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The C.I.A. and the Public Interest, 1967.

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#193

THE C. I. A. AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

The Temple
Sunday, February 26, 1967

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

According to Scripture, even God fell a cropper when he tried to organize and control the C.I.A. The story is told in the Book of Numbers. God, as Chief of State, orders his Defense Minister, Moses, to screen twelve undercover agents who will be dispatched to spy out the land of Canaan. They are to report on fortifications, troop dispositions, economic conditions and Canaan's transportation system.

"See the land. See what it is, and the people that dwelleth therein; whether they are strong or weak, whether they are few or many; and what the nature of the land is that they dwell in, whether it is good or bad. What the cities are that they dwell in; whether they are open cities or citadels; what the land is, whether it is fat or lean, and whether there is wood there or not."

Twelve men are interviewed, selected, given a security check and sent out into the cold. They are gone for forty days, when they return and are debriefed they give a full report on the conditions which they found.

"Truly the land where thou sentest us is a good land. It is a land flowing with milk and honey. How be it that the people that dwell in the land are fierce? The cities are fortified and very great. And, moreover, there are mercenaries there."

All agree on the hard facts. The difficulty comes in the evaluation of these facts. Ten of the men turn out to be doves. "The land is too powerful for us - we ought not to attempt to conquer it." Two are hawkish. "We should

go up again quickly and possess it, for we are able to overcome it." There are lengthy discussions. The doves seem to be swaying the National Security Council. The hawks leak their arguments to the press and a great debate breaks out in the camp. Moses tries to find a consensus. He fails. God is disturbed and angered by the whole thing. Finally he calls everyone a "nervous Nelly" and wipes his hands of the whole matter.

Spying is as old as history. The first spy was recruited among the first generation of men. Cain was asked to report, "where is thy ~~brother~~ Abel?" Incidentally, Cain is the first to have refused the glamor of a C.I.A. assignment. "Am I my brother's keeper?" Spying is as old as man and the failure of most espionage ~~schemes~~ ^{schemes} is written large in history. The great empires and kingdoms of the ancient world had intricate and well-financed spy networks which were designed not only to ferret out the secrets of the enemy, but more especially to evaluate the mood of one's own people and to infiltrate rebel cells and abort palace revolutions and popular uprisings. The record of most intelligence agencies in those days and today, is rather dismal. There have been very few successes and very many failures. David once wanted to attack the Ammonites. He infiltrated agents into their land. The agents were quickly caught and shaven of their beards and their hair, an act which shamed the oriental. In that bald state they were sent back to David, even as we exchange convicted spies with the Russians. We are told in the Bible that Absalom wanted to know whether there was support for his pretensions to the crown. He sent spies among the tribes. These spies quickly found that spying offers unusual profit opportunities. They became double agents and their false reports led to Absalom's quick downfall.

The history of intelligence activity proves only that guile leads to guile, espionage leads to counterespionage, the infiltration of agents leads to the double agent; briefly, that when a country wants to dupe another it will find some way to do it. One wonders just how taken in the cold-eyed Russians were by those bright-eyed American students who suddenly thronged behind the Iron Curtain to all kinds of festivals and student meetings with their cameras, their tape recorders and, apparently, with their C.I.A. identification cards in their wallets.

Spying is as old as history, and I frankly see no possibility of eliminating intelligence activity. Even if the nations were to renounce spying, corporations will always be seeking the business secrets of other corporations, sports buffs will be spying on next Saturday's opponent to get their game plans, and Johnny will be spying on Jane's examination paper to get a better grade. Spying is a statement of human fear and human greed and as long as we are human there will be the greedy among us and all of us are fearful.

The wise nation will see to it that the intelligence activities of the state serve the best interests of the state and that they do not threaten stated policies or existing institutions. This is all important. Espionage by its very nature exists beyond the law, in the gray areas, deep in the shadows. Espionage agencies can create incidents which turn the whole course of history. I submit to you the shooting down by the Soviets ^{of} Francis Power's high-flying U-2 photo reconnaissance plane in May of 1960. This incident turned the thaw of Camp David into the bitter summit confrontation of Vienna. It has never been made clear who ordered that particular overflight at that time. Though the general practice of U-2 flights was approved by the President, this particular mission was authorized at a far lower echelon and

there remains the suspicion that it was authorized in the hope of impeding a detente.

