

Buying a piece of anthropology

Part 1: Human Ecology and unwitting anthropological research for the CIA

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Fig. 1. 'The water torture'. From a woodcut in J. Damhoudère's Praxis rerum criminalium, Antwerp 1556. The interest of scholars in torture techniques demonstrated in this woodcut has not disappeared. Intelligence agencies have sought to provide covert funding for academic research through reputable funding agencies (such as the Human Ecology Fund examined in this article) to achieve their objectives.

Editor's note: To provide a window on how anthropological research, and that of other social and behavioural sciences, is being appropriated in war, this issue of ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY features articles dealing with their use in two areas of warfare, namely interrogation and counterinsurgency. In this first part of a two-part article, David Price looks at one of several research programmes funded in the 1950s and 1960s by the Central Intelligence Agency under the MK-Ultra programme

Although we routinely acknowledge the impact of colonialism on the history of our discipline, we seem to have a blind spot when it comes to the specific ways in which more recent interests of military and intelligence agencies intersect with anthropologists and their research. However, given current efforts to engage anthropologists in military and intelligence campaigns, we can no longer feign ignorance. Our neglect of this past seems to be a product of two factors: firstly the high levels of secrecy surrounding agencies such as the NSA and CIA, and secondly the fact that, for various reasons, anthropologists have been uncomfortable confronting questions relating to anthropologists' interactions with these agencies. Nevertheless, some of the CIA's past efforts to use and shape anthropological and social science research have been an open secret for decades – open, that is, to all who cared to procure publicly available documents and do some detective work.¹

Though largely unexamined, the extent of covert CIA funding of American-funded social science research during the 1950s and 1960s was extraordinary. This unexamined state of affairs is all the more problematic considering that over three decades ago, the US Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities found that

[t]he CIA's intrusion into the foundation field in the 1960s can only be described as massive. Excluding grants from the 'Big Three' – Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie – of the 700 grants over \$10,000 given by 164 other foundations during the period 1963-1966, at least 108 involved partial or complete CIA funding. More importantly, CIA funding was involved in nearly half the grants the non-'Big Three' foundations made during this period in the field of international activities. In the same period more than one-third of the grants awarded by non-'Big Three' in the physical, life and social sciences also involved CIA funds.

Bona fide foundations, rather than those controlled by the CIA, were considered the best and most plausible kind of funding cover for certain kinds of operations. A 1966 CIA study explained the use of legitimate foundations was the most effective way of concealing the CIA's hand as well as reassuring members of funding organizations that the organization was in fact supported by private funds. The Agency study contended that this technique was 'particularly effective for democratically-run membership organizations, which need to assure their own unwitting members and collaborators, as well as their hostile critics, that they have genuine, respectable, private sources of income.' (US Senate 1976: 182-183)

Even though these covert funding programmes influenced our research agendas and our theories, American anthropologists have been surprisingly reluctant to learn their lesson and prevent this from happening again. This now leaves us vulnerable. In the US, research findings by anthropologists, psychologists and behavioural scientists are currently being applied to Bush's 'war on terror' in ways that are as yet incompletely understood because of

in which social scientists, including anthropologists, were led (mostly unwittingly) to provide input into interrogation techniques still in use today. The second part, to be published in a future issue, will examine more concretely how this research found its way into the *Kubark* manual used by US intelligence at detention facilities abroad and through its programme of 'extreme renditions'. See also the article by Roberto González on pp. 14-19 of this issue.



the elevated conditions of secrecy. If the past is any guide, we would benefit from scrutinizing how the intelligence community interfaced with academia to get what they want.

MK-Ultra

In the early 1970s former US State Department Foreign Service employee John Marks used the Freedom of Information Act to secure the release of thousands of pages of government documents describing covert CIA programmes known as MK-Delta and MK-Ultra (Marks 1979, US Senate 1977). These programmes used unwitting scientists to study methodically whether effective forms of 'mind control', 'brainwashing', interrogation and torture could be achieved. Some studies investigated whether drugs, stress or specific environmental conditions could be used to 'break' prisoners or to induce confessions (Marks 1979, SIHE 1960). While no effective means of mind control were identified, these programmes produced significant data on coercion and interrogation that formed the basic research for the CIA's 1963 *Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation* manual. This is the base document for the CIA interrogation and torture procedures that emerged in the 1960s and continue in the present era (CIA 1963b, 1983; McCoy 2006).

I would like to thank the three anonymous AT reviewers who provided me with solid editorial and analytical advice.

Fig. 2. Cover of a 1960 bibliographic report on 'brainwashing' by the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology (SIHE).

1. For some examples of anthropological discussions of these relationships, see Castañeda 2005, Mitchell 2002, Price 2003a and 2003b.

2. Margaret Mead maintained a friendship with Harold Wolff for several decades; she knew him at least from the mid-1940s (MM M3, HW to MM 5/24/45). A story in the November 1951 issue of the *American Anthropological Association's News Bulletin* stated that Mead was the 'representative of anthropology' at a National Institute of Mental Health-sponsored Work Conference in Mental Health Research where she worked alongside Wolff (AAANB Nov. 1951:4-5). In 1951 Mead corresponded with Wolff on the subject of Mark Zborowski's anthropological studies of pain (MM M17, MM to HW 4/21/51). In 1958 she alerted Wolff to Daniel Gajdusek's research into Kuru among the Fore of New Guinea (MM C41, MM to HW 7/21/58).

3. There were also many other sorts of relationships that American anthropologists maintained with the CIA during the Cold War (see Price 2002). One example is given by Alfred Meyer, who wrote that in 1952 when he was the Assistant Director of Harvard's Russian Research Center, [anthropologist] 'Clyde Kluckhohn once called me into his office for a confidential chat. "Once in a while", he said, "I send a memo around to all the members of the Center in which I suggest that we discuss a specific problem." Of course, I had seen such memos and responded to them. "Well," he continued, "such suggestions of mine usually come from the local field office of the CIA, who phone me, saying, "Our uncle in Washington would like to know what you people think about such a problem." Kluckhohn told me that during the next semester he was going to be on leave, and the CIA agents wanted someone appointed to be their contact person.' (Meyer 2000: 21-22).

4. Raymond Prince published an illustration consisting of photo reproductions of pages of the *Human Ecology Fund Annual Report of July 1961*. The following projects appear in Prince's reproduction: 'Studies of the Nervous System in Disease': Harold G. Wolff, Loring J. Chapman, Armando O. Ramos; 'Motivation,

A declassified 1963 CIA report summarizing various MK-Ultra projects stressed the interdisciplinary scope of the project, noting that: 'over the ten-year life of the program many additional avenues to the control of human behavior have been designed by the [CIA's Technical Services Division] management as appropriate to investigation under the MKULTRA charter, including radiation, electro-shock, various fields of psychology, psychiatry, sociology, and anthropology, graphology, harassment substances, and paramilitary devices and materials' (CIA 1963a: 4). This report explains how MK-Ultra programmes secretly used CIA money to fund academic researchers affiliated with universities through Agency funding fronts designed to look like legitimate academic research institutions. In some cases these academics knew they were funded by laundered CIA funds, but in most instances they were completely unwitting participants. The process and CIA expectations were described as follows:

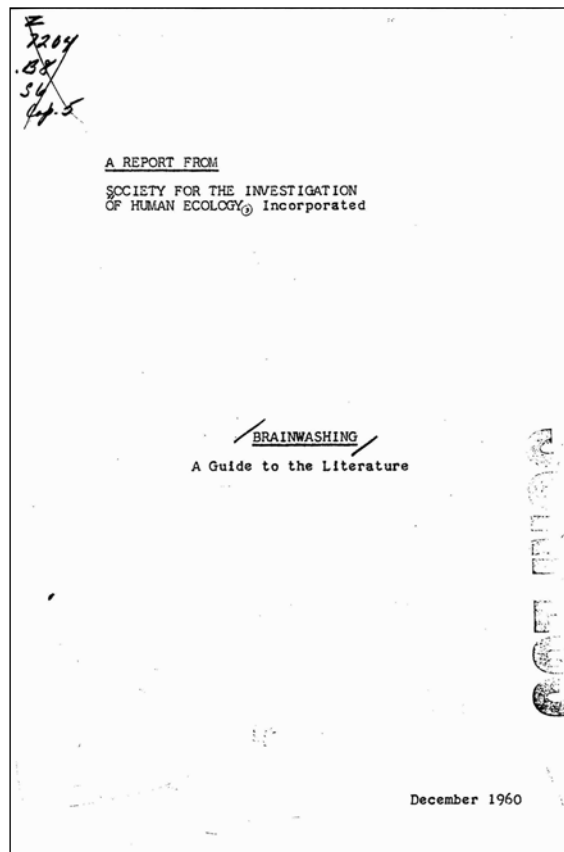
Annual grants of funds are made under ostensible research foundation auspices to the specialists located in the public or quasi-public institutions. This approach conceals from the institution the interest of CIA and permits the recipient to proceed with his investigation, publish his findings (excluding military implications), and account for his expenditures in a manner normal to his institution. A number of the grants have included funds for the construction and equipping of research facilities and for the employment of research assistants. Key individuals must qualify for top secret clearance and are made witting of Agency sponsorship. As a rule each specialist is managed unilaterally and is not witting of Agency support of parallel MKULTRA research in his field. The system in effect 'buys a piece' of the specialist in order to enlist his aid in pursuing the intelligence implications of his research. His services typically include systematic search of the scientific literature, procurement of materials, their propagation, and the application of test doses [of drugs] to animals and under some circumstances to volunteer human subjects.

The funding of sensitive MKULTRA projects by sterile grants in aid as noted in the preceding paragraph disclosed one of the principal controversial aspects of this program. (CIA 1963a: 7-8, emphasis added)

Through such arrangements an unknown number of witting researchers' projects were funded to produce reports that typically might have both public and secret versions. Public versions could be published in academic journals, while the CIA was given secret versions. While programmes using scholars as willing researchers often had their own ethical problems, they were fundamentally different from the CIA projects that funded researchers who had no idea for whom they were working.

Within the CIA, Richard Helms provided Dr Sidney Gottlieb and the CIA's Technical Services Divisions with \$25 million in funds between 1953 and 1963 for MK-Ultra projects studying human responses to drugs and environmental conditions that could manipulate individuals into adopting behaviours against their will (McCoy 2006: 28-29). CIA operations Bluebird and Artichoke studied the usefulness of psychotropic drugs in interrogation. Both Bluebird and Artichoke regularly used unethical and illegal research methods such as dosing unsuspecting government employees or members of the public with strong chemical agents like LSD, DMT, liquid concentrates of THC or opiates (see McCoy 2006: 26-28, Marks 1979:53-121). These drug experiments spilled over into the counterculture: the CIA searched for effective truth serums, but in its search unleashed Ken Kesey, Timothy Leary and Allen Ginsberg.

