

22 April 66

PROFS DISAPPOINT CROWD

Ramparts Talk Skimped

By JOAN T. SOLOMON
State News Staff Writer

Nearly 1,000 persons crowded into the Union Ballroom Wednesday night, filling the aisles, window sills, balcony and the hall outside, to hear four professors discuss the role of universities overseas.

There were only three professors, and it was soon apparent that the topic wasn't what the audience—a heterogeneous mixture of gray-suited faculty members, madras-skirted coeds and bearded "activists"—came to hear.

The applause that greeted the three participants was augmented throughout the two-hour open forum by laughter, booing, hissing, jeers, and obvious personal digs.

The discussion, sponsored by Delta Phi Epsilon foreign service honorary, was sparked by the recent article in Ramparts Magazine criticizing MSU's technical aid project in Viet Nam.

Participating were: Wesley Fishel, professor of political science and chief liaison between East Lansing and Saigon during the project; Adrian Jaffe, professor of English and Ralph H. Smuckler, acting dean of international programs and former chief of party.

Moderator was Charles R. Adrian, chairman of political science, who was selected, he said, because he is "the only person on this campus who has never seen a James Bond movie."

Robert Scigliano, professor of political science, had been scheduled to participate in the open forum, but he did not appear.

According to Adrian, Scigliano had said that he had already addressed himself to this ques-

tion in his book, co-authored by Guy H. Fox, entitled, "Technical Assistance in Vietnam, the Michigan State University Experience."

Adrian himself set the tone for the evening in his opening remarks when told the audience what the discussion would not involve.

"The discussion is not an attempt to evaluate MSU's Viet Nam project, even if it were possible to do so.

"It is not a meeting to produce reactions to the Ramparts article.

"It is not a question of whether the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) should attempt to penetrate American university projects abroad.

"And it is not a discussion of what our policies are, were or ought to be in Viet Nam."

Although the participants occasionally touched upon some of these points—the ones the audience clearly came to hear—for the most part they stayed Adrian's general question, "Are overseas projects compatible with the unfettered pursuit of knowledge which is supposed to be the purpose of a university?"

Each panel member was given about 10 minutes to present his case, followed by general discussion among the participants and finally questions submitted on cards by the audience.

Smuckler

Smuckler, the first to speak, gave a general overview of involvement abroad by American universities.

"American universities have been involved overseas for many decades, although in the last 15 years there has been a major increase in interest abroad.

"In the past years, there have been many challenges to this, from those who think a university should only devote its attention to things close at home, and from those who think universities have no function in society other than teaching and research function.

"Not only are overseas projects good for MSU, its professors and students," he said, "but

"I also regret that the discussion was not undertaken before the sensational article was written. The people involved in the project should have been discussing it critically, of leaving it up to a reporter on the scent of a

"We shouldn't be so slow in recognizing our mistakes. We shouldn't have waited



DEBATERS--Ralph H. Smuckler, left, assistant dean of international programs, and Wesley Fishel, professor of political science, were participants in Wednesday night's open forum on university projects overseas.

Photo by Russell Ste...

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Smuckler said Michigan State does not believe it is "proper or suitable" to have affiliations with the CIA or to have its personnel acting as ambassadors.

"There is no question that in the future there will be no relationship with the CIA or with people known to be part of the CIA.

"It is not in keeping with the spirit of a university to relate itself with such individuals."

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"The magazine's insinuation that we have compromised integrity is what hurts them," Jaffe said. "If we do that we have nothing."

Jaffe said overseas projects should always be subordinate to the primary obligations of students and academic community at home.

"MSU became involved in something unworthy and it got its reputation ruined."

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Talk Skimped Viet Nam

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ting a policy so that Michigan State can conduct projects overseas with proper respect for its academic commitments."

He said the university function is lost and subordinated when it becomes involved with government in any way, no matter how legitimate.

Fishel

Fishel, who said the least, received the most adverse reactions from the audience.

He said he was not participating in the discussion to offer an apology for the Viet project.

The soft-spoken professor, who was instrumental in starting the Viet project, said that a land-grant university with a tradition of public service has different goals and objectives than those of private sectarian schools

"A professor is a member of the family of man, not just a scholar," Fishel said, "and he has an obligation to advance the progression of man's state."

He said one of the important lessons learned in the project is that when professors leave the campus to become technical advisers, they lose some of the freedoms of the academic profession.

In answer to Ramparts final question, "What the hell is a university doing buying guns anyway?" Fishel said, "At no time did MSU buy guns or any other weapons for the Viet government."

"Magazines sell by these statements, and the reputations of universities and individuals rise or fall by them."



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Jaffee said overseas projects should always be subordinate to the primary obligations of the students and academic community at home.

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He received strong applause when he said:

"University involvement with government is wrong. It carries



CRITIC-- Adrian Jaffe, professor of English, is a long-time critic of MSU's project in Viet Nam. He presents his case before about 1,000 persons in the Union Ballroom.

Photo by Russell Steffey



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He said the Ramparts article had been anticipated by University officials for at least a month or two.

Jaffe

The audience was clearly on the side of Adrian Jaffe, who was not a member of MSU Viet project but who had been a visiting professor at the University of Saigon.

He discussed the Ramparts article briefly, saying he had the "greatest regret" for some of its aspects.

"I regret that Ramparts doesn't understand that what some people at a university do doesn't represent the whole institution.

He called the article an "indiscriminate attack" on MSU and said the remarks about President Hannah were "irrelevant and in

years to talk about it."

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"The magazine's insinuation that we have compromised this integrity is what hurts the most," Jaffe said. "If we do that, we have nothing."

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"MSU became involved in something unworthy and it forgot its primary obligation."

He received strong applause when he said:

"University involvement with government is wrong. It carries with it certain pressures which make it difficult to pursue academic integrity. The university becomes connected with power politics which corrupts and has corroded."

Jaffe, who stated he has been consistently offended by our "Viet affair," said, "We supported a dictator who was no friend of our society and a government based on oppression and complete disregard for human dignity."

"When the educational function is subordinated to the diplomatic one, we become hybrids--neither good professors nor good diplomats--and, like all hybrids, we become sterile."

Jaffe again drew large applause when he suggested that it is time for a group of professors who have not been involved in Viet Nam to "sort out the welter of facts for the purpose, not of placing blame, but of construc-

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JIM SPANIOLA



Aid Missions Educational

THE ANSWER is found in the nature of modern society and the nature of a public university itself. Just as society has been socialized both nationally and to some extent internationally, so has the university.

MSU, as a public institution, has been a pioneer in the realm of foreign projects and programs. And in these projects, it has provided worthwhile service in a variety of ways.

By establishing service and research programs in foreign countries, MSU has aided in forming better relationships between foreign and American universities and between governments. And by attempting to improve the institutions of a country, the members of the particular project observe and learn something found in no book, in no library and in no theorizing or discussion.

FACULTY MEMBERS can gain practical experience and first hand knowledge of the affairs and culture of a country. They cannot only broaden their background in a particular field of interest, but also be much more valuable and helpful to the students they teach when returning to the University.

What better preparation for the teaching of the political institutions of the Middle East than to have been there and observed? What better background could one have for teaching a course in the economics of Southeast Asia than to have been there, observed and taken part? And what better basis could one have for teaching the culture of China than to have lived with its people?

MSU has had projects in numerous foreign countries ranging from agriculture to business. Most of them have proved invaluable to us as well as the other countries.

HOPEFULLY, THESE programs will be continued, expanded, and new ones initiated, but, in the future, not with the help of the CIA or in any more "Viet Nams." And in the future, hopefully, the University will be better able to defend its activities than it has in the Ramparts incident. The best defense is prevention.

THE "RAMPARTS" are still falling and their repercussions are still being felt on this campus. The issues and questions raised by the now famous (or infamous) magazine article whose charges ranged from linking MSU with the CIA to asserting that MSU members on the Viet Nam project were out to make names for themselves, remain prominent in the minds of people at this university.

Besides the sensationalized, souped up, distorted and fallacious portions of the article, there was some substance to it. Even President Hannah admits this fact. Some important and most relevant questions were raised. And they should be answered.

MSU has been strangely silent. It has made little comment and cast little, if any light, upon the situation. And for this MSU deserves strong criticism. The role of the CIA in the project has been explained in ambiguous, if not contradictory terms.

Being caught off guard can be no excuse for the University's poor response. For several sources have admitted they knew of the Ramparts article at least a month or two before its publication.

BUT THIS CRITICISM is separate from basic questions raised by the Ramparts article, such as what type of activity should a university be involved in overseas projects, what relationship should it have with foreign governments, and what kind of responsibilities and loyalties do the participants of such projects have and to whom?

Certainly, it seems a university shouldn't have any involvement with the CIA in a foreign country or be placed in a compromising position. It shouldn't be involved with affairs, and activities, within a foreign country which it can't publicly and frankly explain without worry of security risks.

Referring specifically to MSU's Viet Nam project, mistakes were indeed made. The CIA was involved and intertwined with the project, though to what degree we aren't fully aware yet. And at least in the latter stages of the project, the Diem government was dictatorial and corrupt.

But how easy it is to look back with perfect hindsight and proclaim what should have been done to remedy or expose the situation. And the country would have to be Viet Nam, a country which few of us have rational feelings about now in 1966.

THESE WERE QUESTIONS and dilemmas which only the individuals involved could answer or solve. And they had to be answered in the context of times and circumstances then--not now. Several chose to speak out then and publicly criticize the injustices they saw. Others chose to keep their criticisms for a later, more opportune date.

Still others chose to work within the internal framework, to attempt to salvage something or possibly rectify the injustices and help bring about stable institutions in the troubled Asian land.

Who can say that one person or group was right and the other wrong, without the events of recent years influencing his answer?

But there is an even larger question which must be faced and answered: should a university enter into service projects in foreign nations or should it confine itself to a more domestic and scholarly atmosphere?

MSU State News

22 April 66

Prof Renews Debate Offer

To the Editor:

I hate to take time from my teaching and research to write another letter to the State News, but the circumstances warrant it.

It is no poorly-kept secret that I have repeatedly offered to debate Professor Fishel, my colleague, on the subject "Expertise and Viet Nam."

This offer was made and repeated long before any Ramparts' interpretation burst upon a startled world. As a matter of fact it was inspired by the comment of one of Professor Fishel's brightest students to the effect that Professor Fishel had informed the student that he would debate me.

Like all of us Professor Fishel is a busy man - although busy on higher and more awesome levels than I am, namely with admirals, generals, state and defense departmental officials etc.

So for the last time: Wes, let Wesley Fishel, Southeast Asia expert, debate Carroll Hawkins, political philosopher on "EXPERTISE and Viet Nam." If you don't do it, I'll have to do it myself alone or with some substitute who I'm afraid does not have the expertise that you do.

Carroll Hawkins
Professor of Political Science

MSU State News

22 April 66

EDITORIALS

Campus Waits For Explanation Of MSU-Viet Involvement

MSU HAS PLACED itself in an embarrassing, if not inexcusable, position. It has been a week and a half since the University was accused of being used by the CIA in South Viet Nam during the 50's. As yet, Michigan State has done little to explain its position, but it will have a chance when it holds a press conference this morning.

A panel discussion including Wesley Fishel, professor of political science and active member of the Viet Nam project, and Ralph Smuckler, director of international programs and chief adviser to the project, barely touched on the basic issues on Wednesday evening.

Since the Ramparts' article hit the newstands last week, President Hannah has admitted there was some substance to the article. Smuckler said some CIA men attached themselves to the MSU project but were dismissed as soon as their identities were discovered.

THEN CAME ANOTHER bombshell. Lyman Kirkpatrick, former CIA chief at the time of the project, said the CIA signed a contract with Michigan State to support a police training project in South Viet Nam. He added that MSU had full knowledge of the CIA's role in the project.

Clearly, someone is either twisting facts, or has a very poor memory. But what reason would a former director of the CIA have for giving a flavored version of the incident? It seems to us that he would have none. For the CIA is involved in this kind of activity constantly and in many countries.

But MSU has a reputation to preserve, its status to maintain. It had every reason to want to see the whole

incident silenced or to pass with as little damage as possible. Unless there is a valid explanation for this inconsistency, it appears that MSU has been caught in a deception.

Though some of the faculty members involved in the project may not have been aware of the CIA's role in the beginning, at least top MSU officials knew the details of the project.

INCIDENTS OF CONTRADICTORY testimony and withheld information have become commonplace among the activities of almost all governments--always for security reasons. But what "excuse" does a university have?

Just last year, in his State of the University address, Hannah urged the faculty to teach students "the old-fashioned concept of values." In emphasizing the values of our society that distinguish us from communist ideology, he stressed a "respect for truth."

