

Ramparts Slams MSU Viet Project

By JOAN T. SOLOMON and
ANDREW MOLLISON
State News Staff Writers

Michigan State University--
"The University On The Make"

--is the cover story in the April
issue of Ramparts magazine, dis-
tributed to news stands Tuesday.

Subtitled "How MSU helped
arm Madame Nhu," the 12-page
illustrated article attacks the
University's 7-year involvement
in a technical assistance program
in Viet Nam, from 1955-62.

On the cover of the free-
wheeling Roman Catholic pub-
lication is a drawing of a cheer-
leader resembling Madame Nhu
waving a green Michigan State
pennant.

More than 1,000 copies of Ram-
parts were distributed to area

drugstores, news agencies and
magazine stands Tuesday. One-
fifth of them had been sold by
3 p.m., and some retailers had
already ordered extra copies.

In an introduction to the ar-
ticle, Stanley K. Sheinbaum, for-
mer faculty member in the De-
partment of economics who was
hired as campus coordinator for
the project, says that the article
is intended to be a case study
of "two critical failures in Amer-
ican education and intellectual
life today.

"The first and more obvious
is the diversion of the univer-
sity away from its functions (and
duties) of scholarship and teach-
ing," Sheinbaum wrote. He said
"institutes, projects and con-
tracts" serve as a distraction,

rather than as a means of edu-
cating and being educated.

Sheinbaum's second charge is
that the academic intellectual has
failed "to serve as critic, con-
science, ombudsman." An om-
budsman is a government official
who helps private citizens out
when they run into red tape.

The article is written by edi-
tors Robert Scheer, Sol Stern
and Warren Hinckle. It is based
on Scheer's pamphlet, "How the
U.S. Got Involved in Vietnam."

The article states that the
MSU advisory group of econo-
mists, police administration spe-
cialists and political scientists
served as a front for a unit of
the Central Intelligence Agency
(CIA).

University officials have de-

nied this. Ramparts seems to in-
terpret this denial to mean "yes,
but we won't tell you."

Two of the four men who form-
ed the initial inspection team for
the project in 1954 have labeled
portions of the article as "total-
ly inaccurate."

Arthur Brandstatter, director
of the School of Police Adminis-
tration and Public Safety, and
Charles Killingsworth, profes-
sor of labor and industrial rela-
tions, both denied the charge
that "the first time they (the
four men) met as a group was
when they fastened their seat
belts" on the plane to Viet Nam.

"This is totally inaccurate,"
Brandstatter said. "We had all
known each other as members
of the faculty here and some of

us had been long-time friends."

Killingsworth also called the
statement "wholly incorrect,"
saying the four had known each
other well.

Brandstatter also refuted the
charge that "none of these men
had any experience in academic
or technical assistance over-
seas. . ."

He said he had acted as con-
sultant for overseas operations
in Germany in 1950 for the State
Department and had been in the
service in Korea in 1945.

"I do and did have experience
in technical assistance roles
overseas," Brandstatter said.

Killingsworth, Brandstat-
ter, and the other two men--

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Ramparts Slams MSU

(continued from page 1)

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(continued from page 1)

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Referring to implications in the article that MSU started its Viet Nam project solely for the prestige involved, Killingsworth said:

"I can say with my own personal knowledge that President Hannah was not eager to take on this responsibility, and did so only at the request of the U.S. government."

Killingsworth said that he himself was not eager to take the trip to Viet Nam.

He added that Michigan State would not have become involved in the project had it not been for the friendship of Fishel and Diem.

According to Killingsworth, Diem had been on the MSU campus during his exile a year or two before he became Premier. At the time "there was scarcely any one on this campus who paid any attention to him, and it was a surprise to many people here when he became premier," he said.

Commenting on the description of "high living" by MSU personnel in Viet Nam, Killingsworth said:

"This is only one side of the picture. The other side is that their lives were in constant danger. I know of at least one member of the project who lost his life."

Accusations that the MSU project was a CIA front are "ridiculous," Brandstatter said. "I don't think anyone can make this statement."

"I can honestly say that I do not know that there were any CIA people working there. Many people who were hired for their technical assistance were U.S. civil servants, including people

from departments such as the Army, where their background may have included intelligence training."

MSU's role in Viet Nam is described as "a specific, if shocking, documentation of the degree of corruption and abject immorality attending a university which puts its academic respectability on lend-lease to American foreign policy."

"MSU is still big on police. There are, literally, policemen all over the campus, almost beyond the wildest expansion of the human retina. There is the campus police . . . roughly 35 men. . . Then there are the professors and visiting firemen at the School of Police Administration. Finally, it is hard to find a parking spot on campus since so many police cars are occupying the stalls; state police headquarters adjoins MSU."

In 1955 MSU, at the request of the United States government, signed a technical assistance contract with Viet Nam. The project ended abruptly in 1962. At that time Alfred Seelye, dean of the Business College, made a strong "declaration in defense of the academic freedom of MSU professors" and announced that the contract would not be renewed.

The Ramparts article says that MSU withdrew only because it wanted to beat Diem to the punch. Diem, according to the article, was angry because two MSU members of the group co-authored a critical article in the New Republic in 1961.

Diem was also miffed because in 1961 MSU had drastically curtailed its police support, according to the article.

President Hannah and Wesley Fishel, professor of political science, are ridiculed throughout the article, although by implication rather than by direct attack.

Hannah's secretary said the President was not available for comment. Fishel could not be reached by telephone.

In closing, the article says MSU "wasn't doing its job." It maintains that "the university on the make has little time for nonconforming students and rarely enough for conforming students."



Reprinted from Ramparts

Was MSU for Madame Nhu? Ramparts says it was
 Detroit Free Press 4-14-66

Magazine Attacks MSU For Role in Viet Project

The liberal magazine Ramparts has charged in its April issue that a former Michigan State University project in Vietnam provided a front for Central Intelligence (CIA) operatives and violated the 1954 Geneva agreement.

The article maintains that the project is indicative of a trend by contemporary universities to drift away from their traditional roles, and that MSU is now more "service oriented than the average Standard Oil retail outlet."

Ramparts, a monthly edited in California by an editorial



By
 Van
 Sauter

board of well-known liberals, comments frequently on political matters and in recent issues has featured articles critical of the American role in Vietnam.

Dr. Ralph H. Smuckler, acting dean of MSU's International Programs and a professor of political science, said the article is filled with "character assassination . . . and errors of fact."

For seven years MSU served as adviser to the government of Ngo Dinh Diem on a variety of matters, but particularly in the area of public safety.

The MSU "Vietnam Project" ended in 1962, about the same time that Diem and his sister-in-law, the fiery Madame Nhu, were making headlines in papers around the world.

The key figure in the MSU-Diem relationship was Dr. Wesley Fishel, an MSU political science professor who met Diem in 1950. Diem was then an exiled Vietnamese politician, and Fishel got him a job with MSU.

Through his association with MSU, Diem met many public

figures in the United States who supported him in his quest to lead the government of South Vietnam. Diem ran Vietnam from 1954 until he was overthrown and killed in 1963.

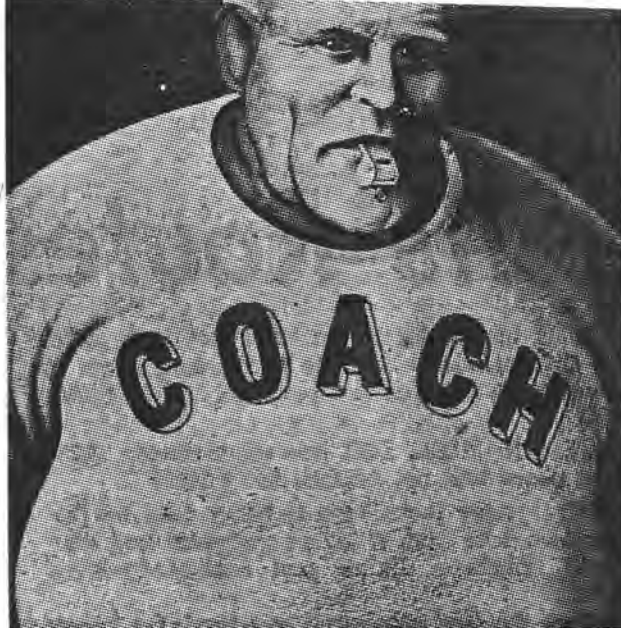
"CIA men were hidden within the ranks of MSU professors," according to Ramparts. "The . . . agents' instructions were to engage in counterespionage and counter-intelligence."

Smuckler does not deny that CIA men were on the project staff, and says the identities and correct background of all program employees were known to the U.S. embassy and the Saigon government.

He said the CIA employees, like professors from university and consultants from various American police agencies, were advising the Diem government on the creation of effective police and para-military organizations.

"These men were not in-

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Reprinted from Ramparts

MSU's Hannah, Ramparts version

Detroit Free Press

4-14-66

Magazine Attacks MSU Viet Project

• Continued from Page One •

volved in counterespionage, counterintelligence or subversive activities," Smuckler continued. "They were part of the training staff and were not given academic status in the university."

THE MAGAZINE contends that in advising Diem on the functioning of his police and civil guard, MSU was violating aspects of the 1954 Geneva agreement limiting the military capability of the governments of North and South Vietnam.

"The International Control Commission," Smuckler answers, "is the enforcement agency for the Geneva Agreement. The ICC was aware of what we were doing in Vietnam and never filed any complaints."

MSU President John A. Hannah, who was not spared in the Ramparts article, had no immediate comment on the magazine story.

Ramparts portrayed Hannah as an MSU "coach" who best exemplified the "decay of traditional academic principles found in the modern university on the make . . ."

The article claims many professors are being hired out to governments and industry while the teaching roles are left to less competent instructors.

In this respect, the article

continues, universities such as MSU or the University of California have become "service stations" to society.

SMUCKLER conceded that there was disagreement in academic circles over the role of the university, but said many outstanding private and public schools had outside programs similar to MSU's.

"It depends," he said, "on whether you want a university to be part of the real world or a part of the ivory tower."

Smuckler also said Ramparts was erroneous in indicating MSU received \$25 million for its advisory work. He said the basic MSU contract did not exceed \$1 million in any year, and that the \$25 million figure probably includes the cost of buildings and equipment acquired by South Vietnam on the recommendation of MSU experts.

He also said the MSU involvement with Vietnam resulted in the acquisition of considerable knowledge about that country.

He said eight or 10 books, scores of articles, 15 monographs and numerous other publications can be attributed to MSU research work in Vietnam.

Ramparts concluded its article by saying:

"The essential query, which must be asked before the discussion of Michigan State's behavior can be put into any rational perspective, is this: What the hell is a university doing buying guns, anyway?"

Officials To Ignore Charges

By JOAN T. SOLOMON and
ANDREW MOLLISON
State News Staff Writers

A University official said Wednesday that Michigan State had no plans to answer charges made about its seven-year technical assistance project in Viet Nam in this month's Ramparts magazine.

Other persons involved in the Viet Nam project and mentioned in the Ramparts article have answered the accusations with

replies ranging from complete denial to "no comment."

James H. Dennison, assistant to President Hannah, called the 12-page article "scurrilous," and said the University does not plan to do anything about it.

"It (the article) is filled with half-truths, distortions, misinterpretations and outright lies," Dennison said.

Included among the "outright lies" were:

1. President Hannah is not the son of an Iowa chicken farmer.

(His parents did operate a hatchery and greenhouse in Grand Rapids).

2. It is possible to find a parking space on campus. (According to the article, "...it is hard to find a parking spot on campus because so many police cars are occupying the stalls...")

3. The four men who had made the initial inspection tour at the request of President Hannah in 1954 met and had been briefed together before "they fastened

their seat belts" on the flight to Viet Nam.

"There are so many statements to refute that if we were to answer charges it would be as lengthy as the article itself," Dennison said.

