

The CIA on my Campus...and Yours

By Philip Zwerling

I share my campus with the Central Intelligence Agency. Years after covertly funding the National Students Association, spying on suspect faculty, and dosing unsuspecting students with psychedelic drugs, the CIA is back, funding conferences on 'intelligence ethics', subsidizing courses for academic credit, and recruiting operatives among some of the poorest students in the nation.

Though only one of 16 separate U.S. intelligence agencies, the CIA is perhaps the most famous, or infamous, of them all, and one of the most secret, with an estimated 2/3 of its budget (also secret) allocated for covert operations, estimated at some 3 billion dollars (Mooney 5). The combined budgets of the 16 agencies that constitute the IC, or Intelligence Community, is 43.5 billion dollars each year.

Founded July 26, 1947, at the beginning of the post World War II Cold War with the Soviet Union, the CIA grew out of the old wartime OSS, Office of Strategic Services. Though the public is not privy to or able to influence its decision making we have learned after the fact, through the work of the 1975 Church Select Committee to Study Government Operations and other investigators, of the CIA's involvement in the assassination attempts against Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, the Diem brothers in Vietnam, General Rene Schneider in Chile, Fidel Castro in Cuba, and its hand in the overthrow of governments in Iran in 1953, Guatemala in 1954, Zaire in 1961, Indonesia in 1965, Chile in 1973, and its backing for the Contra mercenary army in Nicaragua in the 1980's.

These activities are well known and documented, but many of today's students are unaware of this history. Those faculty and administrators who today collaborate with the CIA in spite of this past either argue that the CIA has changed its ways or that their personal involvement may moderate future CIA activity. Both attitudes were adopted by American intellectuals in 1950s, 1960s, and 1980s and have proved naive and illusory every time.

Most recently the long list of CIA abuses grew following 9/11 when the CIA set up so-called ‘black sites’, that is secret overseas prisons, and simultaneously tortured prisoners at the US base at Guantanamo, Cuba over a period of several years. According to the International Red Cross, prisoners (and these were prisoners who had not been [and may never be] indicted, tried or convicted of any crime) were waterboarded, confined in small boxes, shackled to the ceiling by their arms, kept in frigid cells, and slammed repeatedly into walls (New York Times April 7, 2009). We learned that accused Al Qaeda leaders Abu Zubagdah and Khalid Sheikh Mohammad had been waterboarded (a form of torture the US previously prosecuted Japanese soldiers for as a war crime following W.W. II), 83 and 183 times respectively. Torture that was inflicted after they had already divulged all of the information they possessed (New York Times April 18, 2009)..

The CIA tortures of this new millennium are replays of fifty years earlier when President Eisenhower set up the benign sounding Office of Public Safety “to increase the professionalism of police in Asia, Africa, and particularly Latin America” (Langguth). The first OPS Director was CIA agent Byron Engle. The OPS trained 100,000 Brazilian police following the CIA coup against elected President Jao Goulart. According to A.J. Langguth, author of *Hidden Terrors: The Truth Behind U.S. Police Operations in Latin America*: “The newly efficient police, drawing on training provided by the US began routinely torturing political prisoners and even opened a torture school on the outskirts of Rio...” Tortures included electric shock to the genitals and the ever popular waterboarding. Clearly the CIA has not changed its ways. Rather its actions are remarkably consistent over the course of its history.

The second defense of collaborators, that the involvement of ‘good people,’ educated people, humane people, with the CIA has or might ameliorate these CIA activities only begs the question of how much worse they could have been if left solely in the hands of ‘bad guys.’ Over time individuals’ scruples have had less impact than the culture, mission, history, and the very *raison d’être* for this secret organization. A bad system does not allow much room for people to do good.

Less well known, perhaps, than the assassinations and government overthrows has been the CIA's work within the US and abroad to infiltrate and manipulate to its own purposes labor organizations, refugees, journalists, artists, writers, intellectuals, musicians, film makers, and central to this paper, scientists, teachers, researchers, and students on campuses all over the globe. From its center at Langley, Virginia, the CIA has a worldwide reach (not unlike the tentacles of a giant octopus) working what Frank Wisner, the CIA's first Assistant Director for Policy Coordination, called "a mighty Wurlitzer organ capable of playing any propaganda tool he desired" (Wilford 7).

