

demise might seem to verify Walter Laqueur's subsequent conclusion that CIA support paradoxically gave CCF greater vitality and independence than it would have gained otherwise:

Could the big foundations have stepped in? Attempts were made in the 1950s but they were not very successful. Furthermore, it is quite likely that under the tutelage of the foundations, Congress seminars and publications would have had less freedom than under the CIA. Such are the ironies of history.⁹⁵
(U)

From Geneva, Michael Josselson sadly watched his handiwork decay. A few of his old colleagues came to call; Agency officers visited him from time to time to ask about people and programs he had worked with over his long career.⁹⁶ Josselson spent much of his time writing a biography of Barclay de Tolly, the immigrant general who commanded the Russian armies retreating before Napoleon in 1812. Barclay had delayed the French and burned everything useful in their path, waiting for the onset of winter to weaken Napoleon's forces, but angry Russian leaders, impatient for a victory, accused Barclay of treason and sacked him. Peter Coleman notes that Josselson saw parallels between his own campaign and Barclay's, although a quick vindication was not to be one of them. The Czar reinstated Barclay as commander in time for him to parade through Paris at the head of his troops in 1814, whereas public acclaim and gratitude found Josselson only in death. After he died in January 1978, tributes and flowers came from around the world. Only a handful of mourners attended his funeral, but among them was a CIA official who brought along Josselson's Distinguished Service Medal. Perhaps feeling that her husband's heart had been broken by strain of the double life he had led at the Congress, Diana Josselson refused it.⁹⁷ (U)

Conclusion (U)

The Congress for Cultural Freedom's overt and covert missions were really the same: to convince the "non-Communist left" that Communism stifled art and thought, and that culture had survived and even flourished in the bourgeois democracies of the West. Despite its complexities and problems, QKOPERA remained viable for 16 years (at a

⁹⁵Laqueur, "The Congress of Cultural Freedom," n. 19 (U).

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⁹⁷Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy*, pp. 42-43, 240-242. The account of Diana Josselson refusing the medal is touching, but there seems to be no corroboration for it in CIA files. (U)

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Given all this, the verdict on CCF seems positive. By 1967, few if any serious observers believed that the Soviet Union and Communism had advanced culture and cultural freedom. For this, and for the salutary influence that the Congress had on dissident thought *behind* the Iron Curtain, CCF merits some credit.¹⁹ This positive result outweighed the damage done, both at home and abroad, by revelations of CIA support. No prominent figure attached to the Congress suffered much real harm from the revelations. The reputations of Raymond Aron, Irving Kristol, Arthur Schlesinger, Stephen Spender (and a host of others) for independence and integrity have not been diminished by their work with the Congress for Cultural Freedom. (S)

The accomplishments of both the Congress and the QKOPERA project must be credited in no small part to one man—Michael Josselson. The project's forays into American politics—its use of prominent Americans as unwitting spokesmen and agents, as well as CCF's subsidization of criticism of US policies—are also attributed to Josselson. From the early 1950s onward, Headquarters trusted Josselson and followed his lead when it came to balancing the project's anti-Communist mission against the need to maintain credibility among foreign intellectuals who were sometimes critical of the United States. Josselson combined the tact needed to make allies out of skeptics with the savvy needed to protect and promote QKOPERA in Washington. Without him there would have been no Congress for Cultural Freedom; the CIA might not have found anyone else who could assemble and manage such an extraordinary organization, and the Congress itself probably would not have made such efficient and effective 25X1

The worldwide influence of CCF and the key role of Michael Josselson provide the essential context for an understanding of the CIA's involvement with the controversial American Committee for Cultural Freedom. The American Committee's covert sponsor, the Office of Policy

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¹⁹Walter Laqueur claims Congressional publications were clandestinely circulated in the Soviet Union and were particularly influential in Poland; "The Congress of Cultural Freedom," pp. 11, 23-24. (v)

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QKOPERA.