"Their (the authors of the article) basic criticism is that a university should be devoted only to teaching and research. This is contrary to our basic philosophy."

Asked why the university has

(continued on page 3)

Ramparts

(continued from page 1)

issued no official statement, Dennison said such action was not considered to be wise at this time.

Milton Taylor, professor of economics on leave in London, England, refused to comment early Thursday morning (7:45 a.m. E.S.T.) on charges that "his reports were often rewritten by the Project head."

Taylor also refused to give his view on the MSU project.

"The essential query" which must be asked according to the Ramparts article, is "what the hell is a university doing buying guns anyway?"

The answer to this question, Ralph T. Smuckler, former chief adviser to the project in Viet Nam, said Wednesday, is "Michigan State University never bought imported, maintained or provided any guns or ammunition or anything of the sort."

Smuckler also said Wednesday that the MSU project did not provide a front for a unit of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The Ramparts article states that CIA agents whose "instructions were to engage in counter-espionage and counter-intelligence" staffed the five-man "VBI Internal Security Section" of the MSU project.

During the time that he was chief adviser to the project, Smuckler said, "Those men were

not acting as CIA agents. They were not doing cloak and dagger work of any kind.

The VBI was the Vietnamese Bureau of Investigation, successor organization to the old Surete, the Vietnamese special police.

To strengthen its contention that three of the men--Daniel Smith, Arthur Stein and William Jones---were CIA agents, Ramparts quotes a former campus coordinator of the Vietnam program, Stanley K. Sheinbaum. Sheinbaum, who wrote the introduction to the article, is said to have recalled that "he was proceeding to investigate the background of the three applicants before accepting them" when Smuckler told him "that it wouldn't be necessary to check out these guys."

Smuckler said Wednesday, "That is an example of a typical distortion used in the article. First of all, I don't remember having said any such thing. Secondly, I can't conceive of any circumstances under which I would have said any such thing.

"Sheinbaum would not in any case have been concerned with screening applicants for any of the advisory programs.

Many of the men in the MSU program, particularly those in the police administration advisory portion, were recruited from outside the University.

MSU Claims CIA Spoiled Mission

Michigan State University said Wednesday a costly aid mission it operated in South Viet Nam was used by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as a front during the regime of dictator Ngo Dinh Diem.

The school said, however, that it fired the CIA agents and dropped the program in 1959 when it found out about the intelligence operation.

Michigan State made the

disclosure following publication of an article in Ramparts magazine, a San Francisco-based publication which started out four years ago as "liberal Catholic" but now calls itself an "independent magazine of dissent."

The magazine, which accused MSU of being "corrupted" by being engaged in an "adventure" outside the academic preserves, is published by

Edward Keating, a prominent Catholic layman. Stanford religion Prof. Robert McAfee Brown and critic Jessica Mitford are among the associate editors.

The magazine said the aid mission, financed by the U.S. government, trained Diem's militia and bought guns and ammunition for his civil guard, palace guard and the Vietnamese counterpart of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

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Branding the article as "full of distortion and plain fabrication," an MSU official said the university's Viet Nam project was undertaken merely to provide advice for setting up police organizations and establishing a civil service program.

"We did not knowingly hire any CIA men — and when we found out about their role, we dropped them," said James Denison, director of university relations and assistant to MSU president John Hannah.

Denison denied guns and ammunition were purchased by MSU for the Vietnamese government. However, in its capacity as adviser, the university sometimes made recommendations on what equipment might be needed by security forces, he said.

MSU's international programs have ranged around the world in such countries as Nigeria, Turkey, Brazil and Okinawa.

Most of the overseas operations are designed to help governments in getting started on educational projects such as agricultural planning, police administration and school programs.

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The magazine said by advising the Diem government on police and security measures, MSU violated the 1954 Geneva agreement which limited the military capability of both North and South Viet Nam.

But Dr. Ralph Smuckler, acting dean of the university's international programs, commented:

Many 'Faces' Worn In Peeking, Prying

WASHINGTON (UPI) — In its deadly serious global game of peeking and prying, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) wears many faces. Sometimes they're red.

The CIA has yet to acknowledge its use of seemingly innocent enterprises to cover its clandestine work, but some

of the situations this has created would make anyone blush, including congressmen.

In the trade, the "faces" of the CIA are known as cover. Some of them are CIA-created. Others are private projects which the CIA infiltrates.

Michigan State University's acknowledgement Wednesday of CIA penetration of its Viet Nam aid project is but one example of techniques the CIA is reported to have used.

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In the MSU case, the project's directors discovered that five men it hired to help train Vietnamese policemen were CIA agents.

The men were fired and the university dropped the program which ran for five years starting in 1955. The men were not known to be agents when they were hired, the university said.

The MSU case is also typical of how CIA cover comes to public attention — the intelligence agency says nothing; the affected parties relate their experience. Sometimes congressional investigators stumble over CIA cover operations.

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University Project Cloaked C.I.A. Role In Saigon, 1955-59

By MAX FRANKEL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13—

Michigan State University was disclosed today to have provided the support and cover for operations of the Central Intelligence Agency in South Vietnam from 1955 to 1959.

It did so while operating a seven-year, multimillion-dollar technical assistance program that trained police and other public officials for the regime of President Ngo Dinh Diem at the behest of the United States Government.

The intelligence agency's involvement was disclosed by Ramparts magazine and Stanley K. Sheinbaum, former coordinator of the university's Vietnam project, an economist who is now with the Center for Democratic Studies in Santa Barbara, Calif.

They cited the C.I.A.'s involvement in support of charges that Michigan State

Continued on Page 6, Column 3

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

A University Project Cloaked C.I.A. Role in Vietnam in '55

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

and other universities "on the make" were lending scholars to Government agencies in exchange for lucrative contracts and exciting overseas assignments.

Prof. Ralph Smuckler, acting dean in the Office of International Programs at Michigan State, confirmed the role of the C.I.A. in the Vietnam project, which he headed. He described the Ramparts article as false and distorted in many respects, but he acknowledged there had been a reluctant relationship with C.I.A. agents.

Prof. Robert Scigliano, a former assistant chief of the project, said he had not read the Ramparts article closely but described as "absolutely correct" the report that the university had operated as "cover for a C.I.A. team" until July, 1959.

He said he had written a book generally critical of the project and the Diem regime that alluded to this. But he was upset, he added, by Ramparts' "inaccurate" quotation of him.

Professor Smuckler implied some difficulties in severing the C.I.A. connection.

"It may not have been right to get into it," he said in a telephone interview from the campus in East Lansing, Mich. "We were caught and felt we had to follow through."

The university tried to rid itself of the connection as early as 1956, he indicated, but it took until 1959 to terminate the arrangement.

Other university officials, from President John A. Hannah down, said they would not dignify the charges with a formal reply and could not deal with the massive job of rebutting its points one by one. However, James Dennison, the university spokesman, who played a small role in the Vietnam project, said, "Whatever Professor Smuckler says is our reply."

Prof. Alfred Meyer of the Michigan State political science department said it was now conceded at the university that there had been some fronting for the C.I.A. But he said that the full story was in dispute and was not likely ever to be known.

Professor Meyer said that Dr. Hannah had alerted the Academic Council to expect a hostile article in Ramparts and had conceded that there was "a certain amount of substance" in its allegations.

Professor Smuckler had hired Rampart's informant, Mr. Sheinbaum, for the Vietnam project. He said he may, as the article states, have been the first to tell Mr. Sheinbaum that the men "borrowed" from the Government for the project were C.I.A. agents interested in police and other "countersubversion" activities. These men were nominally from the Department of the Army.

But almost everything else in the Ramparts article struck Professor Smuckler as distorted or wrong.

He disputed its calculation of the cost of the Vietnam project, its portrayal of the relationship with the agency, its account of the circumstances under which the university project was ended and its basic argument that universities had no right to engage in foreign operations.

The C.I.A., which declined im-

mediate comment on the article, is known to have had various operational relationships with universities. In recent years, the agency is said to have limited itself to more or less open dealings with academic consultants and with research institutions.

In 1950, the agency contributed \$300,000 to the creation of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and sustained it with subsequent grants in return for many studies of the Soviet Union and Communist activities. The relationship did not become public until it had virtually ended several years ago, but M.I.T. found that the disclosure hurt its other activities abroad and aroused resentment and controversy among faculty members.

Since then, other educators have expressed concern about the C.I.A.'s involvement in academic and foundation activities. Officials of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have contended that no infiltration of educational activities has been authorized in recent years and the few formal dealings were well known to the heads of cooperating institutions.

Ties Rejected by Harvard

Harvard and some other universities have long refused institutional ties and have let individual scholars decide whether they wish to have any dealings with the intelligence agency.

Ramparts, an iconoclastic West Coast magazine founded by Roman Catholic laymen, has been especially outspoken against United States policy in Vietnam.

Its article, "The University on the Make—or How M.S.U. Helped Arm Madame Nhu," makes the following major points:

"The university neglected scholarship and suspended its critical function in society by obediently serving American policy in Vietnam and advising 'on the very writing of South Vietnam's Constitution.' One professor, Wesley Fishel, was described as instrumental in helping to install Ngo Dinh Diem as President of South Vietnam and selling him on the technical assistance program that brought Michigan State \$25-million worth of projects.

"At least five men hired by the university as 'police administration specialists' and given 'faculty rank' operated in Saigon as a separate unit in 'counterespionage and counterintelligence' assignments.

"In helping to train South Vietnamese internal security forces, the university project at first 'actually supplied them with guns and ammunition' and directed an operation that at one point had only four university members among 22 million men and women in the country."

"The project was canceled by President Diem in 1962 because he was displeased with the critical articles by some professors."

In 1964, for example, Rep. Wright Patman, D-Tex., found that a private New York foundation under investigation by federal tax agents was receiving a financial assist from the CIA.

The tax agents were investigating the J. M. Kaplan fund to see if it should retain its tax-exempt status. How the CIA money was being used was never disclosed.

Patman said he felt he had been "trifled with" in the case. The tax men were chagrined too. The CIA operation was secret even within the government.

"The International Control Commission (ICC) is the enforcement agency for the Geneva agreement. The ICC was aware of what we were doing in Viet Nam and never filed any complaints."

Although the magazine contends that the six-year Viet Nam project — which ended in 1962 — was worth \$25 million to MSU, Smuckler said the basic contract did not exceed \$1 million in any one year.

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The article was endorsed in an introduction by Stanley Sheinbaum, who was campus coordinator of the project for more than three years and now is with the Center for Democratic Studies in Santa Barbara, Calif.

"I am no less culpable of the charges," he wrote, "than are any of my former colleagues. Looking back, I am appalled how supposed intellectuals . . . could have been so uncritical about what they were doing. . ."

The magazine described its article as a shocking documentation "of the degree of corruption and abject immorality attending a university which puts its academic respectability on lend-lease to American foreign policy."

It said the MSU project showed "the decay of traditional academic principles found in the modern university on the make."

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Among other members of the MSU Viet Nam project, which was financed by the U.S. government, there was an unspoken rule that they would never mention the CIA, the magazine said.

"The entire unit operated on an identical hear-no-CIA, see-no-CIA basis," it added. "The CIA men came in early in the morning, stayed for about an hour, and then locked their offices and left for the day."

"They all drove their own cars and their French was the most fluent on the project."

Area Students Elected to

Detroit Free Press

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

JOHN S. KNIGHT, PRESIDENT AND EDITOR

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8-A

FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1966

As We See It

MSU's Vietnam Guilt Is Shared by the U.S.

WITH A MUCKRAKING zeal that would do honor to Lincoln Steffens, the current issue of Ramparts takes off on MSU's 1955-1962 activity in Vietnam.

The MSU Group (MSUG), the article says, served as a "cover" for CIA agents, aided the U.S. in evading provisions of the Geneva Accord, and trained the secret police who later guarded President Ngo Dinh Diem's police state.

