

POTOMAC

Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000300180018-4

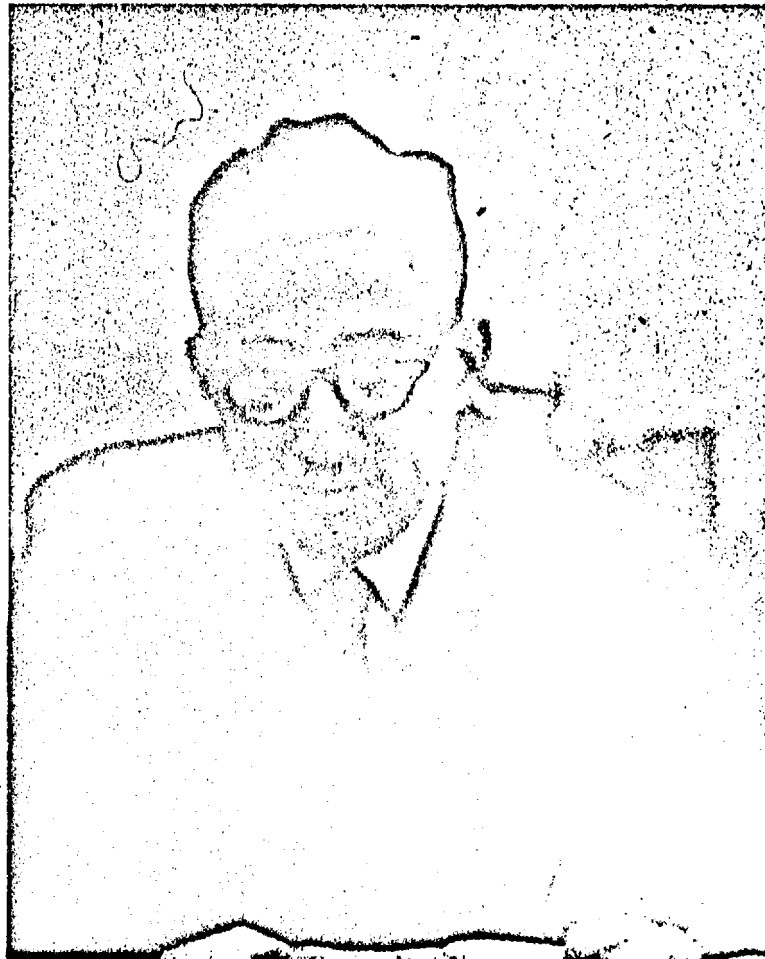
17 MAR 1968

Potomac

Brain Power to the Disaffected



Marcus Raskin



Richard Barne

INSTITUTE
FOR
POLICY STUDIES

Original filed in Org.

Continued

By Nicholas Von Hoffman

The greatest danger to free speech isn't tyranny but disuse and rust. Most people have nothing to say that anybody but their mothers-in-law would want to censor. But, once in awhile, some aggravating nay-sayers do happen along. There is a bunch of about forty of them nestling in an old mansion next to the Woman's National Democratic Club on New Hampshire Avenue: the fellows of the Institute for Policy Studies. The next time the orthodox ladies next door have a lull in the luncheon conversation, they may hear what their neighbors are saying and they're going to be upset.

The fellows at the Institute are what are called "revisionists," the American counterparts to the Russian historians, poets and intellectuals who thrust themselves forward after Stalin's death to give the people of that country a new and heretical look at themselves and their leaders.

Revisionism is a risky business that can land you in Siberia or Leavenworth, as the case may be. Marcus Raskin, IPS's codirector, is under indictment for conspiracy to violate the draft law and one of the Institute's students is awaiting sentencing on a similar charge.

The nesters on New Hampshire Avenue resemble the Russian revisionists in another way. They have the quiet connivance of part of the Establishment. The board of trustees includes such non-boatrockers as Robert Herzstein of the Washington law firm of Arnold and Porter; Arthur Larson, the old Eisenhower advisor; James P. Warburg of the New York banking and money-making Warburgs; and Gerard Piel, publisher of the *Scientific American*. "The Monday following my indictment on Friday," says Raskin, "two people from the executive branch of the Pentagon came over here to ask my

For the thinking hippies, it's a place to drink coffee, argue, study or stay warm. But the Institute for Policy Studies is where some Establishment-bred intellectuals are writing a new version of Cold War history — between calls from the White House and arguments with the law.



Arthur I. Waskow

Continued

advice on what direction policy research should take in the coming months."

