

## **Ethical Failure: Intelligence Agencies and U.S. Universities**

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### **Abstract**

*Public Law 108-177, “The Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004 resulted in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence establishing grants to predominately minority serving institutions to establish “Intelligence Community Centers for Academic Excellence. These centers were to create academic programs related to careers in intelligence, and to serve as a means of recruiting predominately minority students into careers with U.S. intelligence agencies. Congresswoman Jane Harman (D California), who, at the time, was a member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, stated the bill’s purpose was to recruit “... spies that (sic) look like their targets...”. At least theoretically, our colleges and universities are supposed to be independent institutions of learning, not pipelines for recruiting people into professions that diametrically opposed the long-standing principles of the Academy. Although U.S. intelligence agencies have penetrated our colleges and universities on numerous occasions both to recruit students into intelligence careers and to conduct research, these precedents lend credence to the undesirable and ultimately detrimental effects such penetration has had on academe. The history of many U.S. intelligence agencies in engaging in unethical, immoral, and blatantly illegal conduct further justifies the argument our college and universities should not participate in programs funded by U.S. intelligence agencies.*

*...[T]he free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. ... 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.*

**President Dwight Eisenhower**

### **Intelligence Agencies and the University**

In December, 2003, Congress passed Public Law 108-177, “The Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004”. Section 318 authorized funding for a “pilot program” to establish the Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholars Program (PRISP), named for the Republican Senator from Kansas. Graduate students willing to commit to employment in an intelligence agency upon completion of their studies can receive stipends of as much as \$40,000 per year. Those who change their minds must repay the stipends. Limited during the pilot period to no more than 150 students, the program, now in place for six years, has been extremely secretive. No list of persons receiving scholarships has been released and persons involved in administering the scholarship program routinely have dissembled with respect to the transparency (actually, the lack of transparency) in the program. (Price, 2005)

Section 319 authorized establishing a program to recruit a more diverse population into intelligence agencies. To achieve that end, the Director of National Intelligence decided to establish “Intelligence Community Centers of Academic Excellence” (IC-CAE) at primarily minority serving colleges and universities within the United States. The purpose of PRISP and IC-CAE, in the words of Congresswoman Jane Harman (D-CA) who strongly advocated establishing these programs is to use our nation’s colleges and universities to recruit “... spies that (sic) look like their targets; CIA officers who speak the dialects terrorists use, and FBI agents who can speak to Muslim women who might be intimidated by men.” Through PRISP and IC-CAE, our colleges and universities are to become devices to recruit “spies that look like their targets”, that is operatives who will work in countries of their ancestral origin.

Certainly we need intelligence agencies capable of working at home and abroad to gather actionable intelligence not only to protect the United States from enemies “foreign or domestic”, but also to protect citizens against individuals who would commit crimes, whether those crimes be violations of citizens’ civil rights, organized crime, or financial swindlers out to fleece hard working citizens. The question is whether, given the record of U.S. intelligence organizations, colleges and universities should join in partnership with the Directorate of National Intelligence to recruit students from our campuses to be “spies”. On the surface, such collaboration would appear to be as defensible as ROTC programs currently on numerous college campuses. Upon examination, however, there is

impressive evidence such cooperation by our colleges and universities violate the ethical and moral purposes of education in general and higher education in particular.

Indeed, the ROTC analogy is weak for multiple reasons. First, the ROTC program is completely open. Students on scholarship are a matter of public record. Cadets routinely wear ROTC uniforms on campus. Second, ROTC does not specifically target minority populations, though ROTC probably is more likely to be on campuses with “working class” than upper class student bodies. Third, ROTC cadets have a genuine understanding, or at least have opportunities to gain genuine understanding of what they will be doing, what will be expected of them once they are commissioned. Students in PRISP or IC-CAE, especially minority students, may be in for some extremely rude awakenings.

Returning to Congresswoman Harman’s statement about needing “spies that look like their targets”, are students recruited into these programs told there is a strong possibility they will not be working as “analysts” as they often are told they will? During debate over whether there should be an IC-CAE program at the University of Texas-Pan American (UTPA), whose student body is over 80% Mexican-American, the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences Dean repeatedly stated publicly students recruited into the program who join intelligence agencies upon graduation would become analysts, and denied they would become operatives. When asked why he believed IC-CAE students at UTPA would not become operatives, he responded CIA officers told him the students would not become

operatives; and the Dean said he believed them. He believed the CIA.

This raises an interesting question. If they will be analysts, why is there any particular need to recruit minority students? One does not need to be African-American or Mexican-American or Oriental-American or Arab-American to be an analyst. One's ethnicity does not necessarily mean a person has any cultural ties with or understanding of Latin America or Africa or Asia or the Middle East that would enhance their ability to analyze intelligence from those regions. Furthermore, analysts generally are not considered to be "spies". Operatives who travel to these regions are "spies." What Congressman Harman envisions with the PRISP and IC-CAE programs is recruiting minorities who can go to Middle Eastern, African, Latin American, Asian nations and "fit in", who physically look like the native population. With the secrecy and duplicity surrounding these programs, we must ask whether it is ethical for colleges and universities to allow these programs on their campuses, irrespective of our legitimate need for legitimate intelligence officers.