As in all good muckraking, the charges are a biting blend of fact and fancy.

The article is enlivened by entertaining drawings of a buxom Madame Nhu waving an MSU banner and a bulldog coach John Hannah urging his charges to victory. It makes overdrawn descriptions of MSU as more "service oriented than the average Standard Oil retail outlet." It is spiced with implications, and flawed by some inaccuracies.

But the fact remains that MSU was deeply involved in South Vietnam's internal affairs. MSU Professor Wesley Fishel was the most "in" of the U.S. advisers to Diem. MSUG was used as a vehicle for carrying out U.S. foreign policy.

In fairness, however, MSU's involvement must be seen in the context of the 1950s.

Diem had met Fishel in 1950 in Japan. They had become friends. In Diem's lonely attempts to gain support in the United States, he maintained contact with Fishel, spoke at East Lansing and thumbed through an MSU catalog listing the courses that would aid a new government in Saigon.

After the fall of Dienbienphu, the State Department's search for a leader of a "third force," an alternative to the colonialist French and Ho Chi Minh's Communists, uncovered Diem.

He became our man. Diem faced an anarchy of political factions, religious sects and bandit gangs. His first problem was internal security.

MSU had one of the nation's few professional police curricula. With the Fishel-Diem friendship, Diem's familiarity with MSU and his crucial need for police security, the MSUG contract was natural, and, at first, it looked providential.

In the late '50s, Diem was a hero, the worker of the "miracle of Vietnam." President Eisenhower welcomed him personally in a triumphant 1957 visit to the United States. The cautious New York Times eulogized him editorially.

Hindsight tells us this was a dream from which we're still not fully awake, but few recognized that Diem had the makings of force existed in Washington, not Vietnam, and that the Geneva Accords represented one of our last chances to become gracefully disengaged. The accords were violated by turning the police force into an army.

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It was possible for the MSU professors to view themselves as a kind of academic James Bonds, adventurers in the cause of freedom.

They were wrong. The academy should be a source of incisive critical judgment, and MSU wasn't. It should not have permitted itself to become the tool of the CIA, and MSU did. A university has no business supplying guns for some government half way around the world, and MSU did.

But the tragedy of Vietnam can't be explained by the devil theory of history, with MSU as the devil. It's a muckraking explanation, but responsibility can't be fixed that easily.



Free Press Photo

Empty chairs form setting for Ramparts press conference

3 Officials---3 Answers

CIA Fuss Befuddles MSU

Michigan State University failed to regain its balance Thursday in the wake of nationwide publicity about its relationship with the now-discredited South Vietnamese regime of Ngo Dinh Diem.

The university's position was clouded by three contradictory responses to charges leveled by Ramparts magazine that a former MSU project in South Vietnam provided a cover for Central Intelligence Agency operatives.

Rep. Jack Faxon (D., Detroit) chairman of the higher education subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee, said the revelations might force the Legislature to prepare "guidelines for the appropriate conduct of our universities."



By
Van
Sauter

espionage, counterintelligence or subversive activities."

MSU advised the Diem government over a seven-year period on the creation and management of a civil service system and public safety organizations.

bastion of American-style democracy in Southeast Asia — grew cruel and ineffectual.

The MSU-Diem relationship ended in 1965, one year before Diem was overthrown by an army coup that had the tacit approval of Washington. Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, were murdered by the military.

Warren Hinckle III, executive editor of Ramparts, told a Detroit press conference Thursday that in aiding Diem MSU had "abdicated its responsibilities as an academic institution and given its allegiance to the illegal foreign policy of the United States."

"We normally look to the universities," he continued, "as citadels of truth and in-

THE MAGAZINE, which has a circulation of 70,000, charged in its April issue that:

—MSU knowingly allowed five CIA agents to join its public safety advisory team and to conduct counter-espionage activities while disguised as university technicians.

—MSU abdicated a university's traditional responsibility of being an objective critic and became in effect the tool of U. S. foreign policy.

—MSU's training mission of advising police and paramilitary organizations was in violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam.

In response to the first charge, the following statements were made by MSU officials:

"CIA agents were not knowingly on our staff — if that were true we didn't know about it," said MSU president John A. Hannah (as quoted in the Ramparts issue).

"We did not knowingly hire any CIA men — and when we found out about their role, we dropped them," said James Dennison, director of university relations and an assistant to Hannah.

BUT DR. Ralph H. Smuckler, acting dean of MSU's International Programs, said MSU knew that CIA men were on the staff. He also revealed that their identities were known to both the U.S. Embassy and the Saigon government.

"They were part of the training staff," he said, "(and) were not involved in counter-

Diem agencies were notorious for their brutal suppression of all dissent. His government—once widely praised as a potential

Lenawee Accepts Airport

Special to the Free Press

ADRIAN — Lenawee County will take over the Adrian Airport as soon as legal papers can be prepared, it was decided Thursday. The transfer fee will be \$1.

Adrian has invested \$75,597 in the airport over the years, exclusive of federal grants, but now is faced with expansion needs in other areas. State and Federal sources have offered to contribute \$192,000 toward improvements if local sources raise \$82,000. Adrian officials explained they did not have the money.

THEY OFFERED to give the airport to the County a month ago so the County could develop the field. The County turned it down but in the meantime some six Lenawee industries wrote letters to the County urging immediate expansion of the field.

Lenawee supervisors reconsidered and voted Thursday to accept the airport. Indications are that funds will be sought to enlarge and improve the field for bigger aircraft.

Stauffer Chemical, Hoover Ball and Bearing, Prentice Aircraft, Brazeway Inc., Blissfield

THE UNIVERSITY has taken pride in its ability to provide services to both industry and government, and now has programs under way in 13 countries from Central American to Thailand.

Ramparts and other critics feel that the use of university staff for outside projects diminishes the number of skilled educators available for teaching and compromises the university's independence.

"It depends," said an MSU representative, "on whether you want a university to be part of the real world or a part of the Ivory tower."

The university also rejects the magazine's claim that its program in Vietnam violated the Geneva Agreement, which limited the nature and number of military organizations in North and South Vietnam.

Smuckler claims the activities of MSU in Vietnam were fully known to the International Control Commission, which is charged with policing the Geneva Agreement. He said the ICC never complained about the MSU program.

MSU and Diem ended their relationship after some of the university staff began publishing articles critical of the government. Diem wanted the critics silenced, but the university refused and abandoned its advisory role.

MSU

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'U' Must Answer Ramparts Charges

THE UNIVERSITY MUST give a full and definitive explanation to the article appearing in Ramparts Magazine which charged MSU with being a front for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in Viet Nam. Since the bomb exploded here Tuesday, the controversy has been a tangle of contradiction, denial and confusion.

President Hannah has admitted there is some substance to the content of the Ramparts article. He also said that some mistakes were made in our involvement in Viet Nam under the Diem government. But the question remains, what were these mistakes? And what was the extent of our involvement, and what, if any, was our relationship with the CIA? The University owes all of us an explanation now to these and other questions relating to MSU's activity in Viet Nam.

BUT THE ADMINISTRATION has remained in near silence, casting little light on the murky situation. President Hannah was said to have informed the Academic Council to be on the alert for a critical article in Ramparts well before it hit the newsstands Tuesday. One would infer that there has been plenty of time to prepare a statement clarifying the present University position.

Statements made by MSU faculty members mentioned in the Ramparts article have also done little to clarify or refute the basic charges. Ralph T. Smuckler, former chief adviser to the project in Viet Nam, denied that the MSU project provided a front for a unit of the CIA in Wednesday's State News. But that was only part of the story. He did not say that MSU was used by the CIA in Viet Nam. Thursday he confirmed this role in the New York Times.

ARTHUR F. BRANDSTATTER, a member of the MSU contingent in Viet Nam and chairman of the Police Administration Dept., told the State News he knew of no members of the CIA when he was there. James H. Denison, assistant to the president, said Wednesday the article was "scurrilous," but chose to refute only trivial points: President Hannah is not the son of an Iowa chicken farmer and police cars do not occupy excessive amounts of parking spaces. He would not comment on the article's major contentions, however.

But, if MSU officials and faculty members have

(continued on page 7)

's, East Lansing, Michigan

Editorial

(continued from page 1)

been less than frank about the situation, neither is the Ramparts article entirely truthful or fair. The manner used in presenting the arguments leads the reader to infer either false or unsupportable conclusions.

IN A PRESS CONFERENCE Thursday, Robert Scheer, one of the authors of the article, admitted that one section--that there are policemen "beyond the wildest expansion of the human retina" on campus--was an exaggeration for effect. He called it "a hyperbole for the sake of emphasis." Research and common knowledge about Michigan State reveal other seeming inaccuracies and exaggerations in the article.

The point is, if these were exaggerations for effect, what assurance have we that other more important claims and assertions are not equally as false and misleading. The minor falsehoods bring the validity of the entire article into question.

WE FEEL THAT Ramparts' major contentions have some basis. And it's time for the University to answer. We propose that all MSU officials and faculty members involved hold a press conference Monday. This would provide the opportunity for President Hannah to answer the charges on behalf of the University and for the others to clearly define their roles in the project.

The charges will not disappear by wishful thinking. And there is no chance at clarification or resolution of the controversy until MSU fully and publicly explains its position. Perhaps the lesson to be learned is that when a public institution receives adverse nationwide publicity, SILENCE IS NOT GOLDEN.

The Editors

MSU Officials Admit CIA Men Were Involved

University officials Thursday admitted that CIA men worked on the MSU Viet Nam project.

"These men, later found to be CIA people, were employed by the University to help in police administration classes. But they didn't disclose when they were hired that they belonged to the CIA," said James H. Denison, assistant to the president.

An article entitled "Michigan State, the University on the Make" in the April issue of Ramparts Magazine charged that the MSU advisory project was a "cover" for active CIA agents.

Ralph H. Smuckler, acting dean of international programs, said Thursday that personnel for MSU's police training program in Viet Nam were borrowed from many government agencies to help in the training program, "nothing more. Definitely no cloak and dagger stuff."

Wesley Fishel, former chief of the project in Viet Nam, denied a Ramparts charge that the five-man "VBI Internal Security Section" was a self-contained espionage unit camouflaged within the MSU advisory team.

"All the men on the MSU payroll were responsible to the chief of the MSU mission," Fishel said. "As far as I know, they did no cloak and dagger work while I was there." Fishel was chief

of the MSU group from February, 1956 to May, 1958.

The CIA refused to comment. The April Ramparts article ends with these words, "What the hell is a University doing buying guns, anyway?"

(continued on page 3)

Thursday night. He admitted that the University had not actually bought guns. University officials have denied the charge all along.

Sheinbaum, who came to the University in January, 1957, as an instructor in economics, now charges that the University's advisers drew up requisitions and performed other supplementary services during the period in which the Vietnamese police were first equipped.

The Vietnamese police forces were virtually unequipped and untrained when the French withdrew from the former colony. One section of the police had been rented on a commission basis to a gang of river pirates.

Sheinbaum served as campus co-ordinator of the Viet Nam Project from February, 1958, to August 1960. According to University officials Sheinbaum, who entered as an instructor, left with the same rank. No further information from his personnel file can be released without Sheinbaum's permission.

In the article, Sheinbaum said that the most obvious failure in American education and intellectual life today is "the diversion of the University away from its functions (and duties) of scholarship and teaching."

President John A. Hannah, on the other hand, is a well known advocate of the land grant philos-

CIA Role

ophy of public service.

Fishel said yesterday, "This is an area of legitimate disagreement. I think Sheinbaum is wrong."

"Here at Michigan State," Fishel said, "we have managed to debate the issue intelligently. The issue does not call for sleazy, slimy inventions . . ." At that point he was interrupted by a phone call, the sixth he had received in the last 15 minutes.

