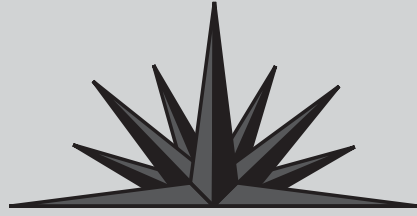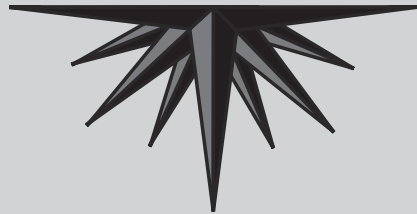# Exhibit P-71

David H. Price

COLD WAR **ANTHROPOLOGY**

THE CIA,

THE PENTAGON,

AND THE GROWTH

OF DUAL USE

ANTHROPOLOGY

Our science is useable, and is often used, in the service
of imperialism, in the interest of domination and exploitation.

JACK STAUDER | 1972

✷

EIGHT UNWITTING CIA ANTHROPOLOGIST COLLABORATORS

MK-Ultra, Human Ecology, and Buying

a Piece of Anthropology

In the mid-1970s, John Marks, a former State Department Foreign Service employee, used FOIA to release thousands of pages of governmental documents describing covert CIA programs known as MK-Delta and MK-Ultra (Marks 1979; U.S. Senate 1977). Marks's book *The Search for the "Manchurian Candidate"* (1979) summarized sixteen thousand pages of CIA documents, many of which described secret MK-Ultra and MK-Delta projects searching for effective interrogation methods. Some of these CIA programs used fronts to sponsor witting and unwitting scientists to conduct research that would help the CIA understand whether effective forms of "mind control" or "brainwashing" could be developed for interrogation and interrogation-resistance programs. Some studies investigated whether drugs, stress, or specific environmental conditions could be used to "break" prisoners or induce confessions (Marks 1979; SIHE 1960). Some of this research on coercion and interrogation informed the production of the CIA's *Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation* manual (1963), a foundational document for the agency's interrogation and interrogation-resistance procedures (CIA 1963b, 1983; McCoy 2006: 50–54).

A 1963 CIA report describing MK-Ultra projects stressed the interdisciplinary development of the program, as the CIA's Technical Service Division explored use of "radiation, electro-shock, various fields of psychology, psychiatry, sociology, and anthropology, graphology, harassment substances, and paramilitary devices and materials" to control human behavior (CIA 1963d: 4). In a few cases,

the academics working on these projects knew they were funded by laundered CIA funds, but in most instances they were unaware of these connections. The CIA provided the following description of how the MK-Ultra program worked:

> 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 1963d: 7–8, emphasis added)

In his book *A Question of Torture*, Alfred McCoy discussed several CIA-funded MK-Ultra social science research projects producing knowledge to be quietly harvested by CIA personnel who were designing scientific means of conducting interrogation and torture (McCoy 2006: 43–46; cf. Prince 1995). According to McCoy, by using results from MK-Ultra's research programs, "the CIA distilled its findings in its seminal *Kubark Counterintelligence 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).[1] Stress research was a vital area of MK-Ultra's search for effective means of coercive interrogation (40, 45–47, 50).

At the CIA, Richard Helms authorized $25 million in funds for Dr. Sidney Gottlieb and the CIA's Technical Services Division for MK-Ultra projects studying human responses to drugs and environmental conditions that could

manipulate individuals to perform behaviors against their will (McCoy 2006: 28–29). Bluebird and Artichoke, two agency operations, studied the possible uses of psychotropic drugs in interrogation. These operations' research methods included dosing unsuspecting people with strong chemical agents like LSD, DMT, liquid concentrates of THC, or opiates (26–28; Marks 1979: 53–121).

Some research placed unwitting prisoner, civilian, or military research subjects at risk, at times leaving individuals with permanent damage (see Weinstein 1990). 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" (2006: 31). The full range of the CIA's MK-Ultra projects is unknown, but a list of projects cobbled together from released FOIA documents indicates a collection of projects studying pleasure, pain, hypnosis, drugs, sex, stage magic, refugees, and other elements of culture and nature seen as useful to the CIA's efforts to interrogate or control the Other.