For at least some (e.g., Jaschik 2006; Mackay and Arrow, 2004; Witaneck, 1989; Zaidi, 1999, Price, 2005), the presence of such programs on our campuses raises profound ethical questions. Given the nature of these programs, the fact PRISP is shrouded in secrecy, and the duplicity in "selling" IC-CAE programs to at least some universities, these questions seem completely appropriate. Furthermore, one extremely troubling aspect of the IC-CAE program is participating universities are required

as part of the grant contract to run programs in public schools to recruit middle and high school teachers who will assist in recruiting middle and high school children toward school programs designed to direct these children into careers in intelligence agencies. This is a nonnegotiable absolute requirement of the grant; a university refusing to implement a middle and high school recruitment program automatically is ineligible for the grant. It is one thing to approach college students who are adults, who, at least theoretically, are sufficiently well educated to be able to think about and analyze the pros and cons of a career with an intelligence agency. Children, however, are highly receptive to suggestion and manipulation. Our public schools are chock full of indoctrination into the American “mono-myth” (Jewett and Lawrence, 1977; Lawrence and Jewett, 2002; Jewett and Lawrence, 2003). This makes these children extremely vulnerable to being lured into a profession they would not have chosen as a mature and educated adult.

This is not the first time concerted efforts have been made by U.S. intelligence agencies to penetrate our colleges and universities. Prior efforts have usually met with disastrous results. In and of itself, this sordid record of the uses to which intelligence agencies have attempted to put colleges and universities is grounds for any university with any intellectual and academic integrity to refuse to participate in establishing these alleged “Centers of Academic Excellence.” “Excellence” hardly is what prior programs, or this current program, are about.

The origins of intelligence agencies penetrating colleges and universities can be

traced back to the beginning of the Cold War, when there was a concerted effort to use the emerging behavioral sciences to gain a better understanding of the human psychology and the pathways of the brain. This arose from the concern the Soviets had developed psychoanalytic methods to extract information and confessions from detainees, and to engage in “mind control” (Janis, 1949). From here it was a short trip to our universities by the CIA and the Office of Naval Research to academe, recruiting scientists and social scientists in research on mind control, mind altering drugs and torture (Greenberg, 2006; Grey, 2006; Harbury, 2005; McCoy, 2006; Williams, 2006).

Herein lie the fundamental reasons why academe should resist penetration by government intelligence agencies. Higher education, the academy, is, or should be devoted to the humanities broadly defined. That is, our colleges and universities seek to create and disseminate knowledge for the purpose of improving the human condition. The humanities are dedicated to the proposition of the sanctity of human life. Medicine is studied and practiced to save lives, cure disease and improve the quality of life. The arts exist to enrich life. The social sciences strive to seek better understanding of culture and human behavior to enable us to have a better understanding of ourselves, of other peoples, other cultures so we might be more tolerant, more accepting, more peaceful toward one another, and also to be able to participate more fully in the social, economic and political processes of society, to achieve “self actualization (Maslow, 1961 & 1974). The master academe exists to serve humanity writ large. Serving the master of

humanity imposes certain ethics on academicians, just as medicine, through the Hippocratic Oath, imposes certain ethics on medical doctors. Those ethics require academicians to conduct their research and their teachings in a manner consistent with the sanctity of humanity. This is evidenced and mandated by law (Public Law 93-348) in the care academicians performing research on human subjects must take to ensure no harm comes to the subjects of their studies (Belmont Report, 1978).

Intelligence agencies serve government--more accurately, when so ordered, they serve as the President's Secret Police--and agencies engage in activities as directed, irrespective of humanitarian concerns, even in violation of established law. Under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, it is illegal for a soldier to obey an order he knows to be unlawful. The problem, of course, is, on the battlefield, the clear unlawfulness of an order may not be apparent. Even when apparent, soldiers are unlikely to refuse to obey for fear of being court-martialed for disobeying a direct order. After all, as George Bush's claims that "unlawful combatants" do not enjoy protection under the Geneva Convention, as well as John Woo's parsing of U.S. laws prohibiting torture clearly demonstrate, what the government claims to be legal and actually is legal can be two entirely different things.

**Intelligence Agencies: Ethically, Morally and Legally Challenged**

*If government becomes a law breaker, it breeds contempt for the law; it invites*

*every man to become a law unto himself;  
it invites anarchy.*

**Mr. Justice Louis D. Brandies**

Intelligence agencies do have codes of ethics their officers are supposed to abide by. However, those codes frequently mean nothing to operatives in the field. As Frank Varelli, a paid operative of the FBI who infiltrated the Dallas, Texas chapter of CISPES (Citizens in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) reported to CBS in February, 1987, his FBI handler justified the FBI's illegal activities against CISPES and encouraged Varelli to assist the El Salvador National Guard assassinate Americans traveling to El Salvador who were opposed to U.S. policies in Central America. And, indeed, the Varelli case and both the FBI's blatant disregard for and violation of law is richly documented in *The Cointelpro Papers* (Churchill and VanderWall, 2001). Both the FBI and CIA frequently demonstrate such disregard of law (1). In the Alice in Wonderland world of intelligence agencies, the law is not what is written on paper, but what intelligence officers or their master want it to be.

