

Observer  
report

# The Tufts Papers

## To our readers

In March 1978 the Observer requested CIA and FBI files about Tufts under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), a federal law providing for citizen access to government documents, subject to certain exemptions.

On Nov. 14, 1979 and Sept. 17, 1980, the CIA released 53 documents totalling 83 pages, which covered the period of 1961 to 1978.

The CIA made deletions on most of the documents before releasing them. Some pages are virtually blank. Other documents, such as mailing lists for CIA documents, are blank except for Tufts' address. Four of the documents with the deletions are stamped "SANITIZED" meaning that sensitive portions had been expunged.

The CIA withheld 30 documents and refused to confirm or deny the existence of any others. The deletions and withholdings were made, according to the CIA, to protect its intelligence sources and methods, and the personal privacy of various CIA contacts. These are two of the exemptions permitted under FOIA.

On Mar. 21, 1979, the FBI released 132 pages from its Washington headquarters, covering 1955 to 1972. Many of the FBI documents released were duplicates, and others contained the same information in similar forms. Portions of other documents were obliterated before release by

the FBI, which claimed exemptions under the FOIA from disclosing information which is classified for national defense or foreign policy purposes, which would invade a person's privacy, or which would reveal or tend to reveal the identity of a confidential source of information. Three pages of FBI files were not released from Washington headquarters.

The FBI released one two-page document on Aug. 13, 1980 after being located by the CIA during a search of its files in response to the March 1978 request.

In addition to the three exemptions employed in the earlier release, the FBI obliterated some material to protect information related to its internal rules and practices.

In response to a May 1981 FOIA request, the FBI field office in Boston released four documents totalling eight pages, withheld two pages, and referred eight files to Washington headquarters, where they are being reviewed.

What follows in this special supplement are articles analyzing the contents of the files released by the CIA and FBI, Tufts' policies towards disclosing information to government agencies, an examination of the Freedom of Information Act, and a report on CIA recruitment at Tufts.

A copy of the files obtained by the Observer will be placed in Wessell Library for public inspection.



### FBI monitored Tufts politics

Documents released by the FBI detail investigations into bombing incidents, attempts, threats, and alleged plots and other crimes, at Tufts, some of which were politically motivated. The documents also disclose that the FBI monitored political activity unrelated to crime.

At various points the FBI followed political activity by reading and clipping articles from the Tufts Weekly, the predecessor to the Observer; received reports on campus unrest following the 1970 drug bust of 12 students; refused to evaluate the patriotism of the Tufts faculty at the request of a private foundation; and investigated the 1971 bombing of Fletcher Dean Edward Gullion's office.

#### Fletcher Bombing

Gullion's office was destroyed during the morning of Mar. 21, 1971 by fire bomb which created a two-alarm fire and caused \$75,000 worth of damage. FBI documents noted that "security, criminal and racial

(Continued on page S-6)

### CIA consulted, ignored law

Documents released to The Observer reveal that the CIA maintained consulting relationships with Tufts personnel, possibly engaged in covert recruitment of foreign students at Fletcher and had at least a passing interest in political activities of Tufts students.

#### Consulting

According to correspondences among the released documents, the CIA offered Professor Geoffrey Kemp of Fletcher \$1250 and out-of-pocket expenses for a 6000-word essay titled, "Impact of Proliferation on Regional Issues and Traditional Rivals" and attendance at a colloquium on International Political Implications in the Event of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation held in Reston, VA on Oct. 22-25, 1978.

The results of the colloquium were to be unclassified, published, and available to the public. A CIA employee wrote Kemp that "CIA regulations require that I suggest that you advise an appropriate senior

(Continued on page S-7)

# Overt CIA recruitment occurs at Tufts

By STEPHEN LABATON  
For years students and staff have speculated about CIA recruitment and spying at Tufts. "I've heard some pretty kooky stories about it," said Fletcher Dean of Students John Roche, who questioned the veracity of rumors and innuendoes that have circulated around the campus in past years.

CIA recruitment is an open process coordinated by the placement offices of the university. According to officials at Fletcher and President Mayer, there is no covert recruiting on campus.

No Tufts policy exists which prohibits covert recruitment, although there are policies at Harvard and MIT. Nor is there a written university policy against the use of students or faculty by intelligence-gathering organizations to spy on Tufts.

Roche said this week that there is "no covert recruiting," and that "to my knowledge there never has been any."

"I consider the relationship (between the CIA and Fletcher) to be very straight forward," Fletcher Director of Placement Mary vanBibber Harris said. "We never make it more or less important than any other type of organization that recruits on campus."

Fletcher professor Robert Pfaltzgraff said that "students have the right to work where they want. The CIA has been much maligned, but people tend to forget that it's important that we build the CIA into an effective organ of the government."

"The CIA is a part of our government," Fletcher Professor Field Haviland explained. "If a person wants to do that kind of work, there's no reason why he shouldn't. Recruitment just matches agency needs and individual desires."

Haviland said covert recruiting "would be rather difficult for the school to prevent, but we would try to stop it."

According to the Career Guidance and Placement Office, 13 undergraduates were interviewed last year by the CIA for jobs, four received offers, and two accepted posts. The Fletcher alumni book for 1980-81 lists 16 alumni as employees of the CIA, out of 25 alumni who work for the executive office of the president.

"When students come out of meeting with the CIA recruiter, they say that it's the weirdest interview they've ever had," said career placement officer Terry Scrimano. "They ask students if they're willing to spy, if they would feel comfortable using a gun, or wearing a bullet proof vest."

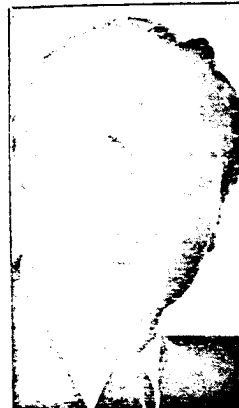
Applying for a position with the CIA entails filling out a five-page document and qualifications supplement, submitting a personal history statement and medical records, and taking a polygraph test administered by the agency. The FBI routinely conducts the investigations on applicants to the CIA.