Human Ecology

Between 1955 and 1965, the CIA relied on a funding front, operating under the names the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology (SIHE; 1955–61) and the Human Ecology Fund (HEF; 1961–65), to pass on CIA MK-Ultra funds to unwitting social science and medical researchers doing work that had applications for CIA projects, including the agency's *Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation* manual (CIA 1963b; D. H. Price 2007b, 2007c; Marks 1979; HEF 1963; SIHE 1957, n.d.). The first of these organizations, SIHE, was established in New York City in 1955 by neurologist Harold Wolff, MD. When SIHE was reorganized as HEF in 1961, operations shifted to Cornell University Medical School, with most SIHE personnel remaining with the organization (HEF 1963: 9).[2] While noting this organizational shift from SIHE to HEF, for the remainder of this chapter I refer to both SIHE and HEF simply as "Human Ecology."

Harold Wolff was a highly respected neurologist whose research focused on migraines and other forms of headache pain (Blau 2004).[3] Wolff met Allen Dulles while he was treating Dulles's son for a brain injury, and Dulles later recruited Wolff to direct CIA-funded research on persuasion and interrogation (Marks 1979: 148; D. H. Price 1998: 398–401). Using Human Ecology as a front, the CIA wanted Wolff "to devise ways to use the broadest cultural and social processes in human ecology for covert operations. He understood that every

country had unique customs for child rearing, military training and nearly every other form of human intercourse. From the CIA's point of view, he noted, this kind of sociological information could be applied mainly to indoctrinating and motivating people" (Marks 1979: 148–49).

Wolff participated in early LSD research and coauthored an article with Louis Berlin, Thomas Guthrie, Arthur Weider, and Helen Goodell examining the effects of mescaline and LSD on creativity (Berlin et al. 1955). Wolff was joined at Human Ecology by Lawrence Hinkle, MD, whose early career focused on environmental impacts on cardiovascular health (AMWS 2005: 3:753). In 1965, Hinkle described his work with Wolff at Human Ecology as studying "the mechanisms by which the individual man adapts to his particular environment, and the effect of these adaptations upon his disease" (1965: 532). Hinkle and Wolff (1957) pioneered studies of workplace stress and the effects of stress on cardiovascular health and migraines, studies that brought fame and legitimacy of a sort that enticed Human Ecology grant applicants. In the mid-1950s, Hinkle and Wolff began studying the role of controlled stress in "breaking" and "brainwashing" prisoners of war and communist enemies of state (see Hinkle and Wolff 1956). They studied coercive interrogation methods and published their findings in the article "Communist Interrogation and Indoctrination of 'Enemies of the State'" (Hinkle and Wolff 1956). They also produced a classified secret version of this paper for Allen Dulles at the CIA (Rév 2002: 86). As secret reports were passed along to the CIA, Wolff continued to produce Human Ecology–funded research publications on interrogation (Wolff 1960; HEF 1963: 53).[4] Wolff and Hinkle's studies linking stress and disease produced dual use outcomes, with some reports adding to the medical literature and others contributing to CIA interrogation research.

John Marks described Human Ecology as a CIA mechanism for putting "money into projects whose covert application was so unlikely that only an expert could see the possibilities" (1979: 159).[5] Marks illustrated this point by describing a 1958 Human Ecology grant that funded sociologist Muzafer Sherif's study of American inner-city youth gang members. Unbeknownst to Sherif, his data were later used by the CIA to model the management of KGB defectors. Marks discovered that the CIA learned from Sherif's work that "getting a juvenile delinquent [gang] defector was motivationally not all that much different from getting a Soviet one" (see Marks 1979: 159, cf. HEF 1963: 29).

There is no known paper trail establishing how Wolff or others at Human Ecology reported scholars' findings to CIA sponsors, and one declassified internal CIA memo from 1963 indicates the possibility that the reporting of such findings was slipshod. This memo stated that "a substantial portion of the

MKULTRA record appears to rest in the memories of the principal officers," indicating the possibility that Human Ecology findings were usually informally incorporated into the work of individuals working on *Kubark*-related projects (CIA 1963d: 23). Because the CIA destroyed most MK-Ultra records in 1973 (Marks 1979: vii), fundamental questions remain concerning how Human Ecology research made its way into *Kubark*, but *Kubark*'s reliance on citations of Human Ecology–funded scholars, as well as information from declassified CIA documents establishing MK-Ultra's goals and methods, indicate this research was incorporated in *Kubark*.