Harry Truman, in 1947, as President of the United States, brought the Central Intelligence Agency into being. America had not forgotten Pearl Harbor and found itself plunging into the Cold War. Sixteen years later Mr. Truman said this about the C.I.A.

"There is something about the way C.I.A. has been functioning that is casting a shadow over our historic positions and I feel that we need to overcome it."

He was concerned largely with the shadow which the C.I.A. was casting over the conduct of our foreign policy. There was reason to believe that in certain parts of the world the C.I.A. was following an independent policy line. The State Department, through our Ambassador in Cambodia, had been attempting to make friends of Prince ~~Sihanouk~~ ^{Shihanak}. The C.I.A. had other ideas and involved itself in an abortive assassination plot against the Prince. The Prince never forgot and never forgave this plot. If you would understand why the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese receive sanctuary in Cambodia, at least part of the reason goes back to this C.I.A. involvement. At about the same time the State Department was interested in the friendship of the hero of Indonesian independence, Prime Minister Sukarno, The C.I.A. had other ideas. It supported a rebellion of Sumatran peoples with airplanes and money. An American pilot flying an American plane was shot down by Sukarno's forces. Mr. Sukarno never forgave nor did he forget. Much of his precipitous turn left it is believed can be attributed to this C.I.A. flight. The C.I.A. seemed to be forcing a hard-nosed hawkish posture in the Cold War at a time when

the Cold War seemed to be moving into a negotiation phase.

The United States was interested in the neutralization of Laos. Laos had a relatively neutral government until the C.I.A. saw an opportunity to put a right-wing solidly pro-American general into power, Phoumi-Nosavan. The C.I.A. ~~helped to involve ourselves by~~ ^{ed} rigging an election for him, stuffing ^{ed} ballots, bribing ^{ed} opponents, ^{bought} ~~buying~~ votes. Such was the success of this C.I.A. coup that all who were pushed out of office found reason to listen to Soviet professions, and for the first time the Soviet was given an active and effective political cause in that part of the world. After this fiasco, it took five years of the most delicate negotiations by our State Department to prevent Laos from becoming what Vietnam, in effect, became.

The Bay of Pigs is the classic example, of course, of C.I.A. policy determining our foreign policy. C.I.A. intelligence, processed by C.I.A. officials, created a C.I.A. invasion scheme which was then put before a new president as a relatively easy and effective way of achieving something which the government much-desired to achieve, the overthrow of Mr. Castro. The result was disaster; what Mr. Kennedy was to call an eye-ball to eye-ball nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union. The world was brought to the brink of holocaust; all because of a policy formed, woven, publicized and lobbied for by our intelligence agency. Burnt once Mr. Kennedy set about to unite the policies of the C.I.A. and the policies of the State Department and the policies of the Defense Department into a single effective package. I suspect that since that time the various arms of the government have acted more or less in concord.

C.I.A. activity poses another threat. C.I.A. agents can move

How can citizens now affect the conduct of American foreign policy?

Presumably one can stand up after an incident and speak in opposition. The

as far as and as fast as a jet plane will take them. They circle the globe and reach everywhere. Every involvement by the C.I.A. necessarily involves the power and the prestige of the United States and the United States is often involved far beyond the limits of its power. The classic example is Vietnam. Mr. Diem is a creation of French intelligence and our C.I.A. In 1954 he was brought from a monk's cell in Brussels to Vietnam by the C.I.A., given money with which to win power by the C.I.A., and supported with technical advisors on the staff of the C.I.A. Inevitably the simple act of building up a puppet committed us to technical assistance, to military advisory groups, to troops, and ultimately to a bloody and problematic war. No one asked the American people whether they wanted to support Diem in Vietnam or whether we wanted to overthrow Mossadegh in Iran, or whether we wanted to support Nasser in his bid for power in Egypt, or whether we wanted to overthrow Lumumba in the Congo and Nkrumah in Ghana or whether we wanted to involve ourselves in right wing plots in British Guiana and Guatemala. Yet each of these actions was undertaken by the C.I.A. upon a decision of the government. Foreign policy is no longer of the people and by the people, but for the people. Little by little the very existence of the C.I.A. and its mandate to involve itself in such undercover actions has made it possible, indeed, necessary for the government to act by executive order and to deny to the public a knowledge of commitments made. Inevitably we have committed ourselves beyond the limits of our power and inevitably the conduct of our foreign affairs has featured less policy and more cloak and dagger activity. The very principles on which foreign affairs are based have been radically and dangerously affected. I am afraid, How can citizens now affect the conduct of American foreign policy? Presumably one can stand up after an incident and speak in opposition. The