One question the CIA asks on its application reads: "Are you now or have you ever been a member of any foreign or domestic organization, associa-

tion, movement, group, or combination of persons which is totalitarian, fascist, Communist, or subversive or which has adopted, or shows, a policy advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means?"

Harvard has written guidelines prohibiting covert recruitment, and governmental background investigations about persons without their prior consent.

Covert recruitment was described by the Committee on Relationships between the Harvard Community and United States Intelligence Agencies in its 1977 report to Harvard President Derek Bok. According to the committee's understanding, "when the recruiter believes that a likely candidate has been identified, the name of the candidate is reported to the CIA which then conducts a background check on the individual and creates a file with the information obtained. Neither the recruiter nor the CIA informs the individual at this stage that he or she is being considered for employment or other



Robert Pfaltzgraff

purposes by the CIA."

The committee declared, "The existence on the Harvard campus of unidentified individuals who may be probing the views of others and obtaining information for the possible use of the CIA is inconsistent with the idea of a free and independent university. Such practices inhibit free discourse and are a distortion of the relationship that should exist among members of an academic community and in particular of the relationship that should exist between faculty members and students."

The Committee questioned "whether it is appropriate for a member of the Harvard community to trigger a secret background investigation of another member of the community," which would constitute an invasion of personal privacy and could entail further government intrusion onto campus to collect information. The Committee also expressed concern that recruitment of foreign stu-



John Roche

dents might lead to CIA requests that they violate laws of their home countries. Recruitment of foreign students is one of the CIA's largest

domestic operations, according to Morton Halperin, director for National Securities Studies. Covert recruiters are paid by the CIA or are volunteers according

to Halperin. The list of Fletcher enrollment statistics in CIA files obtained by the Observer is the only indication that the CIA may have recruited covertly at Tufts.

## Tufts rejected CIA funds

By JONATHAN KAHN

President Mayer has rejected at least two CIA funding offers in the past four years, but officials said this week that the university has no specific policy on whether similar gifts should be accepted.

In 1978, the CIA offered between \$100,000 and \$200,000 for the Fletcher School to establish an Energy Policy Study, according to Fletcher Assistant Dean Jeffrey Sheehan. The money was offered to an international economics class studying the impact of the then newly-discovered Mexican oil fields.

Mayer said then that he had rejected the funds because the Tufts association would "make much of our work abroad very much more difficult and put some of our foreign students into difficulty when they go home."

The other grant offer came when the CIA offered Tufts an undisclosed amount of money to do research on world famine, Mayer said.

"The CIA asked Tufts to do the survey," Mayer said, "but we said thanks but no thanks. We were doing it anyway," he maintained, "and if it were known that we were working with the CIA, we would be less well-informed."

According to Sheehan, "There's no institutional policy that either accepts or rejects grants from government

organizations." He said all grants "would be considered on a case-by case basis."

Vice President of Development Thomas Murnane said "whenever we have a grant, it's reviewed by the university for its appropriateness for the university."

Director of Government Relations Carla Ricci described the university review process as the "yellow form." The faculty member involved in the proposed grant fills out a form which describes the grant in detail. The form is sent to the department chairman, the particular school's dean, the government resources office, and the accounting office, Ricci said. "If the grant is from a security organization, or it has implications beyond straight forward research, or there is anything unusual about it, it will go through the president's office," she said.

Ricci said there is one form of research over which the university has no control: "those activities that the individual faculty member undertakes on his own private time."

The only apparent university policy on grants, appears in Section V of the faculty handbook under the heading "classified research." It states that "in general, grants and contracts involving classified research or in-

volving U.S. or foreign intelligence agencies are not appropriate."

Ricci said, "There's absolutely nothing like CIA funds at Tufts now, despite many funds from government organizations. The bulk of them come from straight forward agencies like the department of energy, the National Science Foundation, and the department of transportation." Sheehan said that sometimes Fletcher also has contacts from government agencies, and that Fletcher is currently undertaking research funded by the International Communications Agency and the Agency for International Development.

Sheehan said "to my knowledge, (the 1978 offer) is the only CIA offer of sponsorship of anything to the school."

Murnane added, "We have not had any offers" from any intelligence gathering agencies.

The two articles beginning on page S-1 of this supplement were written by Ken Bresler A'79 and were revised by Stephen Labaton A'83. Bresler, who originally filed for the documents in 1978, is a student at Harvard Law School. Labaton is Editor of this supplement.

# Reagan proposes change in information act

By TODD WHITE

Fifteen years ago, the Freedom of Information Act became law. This satisfied many reporters and scholars who had been accusing the United States government of hiding files which the public had a right to see. They could now file requests under the new act to obtain public documents from any federal agency.

Fifteen days ago, the Reagan Administration asked Congress to drastically revise the act and to limit the American public's access to knowledge about its government. On October 15, Assistant Attorney General Jonathan C. Rose presented a bill on behalf of the White House and testified before a Senate subcommittee.

The recent bill proposed that requests only be honored to American citizens and resident aliens, that fees be raised, and that deadlines be relaxed for federal compliance to information requests. "The proposed amendments...were much more drastic than critics expected," The Washington Post wrote the following day.

If the bill becomes law federal courts will forfeit much of the authority Congress delegated to them in 1974 to reverse national security classification. In that year of Watergate cover-up stories and CIA exposes, Congress empowered users of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), who were so far only allowed to obtain declassified or non-secret data, to contest in court the secrecy stamp given daily to thousands of national security documents. For the sake of "effective government" this court privilege should now be overturned, according to Rose. Only if documents had been classified as secret by an "arbitrary and capricious" government decision would a court retain power to strip their secrecy and force their release.

"Diaries, journals, telephone logs, desk calendars or personal or research notes," of government officials would be off limits to FOIA users. Rose explained that, "such materials are often nothing more than an extension of an individual's own memory."

"We are concerned that in some instances the act has been used in ways that are inconsistent with the original objectives of the Congress," Rose said before the subcommittee, according to the October 16 New York Times. But he reaffirmed Reagan's critics, maintaining "We are fully committed to carrying out the philosophy and spirit of the act."