Epilogue (U)

The *Ramparts* revelations of February 1967 prompted angry accusations and rebuttals in Washington. Congressional and media commentators reacted harshly. Senator Eugene McCarthy (D-MN) asked rhetorically: "Where do you draw the line? Is it all right for the CIA to tell us that 'everything goes'? This is what Hitler said. Where do we put a stop to all this?"¹ CIA fought back, in private. The House Appropriations Committee called DCI Richard Helms to testify in closed session on 15 February. In his testimony the DCI angrily rejected the hint that his Agency had subverted NSA:

We have done no such thing. We simply turned money over to them to use for travel funds and things of this kind and made no effort whatever to guide that money nor to tell them how they should run their organization. Our hands are totally clean in this.² ~~(S)~~

President Johnson swiftly appointed a blue-ribbon panel to get behind the rhetoric and examine the facts. Acting Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach chaired the three-member team in reviewing CIA activities that might "endanger the integrity and independence of the educational community."³ His fellow panelists were Secretary for Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner, and DCI Helms himself. ~~(S)~~

Events moved even faster than President Johnson did. With the government now officially acknowledging that it had covertly funded NSA, journalists and researchers suddenly possessed hard evidence that tied together many hitherto frustrating leads. *Ramparts* had received its NSA tip from Michael Wood, the former Association staff member, but *Ramparts'* young reporters had verified Wood's allegations and added considerable detail by laboriously uncovering NSA's funding sources. This data in turn led back to a handful of shadowy foundations and trusts with no visible means of support. (U)

¹"The Silent Service," *Time*, 24 February 1967, p. 15. (U)

²Helms' testimony appears in Robert M. Hathaway and Russell Jack Smith, *Richard Helms as Director of Central Intelligence* (Washington: CIA History Staff, 1993), p. 170. ~~(S)~~

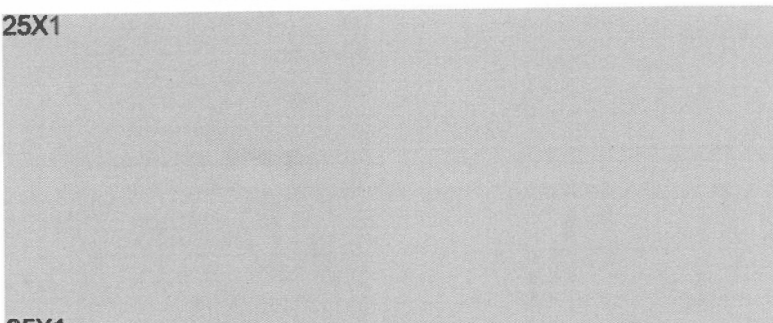
³Neil Sheehan, "Order by Johnson Reported Ending CIA Student Aid," *New York Times*, 15 February 1967, pp. 1, 18. Johnson's charge to the Katzenbach panel is cited in US Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities [the "Church Committee"], "Final Report, Foreign and Military Intelligence, Book 1," 94th Congress, 2nd Session, 1976, p. 186. (U)

Ramparts discovered that these funding organizations were also linked—through a variety of legitimate foundations—to other groups, such as the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the American Friends of the Middle East, that were long rumored to be collaborating with the CIA. In the days following the NSA story, dozens of reporters methodically traced these same leads even further. In less than a week, news stories had exposed the Agency's covert sponsorship of dozens of domestic academic, labor, and cultural organizations. (U)

The revelations damaged CIA operations at home and abroad. The Directorate of Plans responded to the *Ramparts* exposé by creating an emergency program (MHDOWEL) to contain the damage and later to dispose of ruined projects and compromised assets. On March 24 the Katzenbach panel reported to the President, recommending tighter operational controls:

It should be the policy of the United States Government that no federal agency shall provide any covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or private voluntary organizations.⁴

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This was indeed the end to an era of CIA covert action. *Ramparts* and its competitors had precipitated one of the worst operational breakdowns in CIA history. (S)

⁴The Katzenbach report and President Johnson's brief response are published together as "CIA Support to Private Organizations: Statement by the President Upon Receiving the Report of the Committee Appointed to Review Relationships, with Text of the Report," 29 March 1967, *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, 3 April 1967, pp. 556-558. Cited hereafter as "Katzenbach report." (U)