But we ask: what kind of example is this University setting for its students? It seems to us that honesty and candor could easily be added to this list of traditional values. But the University seems to have ignored them in this instance. A strange inconsistency.

IT'S ALREADY too late for MSU to save face. But it isn't too late for a full and frank explanation of the Viet Nam project and the occurrences of the last week. This much MSU owes its students and faculty members.

And though MSU's reputation may be tarnished by the incident, it stands to lose much more--the respect of its faculty and students--if it doesn't straightforwardly present the University case in detail.

President John A. Hannah Explains M.S.U. Activities in Viet Nam At Press Conference

Hannah Denies Charges MSU Gave CIA Cover

Michigan State University President John Hannah denied today charges that the university provided cover for the Central Intelligence Agency in South Viet Nam.

In a press conference called to answer charges in Ramparts Magazine last week, Hannah said:

"Let me state without any reservations that Michigan State did not have a spy operation within its Viet Nam Project. It did not have Central Intelligence Agency people operating under cover provided by the university or in secret from the Vietnamese government."

Hannah, reading from a prepared text, repeated the statement for emphasis.

Ramparts, a San Francisco publication, had charged that an MSU advisory operation in South Viet Nam from 1953 to 1964 had provided a front for U.S. intelligence operations.

Hannah said he delayed his response for a week "to get all the facts involved, I went back to the original records of the police administration project."

His initial reaction, he said, was "that the report was so full of misrepresentations and misleading statements that it should not be dignified with a formal response. But I decided to issue this statement just to set the record straight."

The MSU project, run by the School of Police Administration, included organization of counter-subversion techniques.

"In the field of counter-subversion, specialists were not available from American civil police organizations, but could be recruited only from other government agencies," he said, adding.

"We employed on our staff individuals who had a background in intelligence work for the U.S. government. None of these, at the time of employment, was known by the university or its representatives to have affiliations with the Central Intelligence Agency."

The university, he said, recruited additional personnel because of "the dimensions of the assignment." In the field of police administration it hired officials from civil police organizations who were given the title of police specialists but not academic appointments to the uni-

been clearly laid out and agreed to by all concerned. There was no deception of the government of Viet Nam."

Despite statements to the contrary the university never entered into any contract with the agency," Hannah said. The people involved in the mission were engaged in training and advisory roles only and were under university control, he added.

They "could have been sent home at the discretion of MSU

if they had performed in a way we did not consider appropriate," Hannah said.

Many references in the Ramparts article, he said, "are anecdotal in nature and it is not possible to comment on them specifically."

"I do not know when any individual had his 'first brush' with the agency or who said what to whom at what moment about such individuals," Hannah said. "The type of hearsay which

is reported as fact in the Ramparts article cannot be answered by the university nor dignified by it."

The Ramparts article was illustrated with what was purported to be an MSU inventory sheet, listing weapons and ammunition.

"Where this sheet came from is best known to the editors of Ramparts," Hannah said. "We have been unable to identify it. It may have been taken out of a U.S. AID mission file or from a Vietnamese government release of some sort."

"It may even have come out of an MSU advisor's file, because I would assume that a civil police administration advisor would have some notion of the supplies available to the police organization he was advising and its operational requirements," he said, adding: "No armaments nor ammunition were supplied through the MSU contract."

The Ramparts article, Hannah said, accuses the university of spending \$25 million in technical assistance for South Viet Nam.

"This figure is a gross exaggeration," Hannah said. "The truth is that our reimbursement in U.S. dollars under our contract during the entire seven-year period amounted to \$5.3 million."

"To question in 1966 the need for civil police improvement in a country such as Viet Nam under the conditions existing in 1954-55 is to ignore reality," he said. "In 1954 the civil police service in Viet Nam was extremely weak, since most of the leadership and administration had formerly been provided by the French, who had recently withdrawn."

Senate Committee Weighs Showdown

Decision Due on Supervision of CIA Activities

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Senate Foreign Relations Committee may decide next week whether to force a showdown on its efforts to oversee activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy said today.

"Some of the things that have happened recently have strengthened our position, such as the CIA involvement in the Michigan State University aid project," said the Minnesota Democrat.

McCarthy and some others have demanded that the committee have representatives on the special Senate group, made up of senior members of the Armed Services Committee, watching over the supersecret American spy agency.

The Foreign Relations Com-

mittee, McCarthy said, is "waiting for the results of some inquiries" and may press for Senate action on the matter.

This would appear to be in line with points raised by Sen. J. W. Fulbright, D-Ark., committee chairman, in a speech Thursday night.

Referring to committee hearings on Viet Nam and China policy, Fulbright told an audience at Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies: "It is my hope that this experiment will not contribute to public education but will help to restore the Senate to its proper role as adviser to the President on the great issues of foreign policy."

Twenty-five years of crisis, Fulbright asserted, have resulted in an "unhinging of tradition-

al constitutional relationships; the Senate's constitutional powers of advise and consent have atrophied into what is widely regarded — through never asserted — to be duty to give prompt consent with a minimum of advice."

And Fulbright, who is steering his committee into investigations of U.S. policy from Asia to Europe, announced: "In coming months, and perhaps years, the Foreign Relations Committee contemplates additional proceedings pertaining to major questions of American foreign policy. It is our expectation that these proceedings may generate controversy."

Fulbright cited reports that the CIA was using a Michigan State University-administered aid program as a cover for

agents in Viet Nam. He used the reports as an argument against the structure of U.S. aid programs.

Fulbright referred to the reports as one of "these incidental implications of this program (which) have bothered me more and more."

U.S. Plane Fleet Growing Larger

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J. (AP) — Today's fleet of 95,000 general-use planes will increase to 150,000 by 1975 says Herbert J. Guth, chief of the Federal Aviation Agency economics division.

The number includes corporate, private and air taxi craft, exclusive of commercial airliners and military craft.



Madame Nhu cover, Keating, Hannah (top): A 'cover' for the CIA?

Rampartism

The men who man the ramparts at Ramparts magazine use it for political combat rather than detached observation. Established by a Roman Catholic real-estate investor named Edward M. Keating in 1962, the San Francisco publication at first attacked the church. Later, aiming for a more general circulation, Ramparts became increasingly ecumenical ("The Jew in American Culture") and secular ("The Menace of Barbie Dolls").

These days, the magazine's combative stance goes well beyond the printed page. Publisher Keating and two of his editors, Robert Scheer and Stanley K. Sheinbaum, are all running for Congress in California. "When we started out we were a Catholic publication defending Christianity," says the 41-year-old Keating. "Now we seem to be attacking just about everything."

'Asian Hungary': Ramparts' latest salvoes seek to puncture U.S. policy in Vietnam. In February, the magazine ran a piece by former Special Forces M/Sgt. Donald Duncan; in it, Duncan maintained he had been taught to torture prisoners, that most Vietnamese were pro-Viet Cong and anti-Saigon and that U.S. soldiers aren't freedom fighters but "Russian tanks blasting the hopes of an Asian Hungary."

That story was picked up across the nation, and last week the magazine was on page one again. In its April issue, Ramparts devotes twelve pages to a lacerating indictment of Michigan State University's seven-year technical-assistance program in support of President Ngo Dinh Diem's regime in Saigon.

The cover shows a drawing of Madame Nhu, the late Diem's sister-in-law,

cavorting as an MSU cheerleader. Inside, Ramparts charges that from 1955 to 1959 the university's Vietnam project was a cover for the Central Intelligence Agency. "They [CIA agents] were all listed as members of the MSU project staff and were formally appointed by the university board of trustees," the article says. "Several of the CIA men were given academic rank and were paid by the university project. The CIA agents' instructions were to engage in counter-espionage and counterintelligence. Their 'cover' was within the police administration division of the Michigan group."

The article also charges that the university took over the task of building up Diem's police apparatus "from traffic cop to 'interrogation expert.'" This, said the article, included providing guns and ammunition requisitioned from the university's school of police administration at East Lansing, Mich. As documentation, Ramparts published excerpts of some of the reports sent back to East Lansing from Vietnam—"June 5, 1957: Training of the Presidential Security Guard in revolver shooting began during the month." By furnishing weapons and instructors, the magazine alleges "the East Lansing contingent helped to secure Diem's dictatorship . . ."

Opulence: The villain of the piece is University of Chicago-educated Wesley R. Fishel, 46, a professor of political science at MSU who met Diem in 1950. When Diem became Premier in 1954, he asked Fishel to come to Saigon as an adviser. By 1956 Fishel had convinced the university to enter into the assistance program with the U.S. Government and had become its chief administrator. Fishel, charges Ramparts, "entertained frequently and lavishly in his opulent villa, and if his parties got a little out of

hand, the Saigon police obliged by cordoning off the street." (Actually, the charge is not new. It is lifted, almost verbatim, from a 1962 piece in The New Republic by Milton C. Taylor and Adrian Jaffe; both were on the MSU faculty and were advisers in Vietnam, and their article, which described the Diem regime as "an absolute dictatorship," was one of the reasons Diem canceled the university's assistance program.)

Ramparts also states that Fishel and John A. Hannah, the university's president, denied the institution was a cover for the CIA, quoting Hannah as saying: "CIA agents were not knowingly on our staff." Sheinbaum, who was campus coordinator of the Vietnam project at MSU and is now with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, furnished much of the material for the Ramparts article. He is quoted in it as saying: "If John Hannah can make up something like that, he calls into question his competence as a university president."

Last week, Prof. Ralph Smuckler, acting dean of the Center for International Programs at MSU, confirmed the CIA's participation. "They were engaged entirely in training activities," he said. "They represented people with special talents. They were not operating a spy net, though I suppose there's always the possibility we were being duped."

'Advocates': Fishel called the Ramparts article a "silly, slimy smear." "As far as U.S. policy was concerned," he said, "it was necessary to build a modern police force for a modern state, which is nothing to be ashamed of." Fishel said that he was made the butt of the piece because he supports the Administration's stand in Vietnam. "The Ramparts editors are advocates," he added, "palming themselves off as seekers of truth."

Ramparts, in fact, does advocate U.S. withdrawal from the Vietnam war. In four years, it has moved from a magazine of uncertain editorial direction with a circulation of 2,500, to a militant boat rocker that claims a monthly circulation of 50,000. With a budget of \$600,000 this year, Ramparts is still losing money, and its West Coast backers, among them Keating, are prepared to invest up to \$1.4 million in the hope of turning the corner.

Controversy and iconoclasm will remain the editorial staples. An early issue will contain a celebration of Senator Fulbright. He will be portrayed, says editor Warren Hinckle 3rd, "as a patrician and a conservative, who, in a twist, is leading the fight to limit America's empire building." And later this year, Ramparts will take on the Warren commission. "As I can say now," says Keating, making pitchman's promise, "is it will reveal facts never known before."

police administration techniques, were actually under orders "to engage in counterespionage and counterintelligence": M.S.U. raked in \$25 million in seven years before Premier Ngo Dinh Diem canceled its contract; the university "actually supplied" the Vietnamese "with guns and ammunition." The gravest accusation of all, from the standpoint of academic integrity, was that the university had made "a conscientious effort to prepare reports pleasing, or at least palatable" to Diem.

At East Lansing, M.S.U. officials were as irate as campus football fans on a losing Saturday. "A scurrilous and silly hatchet job," said Political Scientist Wesley Fishel, who headed the project from 1956 to 1958 and was "as close as friends can be" with Diem. Fishel conceded that the university knew all about the CIA men. "Anyway, they joined the project on our terms," he said. "While I was there, there was definitely no cloak-and-dagger stuff. They trained the Vietnamese police."

Fishel said that he had not been happy about harboring the agents; nor had his successor, Political Scientist Ralph Smuckler. "It may not have been right to get into it," said Smuckler. "We were caught and felt we had to follow through."

"No Love Lost." In 1959, largely because the CIA men on the payroll had become an open secret in Saigon, the agents were transferred to the U.S. mission there, and M.S.U. was able to sever its uncomfortable connection. Three years later, Diem had the project terminated because, said Smuckler, he "felt the people in it were not 'sufficiently loyal' to him"—that is, they had published critical articles. Smuckler termed *Ramparts'* figure of \$25 million for the project "ridiculous," insisted that the university had received only \$5,354,352.75 in seven years. As

for the gun-buying charge, he noted that M.S.U. had routinely advised the Vietnamese on what equipment they would need, bought only a dozen training revolvers on its own.