Simply stated, the conduct of intelligence agencies is ethical and legal only so long as ethical and legal conduct suit their purposes. When ethical and legal conduct ceases to serve their purposes, there always will be at least some intelligence officers, and their paid operatives, who will ignore them. With little or no reflection on their violations of ethics, morality, or law, they will rationalize their unethical and illegal behavior in the pretense of "national security", "just following orders", or whatever other

arguments of convenience appear likely to “fly”. As reported in the documentary film “*The Ku Klux Klan, A Legacy of Hate*” (2009), the assassin who murdered civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, a mother of five who was ferrying civil rights marchers in Dr. King’s 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, was a paid operative of the FBI. Similarly, Ed Dawson, one of the organizers of the “Greensboro Massacre” in which five civil rights workers were assassinated by members of the Ku Klux Klan, was a paid operative of the FBI and the Greensboro, North Carolina police. Bernard Butkovich, another participant in the massacre, was a paid operative of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (The Klan, 2009). Although there is no evidence the FBI ordered or even sanctioned these assassinations, Churchill and VanderWall (1988 &1990) and as other authors (Blackstock, 1988; Levine, 1990; Gelbspan, 1999; Swearingen, 1999; Trento, 2001) clearly establish the FBI has engaged in numerous illegal and/or violent activities against targeted groups in the U.S., including planned assassinations.

**The CIA: Over Throwing Democracies,  
Assassination, Drugs**

*To sanction disrespect and disregard for the Constitution in the name of protecting society from law-breakers is to make the government itself lawless and to subvert those values upon which our ultimate freedom and liberty depend.*

**Mr. Justice William Brennan**

The FBI's activities pale in comparison to those of the CIA, which has been involved in numerous unethical and illegal activities, from overthrowing democratic governments, to assassinations, torture, mass murder, complicity and even active involvement in drug trafficking. In 1953, the Eisenhower administration decided it did not like the democratic government in Iran, which was balking at turning over Iranian oil fields to the U.S. The CIA was sent in to destabilize the government, provoke a coup, and help install Mohammed Reza Pahlavi as the Shah of Iran (Kinzer, 2006). The CIA and Israeli intelligence created Savak, the Shah's murderous secret police (Kinzer, 2006, p. 200). A brutal dictatorship ensued in which thousands of Iranians were imprisoned, tortured and murdered, until the Iranian people finally overthrew the Shah in 1979. The problems we have with Iran today can be traced directly to the activities of the CIA in Iran in 1953. The CIA has a neologism for the unintended (though often completely predictable) consequences of their unethical and illegal activities "blowback" (Johnson, 2004). A year later, the Eisenhower administration decided it did not like the democratic government in Guatemala because the government had displeased the United Fruit Company, which treated Guatemala like its own private plantation. Eisenhower sent in the CIA to overthrow the government (Doyle & Kornbluh; Schlesinger, 1999). What is another superb example of "blowback"--over 55 years of oppressive, murderous government in which well over 100,000 Guatemalans were murdered by Guatemalan death squads. And, the CIA has been deeply involved in other Latin American

countries including, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Chile, and Argentina.

The CIA has operated unethical and illegal clandestine operations on almost every continent, with perhaps the most well known being the repeated attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro in Cuba. According to former CIA officer, John Stockwell, the CIA was also involved in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo in 1961. What is less commonly known is the CIA's complicity in the assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt in 1976 in Washington, D.C. (Dinges, 1980)

The most infamous and murderous of the CIA's various assassination programs was Phoenix program, where, under the aegis of the CIA, CIA officers, and U.S. and South Viet Nameese military personnel, between 26,000 and 40,000 Viet Nameese were killed. Some were tortured and mutilated. The vast majority of the victims were not VC (Viet Cong/Communists), and many of whom were women and children (Nutter, 2000 p.59). As Valentine (1990) demonstrates, there is considerable evidence that the Phoenix program operatives, including Robert Ramsdell (the Phoenix coordinator for Quang Ngai), coordinated the My Lai massacre in which over 500 South Viet Nameese civilians, mostly women and children were murdered (pp. 342-343). Several of the young girls were raped in the process (Olson, 1998 pp. 75-76, 89, 95-96, 107). While the CIA claims far more VC were captured or "rallied" to the South Viet Names government than were killed (Frazier, 1978 p. 18), Barton Osborn, a military intelligence officer assigned to

the Phoenix program, stated he never knew of a captive who survived interrogation (Hearts and Minds, 1974).