The *1961–1963 Report of the Human Ecology Fund* (HEF 1963) listed Barnaby C. Keeney (president, Brown University) as the director of the fund's board.[6] James L. Monroe, who had overseen the U.S. Air Force's comprehensive study of Korean War prisoners, was executive director from 1961 to 1963, followed by psychologist David Rhodes (Marks 1979: 156–57).[7] With these established leadership figures, the public face of Human Ecology was a paragon of respectable research; the 1961 directory of the *Encyclopedia of Associations* described the foundation as one that "stimulates 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, psycho-social determinants of drug reaction, hypnosis, psychological and physiological variations in personality and personality change, the scientist in the Soviet Union" (EOA 1961: 291). Human Ecology funded anthropological and sociological projects studying Cold War enemies, such as China or Russia, as well as research projects on pain, pleasure, sexuality, stress, and refugees (see D. H. Price 1998: 398–402). Human Ecology lied to some anthropologists concerning the potential uses of their research. In one instance, Cornell University "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: 150–51). Sidney Gottlieb envisioned Human Ecology enabling the CIA 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).

Table 8.1 shows reported Human Ecology–funded projects arranged in ascending order of funding level. In 1962, the *AAA Fellow Newsletter* and the

TABLE 8.1 Known Grants Funded by the CIA Research Front Known as the Human Ecology Fund, 1960–1963 (Source: HEF 1963: 13–42)

GRANT	RESEARCHER	FIELD	GRANT AMOUNT
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 & Young Adults	Watt, Norman F.	Psychology	$2,250
African Research Foundation			$1,000
Instrumentation in Psychophysiology			$1,000
Internal Migration in Puerto Rico	Macisco, John J.	Medicine	$1,000
Self-Image and Reaction to Isolation	Warbasse, Anne	Psychology	$1,058
Role Conflict in Burma	Guyot, James F.		$1,190
Journal: *Graphologische Schriftenreihe*	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: *The Psychology of Writing*	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: Bioelectrics Directory	Seels, Saul & 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

TABLE 8.1 *(continued)*

GRANT	RESEARCHER	FIELD	GRANT AMOUNT
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: Transcultural Research in Mental Health Problems	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 *International Resources in Clinical Psychology*	Priester, H. & 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., A. Howard	Anthropology	$5,000
Emerging Socio-Political Roles of Scientists & 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

TABLE 8.1 (*continued*)

GRANT	RESEARCHER	FIELD	GRANT AMOUNT
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 Allardt, Erik	Sociology Sociology	$16,479
Psychiatric Rating Scales	Samuel B. Lyerly Preston S. Abbott	Psychology Psychology	$22,551
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 Thetford, William N.	Psychology	$47,832
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

African Studies Review carried Human Ecology funding announcements, soliciting grant applications on a "diversity of research problems and methodology within the behavioral sciences" (AAAFN 1962 3[5]: 4–5; *African Studies Review* 1962, vol. 5: 42). Wolff used his professional relationship with Margaret Mead to recruit anthropologists, gaining an IFIS mailing list from her in 1956, writing that he wanted "to bring to the attention of the members the interests of the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology and the possibility for future research funding" (MM C37, HW to MM 12/3/56; MM 37, MM to HW 1/4/57).[8] In 1964, the *Fellow Newsletter* announced that anthropologist William Carr had "joined the staff of the Human Ecology Fund" and that the fund contributed to the financing of Raymond Prince and Francis Speed's film *Were Ni! He is a madman,* on Yoruba treatments of mental disorders (AAAFN 1964 5[5]: 6).[9]

Human Ecology financed a wide range of projects, including Frank Westie's (1965) efforts to empirically test American variations in valuations and beliefs; Melvin DeFleur's (1964) study of occupational roles as portrayed on television; scientific studies of the shifts and variations in individuals' attitudes over time (DeFleur and Westie 1963: 17; cf. Glander 2000: 164–65); Raymond Augustine Bauer's trips to gather information for his book *Some Views on Soviet Psychology* (1962); Ronald Taft's (1966) study of immigrant assimilation in Australia; psychologist Dr. Joseph C. Kennedy's research into the educational needs of Ghana, Liberia, and Nigeria;[10] sociologist Richard Stephenson's work on deviant behavior;[11] and a 1960 conference in Cambridge, Massachusetts that led to the publication of the book *International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis* (Kelman 1965). Sociologists Robert Ellis and Clayton Lane used Human Ecology funds to study the effects of social isolation, social strain, and deprivation on low-income students entering high-status universities (Ellis and Lane 1967: 237). Human Ecology funded American psychologists Harold Schlosberg, Neal E. Miller, and Carl Pfaffman's trip to tour psychological laboratories in the Soviet Union and Poland (Kimble 1979: 704). It also funded the travel of anthropologist Marvin Opler and an American delegation attending the First International Congress of Social Psychiatry in London in 1964 (Opler 1965).