The thing that really puzzled Fishel was the cover sketch of Mme. Nhu. "There was no love lost," he said, "between Mme. Nhu and M.S.U." He was less baffled by the tone of the *Ramparts* story. Its four authors—one of whom participated in the Viet Nam project—are "outspoken advocates of the Viet Cong," charged Fishel, and would like to see a Communist victory in Viet Nam.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

With Cap & Cloak in Saigon

She looked slightly siliconized, but otherwise the pneumatic twister on the cover of *Ramparts* magazine was unmistakably Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu. Why was *Ramparts* celebrating South Viet Nam's Dragon Lady? And what on earth was she doing in a Michigan State cheerleader's costume? Two lines of type above the cover caricature explained all: THE UNIVERSITY ON THE MAKE (OR HOW M.S.U. HELPED ARM MADAME NHU). *Ramparts*, a contentious Roman Catholic monthly published on the West Coast, was firing its latest broadside in a long and shrill campaign against U.S. policy in Viet Nam.

"Scurrilous & Silly." The point of the magazine's piece was that Michigan State, while running a big, U.S.-financed project to train Viet Nam's fledgling police forces from 1955 on, provided cover for five CIA agents. On that, everybody concurred—but on precious little besides. Among *Ramparts'* other natterings: the cloak-and-dagger men,



RAMPARTS' MADAME NHU
Merely the latest shrill.

TIME, APRIL 22, 1966

MSU President Denies Aiding CIA in Saigon

Editor Challenges Hannah's Denial



President Hannah

But Admits 'Suspicion'

BY ROGER LANE
Chief of Our Lansing Bureau

EAST LANSING—Michigan State University's president, John A. Hannah, denied Friday that MSU was a front for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in South Vietnam.

Hannah acknowledged that a "suspicion" that the CIA had infiltrated an MSU advisory team under contract to the South Vietnamese government led to a decision to curtail the mission in 1957.

By 1959, the mission, a civil police administration team, had been cut to eight persons, and three years later MSU withdrew from its support role for the Ngo Dinh Diem regime in South Vietnam.

Hannah read a 4,400-word statement and answered questions at a press conference held to answer allegations made in the April issue of Ramparts Magazine.

Ramparts said MSU had knowingly allowed five CIA agents to join its advisory team and conduct espionage while masked as MSU personnel.

In an article by Stanley K. Sheinbaum, a one-time MSU faculty member, and others, the magazine also said that MSU had allowed itself to be used as a U.S. government tool and violated the traditional concept of a public university's role in seeking and disseminating truth.

Hannah's explanation did not altogether square with comment last week by Ralph H. Smuckler, the acting dean of MSU's international programs, who said MSU, the U.S. Embassy and the Saigon government all knew that CIA men were on the MSU team as part of the training staff.

MENLO PARK, Calif.—The managing editor of Ramparts Magazine, Warren Hinkle, said Friday that every one of the charges made in the magazine article charging that Michigan State University provided cover for the Central Intelligence Agency in South Vietnam is accurate.

"We challenge (MSU) President John Hannah to test the charges in a court of law if they have the nerve to claim that these are not the facts," Hinkle said.

HINKLE SAID he wrote the article, which was researched by three other Ramparts staff members, including a former official of the Michigan State project, Stanley Sheinbaum.

"President Hannah can make whatever statements he wishes, but he is flatly contradicted by the facts and by his own professors and the official record of his project," Hinkle said.

"President Hannah's statement is preposterous."

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* * *

THE MSU president, who was the undersecretary of defense for manpower under former presidents Truman and Eisenhower, called the Rampart's article "vicious," an "amazingly brazen" promotion scheme and an attempt to "crucify" the university.

He made these points:

—The suspicion that CIA men were in the team was deemed "well grounded" by project supervisors, but "we do not have, even now, authenticated information" that this was so. Hannah said personnel were not investigated in regard to what they did after working hours.

—Sheinbaum, a former coordinator of the MSU project and now a staff member at The Center for Democratic Studies at Santa Barbara, Calif., was passed over for promotion and left MSU "in a very unhappy mood."

—Some 36 non-MSU personnel were recruited from government agencies other than the CIA to help carry out MSU's

CIA Issue Still Lingers

Text of Hannah
Statement on Pages D-18, D-19

By JOHN GREEN
State Journal Staff Writer

If Friday's full-dress press conference by MSU President John A. Hannah was intended to settle the question of Central Intelligence Agency involvement in the university's Viet Nam project it missed its mark.

Reporters, many from far-flung newspapers and magazines were represented at the conference in Kellogg Center where President Hannah, flanked by top public relations aides, settled down behind a battery of microphones to "set the record straight."

That there was need for a setting the record straight was eminently obvious during the week succeeding publication in a national magazine of a scorching attack on the 1955-62 project.

A flurry of statements issuing from the MSU administration building and from the offices of university aides seemingly contradicted each other.

CITES SUSPICION

Dr. Wesley Fishel, former head of the project, has said there was adequate suspicion

Text of Hannah
Statement on Pages D-18, D-19

to cast doubt about some members of the missions counter-insurgency section.

Fishel, who did not attend Friday's press conference, was contacted later in the day.

"The president has spoken, and that's all there is to it," he said.

Dr. Ralph H. Smuckler, who also served in the Viet Nam mission, and who at one time headed the project, said that there is no way of knowing whether any of the police training personnel were CIA men.

SEEM TO AGREE

Hannah had said much the same thing, and Fishel also agreed that this might, indeed, be the case.

Asked if it would have made any difference anyway, in light of the fact that former members of other U.S. intelligence operations were hired for the project, Smuckler said, "I really can't say."

"One thing should be clear," he said, "none of these people were spying. They were doing what they had been hired to do, and that was instructing."

Smuckler referred to a "cer-

tain mystique" in the word CIA. "It seems to conjure up images of behind the scenes assassinations and that kind of thing. People have good imaginations," he said.

TIME, DISTANCE

He said if there were any contradictions in statements issued since the publication of the magazine article, it could be blamed partly on the fact that "these things happened 10 or 12 years ago."

One official, formerly with the project, said the distance between Saigon and East Lansing may have contributed to misunderstandings about the presence of the CIA personnel.

"They were sending people out there that we didn't know much about," he said.

TWO QUESTIONS

The central question still unanswered in the controversy is: "Were the people now thought to have had connections with the CIA approved by the project directors with the knowledge of their backgrounds?"

A second question is: "If they were, was the intended use of them as training personnel a justification for their hiring?"

Smuckler says, with Hannah, that no one could have known then, cannot know now and probably never will know the identity of any CIA personnel. "That's the nature of the agency," Hannah said Friday.

Smuckler implies that, granting the intended use of the personnel, it wouldn't have made any difference.

He said there was at least one former FBI agent in the mission. "Of course FBI agents identify themselves," he said.

Friday's performance was a stellar one by Dr. Hannah.

But the conclusion of observers is that with the heavy cloak of secrecy around such a "mystique" as the CIA, the answers may never be known.

Education

Lessons of the M.S.U. Affair

By FRED M. HECHINGER

Two years ago, John W. Gardner, then president of the Carnegie Corporation and now Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, wrote: "The reason universities have sometimes failed to behave responsibly in these matters [of overseas contracts] is due in part to the attitude that overseas activities are something quite separate from the main stream of the university's life and being, something exotic, exceptional, not of the warp and woof of the university's concern."

Mr. Gardner's warning appears tailor-made for the case of Michigan State University. In the exotic setting of South Vietnam, between the years of 1955 and 1959, the university had on its payroll at least five agents of the Central Intelligence Agency, presumably to help in the training of counter-intelligence police experts. Although university authorities insist that the agents conducted no undercover espionage activities, the disclosure came as a serious embarrassment, not only to M. S. U. but to the entire academic community.

Connection Denied

President John A. Hannah of M.S.U. last week denied that he and the top administrators of the institution had any knowledge of the employment of C.I.A. agents.

In fairness to M.S.U., it must be said that what it did in 1959 fails to offer an accurate picture of where the institution stands today. It was then, its critics say, a university "on the make." Today, many international education experts feel, M.S.U. is involved in some highly creditable foreign ventures, and it is unlikely that it would be as readily seduced or misled.

The story was told by Ramparts Magazine, a publication admittedly committed to the view that American troops should be with-

drawn from Vietnam. But while M.S.U. spokesmen challenged many details of the report, they did not deny the fact that C. I. A. agents were on the staff of the institution under an overseas contract.

American universities' overseas involvement today is huge. Under the auspices of the Agency for International Development, 71 American universities are currently operating 101 projects in 38 countries at a cost of \$185-million. Many experts regard such commitments abroad as the most constructive aspect of American foreign aid and possibly of this country's overall international effort.

Moreover, President Johnson has proposed, and Congress is currently considering, new legislation—the International Education Act of 1966—aimed at making the nation's educational involvement across the globe even more extensive.

What has shocked the academic community was the fact that the M. S. U. story put a severe strain on the credibility of American academic institutions working abroad.

Anti-American voices, including those of respectable foreign scholars, have frequently charged that American universities and scholars are extensions of American governmental policy. Often, it has required personal missionary efforts by their American counterparts to erase such feelings before scholarly and professional relationships of mutual trust could be established.

In the early days of exchanges of graduate students between the United States and the Soviet Union American negotiators were often given to understand that the Soviet academic authorities considered every American student a potential spy. Only the most scrupulous efforts to make scholarship the exclusive reason for the selection of these American exchange scholars has been able to dispel Soviet

doubts and, in the process, make the exchanges far more productive.

The non-governmental Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, which handles the Soviet-American exchanges, clearly warns every candidate not only to reject any advances that might be made by intelligence or other Government agencies but to report to the committee any such incidents, should they occur. Any suspicion that a candidate might be anything but a bona fide scholar automatically disqualifies him.

In his recent book, "The Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs," Charles Frankel, Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, underlined the importance of divorcing American academic work overseas as completely as possible from even the semblance of control by governmental policies.

What are the issues that worry American educational leaders in the aftermath of the M. S. U. affair?

Guidelines

Dr. Fred H. Harrington, president of the University of Wisconsin, said: "We must protect the universities' responsibility." He and other academic spokesmen stressed the following guidelines to protect the integrity of American scholars and their institutions abroad:

(1) *Accountability.* The university's top leadership must be in complete and sole control of foreign action.

"The academic community cannot be absolutely sure that no professor will become clandestinely involved, but it cannot knowingly permit this sort of thing," said Dr. Logan Wilson, president of the American Council on Education.

(2) *Independence.* Dr. Harrington, whose university operates in India, Africa and Latin America, said: "We take great care to divide the university's responsibility from the Federal Government's responsibility."

poor or technical talent or an employment broker."

Yet, M. S. U. seems to have been right that—an employment broker. One observer put it, the C. I. A. is in question never even set on M. S. U. grounds. The operation—and this is a frequent practice where lucrative contracts are at stake—seems to have been one in which the institution pledged to undertake a job and then—in the fashion of a temporary office—agency—scouted around for staff. This is an invitation to intelligence agencies looking for a convenient cover.

(4) *Sophistication.* "The universities do get pressed sometimes—by the whole Government, but by some eager beaver in some agency who thinks he sees a good thing," Dr. Harrington said.

At a weak moment, a university official may feel that by looking the other way he is doing the patriotic thing. In fact, most of the university presidents questioned insisted that wise people in Government frown on such practices.

(5) *Limitation of mission.* Universities ought to exercise self-discipline in accepting contracts. Only such foreign assignments as are compatible with teaching, research and public service functions on the home campus can legitimately be taken on abroad. Thus, the training of tactical counter-intelligence forces probably would be better left to police or the C.I.A.

In the final analysis, the burden on institutional leadership. James A. Perkins, in his recent book, "The University in Transition," made a special plea to his fellow university presidents. He warned them that, unless they remain firmly in charge of their own institutions' destiny and join forces with other equally determined universities, Government will rush in where academia abdicates control.

The dangers are greatest where universities are excessively concerned with rapid expansion and

with the forced-feeding of their public image.

What about the effect of the M. S. U. affair on the pending legislation for international education? Several high-ranking educators expressed concern that the unhappy incident might turn into a roadblock.

Actually, the act could help to prevent similar future trouble. By aiming at training more qualified Americans for international educational assignments, it could reduce the need to shop around for available manpower.

High-Ability Students

More important, by creating a Center for Educational Cooperation within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the measure might help to put the center of gravity where it belongs—in the hands of the educational rather than the diplomatic or military agencies of the Government.

But the fact that the M. S. U. episode has happened—and that there are strong suspicions at home and abroad that it was, though by no means typical, nevertheless not unique—has prompted a number of observers to suggest that the new

legislation should include a strong and specific declaration of academic independence.

Dr. Harrington said: "There is need for reassessment at the highest level of Government so that the universities do not become the tools of the Government."

The International Education Act of 1966 might put into specific language the right—even the obligation—of the academic community to remain divorced from governmental action and protected from governmental pressures. Thus it would give the Secretary of HEW the power of blocking unwarranted intrusions.