His proposed "Freedom of Information Improvements Act" would prevent disclosure of confidential sources of government information. All data that would "tend to" reveal the identity of a confidential source or even information gained from him or it would be withheld by the U.S.

Documents that may endanger a witness or potential witness would likewise be restricted. Material formerly withheld only if its release would "interfere" with an "ongoing investigation or enforcement proceeding" would now only have to "relate" to those proceedings for it to be kept secret.

This responds to the persistent complaints of the FBI and CIA. Though both agencies are exempted from some of the act's requirements, they say they are not getting as many tip-offs as they did before the FOIA. The agencies contend that the intelligence units cannot convince informants that everything given to them will remain absolutely confidential.

Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), who questioned Rose at the subcommittee meeting, had said previously that the FOIA "is so broadly written that it is endangering informant information

(so that) we only have about 25 percent of the domestic intelligence information we used to have."

Although actual criminal and civil investigations are not released, hundreds of yearly requests from prisoners for material related to their convictions lead the FBI to suspect that the identities of informants can be pieced together. Curiously though, the FBI cannot document any case where an informant's life was jeopardized by the release of information, according to an article in the August 1981 National Journal.

Anxious that the FBI not pull the veil over itself again, enjoying the secrecy it had before the late 1960's, civil liberties groups remind the public of the FOIA request filed by eight Washington journalists in past years.

In response to the request the FBI divulged 53,000 heavily censored pages describing the 15-year counterintelligence campaign against domestic dissidents in which the bureau tried to upset the political activities of the NAACP, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and other groups.

Schemes like these and others, such as illegal mail-opening, will be encouraged if FOIA is curtailed, say the critics of the proposal. Many records extracted under the FOIA have led to embarrassing and ugly stories for Washington and for local governments and businesses.

The New York Times reported that researchers opened files on unsafe nuclear reactors, contaminated drinking water, hazardous TV sets and ineffective drugs. Regarding investigative reporting, Rose said, "Our proposal, we believe, is very moderate and limited, and not designed to affect the press...A full and informed press is vital to the preservation of a democracy."

Jack Landau remains unconvinced. As director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press he told the Times that "the kind of government accountability we've known will not exist if the administration bill—a 'frontal assault' on the act—is passed." He has charged that Reagan officials seem to believe that government information "should be closed unless they can be convinced it should be open."

The White House regards the records of the CIA in this way: it will soon propose total exemption for America's leading spy agency (akin to pending bills by Senator Chafee (R-R.I.) and Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.) and also for its affiliates, the National Security Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency.

It addresses the persistent CIA complaint of getting the cold shoulder from foreign intelligence services on sharing information. Unable to assure them of strict confidentiality, CIA Director William Casey wants no more "sensitive intelligence information" to wander out of Langley, Virginia through compliance with the act. The opponents to these sweeping revisions remember former FOIA dis-



closures detailing CIA plots against the Cuban and Chilean governments and 40,000 pages released on behavior control programs involving drug experimentation on unwitting victims. They dread the new secrecy privilege, especially when it could be coupled with Reagan's pronouncements that the spy agency be legally permitted to infiltrate and influence domestic organizations.

Written in a draft proposal order earlier this month, this latter proposal could be implemented with a stroke of Reagan's pen. Whereas citizens today have to be suspected of involvement in terrorism or foreign counter intelligence before they could be put under physical surveillance, the new executive order would waive this condition.

## The requests

By now, an estimated one million requests for pieces of information are handled annually by federal agencies. The taxpayer's bill on requests adds up to about \$50 million per year and fees collected only cover perhaps 2 percent of the total cost. But the Freedom of Information Act is not so much overused as it is misused, conservative critics say. Critics such as Hatch fear, among other abuses, industrial spying. Hatch has cited one company which requested confidential information on its competitor from a government agency (Hatch refuses to name the agency). The agency released the competitor's data on "a new technique to mask offensive odors produced by gamma ray sterilization of medical devices," according to the July CQ Weekly.

Businesses, instead of scholars and journalists, request the most information under the FOIA—about 60 percent of it, said Harold Relyea, a Congressional Research specialist. Some companies complain of industrial spying and others allegedly commit it, but few will disclose names or implicate another business. Curiously they "do

not want to call attention to cases," according to the National Journal.

According to George Washington University Law Professor Robert Pozen, industry may be "crying wolf" because so many sensitive secrets have been vulnerable since the act's founding. Think back to what the Center for Auto Safety extracted through the FOIA about the danger of Ford Pinto gas tanks. Ford Motor Co. remembers: it had to recall the Pintos. However, the industrial debate over the FOIA is not as simple as how to best protect embarrassing records or clues to "trade secrets" (which are protected from the act).

Companies are becoming reluctant even to yield data to Washington in the first place. At best they are wary of not being granted confidentiality and at worst not warned before disclosure. Citing the FOIA and its consequences, businesses refused the Security and Exchange Commission the investment information it wanted from them for its study on reforming the stock options trade.

Businesses are also wary of contesting in court the government's right to divulge data. Whereas the public may sue the government in court under the FOIA to force disclosure, a company must sue Washington under the more restrictive Administrative Procedure Act.

The Administration's response to this according to The Times, is to "permit the government to charge for documents that provide information with a commercial market value and allow it to adjust fees for responding to requests," and require the Government to notify an individual or business that had supplied commercially sensitive information and permit them to contest the release of that data.

House of Representatives attention to all FOIA amendments is not expected until next year. Senate action may begin later this fall.

1-800-24-6580. Positions must be filled quickly.

**SCIENCE/MATH SKILLS WANTED:** Overseas opportunity demanding self-confidence and maturity. You'll work with people of all ages in urban or rural settings. Jobs in over 60 foreign countries. Tremendous challenge. Learn about yourself and others. It's the Peace Corps. Is it for you?

**SCIENCE TEACHER:** Elementary school has openings for two science teachers.

**Peace Corps and VISTA Volunteers**

Interviews - 9:00 - 3:30, 3rd Floor,  
Film & Info - 3:45 - 4:30, 2nd Floor,  
Bolles House, NOVEMBER 3, (617) 223-6366.