experience of Senator Fulbright and others who oppose our involvement in Vietnam proves that the thrust of escalation is always more powerful than the counter thrust of political opposition. Presumably most unseen policy is reviewed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but these are a few men and the information they are given is given to them in secret. It would be difficult, and they would be violating their oath, if they took this information to the people to build up popular opposition to an executive decision. The record of the Congress these last years does not give credit to the proposition that Congress will take a position which might seem to embarrass the President or the State Department or the Defense Department, even if there is broad public opposition to current positions. Nor does recent history indicate that such a **Sense of Congress Resolution** would effect government thought. I give you the long sad history of the Congressional attitude toward General Nasser as compared with that of the State Department.

What's for it then? The United States has moved into a period in which foreign policy is the policy of the government rather than of the people. We have lost that integral relationship which should exist in a democracy between the will of the people and the work of the government. I see no way of recapturing this older tradition unless the government is willing, from time to time, to issue White Papers, specifying clearly and honestly what it considers to be the aims of American policy throughout the world; in broad terms what it is prepared to do and what it is not prepared to do. Then full debate must be allowed the opposition parties. This is the British tradition. It is not ours, and I see no desire on the part of the government to make it ours. I am afraid, that for the moment, we must depend upon the wisdom and the good will of those in authority. And, though I believe in their good will and I pray for their wisdom, I submit that in a society whose freedoms depend upon

checks and balances, upon law and free institutions, this is not the way in which foreign policy ought to be forged, formed, debated or pursued.

Mr. Truman spoke of shadows cast by the C.I.A. over our foreign policy. The recent disclosures of C.I.A. financing ^{of} a score of student groups, relief groups, missionary groups, welfare groups, universities, publishing houses and the like, has made many of us feel that this shadow is cast large over our domestic way of life. A democracy depends upon the trust which the people can place in their government, in their courts, in their universities, in their newspapers and communications media, and in those grass roots institutions which we create in order to be effective in a mass democracy. Each of these relationships has been brought into question by recent C.I.A. activity. The government has been caught in lies. Who of us will forget Mr. Stevenson's honest protestations before the United Nations that we were not involved in the invasion of Cuba, and his shame-faced recantation when Washington informed him that we were, in fact, involved. Do you remember some two years ago when the Defense Department insisted loudly that we had bribed a governor of Singapore after a C.I.A. fiasco in that little community some five years before? ^{how} And the governor produced a letter from Mr. Rusk apologizing for that involvement.

Much has been said about the credibility gap which yawns between the people and the government. That gap is not mainly a result of C.I.A.

activity, but I submit that its growth parallels the growth of the C.I.A. and that the habit of secrecy which intelligence activities require quickly permeates ^{the} ~~the~~ entire governmental apparatus. Once you begin to lie it is hard not to

C.I.A. wanted to have produced. It has been shown that C.I.A. monies

lie. Once you begin to withhold the truth it is very hard not to argue, as did a press secretary in the Defense Department, about the people's right not to know. I am afraid that the existence of these undercover activities has created an atmosphere of secrecy and of security in which the truth is often lost sight of. Yet, if we lose faith in the integrity of our government the very soul of the democratic process is threatened.

Recent activities of the C.I.A. have also brought into question the rights of the individual under the law. Sometime ago an Estonian refugee accused another of libel. He had been called an active agent of the Soviet espionage system. He sued. The man who was sued simply brought to the court a letter from the C.I.A. which said he had made this accusation upon orders of his superior. Now, I have little doubt that the man who brought the charges was what the C.I.A. ~~said~~ ^{claimed} him to be, but I worry when all a man need do to slander another is to bring to the court a letter from the C.I.A. saying he acted upon orders. Who gives these orders? Upon what grounds? How easy it would be for the C.I.A. to get rid of a gadfly reporter who had burrowed too deeply. How easy it would be for an unscrupulous government to get rid of a political opponent whose barbs were feared. Democracy exists because of the protection of laws. Legal protection is the very bedrock on which democracy rests. The goodwill of men is not a sturdy enough foundation. When the protective laws are corroded and weakened and pulverized, there is danger for all of us.