While this may not dispel all doubts abroad or silence the accusations of unfriendly voices, it would make it easier for the weaker institutions to protect their virtue. It might discourage the lower echelons in some Government agencies from mistaking cap and gown for a camouflage suit.

Nothing, however, can take the place of what Mr. Perkins last week called the moral of the Michigan story: "Universities should not take on anything abroad that they are not doing on their own campus at home."



Bastian in The San Francisco Chronicle
Michigan State University's involvement with the C.I.A. "put a severe strain on the credibility of American academic institutions working abroad."

As an example of the importance of independence, Kingman Brewster, Jr., president of Yale University, cited an instance when he said "no" to a lucrative A.I.D. contract because the Government insisted on a loyalty check of the professors to be sent on the foreign mission. "Otherwise the implication would have been that these scholars are Government employees," he said.

In his inaugural address, Mr. Brewster had said: "The world needs a credible spokesperson for the human purposes which transcend nations. That spokesperson can easily be lost in the trumpeting of lesser and more immediate interests. Even the pressure to serve the state must not lead the university to forfeit that credibility which belongs alone to those who answer only to the dictates of a conscientious intellect."

(3) *Personnel.* In his critical 1964 review, "A. I. D. and the Universities," Mr. Gardner set down this requirement: "In short, in its overseas activities as well as at home, the university will function as a university and not merely as

25 April 66



DEMONSTRATION--Students for a Democratic Society Friday protest the confusion and lack of information about the charges made in Ramparts magazine of CIA involvement with MSU's Viet Nam project. At the same time, President Hannah was holding a press conference on this subject. Photo by Chuck Michaels

Hannah Defends Viet Role

The University now attempts to use only MSU faculty members in its overseas projects as a result of its Viet Nam experiences, said President John A. Hannah at his press conference Friday.

Hannah defended the University's role in Viet Nam as being within the University's functions of providing service to not only Michigan, but also the U.S. and overseas.

However, Hannah suggested that the precise role MSU has played in foreign countries has changed as the University has learned from its past projects.

Hannah said that 16 of the 17 persons MSU has stationed in Asia on its projects have been drawn from its regular faculty. In Africa and Latin America, according to Hannah, at least four out of every five people on MSU projects come from the MSU campus.

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SDS Protests Viet Nam, Etc.

By ANDY MAREIN
State News Staff Writer

About 100 placard carrying students and The Freedom Singers turned out to picket the International Center at noon Friday in a demonstration sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

The demonstration was in protest of the "failure of the MSU administration to adequately answer the charges raised by Ramparts magazine, the University's involvement with the CIA in violating the Geneva Agreements to establish and prop up the dictatorial regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, the repressive police-state atmosphere maintained on the MSU campus, and the continuing war in Viet Nam" according to a SDS release.

The Freedom Singers, consisting of Stephen P. Badrich, Hagerstown, Md., freshman; Joseph Shcloven; and David H. Arnold, Crystal Lake, Ill., sophomore, turned out with some impressive sound equipment and two guitars. They sang an original creation called "Super Fishel Man" sung to the tune of "Secret Agent Man." The chorus went:

"Super Fishel Man
Super Fishel Man
We haven't lost a teacher
We've gained an agent man."

About 125 students passing the International Center stopped to listen to the music, hear the student speakers and watch the picketers carrying signs reading, among other things, "Bodies by Fishel," "Put Silver Wings on Fishel's Chest," and "CIA Go Home."

An incident was averted when Campus Police prevented a student from tearing down the flag of the National Liberation Front carried between two demonstrators.

'U' To Disregard Similar Projects

Program Slowly Terminated Due To 'Suspicious,' Policy

By KYLE C. KERBAWY
State News Managing
Editor

President John A. Hannah said Friday that, given the chance again, the University wouldn't get involved in a project similar to the one in Viet Nam.

Hannah, speaking at a press conference in Kellogg Center, also denied that Michigan State provided a spy operation for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in Viet Nam.

In a 3,500-word statement, Hannah said the University realized by 1957 that it wasn't fitted for the program and "decided then to get out."

His remarks came in reply to a blistering article which appeared two weeks ago in Ramparts magazine, a left wing, former Catholic laymen's publication.

The magazine, published in California, charged that the Michigan State project was merely a cover for a CIA team on a counter-espionage assignment.

Hannah said the University "did not have CIA people operating under cover provided by the University, or in secret from the Vietnamese government."

But, he said, the University had "suspicions" that the project had been infiltrated by the CIA and these "suspicions" led, in part, to the project's phasing out in 1957.

He allowed that other factors contributed to the decision to "get out." The first reservation, he said, was scored at the project's beginning: the project operated through the governments directly, rather than educational agencies.

He also said the project was not of a kind best accomplished by a university. "The kind of police operation we were involved in then," Hannah said, "we would not be involved in again.

"Its nature demanded that we go outside the University to recruit personnel. Our policy now is to make use of Michigan State faculty members primarily." On the Viet Nam project, approximately 36 of the 54 people employed by MSU came from other than university sources.

Also, by 1958-59, it was becoming clear that the Diem regime was becoming more and more dictatorial, Hannah said.

"Almost all of the reports written by our people recommended changes in the government," he said.

"It is a well-known fact that our project in Viet Nam was terminated ahead of schedule in 1962 at least in part as a result of critical writing of our professors and others within our group."

Diem, he said, did not like that criticism.

Hannah indicated that the decision to get out was made also because recommendations from MSU personnel were not being followed.

Although the decision was made in 1957 to phase out the Viet project, he said, implementation took some time because of personnel and contract commitments. All contracts were terminated by 1962.

Referring to the Ramparts' charges, Hannah said the University did not then--nor does it yet have--authentic information that men working on the project "were, are or had been members of the Central Intelligence Agency."

But he deemed the suspicions

(continued on page 9)

Hannah

(continued from page 1)

that CIA men were on the team "well-grounded" by project supervisors.

His statements contradicted statements by two MSU professors and the former head of the CIA.

Professors Wesley Fishel and Ralph H. Smuckler both indicated last week that MSU knew CIA men were operating on its staff.

Lyman G. Kirkpatrick, director of the CIA in 1955, also said MSU knew about and had contracted with the CIA.

Hannah said all persons on the MSU mission in Saigon were under University control.

"They put in a full day's work each day on MSU training and advisory assignments. That we know. There was no deception of the government of Viet Nam.

Hannah explained that Michigan State was contracted to strengthen South Viet Nam's civil police.

"It was clear from the beginning that Diem would have trouble with subversion in his government by supporters of Ho Chi Minh and the divided North."

At that time, "with rare exception, there was general agreement that Diem's government, when it came to power in 1954, offered the best hope for social, economic, and political progress in Viet Nam." Diem, at that time, was a "fair-haired boy."

In its effort, MSU needed "individuals capable of carrying out advisory and training assignments in several specialized areas," including "counter-subversion."

Hannah said the counter-subversion specialists required could not be found on other city and state police forces and that government agencies were asked to recommend men.

Though he refused to specify which agencies, it was later learned that the men hired came from the Dept. of the Army.

Hannah stated emphatically that the CIA was not one of the agencies making recommendations.

He also made the following points:

--Michigan State did not buy guns, ammunition, handcuffs, or any other police supplies. He said such supplies may have been requisitioned by U.S. agencies, "but they were not requisitioned by the MSU School of Police Administration."

He said Michigan State people advised on such purchases, but added that "all of this information was given to the Tri-Partite International Control Commission, the enforcement agency for the Geneva Agreement, and it raised no objections."

--MSU's reimbursement from its Viet Nam project "did not exceed \$7.8 million from all sources." Ramparts said Michigan State received \$25 million for its efforts.

This included \$5.3 million reimbursement under contracts during the seven-year period and \$2.5 million for paying local rents, salaries and other expenses.

Hannah contrasted this figure to the \$1.37 billion spent by the United States in economic and technical assistance to Viet Nam from 1955-1962, the length of the MSU contracts.

"Thus, the amount of money that went into our project was about six-tenths of 1 per cent of the total amount provided by the U.S. government in those seven years."

Hannah denied that any funds delegated by the Michigan legislature were used in the Viet Nam project.

"All University overseas projects are self-liquidating," Hannah said. "No money from Michigan taxpayers is used to support them."

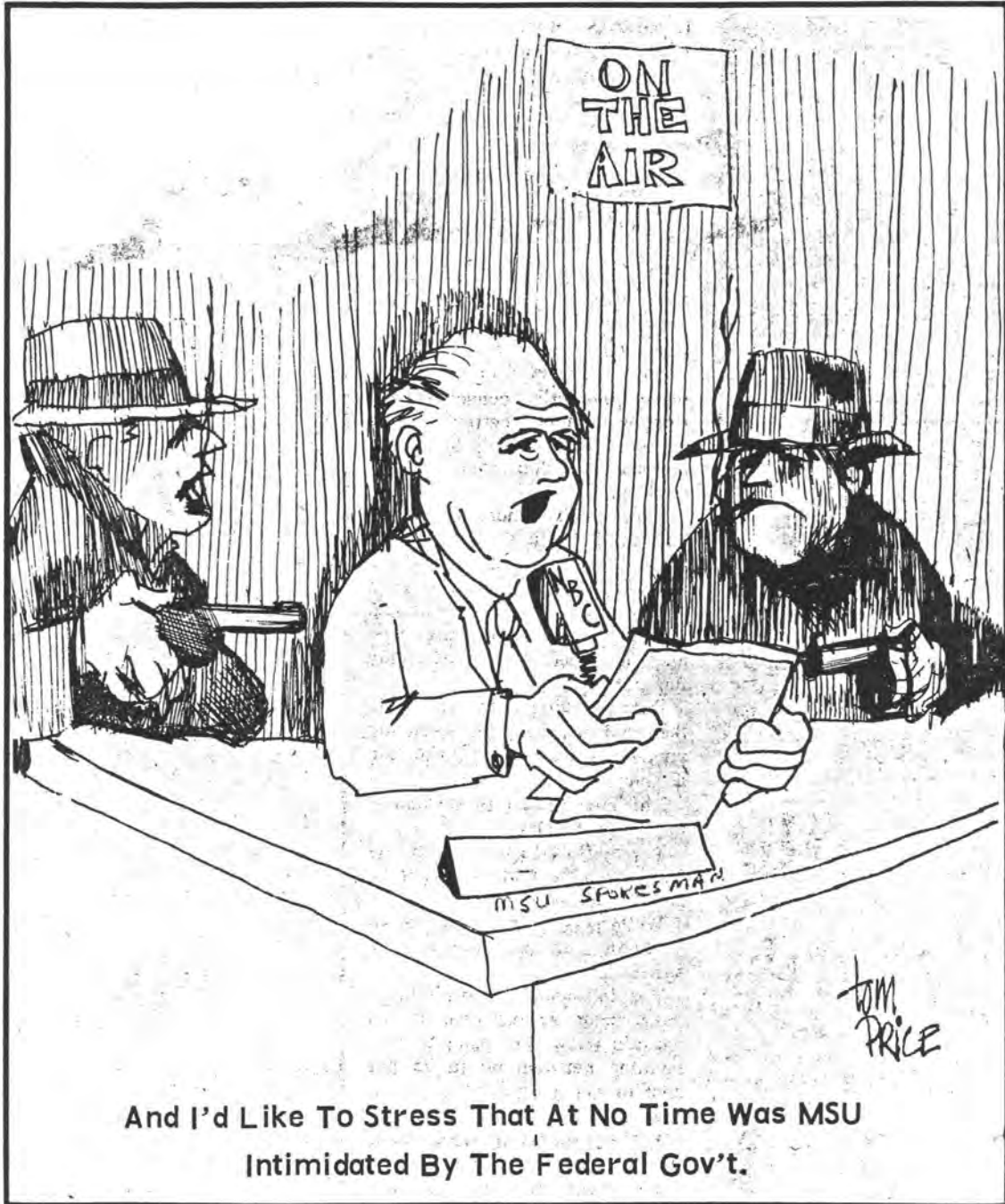
Hannah also denied that the Center for International Programs was built completely with funds from the Viet Nam project.

Part of the costs of the building came from funds received from all our international programs and the rest from other MSU sources, he said. "It is likely that a small portion of this part was contributed by the Viet Nam project, but only a small part."

--Living conditions were much worse and houses of MSU personnel were much smaller than the Ramparts article indicates.

--Salary scales did not run high nor were salaries out of line with salaries of other Americans working in Saigon or at other overseas posts of a similar nature.

MSU State News
25 Apr. 66



C.I.A.: Maker of Policy, or Tool?

