

JW, RB, HR (with page)

Dear Gary,

9/12.72

Enclosed is a page of a special issue of Ramparts reviewing the year 1968. It appeared early the next year.

I send it to you not as an accusation but for your information. Were I to send it to Jerry he'd swear I have some deep, sinister, secret accusation in mind. I make no evaluation and consider I am not in a position to.

However, in the light on the only possible consequences of Ned's endeavor and the fact that they did come to pass, I also feel I can't dismiss it out of hand.

Either way, I just don't know. At the same time, I'm not inclined to believe the obvious has to be the case or in fact is.

What complicates it for me is the fact that I considered it right and proper that I work for the CIA's earlier version. Can I consider that what I consider right and proper for me is not the same for another? So, if it is true, there is not yet a judgement in this and if you take it that way, there is nothing I can do about it.

On the return of what you accepted from me in confidence, a matter for which I do hope you will find time and of which I have thought recently, there are some things that, while you got them from me, you did not get for me, and I would not consider these involved. What came to mind is the DeMohrenschildt stuff, that on the Paines, the Mexico travel records, and the old man with the Russian name that escapes me, the one in the Russian hospital with LHO. Jerry started to check out his New York business. Then there was that Arab stuff involving Marina, again the name escaping me. The Arab student in Germany thing. Is it Reggab? I copied these things and probably others for you and Paul.

I do draw a distinction between such things as this and what I asked you and Hal to do for me and you divided between you. For the most part it is likely I would not have any objection to distribution of most of it, but with the recent past so fresh in mind I more than ever assert for myself the right to decide for myself who is honorable, trustworthy, a nut of anything else I might find relevant. When you can do as you have done and Jerry can do so much worse, bringing Lifton in (without audible protest from you or Sylvia, both of whom are in a position to make independent assessments), and when A wecht can reject a Roffman or me as advisors, assuming he needed any, and can trust instead a Sprague, a Smith and a Fensterwald - and, of course, Lifton - I presume I do not have to argue the point further. These are those with whom you chose to associate yourself, to trust, and with what you very well knew was my work.

You may not yet agree with me, but I think if you do not, you will in time learn that this also serves your personal interest.

There is something I may not have told you that I tell you now if I forgot. When I first learned of this I was dismayed at all the people I've trusted who turned out to be unworthy of trust, then and in the past. Mary had long been silent. She had hundreds of only-copies of pages of my materials and she had not responded to letters for a long time. So, I asked her to please find time for its return. She phoned me and I then learned for the first time what she had assumed Bob Smith had told me, of the tragic accident to her oldest son. She was quite disappointed at what you had done, from my account of it. She was going to phone you. I said it had already been done and discouraged her. I told her that in time I would inform her. Her costs are now enormous and her time more limited. So, when you sent me your letter to the Archives, the yellow copy the return of which you asked, I sent her a copy with that of the page of the inventory. I also sent it to Howard. He was really shocked. Unlike Jerry, Howard has not used his time here for trivialities. He is familiar with my Wecht file, for example, because I did not seek to influence his judgement and decision and, in fact, encouraged him to independence and explained its importance to him at some length. I am sure he will confirm this and more, that he did decide other than he knew I preferred and I then did what I could to help him in that. So, not only van Howard tell you from his own knowledge that what Jerry wrote is false where Howard has knowledge, deliberately deceptive in other areas, but he knows perhaps better than I the details of my relations with Cyril. And Graham, Marshall, the Archives and others. Including inducements offered to me.

I'm really sorry for you. I hope you can do with your own mind and emotions what you do for others. What you did is too out of character for you. If you don't purge yourself now, to yourself, not others, I fear it may later haunt you. Sincerely,

semester studying Grayson Kirk's correspondence.

A second category—jobs in private industry—gives first ranking to the overseas operations of Chase Manhattan Bank, First National City Bank, Mobil Overseas Oil, Socony Mobil, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Olin-Mathieson which, taken together, amount to the private foreign service of the Rockefeller financial interests. A third career classification emphasizes employment in CIA fronts such as the Asia Foundation, the Institute for International Education and the Free Europe Committee.

It is some list. In one column it explodes the myth that Columbia, as a well-endowed private university with a distinguished academic tradition, functions as an independent institution. Rather, the powers that define Columbia's role in society are the same powers that define America's role in the world. The internationalist eastern business interests, the great university research centers (exemplified in rather excessive form by Columbia) and the government's national security and foreign policy bureaucracies work hand in hand to maintain and perfect the Pax Americana.

It is instructive to see how such a complex, interlocking system operates, since the shock of recognition that such realities are at work under the covers of independent research and the valedictory principles of the disinterested pursuit of knowledge has recently led Columbia students to riot.