C.I.A. activity has brought into question the honesty of what we read. It has been shown that at least one American publishing house was directly subvented to produce college texts on foreign policy which the C.I.A. wanted to have produced. It has been shown that C.I.A. monies

underwrote major institutes of graduate study in foreign affairs at the University of Pennsylvania, M.I.T. and elsewhere. It has been shown that officials of the C.I.A. published articles in some of the more important foreign policy journals without indicating their official relationship to the agency. It has been shown that the C.I.A. underwrote activities of the Newspaper Guild and has used newspaper and television men as its agents in foreign lands. Now, we still have a free press in the United States but there is danger implicit here. When propaganda is not labeled as propaganda, when the government does to it that material is filtered into our newspapers which is editorial, which tells part of the truth but not the whole truth, without indicating that this is, in fact, ^{NOT} fact, all of us suffer. The very basis of a democracy is an intelligent electorate - such an electorate requires news and news must be fed to it by a media that is free of any suspicion of being controlled.

The C.I.A. has brought under suspicion the very voluntary agencies which we create in order to express our group feelings and our particular group desires. I have in mind the National Students Association, a group which represents some three million students on various American campuses. Over 80% of its budget was for some years underwritten by the C.I.A. Now it has been claimed by the C.I.A. that this underwriting was nothing more than a subvention of trips overseas by American students who could oppose Russian propaganda effort at Student Conferences and Student Festivals. I submit that the activities of the C.I.A. went far more deeply; that, in point of fact, the C.I.A. was able to control these agencies as it willed. It saw to it that those whom it wanted as agents became the officers of the N.S.A. It saw to it that unwanted resolutions were not passed. It

saw to it, in fact, that National Student Association representatives abroad spoke what the C.I.A. wanted them to say rather than what the N.S.A. wanted them to say. As proof I submit this report by one of the officers of the N.S.A.

'One of the important elements in maintaining control was that the top officers were made witty that they were brought into the C.I.A.' Mr. Wood, a red-bearded young man explained. He said, 'each year fifteen well-placed highly competent students had been admitted to the International Student Relations Seminar which was operated for thirteen summers, but was cancelled last summer. All this time officers and staff in the association who are witty are really observing people and developing choices for office holding. The agency has to be concerned about who was chosen. The Director of the seminar is usually a C.I.A. agent.' The seminar is pictured as a recruiting ground for the officer material of the National Students Association and this, in turn, is a recruiting ground for agents for the C.I.A. 'Over the years' Mr. Wood said, 'a corps of former association officers had been built up in Covert Action, Division V of the C.I.A. with which the student groups secret relationships were maintained.' He said, 'it was sort of like an alumni group.' 'C.I.A. agents always attended the association's national meetings and played a vital role in decision-makings at Madison, Wisconsin in August of 1965. 'In that year Vietnam was debated very bitterly for nine hours. The agents were very anxious first of all that no absolute position be taken and concerned that no permanent cessation of bombing position be taken. The Student Association voted for negotiation and for cessation of bombing providing, however, that there was some show of willingness to negotiation by the Vietnamese,' he said, 'thus satisfying the agency lobbyists.'

'On another occasion it was proposed that three of the five delegates to the National Student Conference be elected rather than named by the association officers. All those people who go to the International Student Conference are C.I.A. agents,' Mr. Wood said. 'This proposal was

squashed by the full force of the intelligence agency's lobbying group.' He explained that 'such a plan would have inhibited the gathering of intelligence at the international students meetings since some American delegates would not have had C.I.A. connections.'

This is hardly the picture of a free American institution. Not only does the C.I.A. use some of the individuals for intelligence operations but it sees to it that ~~this~~^{their} ~~structure of theirs~~ permits it to carry on its work, and it sees to it that the resolutions of that agency conform with what it believes it desires. Furthermore, when these young people were abroad they did not always speak the platform positions of the National Students Association, nor even their own attitudes, though they were presumably sent abroad as representatives of a free society to speak ^{freely} of our free institutions and of ~~free speech~~^{The virtues of the free world}.

