

NEW YORK, N.Y.
POST

Mury

E-380,764
S-279,928

OCT 3 1967



Brave New World

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There was a time in international affairs when persons who took money from intelligence agencies were embarrassed if not worse. The motto now seems to be, "If your cover's blown, find another."

Certain shadows fell upon the Congress of Cultural Freedom, "an international organization of intellectual leaders, academicians, artists and authors" when it turned out that most of its expenses had been paid by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Yesterday, from Paris, the Times gave the details on what had been promised as the Congress' "fresh start." This new beginning turns out to be a fresh name—the Association for Cultural Freedom—and a fresh director, Shepard Stone.

Shepard Stone is a splendid sample of that indifference to the ropes of power we have learned to expect from intellectual leaders and academicians. He worked most of his adult life for the State Department, being one of those people whose dedication to cultural freedom was insufficient for him to be affronted by security checks from Harry Truman through Foster Dulles. Lately, he has been International Affairs Adviser to the Ford Foundation.

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The Ford Foundation began an annual contribution of \$1.5 million to support the Congress for Cultural Freedom last October, and has guaranteed that retainer up until 1972. The public did not find out that the Congress was a CIA client institution until the following March; one quality which separates intellectual leaders, academicians, authors and artists from persons less gifted with imagination is their prescience in knowing when to change patrons.

One standard apology for the CIA used to be that its subsidies were a considerable force for cultural progress, and that it could not really be distinguished from, say, the Ford Foundation. This is a sounder comparison than one would

have thought before reading the annual report of the Ford Foundation, after which it is difficult with confidence to distinguish the international activities of the Ford Foundation from those of the CIA.

For example, Ford gave \$8 million to strengthen programs in "the international aspects of the humanities and the social sciences" at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Through [M.I.T.'s] research-oriented Center for International Studies, teaching and research will be linked with expanded international activities in science and technology, etc." The MIT Center for International Studies was established with CIA funds.

The Foundation's interest in these extraordinary forces appears to be diminishing, perhaps because its new president, McGeorge Bundy, has developed that disenchantment with American foreign policy possible only for a man who spent six years with its intimate management. The inclusion of Shepard Stone in the grant package to the Association for Cultural Freedom may simply reflect Bundy's estimate of the uses of an International Affairs Adviser; his own concern these days is more and more for the domestic, and the foundation has moved with apparently genuine passion into the pacification of the core cities.

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Its work there is most promising, although it cannot be said with entire certainty that the CIA has not anticipated Bundy even there. There are ages of man when paranoia is the only rational basis for social analysis.

I remember thinking how sweet it was of the New Jersey Bell Telephone system to hand out cards to every delegate to the Newark Black Conference permitting them to call free anywhere in the United States. Only later did it occur to me to wonder who might be listening in case Ron Katenga called the coast with an advanced recipe for the Molotov cocktail.