At the Human Ecology–sponsored conference "Information and Control Processes in Living Systems," held in 1965, participants covered topics without direct connections to interrogation, yet the CIA's interrogation studies focused on controling processes in very direct ways, and the agency's theoretical approach was informed by such parallel, but not directly linked, thematic work (see Ramsey 1965). Other projects were smaller in scale, with apparently intangible outcomes.

Human Ecology provided funding for anthropologist Leon Stover's project titled "Aspects of Upper Class Culture among the Internationalized Elite of Japan." Stover later wrote me that his Human Ecology "research report was written up as a science fiction story published in Damon Knight, ed., *Orbit 9*." Stover told me his grant had come "as an act of charity by a close friend who worked for the fund. It supplemented another small grant from the National Institute of Mental Health" on a research project that "was peripheral to my job as a visiting professor in the Department of Cultural Anthropology at Tokyo University (1963–1965)" (LS to DHP 11/28/94). Stover set his story in a futuristic Japan, where movies are not filmed using traditional cameras and actors but instead are the recorded visions of "a young catatonic" who is cajoled into envisioning scenes desired by film producers.[12] The story uses this process of "bionic moviemaking" to analyze postwar Japanese attitudes toward Japanese citizens who have spent time abroad.

In his story, Stover scripted the remarks of a fictional anthropologist, Professor Iwahashi, as commentary on differences between Japanese and American social structure revealed in American mental hospitals' segregation of patients into "violent wards, general wards, or open wards." In Japan, in contrast, as Professor Iwahashi describes it, "mental patients enjoy unmitigated commonality. This equality under one class of confinement is enabled by the fact that we Japanese are so disciplined a race that even when we go mad, we go mad politely, with no disobedience to authority, no unguarded lapse of consideration for others, no unexpected breach of decorum, and no interruption of politesse" (Stover 1972: 197). Focusing on the high-context nature of Japanese society, Stover argued that "it is in the social conduct of your human relations that you are Japanese, if in nothing else" (200).

Stover viewed the secret to being truly Japanese as found in the principle of *ki ga tsuku*, the practice of finding "out what the other person intends to do. It is a game of perception. But it is different from the one played by Westerners. Foreigners want always to know *why* people do things. Foreigners want always to understand each other. Just as they come to Japan and try to understand the Japanese people" (1972: 201–2). Stover's Japanese narrator viewed his society as static, as a world where everyone's role "is fixed and identified like a piece on a chessboard. When we encounter another Japanese we have only to guess what his next move will be" (202).

Stover's fictional narrative contained the theoretical strands of the era's standard intercultural communications research.[13] With MK-Ultra's interest in psychotropic drug research, some might speculate about these images of catatonic

hallucinations or the social differences in mental hospitals, but there is no evidence of any such connection here. Stover's research instead best fits within the continuum of Human Ecology–funded cross-cultural communications studies and the fund's interest in "breakdowns." Human Ecology funded many projects with no detectable connection to MK-Ultra projects, those projects appear to have only provided Human Ecology with the necessary appearance of legitimacy within the academic community. It is possible that Stover's work, along with several other projects, including cranial analysis studies, studies of Puerto Rican migration and child rearing, and a study of Levittown, New York, were funded to increase Human Ecology's visibility and to gain access to scholars who might later be approached as consultants.[14]

A Technical Services staff member indicated that grants provided to scholars like Charles Osgood, B. F. Skinner,[15] and Karl Rogers "'bought legitimacy' for the Society and made the recipients 'grateful'. . . . 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).[16] Human Ecology sponsored Raymond Prince's Nigerian transcultural psychological studies during the late 1950s (see HEF 1963: 50–51; Prince 1962a, 1962b). Prince's *Ifa: Yoruba Divination and Sacrifice* (1964) provides an ethnographic account of Nigerian traditional rituals of sacrifice and divination. The January 1961 issue of the *AAA Fellow Newsletter* announced the three-month research project by Prince and his coworkers, including Dorothea C. Leighton, Charles Savage, and anthropologists Charles and Jane Hughes, as one "identifying and rating sociocultural factors that may be of significance to prevalence of symptoms, problems of identifying and evaluating types of psychiatric disorder in the Nigerian setting" (*AAAFN* 1961 2[1]: 11). Prince later speculated that this research was funded to establish connections in the field that would later be used by the CIA for the recruitment of foreign nationals and "to collect psychocultural data on cultures and countries of interest to the CIA for psychological warfare purposes" (1995: 407). His research contributed to MK-Ultra's data on isolating cultural manifestations of mental illness. A CIA document declassified and accessed by Prince in 1977 clarified that, unbeknownst to him, the CIA believed his research would "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. *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).[17] In Prince's case, the CIA was interested in ethnographic fieldwork not only to access a distant cultural world but as a recruitment tool and to collect new pharmacological samples.