Many of these experiments were illegal and/or unethical: they placed unwitting prisoner, civilian and military 'research subjects' at risk, and left some individuals with permanent damage (see Weinstein 1990). The CIA's efforts to find means of effectively controlling or interrogating people drew in top American medical and social



scientists. Alfred McCoy observed that the CIA's 'alliance with behavioral science seems marvelously synergistic, placing mind-control research at the apex of the academic agenda and providing patronage that elevated cooperative scientists, particularly psychologists, to the first rank of their profession' (McCoy 2006: 31).

Though the programme chiefly involved psychologists, anthropologists wandered in and out of MK-Ultra-funded projects in ways that have been documented but remain poorly understood. Margaret Mead served on the advisory board of MK-Ultra's fronted *Research in Mental Health Newsletter* (Marks 1979), and Gregory Bateson experimented with LSD supplied by Harold Abramson, who was working on a CIA funded MK-Ultra drug programme (ibid.).² Anthropologists helped John Cladwell King, former chief of the CIA's Western Hemisphere Division and CEO of the Amazon Natural Drug Company, search for pharmaceutical plants in Amazonia (Cockburn and St. Clair 1998, Colby and Dennett 1995).³ As I will discuss in the second part of this article, one anthropologist developed cross-cultural models of stress. Some of the uses of this CIA-funded work are only now becoming understood, but enough is known to find patterns of CIA co-optation and abuse of anthropological research (see Price 1998).

The key to the MK-Ultra programme's use of *unwitting* anthropologists and other social scientists during the 1950s and 1960s was anthropologists' uncritical reliance on legitimate-seeming organizations that were secretly CIA funding fronts. One such apparently legitimate CIA-funded foundation was the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology.

Human Ecology

The Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology (SIHE) was a CIA funding front which provided grants to social scientists and medical researchers investigating questions of interest to the MK-Ultra program (see Price 1998, Marks 1979, HEF 1963). The Society was founded in 1954 in New York by Harold G. Wolff, MD, a renowned neurologist and leading authority on stress, migraine and

Fig. 3. Harold G. Wolff, M.D. (1898-1962), founder of the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology.

Attitude Formation, Decision Matrices': Martin T. Orme, Kurt Lang, H.J. Eysenck, K. Svalastoga, Frank R. Westie, Melvin L. DeFleur, Joseph Kennedy, Anthony J. Weiner, George A. Kelly; 'Personality Studies': David R. Saunders, William N. Thetford, Robert E. Goodnow, Zing Yang Kuo; 'Relationship Between Health, Personality and Environmental Factors in Groups': Beatrice B. Berle, Ronald Taft, A.H.M. Struik, C. Wendell King, Erik Allardt, Juhani Hirvas, Charles Fritz; 'Studies in Techniques and Methods of Psychotherapy': Carl R. Rogers, Raymond H. Prince; 'Studies in Small Group Behavior': Muzafer Sherif, Urie Bronfenbrenner; 'Communications in the Social Process': Charles E. Osgood, Doris Twitchell Allen; 'Other studies, grants': John B. Carroll, James A. Hamilton, Arnold D. Krugman; 'Publications, monographs': Eric D. Wittkower, Jacob Fried, Saul Sells, Fritz Kaeser-Hofstetter, Richard Stephenson, Jay Schulman, Herbert C. Kelman, Erving [sic] Goffman (Prince 1995: 408).

5. The emphasis in this passage occurs in the original document and probably signified that these terms were cross-indexed in the CIA files.

Abbreviations:

AAAFN: *American Anthropological Association Fellows Newsletter*

AAANB: *American Anthropological Association New Bulletin*

MM: Margaret Mead Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Biderman, A.D. and Zimmer, H. 1961. *The manipulation of human behavior*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Carr, W.K. and Tullock, G. 1965. Fifteen years of Communist China. *The China Quarterly* 23: 174-176.

Castañeda, Q. 2005. The Carnegie mission and vision of science: Institutional contexts of Maya archaeology and espionage. In: Darnell, R. and Gleach, F. (eds) *History of Anthropology Annual, Vol. 1*, pp. 37-74. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

CIA 1963a. MKULTRA document labelled 'Report of inspection of MKULTRA/TSD' 1-185209, cy 2 See D, 26 July 1963 [declassified].

the bio-physiological mechanisms of human pain. Wolff was personally recruited by Allen Dulles to direct the Society's covertly funded programmes to identify effective methods of persuasion and interrogation (Price 1998: 398-40).

On 1 June 1961, the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology was reorganized as the Human Ecology Fund, Inc. (for simplicity I refer to both organizations as 'Human Ecology' here) and while the operations of organization shifted from New York City to Cornell University's Medical School, most of the key personnel remained with the organization (HEF 1963). James L. Monroe was the Human Ecology Fund's executive director from 1961 to 1963; in 1964 David Rhodes became the executive director. Monroe had multiple CIA connections and oversaw the Air Force's comprehensive study of Korean War prisoners (Marks 1979: 156-57) and Rhodes was a psychologist involved in a series of unethical drug experiments, including efforts to dose unsuspecting people with an aerosol potion of LSD supplied by an MK-Ultra research programme (ibid.: 99). But the public face of Human Ecology was that of a paragon of respectable mainstream research: the 1961 directory of the *Encyclopedia of Associations* described the foundation as one that:

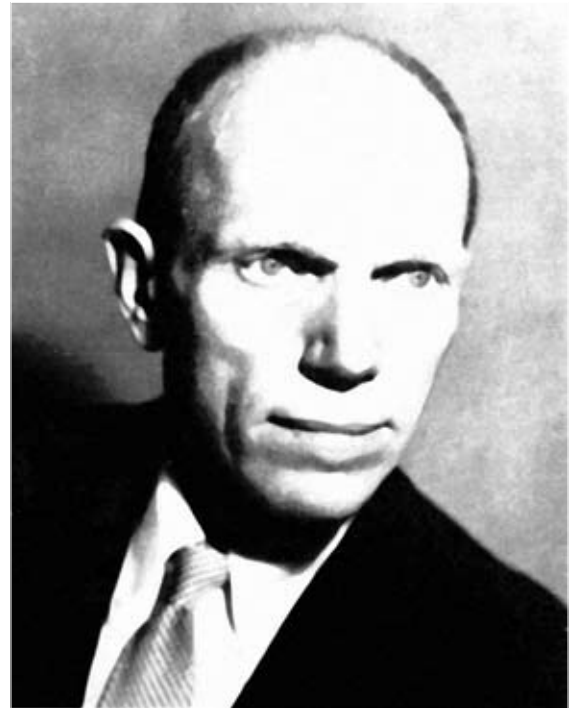
'[s]timulates and supports studies of man's adaptation to the complex aspects of his environment. Conducts investigations at universities and research centers in such subjects as psychic and physical brain function impairments, sudden environmental change on the health and attitudes of a large immigrant population (conducted among Hungarian refugees), undergraduate adjustments, ethnopsychiatry, heteropsychic driving psychosocial determinants of drug reaction, hypnosis, psychological and physiological variations in personality and personality change, the scientist in the Soviet Union. (EOA 1961: 291)

The declassified CIA documents released some decades later clarify that most of these study areas were of interest to the CIA in its efforts towards systematic design of effective persuasion, interrogation and torture methods.

Harold Wolff used his connections with Margaret Mead to try and identify anthropologists who could work on research sponsored by the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology. On 3 December 1956 Wolff wrote to Mead requesting a copy of the mailing list for Mead's Institute for Intercultural Studies (IFIS) (MM C37 HW to MM 12/3/56). Wolff wrote that he 'would like to bring to the attention of the members [of IFIS] the interests of the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology and the possibility for future research funding'. I have seen no documents indicating that Mead understood Wolff's true interest in funding anthropologists, but she did respond by informing Wolff how to acquire preaddressed envelopes for mailing to IFIS members (MM C37, MM to HW 1/4/57).

The Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology funded anthropological and sociological projects providing specific cultural information about Cold War enemy populations, such as China or Russia, as well as research into sexuality (both pleasure and pain were areas of interest for those studying interrogation), stress, and refugees (see Price 1998). The diversity in these different research projects made it difficult to discern a simple pattern indicating the CIA's interests. Some anthropologists were clearly lied to about the uses and purpose of their research. John Marks found documents indicating that when Cornell University had 'hired an anthropologist before learning that the CIA security office would not give her clearance, [Harold] Wolff simply lied to her about where the money came from' (Marks 1979: 150-151).

Fig. 4 lists all projects appearing in the Human Ecology Fund's 1961-1963 report.⁴ Although the CIA's 1963 internal report clearly states that some MK-Ultra funded



scholars knew of the agency's involvement (CIA 1963a:7-8), I have found no evidence of any particular scholar participating with knowledge of CIA involvement, and so we may assume that all recipients listed here were unaware of the CIA's sponsorship at the time they received these grants.

The table shows the projects in ascending order of Human Ecology Fund grant funding. Many of the low-funded projects probably had no intelligence or national security applications and simply provided the Human Ecology Fund with a necessary false appearance of legitimacy for the public and the academic community. Likely examples of such projects include the studies on cranial analysis, Puerto Rican migration and childrearing, and a restudy of Levittown, New York.

Human Ecology grants to scholars who conducted apparently innocent research unrelated to CIA research projects sometimes had additional benefits. John Marks noted that 'a [Technical Services Staff] source explains that grants [such as those to B.F. Skinner, Karl Rogers, Erwin Goffman for their own unrelated research] "bought legitimacy" for the Society and made the recipients "grateful." He says that the money gave Agency employees at Human Ecology a reason to phone Skinner – or any other recipient – to pick his brain about a particular problem' (Marks 1979: 160).

The Human Ecology Fund funded former British Nigerian colonial psychiatrist Raymond Prince to travel to Nigeria to undertake 'transcultural psychological studies' in the late 1950s. Prince had no knowledge of the CIA's funding of this research (see HEF 1963 and Prince 1962a, 1962b, 1963). Decades after the fact, Prince came to believe that his cross-cultural psychological research and filmmaking was funded not only to establish legitimacy for the Human Ecology Fund, but also to attempt to recruit foreign nationals into the CIA and 'to collect psychocultural data on cultures and countries of interest to the CIA for psychological warfare purposes' (Prince 1995: 407). A CIA document declassified in 1977 clarified that unbeknownst to Prince, the CIA's view was that his

study will add somewhat to our understanding of native *Yoruba* psychiatry including the use of drugs, many of which are unknown or not much used by Western practitioners. It will also assist in the identification of promising young [deleted by CIA censors] who may be of direct interest to the Agency.

