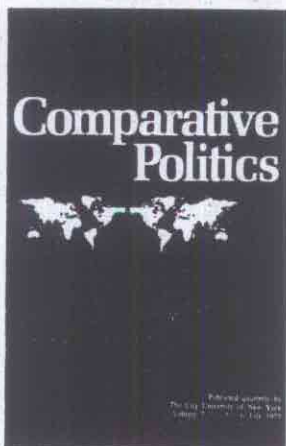


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Is USIA Sponsoring A Hidden Curriculum?

by Tom Lewis & John Friedman

The covert relationships between federal intelligence agencies and the academic community are longstanding, immensely complex, and shrouded in secrecy. Recent congressional intelligence investigations have verified that the intelligence community subsidizes the publication of educational books and academic periodicals. Reporters Lewis and Friedman here examine in detail one area of the intelligence-academic community connection.



On March 29, 1976, a small group of political scientists jammed into Professor Arnold Rogow's office at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. They were there not to talk about European parliaments, but about the sale of a magazine.

It was an emergency meeting.

Rogow recently had learned of negotiations between the CUNY administration and an obscure Washington, D.C., foundation for the sale of *Comparative Politics*, one of the three most important journals in the field of political science. For some months, unknown to Rogow, the negotiations had been in the hands of Benjamin Rivlin, a political scientist who was Graduate Center Dean for University and Special Programs. The potential buyer was the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation.

Rogow began *Comparative Politics* in 1968. He heads the magazine's five-member editorial board. He sat somberly behind his desk, silent through most of the meeting. Rogow's magazine was in serious financial trouble. It cost \$60,000 a year to publish and income covered just half the cost. For three years, the National Science Foundation had helped make up the deficit, but in early 1975, Rogow was told the grant would not be renewed unless the format of the journal was changed, a condition unacceptable to the editors, who began a

search for financial support. Harold Proshansky, president of the Graduate Center, held out the possibility of university money, saying CUNY did not want to lose the magazine, but he was forced to renege when New York City's budget crisis hit in the summer of 1975.

In October 1975, the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation wrote to CUNY inquiring if *Comparative Politics* was for sale. The letter wound up on the desk of Benjamin Rivlin. In February 1976, Rivlin went to Washington to pick up the draft memoranda of agreement between the foundation and CUNY. On March 15, Harold Proshansky sent a memo describing the deal, along with copies of the draft agreements, to the five members of the editorial board. It was the first any of them, including Rogow, had heard of the negotiations.

In a meeting in Proshansky's office on March 18, the deal was presented to the editors as a *fait accompli*. The foundation's offer was \$4,000, plus \$500 per year for editorial costs. The foundation would assume all printing and business responsibilities,

and assume about \$12,000 in liabilities for prepaid subscriptions. In practice, control would be in the hands of a newly formed department-wide publications committee, which ensured that the current editors would be replaced within three years. The editors left Proshansky's office in confusion. Rogow then called the emergency meeting held 11 days later to discuss the situation. Privately, several editors expressed their fear that editorial control of the journal would pass to the foundation, even though the memoranda stipulated that control would remain with CUNY. Some questions were raised about the background of the foundation, and its ability to maintain a high editorial standard, and so far the magazine has not been sold. For most of the editors, the foundation remained an unknown quantity.

Helen Dwight Reid was a political scientist who worked mainly for the U.S. Office of Education and the State Department. The foundation's original assets were a legacy left to Reid by her father, a wealthy engineer. The foundation was established in 1956. Prior to 1965, its main activity was giving modest grants to students for graduate work in foreign affairs.

Reid was killed in Washington in an auto accident in 1965, and the presidency of the foundation passed to Claude Hawley, a political scientist and a graduate dean at CUNY. Hawley died in 1971 and was succeeded at the foundation by Evron Kirkpatrick, executive director of the American Political Science Association. Kirkpatrick has been a foundation trustee since 1960 and treasurer since 1963.

Evron Kirkpatrick is also president of Operations and Policy Research, Inc. (OPR), a tax-exempt research company founded

in Washington in 1955 by Kirkpatrick and Max Kampelman, a Washington lawyer and long-time confidant of Senator Hubert Humphrey. Kampelman is now a director of OPR and Helen Dwight Reid. Although the foundation and OPR are legally separate entities and were not always so close, there is now less distinction between them. For the past decade or so, they have shared offices and have been controlled and managed by the same small group of people.

In its first year OPR received at least one contract from the U.S. Information Agency, the government's official propaganda arm, for editorial evaluation of books and manuscripts. OPR has since had research contracts with the State Department but the USIA book evaluation contract has remained OPR's basic source of income. A USIA spokesman said payments

have been made to OPR in every year but one since 1955, and that since 1966, a total of \$621,371 was paid to OPR. For the current fiscal year about \$80,000 is budgeted.