Human Ecology funded projects to develop standardized psychological instruments whose dual uses potentially included gauging variations in individuals' responses to interrogation. In the 1950s, Human Ecology funded an Educational Testing Service (ETS) project examining the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scales (ETS 1955: 90, 92), and it later funded Eugene Gendlin and Jerome Berlin's study of subjects monitored by a polygraph (1961: 73n1).

Several studies examining childhood conceptual developments supplied information that appears to have informed *Kubark*'s conception of the childlike regressive state induced by "coercive interrogation" (CIA 1963b). Research examining isolation and sleep deprivation, stress, handwriting, and links between personality types and drug interactions addressed topics central to the *Kubark* interrogation manual. Human Ecology received grants from the U.S. Public Health Service (MYP-5699 and MH-08807) to produce the *Handbook of Psychiatric Rating Scale* (Lyerly and Abbott 1966),[18] which compiled nineteen psychiatric scales. The resulting product appeared to serve dual uses: producing knowledge that could be used by mental health practitioners, while simultaneously producing a tool that would be of use to interrogation specialists gauging the impacts of interrogations.

But Human Ecology also funded studies on revolutions, refugees, Chinese personality types, Chinese family structure, Soviet psychology, and cross-cultural communication, as well as various studies that examined elements of psychological profiling.

Human Ecology, China, Hungary, and Elsewhere

The CIA used Harold Wolff's presence at Cornell to investigate ways to take Chinese citizens living in the United States and, as Lawrence Hinkle put it, "steer them to [the CIA], and make them into agents" (qtd. in Marks 1979: 149). Human Ecology sponsored Cornell projects investigating ways to train recruited Chinese agents to resist Chinese brainwashing (150).

Rhoda Métraux assisted Wolff and Hinkle's research on the manifestations of stress on Chinese individuals who were unable to return to China (see Hinkle et al. 1957). After Wolff learned that Métraux would not be granted CIA research clearance, he lied to her about the nature of the project (Marks 1979: 150–51).

Raymond Prince speculated that Human Ecology sought 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" (1995: 411). Hinkle later admitted that this project's secret purpose was to recruit skilled CIA intelligence operatives who could return to China as spies. As an unwitting participant, Métraux collected information on Chinese subjects' performance under stress, which contributed to the CIA's efforts to train agents to resist Chinese forms of interrogation (Marks 1979: 149–50). Human Ecology funded William Rodd's research into Chinese cultural systems of problem solving, values, and logic (HEF 1963: 17), and William K. Carr was awarded $48,480 to work on a project, "Anthropological Identification of the Determinants of Chinese Behavior" (AAAFN 1964 5 [5]: 6; Carr and Tullock 1965).[19]

One project used unwitting social scientists to interview Hungarian refugees to gather intelligence for the CIA (see Marks 1979: 153–54; Stephenson 1978; HEF 1963: 30). In the mid-1950s, Human Ecology sponsored two conferences at which scholars examined the political, psychological, and cultural means through which Hungarian refugees retained their identities under Soviet occupation (see SIHE 1958). Stephenson described his discovery in 1977 that the Hungarian refugee research project he had been involved with since the 1950s had been secretly funded by the CIA's MK-Ultra program. He had mixed reactions upon learning of this CIA sponsorship, later writing that he was both "offended and resentful, if not actually angry," that he had "been had"; he also noted, "In view of the nature of the sociological data and its undirected and unclassified status, the idea that the CIA was involved and the Society was its 'cover' assumed a cloak and dagger staging closer to comic opera than serious drama" (Stephenson 1978: 130).