Fig. 4. Known grants funded by the CIA research front known as the Human Ecology Fund, 1960-1963, ranked by grant size. Source: HEF 1963: 13-42.

Grant	Researcher	Field	Grant Size
Academy of Science for East Africa			\$500
Psychological effects of circumcision	Cansever, Gökçe	medicine	\$500
Aspects of Marquesan behavior	Suggs, Robert C.	anthropology	\$700
Craniological racial analysis	Hartle, Janet A.	anthropology	\$948.75
Conceptual development in children and young adults	Watt, Norman F.	psychology	\$2,250
African Research Foundation			\$1,000
Instrumentation in psychophysiology		medicine	\$1,000
Internal migration in Puerto Rico	Macisco, John J.		\$1,000
Self-image and reaction to isolation	Warbasse, Anne	psychology	\$1,058
Role conflict in Burma	Guyot, James F.		\$1,190
Journal: <i>Graphologische Schriftenreihe</i>	Cossel, Beatrice V.	graphology	\$1,470
Three workshops			\$1,500
Antecedents of revolution	Casuso, Gabriel	psychology	\$1,500
Hungarian refugees in the Netherlands	Kuyer, H.J.M.		\$1,611
Book: <i>The Psychology of Writing</i> .	Roman, Klara G.	psychology	\$2,000
Self-instruction language program	Carroll, John B.	education	\$2,456
Fallout shelters and attitudes toward nuclear war	Berrien, Kenneth F.	psychology	\$2,500
Creation and publication of: <i>Bioelectrics Directory</i>	Seels, Saul and Helen F.	biology	\$2,500
Review of research on sleep	Webb, Wilse B.	psychology	\$2,500
Psychophysiological analog information by digital computer	Zimmer, Herbert	psychology	\$2,505
Child-rearing antecedents of dependency and affiliation	Wardwell, Elinor S.	psychology	\$2,525
Comparative study of Chinese personality	Rodd, William G.		\$3,000
Aspects of upper class culture among the internationalized elite of Japan	Stover, Leon	anthropology	\$3,000
Review and Newsletter: <i>Transcultural Research in Mental Health Problems</i>	McGill University	psychology	\$3,000
Treatment of psychiatric disturbances by Yoruba native practitioners	Prince, Raymond H.	psychiatry	\$4,060
Factors that cause individuals to seek medical aid	Groen, J. J.	medicine	\$4,500
A restudy of Levittown, New York	Liell, John T.	sociology	\$4,525
Publications of <i>International Resources in Clinical Psychology</i>	Priester, H and H. David	psychology	\$5,000
Attitudes of Sierra Leone students	Bureau of Social Science Research		\$5,000
Behavior within the socio-cultural context	Scott, R., Howard, A.	anthropology	\$5,000
Emerging socio-political roles of scientists and managers in the USSR	Parry, Albert	Russian studies	\$5,000
Volume on Soviet psychology	Bauer, Raymond/APA	psychology	\$5,000
Changing patterns in the Chinese family	Huang, Lucy Jen	sociology	\$5,775
Child rearing in three cultures	Bronfenbrenner, Urie	psychology	\$6,020
Studies in the psychology of aging	Krugman, Arnold D.	psychology	\$6,700
Computer simulation of a simple society	Browning, Iben	computer science	\$7,500
Studies of small group behavior	Sherif, Muzafer	psychology	\$8,500
Experiments in extrasensory perception	Abrams, Stephen I.	psychology	\$8,579
Identification of individuals prone to schizophrenia	Mednick, Sarnoff A.	psychology	\$10,046
Effects of personality on drug reactions	Aaronson, Bernard S.	psychology	\$12,900
Mental illness and identity	Hirvas, Juhani	sociology	\$16,479
Mental illness and identity	Allardt, Erik	sociology	
Psychiatric rating scales	Samuel B. Lyerly	psychology	\$22,551
Psychiatric rating scales	Preston S. Abbott	psychology	
Measurement of motivation	Eysenck, H.J.	psychology	\$26,030
Institute for Experimental Psychiatry	Orne, Martin T.	psychology	\$30,000
Neighborhood family clinics (Harlem)	Berle, Beatrice	medicine	\$32,817
Study of the genetic code	Bledsoe, W.W.	mathematics	\$35,000
Physique and psychological functioning	Haronian, Frank	psychology	\$39,000
Artificial intelligence	Browning, Iben	computer science	\$40,000
Pattern recognition	Bledsoe, W.W.	psychology	\$45,000
Comparative learning behavior of different personality types	Schucman, Helen	psychology	\$47,832
Comparative learning behavior of different personality types	Thetford, William N.		
Anthropological identification of the determinants of Chinese behavior	Carr, William K.	anthropology	\$48,480
Implications of a hypothesized congruence between personality systems	Gittinger, David R.	psychology	\$50,000
Panoramic Research, Inc.			\$80,000
Cross-cultural generality of meaning systems	Osgood, Charles E.	communications	\$83,406
Interdisciplinary conference program			\$116,116

— 1963b. 'Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation [Manual] [declassified 1997]. Available at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB122/index.htm#kubark>

— 1983. 'Human resource exploitation training manual'. [Declassified 1997]. Available at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB122/index.htm#hre>

Cockburn, A. and St. Clair, J. 1998. *Whiteout: The CIA, drugs and the press*. London: Verso.

Colby, G., with C. Dennett 1995. *Thy will be done*. New York: HarperCollins.

EOA [Encyclopedia of Associations] 1961. *Encyclopedia of Associations: National organizations of the United States*. Detroit: Gale.

Eveland, W.C. 1980. *Ropes of sand: America's failure in the Middle East*. New York: Norton.

Franke, H. 1959. News of the profession. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 18(4): 535-549.

Human Ecology Fund (HEF) 1963. *Report*. Forest Hills, NY: Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology.

McCoy, A. 2006. *A question of torture: CIA interrogation from the Cold War to the war on terror*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Marks, J. 1979. *The search for the 'Manchurian candidate': The CIA and mind control*. New York: Times Books.

Meyer, A.G. 2000. *The Ritchie boys*. Available at: <http://www.ritchieboys.com/DL/fish205.pdf>

Mitchell, T. 2002. *Rule of experts: Egypt, technopolitics, modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

O'Connell, C.T. 1990. 'Social structure and science: Soviet studies at Harvard'. PhD dissertation, UCLA.

Prince, R.H. 1962a. Frequency of depression in African natives. *Review and Newsletter: Transcultural Research in Mental Health Problems* 13: 42-50.

— 1962b. Functional symptoms associated with the study of Nigerian students. *West Africa Medical Journal* 11: 198-206.

— 1963. 'Yoruba psychiatry'. Paper read at journal club, Toronto Psychiatric Hospital, University of Toronto, January 1963.

— 1995. The Central Intelligence Agency and the origins of transcultural psychiatry at McGill University. *Annals of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada* 28(7): 407-413.

Price, D.H. 1998. Cold War anthropology: Collaborators and victims of the national security state. *Identities* 4(3-4): 389-430.

Prince will be located in Nigeria thus carrying out the plan of developing the Human Ecology Fund as a world-wide organization. Since *Prince* will learn the Yoruba language this project offers a potential facility for [deleted by CIA censors] project 95 (Prince 1995: 412).⁵

This declassified document indicates that the CIA has long recognized the potential usefulness of ethnographic fieldwork, not only as a window into distant cultural worlds, but as a means of potential recruitment and even for the sort of pharmacological research that was examined for MK-Ultra interrogation research programmes.

Many Human Ecology-bankrolled projects appear to have had applications to MK-Ultra's 'coercive interrogation' and propaganda studies. The listed studies examining childhood conceptual development appear to have had applications to what the CIA's now declassified 1963 *Kubark* interrogation manual describes as the childlike regressive state induced by torture, which they more sweetly termed 'coercive interrogation' and the CIA now euphemizes as 'enhanced interrogation' (CIA 1963b). Research findings from Human Ecology-funded studies examining such things as the effects of isolation and sleep deprivation, stress, hypnosis graphology, and links between personality types and drug interactions likewise appear as vital components of the CIA's *Kubark* interrogation manual. Though these Human Ecology-financed studies are not each (though some were) specifically cited in the manual (which is a manual for interrogators who may stray into torture, not a peer-reviewed academic sourcebook, and thus contains very few citations) these studies were produced for and read by CIA personnel contributing to it. The key finding for anthropology in Alfred McCoy's book *A question of torture* is McCoy's demonstration that previously known CIA-funded MK-Ultra social science research projects were *not* primarily aligned with CIA propaganda or 'brainwashing' programmes, but produced knowledge that was to be quietly harvested by CIA personnel designing scientific means of conducting interrogation and torture (McCoy 2006: 43-46; cf. Prince 1995).

There are many elements of Human Ecology-funded research whose articulation with CIA needs is still poorly understood. For example, the funded bioelectrics research, or programmes establishing psychiatric scales, or group psychology studies may have been incorporated into the CIA's secret research on interrogation, or they may merely have provided an air of legitimacy for the foundation – obviously, psychiatric scales could be useful instruments for interrogators gauging interrogation subjects' mental health and responses. Questions remain concerning what the Human Ecology Fund's interest was in funding Dr Beatrice Berle's research on the impact of illness on families in Harlem (HEF 1963). It may simply be that the Fund was providing a Board member's spouse with a nepotistic kickback unrelated to MK-Ultra's desires (Berle was the wife of HEF Board member, educator, diplomat and cold warrior Adolf Berle), but given the CIA's record of experimental abuse of prisoners and low-ranking soldiers (Biderman and Zimmer 1961, Marks 1979), we may justifiably wonder what their interest in other relatively disempowered and poor populations may have been. Other listed Human Ecology-funded studies had obvious applications to MK-Ultra projects studying counterinsurgency and propaganda. These include funded studies examining revolutions, refugee studies, Chinese personality types, Chinese family structure, Soviet psychology, cross-cultural communication, and various studies examining elements of psychological profiling.

Human Ecology, China, Hungary and elsewhere
China held a keen interest for Harold Wolff and the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology. The CIA

23. Technical shortcomings of the drugs:

As of 1960 no effective knockout pill, truth serum, aphrodisiac, or recruitment pill was known to exist. MKDELTA was described as inherently a high-risk, low-yield field of operations. Three years later the situation remains substantially unchanged, with the exception that real progress has been made in the use of drugs in support of interrogation. Ironically, however, the progress here has occurred in the development of a total psychological theory of interrogation, in which the use of drugs has been relegated to a support role.