# Using the FOIA and learning its value

By KEN BRESLER

In April 1975, when Vietnamese communists were preparing for their final assault on Saigon, Tufts University accepted me for admission. By the time I enrolled as a freshman in the following September, rumors were rife that academics at Fletcher had assisted U.S. military and intelligence services, particularly the CIA, in formulating policy for the war effort in Vietnam.

In 1978 I decided to try to discover how much truth these allegations held. I had taken a leave of absence from Tufts and was interning in the Washington office of then-Congressman Robert Drinan (D-Mass.). His staff put me in contact with Washington organizations that are experienced in using the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), a federal law that allows citizens access to government documents subject to certain exemptions.

On March 17, 1978, I filed FOIA requests with the CIA, and—curious about its activities at Tufts—the FBI. Filing a request is simple. It entails addressing a letter identified as an FOIA request to the appropriate office of individual agencies, providing as much information as possible about the desired documents.

My requests were broad. In both cases I asked for a copy of all "retrievable documents" pertaining to "activities at Tufts University or concerning its faculty, teaching assistants, research assistants, administrators, undergraduate students, graduate students, noncredit students, academic and nonacademic staff, as well as their organizations and publications."

I filed the requests without mentioning that I was a Tufts student. I stated my willingness to pay search and copy fees for documents, but asked for a waiver on the grounds that release of the information would benefit the public.

The FBI granted my waiver request without complication, and a year later, shortly before I was graduated, it sent me the documents it had compiled from its Washington headquarters. (Although the FOIA stipulates that federal agencies shall release requested documents within ten working days, that deadline is routinely ignored by agencies and citizens as unreasonably short.) I didn't consider a year too long to wait, especially since the FBI had kept me informed of its progress.

Receiving documents from the FBI's Boston field office took even less time; I requested them last May and received some of them in August. Eight files covered by this request were sent to Washington for review, where they are pending.

Obtaining documents from the CIA required a little more patience and perseverance. The CIA was not willing to waive search fees until I could establish a direct affiliation with Tufts. But the CIA was not satisfied when I informed it that I was enrolled at Tufts; subsequent exchanges of correspondence made it clear that the CIA expected me to be a representative of the university or of a university organization, such as the Observer.

I was not a member of the Observer staff or of any other campus organization and didn't like the idea of getting my request entangled in one. Search fees, however, can be substantial: when Angus Macdonald, a free-lance writer, requested documents from the CIA concerning its attempts to disrupt alternative and leftist media during the Vietnam War era, the CIA estimated that the search would cost over \$60,000 and asked for a \$30,000 deposit. I decided to waive some of my independence as a researcher and writer in return for a waiver of search fees, and

agreed that the request would be made officially by the Observer.

The CIA required confirmation from an Observer editor that my request was filed on behalf of the newspaper, and that the Observer was affiliated with Tufts University. After four letters from me to the CIA, one enclosing a letter from an Observer editor, and three letters from the CIA in return, the CIA finally acknowledged in a fourth letter dated June 26, 1978, that it was processing a request for documents pertaining to Tufts.

The CIA mailed that letter to the Observer, even though no correspondence had originated there and even though it had the Observer editor's summer address. I didn't get my hands on the letter until the following October, when the editor with whom I had been dealing was no longer with the newspaper.

Perhaps the CIA didn't intend all the wrangling by mail between March and June to slow down the request, but that was the effect. And perhaps the CIA didn't realize that the Observer office isn't occupied during the summer, and that college newspapers don't always complete stories that require years of follow-up, due to staff turnover and graduations, but CIA procedures made it difficult to keep track of the FOIA request.

The June 1978 letter from the CIA stated, "Our best estimate at this time is that it will probably take at least six to eight months to complete the processing of your request." That time limit expired, as did the ones that followed, without release of any documents. Eventually the CIA stopped making estimates.

By the fall of 1979, I was increasingly incredulous that the CIA was dealing with the request in good faith. I had received my BA from Tufts the previous May and had begun work as a legislative assistant to Congressman Drinan. Drinan, who sat on the Government Information and Individual Rights Subcommittee, which has jurisdiction over the FOIA, also became concerned at the CIA's apparent lack of response and agreed to intervene.

Mike Levy, an intern for Drinan, assisted me in preparing a memo for the Congressman, who then wrote a letter to the CIA, complaining about the delay. The letter was partially successful; after writing memos to Levy and placing telephone calls to me, the CIA released the 32 documents it had compiled at that point.

I didn't get the remaining 21 documents until September 1980. The CIA asserts that it mailed them to the Observer office in August 1980—again in the summer—but they were never found. The CIA released a set of the documents to me a month later. (The lapse between the release of the documents and publication of articles discussing them was due primarily to my wait for complete releases by both agencies—which has still not occurred.)

The documents released by the two agencies were pertinent in two ways to my original interest in allegations of Fletcher involvement in the Vietnam War effort. The FBI documents confirmed how ingrained the allegations were in the Tufts community. A confidential source at Tufts erroneously reported to the FBI that Fletcher Dean Ed Gullion received anonymous letters concerning the training of American spies for operation in Southeast Asia. The letters actually accused students of spying at Fletcher, according to the FBI documents.

The CIA documents, meanwhile, reveal nothing about Fletcher and Vietnam. There is no mention of Vietnam, Indochina, or Southeast Asia.

The CIA withheld 30 documents, including three from the Directorate of

Logistics, which is responsible for outside consultants. These three documents are dated 1953 and 1956—when American involvement in Indochina began to snowball—but there is no way to tell what they are about.

More important than the withheld documents is the fact that the CIA refuses to confirm or deny the existence of any more documents on Tufts than the 30 it admitted withholding and the 53 it released. We may never know the truth about alleged U.S.-Fletcher cooperation during the Vietnam War.

The documents have not laid my curiosity to rest. Instead, the circumstances surrounding their release have heightened my unconfirmable suspicions.