Between 1960 and 1970, OPR, through one of its subsidiaries, the Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems (ICOPS), published a number of books and pamphlets on Latin-American political parties, *coups d'état*, and elections. The books were written by political scientists, some in teaching positions at American universities, some in government positions.

In 1967, *Ramparts* created a furor when it disclosed that a number of foundations, among them the Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation, had conveyed thousands of dollars from the CIA to the National Student Association for more than a decade. In the February 27 issue of *The Nation*, Robert Sherrill pointed out that the Rabb Foundation gave four times as much money to OPR as to the student group. Evron Kirkpatrick acknowledged to Sherrill that in "1963, 1964, and 1965, OPR, Inc., received CIA money, 'principally' (according to Kirkpatrick) for studies of Latin-American elections." In a recent interview, Kirkpatrick said he had made no such statement.

One political scientist closely connected to OPR during that period said he was told by OPR

insiders that CIA money, channeled through OPR, was used to study elections in the Dominican Republic before 1965.

After 1967, when the money from the conduits had dried up, OPR phased out its publishing activities. But there were exceptions. In 1972, OPR copyrighted the first two issues of *Perspective* magazine in its name. With the third issue, the address and masthead of *Perspective* remained the same, but the copyright notice was changed to the "Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation." According to federal tax returns, the foundation also borrowed \$7,000 from OPR in fiscal year 1972-73. The loan was also carried on the foundation's books the following year, the latest year for which tax returns are available.

On April 26, 1976, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities concluded its 15-month-long investigation. Among its many findings was that in spite of a 1967 Presidential directive intended to end CIA secret financial support of American universities and private voluntary institutions, the agency had maintained close ties to the academic community, and had covert ties with hundreds of scholars, dozens of whom, it said, were unaware they were working for the CIA. In the same section of its report, the Church Committee found that the CIA attached a particular importance to book publishing activities as a form of covert propaganda. The committee found that covert media operations can result in "manipulating or incidentally misleading" the American public, and that there was no way to "shield" the American public completely from fallout in the United States from Agency propaganda overseas. The Committee recommended that among other limitations, the CIA be prohibited from subsidizing the writing, distribution, or production within the U.S. of any book, magazine, article, film, video, or audio tape, unless publicly attributed to the CIA.

The Church Committee did not deal specifically with any instances of these transgressions. Nor did it document related USIA activities. It did not publish details, if indeed it had them.



Airlie House is a Virginia research center which has contracts with the U.S. Agency for International Development for research on population problems in developing countries. The editor was Richard L. Walker, a Cold War scholar and China expert at the University of South Carolina. The other book was *Developing Democracy*, an attempt to create a model for democratic party-building in the Third World. The author, William A. Douglas, was education director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, identified by *Ramparts* in April 1967 as a CIA-AID front for anti-Communist labor activity in Latin America.

The publisher of Heldref Publications is Cornelius Vahle. Vahle is also a vice-president of OPR. According to a political scientist who has worked on several OPR projects and who writes occasional reviews for the Heldref magazines, *Perspective* was an outgrowth of work Vahle was already doing for USIA, that is, the book evaluation program in which Vahle pays specialists to determine the suitability of books for the government's overseas propaganda effort.

Since 1972, the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation, through its publishing division, Heldref Publications, has become a large publisher of specialized magazines for students and teachers. That year the foundation first published *Perspective* and *History*, each of which review about 500 books a year. *Current*, which reprints topical articles, was obtained in 1972, when the foundation assumed the debts of Goddard Publications, Inc., affiliated with Goddard College, Vermont. *Current's* editor, Grant McClellan, said he called up "my old friend, Evron Kirkpatrick," president of the foundation, and they arranged the transfer.

Heldref also published two books in 1972. One was *Prospects in the Pacific*, a collection of papers on trans-Pacific security problems written by participants in a conference at Airlie House.

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Vahle denies that he doubles-up on the reviews, using *Perspective* reviews for the USIA or vice versa.

The American Peace Society shares the Helen Dwight Reid Foundation's offices. Its president is Evron Kirkpatrick. The society's magazine, *World Affairs*, a conservative foreign policy quarterly, has been edited by Cornelius Vahle since 1969. It is published by the foundation for the society. In 1971-72, the foundation gave \$7,200 to the society.

Vahle was asked about CIA payments to OPR in the mid-sixties and said the reports were "journalistic nonsense." Although he is the chief operating officer of both groups, he denied any knowledge of a loan by OPR to the foundation. When asked how the foundation paid for the magazines, Vahle said the foundation had made "an internal transfer of funds" and had taken out bank loans.

Vahle's background is ordinary enough. He has a history Ph.D. and worked as an historian for the National Park Service, then as an examiner auditing Navy budgets for the Bureau of the Budget. He was hired in 1966 as vice-president of OPR. He had no previous publishing experience. He said he got his experience from taking over *World Affairs*. He claims the foundation can add magazines without greatly increasing costs, and plans to expand the foundation's list to 22 or 23 publications. Others are skeptical. A former editor of one of the magazines said, "I never understood his financial situation. He must have some kind of magic wand."