17 MAR 1968

When you meet Raskin and read his curriculum vitae, you have the feeling the Establishment has gone ahead and busted one of its own. He is a 33-year-old lawyer from the University of Chicago, who first came to Washington to be legislative counsel to a group of 12 liberal Democratic Congressmen. From there, he moved over to the White House to be on the special staff of the National Security Council and a member of the American delegation to the 18-nation disarmament conference at Geneva.

Raskin's 38-year-old codirector, Richard Barnet, has the same kind of social pedigree: Harvard College, Harvard Law School, member of the Boston law firm of Choate, Hall and Stewart, former State Department official, former consultant to the Pentagon.

They both carry that Eastern Establishment trait of submerging the colorful aspects of character, preferring a well-bred, cerebral mumble. Only after you've gotten to know them a bit do they start to smile, make witticisms and allow you to guess at their personal commitment to their work. Where they come from, enthusiasm is bad taste.

Their present work began with the founding of IPS in the fall of 1963. Says Barnet: "We felt that the basic relationship between the academic and the government was wrong. The academic had to accept the assumptions of government. Our idea was to have a place that would be close to government and have access to the people in government, but to take no money from the government or do consultation for the government."

IPS did not confine itself to foreign affairs or pure research. Its resident fellows and visiting fellows have done work in education, medical services, race relations, urban development, criminology and economics. The men it has brought to Washington are

among the most famous in American letters; sociologist David Riesman from Harvard; economist Kenneth Boulding from the University of Michigan; David Bazelon from Rutgers; Anselm Straus from the University of

California and free-lance intellectual Paul Goodman.

IPS now has a budget of about \$400,000 a year. The largest part of this money comes from some of the smaller, less well-known, but more adventuresomely creative foundations like the Edgar Stern Family Fund. A small fraction comes from a group of "associated" colleges and universities which sends students to IPS and cooperates with it in other ways. The big-money givers, like Ford, contribute to special projects, but they are so timid and scared to get involved with anything controversial that Barnet says it's hardly worth the time and effort to apply to them.

IPS people like Milton Kotler have started a four-year college for inmates at San Quentin penitentiary. He's also worked at novel ghetto community development projects. Raskin has proposed new educational projects, which the Federal Government has glommed onto and used. All of these have caused discussion and some controversy, but it's the IPS work on the Cold War which has won it a name as a center of revisionists.

IPS scholars, who don't always agree with each other, are writing a new history and interpretation of what has happened in the last 25 years, which is completely different from the standard Soviet and American government versions of contemporary history. The revisionists are presenting a third way of looking at the Cold War, which has now lasted over 20 years and cost the United States alone, according to Raskin's calculations, \$1,300,000,000,000 or one thousand, three hundred billion dollars.

"In a way, it's a misnomer to call us revisionists," Barnet observes, "because there hasn't been any history of the Cold War to revise. What is called 'history' have been books that were written without consulting the primary documents in the field. The authors wrote them knowing their ideas would be popular and wouldn't be challenged for lack of proof."

They are now being challenged in the second-floor room of the Institute where history professor Gabriel Kolko conducts his "Cold War Seminar." It's one of a number of seminars at IPS and, like

the others, anybody who wants to can come in off the street and sit there for free, drink coffee, eat sandwiches, listen and argue with the featured scholar of the day.

The professor, a Harvard doctor of philosophy, has spent the last several years looking for the proof of which Barnet speaks. He read his way through the state papers of 53 recent American statesmen. "I just go all over the country reading these chaps' papers," he says of the work, which will result in the publication this fall of his newest book, *The Politics of War*.

Despite the Federal Government's tendency to put "Top Secret" stamps on subjects far less touchy, Kolko believes he has found out what really happened. "The typewriter, carbon paper and the Xerox machine have made security impossible," he declares. "No, the fact that many important conversations were spoken on the telephone makes no difference. There are transcripts. These men have to have a record of what they say and what's been decided for future reference. I can tell you that no matter what the other objections may be, telephone bugging has been a blessing for the historian. Also, many important documents were never made secret, documents delivered between peers. Only communications to subordinates are classified. . . .

17 MAR 1968



The power to make something secret is a status symbol in the Government."

Barnet has also been going back to the original source material to write a book, *Intervention and Revolution*, which Random House will bring out this fall. This is a study of America's armed interventions in other countries, which have averaged one every 18 months for a generation beginning with the Truman Doctrine in Greece in 1947. Like Vietnam, the American Government said it was sending aid to Greece to suppress Soviet-controlled guerrillas operating in the mountainous north country. Barnet says the evidence shows the Russians did not help the Greek guerrillas, who were given aid by Tito of Yugoslavia in exchange for a promise to cede him territory if they came to power. The struggle, Barnet has concluded, was local and in no way connected with Russian ambitions to spread Communism.