I can't help remembering the testimony submitted to the Government Information and Individual Rights Subcommittee, to which I served as staff liaison for Congressman Drinan. William Corson, in his statement to accompany his appearance before the Subcommittee on May 29, 1980, wrote, "One can...measure the sensitivity or potential embarrassment of an FOI request to the CIA by the amount of delay it engenders. Admittedly, a backlog of FOIA requests does exist at the CIA; however, this does not explain fully why some requests are acknowledged more rapidly than others. Here, I am not talking about the response i.e., the actual reproduction and sending of requested information but rather the notice saying 'we have your request and it is being studied—acted upon etc.' In several instances which involved three to four month delays before receiving any reply, it was clear to me that the request had set off alarm bells and whistles among those in the Agency who were caught between the rock of keeping dubious 'secrets' and the hardplace of the FOI Act." Corson served in operational and staff intelligence positions during his 26 years as a Marine, and has written books about military intelligence including *Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire*.

If the documents reveal nothing about U.S.-Fletcher cooperation in formulating war policy, they do point to the need to clarify the conditions under which future cooperation will take place, not only with the CIA, but with all outside institutions. A witch-hunt for the CIA's campus contacts is not in order.

Efforts should instead be directed at ensuring that all academics' outside interests and activities be free from potential interference with their academic responsibilities. One way to do so is to require disclosure of those interest and activities, so that, for example, students

and colleagues can evaluate a professor's work in proper perspective. It's time for truth-in-teaching guidelines.

The FBI documents point to the need to clarify the relationship between the Tufts Police Department and other law enforcement agencies. The Tufts community should be able to know that TUPD officers invited to

mass meetings to exercise crowd control will not act as recording secretaries for the FBI.

Most importantly, the released documents demonstrate the value of the Freedom of Information Act. This law allows Americans to act as watch-dogs of their own government and evaluate how well it functions.

We now know that the FBI and CIA acted improperly at Tufts—the FBI by monitoring legitimate political activity, and the CIA by monitoring any domestic political activity at all. The infractions, of course, are minor compared with the outrages perpetrated elsewhere by these two agencies. Perhaps with continued exposure even such minor infractions will diminish.

But exposure must continue, and that means the Freedom of Information Act must survive. Moves to restrict its provisions and to entirely exempt the CIA and FBI began in the Carter Administration and have received increasing support in Congress and the White House since the Republicans won control.

The Government Information Subcommittee and its Senate counterpart would do well to recall the words of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, chaired by former Senator Frank Church (D-Ida.). The final report of April 4, 1976 stated, "The committee is disturbed both by the present practice (intelligence agencies) operationally using American academics and by the awareness that the restraints on expanding this practice are primarily those of sensitivity to the risks of disclosure and not an appreciation of damages to the integrity of individuals and institutions." Intelligence agencies are still more sensitive to the risk of disclosure than the threat to the integrity of Americans and their institutions, and as long as that is the case, the agencies must be subject to public scrutiny and accountability.

After having used the FOIA and having witnessed many hearings before the Government Information Subcommittee, I am familiar with the Freedom of Information Act—its serious flaws, its alleged flaws (the CIA, for example, complains that requests for documents relating to colleges and universities are too broad), and its possibly overriding strengths, including that of alerting Americans to abuses and potential abuses by the government directed at them.

FOIA critics and I agree on at least one thing: We'd rather not have to read in the newspaper that the FBI contravened the Constitution by spying on Martin Luther King or that the CIA violated its charter and squandered its resources by training its surveillance satellites on anti-war demonstrations. But there, some of the critics and I part company. They would rather you didn't read about the abuses, and I'd prefer that there be no abuses to read about.

## FACING FINALS FEARLESSLY

Workshop on taking tests at Tufts, "Facing Finals Fearlessly." Dr. Andrew Gause, Health Services; Jesper Rosenmeier, American Studies; Lillian Broderick, Academic Resource Center; and Karen Blum J

'82

4-5 p.m. Lane hall

# FBI monitored bombings, political activity

Continued from page S-1

Informants have been targeted to furnish to FBI any information pertinent to locating individuals responsible for setting fire." The FBI followed the investigation, which local authorities handled.

Although no information was developed linking the bombing with students, records pertaining to it were marked, "STAG," which stands for "student agitation." The FBI apparently considered the bombing politically inspired because STAG was a program to collect intelligence on what the FBI once described as "anti-Government demonstrations and protest rallies."

One document noted that Gullion had served as Counselor of Legations to Saigon. The Fletcher School was frequently accused by critics of assisting the American war effort in Vietnam.

## ROTC car bomb attempt

On May 11, 1972, a Ford station wagon owned by the Naval Reserve Office Training Corps (NROTC) was the target of a bomb attempt as it was parked near Sweet Hall. A two-quart glass milk bottle containing a layer of gasoline floating on a liquid mixture of polystyrene and a volatile petroleum hydrocarbon was discovered near the car's gas cap. A 12-foot fuse had frayed before reaching a cherry bomb fixed in the bottle's mouth. An orange soaked in gasoline had been ignited beneath the car and had caused minor smoke damage.

The FBI ran comprehensive tests on the bomb and included resulting graphs and charts in the released documents. It could not find a record of an identically constructed bomb and was unable to develop any suspects. A confidential source, whose name was deleted by the FBI, "advised that there had been no great animosity on the part of either students or faculty toward the NROTC program at Tufts and he does not believe that this attempted bombing was a result of student discontent over the ROTC program on campus," according to an FBI memo.

One source in the documents "speculated that the incident seemed to coincide with anti-Navy sentiment, which had evolved among college age people in opposition to the NIXON administration's decision to mine the harbor of North Vietnam." The three pages withheld by the FBI entirely, under the protection of confidential sources exemption, related to the bomb attempt.

One document on the bombing attempt confirms that the Tufts Police Department passed information to the FBI. There is no indication who else, if anyone, on or off campus, provided information confidentially.

## Spying at Fletcher?

In December 1971, Gullion received a letter through campus mail reading: "Dear Mr. Gullion: Are you aware that Mr. (name deleted by FBI under personal privacy exemptions) a student at Fletcher is using your school as a base for spying?"

"The Thai Govt. is sending out another woman in January who is even more dangerous. She is expected to be living at Fletcher, so beware."