Almost equally as notorious as the Phoenix program, and equally as pervasive as the CIA's global assassination efforts, is the CIA's involvement in drug running. Though its origins may have been in Viet Nam, CIA complicity in drug running, literally, is worldwide. During the Viet Nam war, the CIA used its wholly owned subsidiary, Air America, to fly drugs from the "Golden Triangle" into Viet Nam where they were distributed on the black market or transshipped to the United States (McCoy, 2003). In the 1980's drugs, particularly cocaine, began to flow freely from Latin America into the U.S. Once again researchers found direct CIA involvement (2).

The U.S. government conducted multiple investigations into allegations of U.S. government (primarily CIA) involvement in drug running, including reports in 1988, 1989, 1996 and 1998. Most of those investigations were little more than whitewashes, with official investigators claiming to be unable to find the mountain of evidence unearthed by numerous independent researchers, not to mention testimony of government officials who personally witnessed other government personnel actively involved in drug trafficking (Castillo, 1994). In 1996, Gary Webb, writing for the *San Jose Mercury* exposed involvement of the CIA in distributing cocaine in California, specifically Los Angeles, and funneling the profits into funding the CIA's mercenary (Contra) army in Nicaragua. In fact, the CIA's drug involvement became part of the Iran Contra

Scandal (Webb, 1998). When Webb's career was destroyed and his life ended, the CIA finally admitted that Webb's allegations, as well as those of former DEA Agent Celerino Castillo regarding CIA complicity in drug trafficking from Central America as part of the Contra war against Nicaragua, were correct (CIA Inspector General's Drug Report, v.2, 1988).

To rephrase a saying about tracing illegal or unethical behavior, "follow the money"; to trace the flow of drugs into the U.S., "follow the CIA." In the 1950's and 1960's, the CIA was all over Southeast Asia, and the drug flow into the U.S. came largely from Southeast Asia's "Golden Triangle". Since the 1980's, there has been a large and steady flow of drugs from Latin America. During this time, the CIA has been all over Latin America, one of the places for which Congresswoman Jane Harman, no doubt, wants "spies who look like their targets".

In an attempt to gain Western recognition and acceptance after it took over Afghanistan, the Taliban began a concerted and systematic effort to eradicate poppy production. Though successful in much of the country, warlords in the northern provinces of Afghanistan resisted violently, pitching their drug-paid armies against the Taliban's forces. When the U.S. decided to invade Afghanistan, it turned to the drug lords of the "Northern Alliance" for assistance. Today, the CIA is all over Afghanistan, and has close ties with many of the major drug exporters. Perhaps coincidentally, poppy production has spread throughout the nation; and record crops are being produced. Opium flows freely out of the country (Misencik 2009, pp. 34-35). Though it should not

come as a surprise to anyone, the *New York Times* (Filkins et. al., 2009) and CBS (Martin, 2009) recently reported President Karzai's brother, long believed to be deeply involved in Afghanistan's drug trade, is on the CIA's payroll. If so, this is one more instance in an extremely long history of CIA complicity, and at least occasional direct involvement, in drug trafficking. If the U.S. seriously wants to deliver a crippling blow to the drug trade, it should abolish the National Clandestine Service of the CIA.

Indeed, CBS has reported on the dramatic increase in heroin overdose deaths in the United States, noting the price of heroin now is less than the price of a six-pack of beer. Furthermore, it is fifteen times as pure as heroin sold on the street in the 1970's. Its purity is so high, people can get high (and addicted) by snorting it like cocaine. In fact, one can inhale a lethal dose of heroin, as one family's National Honors Society daughter did. Some places are reporting fatal heroin overdose rates three times above two years ago (Axelrod, 2009). Though the report did not identify the country of origin, with record production levels in Afghanistan, and the connection between Afghani drug lords and the CIA, there can be little doubt much of the heroin flooding the U.S. is from Afghanistan.

### **Debasing the Academy: CIA Co-Option of Universities in Torture Research**

Almost from its inception in 1947, the CIA has been engaged in researching and refining the techniques of mind control and torture (McCoy, 2006). With respect to academe, these efforts might be the most serious of the CIA's

unethical behavior because, along with the Office of Naval Research, the CIA recruited academicians to engage in experiments intended to establish mind control and to refine torture techniques, some of which resulted in serious physical harm to participants. In 1953, the CIA instigated “Operation Bluebird”, in which it began testing LSD on human subjects. Eventually thousands of unsuspecting soldiers received surreptitious doses of LSD at the Edgewood Chemical Arsenal in Maryland (McCoy, 2006, p. 27). Such surreptitious testing was conducted for an extended time, with several victims suffering severe reactions, including death (p. 30). In 1955, the CIA instituted “Project Artichoke” to test “the application of tested psychiatric and psychological techniques including the use of hypnosis in conjunction with drugs” (p. 27). From 1953 until 1973, the CIA also pursued “Project MKUltra”, a wide ranging program for behavior modification that employed numerous techniques, including drugs (p. 28). Many efforts to recruit academicians to conduct research failed because “talented academic and medical researchers are most reluctant to enter into signed agreements of any sort which connects them with this activity since a connection would jeopardize their professional reputations” (p. 28). Under MKUltra, the CIA, seeking involuntary test subjects, “injected North Korean prisoners,... spiked drinks at a New York City party house, paid prostitutes to slip LSD to their customers, and place agency cameras at a San Francisco safe house, (and perhaps most despicable of all) pumped hallucinogens into children at summer camp.... (p. 29)