For hundreds of pages, Barnet

writes a narrative of the Cold War that very few Americans have heard. If it is true, it is an unbelievable story, not of Soviet subversion all over the world, but of American subversion. He pictures us as the world cop, a dumb flat-foot who is often guilty of police brutality.

Barnet says that Egypt's Nasser, about whom the American Government never ceases complaining, first seized power with CIA help and that the American Marines sent to Lebanon to suppress Communist insurrection succeeded only in driving pro-American President Chamoun from office. At one point, Barnet writes, the United States had gotten itself into the ridiculous position of supplying arms to both sides in the Algerian civil war.

Marcus Raskin, at 33, doesn't smoke, doesn't drink ("I'm a drag, really") and enjoys a reputation for throwing very good parties indeed at his three-story Federal rowhouse on Wyoming Avenue nw.

He also plays a very good classical piano, prefers the works of Arnold Schoenberg and Beethoven, and likes to accompany IPS co-director Barnet, who plays violin.

Raskin's brunette wife, Barbara (BA Minnesota; MA Chicago; PhD-in-the-works at Catholic U.), is busy with Erika, 8; Jamie, 4, and Noah eight months; adds "three sentences a day" to a hush-hush novel;

serves on the Morgan School board; is on leave from the English Department at American University, where she is an instructor.

Raskin is not much on sports (he quit touch football in 1961 when, he says, "I got too fat to move"), and goes to movies when he has time. Recent favorites include *The Graduate* and *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* ("a very good bad movie").

He calls himself "an existential pragmatist" and a "right winger on economics and a liberal when it comes to the reconstruction of our local institutions."

17 MAR 1968

Continued

There are descriptions of the American Ambassador to Guatemala, with a .45 strapped to his belt, personally directing the overthrow of the government; there are others of Kermit Roosevelt, Teddy's grandson, playing CIA agent in a Teheran basement while plotting the successful destruction of the Iranian government. Altogether, it is a reverse picture of the world Americans are used to, with us acting the way our government says the Russians do. The picture the revisionists draw of the Russians is also different. The revisionist opinion is that the military danger to Western Europe in the late and early '50s was grossly exaggerated by the "national security managers:" men like Clark Clifford, Dean Acheson, Allen Dulles, and Gen. Maxwell Taylor and the high-number GSs underneath them who have run American foreign policy since the late 1940s.

One of the major revisionist arguments is that the national security managers have gotten away with their policy of misconceived world-wide violence because Russia was too weak to stop them, but that now the Russians are much stronger and consequently, "the game of atomic chicken," as Raskin calls it, can't be played safely anymore.

"The whole world is being held in hostage to this game," Raskin says. "In 1962, 15 men played out their nuclear poker hands while 500 million people waited to find out if they themselves would live or die. Stripped of pretense and rhetoric the Cold

War has been nothing more than a situation in which a group of people, who have the keys to nuclear destruction, brandish nuclear weapons because their views of interest and ego say that is what must be done. They offer others for slaughter on their own authority, self-inspired and self-initiated in order to assert their power or personal prestige."

While the revisionists on New Hampshire Avenue do occasionally point out that American armed intervention has coincided with business interests, they are not



like the Marxists in blaming foreign policy on the economic system. They put it on politicians like Truman, whom they accuse of trying to get back lost Gallup-poll points by foreign sorties, but the Presidents and the generals come off better than civilian administrators and advisors.

"In Vietnam U.S. intervention steadily deepened in the 1950s," Barnet writes, "as U.S. officials tried to protect their earlier investments. These investments included not only the vast sums

Continued

17 MAR 1968

of prior years but also their personal reputations. Men had begun to build careers on a series of claims. Academic advisors had written in journals about the success of the land reform or education projects. The military had filled pages of the military journals with extravagant promises of the success of 'counter-insurgency.' Thus they pressed continually for more effort, more commitment, to make these promises come true. They kept demanding just a few more men, just a few more months, in order to postpone the accounting which would measure performance against promise."

For all the heresies IPS hatches, it has an old-fashioned taint about it. Perhaps because so many people connected with it are lawyers, it has a certain 19th-Century regard for individuals. In a time when Russian and American scholars tend to explain all events by social or historical law in which individual decisions count for little, Raskin and Barnet seek out individuals and say, "He did it. He's responsible."