Fig. 5. The claim to have made progress in a 'total psychological theory of interrogation'. Extract from 'Report of Inspection of MK-Ultra' produced for the Director of Central Intelligence. Declassified 26 July 1963.

used Human Ecology and Wolff's presence at Cornell to investigate ways to take Chinese citizens living in the US and, as Lawrence Hinkle put it, 'steer them to [the CIA], and make them into agents' (Marks 1979: 149). Human Ecology-funded projects at Cornell investigated ways to train such agents to resist Chinese brainwashing efforts (Marks 1979: 150). Raymond Prince later concluded that one of Human Ecology's goals was to 'use their Chinese sample as a means to identify disgruntled refugees with suitable personality profiles who had fled the Communist regime 10 years earlier and might be persuaded to act as CIA agents back in China' (Prince 1995: 411). William Rodd studied differences in Chinese 'problem solving abilities', as well as 'difference in logical thinking' and value systems (HEF 1963: 17).

William K. Carr was given \$48,480 to study 'Anthropological identification of the determinants of Chinese behavior'. The report's summation of this work stated that:

[a]nthropologically, the task of identifying 'determinants of behavior' is less concerned with individual personality than with certain non-psychological or cultural factors that influence the individual within his social system. In general, the behavior of all members of a given society has a common structure distinguishable from the common behavior patterns of individuals in other societies. This similarity in group behavior may be attributed to the social system, rather than the personalities of the several members. It can be assumed that the organism is aware of a definite number of environmental factors and that these serve as stimuli to the organism.

William K. Carr is attempting to conceptualize the principal social determinant of selected aspects of Chinese behavior by using a system-analysis approach to the description of Chinese society. (HEF 1963: 17)

Given Raymond Prince's claim that some Human Ecology programmes were designed to recruit CIA operatives among Chinese citizens (Prince 1994), it is natural to wonder if Carr engaged in such activities, but there is little information on what his work entailed. Whatever Carr did find, he was well paid, with grants totalling over \$48,000 making him the anthropologist who received the most money from the Human Ecology Fund. Prior to receiving this grant, Carr had produced papers on 'China's Young Communist League, functions and structures' that may have been of interest to the CIA (see Franke 1959). In March 1964 Carr became a member of the Human Ecology Fund's staff (AAAFN 1964 [5]; see also Carr and Tullock 1965). Carr published very little research, so questions remain about his work for Human Ecology, and whether or not non-public reports of his work were produced.

The most famous Human Ecology-funded project was an ongoing programme that harnessed the energies of unwitting social scientists to gather intelligence for the

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— 2003a. Subtle means and enticing carrots: The impact of funding on American Cold War anthropology. *Critique of Anthropology* 23(4): 373-401.

— 2003b. Anthropology *sub rosa*: The AAA, the CIA and the ethical problems inherent in secret research. In: Fluehr-Lobban, C. (ed.) *Ethics and the profession of anthropology: The dialogue continues*, pp. 29-49. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Saunders, F.S. 1999. *The cultural Cold War*. New York: New Press.

Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology (SIHE) 1958. *The Hungarian revolution of October 1956, second seminar. 6 June 1958*. New York: Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology.

— 1960. *Brainwashing, a guide to the literature: a report*. Forest Hills, NY: Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology.

Stephenson, R.M. 1978. The CIA and the professor: A personal account. *American Sociologist* 13: 128-133.

Stover, L.E. 1972. What we have here is too much communication. In: McNelly, W.E. and Stover, L.E. (eds) *Above the human landscape: A social science fiction anthology*, pp. 193-204. Pacific Palisades, CA: Goodyear Publishing.

US Senate 1976. *Foreign and military intelligence: Book I, Final report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities. (Church Committee) 26 April 1976*, Report No. 94-755. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

US Senate (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence) 1977. *Project MKULTRA, the CIA's program of research in behavioral modification*. Joint hearing before the Select Committee on Intelligence and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources of the United States Senate. Ninety-Fifth Congress, First Session, 3 August 1977. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Weinstein, H. 1990. *Father, son, and CIA*. Halifax: Goodread Biographies.

CIA by interviewing Hungarian refugees (see Marks 1979, Stephenson 1978, HEF 1963). In the mid-1950s, Human Ecology sponsored two conferences where scholars examined the political, psychological and cultural means through which Hungarian refugees retained their identities under Soviet occupation (see SIHE 1958).

The CIA secretly sponsored other academic conferences during this period. By hosting such salons the CIA rented some of the best minds of a generation and directed them towards tasks that most would not have undertaken if their purpose had been disclosed (see also Saunders 1999). Other projects were smaller in scale with less tangible outcomes: for example, the results of another Human Ecology project were written up by anthropologist Leon Stover as a psychedelic science fiction story describing subtleties of intercultural communication in a story about efforts to film mental images of catatonics (see Stover 1972; L. Stover to DP, 11/28/94).

In his review of all CIA MK-Ultra projects, Sidney Gottlieb hoped that the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology would become the CIA's eyes and ears, probing into areas of research that were of interest and of use to the CIA. Gottlieb dreamed that 'the Society would try to keep in touch with that part of the scientific research community which were in areas that we were interested in and try to — usually its mode was to find somebody that was working in an area in which we were interested and encourage him to continue in that area with some funding from us' (Weinstein 1990: 139).

Connecting past and present

As I noted above, in the mid-1970s the US Senate discovered that a surprisingly large proportion of research grants issued during the escalation of the Vietnam War and other military Cold War incursions were either directly or indirectly funded by the CIA. Without having to account for their actions, these agencies were left free to set covert research agendas, to influence the direction in which scholars took their research, and to appropriate research for covert ends. Given that the 'war on terror' once again finds intelligence agencies seeking help from academia, we need to consider and evaluate these past interactions and be mindful that intelligence agencies have at times been silent consumers of our research.

Even apparently innocuous research can have covert uses. Here I have outlined but one of several fronts used by the CIA to fund and direct past research projects (for more on the use of such funding fronts see Eveland 1980, Marks 1979, O'Connell 1990, Saunders 1999, Wolf and Jorgensen 1970). In the second part of this article I will describe how some Human Ecology projects can only now be understood in the context of Harold Wolff's connections to research that would be used in writing the CIA's *Kubark* manual (CIA 1963b), which involved developing effective means of interrogation that most of us would regard as 'torture'.

Unwitting participation by reputable scholars channelled what appeared as innocuous academic research into covert unethical programmes. Through this practice the CIA helped build up the careers of some academics, influenced social science and behavioural research, and generally attempted to create informal networks they could tap for information to provide input into their covert goals. By their own admission, CIA money-laundering was at its most effective when funds flowed through seemingly innocent private foundations like the Human Ecology Fund. Few participants had any inkling that what they were doing served any goals other than their own.

More anthropologists today work openly for military and intelligence agencies than in the past, but the current push in military and intelligence circles for ever more

3. This Research Program has been actively underway since the middle of 1952 and has gathered considerable momentum during the past few months. It is now evident on the basis of work currently underway that approximately 94% of the projects contemplated can be handled through regular procurement channels by means of the customary contracts signed jointly by the Agency and the organization undertaking to carry out the work. It has also become apparent that approximately 6% of the projects are of such an ultra-sensitive nature that they cannot and should not be handled by means of contracts which would associate CIA or the Government with the work in question. This 6% of the current research effort now lies entirely within two well-defined fields of endeavor, namely:

(a) Research to develop a capability in the covert use of biological and chemical materials. This area involves the production of various physiological conditions which could support present or future clandestine operations. Aside from the offensive potential, the development of a comprehensive capability in this field of covert chemical and biological warfare gives us a thorough knowledge of the enemy's theoretical potential, thus enabling us to defend ourselves against a foe who might not be as restrained in the use of

these techniques as we are. For example: we intend to investigate the development of a chemical material which causes a reversible non-toxic aberrant mental state, the specific nature of which can be reasonably well predicted for each individual. This material could potentially aid in discrediting individuals, eliciting information, implanting suggestion and other forms of mental control;

4. It is highly undesirable from a policy and security point of view that contracts should be signed indicating Agency or Government interest in either of these two fields. In a great many instances the work in field (a) must be conducted by individuals who are not and should not be aware of our interest. In all cases dealing with field (b), it is mandatory that any connection with the Agency should be known only to an absolute minimum number of people who have been specifically cleared for this purpose. In no case should any manufacturer or supplier be aware of Government interest.

5. In many cases in field (a) where the researcher can be cleared and may be aware of our interest in the program, he is unwilling to have his name on a contract which remains out of his control in our files. Experience has shown that qualified, competent individuals in the field of pharmacological, physiological, psychiatric and other biological sciences are most reluctant to enter into signed agreements of any sort which connect them with this activity since such a connection would jeopardize their professional reputations.

6. Even internally in CIA, as few individuals as possible should be aware of our interest in these fields and of the identity of those who are working for us. At present this results in ridiculous contracts, often with cut-outs, which do not spell out the scope or intent of the work.

Fig. 6. Extracts from an undated declassified CIA summary of Project MK-Ultra, indicating how academics are unwilling to associate their names with the illegal and unethical activities involved, and spelling out some reasons why the real aims of the project should be kept secret even within the CIA, resulting in 'ridiculous contracts... which do not spell out the scope or intent of the work'.

expertise means that we also risk a return to covert funding of unwitting anthropologists, particularly in the context of the lack of linguistic and regional field expertise of these agencies, for example, in Muslim countries. As the CIA's 1963 MK-Ultra report noted, using unwitting scholars to conduct research in areas of need is the most effective way to claim their expertise for causes academics (including professional associations and ethics committees) would otherwise oppose, and for which they would otherwise need security clearance (CIA 1963a).

Today, some programmes like the Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholars Program (PRISP) and Intelligence Community Scholars Program are already openly advertising and funding students covertly placed in our university classrooms and research labs. These are effectively CIA, NSA and FBI employees inside our research environments on our campuses (Price 2005). Not knowing who we are working with, or sometimes even who we are working for, suggests that some of us may already be unwittingly engaged in activities that tarnish our academic reputation. If we do not want to go into history as collaborators with such coercive covert agencies, who may use our research to dominate and exploit the peoples we work with, then we must take decisive action now, identify and expose such programmes wherever we can, and advise our professional associations to recommend our colleagues not touch them ●

TO BE CONTINUED IN PART II

Buying a piece of anthropology

Part Two: The CIA and our tortured past

DAVID H. PRICE

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Fig. 1. Allen Dulles (1893-1969), who authorized MK-Ultra as CIA Director of Central Intelligence.