Though many professors refused either because the experiments the CIA wanted violated their professional ethical principles or for fear of jeopardizing their professional reputations, others knowingly or unknowingly participated as the CIA recruited university professors and funded psychological research at leading universities in the U.S. and Canada in mind control, sensory deprivation and what would later become techniques of torture. In *The CIA Mind Control Doctors: From Harvard to Guantanamo*, Dr. Colin Ross (2006) details the extensive involvement of medical doctors and psychologists at the most prestigious universities in the U.S. in the CIA's torture research. However, it was not just the CIA funding these projects at American universities, but also the Office of Naval Research, Department of the Army, and the Air Force Office of Scientific Research as well. Experiments included not only mind control and sensory deprivation (discussed below), but also radiation, chemical and biological warfare experiments, some of which were conducted on children and produced fatal outcomes. Other subjects of experiments included comatose patients, pregnant women, and unwitting members of the general population who became test subjects, basically, by being in the wrong place at the wrong time. In conducting many of these experiments, medical doctors and academicians violated both the ethical standards of their professions, international law, and the laws of the United States (Ross, 2006).

In many instances the professors knew and understood what they were doing. One of the most enthusiastic researchers was Dr. Donald Hebb at Canada's McGill University, who

conducted research for the Canadian Defense Research Board. The CIA ultimately made extensive use of his research and it became the basis for most of the CIA's research on torture by sensory deprivation (McCoy, 2006).

Hebb had discovered even short-term deprivation produced a devastating impact on the human psyche. After just two to three days in his isolating "black box", Hebb found "the subjects' very identity had begun to disintegrate."... Their subjects, twenty-two male college students, were paid twice the average daily wage just "to lie...in a lighted cubicle 24 hours a day" with all sensory stimuli muted--light "diffused" by translucent goggles, "auditory stimulation" limited by soundproofing and constant low noise, and "tactual perception" blocked by thick gloves and a U-shaped foam pillow about the head. ... Most students quit after two or three days. Many refused to finish the experiment. All suffered eerie hallucinations akin to mescaline use as well as "deterioration in the capacity to think systematically." Claiming a major scientific discovery, Hebb's team concluded the extreme effects from such brief loss of stimuli provide "direct evidence of a kind of dependence on the environment that has not been previously recognized." In his own publications, Hebb expressed surprise that mere "perceptual isolation" under otherwise "cheerful and happy" conditions should produce such a rapid "breakdown" in thought processes "with

problem-solving and intelligence-test performance significantly impaired.” After just four hours of isolation, he found subjects “could not follow a connected train of thought,” and even twenty-four hours after their release “motivation for study or the like was seriously disturbed. (McCoy, 2006, pp. 35-36)

McCoy notes pictures of the early arrivals at Guantanamo, “goggled and muffled” looked “eerily similar” to the sensory deprivation subjects of Hebb’s 1950’s research. That the ultimate objective of this research was to find effective methods of torture was acknowledged by prominent behavioral scientist Albert Biderman, who conducted research for various government agencies. McCoy writes (p. 33):

Inadvertently revealing the ultimate aim of the research, Biderman reported that psychological torture seemed “the ideal way of ‘breaking down’ a prisoner” because “the effect of isolation on the brain function of the prisoner is much like that which occurs if he is beaten, starved, or deprived of sleep.”

In other instances, professors were asked to conduct research without being informed of who they actually were working for, or what the ultimate purposes of the research were. This is especially true with respect to the refinement of torture technique. Along the way, the CIA became interested in and began to recruit professors to conduct research in sensory deprivation and “self inflicted pain”--now commonly is referred to as “stress positions.”

Ultimately, the CIA realized sensory deprivation and self induced pain were extremely effective means of torture that had the important benefit of not leaving any physical traces, though the psychological consequences could be immense, to include complete, and irreparable mental breakdown. The CIA had what it wanted, and quickly developed torture manuals CIA officers and client secret police forces in U.S. controlled client states such as El Salvador and Guatemala on the most effective forms of torture. This of course, did not mean the CIA or its foreign agents necessarily abandoned physical torture, as established in minute detail by Ortiz (2002). It simply meant sensory deprivation and self inflicted torture (stress positions) were the favored types of torture because they quickly broke victims down and generally left few physical traces, thereby enabling Agency “plausible deniability” that its officers engaged in torture--a position the Bush administration pushed to the limits of human credulity.