This manipulation worked through subversion, covert action, and especially, through secret funding. For example for over 25 years, beginning in 1952, the CIA secretly employed as many as 400 journalists. The New York Times alone accredited in excess of ten CIA agents as reporters (Wilford 227). Other CIA agents infiltrated the American Newspaper Guild (Wilford 242). They influenced publishing houses like Praeger and literary magazines like *Partisan Review* (Wilford 103) and *Encounter*, where, for example, they promoted the work of Edward Shils to denigrate the sociologist and government critic C. Wright Mills (Birnbaum 34). The CIA organized and funded public intellectuals through front organizations like the American Committee for Cultural Freedom and the Congress for Cultural Freedom to disseminate US propaganda abroad. Run by the CIA from 1950 to 1967 the CCF had offices in 35 countries, published 20 different magazines and a newspaper and in turn funded the Italian Association for Cultural Freedom and the British Society for Cultural Freedom (Saunders 102-103). Also in the 1950's actor and future President Ronald Reagan was "a leading spokesman and publicist for the CIA front Crusade for Freedom" (Saunders 127).

In one case they perpetuated a literary and historical fraud by publishing a book, *The Penkovsky Papers* in 1965. Purported to be the secret diary of an executed CIA agent within the Soviet military the book was really written and funded by the CIA (Gibbs 8). In fact, "well over a thousand books were produced, subsidized, or sponsored by the CIA up until 1967" (Gibbs 3). For example the anti-communist book *The God That Failed*, still in print today, was largely

edited, published, and distributed by US government agencies (Saunders 65-66)

In the film business, directors John Ford and Cecil B. DeMille and actor John Wayne collaborated with the CIA (Wilford 117) and other film makers “to insert in their scripts and in their action the right ideas with the proper subtlety” (Wilford 118). In at least one case, a film made from George Orwell's' novel *Animal Farm*, was funded by the CIA for theatrical release to the American public. (Wilford 118). At Paramount Studios a CIA agent claimed success in influencing the selection of scripts for filming as well as the manner in which they were brought to the screen (Wilford 120).

Artists, critics, collectors, museums, and galleries received CIA funding to produce and promote art deemed in the best interests of the US. This usually meant abstract expressionism designed to counteract the influence of Soviet realism (Wilford 106), it being thought that abstract art best expressed the US ideal of artistic freedom. But, since it was funded and promoted by the CIA it often was not, in fact, free at all.

The CIA justified all of these activities as crucial to waging the Cold War, protecting US interests and, even, protecting American lives. These activities were also secret, covert, and deceptive. And all were discontinued when exposed to public scrutiny. Obviously the CIA felt that the public would be less apt to accept as accurate material found in a literary journal, a movie, or a book that it learned had been funded by a government agency with its own political agenda, rather than chosen by an independent editor or publisher for its literary value or honest reporting.

But this paper is most concerned with the CIA on campus, a cloak and gown relationship now 60 years old and as subversive of academic values of free and critical inquiry, and rigorous and objective scholarship today as it was in the past. As in the past the CIA is attracted to covert work on campus to obtain access to the best brains, to skew research, recruit students (1,000 Agency employees are recruited from campuses each year), burnish its image, and to spy on faculty. As former CIA Personnel Director F.W.M. Janney wrote: “It is absolutely essential that the Agency have available to it the greatest single source of expertise: the American academic

community.” (Mills 29)

We know what this covert CIA work on campuses meant in the past. In the late 1940’s and early 1950’s Yale crew coach Skip Walz was paid \$10,000 by the CIA to “spot” likely recruits. Given these names, the CIA would conduct secret background checks, investigate the students without their knowledge or approval, and then approach them with job offers (Mills 21). By the late 1970s about 5,000 academics were working with the CIA to identify and recruit students for the Agency (Witanek 4).

William Buckley and Henry Kissinger were recruited at Yale and Harvard, respectively, to inform on their colleagues at the time of the campus purges and loyalty oaths of the 1950’s

Also in the 1950’s the CIA carried out its project MKULTRA mind control experiments, which included giving LSD to unsuspecting subjects, at 44 colleges and universities in the US (Mills 38). Participating in the program was Ewan Cameron, President of the American Psychiatric Association (Gibbs 3).