HUMAN ECOLOGY AND A RANGE OF *KUBARK*-LINKED RESEARCH

The CIA's *Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation* (1963) was an instruction manual, not an academic treatise, and as with other manuals, it cites only a few academic sources. Though most sources remain unacknowledged, the work of some Human Ecology–sponsored scholars appears in its pages, including Martin Orne's research on hypnosis, work that provided the basis of *Kubark*'s discussion of the uses and limits of hypnosis in interrogation (CIA 1963b: 78, 95–98). Biderman and Zimmer's research and published volume on nonvoluntary behavior funded by Human Ecology (Biderman and Zimmer 1961: ix) is quoted and cited extensively in *Kubark* (see CIA 1963b: 77–80, 83, 86–87, 89–91, 99), as

is Hinkle's work on pain and the physiological state of interrogation subjects (CIA 1963b: 83, 93). *Kubark*'s discussion of the uses of graphology in analyzing interrogation subjects drew on Karla G. Roman's Human Ecology–sponsored research (CIA 1963b: 81; HEF 1963: 38). Martin Orne and sociologist Albert D. Biderman's Human Ecology–sponsored research is cited in *Kubark*'s scant reference section. *Kubark* incorporated (without attribution) the essentials of anthropologist Mark Zborowski's model of pain, explaining that "the sensation of pain seems to be roughly equal in all men, that is to say, all people have approximately the same threshold at which they begin to feel pain, and when carefully graded stimuli are applied to them, their estimates of severity are approximately the same. . . . Yet . . . when men are very highly motivated . . . they have been known to carry out rather complex tasks while enduring the most intense pain" (CIA 1963b: 93; see Zborowski 1952, 1969; Zipperstein 2010; D. H. Price 2011d).

Kubark discussed the importance of interrogators' learning to read the body language of interrogation subjects. Human Ecology funded early research on body language by anthropologist Edward Hall, whose studies aligned with CIA research needs.[20] Several pages of *Kubark* instructed interrogators how to read a subject's body language with tips such as the following: "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 agency's role in directing Human Ecology research projects, Edward Hall discussed his unwitting receipt of CIA funds that supported his writing of *The Hidden Dimension* (E. T. Hall 1966). Hall acknowledged 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. . . . I don't mind training people for the State Department, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development — even the Army . . . within that overall context, here's a group of people out there doing dirty tricks. I don't know what you do about that" (qtd. in Greenfield 1977: 11).[21] Greenfield added, "Hall doubts he would have taken the money, had he known it was coming from the CIA: 'I would want to know why were they backing me? What were they getting out of

this? I still don't know'" (11). Despite his later personal objections, Hall's work informed Human Ecology's knowledge base.[22]

Albert Biderman received grants from Human Ecology and the air force to study former U.S. soldiers who had been prisoners of war in North Korea and "Communist China" to test factors leading prisoners to confess (Biderman 1960: 120n1).[23] He found that "prisoners rarely conform to the injunction of silence in interrogation because to do so is inconsistent with more compelling requirements they experience in the actual situation; namely, the maintenance of a viable social role and an esteemed self-image" (121). Biderman studied the difficulties prisoners had in simply remaining silent while facing interrogation and found that silence often became a form of interaction with interrogators, especially interrogators who used a "silent confirmation" trick where they repeatedly asked and answered questions whose answers were already known as a way of tricking prisoners into mentally engaging with them. He found that stress mounted with each question prisoners refused to answer, and that stress was relieved by answering questions.

Biderman interviewed soldiers and amassed reports of torture, coercive interrogation, and "brainwashing," presenting these in an air force report titled *Communist Techniques of Coercive Interrogation* and academic articles on interrogation and forced indoctrination (Biderman 1956, 1960). Human Ecology funded Biderman's book *March to Calumny: The Story of American POWs in the Korean War* (1963). *March to Calumny* critiqued claims that American soldiers in the Korean War who broke under Korean interrogation were weak and also demonstrated that Korean War POWs did not behave significantly differently from soldiers in other recent wars.

Human Ecology funded a variety of so-called mind control studies, including Edgar Schein's (1961) study of Chinese efforts to brainwash American prisoners. Eysenck and colleagues conducted research on the hypnotic potential of the spinning hypno-disk (as seen in dozens of cheesy 1950s science fiction movies) (Eysenck, Willett, and Slater 1962). The 1977 Senate hearings on MK-Ultra programs detailed the CIA's failures in the 1950s and early 1960s to find esoteric means like hypnosis, psychedelics, "truth serums," sensory deprivation tanks, or electroshock to break uncooperative interrogation 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" (U.S. Senate 1977: 62). The CIA

understood that *isolation* and *stress* were the keys to effective coercive interrogation, and it was during this shift away from exotic drugs and equipment that Human Ecology sponsored the stress research discussed below.

In 1964, A. Arthur Sugerman and Frank Haronian published their article "Body Type and Sophistication of Body Concept," which reviewed various efforts to correlate indexes of "body type" to psychological profiling features. The authors, whose study had been funded by Human Ecology, conceded that there were significant reliability problems with Sheldon's somatotype research (other researchers had difficulty replicating his findings), yet they were enamored with the prospect that some means of correlating body type with psychological profiling was possible. Sugerman and Haronian discussed the possibility that there may have been errors in the specific psychological and physical variables measured, and their study combined Sheldon somatotype measurements with Parnell phenotype measurements, concluding that both systems produced comparable results.