I have a file. The C.I.A. has its computers with millions of pieces of information. I have a little C.I.A. file of my own. It is a manila envelope in which I, from time to time, put stories that I read in the newspapers which simply do not make sense in their context. Usually I find that if I wait long enough these pieces fall into place. This story comes from that file. Last summer in Nairobi there was a meeting of the International Student Conference. There were, at that meeting, five representatives of the National Students Association. This meeting came to my attention because these five students were the most active lobbyists for a position paper which chastized Israel as a belligerent nation, called Israel war-mongering and encouraged the return of Palestine to the Arabs. Such a position had never been taken by the National Students Association. This position was certainly not congruent with the public positions of our own

government. Yet, these five American students, purporting to represent the National Student Association, were the busiest lobbyists for Nairobi. When pressed by reporters for an explanation they said simply that it was desirable to show the Arab world that they had friends. Their actions now fall into place. The Central Intelligence Agency for which these men worked wanted to establish contacts with the Arab world. The C.I.A. was using this conference to put four or five American students into contact with Arabs who might be useful or controllable. What is implicit here? A complete reversal of traditional American positions. This National Student Association position was radioed to the Arab capitals where leaders quite aware that these students were C.I.A. agents came to the conclusion there that there was a weakening of American support for Israel. There was some relationship between the peaking of El Fateh raids and this resolution. Arab activists were encouraged. Americans had lost interest in little Israel. America was interested in oil, in Arab friendship, in the Suez Canal, in opposing Russia - Israel would be written off by American interests. These student resolutions are not as innocuous as they seem, and the dishonesty of representatives of the three million man and women organization making this position in the name of that organization is quite incredible.

The New York Times in a recent editorial almost understated the problem.

"The disastrous effects of the systematic penetration of American educational, cultural, and labor organizations by the Central Intelligence Agency daily becomes more apparent. The strength of these organizations, both in the structure of American society and in their relations with their opposite numbers in other nations, always has been their freedom

from government domination. The integrity of pro-American positions honestly taken by groups and individuals in the world-wide battle of ideas has been undermined. The independence of American private foundations has been brought into question. In short, faith in American institutions has been besmirched in a way that would have eluded the reach of any foreign enemy."

"It is no excuse to say the C.I.A.'s decision to use a limitless range of philanthropic funds, the funneling of funds into youth groups and universities and other private institutions was designed to meet a very real problem of the Cold War. The need for assuring the Communists that they would not have an unchallenged field in the youth congresses, the cultural conferences that were arranged and subsidized on a global basis ten and fifteen years ago. That problem should have been met openly by direct public subsidy. It should have been seen by the C.I.A. overseers in the White House that the ineffective clandestine subsidies groups ^{or} representative of the detachment and diversity of a free society must inevitably taint the genuineness of their detachment. This would be true even without the charges that have now developed that the assignment of C.I.A. operatives to influence the policies and statements and choice of officers in the National Students Association, a practice that many have extended to other organizations as well."

This too must be said. By financing and sponsoring voluntary citizen institutions the C.I.A. has made their ^{programs} ~~plans~~ that much more effective or that much less effective depending on whether or not aid was given. Let me give you an example. Until some ten years ago The American Friends for the Middle East was an Arab front sponsored largely by a few dollars given by American Oil Companies, American Ambassadors and their families who had lived in Arab countries for a long time, and anti-semites. Its major role was to preach on the campuses and in the churches against the State of Israel. This whole program is essentially a white wash. It says no more than this,

Israel. Until ten years ago the American Friends for the Middle East was limping along on a budget of something less than \$200,000 a year. Today, its budget is over two million dollars. The bulk of it is given by the Central Intelligence Agency. The Central Intelligence Agency is interested in using the contacts which this lobbyist group has in the Arab world. But what has been the effect? The effect has been to build up the American Friends in the Middle East as a major propaganda agency which now has well-oiled, well-tooled units on every major campus. Units which not only attack Israel and Zionism, but Jews and Judaism. The result is that a group which on its own would have stumbled along has been given new life and new power. More to the point. All that this organization stands for runs counter to the stated policy of our own government, which is a policy of friendship and support for the State of Israel. I speak of the organizations of which I know. I am sure that the Asian Student Press Bureau, Cross-Roads Africa, the International Student Conference for Africa, the International Union for Socialist Youth, the Nationalist Youth Center in New Delhi, the Christian Workers for South Africa, all of these groups and others represent some narrow political line, and that by supporting these groups ~~America~~ ^{THE C.I.A. INCREASES} the effectiveness of their lobby manifold.

No, we can not accept the exposed C.I.A. activities simply as a legitimate program by the government to receive as much information and intelligence as it can about the rest of the world in an operation which did not threaten the integrity and viability of the grass roots organizations of American life. In fact, it did and does. I am saddened that the preliminary report of the White House panel empowered by the President to investigate this whole program is essentially a white wash. It says no more than this.