In the same decade, MIT and Cornell academics at field projects in Indonesia trained military officers who later led the coup that overthrew Indonesian President Sukarno and resulted in over a million deaths (Witanek 2).

In 1966, a CIA funding was exposed at Michigan State University to train South Vietnamese police to prop up that dictatorship.

In 1968 “the CIA used the Eagleton Institute for Research at Rutgers University in a plan to influence the outcome of the presidential election in Guyana. Through the Eagleton Institute the CIA helped amend the Guyanese constitution to allow Guyanese and relatives of Guyanese living abroad to vote by absentee ballot. Then 16,000 votes were manufactured in New York City giving the CIA’s candidate, Forbes Burnham, a narrow margin over socialist Cheddi Jagan (Witanek 3).

In 1966 the decades long CIA secret funding of the National Students Association was uncovered by Ramparts Magazine. In fact, the CIA was the largest funding source for the NSA, whose officers in return were required to sign secrecy oaths about the CIA relationship:

“...the CIA had a significant say in NSA operations. Student agents were enjoined against making... diplomatic overtures without first requesting permission of the Agency. In return for their cooperation, student agents received draft deferments arranged by the CIA (Mills 133).

The CIA also funded other campus front organizations like The Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs and then used that organization as a ‘pass through’ to secretly fund other youth organizations like the Asia Foundation, the American Friends of the Middle East, The International Student Conference, the United States Youth Council, and the International Catholic Youth Federation (Wilford 137).

The aim was to use reputable, existing foundations when possible and to create cover organizations when none existed. According to CIA agent Tom Braden:

There was a cover branch at the CIA whose job it was to provide cover, like the foundations we used in our operations....It was just a mechanism that we used....it was a crisscross of money. There was never any danger of the CIA running out of money (qt.. in Saunders 135).

The so-called bone fide foundations (Ford, Rockefeller, etc.):

...were considered the best kind of cover. A CIA study in 1966 argued that this technique was particularly effective for democratically run membership organizations, which needed to assure their non witting members and collaborators as well as their hostile critics that they have genuine, respectable, private sources of income. Certainly it allowed the CIA to fund a seemingly limitless range of covert action programs affecting youth groups, labor unions, universities, publishing houses...from the early 1950’s (Saunders 135)

One author estimates that between 1963 and 1966 the CIA was involved in one-half of all foundation funding in the U.S. (Saudners 134).

When such secret funding was revealed in 1967:

...a confidential White House report...observed:

‘We cannot expect to duplicate with overt funding the flexibility, responsiveness, and directly targeted results obtained by [the] CIA’ (Wilford 138).

In 1984 Professor Richard Manshack, Chair of the Rutgers Political Science Department assigned an undergraduate class to research Western Europe political developments and then secretly passed the student reports on to the CIA without the students’ knowledge or permission (Mills 33)

Since 1985 the CIA has run special seminars for university administrators focusing on campus recruitment (Mills 23)

In 1986, following disclosures that Dr. Nadav Safran, Director of Harvard University’s Center for Middle Eastern Affairs, was on the CIA payroll Harvard removed him but only after he had been funded by the CIA to write an academic book on Saudi Arabia and to organize an academic conference on Islam (Mills 32).

Just a few years earlier Samuel P Huntington, former Director of Harvard’s Center for International Affairs, was revealed to have been in the employ of the CIA “publishing documents that were both paid for and censored by the CIA” (Mills 32)

Also in 1986 the Northwestern University Traffic Institute hosted a CIA program to train Salvadoran police, some of them connected to the death squads then operating in El Salvador (Mills 38).

In 1988 the CIA had agents on 10 college campuses as part of its Officers in Residence program where active CIA agents teach academic credit bearing courses (Mills 30)

Publication of a secret memo in 1991 revealed that the Rochester Institute of Technology

had signed a Memorandum of Agreement with the CIA in 1985 agreeing that “it’s curriculum would be ‘responsive to certain defined specialties of the CIA’” (White 180) In 1988 a CIA agent had become an Institute trustee. In the same year the Federal Programs Training Center opened on campus where students were paid to forge documents, design furniture with secret drawers and picture frames with hidden compartments to hide listening devices (White 185).