Columbia's ties with the secret government are so extensive that the university actually has both an overt and a covert national security apparatus on campus. The overt one is the School of International Affairs whose dean, Andrew Cordier, came from the U.N. Secretariat with an interesting history: in 1960, Cordier used his U.N. post to make possible the successful CIA-backed coup against Patrice Lumumba. Conor Cruise O'Brien, the Irish diplomat and former U.N. official, reports in his book, *To Katanga and Back*, that Cordier prevented Lumumba from using Radio Leopoldville at the crucial moments of the coup and went so far as to put the wavering troops of right-wing Colonel Mobutu back in line by paying their salaries with U.N. funds. There is additional background that defines the complex scope of relationships at work in such an event. CIA chief at the time of the coup was Allen Dulles whose law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, represented Rockefeller's Standard Oil; secretary of State was Dean Rusk, who came to that position from his post as president of the Rockefeller Foundation. And the banker who led a delegation of American businessmen to the post-coup Congo to look over investment possibilities in the now pro-U.S. state was David Rockefeller of the Chase Bank and Morningside Heights, Inc.

The involvement of the CIA, Columbia and the Rockefeller interests in Africa goes deeper. Shortly after coming to Columbia, Dean Cordier established an African Studies program—one of a series of special divisions the School of International Affairs has consistently set up to do helpful research on America's Cold War hot spots. Director of Columbia's African program is Professor L. Gray Cowan, a key figure on the board of the African-American Institute, which once received 95 per cent of its funding from CIA fronts but which has also received heavy donations from the Rockefeller Fund, Inc. The AAI is critical to CIA operations in Africa since over 90 per cent of the African students who come to the United States to study are under its aegis. Two of Columbia's trustees are also trustees of the African-American Institute.

The School of International Affairs enjoys the largesse of the man who invented Lifesavers, Edward J. Noble. The school will soon operate from a new \$14 million building on the Columbia campus named in honor of Noble, who died in 1958. The largest contributions to the school come through the Noble Foundation, which has received funds from a heretofore undisclosed conduit which has received money from the CIA dummy, the Charles Price Whitten Trust.

Compromising as these internecine relationships are, it was a covert military operation at Columbia that surfaced as a point of student protest last month. Columbia is one of the primary university sponsors of the secretive Institute for Defense Analyses, a "think tank" program which was set up in 1955 in order to channel researchers into war technology.

But the IDA does more than cerebral work for the government. Columbia's Electrical Engineering Department has received \$5 million in secret IDA contracts for anti-ballistic missile research programs. Columbia is also a key base of operations for IDA's controversial Jason Division which busies itself with questions ranging from the tactical use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam to the sophisticated problems involved in the application of biological warfare; Jason is also entrusted with research on counterinsurgency weapons for domestic and foreign use.

President Kirk is doubly damned by Columbia's IDA involvement, since he is a member of the IDA board of trustees, as is Columbia trustee William A. M. Burden, chairman of the IDA board. Columbia students have demanded that Kirk not only get the university out of weapons research, but that he get himself out, too, by resigning his trusteeship.

As the scope of IDA's weapons research becomes more widely known, several member universities are getting nervous and "reevaluating" their connections with it. The University of Chicago, for instance, has already withdrawn from IDA, an act which was applauded loudly by liberals who, it turns out, should have saved their palm skin.

The Columbia students who broke into Kirk's files discovered that the "withdrawal" was a con to fend off increasing faculty objections to their university pursuing lethal weapons research. A memo to Kirk from University of Chicago President George W. Beadle revealed that although Chicago had "formally" severed its IDA ties, it continued to send a representative to the board of trustees.

Other documents disclosed that Kirk was also planning to maintain his representation on the IDA board and as a diversionary tactic to transfer IDA work to a new nonprofit corporation called the Riverside Research Institute, scheduled to begin work in July under the direction of Lawrence O'Neill, Columbia professor of electrical engineering.

Such machinations over such contracts easily make Columbia Secret Agent No. 1 among competing universities. A final, concentric twist to this business of a university mixing James Bond with David Rockefeller was provided by one of the papers lifted by the undergraduate counterspies. It was a memorandum pointing out that the new, disguised IDA laboratory would require "600 staff members" whose housing would be "an excellent nucleus for the kind of renewal that will most benefit the university." The area targeted for such a nucleus was right there, west of Broadway and north of 125th Street. Harlem, finally, is getting an indigenous weaponry.

HW: This came from a special issue of Ramparts reviewing 1968 and previewing 1969 ("if you can stand it."). It was undated, but undoubtedly appeared early in 1969, probably in January, 1969.

We have copied the page from the article on Columbia from which Joesten lifts his quote. The full article runs four pages. If you need the first three pages, just let us know.

jdw6sept72