Haronian and Sugerman's Human Ecology–funded work from 1965 sought to test the validity of Sheldon's work. Psychologist William Herbert Sheldon had developed his somatotype model as an attempt to correlate human body types with psychological outlooks, believing that physical appearance held decipherable indications of inner psychic worlds or individual potentials. Though his somatological work produced explanatory models that were no more accurate than the phrenology of a century earlier, Sheldon had a following during the 1940s and 1950s (see Rosenbaum 1995). Haronian and Sugerman (1965) contrasted Sheldon's somatotype approach to classifying and interpreting human body forms with Parnell's phenotype scoring methodology.

Haronian and Sugerman conceded that Parnell's methodology was less rigorous and was susceptible to reliability errors, but they liked its advantage of not requiring subjects to disrobe and be photographed in the nude (1965: 135). Their evaluation of these two systems of classifying body type found that they produced varied results. The authors did not attempt to correlate the systems' body type classifications with psychometric data, leaving that for future research.

Haronian and Sugerman's efforts to read bodies fit with Human Ecology's efforts to establish baseline standardized metrics that could also be used to understand interrogation subjects. With deep misunderstandings of the impacts of biology and culture on human behavior, Human Ecology did not realize that the best outcome that Haronian and Sugerman's model could hope to produce was an efficient way of consistently labeling and measuring stereotypes, but their model did not achieve even this misguided end.

Human Ecology's Anthropological Research on Bereavement and Stress

It is unclear why Human Ecology sponsored several anthropological research projects investigating cultural impacts on grieving; it is possible that Wolff or others recognized that bereavement was a universal experience of intense stress *and* isolation mitigated by culture. Human Ecology funded medical anthropologist Barbara Gallatin Anderson's study using American bereavement data to develop a cross-cultural framework for studying bereavement (Anderson 1965: 181n1).[24] Anderson interviewed mental patients and determined that the death of someone close to them had been the single most stressful event of their lives (184). Several MK-Ultra projects investigated the effects of isolation on interrogation subjects as part of efforts to understand states of regression and psychic collapse of the sort "whose covert application was so unlikely that only an expert could see the possibilities" (Marks 1979: 159; cf. CIA 1963b: 83).

Human Ecology funded anthropologists Alan Howard and Robert Scott's (1965–66) investigation of enculturation's impacts on grieving processes. Their work studied how cultural norms and behavioral practices caused isolation, which created different conditions of stress for grieving individuals. Scott drew on sociological literature to examine American ways of death, grieving, and alienation, while Howard applied his ethnographic knowledge to examine how Polynesian Rotuman Islanders were socialized to experience isolation differently and how these differences translated to different cultural reactions to death. In 1994, Robert Scott wrote me, describing in some detail his and Alan Howard's interactions with Harold Wolff and Human Ecology. Scott explained that he and Howard

> 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 . . . of Columbia wrote an article exposing the connection.[25] 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 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 postdoc 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 no longer have financial records from that date and therefore do not have a file indicating the amount of support I got or for what period of time I received it. I do remember that 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). As I recall, I used it to supplement my Russell Sage Foundation stipend, probably for summer income in order to finish the paper.

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 the 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.

. . . As I recall the only application I made was in the form of a letter. 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. . . . [26] My association with the Human Ecology Studies Program came to an end early in 1964. (RAS to DHP 11/2/94)

Scott confirmed that Wolff and Hinkle shielded participants from knowledge of CIA funding and interests.

Howard and Scott's article "Cultural Values and Attitudes toward Death" (1965–66) reads like a typical synthetic literature review of the period, though the literature cited shows the influence of Wolff, Hinkle, and Human Ecology; references drew on Philip E. Kubzansky's chapter in Biderman and Zimmer's Human Ecology volume, *The Manipulation of Human Behavior* — the volume most heavily cited in *Kubark* (Howard and Scott 1965–66: 163n11).[27] Out of the universe of writings on death and bereavement, Howard and Scott's selection of Kubzansky's prison research illustrates how Human Ecology's environment shaped sponsored studies. Howard and Scott's views of isolation reflected Human Ecology's focus on the isolation and vulnerability of prisoners. As they wrote in their article:

> 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 separation from others may become obsessed with the idea of death. Ordinary values, those previously associated with primary groups or with society in general, may pale into insignificance when they are no longer shared with significant others. . . . the fear of death may come to outweigh the fear of dying, and the person may be motivated toward ego-destructive behavior. (164)

For hidden CIA sponsors, the focus on isolation and vulnerability transcended the circumstances of death and bereavement. This work had uses for Human Ecology's secret sharers considering captive individuals facing other forms of total social isolation, who shared characteristics with those experiencing the social isolation of mourning.