Head of the American Political Science Association in 2000, Columbia University’s Robert Jervis was on the CIA payroll (Gibbs 2). Jervis is now a coeditor of the Security Studies Series published by Cornell University Press, serves on the board of nine scholarly journals, and has authored over 100 publications (<http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/academics/directory/rlj1-fac.html> accessed 4/6/09)

In 2002 the former head of the CIA, Robert Gates, became President of Texas A&M University (Gibbs 1). He declined President Bush’s invitation to become the first Director of National Intelligence in 2004 perhaps believing he was already effectively aiding the intelligence community on his college campus. He later left A&M to become Secretary of Defense.

In 2009 the CIA contracted with University of Southern California to have an undergraduate marketing class design a recruitment campaign for them.

“In the class, a preliminary suggestion for a slogan urged potential recruits to “Discover the Truth” about the CIA. That was jettisoned after some students in a test survey didn’t understand it and others suggested that such a search might turn up information discouraging to applicants. Instead, the class settled on a slogan that invites people to “Discover the CIA. Be Part of Something Bigger,” imposed over a colorful world map....” (Gordon 34)

That image seems highly appropriate as international assassinations and coups d’etat clearly constitute something bigger and ‘imposed’ on the world.

CIA representatives regularly attend academic conferences of “librarians, geographers, anthropologists, mathematicians, statisticians, etc.” (Mills 37)

It is no wonder, therefore, that CIA spokeswoman Sharon Foster could announce in 1988 that “the CIA has enough professors under Agency contract ‘to staff a large university’” (Mills 37).

Section 38 of the 2004 Intelligence Authorization Act set up the Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholars Program with four million dollars a year to recruit and train graduate students for the CIA (Cockburn). Participants’ identities are kept secret (Willing).

The 2010 intelligence authorization bill now before Congress ‘invites schools to apply for grants for courses that would meet the needs of the intelligence community. Students taking the courses would have to receive security clearances and their participation would remain secret. After graduation the students would be required to work for the CIA.’ (Wiener 21).

Under the guise of protecting the homeland and defeating international terrorism the CIA is back on campus today where its activities are once again wholly antithetical to academic ethics and goals.

For example, scholars who do research for the CIA find their research classified. This scholarship cannot be disseminated in the academic community where the very reason for research is dissemination and such scholars simultaneously become complicit in the nefarious workings of the CIA. Imagine how suspect medical research touting a major drug benefit becomes when other researchers and the public find out it has been funded by the drug manufacturer. Imagine as well how researchers may trim their inquiries and tune their conclusions not to offend a major funding source, whether that source be Merck, R.J. Reynolds, or the CIA.

This conflict of interest extends to publication where we must wonder whether CIA sponsored scholars who submit work to CIA funded publications where their work is peer reviewed by other CIA funded scholars do not find a friendlier reception for their work than scholars who refuse CIA funding. In this manner the CIA affects not only which scholars get published (and what we all get to read) but indirectly affects academic promotion and tenure which are dependent upon research and publication.

Scholars are granted security clearances to pursue their research but then find that they must submit all of their writing in that area to the CIA for review and permission to publish. Rather than granting access to information, a security clearance becomes simply one more way to control the flow of information.

The CIA funding largesse may also explain an absence of articles critical of CIA activities in academic journals. Researcher George Gibbs, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Arizona, reports: "I surveyed the five top journals in political science that specialize in international relations during the period 1991-2000. I did not find a single article in any of these journals that focused on CIA covert operations" (Gibbs 4). CIA money can publish articles and it can also insure silence.

Things are now much as they were in 1968 when Dr. Earl Bolton was Vice President of the University of California Berkeley "...and secretly consulting for the CIA." His memo, widely circulated among U.S. universities, advises the use of duplicity and deception to hide the CIA connection to the campuses. It also suggests lying about CIA involvement in university projects stating, "The real initiative might be with the Agency but the apparent or record launching of the research should, wherever possible, emanate from the campus." The memo continues:

Follow a plan of emphasizing that CIA is a member of the national security community and stress the great number of other agencies with which the agency is allied [and] ... stress in recruiting articles and speeches that the agency is really a university without students and not a school for spies. There is as much academic freedom within the walls of the building and among those competent on the subject as on any campus I know.