Although everyone who attacks the war is assumed to be

Left politically, Raskin remarks, "We have something in common with the individualist part of the Right Wing, which also puts its emphasis on things we hold dear—face to face communication, anti-authoritarianism."

"Robert Taft held that position. If he were President today, we'd have no problem, but what I oppose, Right, Left or Center is the emphasis on bigness, on toeing the mark and doing what you're told. The world is divided between the pharaoists and the pants pressers. Take the 20th Century as a block. You can see authoritarianism moving from country to country. You see the patterns everywhere, here and in Russia. They're hierarchic, pharaoist, pyramidal. People are made faceless and powerless, and inside they're coming apart."

They're not pyramidal at IPS. In fact, some of the 20-odd students complain they would like to be left on their own less and have at least some structuring of their work. The senior scholars also pursue their own individualistic path without pressure from the Institute.

So while Raskin's writing is polemical and intended to persuade, Kolko announces, "I'm not doing research for political purposes. My view is disengaged. I have a very strong feeling about scholarship not being policy oriented or toward advising government officials."

He is against the war. "I didn't even vote for Johnson last time. I got into a lot of fights about that with my colleagues. Some of them were shocked when I said I wasn't for Johnson, but I watched that Tonkin Bay thing and I said to myself, 'Oh boy, the whole thing is rigged.' They had the whole thing in *Le Monde* — that's the best newspaper in the world in my opinion. They had it in the *New York Times*, too, not in one dispatch, but the whole sequence. You have to put them all together, but I'm a clipper. I have boxes and boxes of newspaper files.

"When I was at the University of Pennsylvania I helped in exposing the chemical warfare research they were doing there. Ultimately the University gave it up. I think that's the way to do things. I think the non-politi-

cal anti-war movement is completely misdirected. Jumping around in front of the Pentagon exorcising it. That's existential nonsense."

At the other end of the stick are the activists at IPS. Some of them are visitors like Curtis Hays, a long-time SNCC worker from the South now working to mobilize Washington. As he says, "They're nice here. They let you use the phone and things."

Another activist is Arthur I. Waskow, a historian who has a doctor of philosophy degree from the University of Wisconsin, a magnificent black beard and an orange wool sweater that sets off

the hairpiece with dramatic brilliance. Waskow suffered an unhappy national prominence last summer as one of the leaders of the National Conference on New Politics in Chicago, the meeting which ended with the mass of white radicals being verbally dismembered by a minute black caucus.

"In retrospect," says Waskow, "I'd have to say that the summer of 1967 was the most difficult time we could have picked for a meeting of radical whites and militant blacks. There probably hasn't been anything like 1967 since 1877 when people thought the revolution was coming.

"That was the year of the nation-wide railroad strike, when even chunks of the Army changed sides," Waskow says in the manner of a man who hasn't given up and intends to try again.

He is already taking a hand in planning the demonstrations that are going to be staged at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this summer. "It will be some months before we've worked out what we're going to do," says Waskow, "but my own private feeling is that we have to have some sort of appeal, some pressure, a creative alternative to that convention. Maybe, for instance, we can get the delegates to discuss the issues like human beings, make the convention like an Athenian forum. It's unheard of for delegates at a Democratic convention to discuss anything. It would be such a stunning event to have them act as free men. God knows what would come out of it."

Continued

17 MAR 1968

"It's not going to be easy for us to agree on what to do," Waskow admits. "We have our hippy element and there are a few who'd like to be violent, but I think they can be talked out of that. It's bad enough if Johnson wins against us, but it would be worse if he won because of us, and he would use any incident to paint us as extremists. I'm not worried about our behavior; I'm concerned about *agents provocateurs*. They had them at the Pentagon demonstration and I'm sure they'll have them in Chicago, police agents who'll try to do something so we'll be discredited."

Against the funereal preoccupation of the Institute's scholars, Barnet and Raskin display a degree of optimism, but there is an undertow to their conversation. Their favorite word is the classic Greek word for pride, *hubris*. They use it in their speech as exclamation, an ejaculation of anxiety.

They draw the comparison between America and the proud Athenian Democracy which converted the alliance of friendly neighbors into a hateful empire that turned the whole of Greece against it. Often they quote Thucydides, from Pericles' speech to his fellows after the terrible plague, when it was clear that Athens would be destroyed: "Your government is in the nature of a tyranny which is both unjust for you to take up and unsafe to lay down."



Nicholas von Hoffman recently completed a book on drugs and the hippie scene. He has written about Cardozo, the Georgetown House Tour and Alice Roosevelt Longworth at a Hot Shoppe in previous Potomac appearances.

17 MAR 1968