MK-Ultra

Headed by Dr Sidney Gottlieb, the CIA's MK-Ultra project was set up in the early 1950s largely in response to alleged Soviet, Chinese and North Korean use of mind-control techniques on US prisoners of war in Korea. The project involved covert research at an estimated 30 universities and institutions in an extensive programme of experimentation that included chemical, biological and radiological tests, often on unwitting citizens. It was not until the 1970s that this programme was exposed, but by that time many scholars from a wide range of disciplines had been implicated.

This paper benefited from comments by Alexander Cockburn, Alan Howard, Robert Lawless, Steve Niva, Eric Ross, Robert Scott, Jeffrey St. Clair and three anonymous AT reviewers.

1. One *Fellow Newsletter* article announced that William Carr had 'joined the staff of the Human Ecology Fund in March', and that the Fund contributed to the financing of Raymond Prince and Francis Speed's film *Wereni! He is a madman*, which documented the treatment of Yoruba mental disorders (FN 1964[5]: 6). The May 1962 issue of the *Newsletter* invited anthropologists to apply for funds.

2. Leon Stover wrote that his HEF grant was arranged by 'a close friend who worked

This is the second part of a two-part article by David Price examining how research on stress under Human Ecology Fund sponsorship found its way into the CIA's Kubark interrogation manual (for Part 1 see our June issue). This issue of ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY also features a short comment by Roberto González on the use of Ralph Patai's

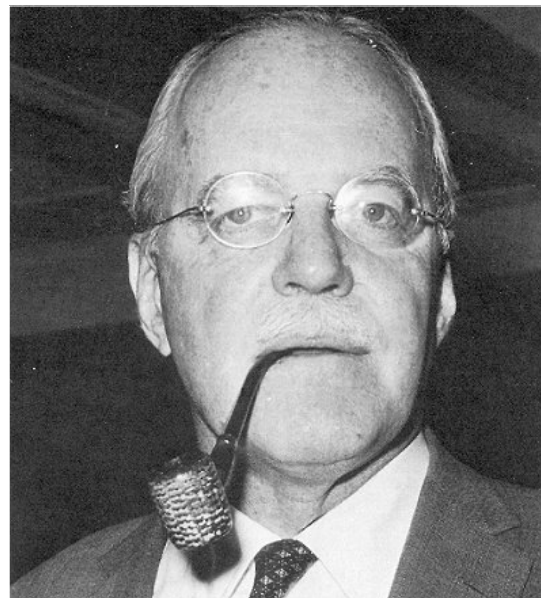
Back in 1994, my curiosity concerning interactions between anthropologists and the Human Ecology Fund (HEF) was raised when I found published announcements of anthropologists receiving HEF funds in old newsletters of the American Anthropological Association (AAA).¹ One article listed nine HEF grant recipients: Preston S. Abbott, William K. Carr, Janet A. Hartle, Alan Howard, Barnaby C. Keeney, Raymond Prince, Robert A. Scott, Leon Stover and Robert C. Suggs (FN, 1966[2]). I tried to contact each scholar, and Howard, Scott and Stover replied to my initial inquiries about their HEF-sponsored research.²

In late 1994 I wrote to Alan Howard and Robert A. Scott, asking what they remembered about the Fund, their research and if they knew of the Fund's connection to the CIA. When I emailed Howard at the University of Hawaii, asking him what he knew about the CIA's covert funding of their research, Howard expressed anguished surprise, replying, 'Agh! I had no idea' (AH to DHP 11/2/94). Howard had remained in contact with Robert Scott, to whom he had forwarded my correspondence. Scott later wrote me a letter detailing how he came to receive the funds:

[I] had absolutely no idea that the Human Ecology Fund was a front for anything, least of all the CIA. As far as I knew it was a small fund that was controlled by Harold Wolff and used to support projects of various types concerning the study of stress and illness in humans. Its connection with the CIA only came to my attention some years later when Jay Schulman... wrote an article exposing the connection.³ Obviously if I had known of such a connection at the time I would never have accepted money from them. I should also explain that the money we got from them was used to support library research I was doing at the Cornell Medical School on studies of stress and that the final product was a theoretical model for the study of stress in humans.

I will explain how I came to know about the Fund in the first place. The period of time would have been roughly from 1961-1963. I finished my doctorate in sociology at Stanford University in 1960 and then received a two-year post-doctoral fellowship in medical sociology from the Russell Sage Foundation. I spent the first year at Stanford Medical School and then moved on to the Cornell Medical School for a second year of work... I was interested in studying stress and illness and the work of Harold Wolff, his colleague Larry Hinkle and others was far closer to the mark. I therefore arranged to transfer my post-doc to a unit headed by Hinkle and with which Harold Wolff had an affiliation. The name of that unit was The Human Ecology Studies Program. At the time I was there, Larry Hinkle was completing a study of stress among telephone operators working for New Jersey (or was it New York) Bell Telephone company and he was also beginning a study of stress and heart disease among a group of executives for the New Jersey Bell Company. He invited me to participate in the analysis for the first study and to advise him about the design of several of the instruments used in connection with that project. At the same time, I was also working with Alan [Howard] on an article about stress and it was in connection with this work that I received support from the Fund. Or at least I think that is the reason why I acknowledged the Fund in our paper... I do remember that

The Arab mind in training interrogators who worked in Iraq, including at Abu Ghraib (p. 23). See also news, p. 28, for a pledge initiated by the Network of Concerned Anthropologists in response to anthropologists' concerns around this issue. [Editor]



either Hinkle or Wolff or both suggested that I write a letter to the Fund requesting a modest level of support for our work (I can't remember the amount, but I am reasonably certain it came to no more than a few thousand dollars)...

It will be obvious to you from reading this that I knew Harold Wolff for a brief period of time during this period. As I recall, Wolff [died] either in 1962 or 1963. From the manner in which the matter was handled I gained the impression that he had available to him a small fund of money that could be used to support research and writing of the sort I was doing and he gave me some for my work. At that time there were lots of small pots of money sitting around medical school and there was no reason to be suspicious about this one. Moreover, Wolff was a figure of great distinction in neurology and was well known outside of his field as well. For all of these reasons I simply assumed that everything was completely legitimate and was astounded when the connection between the Fund and the CIA was disclosed.

... I should also mention that during the course of our collaboration Alan [Howard] and I co-authored a second paper on cultural variations in conceptions of death and dying which was also published and in which there is an acknowledgment to the Fund.⁴

[...] My association with the Human Ecology Studies Program came to an end early in 1964. In September of 1963 I left the program to become a Research Associate on the staff of Russell Sage Foundation in order to conduct a study they had just funded. As I recall, for a short while during the fall of 1963 I [spent] a small amount of time at the Human Ecology Study Program advising project members about various issues involving their research on heart disease, but this eventually fell by the way side as I became more deeply drawn into the new project. (RAS to DHP 11/2/94)

At the time both Howard and Scott were unaware that the research funds they received came from the CIA. Their accounts of their interactions with HEF make sense, given

Fig. 2. Table summarizing the results of a study comparing distress ratings of 300 torture victims from Yugoslavia, comparing psychological with physical torture. (See Khamsi, Roxanne. *Psychological torture 'as bad as physical torture'*. New Scientist, 5 March 2007.)

Physical torture	Distress rating
Palestinian hanging*	3.8
Suffocation/asphyxiation	3.8
Electric torture	3.7
Falaga**	3.6
Burning of parts of body	3.6
Forced extraction of teeth	3.6
Stretching of the body	3.5
Beating	3.5
Hanging by hands or feet	3.5
Needles under toenails or fingernails	3.4
Beating over the ears with cupped hands	3.4
Pulling/dragging/lifting by hair	3.2
Psychological manipulations	
Sham executions	3.7
Witnessing torture of close ones	3.6
Threats of rape	3.6
Threats against family	3.4
Witnessing torture of others	3.4
Threats of death	3.3
Threats of further torture	3.2
Fluctuation of interrogator's attitude	2.9
* Hanging by the wrists tied at the back	
** Beating the soles of the feet	
The average amount of distress that participants recalled feeling in various torture situations (rated on a scale of 0 to 4)	

NEW SCIENTIST

for the Fund', but after I sent him further documentation on the CIA's role in funding his research, he did not respond (LS to DP 11/28/94).

3. Sociologist Jay Schulman was part of Human Ecology's programme studying Hungarian refugees (Greenfield 1977, Stephenson 1978, US Senate 1977).

4. Another HEF-sponsored research project undertaken by Howard funded the organization of data collected while conducting fieldwork on Rotuman sexuality (Howard & Howard 1964). Howard later co-authored a paper (with no connection to HEF) examining symbolic and functional features of torture traditionally practised by the Huron on prisoners-of-war and other cultural groups (Bilmes & Howard 1980).

5. McCoy speculates that Stanley Milgram's research was covertly CIA funded under such programmes, but Milgram's biographer disputes even the possibility that Milgram was unwittingly funded (cf. McCoy 2006, Blass 2006).

6. DCI Stansfield Turner mistakenly testified that the Privacy Act prevented the identification of scholars working on MK-Ultra projects at Human Ecology (US Senate 1977). Harold Wolff was dead and thus had no rights under the Privacy Act.

7. History repeats itself, as US interrogators recently drew on their torture resistance training to develop abusive techniques with data from the SERE programme (DoD 2006, Soldz 2007b).

8. Kleinman's consideration of *Kubark's* fundamental philosophical approach to interrogation summarized *Kubark's* paradigms as relying on: psychological assessment, screening, the creation and release of controlled stress, isolation and regression, which are all used by interrogators to 'help' the interrogation subject 'concede' (Kleinman 2006).

9. Marks described a 1958 HEF grant studying inner-city youth gang members in which sociologist Muzaffer Sherif had no idea that the CIA funded the project to model how to manage KGB defectors. An MK-Ultra source told Marks the CIA learned that 'getting a juvenile delinquent [gang] defector was motivationally

how Wolff and Hinkle shielded participants from any knowledge of CIA involvement or of the MK-Ultra project.