The C.I.A. gave courageous and fine young Americans an opportunity to serve their nation and the free world in a time of great danger.

I had believed that the difference between the Marxist system and the free world lay in our philosophy of government. The Marxist world believes that the individual exists to serve the state. The free world believes the state exists to serve the individual. The question is not whether the C.I.A. can give some people an opportunity to serve the nation the question is, *does* the activity of the C.I.A. serve the best interests of the people. I submit that it does not! I submit that its directives are too loosely drawn. I submit that these directives have allowed the C.I.A. to play havoc with the traditional freedoms and ~~legal~~ checks and balances. What ought to be the directives by which the C.I.A. is governed? First of all it should be directed to label all that it publishes and sponsors as published by its orders. Americans will respect a White Paper ~~published~~. We will read it carefully and judge it judicially. But we want to know who is saying what. Whose position is being argued and why? It has been learned that the C.I.A. has sponsored Radio Free Europe and other propaganda radio and television stations around the world. It would be a tragedy, would it not, if this kind of propaganda activity were to grow on the American scene. And it will grow inevitably, because all institutions expand, unless we see to it that government-sponsored publication is labeled as government sponsored. It does not denigrate it. It does not weaken its rational force, if indeed its force be rational. It simply indicates to us who said it and why.

Then I think the C.I.A. must be scrupulously prohibited from sponsoring directly civilian societies. It is one thing to ask an American

citizen to report on his visits abroad; what he has seen and whom he has contacted as long as this does not violate some privileged business or professional communication. I do believe that the citizen has a responsibility to make such reports to the government. That is one thing. It is quite another to sponsor grass root organizations; to see to it that their leadership are your agents, to see to it that their resolutions agree with your party line; to see to it that their activities conform to the best interest of your agency. If the government believes that students should go abroad, that physicians should go abroad, that scientists should go abroad, or business people should go abroad, to preach the gospel they should go abroad with the open sponsorship of the government. We are not fobbing anybody anyway. At least let's see to it that when we, the people create grass roots groups to express this political attitude or that political attitude of ours, carry out this mission or ~~that~~ ^{that} relief project, those who create such an agency, in fact control it. Unfortunately, as long as the C.I.A. uses foundation fronts to infiltrate such groups the agencies will respond more to the needs of intelligence-gathering groups than to the desires of the people who created them.

Finally, I believe that it is time that a very high-level group of government people and representatives of the people sit down and work out a far better system for the long-range and reasonable control of the C.I.A. It is time we examined the foreign policy ramifications of C.I.A. activity. It is time we re-learned a lesson of history. An Intelligence agency by its very nature becomes a force within the government and it can become a separate force, apart from the very government it presumably serves. I give you Mr. Beria in the Soviet Union. The Chinese Red guards are partially Mao's ^{hu} Response to ~~the~~ lost control of ^{China's} security police. I don't think that

this will happen in the United States. But it is a clear and present danger and one which ought to be examined and dealt with before the possibility exists rather than after. It is not that I love this nation less, but that I love it more that I say these things. It is because I prize the freedom on which this nation is founded. It is because I recognize that freedom must be protected even from those who say that they are the champions of that freedom. It is because we are moving into an era of shifting political power and in such an era it is necessary to reestablish that intricate system of checks and balances and laws on which a democracy is based.

Under the pressures of the Cold War we moved precipitously to create instruments to fight the Cold War. The Cold War is not over, but there is another war - it is the war to protect our own freedoms. In order to win this war without increased tension, in my humble opinion, we must act now to see to it that the intelligence agencies of the government are brought into line with the open policies of the government and they are prohibited, (even though it may reduce for a time the effectiveness of their operation) from subverting those precious institutions of the university, the press, and the volunteer agencies which are part of the foundation rock of this great nation.

saying we are old or busy, can remember first started asked to
 file a report on the fillers (jargon) "Where is the hell the matter" and
 incidentally to find to reform an intelligence community - can
any matter keep? All the current issues of the system mentioned
 reference NKVD's & CIA's to learn the various secrets and
 to get detailed information on the altitudes - altitude of each one
 subjects. The repeated function of all these systems should, to
 now have covered most of the craft hand guide,
experience you will be under experience; the intention of
agents level to conduct operation - briefly that there are always
ways of making 1 days under your hand.