Two key problems within the CIA torture program were educating the secret police in client states in the “art of torture”, and circumventing U.S. laws prohibiting torture. The first problem, at least with respect to Latin America was taken care of by the United States’ Army School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Georgia where members of Latin American client states’ military were trained in counterinsurgency warfare and “domestic security”. To help Latin American soldiers understand the techniques in which they were being instructed, the CIA developed a manual that military personnel at the School of the Americas used in instructing their students (McCoy, 2006, pp. 104-106; Harbury, 2005).

The second problem entailed circumventing U.S. laws prohibiting torture. This ultimately was effected by recruiting client states such as Egypt, Syria and the “stans” of Central Asia, especially Uzbekistan (Murray, 2009), as places where, by “extraordinary rendition”, CIA targets who are kidnapped in some country, are shipped either to be tortured by agents of the client state or by CIA officers (Grey, 2006; McCoy, 2006; Miller, 2009; Paglen & Thompson, 2006). The types of torture used, of course, are consistent with the CIA’s torture manual; or more illustratively, the types of torture shown in the Abu Ghraib photos. Charles Murray recently spoke publicly about what he discovered while he served as British Ambassador to Uzbekistan about the CIA’s renditions to Uzbekistan, and the methods of torture employed. Many of those methods, such as torturing people until they denounced others are reminiscent of the Phoenix program in Viet Nam. Many of the people denounced as members of the National Liberation Front simply were farmers trying to provide a living for their families (Valentine, 1990). However, to get the torture to stop, especially if a father was watching his child being tortured to death, people simply named names (Murray, 2009).

Former Ambassador Murray stated, “It wasn’t hard to put two and two together. ... (E)very political prisoner I ever knew of in Uzbekistan...was tortured. And the fact we knew what they were being forced to confess to under torture, and the fact the CIA material came up with exactly the same dodgy narrative, it wasn’t hard to put the two together and realize the intelligence material was coming from torture.”

Concerned about Great Britain and the U.S. being fed obviously unreliable information as a consequence of torture, then Ambassador Craig sent his deputy to the U.S. embassy to talk with CIA station chief about information being used that had been obtained by torture. The deputy reported to Ambassador Murray, the CIA station chief's reply was, "yes, of course it is coming from torture; we don't see that as a problem in the context of the war on terror."

### **Subverting "Those Values upon Which Our Ultimate Freedom and Liberty Depend"**

With the U.S. government bordering on hysterics at the thought of the alleged "communist threat," Herbert Hoover, in 1945 stated: "We must...learn to subvert, sabotage, and destroy our enemies by more clear, more sophisticated, and more effective methods than those used against us" (quoted in McCoy, 2006, p. 25). As a Senate report on "Foreign and Military Intelligence" prophetically stated: "It may become necessary that the American people will be made acquainted with, understand and support this fundamentally repugnant philosophy" (quoted in McCoy, p. 26). That "repugnant philosophy" is typified by the history of the CIA from its inception. As noted, the FBI also, at least on occasion, has pursued that same "repugnant philosophy" in its search for enemies far more imagined than real during the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, and in leftist organizations in general. But, other intelligence agencies, as demonstrated by the recently exposed National Security Agency's illegal eavesdropping on U.S. citizens phone calls (in violation of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance

Act of 1978), have also practiced this “repugnant philosophy”.

Returning to the question with which this essay began, is it ethical for universities to allow on their campuses programs designed to recruit students into organizations that have a very long history of unethical, immoral and illegal behavior that demonstrate a clear pattern of lack of regard for human life, even for basic human decency? The answer should be a resounding **NO!** However, as funding is cut for higher education, at least some universities have prostituted themselves for the additional funding available from the Intelligence Community. Rationalizing it as fiscally necessary. Given that willingness by some universities in this day of declining public funding for higher education, one must wonder, if the Mafia or Costa Nostra decided to provide grants to fund Organized Crime Centers of Academic Excellence, in which universities were asked to develop curriculums to be approved the Mafia or Costa Nostra, and then to go into the public schools to recruit teachers who, would in turn recruit middle and high school children into programs designed to steer them into careers in organized crime, would universities take the money and establish such programs? Given the long and sordid history of U.S. intelligence agencies, it is a fair question; one that certainly would not appear strange to General Smedley Butler as he discussed his experiences in the U.S. Marine Corps:

I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank

boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.... Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three city districts. We Marines operated on three continents (1935).

Butler, of course was discussing how his Marines had been used, but the points he makes, if anything, actually are more applicable to U.S. intelligence agencies than the U.S. military. As the President's Secret Police, intelligence agencies are sent in to do dirty work out of sight of the general public, of the press, in ways hopefully designed to give the President and the United States "plausible deniability." Butler understood the relationship between imperialism and the dirty work of imperialism, and organized crime and the dirty work of organized crime. Having been an executioner of the dirty work of imperialism, Butler believed he could have given Capone some pointers on the dirty work of organized crime. As Schmidt states: "Butler made the analogy between imperialism and domestic crime into an explicit indictment. His argument was rooted in conventional morality

that had long sustained overseas and domestic coercion in the names of uplift and reform.”