In 1998 I published an article briefly describing MK-Ultra's use of the HEF to channel CIA funds to anthropologists and other social scientists, but as the *Kubark counterintelligence interrogation* manual had not yet been declassified, I did not mention or connect Scott and Howard's research with MK-Ultra's objective of researching effective models of interrogation (Price 1998; for more on MK-Ultra, see Part 1 of this article). It was not until I read Alfred McCoy's book *A question of torture* (2006) that I noticed the relevance of their research on stress for *Kubark*. Until then I had assumed that their work was funded to reinforce an air of (false) legitimacy for the HEF – much as I interpreted the funding of anthropologist Janet Hartel's study of the Smithsonian's Mongolian skull collection. However, McCoy clarifies that research on stress was vital to MK-Ultra (e.g., McCoy 2006), and HEF-sponsored research projects selectively harvested research that went into design of effective 'coercive interrogation' techniques.⁵

[T]he CIA distilled its findings in its seminal *Kubark Counterinsurgency Interrogation* handbook. For the next forty years, the *Kubark* manual would define the agency's interrogation methods and training program throughout the Third World. Synthesizing the behavioral research done by contract academics, the manual spelled out a revolutionary two-phase form of torture that relied on sensory deprivation and self-inflicted pain for an effect that, for the first time in the two millennia of their cruel science, was more psychological than physical. (McCoy 2006: 50)

Wolff, Hinkle, HEF, MK-Ultra and *Kubark*

The US Senate's 1977 hearings investigating MK-Ultra's co-optation of academic research did not identify the individual academics who co-ordinated HEF's research for the CIA. Senator Edward Kennedy interrupted CIA psychologist John Gittinger's testimony as he was about to identify HEF staff cognizant of CIA secret sponsorship of academic research. Kennedy told Gittinger that the committee was 'not interested in names or institutions, so we prefer that you do not. That has to be worked out in arrangements between [Director of Central Intelligence] Admiral Turner and the individuals and the institutions' (US Senate 1977: 59).⁶

John Marks first documented how cardiologist Lawrence E. Hinkle, Jr and neurologist Harold G. Wolff became the heart and mind of Human Ecology's CIA enquiries. Hinkle and Wolff were both professors at Cornell University's Medical School, and after CIA Director Allen Dulles asked Wolff to review what was known of 'brainwashing' techniques, a partnership developed in which 'Hinkle handled the administrative part of the study and shared in the substance [of research]' (Marks 1979: 135).

A respected neurologist who specialized in migraines and other forms of headache pain (Blau 2004), Wolff had experimentally induced and measured headaches in research subjects at Cornell since as far back as 1935 (SN 1935). Hinkle conducted research at Cornell from the 1950s until his retirement (AMWS 2005, vol. 3); his early career focused on environmental impacts on cardiovascular health. Together, Hinkle and Wolff studied 'the mechanisms by which the individual man adapts to his particular environment, and the effect of these adaptations upon his disease' (Hinkle 1965). Wolff died in 1962, a year before the CIA produced its *Kubark* manual; Hinkle remained at Cornell for decades, later retiring to the comforts of suburban Connecticut.

Hinkle and Wolff pioneered studies of workplace stress, effects of stress on cardiovascular health and migraines that brought legitimacy and helped make HEF grant recipients keen to collaborate (Hinkle and Wolff 1957). By the

mid-1950s, Hinkle and Wolff also studied the role of controlled stress in 'breaking' and 'brainwashing' prisoners of war and communist enemies of state. They became experts on coercive interrogation and published their study on 'Communist interrogation and indoctrination of "enemies of the state" in Communist countries' (1956). But they also produced a 'classified secret' version of this paper for CIA DCI Allen Dulles (Rév 2002). Whilst passing secret reports along to the CIA, Wolff produced HEF-funded public research publications studying interrogation, such as his 1960 publication 'Every man has his breaking point: The conduct of prisoners of war' (see also HEF 1963).

MK-Ultra funds encouraged scholars to contribute to their study of brainwashing and coercive interrogation, supposedly benefiting military and intelligence branches by helping them to train spies and troops to better resist interrogation techniques. Later, this research was secretly used in the production of the *Kubark* manual, which became less a guide to resisting interrogation than an interrogation manual to be used against enemies – with some forms of coercion that violated the Geneva Convention.⁷ Such dual purpose became a recurrent practice in the work of scholars operating within MK-Ultra's shrouded network.

While studies by Wolff and Hinkle and other HEF-funded scholars had medical implications, their work also had practical relevance for CIA interrogation techniques. Wolff and Hinkle established research of interest to *Kubark* by establishing a research milieu at HEF whilst keeping their connections to the MK-Ultra programme well hidden. In the early 1960s independent scholars undertook their own work and shared ideas with others working in similar areas, resulting in cross-pollination of ideas.

Though it remains unclear exactly how independent academic models of stress were worked into MK-Ultra's objectives, continuities are evident between Howard and Scott's 1965 stress article and *Kubark's* guiding paradigms.⁸ John Marks claims that the HEF 'put money into projects whose covert application was so unlikely that only an expert could see the possibilities' (Marks 1979: 170; my italics).⁹ McCoy argues that the CIA funded HEF projects to gather information, encouraged by Wolff or by CIA officers involved in the *Kubark* manual. A declassified 1963 internal CIA memo stated that 'a substantial portion of the MKULTRA record appears to rest in the memories of the principal officers' (CIA 1963a: 23), so it seems HEF findings were mostly incorporated informally.

Because the CIA destroyed most of its MK-Ultra records in 1972 (Marks 1979), we do not know who drafted

Fig. 3. The 1953 CIA memo from DCI Allen Dulles authorizing MK-Ultra.



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR APR 10 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPUTY DIRECTOR (ADMINISTRATION)
SUBJECT: Project MKULTRA - Extremely Sensitive Research and Development Program

1. On 6 June 1952, the Project Review Committee approved the DD/P/TSS Research Program for Fiscal Year 1953.
2. The PRC approval authorized the Director of Research, at his discretion and with the approval of the Research Chairman, to obligate the research funds and apportion them among individual projects, such projects to be subject to the usual Agency procedures and administrative controls.
3. A small part of the Research Program contemplated by TSS and discussed with me consists of ultra-sensitive work. The nature of the research and the security considerations involved preclude handling the projects by means of the usual contractual agreements.
4. I have, therefore, approved the obligation and expenditure by TSS of 6% of the total budget already approved by the PRC for research for FY '53 without the signing of the usual contracts or other written agreements.
5. This 6% will be handled as Project MKULTRA. Would you please make the necessary arrangements so that invoices forwarded by TSS applying to MKULTRA will be paid, provided that:
 - a) DD/P/TSS, as the Research Director, that the invoice applies to Project MKULTRA and that the conditions outlined in the DD/P memorandum for DCI dated 3 April have been complied with. The certification will also request that payment be made;
 - b) the invoice shall bear the certification of the Executive Secretary of the Research Board that the scope of the program has been approved;
 - c) the invoice shall bear the certification of the cognizant TSS Division Chief that the work has been satisfactorily performed from a technical point of view and has been carried out in accordance with the understandings reached between TSS and the individual or concern doing the work.
 - d) No further documents will be required to justify payment of the invoices. Exact control will be maintained over the Project by TSS. Although no formal contract will be signed, it will occasionally be possible for TSS to sign an informal agreement with the individual or concern performing the work. In such cases, TSS will retain in its files all documents. TSS will endeavor wherever possible to obtain documentary support of invoices, such as cancelled checks, receipted bills, etc., and these will remain in TSS files. Such documents at best will only cover a portion of the total expenditures, and the regular audit procedure will not be followed.
6. Other provisions and control over the Research Program specified in the original JRC approval remain unaltered. The monthly budget and financial record being submitted by TSS to DD/A will include financial information on the work being conducted under Project MKULTRA showing how much of the 6% has been committed, how much has been spent, and how much remains.

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ALLEN W. DULLES
Director, Central Intelligence

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assisted Wolff and Hinkle's research into the impact of stress among Chinese individuals unable to return to China (Hinkle et al. 1957). When Wolff learned that Rhoda Métraux would not be granted research clearance by the CIA, he lied to her about the nature of their work (Marks 1979). Hinkle later admitted that this HEF project's secret goal was to recruit skilled CIA intelligence operatives who could return to China as spies. Métraux's unwitting participation helped collect information later used by the CIA to train agents to resist Chinese forms of interrogation (Marks 1979).

It is not clear why the HEF sponsored anthropological research on grieving; perhaps they recognized in bereavement a universal experience of intense stress and isolation mitigated by culture, or perhaps the CIA was interested in studying the impact of mourning on POWs coping with the loss of fellow soldiers. Medical anthropologist Barbara Anderson received HEF funds to write an article on 'bereavement as a subject of cross-cultural inquiry' (see Anderson 1965).¹¹ Though HEF only funded the write-up of their stress article, Alan Howard and Robert Scott also

Kubark or the details of how HEF research made its way into the manual. However, *Kubark's* reliance on citations from HEF-funded research, and testimony at the 1977 Senate hearings stating that MK-Ultra research was used to develop interrogation and resistance methods, demonstrate that HEF research was incorporated (US Senate 1977).

The 1977 Senate hearings on MK-Ultra programmes detailed the CIA's failures to find esoteric means of using hypnosis, psychedelics, 'truth serums', sensory deprivation tanks or electroshock to interrogate unco-operative subjects. John Gittinger testified that by 1963, after years of experimentation, the CIA realized that 'brainwashing' was largely a process of isolating a human being, keeping him out of contact, putting him under long stress in relationship to interviewing and interrogation, and that they could produce any change that way without having to resort to any kind of esoteric means' (US Senate 1977: 62). With *isolation* and *stress* having become the magic bullets for effective coercive interrogation, it was in the context of this shift away from drugs and equipment that Human Ecology sponsored Howard and Scott's stress research. The 'coercive interrogation' techniques *Kubark* described shade into torture by the application of intense stress or isolation in order to induce confessions.

Because *Kubark* was an instruction manual, not an academic treatise, no authors are identified. Although a few academic sources are cited, most sources remain unacknowledged. HEF-sponsored work cited included: Martin Orne's hypnosis research, Biderman and Zimmer's work on non-voluntary behaviour, Hinkle's work on pain and the physiological state of interrogation subjects, John Lilly's sensory deprivation research, and Karla Roman's graphology research (CIA 1963b).

Kubark discussed the importance of interrogators learning to read the body language of interrogation subjects, which the HEF-funded anthropologist Edward Hall pursued. Several pages of *Kubark* describe how to read subject's body language with tips such as:

It is also helpful to watch the subject's mouth, which is as a rule much more revealing than his eyes. Gestures and postures also tell a story. If a subject normally gesticulates broadly at times and is at other times physically relaxed but at some point sits stiffly motionless, his posture is likely to be the physical image of his mental tension. The interrogator should make a mental note of the topic that caused such a reaction. (CIA 1963b: 55)

In 1977, after public revelations of the CIA's role in directing HEF research projects, Edward Hall discussed his unwitting receipt of CIA funds through the HEF to support his writing of *The hidden dimension* (Hall 1966). Hall conceded that his studies of body language would have been useful for the CIA's goals, 'because the whole thing is designed to begin to teach people to understand, to read other people's behavior. What little I know about the [CIA], I wouldn't want to have much to do with it' (Greenfield 1977: 11).¹⁰ But Hall's work, like that of others, entered Human Ecology's knowledge base, which was selectively drawn upon for *Kubark*.