Survey Finds Widely Feared Agency Is Tightly Controlled

Following is the first of five articles on the Central Intelligence Agency. The articles are by a team of New York Times correspondents consisting of Tom Wicker, John W. Finney, Max Frankel, E. W. Kenworthy and other members of the Times staff.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 24—One day in 1960 an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency caught a plane in Tokyo, flew to Singapore and checked into a hotel room in time to receive a visitor. The agent plugged a lie detector into an overloaded electrical circuit and blew out the lights in the building.

In the investigation that followed, the agent and a C.I.A. colleague were arrested and jailed as American spies.

The result was an international incident that infuriated London, not once but twice. It embarrassed an American Ambassador. It led an American Secretary of State to write a rare letter of apology to a foreign Chief of State.

Five years later that foreign leader was handed an opportunity to denounce the perfidy of all Americans and of the C.I.A. in particular, thus increasing the apprehension of his Oriental

The Central Intelligence Agency, which does not often appear in the news, made headlines on two counts in recent days. The agency was found to have interceded in the slander trial of one of its agents in an effort to obtain his exoneration without explanation except that he had done its bidding in the interests of national security. And it was reported to have planted at least five agents among Michigan State University scholars engaged in a foreign aid project some years ago in Vietnam. Although the specific work of these agents and the circumstances of their employment are in dispute, reports of their activities have raised many questions about the purposes and methods of the C.I.A., and about its relationship to other parts of the Government and nongovernmental institutions. Even larger questions about control of the C.I.A. within the framework of a free government and about its role in foreign affairs are periodically brought up in Congress and among other governments. To provide background for these questions, and to determine what issues of public policy are posed by the agency's work, The New York Times has spent several months looking into its affairs. This series is the result.

neighbors about the agency and enhancing his own political position.

Ultimately, the incident led the United States Government to tell a lie in public and then to admit the lie even more publicly.

The lie was no sooner disclosed than a world predisposed to suspicion of the C.I.A. and unaware of what really had happened in Singapore five years earlier began to repeat questions that have dogged the intelligence agency, and the United States Government for years:

¶Was this secret body, which was known to have overthrown governments and installed others, raised armies, staged an

invasion of Cuba, spied and counterspied, established airlines, radio stations and schools and supported books, magazines and businesses, running out of the control of its supposed political master?

¶Was it in fact damaging, while it sought to advance, the national interest? Could it spend huge sums for ransoms, bribes and subversion without check or regard for the consequences?

¶Did it lie to or influence the political leaders of the United States to such an extent that it really was an "invisible government" more powerful than even the President?

These are questions constant-

Continued on Page 20, Column 1

N. Y. Times
25 April 66

OUR READERS SPEAK

Does MSU+CIA=Truth?

To the Editor:

The furtive hand of the CIA is being increasingly seen in foreign affairs. Many citizens recently startled to wariness about this organization wonder about the scope of its activities and the nature and extent of its power.

I find myself seriously questioning its values and methods, and a bit chilled by what the existence of this secret espionage agency implies about the goals of our government. The recent exposure of the involvement of the CIA in the 1955-1959 MSU project in Viet Nam has not quieted my concern over this matter.

Did MSU indeed offer its project as a cover for CIA plans to create a secret police that would enable Diem to maintain control of South Viet Nam? Or were University officials unaware of the presence of CIA personnel in the project? It hardly seems likely that the project could have operated four years with its participants unaware that they were training a secret police instead of a "civil service." There seems to be a fundamental ambig-

uity in University disclaimers of knowledge of the presence of the CIA.

Since the CIA was obviously involved, did it force itself upon the project or did MSU willingly sponsor this duplicity? I consider either explanation of the events of 1955-1959 to be highly unsavory.

On the one hand I dislike believing that the CIA has the power to arbitrarily impose its purposes on the University projects of this nation. What would this situation portend for academic freedom? On the other hand, I am reluctant to believe that MSU misrepresented its purposes to its faculty, students and its nation, and that it freely participated in an attempt to perpetuate the rule of a despot.

Why was it wrong for Michigan State University to conceal the activities of the CIA and to participate in the training of a "Gestapo?"

There are three reasons. I do not believe the goal of the project--the training of an agency of oppression--to have been a worthy one for an educational institution. It is wrong to force a "showcase" for democracy on

hapless citizens by creation of a police state. Did the MSU personnel believe that the ultimate creation of a non-communist Vietnam was justified by means entirely outside the democratic tradition? In fostering the ideals of our heritage, were those who teach the social sciences and the humanities as blind to the meaning of their acts as the most myth-ridden super-patriot?

Furthermore, one does not serve the ideal of democracy by lying about one's activities. We are a people who value truth; in our universities, the first commitment is to the search for truth. Universities betray the highest ideals of education when they deceive the public. I hope that we can believe the accounts given by University officials on the nature and goals of the other MSU projects; I hope that MSU has not become schizophrenic: dedicated to truth in philosophy, physics and history, and deceitful in its overseas activities.

Finally, I am disturbed about the precedent which MSU seems to have set. The great institutions of education in this nation must not lend themselves to such cloak and dagger operations with the espionage agencies. What will technical assistance programs come to mean to the underdeveloped nations of the world if they must be prepared to accept CIA agents as well as professors, secret police as well as agrovilles in their aid programs?

I believe MSU to be a progressive and truly remarkable institution in many ways. I praise her dormitory systems, her educational credentials, and her services for the student. I have counted myself a proud alumna of MSU, but I cannot be proud of her behavior in the Viet Nam project.

Jean Haugen
Class of 1965

GARRY MOES**POINT OF VIEW**

Functions Of Secrecy

Allen Dulles, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, has written:

"Free peoples everywhere abhor government secrecy. There is something sinister and dangerous, they feel, when governments 'shroud' their activities. It may be an entering wedge for the establishment of an autocratic form of rule, a cover-up for their mistakes."

Every once in awhile the role of espionage in a free society pops up for discussion. The article in Ramparts magazine on the CIA's connections with MSU in the Viet Nam technical aid program is the most recent occasion for comment on this question.

The question is whether we can maintain an espionage system and still be consistent in our maintenance of a free way of life.

Harry Howe Ransom, who has written a study on "Central Intelligence and National Security," puts the issue this way:

"CIA is the indispensable gatherer and evaluator of world-wide facts for the National Security Council. Yet to most persons CIA remains a mysterious, super-secret shadow agency of government. Its invisible role, its power and influence, and the secrecy enshrouding its structure and operations raise important questions regarding its place in the democratic process. One such question is: How shall a democracy insure that its secret intelligence apparatus becomes neither a vehicle for conspiracy nor a suppressor of the traditional liberties of democratic self-government?"

It must be pointed out that the CIA is not an underground operation. The National Security Act of 1947 clearly indicates this. It is understandable that a relatively new organization in our government's structure like the CIA should receive its share of publicity and be subject to questioning and attack.

The CIA is a publicly recognized agency of the government. It is placed under the National Security Council and is, therefore, answerable di-

rectly to the President, who has the responsibility for overseeing the operation of the CIA. Yet while it is publicly recognized, as in many other departments of government, much of its work must be kept secret.

The U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights clearly outlaw police state tactics. And the 1947 law also clearly points out that the CIA shall have "no police, subpoena, law-enforcement powers or internal security functions." It is to be the servant, not the maker of national policy. All of its operations must be in accordance with established policy. Furthermore, all CIA personnel are forbidden to engage in any political activity except voting, a rule which is strictly enforced.

The military threat of this nuclear missile age is well understood, says Dulles in his 1963 book, "The Craft of Intelligence," and "we are rightly spending billions to counter it. We must similarly deal with all aspects of the invisible war.... The last thing we can do is to put our intelligence in chains. Its protective intelligence is indispensable in an era of unique and continuing danger."

Of course, the public and the press remain free to criticize the actions of our intelligence operations as with any other part of government.

While secrecy is, strictly speaking, out of keeping with the tenets of a free and open society, there can be no absolute rule on freedom. This is license, something to which no rational American has ever subscribed.

There is somewhat of a parallel in the handling of contempt of court cases where summary action, strictly speaking, violates our belief in trial by jury. But we permit it because it is necessary for the well-being of a moral system.

The strongest safeguards, however, lie in the character of the leadership and personnel of the spy services, their integrity and respect for the democratic process, and their sense of duty in carrying out their important tasks.



KYLE KERBAWY

MSU Policy Inconsistent

Spilling out of the Ramparts controversy is an obvious need for the University--in particular John A. Hannah--to align its policies.

It is apparent from comments resulting from that article that the University and Hannah have two policies for conducting affairs.

One policy is for use here at home--on campus and in East Lansing. The other is for use on the "outside world." Each is inconsistent with the other.

It is time to coordinate the two. It is time to make the "local" policy consistent with the "outside" policy.

The doctrines involve the much in question autonomy of the University. Many, including Ram-

ness mixing in local affairs. What's more, although Hannah wields great power on campus, off-campus, it was reasoned, he has no more rights and influence than the average private citizen.

This attitude is like ignoring a tidal-wave to keep from rocking the boat. As chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Hannah is an expert on open occupancy laws. He knows both the advantages and disadvantages.

Moreover, this university's president will never be "just" a private citizen. He is a man important to the community, regardless of where he is. He is an authority; a man listened to.

Hannah had much to offer the debate on open occupancy. But instead, the "outside" policy of

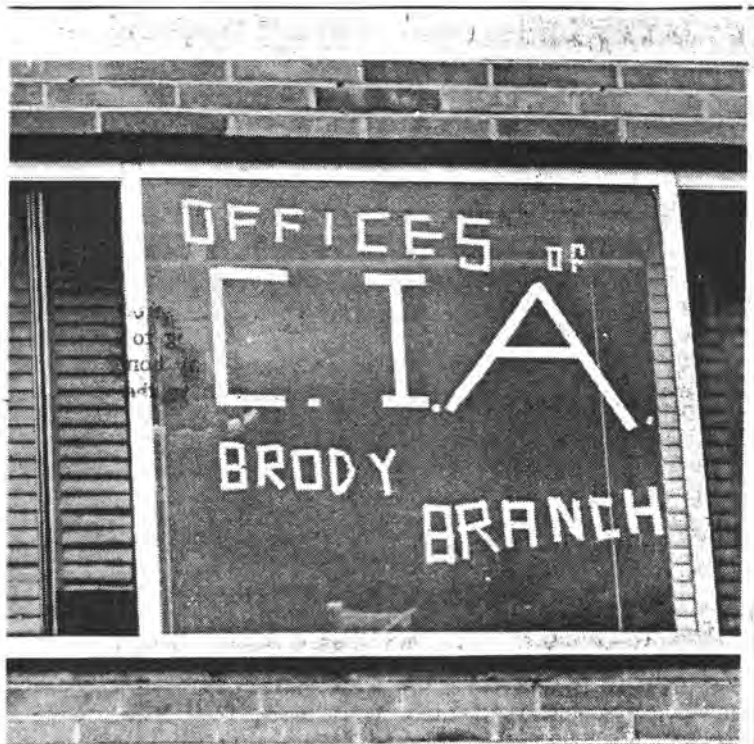
...I think it's a good idea, said Carol Kruse, St. Clair Shores Junior. "It will make it much easier for many people." The serving hours will be extended to coincide with the larger coed living units, said Miss Wildick. Weekday breakfasts will be served from 7-8 a.m. Late breakfast will follow at 8:10-9 a.m. Lunch will be served from 10:30 a.m.-2 p.m. and dinner from 5-6:15 p.m. On Saturday continental breakfast will be served from 8:30-10 a.m.; lunch from 11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. and dinner from 5-5:45 p.m. Breakfast will be served from 8:30-9:30 a.m. on Sunday and dinner from 12-1:30 p.m. No evening meal will be served on Sunday. Always A Bride

Patient In

Houston (UPI)--Marcel DeRudder Monday passed his 100th hour with an artificial heart aid ing his own damaged heart and showed slow but steady improvement. By Monday night, the 65-year-old unemployed coal miner from Westville, Ill., had lived longer than any other person given a mechanical heart apparatus. A patient in Brooklyn, N.Y., who received an artificial heart of a different type died in 24 hours. A patient at Methodist Hospital in Houston, given a heart similar to the one used on DeRudder, died after four days. DeRudder remained uncon-

msc state News

26 Apr. 66



SECRET SERVICES BUILDING--Discreetly located in Armstrong Hall is the local branch of the (shhh) CIA. The office is manned by Bill Church, who sneaks around campus disguised as a mild-mannered freshman. Photo by Cal Crane

Reins Weighed

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 25—A small group of Senators responsible for monitoring the Central Intelligence Agency met today to discuss whether their "watchdog" committee should be enlarged and its surveillance tightened.

The bipartisan group is made up of ranking members of the Armed Services Committee and the Appropriations subcommittee dealing with funds for the armed services.