Denison said MSU has projects the world over and that the purpose of the projects is for University professors to learn and research while serving in foreign countries.

Fishel Did Take Offer For Reply

By ANDREW MOLLISON
And JANE KNAUER
State News Staff Writers

Wesley Fishel, professor of political science, Thursday flatly contradicted a statement made that morning by an editor of Ramparts Magazine.

In a phone press conference for Detroit reporters Thursday morning, Robert Scheer, foreign editor of the magazine of political commentary, said that Fishel had not accepted Ramparts' invitation to submit a manuscript on the MSU Viet Nam Project.

Fishel made public a file of letters exchanged with Ramparts beginning July 6, 1965. On Jan. 6 of this year, Fishel wrote James F. Colaianni, managing editor of the magazine, saying, "I should indeed like to reply to the article concerning me which appeared in the July (1965) Ramparts." Scheer wrote the July article.

Fishel wrote a letter to the Ramparts editors July 6, 1965, in which he commented upon, and in his opinion refuted, the five main points of the article. He says he received no reply. Nor was the letter printed.

He sent another letter in September by registered mail and received an answer Jan. 5, 1966.

In the answering letter, Colaianni said that he, as managing editor, as well as the authors and entire editorial board of Ramparts, had been very interested in Fishel's letter.

"The long delay" (the reply

Fishel

(continued from page 1)

was dated Dec. 30) in replying was due to discussion of the possibility of asking Fishel to write an article on the MSU Viet Nam project for Ramparts.

"Would you be interested" in submitting such a manuscript?, Colaianni asked.

Jan. 6, the day after he received the Ramparts letter, Fishel accepted the offer. He asked how much space he would have and suggested that he be given the same amount as Scheer had in his July article.

Fishel's only conditions were that any changes other than minor stylistic changes in the manuscript be approved by him. He said yesterday that he has heard nothing further from Ramparts.

Asked to comment upon the article in the April issue of Ramparts, Fishel, professor of political science, said he considers the Ramparts article "a ridiculous and silly smear piece."

He went on to say:

"The authors are not objective, honest or disinterested. They are outspoken advocates of the Viet Cong; Scheer is an obvious partisan. Neither he nor any of his fellow authors has any special competence in the area."

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Editors Attack Hannah Via Telephone Session

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By JO BUMBARGER
And JOAN SOLOMON

President John A. Hannah was charged Thursday with "selling out" the United States, and MSU with violating the Geneva agreement.

Michigan State, Hannah and faculty members involved in the University's technical assistance project in Viet Nam were all prime targets of verbal attacks by three editors of Ramparts Magazine.

Editors Warren Hinckle, Stanley Sheinbaum and Robert Scheer, co-authors of the recent article criticizing the seven-year project, spoke at a press conference in Detroit Thursday morning via telephone conference hook-up in California.

The more than 30 newsmen from newspapers, wire services, magazines, television and radio were faced by three name-bearing placards representing the

editors. A telephone and amplifier lay on the table.

The men were located in different locations in California. When asked why they did not appear in Detroit, they replied, "We couldn't get there."

The editors said at the meeting they are willing to stand behind the entire article in court, with the exception of the statement that Wesley Fishel, professor of political science, had license plate No. 1 on his car in Viet Nam.

They also extended an invitation to Fishel to write an article for Ramparts, saying the magazine would print it at any time.

Fishel said Thursday afternoon that two letters he had written to the magazine about Viet Nam were not printed.

When asked if the description of campus as a virtual police state was an accurate estimation, one editor explained that it was "a hyperbole for the sake of emphasis."

The article said, "There are, literally, policemen all over the campus, almost beyond the wildest expansion of the human retina..."

Editors said their main criticism of MSU was "not so much a single act, but a new style of university life," which the article termed "service-oriented."

However, Scheer said he thought the University was fully aware that CIA agents were connected with the projects.

Editors said they thought Hannah was "betraying the tradition of the American university" and that MSU's role in Viet Nam was "reprehensible, scandalous and destructive."

"MSU lied to the American public for six years," Hinckle said. "It was unpatriotic in the deepest sense of the word."

He said a university is what is normally looked to as a "candel of truth."

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Michigan State News

Conference

(continued from page 1)

was also guilty of a "clear-violation of the Geneva accord supplying \$15 million worth of munition and supplies to Viet Nam."

Professors involved in the Viet project were criticized for their failure to uphold the American tradition of independence in educational institutions.

Academics, as intellectuals, should have been critical of American foreign policy lead of just going along with



SHOOTING THE NEWS--These television cameramen were among the many representatives of news media who descended on the campus Thursday. The MSU-CIA story was carried on two national networks. Photo by Russell Steffey



TO THE RAMPARTS--NBC's midwest correspondent, Bill Matney of Chicago, interviews MSU's Acting Dean of International Programs Ralph Smuckler about Ramparts Magazine's article on MSU's role in Viet Nam.

Photo by Russell Steffey

Legislators May Probe Funds Use

By BETTY LITTLE
State News Staff Writer

A legislative investigation may be launched to examine the connection between MSU and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in South Viet Nam, it was learned Thursday.

University officials admitted Wednesday that the CIA was connected with MSU's Vietnamese project in the 1950's.

"This raises serious questions in my mind," said Rep. Jack Faxon, D-Detroit, chairman of the Higher Education Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee. He questioned how well the Board of Trustees had been informed as to what was taking place.

Faxon also hinted that the episode could affect MSU's budget, which was reported out of a Senate committee Thursday.

"To what extent are University funds used in federal projects?" Faxon asked. "To what extent have our universities become instruments of the federal government whereas they're supposed to be autonomous institutions of learning?"

When asked whether his committee might conduct a full-fledged investigation, he said the course of action will depend on the decision of the full subcommittee and the House leadership.

Faced with an impending dead-
(continued on page 7)

Legislators

(continued from page 1)

line and a mountain of legislation yet to be worked on, both the House and the Ways and Means committee have been working from 10 a.m. to midnight for more than a week.

Because of this, Faxon said he had not had time to discuss the investigation with anyone Thursday afternoon, but said he expected to reach a decision last night or this morning.

"This comes at an appropriate time," Faxon added. "We will be considering university appropriations bills soon and we can ask many of these questions then, particularly as they affect state finances."

Authors of the Ramparts article, at a press conference Thursday, had asked for both the U.S. Congress and the Michigan Legislature to investigate MSU's role in Viet Nam and to evaluate overseas projects of all universities, particularly MSU.

Faxon said he hoped the legislature might eventually be able to come up with "guidelines on the appropriate conduct for our universities."

"If what I read is true," he said, "This is horrifying...this is perpetuating totalitarian rule. We as a nation are supposed to be exporting democracy."

He said if this is true it would be as if the United States sent advisers to Nazi Germany to help Hitler set up a good concentration camp program.

Senator Garland Lane, D-Flint, Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, said he was not overly excited about the Ramparts article.

"I haven't read the

but I've heard it's written by a California man," he said. "What does a California man know about what's going on at MSU?"

When told that Stanley K. Sheinbaum, a coordinator of the Viet Nam project at MSU had contributed to the article, Lane replied that a disgruntled professor's views had nothing to do with him.

However, if state funds had been used in the project Lane said that according to the new Michigan constitution his committee had every right to audit the University's books each year.

"Even if this matter came before the new constitution, I'm sure the University would cooperate with us if we wanted to see their past records."

Lane said his committee was too busy to hold any hearings at the present time, but added that there was a possibility that they could hold a hearing this summer.

"The University of Michigan has sent reports of their projects in Mexico and Chile to my committee," he said, "But I had no prior knowledge of this Viet Nam project until today."

CIA Aid No Secret, Says MSU's Fishel

The chief of a Michigan State University aid mission to South Viet Nam said Thursday school officials were well aware five Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operatives were employed on the project.

"There was no secret about it," said Prof. Wesley Fishel. He categorized as "a lot of nonsense" an official university statement that the school was not aware the five employees were CIA men.

Fishel said, however, the men performed "no cloak and dagger work" while associated with the now defunct MSU mission.

"They were employed by the university simply to train the Vietnamese civil police in counter subversive activities," Fishel said.

James Denison, MSU's public relations manager, had said the university did not know the men were agents and promptly dismissed them when it found trained militia and palace

guard personnel for the late President Ngo Dinh Diem and bought ammunition ranging from pistols to rocket launchers. Denison made the comment in reply to an article in

Ramparts, a publication describing itself as a "magazine of dissent," which charged the school had provided academic "cover" to the CIA agents in violation of the 1954 Geneva

agreement on Viet Nam.

Fishel joined Denison in denying that the aid missioners, as the article alleged.

The university was hired by the State Department to train

Diem's civil police force and set up a civil service organization for South Viet Nam. The program ran from 1954 until 1962, Fishel said.

Fishel said the university hired former city, state and federal law enforcement officials from many locations to conduct the police training. The CIA men were borrowed from the agency to conduct the counter-insurgency portion of the training, he said.

Hannah OKs Viet Report Before House

Michigan State University President John Hannah has agreed to appear before a legislative committee to discuss reports of the university's involvement with the Central Intelligence Agency in South Viet Nam.

Hannah will appear before the House Ways and Means Higher Education Subcommittee, said the subcommittee chairman, Rep. Jack Faxon, D-Detroit.

Ramparts magazine has charged that MSU served as a front for CIA operatives in a 1954-65 mission to advise former

President Ngo Dinh Diem in setting up a police force and civil service system.

It also accused the university of purchasing guns and ammunition for the security forces of the later deposed and slain president.

Hannah "called me up to discuss the charges," Faxon said. "He said the magazine article was full of distortions and that the university pulled out of the project as soon as it discovered the CIA men in its operation."

"It suggested that he might meet with the subcommittee to discuss the charges," Faxon said, "and he agreed."

The subcommittee would use its consideration of the MSU appropriations bill as an opportunity to bring the subject up and discuss it.

"We can't set a date yet — except that it will be in May. We don't know how soon the bill will come to us from the Senate and whether or not a legislative recess will intervene," Faxon said.

"The members of the subcommittee have not decided yet whether we'll go any further in this than hearing Hannah's comments," he added.

"I just don't know at this time whether rehashing the entire subject would serve any real purpose."

"I don't want the timing of this thing to lead anyone to think that the Legislature is planning to do anything to the MSU appropriation as a result of this; we're not using it as a weapon," Faxon added.

The Senate now has under consideration a bill appropriating \$59 million for MSU operations in the coming fiscal year.

LBJ Action Urged in CIA Case

Reprimand, Discharge
Favored for Persons
Involved in Viet

STILLWATER, Okla. (AP) — Sen. Fred Harris said today President Johnson should reprimand or discharge those involved in the reported use of a university project in Viet Nam as a cover for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Oklahoma Democrat said he has asked CIA officials to explain the situation to him in a private meeting in his office Monday. Harris is chairman of Senate subcommittee on government research.

The magazine Ramparts said in its April issue that the CIA used a Michigan State University project merely to provide advice for setting up police organizations and a civil service program in South Viet Nam.

In a speech prepared for the state convention of the American Association of University Professors, Harris said:

Professor Charges Misquote

By NORRIS INGELLS
State Journal Staff Writer

A Michigan State University official said today he was misquoted in a United Press-International wire story Friday and that he was taking legal action against Ramparts magazine for "defamation of my character and an attempt to destroy my reputation as a scholar."

The wire story was about Prof. Wesley Fishel's statement that MSU knew Central Intelligence

Related Story on Page A-2

Agency personnel were employed on the project.

It said Fishel termed an official university statement that the school was not aware the five employees were CIA men "a lot of nonsense."

"What I said was, the accusations against the university are a lot of nonsense," Fishel declared today.

He also re-emphasized that the CIA men performed "no cloak and dagger work" while associated with the former MSU project.