The HEF provided travel grants for anthropologist Marvin Opler and an American delegation attending the 1964 First International Congress of Social Psychiatry in London. The Wenner-Gren Foundation also provided funds for a 'project in the Cross-Cultural Study of Psychoactive Drugs which was presented at the Congress', where Opler presented a paper under that title (Opler 1965).

Though not known to be funded by HEF, Mark Zborowski established a position at Cornell with Wolff's assistance, where he conducted research for his book examining the cultural mitigation of pain, *People in pain* (Zborowski 1969, Encandela 1993). *Kubark's* approach to pain referenced Hinkle and Wolff, and incorporated many of Zborowski's ideas. Anthropologist Rhoda Métraux

not all that much different from getting a Soviet one' (Marks 1959: 159; cf. HEF 1963).

10. Hall's previous work in *The silent language* discussed the role played by cultural expectations in the interrogation of Japanese prisoners in the Second World War (Hall 1959).

11. Marvin Opler arranged Barbara Anderson's HEF support (Anderson 1965).

12. Howard recalls that although the paper was submitted in 1961 it was not published until 1965, owing to delays caused by the death of Franz Alexander, one of the paper's peer reviewers (AH to DHP 6/5/07).

13. Prohibitions that were enacted in the 1970s after knowledge of MK-Ultra, COINTELPRO and other unregulated intelligence programmes became known to the public and Congress.

AAA 2007. 'Update: AAA Adopts Resolutions on Iraq and Torture, 7 June 2007'. Available at: <http://www.aaanet.org/press/PR20061211.htm>

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— and Wolff, H.G. 1956. Communist interrogation and indoctrination of "enemies of the state": Analysis of methods used by the Communist state police. *AMA Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry* 76: 115.

— 1957. The nature of man's adaptation to his total environment and the relation of this to illness. *AMA Archives of Internal*

produced an article entitled 'cultural values and attitudes toward death' (Howard and Scott 1965/66). Although the authors acknowledge HEF for making their collaboration possible they stress that they did not notify the HEF of this paper. Like the stress article, this paper was chiefly based on Howard's research into bereavement in Rotuma, which was sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) (see Howard and Scott rejoinder below). This focus on the way grief produces isolation and alienation aligned with HEF's broader interests and fit into *Kubark's* interest in regression and psychic collapse.

Howard and Scott investigated the impact of enculturation on the grieving process. They recognized that cultural norms and behavioural practices shaped experiences of isolation which, in turn, created different conditions of stress for grieving individuals. The first half of their article examined American ways of death, grieving and alienation, drawing on Scott's sociological perspective, while the second half used Howard's ethnographic knowledge to examine Rotuman Polynesian attitudes to death, how they are socialized to experience isolation differently and how these differences translated to different cultural reactions to death.

The article cited environmental factors in stress from Wolff, Hinkle and the HEF research, and drew upon Kubzansky's chapter on 'the effects of reduced environmental stimulation on human behavior' in Biderman and Zimmer's HEF volume *The manipulation of human behavior*—the source most heavily cited in *Kubark* (Howard and Scott 1965/66). Out of the vast universe of writings on death and bereavement, Howard and Scott's selection of this prison study illustrates how Human Ecology's environment influenced its sponsored studies. There is nothing sinister or improper in their citation of these studies, but their selection shows how HEF's network of scholars informed the production of knowledge. Some of Howard and Scott's views of isolation reflected HEF's focus on the isolation and vulnerability of prisoners:

While a fear of death may stem from anxieties about social isolation, it seems equally true that the process of becoming socially isolated stimulates a concern about death...When social isolation is involuntary... the individual experiencing separating from others may become obsessed with the idea of death. (Howard and Scott 1965/66: 164)

For CIA sponsors looking over these academics' shoulders, death and bereavement formed part of a broader thematic focus on isolation and vulnerability.

Stress models and the culture of *Kubark* research

Howard and Scott's HEF grant supported their library research and their writing-up. Scott was based at Cornell, where he had contact with Hinkle, Wolff and other HEF personnel, while Howard wrote in California and never visited Cornell. Prior to 1961 they submitted a copy of their HEF-sponsored paper developing a 'proposed framework for the analysis of stress in the human organism' to the journal *Behavioral Science*, and following normal procedures, a copy of the paper was submitted to their funders (RS to DP 6/11/07, Howard and Scott 1965).¹² In his 1977 Senate testimony, Gettinger described how CIA funding of Human Ecology allowed it to be 'run exactly like any other foundation', which included having 'access to any of the reports that they had put out, but there were no strings attached to anybody. There wasn't any reason they couldn't publish anything that they put out' (US Senate 1977: 59). Beyond whatever 'normal' conversations or 'friendly' suggestions there might be, this was the principal way that the HEF research findings were channelled to the CIA, who then selectively harvested what they wanted for their own ends.

Scott and Howard's work fit Wolff's larger (public) programme of studying stress and health, as well as Wolff's (both public and secret) programme studying the dynamics

determining the success of techniques of 'coercive interrogation'. The two authors worked together on this model even before they heard of the HEF, and both claim they would have undertaken the work even without HEF's funding (RS to DP 6/11/07). The HEF's half-yearly report described Howard and Scott's research as developing an 'equilibrium model... based upon a view of man as a "problem solving" organism continually confronted with situations requiring resolution to avoid stress and to preserve well-being' (HEF 1963: 24). In the world of academic scholarship this was innovative research; but from the perspective of the CIA, 'avoiding stress' took on different meanings.

Howard and Scott's 1965 article on stress was 'reverse engineered' for information on how to weaken a subject's efforts to adapt to the stresses of interrogation. Thus, when they wrote that 'stress occurs if the individual does not have available to him the tools and knowledge to either successfully deal with or avert challenges which arise in particular situations,' they were simultaneously scientifically describing the factors mitigating the experience of stress (*their* purpose), while also unwittingly outlining what environmental factors should be manipulated if one wanted to keep an individual under stressful conditions (*their hidden CIA patron's* purpose) (Howard and Scott 1965: 143).

Their 1965 article reviewed literature on how stress interfered with gastric functions, and could cause or increase frequency or severity of disease. They described how individuals cope with stressful situations through efforts to 'maintain equilibrium in the face of difficult, and in some cases almost intolerable circumstances' (*ibid.*: 142). The research cited in their work included studies of human reactions to stressful situations such as bombing raids, impending surgery and student examinations.

Howard and Scott's innovative 'problem-solving' model for conceptualizing stress began with the recognition that individuals under stress act to try and reduce their stress and return to a state of equilibrium. The model posited that 'disequilibrium motivates the organism to attempt to solve the problems which produce the imbalance, and hence to engage in problem-solving activity' (*ibid.*: 145).

Under coercive interrogation, subjects would be expected to try and reduce the 'imbalance' of discomfort or pain and return to a state of equilibrium by providing the interrogator with the requested information. Their model could be adapted to view co-operation and question-answering as the solution to the stressful problem faced by interrogation subjects, so that rational subjects would co-operate in order to return to their non-coercive state of equilibrium. This philosophy aligned with a basic *Kubark* paradigm that

The effectiveness of most of the non-coercive techniques depends upon their unsettling effect... The aim is to enhance this effect, to disrupt radically the familiar emotional and psychological associations of the subject. When this aim is achieved, resistance is seriously impaired. There is an interval — which may be extremely brief — of suspended animation, a kind of psychological shock or paralysis. It is caused by a traumatic or sub-traumatic experience which explodes, as it were, the world that is familiar to the subject as well as his image of himself within that world. Experienced interrogators recognize this effect when it appears and know that at this moment the source is far more open to suggestion, far likelier to comply, than he was just before he experienced the shock. (CIA 1963b: 65-66)

Thus a skilled interrogator 'helps' subjects move towards 'compliance', after which subjects may return to a desired state of equilibrium.

Howard and Scott found that individuals under stress had only three response options. They could mount an 'assertive response', in which they confronted the problem directly and enacted a solution by mobilizing whatever

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Howard, Alan and Howard, Irwin 1964. Pre-marital sex and social control among the Rotumans. *American Anthropologist* 66(2): 266-283.

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Jones, Delmos 1971. Social responsibility and the belief in basic research. *Current Anthropology* 12(3): 347-350.

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Lagouranis, Tony and Mikaelian, Allen 2007. *Fear up harsh*. New York: NAL Caliber.

Mackey, Chris and Miler, Greg 2004. *The interrogators*. New York: Little, Brown.

Marks, John 1979. *The search for the 'Manchurian candidate'*. New York: Times Books.

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Opler, Marvin K. 1965. Report on the First International Congress of Social Psychiatry in London, England, August 17-22, 1964. *Current Anthropology* 6(3): 294.

Price, David H. 1998. Cold War anthropology. *Identities* 4(3-4): 389-430.

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— 2003. Subtle means and enticing carrots. *Critique of Anthropology* 23(4): 373-401.

Rév, Istán 2002. The suggestion. *Representations* 80: 62-98.

Roelofs, Joan 2003.

resources were available; they could have a 'divergent response' in which they diverted 'energies and resources away from the confronting problem', often in the form of a withdrawal; or they could have an 'inert response' in which they react with paralysis and refuse to respond (1965: 147). They concluded that the 'assertive response' was the only viable option for an organism responding to externally induced stress: if these findings are transposed onto an environment of coercive interrogation, this would mean that co-operation was the only viable option for interrogation subjects.

In the context of MK-Ultra's interest in developing effective interrogation methods, these three responses took on other meanings. Interrogation subjects producing an 'assertive response' would co-operate with interrogators and provide them with the desired information; subjects producing a 'divergent response' might react to interrogation by mentally drifting away from the present dilemma, or by fruitless efforts to redirect enquiries; subjects producing an 'inert response' would freeze – like the torture machine's victims in Kafka's *Penal colony*.

Kubark described how interrogators use 'manipulated techniques' that are 'still keyed to the individual but brought to bear on himself', creating stresses for the individual and pushing him towards a state of 'regression of the personality to whatever earlier and weaker level is required for the dissolution of resistance and the inculcation of dependence' (CIA 1963b: 41). In *Kubark*, successful interrogators get interrogation subjects to view them as liberators who will help them find a way to return to the desired state of release: '[a]s regression proceeds, almost all resisters feel the growing internal stress that results from wanting simultaneously to conceal and to divulge... It is the business of the interrogator to provide the right rationalization at the right time' (ibid.: 40-41). *Kubark* recognized that the stress created in an interrogation environment was a useful tool for interrogators who understood their role as helping subjects find release from this stress.