Bolton's memo also recommended setting up programs with CIA funds "to establish the study of intelligence as a legitimate and important field of inquiry for the academic scholar." (Witanek 1). Forty years later, the CIA is still at it, with lots of help from academics.

President Dwight Eisenhower, a former Army general and a former college president

(Columbia University) in his farewell address of January 17, 1961, not only warned against the rise of a ‘military-industrial complex’ but shared a second fear: “The prospect of domination of the nation’s scholars by Federal employment, project allocations and the power of money is ever present - and is gravely to be regarded” (qt. in Gibbs).

Some 45 years later you are apt to discover, as I did a few months ago, that the CIA is on my campus ...and yours. I’ve been teaching at the University of Texas Pan American for the last two years. It’s the fifth largest campus in the UT system but with its undergraduate population of 15,536, of whom 88% are Hispanic, it ranks second in the nation in the number of bachelor’s degrees awarded to Hispanic students (“UTPA Stats” pgs. 1,2). As I’ve also learned, the students here in the lower Rio Grande Valley are from one of the poorest areas of the state, often work full time to support families and are often the first in their family to attend college struggling in an academic environment for which they are often poorly prepared.

UTPA lies in Edinburg, seat of Hidalgo County, one of the poorest in the nation where one-third of families live below the poverty line. It is the 253rd poorest of Texas’ 254 counties. You don’t need a lot of intelligence to know that people here need jobs and money and the CIA arrived with offers of both in October 2006 with a five year grant worth two and a half million dollars as part of their new outreach program entitled Centers of Academic Excellence.

Part of a national effort begun in 2004 that has cost 16 million dollars and now involves eleven universities coast to coast (Trinity University in D.C., Norfolk State, The University of Texas El Paso, Wayne State, California State University San Bernardino, Clark Atlanta University, Florida International University, Tennessee State University, the University of Washington, and Carnegie Mellon), the CAE ups the ante from previous outreach projects like Title VI Fellowships and the National Security Education Program. Rather than fund language classes for students interested in a variety of US government careers, the CAEs are directly tied to the intelligence service and the grants come directly from the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (Willing). The program targets minorities and women at Historically Black Colleges, Hispanic-Serving Institutions, Tribal Colleges, and Asian American and Pacific

Islander-serving institutions (Guidance and Procedures 1). Created in 2004 the ODNI coordinates the work of the 16 US intelligence services and superseded the Director of National Intelligence, who had previously served concurrently as the Director of the CIA.

The primary goal is recruitment, or in the words of the ODNI to “enroll and graduate a significant number of ethnically diverse students who are eligible and competitive for careers across IC agencies and components” (Guidance and Procedures 1). According to Charles Allen, formerly with the CIA and now with the Department of Homeland Security: “We need young, bright aggressive Americans who really want to serve their country” (quoted in Willing).

But what these bright young Americans look like counts too. As T.J. Waters, an ex-CIA agent who teaches in the Eckerd College Intelligence Program in St. Petersburg, Florida said: “The intelligence community of the 21st century has to look and think a lot more like the world around it. These (programs) are a recognition of that” (quoted in Willing). It should also be noted that minority students, female students, students from poor families, students who often face limited job opportunities in the midst of a recession are ripe for recruitment. In the words of UTPA anthropology student Josi Mata: “They are profiling certain universities that have a high minority enrollment. They want students to fit in in Third World countries, specifically Latin America” (The Texas Observer April 21, 2006).

Earlier CIA recruiting at UTPA had been on the level previously seen at USC, making money available for marketing and recruitment. In 2005 a UTPA College of Business Administration’s Advertising and Promotions class was awarded a grant from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Collegiate Marketing Program through EdVenture Partners, which develops private industry-education partnerships with universities across the country by “blending academic theory with practical, hands-on applications” (UTPA press release). The class developed a recruitment program aimed at their own campus, produced an advertising campaign, and hosted a job fair for the CIA. According to the UTPA press release:

The challenge for the class ...is to design and implement its own unique marketing campaign for the CIA, focusing on specific marketing objectives designed by the CIA.