For many years the Senate group and a comparable group in the House, also drawn from the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees, have constituted the only "legislative oversight" of the secret operations and the secret funds of the C.I.A.

For many years also a large number of Senators and Representatives have urged that these two groups be expanded to include members of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees so that the activities of the agency would be subjected more closely to political considerations.

Although Senator Richard B. Russell, chairman of the Armed Services Committee and the watchdog committee, has resisted these suggestions, in-

Continued on Page 58, Column 6

SENATORS WEIGH NEW C.I.A. REINS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

formed sources said he called today's meeting precisely to consider such an expansion.

These sources said also that two recent disclosures of C.I.A. activities had apparently brought the whole issue to a head in the Senate watchdog group.

The first of these was the revelation that at least five C.I.A. agents operated in South Vietnam during the late 1950's under the cover of a multi-million dollar technical assistance program conducted for the government of the late President Ngo Dinh Diem by Michigan State University.

Intercedes in Suit

The second was the disclosure that the C.I.A. interceded in the slander trial of one of its agents, Juri Raus, an Estonian refugee, who was being sued by Eerik Heine, another Estonian emigre. Mr. Heine charged that Mr. Raus had publicly called him an agent of the K.G.B., the Soviet intelligence agency.

In a public memorandum addressed to the Federal Court in Baltimore, the C.I.A. said it had ordered Mr. Raus to cease testifying in order to protect the United States foreign intelligence apparatus. Mr. Raus claimed immunity on the ground that the alleged slander had been committed in the course of his C.I.A. duties.

Several days ago Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, wrote to Senator Russell suggesting that they discuss the possibility of having representatives from

posals to widen the watchdog committee was "not a bad idea."

In 1954 Mr. Mansfield introduced a resolution to create a 12-man joint committee—six from each house—to maintain scrutiny on the C.I.A.

The resolution had 34 co-sponsors. However, much of the support evaporated under the opposition of Senator Russell and Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Republican of Massachusetts, who agreed with the then C.I.A. director, Allen W. Dulles, that the joint committee might jeopardize security.

When the Mansfield resolution finally came to a vote in 1956, 14 sponsors reversed themselves, and it was defeated, 59 to 27.

Besides Mr. Russell and Mr. Saltonstall, the present watchdog committee is made up of Democrats John Stennis of Mississippi, Carl Hayden of Arizona, Stuart Symington of Missouri, and Republicans Milton R. Young of North Dakota and Margaret Chase Smith of Maine.

C.I.A. SAYS IT TAPS REFUGEE SOURCES

Affidavit Seeks to Satisfy Court in Slander Suit

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

BALTIMORE, April 25—The Central Intelligence Agency acknowledged in Federal Court here today that it "develops" sources of foreign security information through refugees and emigré organizations in this country.

Richard Helms, deputy director of the secret United States espionage agency, said in a sworn statement filed in District Court here in connection with a slander suit against a C.I.A. agent, that the agency had "foreign intelligence sources existing within or developed through" emigré groups.

According to unofficial estimates, there are about 100,000 members in several hundred active emigré associations in the United States, organized by exiles of countries now under Communist rule. Most of them are strongly nationalist and anti-Communist, and many maintain informal connections with countrymen still living behind the Iron Curtain.

Identified in Court

Today's statement by the C.I.A.'s second ranking official was contained in the third of an unusual series of affidavits filed here by Mr. Helms in behalf of Juri Raus, a 39-year-old Estonian emigre. The agency has already identified Mr. Raus in open court as one of its secret agents.

Mr. Raus, as far as was known at first, was employed in Washington as a traffic engineer by the United States Bureau of Public Roads. He was accused of slander by Eerik Heine, another Estonian emigre now living in Canada, after he called Mr. Heine a Soviet spy and an agent of the K.G.B., the Soviet secret police.

Mr. Helms's affidavit today, for the first time, described Mr. Heine as "a dispatched Soviet intelligence operative, a K.G.B. agent." The C.I.A. official thus extended the accusation against Mr. Heine to include the contention that he was sent here from Estonia or the Soviet Union, and not merely recruited in Canada or the United States.

Stanford Backs Liquor For Students Over 21

Special to The New York Times

PALO ALTO, Calif., April 25—Students at Stanford University, who are more than 21 years old, will be permitted to drink alcoholic beverages in campus residences beginning May 10.

Dr. Wallace Sterling, Stanford's president, announced the new regulation today following a five-year study of student development at Stanford. It showed that "drinking is well-established, even at the time they enter Stanford," for more than three out of four students.

According to the study, drinking "is apparently sanctioned by their peers, their parents and society."

Dr. Sterling said that when liquor was used it should be "used in moderation."

The rules specify that students are individually and personally responsible for compliance with California law.

The affidavit filed today was an attempt by the C.I.A. to satisfy the demand of Chief Judge Roszel C. Thomsen that the intelligence agency "go as far as it can go" in authenticating its claim to immunity for Mr. Raus by specifying exactly the nature of its instructions to him.

Of the Estonian emigré gatherings before which Mr. Raus admits that he accused Mr. Heine, the affidavit said, in part:

"Prior to those occasions . . . the defendant [Mr. Raus], in a series of conferences, was furnished information by the Central Intelligence Agency to the effect that Eerik Heine was a dispatched Soviet intelligence operative, a K.G.B. agent. The defendant was instructed to warn members of Estonian emigré groups that Eerick Heine was a dispatched Soviet intelligence operative, a K.G.B. agent."

"The purpose for this instruction was to protect the integrity of the agency's foreign intelligence sources, existing within or developed through such groups in accordance with the statutory responsibility of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency to protect foreign intelligence sources and methods. . . ."

Judge Thomsen has scheduled another opportunity for argument on the dismissal motion here on Thursday. Mr. Raus is expected . . .

Mr. Heine, living in Toronto, filed a \$110,000 defamation suit here in November, 1964. In his reply to the suit, Mr. Raus at first acknowledged making the accusations but, until January of this year, he insisted only that he had relied on "responsible information from a Government agency."

'Absolute Immunity'

Then, last January, the C.I.A. moved to free Mr. Raus of any liability for his admittedly defamatory statements by identifying him in court as one of its undercover agents who had been under official C.I.A. orders to expose Mr. Heine as a Soviet spy.

It was the first time the C.I.A. had ever publicly identified one of its agents, but the effect of the disclosure was to give Mr. Raus a claim to "absolute immunity" from the slander suits on grounds that he was a Governmental official acting properly within the scope of his duties.

The Supreme Court has held that in order to permit Government officials to discharge their duties without fear of reprisal by lawsuits, they are immune from such suits if acting within the perimeter of their office.

Dismissal Sought

The C.I.A., accordingly, is seeking a summary dismissal of Mr. Heine's suit against Mr. Raus. But Paul R. Connolly and E. Barrett Prettyman Jr., leading Washington trial lawyers retained by the C.I.A. to defend Mr. Raus, have declined, on C.I.A. security grounds, to submit Mr. Raus to any questioning by Mr. Heine's lawyers in their attempt to challenge the immunity claim.

expected to make an appearance here then, but to refuse to testify on security grounds.

It is expected to be the 11th hearing in the case. At a hearing on April 14, Judge Thomsen declared that if the informant given Mr. Raus by the C.I.A. was, indeed, that Mr. Heine "was a Communist and a K.G.B. agent, then the legal position [supporting dismissal] is relatively simple."

C.I.A. Threat Charged

TORONTO, April 25 (Canadian Press)—Eerik Heine, Estonian refugee who has started a \$110,000 slander action in Baltimore, said last night had been threatened by the Central Intelligence Agency drop the whole matter.

Mr. Heine, 46 years old, who lives in suburban Rexdale, brought the action against Juri Raus, 39, of Hyattsville, Md., former Estonian who is a C.I.A. agent. The action is over statements made by Mr. Raus describing Mr. Heine as an agent of the Soviet secret police.

Mr. Heine quoted last night from a letter which he said was from his Washington attorney Ernest Raskauskas. In it the lawyer tells of a meeting between himself and E. Barrett Prettyman Jr., a Washington lawyer acting for Mr. Raus. The letter reads:

"Mr. Prettyman advised me [Mr. Raskauskas] that it would be definitely contrary to your best interests for you to pursue this matter any further and that only further harm could result to you if we proceeded further."

"I consider that a threat," Mr. Heine said. He said his wife was approached by C.I.A. men last Friday while he was away but she refused to talk to them.

N. Y. Times
26 Apr 66

How C.I.A. Put 'Instant Air Force' Into Congo

Intervention, Invasion, Spying All in a Day's Work

Following is the second of five articles on the Central Intelligence Agency. The articles are by a team of New York Times correspondents consisting of Tom Wicker, John W. Finney, Max Frankel, E. W. Kenworthy and other members of The Times staff.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 25—

At the Ituri River, eight miles south of Nia Nia in the north-east Congo, a government column of 600 Congolese troops and 100 white mercenaries had been ambushed by a rebel force and was under heavy fire. Suddenly, three B-26's skimmed in over the rain forest and bombed and strafed a path through the rebel ranks for the forces supported by the United States.

At the controls of the American-made planes were anti-Castro Cubans, veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, three years before. They had been recruited by a purportedly private company in Florida. Servicing their planes were European mechanics solicited through advertisements in London newspapers. Guiding them into action were American "diplomats" and other officials in apparently civilian positions.

The sponsor, paymaster and director of all of them, however, was the Central Intelligence Agency, with headquarters in

Langley, Va. Its rapid and effective provision of an "instant force" in the Congo was the climax of the agency's deep involvement there.

The C.I.A.'s operation in the Congo was at all times responsible to and welcomed by the policy-makers of the United States.

It was these policy-makers who chose to make the agency the instrument of political and military intervention in another nation's affairs, for in five years of strenuous diplomatic effort it was only in Langley that the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon found the peculiar combination of talents necessary to block the creation of a pro-Communist regime, recruit the leaders for a pro-American government and supply the advice and support to enable that government to survive.

From wire-tapping to influencing elections, from bridge-blowing to armed invasions, in the dark and in the light, the Central Intelligence Agency has become a vital instrument of American policy and a major component of American government.

It not only gathers information but also rebuts an adversary's information. It not only organizes its own far-flung operations but also re-

sists an adversary's operation.

Against the Soviet Union alone, it performs not only certain of the services performed in Moscow by the K.G.B., the Committee for State Security, but also many of the political, intelligence and military services performed by pro-Soviet Communist parties around the world.

When the Communist and Western worlds began to wrestle for control of the vast, undeveloped Congo in 1960 after it had gained independence from Belgium, a modest little C.I.A. office in Leopoldville mushroomed overnight into a virtual embassy and miniature war department.

This was not to compete with the real United States Embassy and military attachés but to apply the secret, or at least discreet, capacities of the C.I.A. to a seething contest among many conflicting forces.

Starting almost from scratch, because the Belgians had forbidden Americans even to meet with Congolese officials, the C.I.A. dispersed its agents to learn Congolese politics from the bush on up, to recruit likely leaders and to finance their bids for power.

Capable of quickly gathering information from all sources, of buying informants and disburs-

Continued on Page 30, Column 2

MSU State News
27 April 66

...But Discussion WAS Disappointing

To the Editor:

An announcement in Wednesday's State News led us to expect that at a forum that evening some light would be shed on the current controversy regarding the MSU project in Viet Nam.

(1) The announcement headline said: "MSU - Viet Nam Debate Today."

(2) The lead sentence began: "An open forum on the current controversy over MSU's technical assistance project in Viet Nam..."

(3) The second and final sentence began: "The participants, all of whom were connected with the Viet Nam project and cited in the recent article in Ramparts Magazine..." Given the current situation on campus, it seemed reasonable to conclude that MSU involvement in Viet Nam would be a focal point for discussion.

Sitting in the Union Ballroom Wednesday evening we were somewhat disappointed when we were told that the specific issue of MSU involvement in Viet Nam would not be discussed. The topic of discussion was to be the broader question of American university involvement in overseas projects. Fortunately, professors Jaffe and Fishel disregarded the ground rules and used specific references to the Viet Nam project to illustrate points related to the broader question.

Thus, for us, the discussion was rendered valuable, and the State News announcement was rendered true. When university citizens are seeking clarification of current controversy, it is neither the time to sidestep that controversy in intellectual discussion, nor the time for misleading announcements.

Marsha Cookingham
Lansing Sophomore

Frank Cookingham
Lansing Graduate Student

MSU State News
27 Apr 66

Staff Writer Shields Tender Minds. . .

the Editor:

Staff writer Joan T. Solomon apparently agrees with Professor [unclear] that "university involvement with government is wrong." But covering the "Ramparts Talk" which, after all, was never really Ramparts talk nor intended to be, Miss Solomon herself seems to

OUR READERS SPEAK

have had no qualms about abdicating a newspaper's first responsibility, reporting the news, in favor of passing a critical judgment for benefit of all those who failed to attend. The benevolent Miss Solomon would shield such tender minds from the strain of having to think about what actually happened there.