HITS ATTACK

"The attack on the university and myself are scurrilous, slimy and deliberate lies," Fishel said today regarding an article in the current issue of Ramparts magazine which touched off the controversy over MSU's work in Viet Nam between 1954 and 1962.

Prof. Fishel also announced that he has started legal moves against the magazine as a result of the article.

"I have asked the Lansing branch of the American Civil Liberties Union to assist me in an action for defamation of my character and an attempt to destroy my reputation as a scholar," he said.

The magazine's major criti-

See MISQUOTE—A-3, Col. 5

Misquote

Concluded from Page One

cism was that MSU provided a front for Central Intelligence Agency operations in the country that violated the 1954 Geneva agreement.

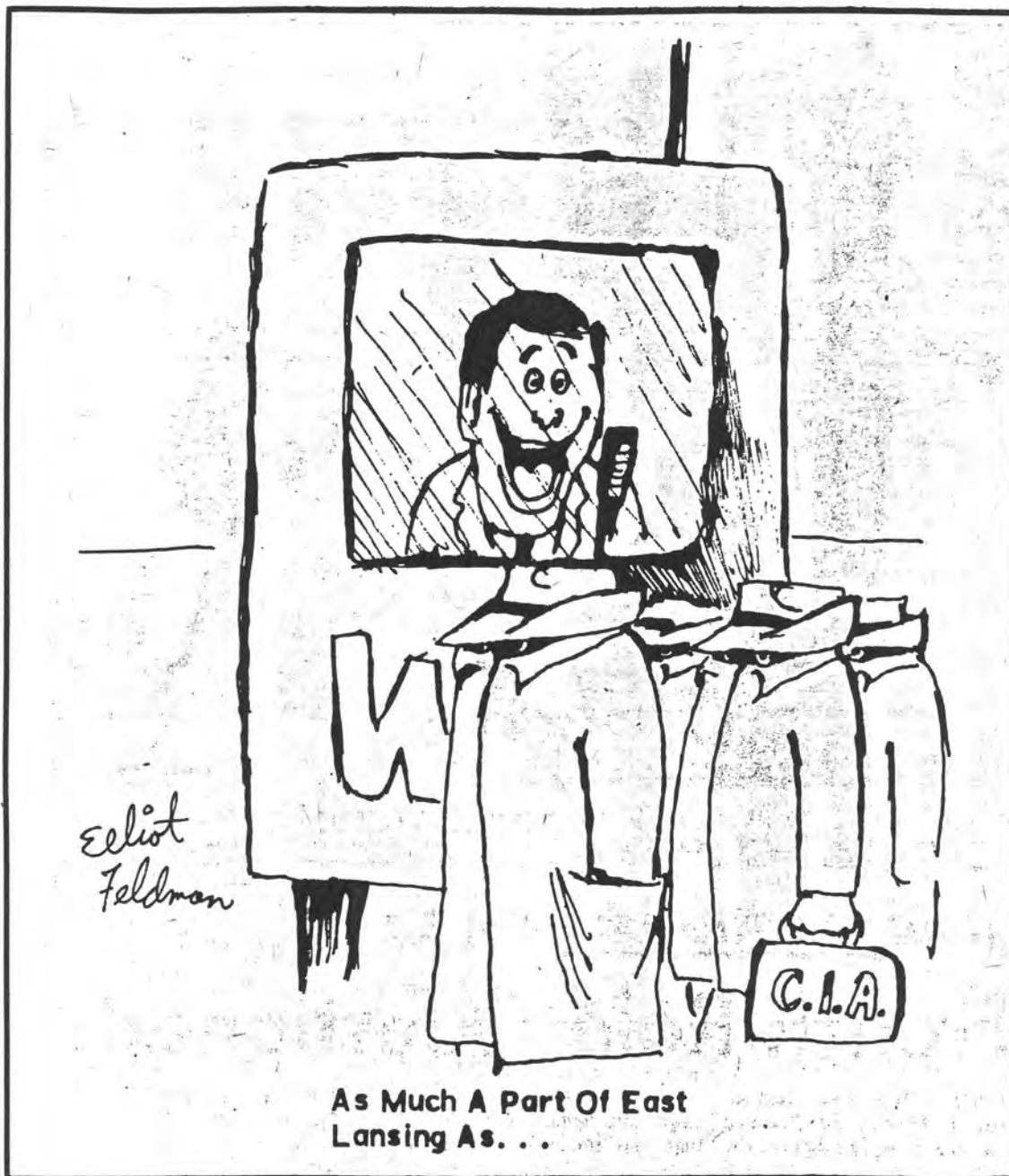
AUTHORS NAMED

Two of the authors of the story were Stanley K. Sheinbaum, a former Viet Nam project coordinator, and the magazine's foreign editor, Robert Scheer.

"Behind a mask of piety and righteousness, Sheinbaum and Scheer and their associates have concealed their real motivation," Fishel declared. "They are in no way seekers after truth. They are grinding a political axe since they are avowed advocates of a Viet Cong victory in Viet Nam."

"What they are trying to do," Fishel added, "is discredit our government's policy in Viet Nam by discrediting those who support that policy."

He said both are "reportedly running for Congress in California on a 'get the U.S. out of Viet Nam platform.'"





CHARLES C. WELLS

Means Hurt The Ends

The Ramparts Magazine article entitled, "Michigan State, the University on the Make," will have some value if it does nothing more than raise the question of what role a university ought to play in a society.

But few journalists could support Ramparts' manner of presenting its position. What the authors have followed is the fallacy of the "ends justifying the means." And in honest journalism, the ends never justify the means.

The obvious slanders of President John A. Hannah and Wesley Fishel, professor of political science, were uncalled for. The name-calling of Hannah as the "son of an Iowa chicken farmer" is particularly revealing--revealing because it shows a snobbish attitude. Hannah is not the son of an Iowa chicken farmer, but what difference does it make whether his parents were farmers, industrialists or scholars? One's lineage alone does not make a man great or successful.

I also resent Ramparts' implication that Hannah married the boss's daughter and thereby became president of Michigan State. Hannah became president by doing his assignments in poultry science and as University secretary well.

Hannah is in his 25th year as MSU president. His boards of trustees--the real bosses of University operations--have been composed of both Democratic and Republican majorities. I would think that the first board, which selected Hannah, would think negatively about him taking over after his father-in-law, rather than giving him the job because of nepotism.

Robert Sheer, one of the Ramparts' editors, has admitted there

were "exaggerations for effect" in the article.

Some propagandists believe in intensifying or "hyped up" a story because it furthers a cause the editor believes in. But most honest journalists and most true scholars would never sanction misstatements of fact for effect. If a story has to be "hyped up" either there are not enough facts to support the supposition and the writer had better find more, or the facts themselves simply don't justify the supposition. Misstatements of fact detract from the credence of the article and eventually, if there are enough of them, the publication itself.

But the value of the article, even if the editors blew it, is in this question of service orientation or the University's role in society.

If a university is to be oriented toward outside service, whom is it to be oriented toward, toward government, industry, labor or toward society in general?

Few of us would object to a university offering advice on civil rights, economics, government reform or labor relations. But how far should a university go in offering its advice and services to society?

And if a university is going to be service oriented, then how objective can its scholars be in evaluating and formulating new programs for that society? The university has traditionally been a critic of society. Can this continue with a service orientation?

I don't have the final answers to the questions I have raised. But I think we as scholars ought to be thinking about them and discussing them.

The university's role in society? Think about it--if you arrive at an adequate definition, we're all interested.

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CALLS IT 'CRIMINAL'

'M' Grad Hits MSU Viet Role

By LEO ZAINEA
State News Staff Writer

A University of Michigan graduate student Saturday night labeled MSU's involvement in Viet Nam "criminal" by using "scholarly talents to erect a police state in Southeast Asia."

Michael Locker, an active member of U-M's Students for a Democratic Society claimed that MSU's project is grotesquely typical of what is happening on many campuses throughout the country.

Locker told more than 250 persons gathered in Erickson Hall Kiva for the Winds of Change Seminar that campuses today are being taken over by professors who become "bureaucratic advisers shuttling back and forth from Washington."

The U-M sociology major also criticized business interests in U.S. foreign aid projects in Southeast Asia, Africa and South America for utilizing the members of the academic community in key roles.

The subject of Saturday night's seminar was "The Role of the



AARON LEVENSTEIN

Faculty in the Protest Movement," and Locker contended that student protests today must "reorient" faculties from "partisans of power."

A Washington University sociology professor, however, dwelt on the reasons why many



CHRIS DUNLEAVY

professors do not participate actively in protest movements.

Irving L. Horowitz, author of several books on the sociology of politics, outlined the socio-economic reasons for faculty non-involvement.

Horowitz said the main reason professors remain unin-

involved is due to the wide autonomy of the professorial sector.

He said professors are placed in a position of lawmaker vis-a-vis the student, whereas the student autonomy is non-existent.

"Professors are not in the system," said Horowitz, they are the system."

Horowitz also noted that the American universities are places where social ecologies tend to separate student groups.

He said it is easier for students to organize collectively because in most cases they live together on campus and can locate groups whose political thought agrees with their own.

Horowitz remarked that the students' basic approach to politics is different than professors in that faculty are more concerned with civics, while the student is interested in ideological thought.

Aaron Levenstein, a professor of management at the City College of New York and a contributor to "Freedom's Advocate," described the responsibilities of an instructor in the classroom.

He said that in today's world partisanship in the classroom tends to destroy academic integrity.

"The instructor must observe a self-discipline," said Levenstein, "and must not engage in hyperbole--but only the promulgation of truth."

He emphasized that the role of an instructor is not one of a propagandist but rather of a scholar.

Levenstein did concede, however, that opinions are characteristic of expertise in teaching.

But he said that the instructor's job is to make the individual be himself and not a stereotype of the instructor.

Another member of the four-man panel, Chris Dunleavy, chairman of the New Haven Council of Young Republicans and a member of the Yale Conservative Club, criticized the "New Left" for not sufficiently analyzing the Vietnamese war, yet said the radical student movement is the last hope the U.S. has to combat what Harold Laswell called "the garrison state."

Donleavy also assailed the radical movement as a "communal thought," rather than complete individualism.

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Viet Project Wins Headliner Award

The co-chairmen of MSU's People-to-People Assn. project in South Viet Nam received the first annual "Women's Headliner Award," presented Saturday by Theta Sigma Phi, professional journalism fraternity for women.

Karen Radom, Birmingham junior, and Judith Rice, East Lansing junior, were given a plaque during the Annual Matrix Luncheon at the Union. The plaque stated that its recipients were "The MSU Women Foremost In The News," according to Fran Zell, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, sophomore, and president of the fraternity.

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Carried on inside page.

Ramparts Under Inquiry Into Colleges' Policy Role

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES

Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, April 17

A Congressional investigation of the role of American universities in carrying out the nation's foreign policies was urged today by the editors of Ramparts magazine.

Warren J. Hinckle 3d, executive editor and associate publisher of the liberal monthly, said that a formal demand would be made in an editorial in the next issue.

The decision, made at a staff conference on Friday, resulted from reaction to an article published in the April issue, which came out last week. It named Michigan State University as having provided the cover and the support for the Central Intelligence Agency's operations in South Vietnam from 1955 to 1959.

"One of the shocking after-effects of the publication of the Michigan State story," Mr. Hinckle asserted, "was the matter-of-fact acceptance by many people at Michigan State of the existence of the C.I.A. cell."

"If there is a segment of the academic community that believes there is nothing questionable about opening their doors to intelligence agents, then we must ask the question, Just how widespread is this sort of practice? It can be answered effectively only by a large-scale Government investigation."

School Programs Cited

Mr. Hinckle said that Michigan State's Office of International Programs had 13 major aid projects abroad, "a majority in countries with military dictatorships or governments of the totalitarian right—for instance, Taiwan, Brazil, Turkey, Colombia."