"(Name deleted by FBI) has cleverly got his govt to recall him, but in fact (sic) that is just a guise so that no one suspects him. There are several people who are being paid by foreign Govts to get information and some of them happen to be at your school. Among the ones you should watch are Mr. (names deleted by FBI)."

In early 1972, Gullion received a second letter—this one delivered by the U.S. Postal Service, postmarked Jan. 4—that read, Dear Mr. Gullion: (Name deleted by FBI) is using the Fletcher School as a base for spying and mixed up in this racket several foreign students. There is a plan to bomb the school you better watch out."

Gullion made notes on the second letter suggesting that it might be an attempt to confuse the investigation of the March 1971 bombing. The FBI determined that

the two letters were typed on the same typewriter, and identified its manufacturer. A search of the FBI's Anonymous Letter File produced no leads, the documents reveal.

The only deletion made in the entire FOIA release under the exemption protecting national security or foreign policy information occurred on a memo discussing the fingerprint examinations of the letters. An appeal of the decision to delete this information was filed with the FBI in June 1981 on the basis that protection of national security or foreign policy information is seemingly an inappropriate justification for obliterating part of a document discussing fingerprints. The appeal is pending. The FBI is allowed to delete information compiled for law enforcement or investigatory purposes, but chose not to use this exemption.

The FBI's extensive investigation did not develop further information on the letters' author. But the FBI did open an initial investigation on the subjects of the letter, as is routine in such cases. "The names of all the students listed in the anonymous letters were checked through Boston indices (sic) with negative results," noted one document.

The Tufts Weekly The undeleted parts of one document, titled "NEW LEFT ACTIVITY-TUFTS UNIVERSITY" and dated July 1, 1968, consist entirely of paraphrases of and

Dear Mr. Gullion:

Are you aware that Mr. [redacted] a student at Fletcher is using your school as a base for spying? The Thai Govt. is sending out another young woman in January who is even more dangerous. She is expected to be living at Fletcher, so beware.

[redacted] has cleverly got his govt to recall him, but in fact that is just a guise so that no one suspects him. There are several people who are being paid by foreign Govts to get information and some of them happen to be at your school. Among the ones you should watch are Mr. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Dear Mr. Gullion: Mr. [redacted] is using the other School as a base for spying and mixed up in this racket several foreign students. There is a plan to bomb the school you better watch out.

[redacted]

The original notes sent to Gullion alleging a spy and bomb plot at Fletcher. Handwritten notations are by Gullion and read in part "possibly a 'cover' for some of the arson squad." Deletions were made by FBI under subsection (b) (7) (c) of the FOIA protecting the personal privacy of non-government personnel.

quotations from The Tufts Weekly. One largely deleted section of the document described the organization and estimated the membership of the Tufts chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Another section, the subtitle of which was deleted, describes a May 3, 1968 editorial in The Weekly criticizing the selection of Thomas Glynn as "Mr. Tufts." Glynn was reported to be a member of the SDS coordinating committee and "has cited his career goal as being an outside agitator," according to the FBI's quotation of The Weekly.

The document's third section, subtitled, "Summary of Campus Activity," mentions the picketing of the Tufts Placement Office in protest of on-campus CIA recruiting that occurred on Nov. 7 and 8, 1967, eight months before the document was written.

There is a more detailed account in the same document of the anti-war protest on May 10, 1968 during the annual Naval and Air Force ROTC Review at the Tufts Oval. James Hart, a graduate student in philosophy, demanded that then Tufts President Burton Hollowell, who was sit-

ting in the reviewing stands, accept his draft card. When Hollowell refused, Hart tore up his card and dropped it onto Hollowell's lap.

Hart told Weekly that Hollowell has been giving de facto support to the war through sanctioned on-campus military recruiting and ROTC." reads the FBI document, which quoted Hart telling the Weekly, "Hollowell must either renounce his obligations to the government or he must show his support of it by reporting my felony (of mutilating a draft card)."

One document was a clipping from the Nov. 1, 1968 issue of The Tufts Weekly listing the events planned by the Tufts chapter of SDS for election day and eve: a film showing, lecture, guerrilla theater performance, march to the State House, and party on the library roof.

A separate clipping on the same document listed free university courses ranging from Modern American Poetry to Modern Greek. One course was titled "New Left—America in Crisis."

Another FBI document consists of two clippings from The Young Socialist, the newspaper of the Youth Socialist Alliance (YSA). Titled "Meet Young Socialists in your Area" and dated 1967 and 1968, the clippings gave the names, Somerville address and phone number of two YSA contacts at Tufts.

YSA is an affiliate of the Socialists Workers Party (SWP), which was the

released by the FBI in response to an FOIA request filed with it. It was released on Aug. 13, 1980 after being located by the Central Intelligence Agency during a search of its own files in response to an FOIA request filed on behalf of The Tufts Observer for CIA documents relating to Tufts. The CIA referred the document to the FBI, which had authored it, and which in turn released it. The FBI confirmed earlier this month that the document was not indexed or retrievable from its own files meaning that the document was released only because an identical FOIA request was made with the CIA.

The documents reveal that the FBI stayed informed about protests surrounding the construction of Lewis Hall by Volpe Construction Co., which was accused of discrimination against blacks in hiring. In a teletyped document dated Nov. 11, 1969 and stamped, "RACIAL MATTERS," a confidential source recounted that approximately 200 people "demonstrated at the construction site chanting quote pigs go home unquote and quote more blacks unquote."

## Security checks

Another series of documents recounts that a Tufts graduate student, Richard Harris, received a grant in February 1969 from the U.S. Dept. of Labor for his doctorate degree in sociology. A confidential source "requested that indices check of Boston office be made for any derogatory info re Harris or his sponsors."

Harris's three faculty sponsors were Leila Sussmann and Jay Kenvin, checks on both of whom were "negative," and Edwin Schur. A check on Schur revealed, according to one document, that on Nov. 16, 1967, "following anti-draft demonstrations held at Old West Church, Boston, Mass., four individuals appeared at the Office of U.S. Attorney, Boston, and attempted to turn over a number of draft cards and other documents to Asst. USA (U.S. Attorney), Boston. When told USA's office had no authority to accept these documents, these individuals abandoned on the counter at USA's office about sixty draft registration cards and one hundred forty signed forms from various adults supporting men who had either turned in or burned their draft cards. Included were approximately forty-two (sic) mimeographed (sic) form letters from individuals purportedly members of the faculty of Tufts University. Name Edwin M. Schur, sociology, was hand printed in ink on one of these forms." The FBI apparently passed this information to the New York City Police Dept., where Harris reportedly conducted his study instead of in Honolulu.