⁵Philip W. Kaufman provides a comprehensive overview of CIA damage control efforts in "The 1967 Reappraisal and Readjustment in Covert Action Operations: The Katzenbach Committee Report," January 1971, *Clandestine Services History Program 384*, CIA History Staff, p. 97. (U)

⁶Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, "Annual Report to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board," 30 September 1968, 25X1



Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach chaired a panel to reform covert action policies. (U) New York Times ©

Despite all the operational and political damage, however, few if any Agency careers suffered damage from the *Ramparts* flap. DCI Richard Helms served five more years under Presidents Johnson and Nixon

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25X1 There are no indications that Director Helms criticized DDP Desmond Fitzgerald over the disaster. It did put him under considerable strain, however, and he died of a heart attack in July 1967. Indeed,

Agency leaders seem to have reasoned that every battle has its casualties, 25X1

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The blow to the Agency's covert action network did not for many years, however, inspire either the private or the public sectors to fund American groups working overseas to promote American goals and values. The Katzenbach report had noted that more donors seemed willing to support worthy projects abroad than had been the case in the early 1950s. It suggested that covert funding fostered "foreign doubts about the independence" of private organizations, which in turn impaired the benefits they sought to confer. The committee recommended a new "public-private mechanism" to allocate public funds openly. (U)

President Johnson appointed a panel of Congressmen, public servants, and private experts to consider this recommendation. The panel—the Committee on Overseas Voluntary Activities—informally took its name from its chairman, Secretary of State Dean Rusk.⁸ This Rusk Committee did not live up to expectations. Despite the introduction of several bills in Congress to create new mechanisms for spending public money on worthy causes abroad, the Committee drifted, fruitlessly debating the details of various funding proposals in sessions attended by few of the panel's more senior and influential members.⁹ The committee's final

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⁸ Katzenbach report. (U)

⁹ Robert H. Phelps, "Panel on CIA Subsidies Divided over Alternatives," *New York Times*, 18 December 1967, p. 1. (U)

report, issued in May 1968, fell on deaf ears in the midst of the tumultuous primary campaign to succeed Lyndon Johnson as president. The idea of a public-private partnership subsequently languished until 1983, when Congress joined the Reagan Administration to create the National Endowment for Democracy. (U)

The Rusk Committee had stumbled on the problem of deciding which American political views merited public support. Indeed, the *Ramparts* revelations reverberated so widely not merely because they raised anew the sensitive question of a secret agency's place in a democratic society, but because they credibly showed the Agency playing favorites by supporting mostly liberal groups and activists. Many of those who criticized the Agency accused it of intervening in domestic politics. (U)

Comments from both sides of the political spectrum demonstrated the anger of many Americans over the Agency's operations. NSA's conservative rival, the Young Americans for Freedom, dismissed the government's contention that the CIA had subsidized only the Association's dealings with foreign students and had steered clear of domestic politics:

The inescapable conclusion is that when a subsidy is given an organization rather than individuals—and a political organization, moreover, with extensive activities both domestic and foreign—it is impossible to separate the subsidy into two different components, labeled "here" and "there."¹⁰ (U)

Writing from a New Left perspective, Todd Gitlin and Bob Ross tacitly agreed with the Young Americans for Freedom that the CIA had underwritten NSA's allegedly staid, establishment liberalism. Gitlin and Ross found this objectionable enough, but directed most of their anger at the way in which the leaders of NSA had subtly convinced New Left activists that they had won modest but significant influence in Association councils. "Free and open" debate reigned in NSA, but Gitlin and Ross alleged that this openness was just a CIA stratagem:

The left was courted with a flair for what Herbert Marcuse calls "repressive tolerance"—a legitimating function which drained opposition away from the main issue: the purpose of NSA in the first place. And the left cooperated too nicely. Winning sporadic victories, small programs like the 1961 Academic Freedom Project, many of us on the left thought we had

¹⁰"CIA/NSA: The Central Issue," *New Guard*, April 1967. Reprinted in Philip Werdell, ed., *The CIA and the Kiddies* (a pamphlet held at the Library of Congress, 1967). (U)

stepped the first inch toward the final mile. But the crucial factor was control, and here the elite were not about to allow anyone more than that first inch." (U)