Her article went so far as to criticize Chairman Adrian's definition of the question, leaving out what "the audience clearly came to hear." Now perhaps Miss Solomon polled the audience to determine what they wanted, but regardless of the audience's attitude, the meeting was openly announced as a discussion of "the role of universities overseas," and Adrian's comments were solely to further this intent.

Does Miss Solomon think the topic should have been set by the State News and not by Delta Phi Epsilon, who sponsored the meeting? Maybe DPE is underdeveloped, and needs a mission of staff-writers.

I detect a bit of the Ramparts technique of exaggeration for the sake of emphasis. Miss Solomon states: "The audience was clearly on the side of Adrian Jaffe." The whole audience? Were all those who overflowed the ballroom visibly ardent Adrian Jaffeites?

As if all this were not already out of place enough in such an article, Miss Solomon had to join the brigade against Wesley Fishel, by flatly stating he "said the least" at the meeting. Now this is a purely personal judgment, unless Miss Solomon has found a magic way to weigh information that no one else knows about.

The basic question is not Miss Solomon's critical capacity. Her remarks would hardly add up to legitimate criticism anyway. The basic question is a reporter's responsibility. Editorial opinion is

one of a newspaper's vital contributions. But in this case Miss Solomon's article was the only major coverage of this important event in the campus newspaper. In such a case a reporter's responsibility is to give the straight story of what took place. Miss Solomon failed in this.

One final question: Is the State News Mission in Viet Nam Project connected with the CSR?

Donald Macke
Houston, Texas

War Discussion Hits Viet Govern

By BOBBY SODEN
State News Staff Writer

Six speakers urged an almost empty auditorium Thursday to end "The Widening War in Asia" for reasons ranging from the corruption of the Ky regime to the war's effect on the Great Society program.

Almost 2,000 persons packed the teach-in on Viet Nam last year at the Auditorium.

After being barraged on the steps of the Auditorium with pamphlets concerning the immorality of the war, a sparse group of 250 persons attended the talk, sponsored jointly by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) and the MSU Faculty Group on Problems of War and Peace.

Marshall Sahlins, a professor at the University of Michigan, spoke on "The Peace Offensive and Its Aftermath."



RHOADS MURPHEY

"It is a pleasure to be here at the 'free' university of Michigan State," he began. Only a few in the audience snickered.

The government is spending 15 per cent of the national bud-

get killing people whose existence we refuse to acknowledge, Sahlins said.

"The issue is not General Ky, but the nest of corruption over which he rules," he continued. "But I haven't the time to rake up all that muck."

"The 'shotgun wedding' of the U.S. and Viet Nam was a result of the collapse of the peace offensive," he said. "I think we will live to regret this marriage."

Robert Engler of Queens College, N.Y., said the U.S. is on a collision course to WWII. He spoke on "American Society in a Revolutionary World."

"In 1957 Sputnik went over head. We got scared and I think this country has been scared ever since.

"Here we are, once again supporting a corrupt military government," Engler said. "It claims our loyalty only because it is anti-Communist.

"We have been and remain the chief invaders in Viet Nam," said Engler. "It is conceivable that we could be called to the UN on atrocity charges.

"The time must come when the nation-state is denied the right to bear arms."

Bob Ross, a University of Chicago graduate student, spoke on "The Draft, the Deferment Exam and Student Rights."

"I will not take the test and I will not fight in that war," said Ross.

Rep. John Conyers, campaigning for re-election, supported the Great Society Program and Civil Rights legislation, but opposed the war in Viet Nam as well as any increased appropriations to finance the war.

"Not only can we not get guns and butter, we can't get guns and oleo," Conyers said. "We can't even get guns and anything."

"How can the most powerful nation on the face of the earth put out more money for defense than for any other part of its budget?" he asked.

Out of each dollar, 34 cents are being spent on defense, Conyers said.

Rhoads Murphey of the University of Michigan spoke on "The Role of China in Viet Nam."

"We are fighting an unreal enemy--people who are Communist only because America is anti-Communist," Murphey said.

China realizes that Communism is not brought to power by external force, he continued. Communism has succeeded by manipulation of internal forces.

Jonathan Mirsky of the University of Pennsylvania recently traveled extensively throughout Southeast Asia.

Nationalism has been the greatest factor combating Communism and other outside influences, Mirsky said.

"The biggest exception to the rule is Viet Nam," Mirsky said. "There, nationalism and Communism have merged in Ho Chi Minh."

'All Predict But Americ

"Ky, the Buddhists and the Viet Cong can predict what the U.S. will do?" asked Sahlins.

Sahlins, the first of four to speak at the conference, said that the U.S. is thorough Nam and that the only solution is immediate South Viet Nam.

Sahlins argued that during the U.S. peace "we negotiated with 34 neutral countries the National Liberation Front, and from 1 per cent of our national budget on the war.

The U.S. only says that it is willing to "how to put themselves out of existence."

The peace offensive ended, he said, when leaders saw the apparent sincerity of the arresting a number of military officials peace attempts.

He asserted that any further peace effort toppled the Ky regime and therefore were based Ky government.

The real issue, said Sahlins, is "the deformed social structure over which Ky presides."

Sahlins alleged that Viet Nam is massively corrupted by the rich, military ruling class. He claimed there are huge amounts of misappropriations of American goods and buying and selling to the Viet Cong, so that essentially, "the American taxpayers subsidize the Viet Cong."

"In Viet Nam it has become impossible to distinguish between profiteering and politics," he

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CIA Man Tempers Statement

A former director of the CIA said it was his "distinct impression" that MSU knew about CIA involvement in the University's Viet Nam project during the late 50's. But he added that his impression could have been an erroneous one.

Lyman Kirkpatrick, director of the CIA at the time of MSU's Viet Nam project, refused to comment on President Hannah's statement last Friday that MSU didn't know of any CIA involvement at the beginning of the project.

Last week Kirkpatrick said MSU had full knowledge of the agency's role in the assistance project. He also said the CIA signed a contract with the University to support a police training project in South Viet Nam.

But Tuesday he tempered his original statement. He said though he was still under the impression that MSU had knowledge of the CIA's role in the project, he could have been incorrectly informed.

He also noted that it was possible Michigan State had made arrangements through another governmental agency, perhaps the Agency for International Development (AID) in obtaining personnel for counter-subversion instruction.

Kirkpatrick's original comments were carried in the Brown University student newspaper and later carried by the wire services. But he said Tuesday that his major point was that the involvement of CIA personnel in the Viet Nam project was not "sinister."

He explained the purpose of the project was to train policemen for the South Vietnamese, and that was all. Kirkpatrick

(continued on page 4)

CIA

(continued from page 1)

also pointed out the fact that all CIA personnel are not agents. The CIA has many staff people on its payroll who don't participate in undercover work, he said. But he didn't rule out the possibility of agents being involved in MSU's project.

Hannah said Friday in a press conference that MSU didn't have a spy operation within its Viet Nam project and wasn't used as a front by the CIA. He also commented that Michigan State never entered into any contract with the CIA.

N. Y. Times
27 Apr. 66

C.I.A. Spies From 100 Miles Up; Satellites Probe Secrets of Soviet

Electronic Prying Grows

Following is the third of five articles on the Central Intelligence Agency. The articles are by a team of New York Times correspondents consisting of Tom Wicker, John W. Finney, Max Frankel, E. W. Kenworthy and other Times staff members.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 26 — To the men most privy to the secrets of the Central Intelligence Agency, it sometimes seems that the human spies, the James Bonds and Mata Haris, are obsolete. Like humans everywhere, they are no match for the computers, cameras, radars and other gadgets by which nations can now gather the darkest secrets of both friends and foes.

With complex machines circling the earth at 17,000 miles an hour, C.I.A. agents are able to relax in their carpeted offices beside the Potomac and count

Continued on Page 28, Column 1

M.I.T. Cuts Agency Ties

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 26—

The Center of International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology disclosed today that it would "reluctantly" sever connections with the Central Intelligence Agency at the end of June.

The agency helped to establish the center with a \$300,000 grant in 1951 and since then has supported much of its research, mostly in Communist affairs.

A spokesman for the center said it was decided a year ago that, "for practical and not moral reasons," no further contracts should be accepted from the C.I.A. Although the work supported by agency funds has done much good and has involved nothing improper, the relationship had been "misunderstood" and has "caused sufficient difficulty," he said.

Existing contracts are being

Continued on Page 28, Column 6

State Journal
27 Apr. 66

MIT Link With CIA To Be Cut

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. (AP) — Massachusetts Institute of Technology says it plans to drop research contracts with the Central Intelligence Agency because the contracts are "subject to misinterpretation."

Max Millikan, director of the MIT Center of International Studies, said Tuesday night the contracts would be dropped "reluctantly" in June.

He said "because the contracts were subject to misinterpretation, particularly abroad, though also in this country, we decided it was best to terminate them."

Millikan said the contracts called for research on international developments, particularly communism and Red China.

"There never was a secret about it," Millikan said. "Our research always resulted in publication by the researchers."

The CIA helped establish the center in 1951 with a \$300,000 grant. A spokesman for the center said the amount of cash represented by the current CIA contracts is classified.

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He Doth Protest Too Much

RAMPARTS magazine might have overstated the case against MSU's involvement in Vietnam over a seven-year period, but MSU President John A. Hannah certainly overstated his denial.

Without splitting hairs on such details as whether the housing was air-conditioned, the important points in the Ramparts article were that the MSU Group (MSUG) fronted for the Central Intelligence Agency knowingly, and that MSUG had knowingly built up Ngo Dinh Diem's police force into a personal army.

The magazine asked as its punch line, "What the hell is a university doing buying guns, anyway?"

We will accept Hannah's explanation that he didn't know about the CIA involvement, but the fact is that members of the MSUG did. Wesley Fishel, MSU

professor and buddy of Diem, knew about it. Stanley K. Sheinbaum was a coordinator for the project as an MSU faculty member, and he helped write the article. Ralph H. Smuckler, acting dean in charge of MSU's international programs, said just the other day that Washington, Saigon and MSU all knew about it.

The question is how come Hannah, the president of the university, didn't know about it?

Hannah also denied that MSU bought guns for Diem, and this is technically true. No MSU professor, so far as we know, went out and bought a gun for Diem or wrote a check with MSU money. But MSU was the overseer of the project to train Diem's police force, and during that time guns were bought and the force built up in violation of the Geneva Accords. MSU didn't buy the guns. It merely recommended that they be bought.

Hannah's 4,400-word statement, it seems to us, would have been more convincing if he'd just copped a plea and said MSU learned a lesson — which it apparently did. At least MSU had the sense to get out in 1962 — five years after even Hannah admits to having wised up to the CIA role and a year before the Vietnamese revolted against Diem.



Madame Nhu a la Ramparts

Refreshment from MSU

AS A READER of your newspaper I deplore your editorial criticizing MSU and some of its professors carrying assignments on behalf of their own government in Vietnam.

It was indeed a refreshing bit of news to learn that not all American universities are forums for Communist subversion and propaganda with Aptheker-type "lectures" and not all American professors are anti-Vietnam war "teach-in" leaders and Yale Professor Lynd-type pro-Communists denouncing the American government in street demonstrations around the world.

ARPO YEMEN

Dearborn Heights

Detroit Free Press
28 June 66

MIT to Cut Connections With CIA

WASHINGTON — The center of international studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has disclosed that "reluctantly" it will sever connections with the Central Intelligence Agency at the end of June.

The agency had helped to establish the center with a \$300,000 grant in 1951 and has supported much of its research, mostly in Communist affairs, since.

A spokesman for the center said it had been decided a year ago that "for practical, and not moral reasons" no further contracts should be accepted from the CIA. Though the work supported by agency funds had done much good and involved nothing improper, he said, the relationship had been "misunderstood" and had "caused sufficient difficulty."

Existing contracts were allowed to run but no further work will be performed with CIA support after July 1, the spokesman added.

In the last two of three years, the spokesman said, the CIA contributed no more than 15 per cent, or \$112,500, to the center's \$750,000 budget. The exact amounts are classified as secret by the CIA, he explained.

Thursday, April 28, 1966 7

Hawkins Hits 'Expert Cult'

By KATHY MURRAY
State News Staff Writer

Carroll J. Hawkins, associate professor of political science, said Tuesday that an expert "hopping around" on a job for the government cannot possibly have time to fulfill the obligations every professor owes to his students.

Hawkins, speaking at a meeting of the International Relations Club, denounced the current cult of the expert and the practice of university professors becoming involved in governmental operations.