An employee in the FBI's FOIA office refused to explain why the names of Harris, Schur, Sussman, and Kenvin were not deleted under the privacy exemption as were those of other non-FBI personnel. Different employees who reviewed the documents before their release probably made different decisions on how much privacy was involved.

## Faculty Loyalty

The FBI declined to pass judgment on the loyalty of the Tufts faculty, but an FBI employee did explain to his superior in a memo that "we have nothing of pertinence in the bureau's files on Tufts."

## COINTELPRO

The FBI documents do not reveal any FBI attempt to disrupt political activity at Tufts, as has been revealed on other campuses and elsewhere. In a May 28, 1976 letter which was released as part of the files, then-FBI Director Clarence Kelley wrote to Harry Zane, then Director of Public Informational Tufts, "A review of the appropriate records pertaining to COINTELPRO actions was conducted and no indication that Tufts University was ever the target of a COINTELPRO action was located." COINTELPRO, which

stands for Counter Intelligence Program, was an organized FBI effort to monitor and disrupt political activity, much of it constitutionally protected, during the 1960's and early 1970's.

#### Drug Bust

The FBI also received a report on the campus drug raid during the early morning, Mar. 28, 1970, in which Medford police arrested 16 people including 12 students. An unnamed confidential source reported to the FBI that between 75 to 100 students gathered and stoned some police cars as the arrestees were led away. "The source stated that the gathering appeared to be completely spontaneous and without leadership," according to one document.

The same source also reported on a meeting attended by approximately 250 people which took place in Carmichael Hall later that day. The FBI apparently was interested in who was providing leadership for campus protests; the document reads, "The source stated that there were several speakers, but that no one person or group of persons could be singled out as leader."

The meeting produced six student demands of the administration, including one that Tufts pay all legal costs of the students arrested and implicated in the raid, and refrain from disciplining them. Ironically, another demand, which was dropped in subsequent negotiations, was reported to be that "there be full dis-

closure of current files concerning students' personal and political lives... and that all university communications with all Government agencies in regard to students and—or their activities should be made public."

The documents describe incidents two days after the raid when approximately 75 students conducted a "mill-in" in Ballou Hall. They sat outside the office of the Dean of Students, Alvin Schmidt, but did not attempt to disrupt university activities. Another group, however, took control of the switchboard and accepted in-coming calls for about 45 minutes. According to the documents a source, "who has furnished reliable information in the past," reported "that the protest does not seem to be organized by any subversive or New Left type organization."

#### Extortion

One document, dated Sept. 30, 1975, indicates that at least 12 organizations and companies, including the Mass. Assoc. of Conservation Commissions, whose mailing address is the Lincoln-Filene Center at Tufts, received threatening extortion letters. The nature of the letters and further details of the case were not revealed.

#### Correspondence

The released documents also contain miscellaneous correspondence such as invitations for speaking engagements, between members of the Tufts community (whose names were not deleted) and J.

Edgar Hoover. On June 9, 1970, Herb Voyer, then Chief of the Tufts Police, invited Hoover to speak before the annual conference of the International Association of College and University Security Directors, of which Voyer was an officer. Voyer wrote to Hoover, "Your recent statements on the dangers and fallacies of the New Left Movement are an inspiration to all of us having direct insight into this problem."

#### Observer Requests

Freedom of Information Act requests were also filed last May with the Secret Service, the Air Force's Office of Special Investigations the Army's 108th Military Intelligence Group, and the Naval Investigative Service Office, since many of the FBI documents released by the Washington, D.C. headquarters had been forwarded at the time they were written to those agencies. These FOIA requests did not result in the release of more documents relating to Tufts.

The Secret Service asserts that it indexes files by name, not by location or institution, and is therefore unable to search for documents under "Tufts University." The military intelligence agencies deny maintaining records relating to Tufts. In 1971, the Defense Department ordered all files on non-Defense Department personnel destroyed without a record being made of the files having been kept.

It is understandable that documents con-

cerning the attempted bombing of the NROTC station wagon in 1972 were forwarded to the Naval Investigative Service Office, but the reasoning for forwarding other documents to other agencies seems contrived. For example, documents referring to the "mill-in" at Ballou Hall following the 1970 drug raid were forwarded to the Secret Service, and the Office of Special Investigations, as well as two other military intelligence entities, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and the Army Corps Security Index. One such document marked STAG warned that "unauthorized disclosure of information... could compromise this source of continuing value to the defense interests of the United States." It is difficult to imagine how a local incident, which the FBI's own source reported as apparently unrelated to "any subversive or New Left type organization" could affect national defense interests.

The Army Chief of Staff first approved "continuous counterintelligence investigations" into the anti-war movement in 1967, after the Army helped the Pentagon cope with an anti-war demonstration.

The released documents reveal that Tufts filed its own FOIA request in 1975, more narrow than the Observer's, and apparently motivated by its desire for information about bombing incidents, attempts, threats and alleged plots on campus. The FBI completed that request in 1976.

## CIA consulted, recruited, ignored law

(Continued from page S-1)

official in your institution of your participation in the colloquium."

Kemp, who is now a National Security Council staff member specializing in Mideast issues, confirmed that he attended the conference and was paid \$1250, and that his essay appeared in an unclassified publication. "That was an academic exercise," he said, referring to the colloquium. "Very rarely are they on classified subjects. I have participated in several of these." The CIA released documents concerning only one conference apparently attended by Kemp.

Kemp said he cannot remember whether he informed an appropriate Tufts official as the CIA suggested. "That was ages ago," he said.