[illegible]

Spring, I suspect, is much more than a holiday -
though some undoubtedly no hope that some need even released
spring is not limited to the CIA, industrial over-
this movement. At a point of time apparently to meet
that separate papers & parts from other to some
~~to their actual all as they are~~
plans of next dist. work, even feeling about a rule at
some new paper -

Compromised of CIA ^{action} ~~action~~

The permit has been given to him. We can forget Mr. Sklar's protestations of innocence at the UN which are remembered in the Bay of Pigs. We can forget the Defense Dept. which but still had ordered a surprise journey to grant a CIA scandal - under which appeared to be based on official spying from Mr. Sklar in the knowledge of American civilian under had to be obtained in the Dominican Republic to justify an operation but needed sent on an troops only to protect an citizen.

Permit is a continuous decision. The CIA is not full responsible for the credibility of relation the advice the people - but I would have much more of many & guide which CIA attitude officially refuse to control to the validity of any less the open with the American people. the validity of and covered by a recent Defense Dept Press Office make note of the people's right not to know.

Classified equal refugees have been compromised, known and the name of an American refugee who owned land in the United States which a small agent of the CIA for refugees. The agent said no more than needed to be in the country that he had been ordered to make the CIA The change was discovered by the American people control of the Defense Dept. In all probability the

was a Secret Code - but on notice to check of the
agency the evidence was the same against the unsub
guilty in a discrepancy opposed to any body was in an
unfounded report and in fact except the fact of being in
power - ^{no benefit} ^{must be} a discrepancy based on facts not on unfounded facts

Recent disclosures have shown that the CIA embodiment of
publicly known ^{Prison} the prison of material related to V.N. was in
the CIA operational units a defensive of the N or the united
authority Foreign Office unrelated independent of the CIA
position - but in fact the Foreign Office unrelated independent of the CIA
has been considered as a discrepancy with the unsub was unrelated
CIA facts known to WRHS to the unsub was unrelated to the CIA
reports have been made about the CIA unsub was unrelated to the CIA
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- 1) Congress members - degree of support
- 2) White House panel preliminary report - promote
to government - 1) has member mission understanding
2) has included many for regional concerns

opportunities to name these work

in terms of challenges & objectives

US & the joint work

Changes to be made
needed in direction

WRHS



Don require self defense - value
of peace - makes contribution

Liberty - When interests, need subsidized on
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SUBSIDY DIRECT

Production

LIMITATION

Keep track of evolution

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...the Central Intelligence Agency daily become more apparent. The strength of these organizations, both in the structure of American society and in their relations with their opposite numbers in other nations, always has been their freedom from government domination.

Now, through the deviousness of C.I.A. operations, thousands of scholars, students, unionists and professional leaders discover long after the fact that they have performed unwitting and undesired duty as secret agents.

The integrity of pro-American positions, honestly taken by groups and individuals in the worldwide battle of ideas, has been undermined. The independence of America's private foundations has been brought into question. In short, faith in American institutions has been besmirched in a way that would have eluded the reach of any foreign enemy.

It is no excuse to say that the C.I.A.'s decision to use a limitless range of philanthropic fronts to funnel its funds into youth groups, universities and other private institutions was designed to meet a very real problem of the cold war: the need for assuring that the Communists would not have an unchallenged field in the youth congresses and cultural conferences they were arranging—and subsidizing—on a global basis ten and fifteen years ago. That problem should have been met openly—by direct public subsidy.

It should have been clear long ago to the C.I.A.'s overseers in the White House that the end effect of clandestine subsidies to groups representative of the detachment and diversity of a free society must inevitably taint the genuineness of their detachment. This would be true even without the charges that have now developed of the assignment of C.I.A. operatives to influence the policy statements and choice of officers of the National Student Association—a practice that may have extended to other organizations as well.

The health of a democratic society depends on the certainty that its free institutions—its press, its educational and scientific bodies, its publishing houses and television networks, its unions and business organizations—are truly free. That does not mean government is barred from underwriting international exchanges or research study; it means that, where such support is appropriate, it must be given openly through its own public agencies.

The worst part of the current mess is that the very nature of the C.I.A., with its mandate for espionage and subversion all over the world, rules out any thoroughgoing public inquiry into its activities. That means some residue of suspicion is sure to remain—both in this country and abroad—no matter how conscientiously the Cabinet Committee appointed last week by President Johnson seeks to formulate policies that will prevent the C.I.A. or any other Federal bureau from imperiling the "integrity and independence" of educational institutions.