Evron Kirkpatrick's experience is in intelligence work. Kirkpatrick taught political science at the University of Minnesota in the late-Thirties and

early-Forties. He taught Hubert Humphrey, and encouraged Humphrey to run for mayor of Minneapolis in 1943, when he lost, and again in 1945, when he won. Like many other social scientists, Kirkpatrick joined the OSS—forerunner of the CIA—in 1945, as a researcher. After the war, however, Kirkpatrick remained in intelligence work for the State Department, where he was a specialist in psychological intelligence. He was chief of the external research staff, which was set up to obtain basic analytical intelligence through contracts with social scientists, universities, and research groups outside the intelligence community.

Kirkpatrick rose to become deputy director of State's Office of Intelligence Research. He resigned that job in 1954, and became executive director of the American Political Science Association, an influential post in the academic community. Kirkpatrick and another political scientist, Howard Penniman, ran the Office of External Research in the late-Forties. Penniman admits he himself was in the CIA in 1948 and 1949, and that he and Kirkpatrick worked together in the Office of External Research. Asked what OER did, an ex-CIA employee said as an example, that in order to analyze French elections, a specialist in elections has to find out where the voting precincts are, who votes and why, and so on. Elections analysis is a staple product of U.S. intelligence.

From 1952 to about 1968, Kirkpatrick was an editorial advisor to Holt, Rinehart & Winston, one of the nation's largest textbook publishers. In the mid-Fifties, he wrote two books on Communist propaganda activities.

Howard Penniman teaches at Georgetown University and is a

director of the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation. Penniman was chief of the Office of External Research from 1953 to 1955, when he became chief of USIA's overseas book publication division. 1955 was the year Kirkpatrick incorporated OPR.

Grant McClellan, the *Current* editor, was at the Office of External Research in the late-Forties too, and knew Kirkpatrick and Penniman. He knew about the USIA book evaluation work at OPR and when asked if there was any relationship between the reviews for USIA and the reviews for the magazines, he said, "Some people might have written for both."

According to the authoritative *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, the most effective messages, intended to influence public opinion, are not directed at a mass audience. The messages are aimed at "reference groups" with whom individuals identify strongly, the way, for instance, graduate students in political science identify with their professors and peers. If the propagandist can influence the leadership of such a reference group, he establishes "social relay points" that amplify and give vital credibility to the message. In short, the most effective propaganda influences opinion-making elites who spread the message to people who trust them. It is a trickle-down process.

In the negotiations for *Comparative Politics* the Helen Dwight Reid Foundation dealt with Benjamin Rivlin, who had an old tie to OPR. In an interview in his spacious office at CUNY, Rivlin denied the connection, but according to *The Biographical Directory of the American Political Science Association* for 1973, Rivlin received a grant from OPR in 1960. In addition, Rivlin has

**HELEN DWIGHT REID
EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, INC
BALANCE SHEET
AUGUST 31, 1973**

ASSETS

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Investments—at cost—Exhibit "C" | \$314,583 |
| Cash on hand and in banks | 37,412 |
| Cost of Magazines—Acquisition and Development | 24,200 |
| Book Inventory—at cost | <u>6,723</u> |
| TOTAL ASSETS | \$382,918 |

LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH

LIABILITIES

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Accounts Payable—Trade | \$ 13,544 |
| Payroll Taxes Payable | 669 |
| Loan Payable—Operations and Policy Research, Inc. | 7,000 |
| Prepaid Magazine Subscriptions—2-3 years | <u>4,168</u> |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES | \$ 25,381 |

NET WORTH

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Donated Surplus | \$188,147 |
| Claude E. Hawley Memorial Trust Fund | 1,800 |
| Retained Earnings | <u>167,590</u> |
| TOTAL NET WORTH | \$357,537 |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH | \$382,918 |

Includes *HELDREF PUBLICATIONS*—A division of *HELEN DWIGHT REID EDUCATION FOUNDATION, INC.*

written at least one book review for *Perspective*.

Rivlin denied any connections to the government since leaving military service in the OSS in 1945, but the *Biographical Directory of the American Political Science Association* for 1973, lists him as a State Department research analyst in 1946, when Kirkpatrick was an assistant research director and projects control officer, and then as a consultant for the State Department in 1950-51, when Kirkpatrick was running the external research program. Rivlin did admit knowing Kirkpatrick.

The whole point of propaganda is that it should not be identified as propaganda. But it can be readily seen that the control of academic magazines is an ominous business. Some of the people with backgrounds in intelligence work who ran OPR for many years with large amounts of CIA and USIA money, now run a foundation that owns and publishes magazines for an influential audience. Neither the Church Committee, nor the Pike Committee, nor the Rockefeller Commission gave details of this function. □