Other released correspondence pertains to the CIA's invitation to a member of the Tufts community to be a guest speaker at a seminar sponsored by its Office of Political Research. The guest speaker, whose name is deleted, was offered "as an honorarium" the "maximum consultant's fee of \$138.48" plus per diem and travel expenses from Medford to CIA headquarters in McLean, VA. A CIA memo noted that "his services are on a one-time-only basis."

Although the seminar was unclassified, its topic was deleted from various documents, as was its date. The correspondence, however, establishes that the seminar occurred sometime between Nov. 7 and Nov. 24, 1975.

A thank-you letter after the seminar from the CIA to the guest speaker from Tufts stated, "Both the morning and afternoon sessions have received lots of positive comment and seem to have been appreciated by all who attended." A postscript reads, "Please do remember to send my greetings to (name deleted by CIA)," indicating an additional CIA contact at Tufts.

Another letter from the CIA invited a Tufts academic to participate in one of various "small informal seminars...in which a few distinguished scholars trade judgments with U.S. Government analysts—in privileged low-profile discussions—on various central questions concerning the USSR, China, and Sino-Soviet relations." The name of the Tufts academic was deleted, as was the exact date of the seminar, although the released

correspondence establishes that it took place sometime between March 6 and April 24, 1974.

The seminar's agenda was not deleted from the letter. "The two subjects," it states, "will include questions of Soviet definition of detente, and Sino-Soviet relations; in both afternoon and evening, discussion will include questions of Soviet and Chinese decision-making, perceptions and bureaucratic politics."

The letter envisaged a discussion group of 16 persons consisting of CIA employees and faculty members from different universities. The CIA offered the Tufts academic "food and drink, some lively discussion, and any transportation or other expenses you might have."

A CIA employee later thanked the Tufts academic for "helping to make the discussion a good one." The employee continued, "I'll be happy to try to answer any questions you might have concerning the idea of a possible sabbatical here—for a year, a semester, or a summer."

In a follow-up letter written on Tufts letterhead, the Tufts academic requested that the CIA employee meet with a friend of his, a Soviet specialist whose name and affiliation have been deleted by the CIA. "Not only is he interested in the sabbatical program that you mentioned to us," the Tufts academic wrote, "but he would like to be in touch with you and your colleagues next year."

An employee in the CIA's FOIA office was unable to explain why the dates, topics, and participants' names in the three seminars were variously deleted from or included in the documents.

Among the more mundane documents released by the CIA are a July 1961 article from the Christian Science Monitor mentioning that Professor Don Humphrey of Fletcher "recently returned from Afghanistan where he helped in a three-week survey and evaluation of the Afghans' five-year plan," and heavily-expunged mailing lists. The lists disclose that the Fletcher librarian and possibly other people at Tufts received unclassified reports on matters including Chinese, Far Eastern, Soviet, and Eastern European studies.

The CIA also released a correspondence showing that it provided Tufts personnel with an atlas of Soviet agriculture, research memos on Soviet aid and trade

with the Third World, directories of Soviet and Eastern European officials, and otherwise unidentified "Chinese material." Although the exact nature of some of this information cannot be determined, the CIA has been known, reports Morton Halperin, director of the Center for National Security, to provide nonpublic information to academics for use in their work. This access increases the academics' prestige and promotion prospects, and presumably, their sense of obligation to assist the CIA, according to Halperin. (Halperin, who served on the National Security Council under Henry Kissinger until 1969, is now engaged in a court battle to obtain damages from former President Nixon for an illegal wiretap on his home phone.)

The CIA withheld three documents in their entirety, two memos from 1953 and a form dated 1965, that originated in the Directorate of Logistics, the CIA component responsible for contracting. The existence of these documents suggests that the CIA may have had other consulting arrangements with Tufts personnel. Other contacts have occurred since 1978, when documents were requested under the FOIA.

#### Recruitment

The CIA released a type-written list of enrollment statistics for Fletcher in 1972-73. It includes breakdowns of the student body by such categories as undergraduate majors and countries of origin. According to Jay Peterzell, a research associate at the Center for National Security Studies, a Washington, D.C. group which monitors intelligence activities, "The list would be primarily useful for covert recruitment because the Agency (CIA) tends to recruit Americans for employment positions while it recruits foreigners as agents or spies."

In a released letter dated Oct. 15, 1975, a CIA personnel representative requested a Tufts catalogue from the registrar to "ascertain academic majors of career interest."

Nine of the documents released by the CIA, 20 pages altogether, disclose overt recruitment of the Tufts community for CIA employment. Although the documents are dated 1969, 1972-75, and 1978, it is known that overt recruitment occurred

during other years and continues to the present.

Most of the documents concerning overt recruitment have been heavily excised. There are almost no details about the recruiting procedure even though it is a relatively open CIA activity.

#### Ignoring the law

Recruitment is such an open activity that it attracted protests on many campuses during the Vietnam War. One FBI document released under the FOIA notes that 60 to 80 students and faculty members picketed the Tufts Placement Office on Nov. 7 and 8, 1967, to protest the CIA's on-campus recruiting at Tufts. To protect its recruiters from violent demonstrations (and for other reasons), the CIA began to conduct operations and surveillance at colleges and universities.

A ten page document released by the CIA listed 349 chapters of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), including Tufts' local group, compiled by the Counter Intelligence-Special Operations (CI-SO). The list was the only one released to the Observer from the CIA's Directorate of Operations, which CIA employees routinely refer to as the "Dirty Tricks Department."

Twenty seven of the 30 documents withheld in their entirety by the CIA originated with the Directorate of Operations. If the CIA engaged in operations or surveillance on Tufts—and there is no information in the released documents that it did—the details would probably be found in these 27 documents consisting of postcards, letters, and envelopes dated between 1959 and 1967.

While conducting a search of its files for documents relating to Tufts, the CIA located a memo which had been authored by the FBI. It referred the memo to the FBI which subsequently released it under the FOIA. Labeled, "NEW LEFT MOVEMENT INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS," the memo briefly describes the violent protests surrounding the firing of a black secretary in May, 1971. The location of the memo in the CIA's files further demonstrates CIA interest in domestic unrest in general and political activity at Tufts specifically, which violates the National Security Act of 1947 prohibiting it from such domestic activities.