "destabilize" the elected government. According to the 1975 staff report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, "Covert U.S. involvement in Chile in the decade between 1963 and 1973 was extensive and continuous. . . . It financed activities covering a broad spectrum, from simple propaganda manipulation of the press to large-scale support for Chilean political parties . . . to direct attempts to foment a military camp."

But no rebirth from the ashes

"Operation Phoenix" in Vietnam, the brainchild of William E. Colby '40, displays another of the CIA's specialties: assassination. While statistics on the numbers detained, killed, and "rallied" to the Saigon government under Phoenix vary from source to source, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Dennis Doolin admitted that at least 26,369 South Vietnamese civilians were killed through the operation while it was under direct American control (January 1968 through August 1972).

Torture was the standard operating procedure of Phoenix. "Everybody who was there accepted torture as routine," said Robert F. Gould, Colby's legal advisor in Saigon. "I never knew an individual to be detained as a 'Viet Cong' suspect who ever lived through an interrogation," testified K. Barton Osborn, a former agent handler for Phoenix.

The CIA has also been actively infringing human rights at home — for example, in the MK-Chaos program which involved keeping secret files on thousands of U.S. citizens "suspected" of political activity. Deputy Director Carlucci said in a seminar at Princeton last Friday (November 9, 1979) that the program had been "pared back" since its notorious heyday in the '60s — but not stopped.

In light of the CIA's record both at home and abroad, a number of questions can be raised about present CIA campus activity:

First, in November, 1978, it was revealed that Barnaby C. Keeny, who was president of Brown University from 1955 to 1966, had worked for the CIA during the entire time he was president. The Princeton University community has the right to demand of President Bowen that he state, for the record, whether he, or anyone in his administration, does now or has ever worked for the CIA.

Second, the only rule at Princeton concerning CIA intelligence operations is that faculty so engaged should tell their department chairman. Moreover, the Princeton rules for secret research are so loose as to permit the MK-ULTRA experiments to take place today. We should ask whether faculty work with a covert organization does not undermine the very principles of academic openness which Princeton purports to hold sacred.

Finally, both graduate and undergraduate students, should look carefully at this organization, which has consistently and willfully broken the laws of the United States and has committed countless crimes against humanity, in violation of international law. We should ask whether we want to participate, individually or as members of an institution, in providing a forum for the marketing of the CIA.