Both Mr. Hinckle and Edward M. Keating, the magazine's editor in chief and publisher, declared there was "not one inaccuracy" in the article. Prof. Ralph Smuckler, acting dean of the Office of International Programs, had charged that the article was marked by distortions and untruths.

The article was written by Stanley K. Sheinbaum, a consulting editor. He coordinated the university's Vietnam project and now is an economist at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara.

The article cited the C.I.A.'s involvement in support of charges that Michigan State and other universities "on the make" were lending scholars to Government agencies in exchange for lucrative assignments and exciting overseas assignments. It charged, among other things, that at least five men given "faculty rank" operated in Saigon in "counter-espionage and counterintelligence" assignments.

"We are prepared to defend the article in a court of law

and we have substantive proof. If anyone wants to take us on, I suggest they file a bill of particulars."

Mr. Hinckle declared:

"We didn't specifically want to expose Michigan State University but to start a nationwide debate on the role of universities in foreign policy and on changing the state of an American university from an established model to a catalyst for change."

"The Vietnam issue has been one of the leading concerns of Ramparts, which was founded by Mr. Keating in 1962 as a Roman Catholic lay magazine to provide a platform for Catholic writers and intellectuals. Although not hesitating to 'take on' the church's hierarchy, the magazine has broadened its scope to cover most of the social issues of the day, such as civil rights, at home and abroad. If the Catholic Church is involved, Mr. Keating said, it is because 'the church is part of our society.'"

"We started the Vietnam debate," he continued, "with an interview with Senator Frank Church [Democrat of Idaho]. He and I had been students at Stanford University together, so I phoned him one day and he said he was disturbed over Vietnam. The subsequent interview was picked up by the newspapers with page one display."

There was no mystery about the C.I.A.-Michigan State article, he and Mr. Hinckle insisted. The basis for the story had been lying around for years and Mr. Sheinbaum had been making speeches about it, they said. Robert Scheer, foreign editor of Ramparts, heard of it when he did a pamphlet, "How the U. S. Got Involved in Vietnam," published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institu-

tions about 18 months ago. Ramparts worked intensively on the article for the last five months.

Mr. Keating, Mr. Scheer and Mr. Sheinbaum are now running for the Democratic nomination for Congress in three different California districts.

Mr. Keating said Ramparts had no connection with the Santa Barbara center, two of whose staff members, Mr. Sheinbaum and Paul Jacobs, author of the autobiographical "Is Curly Jewish?" are consulting editors of the magazine. Ramparts, he said, enjoys "a good relationship" with the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. Marcus Raskin, the institute's co-director, is on the magazine's board of directors. He used to be an assistant to McGeorge Bundy, a former adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

"We give stress to Vietnam because if there is no rational solution to Vietnam we may have no country left," Mr. Hinckle said.

"We have not called for unilateral withdrawal," Mr. Keating asserted. "We want de-escalation of the war and we want out of Vietnam. The best way to get out is to recognize the Vietcong. But the Administration says no."

"We refuse to take a political position; we are more concerned with moral dimensions," he continued. "In the social spectrum we are to the left, at least we are certainly not conservative and we don't want the status quo."

Mr. Hinckle, a 27-year-old former reporter on The San Francisco Chronicle, wrote in a statement of purpose that Ramparts "represents an extraordinary experiment in modern mass communications: the utilization of the traditional 'slick' methods of commercial magazines by a serious-minded publi-

cation of dissent and social criticism."

Mr. Keating indicated that he was not so much concerned about ideologies subscribed to by staff members as about how these ideologies were used.

"We had a Bircher at one time among our associate editors," he said. "We dropped him when he let his beliefs interfere with his writing. Cuba wouldn't give me permission to go there and North Vietnam denied Scheer permission. They considered us anti-Communist."

Mr. Hinckle reported that Ramparts had been getting 2,000 unsolicited subscriptions a month for the last three or four months. About 90,000 copies of the April issue were printed. Its sales two years ago, he said, were 7,600.

Circulation sights have been set at from 300,000 to 400,000 copies in the next two years, and there are plans to "publish books, a Sunday newspaper in San Francisco in the next year or two and possibly other types of magazines."

Several advertising agents, businessmen, a university professor, a physician and other investors are on the board of directors.

Mr. Keating financed the start of the magazine. New money, all of which, a spokesman said, was from individuals, was brought in last fall.

Mr. Keating declined to identify the investors. Two months ago he said that about \$200,000 more was needed to put Ramparts on a "break even" basis. Now, with circulation sights raised, the need has been put at \$400,000.

Mr. Hinckle said present capitalization was \$1,142,000, of which "the majority is represented by stock ownership at \$10 a share; approximately one-third of the sum is represented by loans to the corporation."

Ramparts Article:

I haven't read the article, but I've heard it's written by a Californian. What does a California man know about what's going on at MSU?

—Garland Lane
Michigan senate

**MICHIGAN
STATE
UNIVERSITY**



Vol. 58, Number 130

Hannah To Clarify MSU's Viet Role

President Hannah has agreed to appear before a State House subcommittee next month to clarify MSU's role in Viet Nam and present overseas involvement.

Hannah is scheduled to appear before the House Ways and Means Higher Education Subcommittee, according to its chairman, Rep. Jack Faxon, (D-Detroit), to discuss charges by Ramparts Magazine that MSU served as a front for Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operatives.

The magazine also charged that during the University's mission as adviser to former President Ngo Dinh Diem, by setting up a police force and civil service system, the school also purchased guns and ammunition for security forces for the later deposed president.

Faxon said Friday night that Hannah had called him to discuss the charges made in the article and was concerned over many misstatements made by Ramparts.

He said Hannah told him that as soon as the University learned CIA men were involved in the project they pulled out of it.

Hannah's appearance would be informative rather than investigative, Faxon emphasized.

Faxon said his subcommittee

is interested in clarifying misstatements made by Ramparts as well as learning of MSU's policy

regarding other overseas projects.

With impending legislation piling up, Faxon indicated it would be impossible now to set a date for Hannah's appearance, but said it would be sometime in May.

Although Hannah's appearance coincides with Senate higher education appropriation discussions, Faxon said it should not be construed as cause for cutting the school's recommended appropriation.

The Senate is now considering a bill appropriating \$59 million for MSU operations in 1966-67.

"We don't want to touch the school's appropriations," Faxon said. "You can't punish students for something which happened seven years ago."

Sen. Fred Harris, D-Okla., asked Saturday that President Johnson reprimand or discharge the persons involved in the project. He was speaking to the Oklahoma convention of the American Assn. of University Professors.

Harris, chairman of a Senate subcommittee on government research, said he had asked CIA officials to explain the situation to him in a private meeting Saturday.

Talks Set On MSU's Involvement

A panel discussion on MSU involvement in Viet Nam will be sponsored by the Delta Phi Epsilon National Professional Foreign Service Honorary at 8:30 p.m. Wednesday in the Union Ballroom.

The speakers will be: Adrian Jaffe, professor of English; Wesley Fishel, professor of political science; Robert Scigliano, professor of political science; and as moderator Charles Adrian, professor and chairman of political science.

Harold Guewitz, president of Delta Phi Epsilon, stated that a fifth professor, yet undetermined, will be among the speakers at the discussion which was sparked by a recent article in Ramparts Magazine concerning MSU. The discussion is open to the public.

Fishel Seeks Aid Against Ramparts

Wesley Fishel, former chief of the MSU Viet Nam project, has asked the American Civil Liberties Union to assist him in taking legal action against Ramparts.

The professor of political science said Saturday that he considers an article in the April issue of the magazine to be part of "an attempt to destroy my reputation as a scholar."

Robert Scheer, co-author of the article, has written other articles about Fishel's role in Viet Nam.

"Scurrilous, slimy and deliberate lies," said Fishel about the article. Several errors of fact appeared in the April article, despite the fact that he had written to correct the errors when they appeared in previous articles, Fishel said.

The American Civil Liberties Union does not ordinarily provide legal support to one party in a damage suit between individuals. It usually intervenes only when a violation of a citizen's civil liberties is alleged to have taken place.

Fishel expressed the belief that he and the University are the target of "a campaign by political advocates of the Viet Cong, a campaign in which the authors' real motivations are concealed.

"A professor can't afford to fight back against a systematic campaign like this without help," Fishel said. "I'm hoping that the ACLU will be able to provide this help."

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51250 Journal
18 Apr 66

MSU Mission's Use As Front Defended

PROVIDENCE, R.I. (UPI) — A former director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has vigorously defended the use of a Michigan State University aid mission as a front group in South Viet Nam.

Lyman Kirkpatrick, a director of the CIA for 18 years, Sunday said the intelligence organization signed a contract with the university to support a police training project in South Viet Nam. The university, he said, had full knowledge of the CIA's role in the aid project.

The university last week said it fired the CIA agents and

dropped the costly program in 1959 when it discovered the intelligence operation during the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem.

Kirkpatrick said he did not see where the intelligence operation was contrary to the interests of the academic institution.

"I don't see anything sinister in the use of the aid mission as a front. I don't see anything that is contrary to the academic interest of an American university," he said.

"I feel the South Viet Nam government was probably quite aware of the role both of the CIA and Michigan State in the project," he said.

CIA Defends Its Use Of

By JOAN T. SOLOMON,
State News Staff Writer

A former director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and MSU's acting dean of international programs strongly disagree on the use of a university—Michigan State in particular—as a front group for undercover work.

Lyman Kirkpatrick, a CIA head for 18 years, Sunday vigorously defended the use of MSU's technical aid project in South Viet Nam as a front group for intelligence operations.

The University's seven-year program, in operation from 1954-62, is currently under fire as a result of a critical article in this month's Ramparts Magazine.

Kirkpatrick said the CIA signed a contract with the University to support a police training project in South Viet Nam. He said the

University had full knowledge of the agency's role in the assistance project.

The former director said he did not see where the intelligence operation was contrary to the interests of the academic institution. "I don't see anything sinister in the use of the aid mission as a front," he said. "I don't see anything that is contrary to the academic interests of an American university."

It is on this point—whether involvement with the CIA is contrary to the interests of a university—that Kirkpatrick and Ralph H. Smuckler, acting dean of international programs and former campus coordinator of the Viet Nam project, disagree.

"It is definitely not in the interests of a university to have CIA people involved in its projects," Smuckler said Monday. "It is not right for a university to provide cover for intelligence work or to have people on its staff clearly involved in undercover work."

MSU In Viet Project

He said the CIA people working with the MSU project were involved in the police training program and were not doing undercover work.

University officials said last week that it dropped the CIA personnel from the project in 1959 when it discovered the intelligence operation during the Diem regime.

Kirkpatrick said he felt the South Viet Nam government was "probably quite aware" of the CIA's role in the overseas project.

Smuckler confirmed this, saying, "Of course the Viet government knew about the presence of the CIA people."

Smuckler said he was surprised the former CIA director had made any comment on the agency's role in the MSU project. Since the controversy came up last week, the CIA, a notoriously silent organization, has refused to comment.

Two attempts will be made soon to clear up some of the confusion surrounding MSU's involvement in Viet Nam.

A panel discussion sponsored by Delta Phi Epsilon foreign service honorary will be held at 8:30 p.m. Wednesday in the Union.

Speakers include Adrian Jaffe, professor of English; Wesley Fishel, professor of political science and key figure in the Viet project; and Robert Scigliano, professor of political science and author of a book on the MSU project. Charles Adrian, professor of political science, will moderate.

President John A. Hannah will also attempt to clarify the University's role overseas in an appearance before a state legislative subcommittee sometime in May.

Some Michigan legislators have indicated that an investigation may be held on the connection between MSU and the CIA and the use of university funds for federal projects.

4/20/66
An Editorial in the Daily Herald Tribune, Bloomington, Ind.