When a government finds it necessary to set up an agency to fight subversion with subversion everywhere, the tragic danger it opens up is that among the people it subverts are its own. The defense against such weakening of America's institutional fabric must rest with the President and Congress. Even with the recent broadening of Senator Russell's watchdog committee, Congress is not doing its part of that job.

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PENALIOUS

7

PENVASIVE

Units Linked With C.I.A.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18—

Following is a list of the Central Intelligence Agency-connected foundations and some of the organizations to which they have contributed:

Foundation for Youth and Students Affairs, 1 East 54th Street, New York City;
Asian Student Press Bureau;
Council for International Programs for Youth Leaders and Social Workers;
Conference on the Atlantic Community;
Council of European National Youth Committees;
Crossroads Africa;
Gambia National Youth Council;
Guyana Assembly of Youth;
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions;
International Student Conference;
International Union of Young Christian Democrats;
International Union of Socialist Youth;
International Youth Center, New Delhi;
National Federation of Canadian University Students;
National Newman Club Federation;
National Student Press Council of India;
North American Secretariat of Pax Romana;
Oficina Relacionadora Movimientos Estudiantiles Universitarios;
Pax Romana, International Secretariat;
United States National Student Association;
United States Student Press Association;
United States Youth Council;
World Assembly of Youth;
World University Service;
Young Christian Workers;
Young Women's Christian Association.

American Foundation for Free Press
American Student Union

International Union of Socialist Youth
Young Christian Workers

United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association

United States Youth Council
World Assembly of Youth

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10.
One of the important elements in maintaining control was that the top officers were "made Witty," Mr. Wood, a red-bearded young man explained. He said that each year 15 well-placed highly competent students had been admitted to the International Student Relations Seminar, which was operated for 13 summers until it was canceled last summer.

"All this time, officers and staff of the association who are Witty are really observing people and developing choices for office holding," he said. "The Agency has to be concerned about who is chosen. The director of the seminar usually is a Witty agent."

Recruiting Grounds

The seminar was pictured as a recruiting ground for the officer material for the student association and this in turn was a recruiting ground for agents of the intelligence agency. Over the years, Mr. Wood said, a corps of former association officers has been built up in Covert Action Division No 5 of the C.I.A., with which the student group's secret relationship was maintained.

He said it was "sort of like an alumni group." Such C.I.A. agents always attended the association national meetings, and played a vital role in decision making at Madison, Wis., in August, 1965, he reported.

"In that year, Vietnam was debated very bitterly for nine hours," Mr. Wood said. "The agents were very anxious, first of all, that no absolute position be taken, and concerned that no absolute position be taken, and concerned that no permanent cessation of bombing position be taken."

Voted for Talks

The student association voted for negotiation and for cessation of bombing providing some show of willingness to negotiate came from the North Vietnamese, he said, satisfying the agency lobbyists.

On another occasion, he said, it was proposed that three of the five delegates to the International Student Conference be elected, rather than named by the association's officers.

"All those people who go to the I.S.C. are Witty agents," Mr. Wood said.

This proposal he relates, was quashed by the full force of the intelligence agency's lobbying group. He explained that such a plan would have inhibited the gathering of intelligence at international student meetings, since some American delegates would not have had C.I.A. connections.

Kaddish

Friday FEB. 24

Sunday FEB. 26

Those who passed away this week

JACK F. GOLDMAN	FANNIE MARKMAN
AARON HARRY ILLIONS	BLANCHE WIENER
AMMA MAMMET	

BELLE BLOOM GELLNER

ARTHUR KELLER

SANFORD LIBHABER

HELEN SAVLAN ROSE

ROSE ROSENTHAL SCHOENBERGER

LIZETTE RITTER MYERS

DINAH SILVER

WILLIAM SCHWARTZ

PAULINE L. GLICK

ANNA WIRTSCHAFTER RICH

WILLIAM BENSON

JOSEPH J. COPENHAGEN

CHRISTINE PALADY

ISADORE EISENMAN

DORA MARKS STRAUSS

ROBERT B. MYERS

Jahrzeits

LENA E. KLEIN

LEO WEIDENTHAL

CHARLES ROSENFELD

SAM WEITZ

MOLLIE ROCKER SCHONBERG

MOSES W. HABER

ARTHUR E. WIESENBERGER

MAX EMERLING

ARTHUR A. NEIGER

ALBERT C. GALVIN