Few people would deny U.S. intelligence agencies engage in unethical and illegal conduct, that intelligence agencies have conducted, or orchestrated, or directed acts of violence in many places, over many years, against many people, both foreign and domestic. Apologists for allowing academic programs spawned and financed by the Intelligence Community say one purpose, or at least one potential positive consequence, of these programs could be new intelligence officers whose educations have grounded them more firmly in the ethical, moral and legal conduct of their duties and responsibilities. Thus, this new breed of intelligence officer will be able to reform intelligence operations and intelligence agencies from within. To that, men like Agee, 1978; Castillo, 1994; Levine, 1990; Marchetti, 1980; and Stockwell, 1997; would say “been there; tried that.” This, of course, is precisely why they resigned; because they tried to change the environment from within and failed, failed repeatedly, and failed miserably.

Every U.S. intelligence organization has a code of ethics. Every U.S. intelligence organization has many ethically, morally grounded people who strive with all of their conscience to perform their duties in an ethical, moral, legal manner. Most of them succeed. The problem is intelligence agencies will conduct themselves ethically, morally, legally only until the phone rings, and the President, or one of his sycophants, has a mission that requires unethical, immoral, illegal conduct. If such conduct were

not wanted by the President, the phone would never ring; the President could always take public actions. When that phone rings, there always will be those who will willingly step forward to do the dirty work; to violate laws; to raise and train mercenary armies; to recruit, train and lead death squads; to torture and kill; to facilitate drug runners or to run drugs themselves; to torture, maim, mutilate, all in the name of “the greater good.” The logic runs, if we captured a terrorist who planted a “suitcase” nuclear bomb in the heart of a major U.S. city, would YOU torture this person, would YOU maim this person, would YOU mutilate this person to get the information needed?

For many, the answer is obvious. Yet, it is a straw man argument based on a series of logical fallacies. First, we would have to know that a suitcase with a nuclear bomb actually had been planted. Second, we would need to have the person who planted the bomb or who knew where the bomb had been planted, in custody. Third, we would need to know the person we had in custody planted the bomb or knew where the bomb was really planted. Each of those assumptions is highly implausible. As 9-11 indicated, we might have substantial intelligence indicating something big was about to happen and still have no clue as to what that something might be, or who might be behind it.

However, there are other fallacies. The most important is that torture would be the quickest, most efficient, most reliable way to gain reliable information. Yet, this is absolutely false. A person being tortured will say anything to stop the torture, will confess to anything. Intelligence

officers have a name for such false confessions and information; “white noise.” At least one detainee being tortured by the U.S. purportedly confessed to being Osama bin Laden. A dedicated terrorist will give as much false information as possible before ultimately giving correct information. And that is assuming a specific terrorist ultimately *will* give correct information. It also assumes the torturers will be able to sort out “white noise” from the actual information. In the meantime, officials cannot wait to act on the first bits of information given, meaning people and resources will be running down “dead ends”. Once the true information is given, how long will it be before officials recognized the real location? Will resources, now scattered everywhere on “wild goose chases” be able to move to the actual location? Will they be able to get there in time? Or, will the terrorist be able to play the false information game long enough for the bomb to detonate?

If we were in such a situation, experienced interviewers would say there are quicker and more reliable ways to gain the needed information than to torture. Both the Army and the FBI largely oppose using “harsh interrogation techniques” against suspected terrorists, and the press has reported, on multiple occasions, Army and FBI officers stating that detained terrorists were more cooperative before they were tortured than after being tortured. The interrogation and torture of Abdul Murad serves as a case in point (McCoy 2006, pp. 110-112). This is consistent with what is known about the ineffectiveness and unreliability of torture (McCoy, 2006, pp. 13-14, 102).

Torture produces a cascading effect. That is, there is no such thing as limited or “surgical” torture. Researchers have found that once those who inflict torture get that taste of “blood”, they expand the torture both in terms of the amount and types of torture exercised, and also in expanding the population subjected to torture (Zimbardo, 1973; Milgram, 2009).

**Is the New Oxymoron to be “Ethics” in Academia?**

*To persuade a good and moral man to do evil...it is not necessary first to persuade him to become evil. It is only necessary to teach him that he is doing good.*

**William Ryan**

We need to understand, when universities accept grants from the National Intelligence Directorate, the consequence may be one or more of its students, having been taught they are doing good, are persuaded to do evil.

Ethics are at the very heart of our universities. We have philosophy courses in ethics. We have courses specifically designed to teach ethics in business, in medicine, in engineering. We have statements on ethics, committees to ensure ethical research by faculty, committees on academic integrity and ethics. We have processes by which sanctions are imposed on students, up to and including being expelled for academic dishonesty. There are honor codes to encourage students not to cheat, and to be ethical in their pursuit of high grades that will enable them to enter graduate school, or be accepted to law school, and medical school. The

American Association of University Professors sees ethical conduct by everyone in the university community as extremely important and has written several statements establishing the AAUP's ethical policies with respect to colleges and universities (AAUP, pp. 169-188).