Public anger directed at CIA thus arose partly from concern that the Agency had covertly steered American opinion toward support for the nation's established foreign policies and the elites who made them. The criticisms leveled by the New Left and the Young Americans for Freedom revolved around the same complaint: that the supposedly open political debates within NSA were covertly channeled toward certain policy outcomes—and away from others—by secret agents subsidized by unwitting taxpayers. "The few who knew prostituted us all," complained one former NSA officer in 1967.¹² (U)

The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the National Student Association, and the American Friends of the Middle East expressed not merely anti-Communism but, more significantly, the "political philosophy" that permeated CIA—and much of the government's foreign policy apparatus—at the height of the Cold War. Here is the pattern behind the Agency's choices of "brokers" in all three of the organizations studied. The philosophy shared by the Agency and its agents was militantly liberal, in the sense of a self-conscious defense of rationality and democratic procedural freedoms against threats from the Left and the Right.¹³ Communism was always seen as the primary threat. CIA officers came to view "extremism" of any stripe as dangerous, however, because it potentially created opportunities for Soviet gains. This outlook was obvious in the postures of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the National Student Association, both of which criticized right-wing regimes like Franco's Spain as readily as Communist ones. Although the American Friends of the Middle East spent less effort on the East-West struggle per se, it still ostensibly sought to nurture a moderate center between the hostile ideologues of Zionism and Arab hatred of Israel. (S)

Extremism existed in America as well (albeit in milder forms), with Communists and fellow travelers on the Left and "McCarthyite" anti-Communists on the Right. 25x1

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¹² Todd Gitlin and Bob Ross, "The CIA at College: Into Twilight and Back," *Village Voice*, 1967; Reprinted in Wendell, ed., *The CIA and the Kiddies*. (U)

¹³ Stuart H. Loney, "Mystery Death Hides CIA Ties," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 February 1967. The officer speaking was Robert W. Beyers, NSA's director of public relations in 1954-55. (U)

¹⁴ See Gary Goratke's discussion of this in "The Protean Character of American Liberalism," *American Historical Review* 99 (October 1994): pp. 1071-1072. (U)

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One NSA officer complained to Senator Fulbright in 1967 that CIA had adopted a rigidly anti-Communist posture in its covert funding decisions; that the Agency needed to be exercising "a good deal more intelligent discretion . . . rather than supporting the group that was . . . on the face of it the most pro-American, but rather supporting one which was most useful politically."¹⁴ A *Los Angeles Times* reporter asked in print around the same time: "How good can CIA be at judging changing political trends abroad if it did not notice the change in attitudes among American students?"¹⁵

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¹⁴US Senate, Foreign Relations Committee, unpublished testimony of Richard Stearns, 16 March 1967, p. 165. The Foreign Relations Committee declassified this transcript in 1997. (U)

¹⁵Loory, "Mystery Death Hides CIA Ties." (U)

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Ramparts flap gave critics on both the Left and Right concrete examples of the official practices that they had suspected and decried for years. Indeed, the Left attacked the Agency's subversion and deceit as home-made totalitarianism and argued that the CIA had become a primary enemy of domestic liberties. Meanwhile, the Right did not complain about the means of covert action to advance US foreign policy so much as it complained of the groups that those subsidies benefited. If we are going to have a covert subsidy program, said conservatives, let us at least use it to help true anti-Communist allies instead of fair-weather friends. Both attacks would be heard again—with greater force and consequence for the Agency and the nation—in the 1970s and 1980s. (C)

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INTELLIGENCE

Hearts & Minds

During the Cold War, American Presidents from Harry Truman to Lyndon Johnson endorsed CIA covert action programs to support overseas efforts by anti-Communist American voluntary organizations. This is the story of three such covert subsidy programs, including two of the best known - those involving the National Student Association and the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The entire network abruptly collapsed when exposed in the 1967 "Ramparts flap." In *Hearts and Minds*, this story is told for the first time from the original documents.

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