He quoted a New York Times article dated Dec. 10, 1965, in which Wesley R. Fishel, profes-

sor of political science, stated, "Opponents of U.S. policy on the campuses are largely teachers in fields unrelated to political science, international relations and Southeast Asian affairs."

"The further one gets from the subject--Viet Nam and U.S. foreign policy--the more opponents among campus teachers there seem to be. The reverse is equally true. Most of the teachers of government, foreign policy and international affairs support U.S. policy or accept it as necessary."

Fishel, adviser to the International Relations Club, had been challenged by Hawkins to a debate on "Expertise and Viet Nam" in notices in "The Paper," the State News, and on several posters around campus. Fishel was not present at the meeting Tuesday night. He spoke at Wonders Hall on the Viet Nam situation.

Hawkins took exception to Fishel's New York Times statement that the non-expert is incapable of understanding foreign policy. He said that any intelligent, informed person may have a valid opinion of foreign policy. He asserted the value of a broad viewpoint and noted that the expert may lose perspective within the narrow confines of his speciality.

Hawkins then discussed the dangers of academicians serving as foreign policy experts, frequently using Fishel as an example.

Serving the government as a foreign policy expert runs counter to a teacher-professor type of mind, Hawkins stated.

He also said that an expert

working for the government hasn't enough time to meet the obligations Hawkins requires of a professor: to know his students as individuals, to research continuously, and to keep a fresh mind by listening to intelligent persons in all fields.

He said that an expert deeply involved in his work may find himself tempted to make policy as well as to implement it. Hawkins asserted that such diversions detract from a professor's primary obligations to gain knowledge and perspective.

Hawkins also stated that the goal of an ambitious expert--to help people to better themselves--is often coupled with the secondary advantage of personal benefit.

Fishel's rise from the position of assistant professor to that of professor within three years was cited by Hawkins as an example of this type of benefit. Hawkins said that such a rise in position may lead to an "intoxication with power" which could result in a loss of objectivity.

Hawkins also questioned whether the ultimate effect of a professor working under government endowment might not be government control.

Hawkins concluded by suggesting that any professor who wishes to work for the government ought to get a leave of absence from his university and join the State Dept.

C.I.A. OPERATIONS: A PLOT SCUTTLED

Plan to Doctor Cuban Sugar Depicts Control Problem

Following is the fourth of five articles on the Central Intelligence Agency. The articles are by a team of New York Times correspondents consisting of Tom Wicker, John Finney, Max Frankel, E. W. Kenworthy and other Times staff members.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 27—On Aug. 22, 1962, the S.S. Streatham Hill, a British freighter under Soviet lease, crept into the harbor of San Juan, Puerto Rico, for repairs. Bound for a Soviet port with 80,000 bags of Cuban sugar, she had damaged her propeller on a reef.

The ship was put in drydock, and 14,135 sacks were off-loaded to facilitate repairs. Because of the United States embargo on Cuban imports, the sugar was put under bond in a customs warehouse.

Sometime during the lay-up, agents of the Central Intelligence Agency entered the customs shed and contaminated the off-loaded sugar with a harmless but unpalatable substance.

Later, a White House official, running through some intelligence reports, came upon a paper indicating the sabotage. He investigated, had his suspicions confirmed and informed President Kennedy, much to the annoyance of the C.I.A. command.

The President was not merely annoyed; he was furious, because the operation had taken place on American territory, because it would, if discovered, provide the Soviet Union with a propaganda field day, and because it could set a terrible precedent for chemical sabotage in the undeclared "back-alley" struggle that rages constantly between the West and the Communist countries.

Mr. Kennedy directed that the doctored sugar not leave Puerto Rico. This was more easily ordered than done, and it finally required the combined efforts of the C.I.A., the Justice

Continued on Page 28, Column 1

N. Y. Times
28 Apr '66

C.I.A. CASE FIGURE INVITES ARREST

**Estonian, Depicted as Spy,
Remains Free in Capital**

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, April 27—Erik Heine, the Estonian émigré now living in Canada whom the Central Intelligence Agency has formally labeled "a dispatched Soviet intelligence operative, a K.G.B. agent," arrived here today from Toronto. He was not arrested.
Both the C.I.A., and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which is charged by law with

protecting the internal security of the United States, declined to respond to a newsman's question: "If Mr. Heine is a Soviet agent, why do you not arrest him?"
Mr. Heine said he would "welcome an arrest" because "the trial would show I am innocent." He flew to the United States to prepare for an appearance in the Federal District Court in Baltimore tomorrow morning in his \$110,000 slander suit against Juri Raus, another Estonian émigré.
Mr. Raus, a 39-year-old Federal highway engineer in Washington who was formerly head of the Legion of Estonian Liberation, an Estonian war veterans group, has been identified in affidavits filed by the intelligence agency as one of its agents.
Lawyers engaged by the

agency to defend Mr. Raus in the slander suit have introduced in court sworn statements by Richard Helms, deputy director of the agency. These statements contend that Mr. Raus's public attacks on Mr. Heine were "absolutely privileged" and immune from suit because Mr. Raus was acting on official C.I.A. orders in discrediting Mr. Heine as a "Soviet agent."
Accordingly, Mr. Raus's lawyers have moved to dismiss the suit without a trial. The outcome of a trial would hinge on the agency's ability to prove the truth of its charges. For "security reasons," the agency says it cannot do so.
Mr. Heine, 46 years old, said he had been cleared without question by United States customs and immigration authorities in Toronto this morning.
"I really hoped they would

arrest me," he said on arriving here. "Then at least I would have my day in court."
Chief Judge Roszel C. Thomsen has strongly indicated that he will dismiss Mr. Heine's suit on the basis of Mr. Raus's and the agency's pleadings of immunity and secrecy under Federal statutes prohibiting any disclosures by the agency or its employees. Mr. Heine has said he would appeal.
Mr. Raus's lawyers have been unwilling to say publicly whether they are paid by Mr. Raus or the intelligence agency but have acknowledged receiving instructions from the agency.
In a memorandum filed today in the court in Baltimore, Ernest C. Raskauskas and Robert J. Stanford, Mr. Heine's lawyers, charged that the C.I.A., through Mr. Raus, had "slandered a hero of the Esto-

nian community" in the United States and Canada and was now refusing to submit to a court test because of "an intrinsic and inordinate worship of secrecy."
"These slanders are part of a deliberate and calculated design to destroy without proof, and no agency has ever been given such powers by statute in the history of the United States, unless it is ruled here that the C.I.A. has," the memorandum declared.

Peoria Journal Star

A-6

MORNING
CONTINUING

FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1966

The Peoria Transcript
Established 1855

The Peoria Journal
Established 1877

The Peoria Star
Established 1897

The CIA Is On Our Side

Excuse us, but what the hell is going on in this country?

What is this, when Michigan State university APOLOGIZES for ever having done any contract work for the Central Intelligence Agency? And Massachusetts Institute of Technology confesses it is embarrassed and is going to refuse to do any more work for the CIA?

You'd think they'd been working for the Communist party or the MVD, instead of an agency of the U.S. involved deeply in the safety of this country and its people!

When and how did it get to be shocking and shameful for specialists in colleges to do specialist work and put it at the service of the nation?

How did we get this twisted?

They OUGHT to be ashamed for turning their back on our country's needs, not ashamed of having been of some service!

Since the demise of the late, frightening Sen. Joseph McCarthy have we gotten responsible administration at Michigan State and MIT so brainwashed and confused that NOW when instead of hollering "Communist-lean-

ing" somebody shouts "You're TOO patriotic! Shame! Shame!" they pick up their skirts and run screaming to find a place to hide? A sort of reverse-McCarthy syndrome?

This is utterly ridiculous.

They have joined the citizens who turned their back on crime victims on the streets of New York because they didn't "want to get involved."

They ARE involved. We are all involved.

Those institutions have their existence in THIS world, in 1966, in the United States of America which is under a systematic attack around the world in the shadow war of secret agents and ingenious gadgets to provide knowledge on which to plan our own defense—and the CIA exists chiefly to frustrate those alien efforts and to provide us information that is vital to our safety.

These institutions ought to come down from whatever dream world they have conjured up and rejoin the U.S.

This cowardly flight from basic responsibility at the mere drop of an adjective is unthinkable. It is also asinine.

N.Y. Times
29 April 66

The C.I.A.: Qualities of Director Viewed as Chief Rein on Agency

Special to The New York Times

Following the last of five articles on the Central Intelligence Agency. The articles are by a team of New York Times correspondents consisting of Tom Wicker, John W. Finney, Max Frankel, E. W. Kemworthy and other Times staff members.

WASHINGTON, April 28 — As copious evidence of a Soviet military build-up in Cuba, including the installation of anti-aircraft missiles, poured into Washington in the summer of 1962, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, John A. McCone, had a strong hunch about its meaning.

He believed such an arsenal half-way around the world from Moscow had to be designed ultimately to protect even more important installations — long-range offensive missiles and nuclear weapons yet to be provided.

Mr. McCone told President

Kennedy about his hunch but specified that it was a personal guess entirely lacking in concrete supporting evidence. He scrupulously refused to impose his hunch on the contradictory documentary and photoanalysis evidence being provided by the intelligence community over which he presided. He continued to pass to the President and his advisers reports and estimates—based on all available evidence—that the Soviet Union was not likely to do what he believed in his heart it was doing.

When the evidence that the Russians had implanted offensive missiles in Cuba did come in, Mr. McCone was among those around the President who argued for quick, decisive air action before the missiles could become operative. But when the

Continued on Page 18, Column 1.

N. Y. Times
29 Apr. 66

C.I.A. Limits Agent's Testimony in Slander Suit

Sends 5 Lawyers to Federal Court in Successful Effort to Maintain Secrecy

By **BEN A. FRANKUN**

Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, April 27—The Central Intelligence Agency dispatched five Washington lawyers to the Federal District Court here today to close the door of legal discovery on the agency's clandestine operations in this country. The lawyers succeeded.

In a confused, three-hour hearing before Chief Judge Roszel C. Thomsen, the Government attorneys repeatedly removed a C.I.A. agent from the witness stand and conferred with him privately before permitting him to answer questions. Many questions they declined to let him answer at all.

In one half-hour period, the lawyers twice took the agent, Juri Raus, from the stand and into an anteroom or into Judge Thomsen's chambers for a total of more than 15 minutes. These two conferences were held to clear his answer in court to a single question about his contacts with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Reply Surprises Lawyers

Returning to the witness chair, Mr. Raus nonetheless told his lawyers by surprise by replying "Yess" to a question they said they had expected him to answer "No." At that point, another five-minute out-of-court conference was called.

The slip-up however, appeared to have provided no significant information.

At another point, one of the five lawyers, Kevin T. Maroney of the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department, objected to Mr. Raus's answering a question posed by Paul R. Connolly, a private lawyer working with the C.I.A. to defend Mr. Raus. The objection was sustained by Judge Thomsen.

The intelligence agency normally keeps all but its two top-



Associated Press Wirephotos

Juri Raus, left, and Erik Heine leaving the courthouse

ranking officials behind an opaque barrier of anonymity. But today the agency dispatched its general counsel, Lawrence R. Houston, to act as a secrecy umpire during the questioning of Mr. Raus for a deposition in the \$110,000 civil slander suit against him.

\$110,000 Asked in Suit

Erik Heine, a colleague of Mr. Raus in Estonian émigré organizations in the country and Canada, filed the suit after Mr. Raus publicly labeled him a Soviet agent. The defence contends Mr. Raus was acting under C.I.A. orders when he did this.

Mr. Houston, who told newsmen he had not appeared in open court for the agency since 1952, said that the 39-year-old Mr. Raus "was paid either directly or indirectly for his services on behalf of the C.I.A."

The hearing today was an attempt by Mr. Heine's lawyers to challenge the intelligence agency's claim of "absolute immunity" for Mr. Raus from the slander suit on the ground that the agent's statements about Mr. Heine had been made in his

privileged role as a Government official, acting on official orders.

Mr. Houston presented an agency affidavit, the fourth filed here since January, signed by Adm. William F. Raborn, director of Central Intelligence. It repeated the agency's assertion that Mr. Raus had been carrying out its orders, in discrediting Mr. Heine as "a dispatched Soviet intelligence operative, a K.G.B. agent" and that Mr. Raus was therefore immune from suit.

Dismissal Is Sought

Both the Government and Mr. Raus's lawyers, accordingly, have asked Judge Thomsen to dismiss the slander suit summarily. They also contend that a trial, which would require the C.I.A. to produce witnesses in support of its allegations against Mr. Heine, would "not be in the interest of the security of the United States" because such appearances would further compromise the agency's secrecy.

Judge Thomsen scheduled further argument for 2 P.M. May 13.