The Professors And The CIA

Michigan State University accepted with understandable pleasure the financial sponsorship of the U.S. government for a long-term field project to counsel and train manpower for South Viet Nam.

But it developed that there was a string attached: The project was to be a cover for the operations of a number of spies of the Central Intelligence Agency.

How plainly this was specified is not clear. A university spokesman says that the CIA agents were discovered some time after the project started (in 1955) and "phased out" as soon as possible. A professor attached to the expedition said, however, that the men were known all along to be "on leave" from the CIA. That is not what is of greatest importance.

Of greatest importance is the fact that the United States has been edging gradually closer to the condition of a police state, and — characteristic of police statism—the facts have been systematically concealed from the people. Even when exposure occurs—as in this case and a series of others—obfuscation is standard operating procedure. And this, too, is characteristic of police statism: the expedient lie, told in the name of vital national security.

But the national security has many sides, and at least one of them was perilously breached in this affair.

A part of the nation's integrity—and therefore its security

—depends upon the freedom of its universities from political manipulation and corruption. Here is plainly an instance where the federal government opened a door with a multi-million-dollar grant, and reached a manipulative hand through the opening.

The integrity and credibility of the people this country sends abroad are important to the national security, since mutual faith is the mortar binding free nations together. The university representatives who expressed concern for the future effectiveness of university projects in a dozen other developing nations were rightly concerned. The suspicion of secret, sinister motives will not be easy to live down.

We readily concede that espionage is a necessary fact of modern life. But if personal dignity and individual liberty are to survive, the operations of our secret police must be strictly disciplined. In the last few years, amid disclosures ranging from the surveillance of U.S. travelers abroad to the clumsy effort to bribe the prime minister of Singapore, we have felt increasingly that the secret police were not serving the government so much as running it.

At the beginning of the current session of Congress Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.) called for a Senate investigation of the CIA. The arguments for such a study are persuasive.

c/o Osterberg

msu state News
19 Apr 66

Soon I May Even Be A Master Agent

To the Editor:

I finally figured out why they call us the COW college. We are actually a branch of the CIA and

COW stands for Counter-subversive Organization of the World.

When I receive my B.A. in June (Junta for Underwriting Nhu's Espionage) it will actually be a degree showing I have become a Best Agent. If my GPA (General Propaganda Aide) rating is high enough I may even receive a M.A. (Master Agent) title next year.

Until the next communique this agent 00352253 saying the secret password MOO.

Michael Haber
Detroit Senior

President Hannah

Dear John: ^{291M}
At least you knew enough
to get out of Viet Nam.

--Pipeline Pete
Detroit Free Press

"Academics in Armored Cars"

The recent article in RAMPARTS magazine provides further confirmation of the nature of Michigan State University and its relationship to the US power structure. Not only have we been reminded that the University fronted for the CIA in establishing and propping up the dictatorial regime of Ngo Dinh Diem and in introducing large quantities of military materiel into south Viet Nam in violation of the Geneva Agreements, but we have been treated to the spectacle of the Administration and the various departments and individuals who were involved falling all over each other issuing mutually contradictory denials and "explanations." The University community has every right to demand a genuine explanation of how and why our University involved itself in south Viet Nam and a solemn commitment from the Administration never to allow such a thing to happen again.

Or is it already happening again? What are we doing on Taiwan? Or in Nigeria? Or in Colombia? Or in Okinawa? Or in the other places where MSU maintains "projects?" After the RAMPARTS expose, we have not only the right but the obligation to demand that the light of public scrutiny be mercilessly trained on these overseas involvements to see if what happened in south Viet Nam is repeating itself several times over.

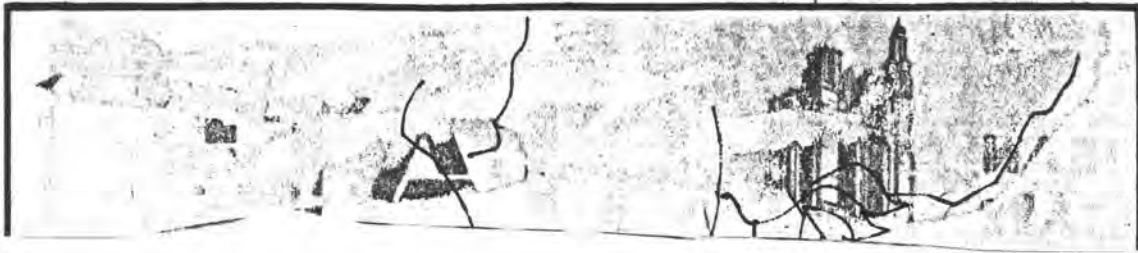
Unfortunately, MSU is not unique. As The Invisible Government has informed us, universities around the country are regularly used by the CIA and other government agencies to do various foreign and domestic dirty work. Our concern for what has happened at MSU must not blind us to what is happening all over the country. MSU does not exist in a vacuum. As academicians, we must demand that the government take its hands off the universities.

The repressive atmosphere on the MSU campus is connected with the Viet Nam project. It is not accidental that the Veterans Club was permitted into classes to solicit signatures for a "support LBJ" petition, while four students distributing anti-war literature in the Union were dragged off and jailed for "trespassing." It is understandable that a University which has made millions by supporting the war effort is unwilling to see that war opposed on its premises. It is also understandable that it tries to create an atmosphere that discourages protest movements: by saturating the campus with police (uniformed and otherwise), by redbaiting student groups, by constantly revising the rules on distribution of literature, and by attempting to expel Paul Schiff. In East Lansing and Saigon, the issues are the same.

Meanwhile, the war goes on. The recent upheavals in south Viet Nam, the demonstrations by Buddhist and student groups, the withdrawal of Hue and Da Nang from Nguyen Cao Ky's bailiwick, and the mass defection of sections of the Ky army have shown clearly that this is a war of the US against the Vietnamese. Now more than ever is the time to demand that the Johnson Administration get out of Viet Nam NOW!

Distributed at Smucker for the People
discussion, 20 Apr. 66, MSC Union.
SDS





No Wonder I Wonder

To the Editor:

One wonders why the administration has students protesting our policy in Viet Nam arrested for trespassing in the Student Union. One wonders why a man named Schiff is denied readmission for publishing a paper. One wonders why the lack of action by the civil rights "Chairman" as one observes students concerned enough with their cause to sit in on Abbott Road.

One wonders why a judge sets \$700 bail for persons accused of holding up a sign. One wonders why another judge denies bail altogether to persons who wanted to speak out. And then one reads the embarrassed and contradictory admissions and denials of the connections of the administration with the CIA and the policy in Viet Nam. And one doesn't wonder so much any more.

Tom Steinfelt
Lansing Graduate Student

Why Guilt Flurry?

To the Editor:

What, precisely, would be wrong with MSU being a "front" for the CIA in Viet Nam? I realize that I do not understand the situation, but I cannot see a reason for the flurry of guilt that seems to be the tenor of the News articles. The CIA IS an American organization, after all, and I had supposed that we were, too.

Vicki R. Herrmann
Washington, D.C. sophomore

MSU
5515 News
20 Apr 66

OUR READERS SPEAK

Students Should Assimilate

To the Editor:

What does it mean to have a friend from another country? Why is it important to cultivate international relationships? As mobility becomes more and more fluid and as the foreign population at MSU grows, contact with other nationalities becomes more unavoidable. It should be this way.

The war in Viet Nam is being waged right now because of a lack of understanding on the part of the U.S. government and the people of Viet Nam, North and South. Too many people in our State Department and those of other countries know only what

they can find in books about other parts of the world. Too many of them have never known a person intimately from the country they are trying to deal with.

Here in the university atmosphere is the perfect opportunity to meet people on a non-prejudicial basis and learn about each other personally and in terms of each others' culture. A true understanding can only come from personal interaction, not aloof observation.

Only from working with another cultural attitude and compromising to a common solution on a problem that arises from this mixture of ideas can people appreciate each other's way of life.

An American could benefit by taking into his life the Arabic enthusiasm and Indian dignity

and Latin American spirit and these others could assimilate the American compassion. New eating habits could make our daily menus more appetizing. Our foreign friends can show us how to spice our food and we can show them how to make theirs more nutritious. There are countless areas where men and women from different continents can exchange ideas and methods, improving all of their lives.

World Peace is still a fool's dream, but a truly wise man will begin now to make it a reality. Only by making friends and devoting oneself to understanding and interaction can a real, permanent peace ever evolve.

Yolanda Romano
Utica junior

Attack Politically Inspired

To the Editor:

I always thought that MSU was a pretty good school. When I learned through the CIA revelation how the University was called upon to serve our government, it was nice to know that I haven't been alone.

It seems to me that the present attack is a politically inspired inference against our government and subsequent events, and that many people are unwittingly call-

ing upon MSU to defend our government after placing the school in the illogical position of having to defend itself from a supposition based upon another supposition.

Should the American Indian suddenly become a troublesome force in our society, I guess many voices will be quick to malign everybody from Daniel Boone to Gen. Custer.

Marvin R. Zell

MSU State News
21 Apr. 66

Agent in Court; Hoover Sues

Ex-Clerk Fights Discharge

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 20 —

A 25-year-old bachelor, dismissed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for an indiscretion with a woman friend, sued the bureau's director, J. Edgar Hoover, today for violation of his right of privacy.

Thomas H. Carter, a former clerk in the bureau's fingerprinting division, said that Mr. Hoover had dismissed him for "conduct unbecoming an employee of this bureau" after F.B.I. agents pried into the intimate details of his relationship with the woman.

Mr. Carter contended in the suit that Mr. Hoover had violated his constitutional right of privacy by dismissing him after "it was reported that he had

Continued on Page 27, Column 1

F.B.I. CHIEF SUED BY FORMER CLERK

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

had a girl friend in his apartment overnight."

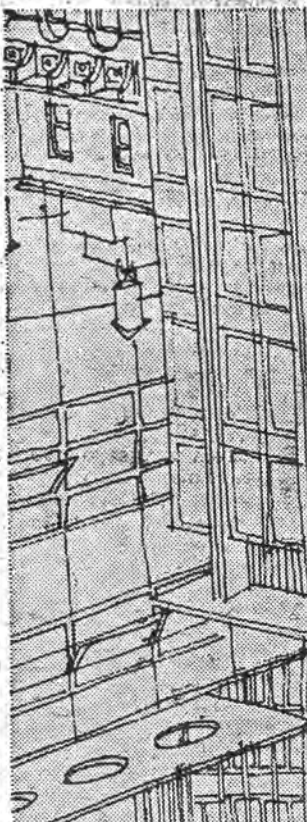
Contending that the "arbitrary and capricious" discharge had harmed his future job opportunities, Mr. Carter asked the Federal District Court here to restore him to his job, with back pay.

According to the suit, Mr.



The New York Times

CITED IN SUIT: J. Edgar Hoover, the F.B.I. director, has been sued by former agency clerk who was dismissed for an indiscretion with a girl friend.



N.Y. Times

21 Apr. '66

AN AGENT OF C.I.A. IS NAMED IN COURT

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

der, if one was committed, on the orders of his superiors as an official act.

By making this assertion, Mr. Raus's lawyers seek to have Chief Judge Roszel C. Thomsen grant them a summary motion dismissing the \$110,000 damage claim brought by Berik Heine, of Toronto, Canada.

Mr. Raus, who is ostensibly a \$10,000-a-year engineer in the Bureau of Public Roads in Washington, has publicly labeled Mr. Heine as agent of the K.G.B., the Soviet secret police.

The lawyers' argument is that Mr. Raus's charge against Mr. Heine was "privileged" because it was made by a "Government official" who merely discharged his assigned duties.

In two closely decided rulings in 1959, the Supreme Court extended to "policymaking" lower officers of the Government the traditional immunity from suit held by Cabinet officers and other top officials. One question in the case here is whether Mr. Raus fits the "policymaking" requirement and is therefore immune from suit.

