

C.I.A. Aid on Campus

U.S. Efforts to Counter Influence of Communists Hurt by N.S.A. Disclosure

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WASHINGTON, Feb. 14—

The United States Government's efforts to counter Communist influence in the universities, press and trade unions of the world have been seriously hampered by the disclosure that the Central Intelligence Agency has been helping to finance the National Student Association since 1952. It is understood that

News Analysis

President Johnson has instructed the C.I.A. to liquidate all secret aid programs to student groups and to review all other programs designed to combat Communist activities in other private organizations.

The controversy goes beyond the agency's financial help to the student association. It involves the relationship between the C.I.A. and private foundations that served as a cover for the agency's funds. It involves other foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, which also gave money of its own to the N.S.A.

It places in jeopardy C.I.A. programs to anti-Communist publications, radio and television stations, and labor unions. And it embarrasses a number of former officials of the student association, who knew about the secret funds to the association and are now serving in important positions in the Government.

The history of the C.I.A.'s aid to the student group helps explain both the policy and the embarrassing consequences of that policy. The first C.I.A. aid to the association was negotiated in 1952 by William Densor, then president of the student organization. He is now United States aid director in Peru.

This is one of the awkward problems of the current controversy. For present Government officials who were privy to the C.I.A.-N.S.A. financial arrangements when they were students are now likely to be identified with the Central Intelligence Agency by Communists even though these officials no longer have anything to do with the agency.

Among these former student association officials now with Government are Ralph A. Dungan, United States Ambassador to Chile and former special assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; Robert Smith, special assistant to the director of the Agency for International Development; assistant Postmaster General Richard James Murphy; and S. Douglass Cater Jr., special assistant to President Johnson, though Mr. Cater was an official of the student group before the C.I.A. program started.

The reason for establishing C.I.A. help to the student association, however, is perfectly clear. In the years immediately after the second world war, the Soviet Union took the lead in trying to organize and propagandize the world student movement.

the student association in special projects. Among them were the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of State, and the Agency for International Development.

However the disclosure by Ramparts magazine of the C.I.A. aid to the student association created a problem for President Johnson. The need for continued American participation in the world student movement still exists; Communist efforts to influence the student leaders of the developing world continues; Communist aid to labor union leaders and newspaper and radio and television organizations goes on; but secret C.I.A. aid to these organizations, particularly to university students, creates political difficulties for the President.

Mr. Johnson is already under severe criticism among some elements on the nation's campuses. Universities have been criticized for accepting special research grants from the C.I.A.

Representative Wright Patman, Democrat of Texas, has been threatening to investigate the foundations of the country for years, and these latest disclosures are not likely to discourage his efforts in this field.

This helps explain much of the activity here over the intelligence agency-student association, story in the last few days. It is understood that Michael Wood, a fund raiser for the student group last year, who was subsequently discharged, wrote a long memorandum for Ramparts magazine on the intelligence agency connection.

When officials here heard about the forthcoming publication of the Ramparts story, Alex W. Dulles, and John McGone, former C.I.A. directors, were advised. So were members of the Senate's C.I.A. committee and Senators J. W. Fulbright and Eugene McCarthy.

When President Johnson was informed of the disclosure, he asked when the program had started and ordered all such programs stopped. The official word here is that the student association funding did in fact stop on Jan. 1.

The problem, however, remains. The battle to influence the student leaders of the world continues, and there are no private institutions available to finance the American leaders.

This was the problem that started the C.I.A. program in the first place, and it still exists, only without Government assistance.

In 1946, when the first World Student Congress met in Prague, the Communist delegations gained control of several key positions, and imposed the Moscow delegation's agenda on the meeting.

The first Soviet vice president of the International Union of Students, for example, was Aleksandr N. Shelepin, who later became chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee.

The American delegates to the first meeting of the union of students first opposed any open break with the Communists, but after the Communist conquest of Czechoslovakia in 1948, many students opposed the coup, the Americans finally broke away from the union of students and organized their own student association.

Financial Contrast

From the first, however, the American students were hampered by lack of funds, while the union of students had enough money to put on world youth festivals, world rallies, conferences and forums, and regional conferences.

All but the last two of these festivals were held in Communist countries: Prague (1947); Budapest (1949); East Berlin (1951); Bucharest (1953); Warsaw (1955); Moscow (1957); Vienna (1959) and Helsinki (1962). The ninth festival has been scheduled for Bulgaria in 1968.

The estimate here is that the Moscow festival alone, which brought students from all over the world, and especially from the underdeveloped world, cost in the neighborhood of \$100-million.

Against this sort of competition the American student leaders were in trouble. Ironically, though they were opposed by the Communist leaders of the union of students as being maliciously conservative, they were opposed at home as being too far to the left.

The students were able to raise very little money for organization or transportation, though somehow left-wing American students managed to get funds to attend student meetings abroad.

It was against this background that the N.S.A. officials approached the United States Government in 1952 and received some financial help from the Central Intelligence Agency, then under President Truman and the director, William Donovan.

In the last seven or eight years, the agency is understood to have put up an average of \$200,000 a year for the student association, this amounts to about 25 per cent of the association's annual budget.

This was, of course, known to Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. The Senate committee that oversees the C.I.A. was also informed about the program.

Other agencies also helped.