The goal is to increase awareness of the CIA and its career opportunities, market the CIA as an employer of choice to UTPA students and assist the CIA in positively marketing the agency and dispelling myths about the agency and careers within the agency.... [student] Flores said UTPA was selected to participate in the project based on the institution's positive academic record, geographical location and diverse culture. "The CIA is interested in how to market to different ethnic groups and UTPA was the perfect candidate for this," [undergraduate student] Flores said....

The marketing team had conducted a survey of UTPA students and determined that 57 percent had never been exposed to any CIA advertisement and 62 percent had never considered a career with the CIA. Flores said the survey also showed that most students thought the CIA was a very secretive organization and did not consider the CIA as a business organization with many job opportunities. "Our goal is to change those numbers significantly," Flores said. "Through diverse marketing strategies, we will increase CIA awareness and promote the CIA as an employer of choice."

During the marketing event, representatives from the CIA visited the UTPA campus to inform students of job opportunities with the agency. In addition to a live band, free food and drinks and games, nearly 1,500 students were also able to register for door prizes such as concert tickets, cash prizes, T-shirts and a television. The marketing team will continue to track the level of awareness of the CIA among UTPA students by conducting a follow-up survey of students in the coming weeks. Based on its research thus far, the team has made a few marketing strategy recommendations.

"To market to ethnically diverse populations, one must understand the culture. Furthermore, it is

most effective to market to cultures individually rather than standardize the message,” Flores said. “Our marketing agency chose a modern strategy – hosting an event – to create awareness, rather than the CIA’s more traditional approach used in the past.”

The project culminated...when the marketing students presented their results and recommendations to the CIA and EdVenture Partners representatives in addition to many UTPA staff and faculty members. The students also proposed the CIA maintain frequent visits to the University to increase awareness of the agency. Marilyn Blatnikoff, diversity recruitment coordinator for the CIA, was impressed with the students’ presentation and said their hard work and preparation was evident through their presentation and marketing suggestions. “Some of their recommendations are exactly in line with what we are trying to do,” Blatnikoff said. “We are trying to narrow our range of schools and go more often to those schools, so their suggestions are great” (Rodriguez)

In 2006, the CIA was back at UTPA with more money, two and a half million dollars, an initial a five year commitment, and a collaboration that changed the academic curricula.

UTPA took ODNI money and created the Integrated Global Knowledge and Understanding Collaboration. Christened IGkNU, the effort cobbles together courses in different departments to constitute both an undergraduate minor, a graduate certificate, and a Master of Arts, all in “Global Security Studies and Leadership.” According to their glossy brochures each “prepares students for careers in intelligence, national security, and other sectors of the global economy...” The back page of each brochure bears the impressive emblem of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence beneath the words “funded by.” The same emblem, complete with clickable internet link, appears on the IGkNU home page. IGkNU is the creature of ODNI. But how servile a creature?

Certainly the ODNI is getting its money’s worth with a toe hold on campus. In the words

of Dr. Van Reidhead, Dean of UTPA's College of Social and Behavior Sciences, home to IGkNU, "The intelligence community needs people with a global knowledge foundation. They (the intelligence community) can teach the trade crafts" (Perry).

To this end, IGkNU sponsors two summer language immersion programs, one in China (presumably the US rival for world preeminence in the 21st Century), and Morocco, a representative of the Arab and Islamic world from which comes the contemporary terrorist threat. In addition they send students to career conferences in D.C. where undergraduates mingle with recruiters from the various intelligence services. IGkNU also sponsors a resource room in the UTPA library named for themselves and stocked with information about the intelligence services, an annual speakers series, an annual National Conference on Global Security, and funding for faculty to develop new courses in the field.

IGkNU follows the advice in Earl Bolton's 1968 quoted above:

The real initiative might be with the Agency but the apparent or record launching of the research should, wherever possible, emanate from the campus.... Follow a plan of emphasizing that CIA is a member of the national security community and stress the great number of other agencies with which the agency is allied."