[T]he interrogator can benefit from the subject's anxiety. As the interrogator becomes linked in the subject's mind with the reward of lessened anxiety, human contact, and meaningful activity, and thus with providing relief for growing discomfort, the questioner assumes a benevolent role. (ibid.: 90)

Under Howard and Scott's learning model, the interrogator's role becomes not that of the person delivering discomfort, but that of an individual acting as the gateway to obtaining mastery of a problem.

Howard and Scott found that once an individual conquers stress through an assertive response, then 'the state of the organism will be superior to its state prior to the time it was confronted with the problem, and that should the same problem arise again (after the organism has had an opportunity to replenish its resources) it will be dealt with more efficiently than before' (1965: 149). When applied to coercive interrogations, these findings suggest that subjects will learn to produce the desired information 'more efficiently than before'. But as *Kubark* warned, this could also mean that an individual who endured coercive interrogation but did not produce information on the first try might well learn that he can survive without giving information (CIA 1963b, CIA 1983).

One of *Kubark's* techniques, called 'Spinoza and Mortimer Snerd' described how interrogators could ensure co-operation by interrogating subjects for prolonged periods 'about lofty topics that the source knows nothing about' (CIA 1963b: 75). The subject is forced to say honestly s/he does not know the answers to these questions, and some measure of stress is generated and maintained. When the interrogator switches to known topics, the subject is given small rewards and feelings of relief emerge as these conditions are changed. Howard and Scott's model

was well suited to being adapted to such interrogation methods, as release from stress was *Kubark's* hallmark of effective interrogation techniques.

Kubark described how prisoners come to be 'helplessly dependent on their captors for the satisfaction of their many basic needs' and release of stress. The manual taught that:

once a true confession is obtained, the classic cautions apply. The pressures are lifted, at least enough so that the subject can provide counterintelligence information as accurately as possible. In fact, the relief granted the subject at this time fits neatly into the interrogation plan. He is told that the changed treatment is a reward for truthfulness and as evidence that friendly handling will continue as long as he cooperates. (CIA ibid.: 84)

Translated into Howard and Scott's stress model: this subject mastered the environment by using an 'assertive response' that allowed him/her to return to the desired state of equilibrium. There remain basic problems of knowing when a 'true confession' is actually a false confession – offered simply in order to return to the desired state of equilibrium.

This research on stress gave the CIA access to an elegant cross-cultural analytical model explaining human responses to stress. It did not matter that the model was not produced by scholars for such ends; the CIA had its own private uses for the work they funded. As Alan Howard clarifies, the abuse of their work was facilitated by the CIA's secrecy:

I could liken our situation to the discovery of the potential of splitting atoms for the release of massive amounts of energy. That knowledge can be used to create energy sources to support the finest human endeavors or to make atomic bombs. Unfortunately, such is the potential of most forms of human knowledge; it can be used for good or evil. While there is no simple solution to this dilemma, it is imperative that scientists of every ilk demand transparency in the funding of research and open access to information. The bad guys will, of course, opt for deception whenever it suits their purposes, and we cannot control that, but exposing such deceptions, as you have so ably done, is vitally important. (AH to DP 6/7/07)

Unwitting past, but witless present?

Use of CIA funds to commission research covertly was common. The Human Ecology Fund was one of many CIA funding fronts; among the most significant exposed fronts from this period are the Beacon Fund, the Borden Trust, the Edsel Fund, Gotham Foundation, the Andrew Hamilton Fund, the Kentfield Fund, the Michigan Fund and the Price Fund, but a number of academic presses, including Praeger Press, also served as CIA conduits (Roelofs 2003, Saunders 1999). Given the Church Committee finding that between 1963 and 1966, 'CIA funding was involved in nearly half the grants of the non-Big Three foundations [Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie] in the field of international activities', perhaps the most remarkable feature of this HEF research is only that we can connect its CIA funding with the project it was used for – *not* that it was financed by CIA funds (US Senate 1976:182).

However, it does not take CIA funding for anthropologists to produce research consumed by military and intelligence agencies. During the 1993 American military actions in Somalia I read a news article mentioning an ethnographic map issued by the CIA to Army Rangers. Because of my interest in ethnographic mapping, I wrote to the CIA's cartographic section requesting a copy of this map. A CIA staff member responded to my query, informing me that no such map was available to the public. This CIA employee also politely acknowledged that she was familiar with a book I had published while a graduate student that mapped the geographical location of about 3000 cultural groups (Price 1989). Given the CIA's historic role in undermining democratic movements around the world, I was disheart-



Fig. 5. The August 1965 issue of the journal Bioscience featured Human Ecology research at Cornell and elsewhere.

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Saunders, Francis Stonor 1999. *The cultural Cold War*. New York: The New Press.

Shane, Scott 2007. Soviet-style 'torture' becomes 'interrogation'. *New York Times*, 3 June.

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Weber, Max 1904 [1958]. *Protestant ethic*. New York: Scribner.

Wolff, Harold G. 1960. Every man has his breaking point: The conduct of prisoners of war. *Military Medicine* 125: 85-104.

Zborowski, Mark 1969. *People in pain*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc.

ened that they were using my work, but I should not have been surprised. Obviously nothing we publish is safe from being (ab)used by others for purposes we may not intend.

Howard and Scott strove to understand the role of stress in disease; that hidden sponsors had other uses for their work was not their fault. But if anthropologists today proceed as if such things do not happen, sooner or later we shall find ourselves in a position where we can no longer convincingly claim disciplinary ignorance of malign use of our research. We need to come to terms with how such agencies covertly set our research agendas and selectively harvest the resulting research. Sometimes we may need to follow Delmos Jones' Vietnam War-era example of withholding materials from publication when there is a risk of abuse by military and intelligence agencies (Jones 1971).

Anthropologists' and other social scientists' reluctance to contribute knowingly to interrogation research would have hampered CIA progress in these areas of enquiry. The understanding that such research was ethically improper presented obstacles to CIA efforts to design effective interrogation and torture methods, and these obstacles limited the direct knowledge that the CIA acquired through the necessarily circuitous means they then had to operate by. Thus, in some limited sense, open, ethical research practices inhibited the development of even more unethical interrogation methods that could have been developed by *witting* social scientists operating under conditions of secrecy.

In post-9/11 America anthropologists increasingly work for military and intelligence agencies in various capacities. Not all of this work is ethically problematic, but with the removal of prohibitions¹³ on CIA domestic operations under the Patriot Act, academics in the US are today even more likely to be targeted for their expertise by members of the intelligence community than they were back in the days of MK-Ultra. New programmes like PRISP and ICSP bring covert intelligence agencies onto our campuses, along with intelligence funding.

Recent revelations about the use of so-called 'behavioural science consultation teams' reveal contemporary efforts to harness social science findings for coercive interrogations (DoD 2006, *Democracy Now* 6/1/07, Soldz 2007a). Abuse of detainees at Guantánamo Bay, in Afghanistan and Iraq, and in the CIA's network of secret 'rendition' prisons involves tweaking techniques described in *Kubark* (Fair 2007, Gordon and Fleisher 2006, Mackey and Miller 2004).

New concerns are emerging about the use of social science in torture. The American Psychological Association (APA) grapples with the ethics of psychologists participating in interrogations. The APA's anti-torture policy now specifies 19 specific acts as constituting torture and states that they should not be used in interrogation, yet it permits psychologists to be present during interrogations, supposedly to help curtail abuse (APA 2007). However, psychologists working in such settings can as easily be drawn into interrogations that involve torture as other personnel. With the Bush administration and CIA leadership on record as claiming that 'water-boarding' is not torture, where does that leave psychologists?

Members of the AAA have recently adopted a resolution declaring that the AAA condemns the use of torture and the use of anthropological knowledge in torture (AAA 2007). Critics of this resolution (e.g. McNamara 2007) reject the suggestion that anthropological research has been involved in developing torture techniques. Of course, as Martha Huggins (2004) notes in her classification of the ten conditions for state-sanctioned torture, even torturers typically do not call what they are doing 'torture'. Those who torture also prefer anonymity and would deny any relationships they may have to such practices. This suggests it is unlikely anyone would admit to having involve-

ment in torture. But this should not hold us back from revealing past and present relationships of our discipline to torture.

As Huggins also argues, torture becomes systemic unless revealed and marked off as such and as I have argued here, new information has become available that shows how anthropological knowledge *has* been applied to devising coercive interrogation techniques in the past. Also, we now know that Tony Lagouranis, who joined Abu Ghraib as an interrogator after the torture scandal broke, has described how Patai's *The Arab mind* was abused by military personnel attempting to help interrogators dehumanize Arab enemies (Lagouranis and Mikaelian 2007). We must take this backdrop to the involvement of our discipline into account if we are not to become complicit.

Given the abuse of power we have already witnessed and the uncertain future we face in relation to the security state that perpetrated this, how far should we permit our professional involvement to go in this matter? We need more awareness of the political nature and uses of our work. As long as we publish in the public arena, anyone can use our findings for ends we may not approve. But we also analyse and *advocate* on the basis of data we collect, and have a degree of control over our own interpretations. Though secrecy may limit our knowledge of how our research is deployed by the security state, we must continue to expose and publicize known instances of abuse or neglect of our work.

Those who lead calls for social scientists to design improved interrogation methods (see ISB, Gross 2007) claim to do so in order to move away from torture towards a more humane interrogation, but they fail to acknowledge the irony that those they hail as pioneers of scientific interrogation were key CIA MK-Ultra-funded scientists who unethically commissioned and mined research for this purpose (Shane 2007). As a discipline we cannot afford to condone torture; were we to allow our work to be used for such ends we should become 'specialists without spirit, sensualists without hearts' (Weber 1904: 182). ●

Alan Howard and Robert Scott respond:

As David Price points out in his article, we were deeply dismayed to learn that the Human Ecology Fund, which provided a summer stipend to write our article on stress, was a front for the CIA, and that the paper might have been used to generate torture procedures. We are firmly opposed to any actions that are degrading to human dignity under any circumstances, including warfare. All of our contributions to the health and welfare literature have been written with the goal of alleviating human suffering, not using it to gain hegemonic advantage.

There is one point in Price's article we would like to clarify. Although we acknowledged HEF in our paper on cultural attitudes toward death for making our collaboration possible, they had nothing to do with sponsoring it. In fact, we did not inform them we were writing on the topic, nor did we provide them a copy of the article. If the CIA became aware of it they did so by scouring the academic literature, just as they must have for other articles relevant to the degradation of prisoners for the purpose of eliciting information.