These all are very good and desirable. Yet, they easily can be undercut and rendered meaningless. Surely most of us recognize the best way to teach ethical conduct is to set the example. The professor sets the example in the classroom by treating students in an ethical, fair, respectful manner. The professor sets the example in research by gaining the appropriate approval for the research, and conducting that research within the stipulations of the research proposal, of the university's Institutional Review Board, in accordance with ethical standards and the law. What kind of example is set by a university, by participating administrators, by participating faculty, when the university accepts money from organizations with a long history of unethical, immoral, illegal, murderous conduct; organizations that kill, maim, mutilate, torture? What kind of example is set when the university accepts money from organizations with the explicit stated purpose of recruiting their students to seek employment as operatives in organizations that will teach them that ethics and law are irrelevant, niceties that can, must, and will be dispensed with whenever they become inconvenient, and that having the capability to do these things makes it permissible and acceptable, because might makes right? These same students the university devotes considerable resources to, encouraging them to become ethical moral and law abiding citizens.

“Ethics in Intelligence Agencies” is an oxymoron. “Ethics in Universities” becomes an oxymoron when universities prostitute themselves to intelligence agencies for “30 pieces of silver”. Do we want intelligence agencies to recruit university students to become field operatives to raise, train and direct mercenary armies? Do we want intelligence agencies to recruit university students to recruit, train and lead death squads? To train and oversee a nation’s secret policy in the application of torture? To become complicit, if not actively involved, in drug trafficking? To recruit and train assassins, and plan and direct assassinations? To overthrow democratic governments and install brutal military dictatorships? More directly to the purposes of this paper, do we want to allow government agencies to fund programs on our campuses intended to recruit students for these objectives, to recruit “spies who look like their targets”?

If we believe in the ethics of the Academy, if we believe the responsibility of the Academy is to enlighten students to the sacredness of humanity, if we believe government becoming a “law breaker...breeds contempt for the law”, our answer must be a resounding no. The Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholars Program and Intelligence “Community Centers for Academic Excellence” program have no place in our universities. For those who would defend these programs in our universities, let them at least not attempt to defend their rationalizations on ethical grounds, for they cannot.

## End Notes

1. Agee and Wolf, 1978; Castillo and Harmon, 1994; Churchill and VanderWall, 1990; Cole and Dempsey, 2002; Dutcher, 1986; Gelbspan, 1999; Greenberg, 2008; Jones, 2008; Marchetti and Marks, 1980; Marks, 1979; Mayer, 2008; McGarvey, 1972; Mills, 1986; Olson, 2008; Ortiz, 2002; Rossmiller, 2008; Shulsky and Schmitt, 2002; Simpson, 1988; Stockwell 1991 and 1997; Swearingen, 1999
2. A complete bibliography of authors examining various aspects of the CIA's involvement in drug trafficking, literally would take several pages, but would include works by: Avirgan, Honey and Sheehan, 1988; Barsmain, 1991; Bernstein and Knight; Blumenthal, 1989; Bradlee, 1988; Castillo and Harmon, 1994; Cockburn, 1987; Dinges, 1990; Eco-Solidarity Working Group; Eddy, 1988; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Hertsgaard, 1988; Hougan, 1978; Kruger, 1980; Kwitny, 1987; Levine, 1990; Marchetti and Marks, 1980; Marshall, 1991; Marshall, Scott and Hunter, 1987; McCoy, 2003; Millman, 1987; Mills, 1986; Nutter, 2000; Parry and Kornbluh, 1988; Parry, 1999; Prados, 1986; Scott and Marshall, 1991; Scott, 1972 and 1983; Warner, 1995; Walker, 1989; and Webb, 1998.

## References

### Authors' Code

- A Academician  
AF Air Force Intelligence  
CIA Central Intelligence Agency  
DEA Drug Enforcement Agency

DIA Defense Intelligence Agency  
DoD Department of Defense  
FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation  
G Government official  
H Human Rights Activist  
J Journalist/Investigative Reporter  
M Military  
N Catholic Nun  
PA Political Activist  
R Research Analyst/Author  
\* Indicates source addressing U.S.  
intelligence agency involvement in drug  
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<http://www.fas.org/irp/dni/humancapital.pdf>

National Intelligence Strategy of the United  
States of America: Transformation  
Through Integration and Innovation  
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**Biographical Sketch**

Dr. Freeman holds a doctorate in Political Science from the University of Kentucky, and has taught at the University of Texas-Pan American in Edinburg, Texas since the fall of 1980. Among the courses he teaches are the Presidency, U.S. Foreign Policy, U.S. Intelligence Agencies, and the Viet Nam War and U.S. Foreign Policy. He is a combat veteran of the Viet Nam War, having served as an advisor to a Rifle Company of the South Viet Nameese Airborne Division, 1969-1970.