IGkNU never references the CIA except in a long list of US intelligence services and their activities are proffered as originating on campus and being of academic value. IGkNU then partners with other campus groups and individuals creating a daisy chain of interlocking front organizations all tied together by the CIA money.

For example, the ODNI grant to UTPA requires annual conferences, but rather than sponsor their own conference IGkNU drew in two partners while still retaining

the purse strings. The UTPA Office of International Programs and PACE (the Pan American Collaboration for Ethics in the Professions) lent their names to IGkNU and appeared as joint sponsors of an academic conference on campus in November 2008 entitled “Ethics in Intelligence, Security and Immigration: The Moral and Social Significance of Gathering and Managing Information and Borders in the Global Community.” One of the conference organizers, UTPA Associate Professor of Philosophy Dr. Cynthia Jones commented: “The conference will be geared to an objective view of the issues and by no means will it have a political agenda.”

But we might ask, would a conference on the dangers of smoking sponsored by the major cigarette companies or a conference on the ethics of gay marriage sponsored by the Moral Majority be able to claim either objectivity or the absence of a political agenda? The ODNI is very clear about the bias inherent in any such conference backed with IC CAE money since the top speakers are cherry picked for political reliability and a pro-CIA point of view, stating: “Colloquium...should contain...Keynote addresses by senior IC officials and national level experts” (Guidance and Procedures 7).

Students and faculty were invited to attend the ‘free’ conference (after all the ODNI had lavishly paid for it and stocked it with FBI, CIA, DEA, ICE and US Border Patrol Agents) and receive a ‘certificate’ of attendance. An undetermined number of UTPA and faculty members attended but I counted twenty-five or so UTPA students and faculty lining the entry way protesting the conference and leafletting attendees.

Having lent a patina of academic rigor to IGkNU for the conference, PACE Co-Chair Jones then went back to the Philosophy Department to propose amending the curriculum and establishing a course in “Intelligence Ethics.” This effort is also straight out of Bolton's 1968 memo "to establish the study of intelligence as a legitimate and important field of inquiry for the academic scholar." (Witanek 1). Surprisingly, however, Jones’ colleagues divided on the proposal and on a vote of 4 to 4 the new course died for the present although Jones was encouraged to teach the course as a special topics class.

IGkNU founded a summer ‘spy camp,’ a summer institute offered free to area high school students and advertised as “GOT INTELLIGENCE?” The IGkNU website describes the outreach to 9-11 grade teenagers:

The importance of intelligence gathering and analysis has become increasingly evident since September 2001, succeeding in a larger undertaking of US engagement abroad. Numerous studies have indicated the need for US intelligence analysts with diverse backgrounds and ethnicities, to become the new cadre of employees. As the challenges of the new century unfold, government agencies, private industry, consulting companies, and thinking tanks will increasingly rely on this new cadre of employees in formulating policies, and developing business strategies that are globally aware while at the same time protecting the interest of the US Government and corporations. The “GOT INTELLIGENCE?” Summer Institute is directed toward fostering Global Knowledge, Understanding, and Leadership skills to a new generation of students at the high school level. The Summer Institute will be multidisciplinary in nature, incorporating topics in History, Information Science, Engineering, Geology, Psychology, and Language studies, and designed to give the students critical tools which make them capable of analyzing events at the national and international level.

In the words of the ODNI, the high school outreach programs are designed to “increase the talent pool of students considering a career in the IC” (Guidance and Procedures 5). In other words, it’s never too young to join the CIA, for the ODNI also encourages summer spy camps for youth as young as “junior high school” (Guidance and Procedures 5) which will include: “several intelligence related exercises, scenarios, case studies....” (Guidance and Procedures 5).

In our sit down meeting on May 5, 2009 in newly refurbished offices in the Lamar building on the UTPA campus, Program Director Nick Weimer, hired out of a career in the hotel and

tourist industry, told me IGkNU has “no affiliation with the CIA. We do not work with the CIA” (although the ODNI funding comes in part from the CIA budget). “If a student wanted to work for the CIA,” Weimer said, “we’d take them as we would a student who wanted to work for the State Department.”