Insists on Fair Trial

The dispute is further complicated by a maze of other legal and procedural details. All of them seem oddly, often wildly, at variance with the accepted public conception of direct, un deliberated, even brutal action in the underworld of international intelligence.

Judge Thomsen is insisting that Mr. Heine, whether or not he is a Soviet agent, must have as full and fair a trial of his damage claim as the law—and At a hearing here March 11,

the latest in nearly 18 months of unnotified and unpublicized public litigation in the case, Judge Thomsen addressed Paul R. Connolly, a top Washington trial lawyer representing Mr. Raus.

"You are not going to persuade this Court that there is anybody in this country who does not have some rights," he declared.

This was only one of Judge Thomsen's tart comments to Mr. Connolly and E. Barrett Prettyman Jr., a former special White House assistant who is co-counsel for the C.I.A. agent. He made the remarks when the two lawyers told him that they could not and would not expand on an affidavit by Richard Helms, deputy director of the intelligence agency.

Absolute Privilege Claimed

The Affidavit said:

"On those occasions specified in paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 of the complaint, the defendant, Juri Raus, was in possession of information furnished to him by the Central Intelligence Agency, and when he spoke concerning the plaintiff on such occasions he was acting within the scope and course of his employment by the agency on behalf of the United States."

The motion for dismissal filed by Mr. Raus's lawyers says, "Under these circumstances, there arises in favor of the defendant an absolute privilege which precludes, even under a showing of actual malice, any possibility of recovery by the plaintiff."

Accordingly, the lawyers contend there can be no trial to determine the truth or falsity of the charges and that the suit must be dismissed on a motion.

Security Grounds Cited

In effect, the agency, through Mr. Raus, concedes leveling the charges against Mr. Heine and is saying that it refuses to provide proof of its charges on

grounds of "privilege" and national security.

Another point in Mr. Raus's defense strategy is that Mr. Heine's suit, which raises opportunities for discovery of information under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, is "contrary to the interests and public policy of the United States."

At one point, Judge Thomsen commented, "If further information were revealed, it might expose the entire U. S. counter-espionage apparatus."

It is uncontested that Mr. Raus charged on three separate public occasions in 1963 and 1964 that Mr. Heine was a "Soviet agent or collaborator and not the heroic Estonian freedom fighter that his deposition on file in the court here asserts he is."

Implies He Sought Data

The court transcript plainly implies the C.I.A. believes that, in joining Estonian emigre groups, Mr. Heine was collecting information on Estonian immigrants in this country, and it simply selected Mr. Raus to "expose" him.

The C.I.A. in Washington said today that it would have no comment on the trial, its security implications, or Mr. Helm's affidavit.

At the March 11 hearing, however, Judge Thomsen remained adamant in his dissatisfaction with the Helm affidavit as ground for dismissal. The judge scheduled a further hearing here April 28 to see if Mr. Connolly and Mr. Prettyman could produce further information from Mr. Helm in court.

"This is a kind of backhanded statement that he [Raus] was employed by the agency," Judge Thomsen declared.

At another point, he said, "I am not going to accept some flat letter from the head of an agency that 'we are not going to say any more.' Somebody is

going to say that on the witness stand here."

Objects to Any Subpoena

Mr. Connolly, however, told the court that any attempt to subpoena Mr. Helm as a witness would be met with an immediate motion to quash the subpoena under the doctrine of executive privilege. That doctrine immunizes top Government officials from appearances in court.

In a slightly amended affidavit on April 4, Mr. Helm said, "For a number of reasons, including his past history and his position as national commander of the Legion of Estonian Liberation, the defendant [Mr. Raus] has been a source to this agency of Foreign intelligence information pertaining inter alia to Soviet Estonia and to Estonian emigre activities in foreign countries as well as the United States."

The amended affidavit went on, "The Central Intelligence Agency has employed the defendant from time to time—concurrently with his duties on behalf of the Bureau of Public Roads—to carry out specific assignments on behalf of the agency."

Escaped to Canada

A 924-page deposition is on file here from Mr. Heine, a 46-year-old Estonian now living in Rexdale, Ont., a Toronto suburb. He maintains that, from 1940, when the Russians seized Estonia, until 1950, when he was sentenced to death by a Soviet court, he lived under almost continuous Soviet persecution.

The deposition says that Mr. Heine fled a Soviet prison and escaped to Canada. Among Estonian groups in the United States, his deposition says, he was regarded as an unquestioned Estonian patriot.

Mr. Raus, 36 years old, at first defended his accusations against Mr. Heine as privileged on the basis of Mr. Heine's offi-

cial role as national commander of the Legion of Estonian Liberation, a voluntary émigré group in this country with no official status.

The C.I.A. was not mentioned in the court papers here until nearly 13 months of litigation had passed.

Explaining this delay, Mr. Connolly and Mr. Prettyman said that the agency had for-

bidden them to employ their present defense line until it became apparent that the initial defense would not stand up in court.

The suit, originally filed in November, 1964, was regarded for months as merely a routine dispute between two competing leaders of Estonian émigré groups.



'Hail to Thee, Dear CIA'

Latest Lyrics Song on Campus

By ART BUCHWALD

WASHINGTON — It was revealed last week that a study project on Viet Nam at Michigan State University was in reality a cover for a CIA financed operation. It was charged that the project, which lasted from 1955 to 1959, was used to set up the Diem government in Viet Nam and keep it in power.

The university has admitted that it did go along with the CIA and knew the agents were on campus. But it denied an article in Ramparts magazine that it did anything wrong.

The revelation has caused a certain amount of apprehension in the academic world and nobody can be sure anymore who is a legitimate student and who is a member of the CIA.

Just the other day at Rambling Tech University a professor of government called in one of his students and said,

"Mr. Green, I don't understand this essay. You handed in nothing but a blank sheet of paper."

"What's the matter, professor, haven't you heard of invisible ink?"

"Invisible ink?"

"I ran out of ink, so I had to write with my other pen. Put it in a pan of water. The essay's all there."

WATER DID IT

The professor took the essay over to his sink and poured water on it. "This is very strange. Oh, yes, now I see it. The title of the essay is 'Zink the Zonk Government Zeek and Zak Higher Zip Education'."

"That's right," Green said, "you have to read every second word."

"I don't understand."

"I can't help it. That's the way they taught me to write in high school."

"Green, I notice you never

take any notes in my class. Can you explain this to me?"

"It's because of my tie clasp. You see, my tie clasp is really a radio transmitter. I have a tape machine back in my room and all I do is tape your lectures. It saves me writing with invisible ink."

"Very ingenious, Green. Now I noticed during the last test you kept photographing the other students' papers with a Minox camera."

"Yeah, well, it was just a training exercise."

"A training exercise?"

"Yeah, I was thinking of working for Xerox when I finished school."

HIDDEN IN PUMPKIN

"Green, I don't want to seem unreasonable, but the last book report you handed in was on microfilm."

"What's wrong with that?"

"Nothing except you left it in a pumpkin behind your fraternity house. I don't have

time to look for hidden book reports."

"I guess it's force of habit. Look, I've got a meeting this afternoon with a courier, I mean a fraternity brother. Is there anything else?"

"Yes, there is, Green. I'm going to have to flunk you."

"Flunk me in government?"

"Flunk you in the CIA." The professor whipped out a CIA card. "I am your superior, Green, in charge of the operation at this school and you've made a hash of things."

"But how?"

"It turns out the sorority girl you are dating works for the Students Against American Intervention in Viet Nam. She has had you bugged from the beginning."

"But how?"

"Take a close look at her sorority pin which you're wearing."

"My gosh, you can't trust anybody anymore."

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Critic of MSU Project in Viet Nam

By NORRIS INGELLS
State Journal Staff Writer

A critic of Michigan State University's controversial aid program to S. Viet Nam last night urged a full investigation of the 1954-1962 project by a group of impartial faculty not associated with the mission.

Adrian Jaffe, MSU professor of English, said the purpose of the inquiry would not be to assess blame for any shortcomings the project may have had, but to determine a policy for overseas programs that in the future would maintain the academic integrity and traditions of the university.

Prof. Jaffe was among participants in a panel discussion on the role and obligations of the university in carrying out overseas projects. Other participants included Ralph H. Smuckler, acting dean of international programs at MSU, and Wesley Fishel, professor of political science, both of whom at one time served as head of the Viet Nam project.

Charges in a national magazine that the MSU project was used as a front for Central Intelligence Agency operations in Viet Nam set off a widespread controversy over the role of the university in overseas programs.

Dr. Fishel earlier acknowledged that CIA agents worked on the project as advisers, but were not involved in "cloak and dagger" operations at the time. This view was supported by

Sen. Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, who in a New York Times article Tuesday stated that there was nothing "clandestine" about the agency's participation in the MSU project.

He is quoted as stating that "The CIA representatives worked specifically in training the Vietnamese police services, not in clandestine CIA activities."

Sen. Saltonstall, a Republican, is a member of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee which deals with CIA activities.

A partisan overflow crowd of about 800 witnessed last night's panel at the Union Ballroom, many standing throughout the entire two-hour program.

Dr. Smuckler defended overseas programs, and said that they have become "deeply engraved in university life." He

described a recent Asian tour and some of the assistance projects MSU is carrying out in the underdeveloped nations.

Noting the international scope of education today, he declared that overseas projects are good for the students and help the

Consultant Job Taken

Dr. Osmond E. Palmer of Michigan State University has been appointed an examination consultant for the Foundation for European Language and Educational Centres.

He will serve in Switzerland this spring and summer.

The foundation trains businessmen from Europe's Common Market countries in languages and cultures. It also provides summer training for American college students.

Following a series of planning meetings in Zurich, Dr. Palmer

will be assigned to Lausanne to assist European teachers in devising objective examinations to measure student performance in learning French.

Dr. Palmer will be on leave as professor in Michigan State's Department of American Thought and Language and Department of Evaluation Services. Mrs. Palmer, East Lansing music teacher, will accompany him.

Apartments? Look up and down the Classified Ads—not up and down the streets.

Urges Investigation

faculty do a better job. To halt such programs, he said, would "put us back in a position of burying our heads in the sand."

Asked why so many MSU projects are conducted in dictatorships, Dr. Smuckler said that "most countries in the world are non-democratic . . . or going through some kind of transitional phase." He added that one aim of overseas programs is to help nations develop democratic institutions.

Dr. Smuckler also pointed out that student fees and state appropriations are not used for overseas programs, which are financed by the federal government or private foundations.

Prof. Jaffe, while terming the Ramiparts Magazine criticism of MSU "a rather shabby thing," stressed that professors involved in foreign programs must con-

tinue to maintain absolute academic integrity, and not become subordinate to diplomatic pressures.

He said the university should not become involved in power politics and concluded: "We are professors, and if we desire diplomatic careers we should join the diplomatic service."

PLAN APPLAUDED

Prof. Jaffe's proposal for an investigation of the Viet Nam project was greeted with extended applause.

His major criticism of the MSU personnel involved in the Viet mission was that they were lax in calling to the attention of the public and proper authorities the evils they discovered in the Southeast Asian nation's government at that time. He charged that writings by MSU personnel omitted significant facts and

gave the impression that things were going well in the country.

Dr. Smuckler replied that all of the evils Jaffe mentioned appeared in reports channeled to journalists by members of the MSU mission. But he noted that there was little public interest in Viet Nam affairs at that time.

Dr. Fishel also noted that there was "quite a different attitude toward the situation at that time," and acknowledged that some things could have been handled differently. He said that the MSU party realized, in time, that "a lot of things were happening with which we did not agree."

Dr. Smuckler stressed that MSU criticism of the Diem regime is "part of the record" and added that most of the criticism of the Viet Nam situation at that time came from MSU personnel.