Though the grant requires the University to hold an annual public conference, sponsor study abroad, institute some curricula in the intelligence field, and reach out to high school students, Weimer insisted “We build the program, not them. In no way is our program spy training” (interview with author). However, the ODNI own Guidance and Procedures bulletin for the IC/CAE states clearly that a major goal of the funding is “Curriculum modification activity” governmentese for not only for creating new IC courses but also increasing the number of courses “modified to include IC related topics” (Guidance and Procedures 11) as the CIA infiltrates an unlimited number of university classes.

At the same time, however, UTPA is not an independent partner since the ODNI requires that “IC agencies and elements are actively involved in the development, implementation and operation of the IC CAE Program” (Guidance and Procedures 4).

And once again the Intelligence Community (CIA) reaches out into issues of academic careers, promotion and tenure, linking the IC CAE money to “support for sabbaticals, research, and related activities of faculty....” (Guidance and Procedures 7). Play ball with the CIA and gain access to the goodies that ensure successful careers.

IGkNU also used the IC CAE money to furnish and stock a conference room on the third floor of the UTPA library where many IGkNU speakers are presented. Though the conference room is open to all students the ODNI is clear about its use requiring that collaborating colleges “ensure that books, magazines, and material about each of the IC agencies and components are readily available for students” (Guidance and Procedures 8). Again, imagine a ‘tobacco industry library room’ stocked only with pro-smoking materials to propagandize students.

And where the Universities own faculty are deemed insufficiently reliable to promote the CIA the ODNI will “Provide curriculum development assistance. Assistance may include

officers-in-residence, contractors, local and national level experts and retired IC cadre to assist in IC CAE Program Development” (Guidance and Procedures 9). One group eager to aid the effort is the Association of Former Intelligence Officers whose editor wrote in their monthly bulletin of May 2007:

I recently visited the campus and found the students very engaging and eager to learn. I believe it would serve the nation well if AFIO members in the vicinity of UTPA made themselves available to visit the university and interact with the students. Of course there are the self proclaimed experts that are critical of the program, and anything we can do to support this DNI effort will serve our community well
(AFIO Weekly Intelligence Notes)

Not everyone has been so welcoming of the CIA/UTPA collaboration. A campus organization of undergraduate and graduate students, Students for Peace and Justice, has raised the issue in a series of small demonstrations, including their presence at the 2008 PACE/IGkNU conference, and leafletting faculty mailboxes. And some faculty have grown perturbed by the CIA’s growing campus presence. I asked Jose Skinner, an Associate Professor of English at UTPA, a published fiction writer formerly active in the Nicaragua solidarity movement, what was wrong with having the CIA and other intelligence agencies fund programs and courses if it benefits our students educationally and in finding jobs:

What kind of courses does the CIA have in mind?
Advanced Waterboarding Techniques? Recruitment and Training of Unilaterally-Controlled Latino Assets? Case Studies in the Destabilization of Democratically-Elected Governments? No corporation or agency of the U.S. government should be allowed to set or influence curriculum at our university (interview 5/22/09)

Does it matter, I asked Skinner, if the money comes through the ODNI rather than directly from the CIA?

If it doesn't matter where the money comes from.
Why not ask the Gulf Cartel or the Mafia for funds?
I hear they have lots. I assume such monies come
with curricular strings attached, like the
Intelligence funds do. That being the case, some
course suggestions: Money Laundering Through
the Ages, Polyploidy in Enhancement of THC
in Cannabis Indica, Pablo Escobar: Hero of the
People (ibid).

Half of a million dollars a year arriving in the midst of a worldwide recession is welcome funding to a struggling state school. So far the protests are few and small in number and most faculty and students have yet to pay attention to what is happening on their campus. Much the same, however, could have been said about the beginning stages of campus activism in years past around sweatshop labor and apartheid divestment. In 2005 student demonstrations at New York University forced a planned CIA recruitment effort off that campus. Campus teach-ins and demonstrations being contemplated now may bear fruit in the coming academic year as part of a growing national movement. So far the CIA has operated in the shadows on campus but the academy is the place where research and investigation illuminate issues and where critical thinking leads to public debate. And that may be too much attention for a CIA that has never been comfortable operating in the light of day.

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