Howard and Scott's Stress Model and Kubark's *Approach to Stress Mastery*

Human Ecology's grant supported Howard and Scott's library research and the later write-up of their findings. Scott was based at Cornell, where he had some contact with Hinkle, Wolff, and other Human Ecology personnel, while Howard wrote in California and never visited Cornell. Prior to 1961, they submitted a copy of their Human Ecology–sponsored paper developing a "proposed framework for the analysis of stress in the human organism" to *Behavioral Science*, and a copy of the paper was submitted to their sponsor (RS to DHP 6/11/07; Howard and Scott 1965). Although the paper was submitted in 1961, it was not published in *Behavioral Science* until 1965 (AH to DHP 6/5/07).

In 1977, John Gittinger testified to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources that the CIA's funding of Human Ecology allowed it to be "run exactly like any other foundation," which meant the CIA had "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" (U.S. Senate 1977: 59). This was the principal way that the findings of Human Ecology research were channeled to those at the CIA who selectively harvested elements of this work for their own uses.

The scope of Scott and Howard's work aligned with Wolff's ongoing research on stress and health, as well as Wolff's secret search for successful "coercive interrogation" methods. Both Scott and Howard had worked together on their cross-cultural stress model before they knew of Human Ecology, and Scott argued they would have undertaken this work even without this funding (RS to DHP 6/11/07). Human Ecology's semiannual report described their 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). Understanding individuals' efforts to "avoid stress" through cooperative "problem solving" was just one abstraction away from transforming an informative general model on stress into a useful interrogation tool for the CIA.

Howard and Scott's 1965 article on stress could be "reverse engineered" for information on how to weaken a person's ability to adapt to stressful environments, such as those present during an interrogation. Thus, when Howard and Scott 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 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).

Howard and Scott reviewed literature that established how stress alters regular gastric functions and can cause or increase the severity of diseases. 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" (1965: 142). Howard and Scott's "problem-solving" model for conceptualizing stress began with the recognition that individuals under stress try to reduce their stress and return to a state of equilibrium. It posited that

"disequilibrium motivates the organism to attempt to solve the problems which produce the imbalance, and hence to engage in problem-solving activity" (145).

To apply Howard and Scott's model to situations involving coercive interrogation, interrogation subjects would be seen as trying to reduce the "imbalance" of discomfort or pain and returning to a state of equilibrium by providing the interrogator with the requested information. Their model could be adopted to view cooperation as the solution to the stressful problems faced by interrogation subjects, and rational subjects would cooperate in order to return to noncoercive states of equilibrium. This philosophy aligned with a basic *Kubark* paradigm, which maintained the following:

> The effectiveness of most of the non-coercive techniques depends upon their unsettling effect. The interrogation situation is in itself disturbing to most people encountering it for the first time. 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 toward "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 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 reacted with paralysis and refused to respond (Howard and Scott 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 cooperation was the only viable option for interrogation subjects.

In the context of MK-Ultra's interest in developing successful interrogation methods, these three responses took on other meanings. Interrogation subjects producing an "assertive response" would cooperate 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 (like Sam Lowry, at the end of Terry Gilliam's film *Brazil*), or by fruitless efforts to redirect inquiries; and subjects producing an "inert response" with frozen states without external response — like that of the torture machine's victims in Kafka's *Penal Colony* (see D. H. Price 2010b).

Kubark described how interrogators use "manipulated techniques" that are "still keyed to the individual but brought to bear on himself" that create stresses for the individual and push him toward 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). As presented in *Kubark*, successful interrogators get their subjects to view them as liberators helping them find a way to return to the desired state of release: "As 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. Here too the importance of understanding the interrogatee is evident; the right rationalization must be an excuse or reason that is tailored to the source's personality" (40–41). *Kubark* conceptualized the stress created in an interrogation environment as a useful tool to be manipulated by interrogators who understood their role of helping subjects find release from this stress: "The 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" (90). Under Howard and Scott's learning theory model, the interrogator role becomes not that of the person delivering discomfort but of the individual acting as the gateway to obtaining mastery of a problem.

Howard and Scott found that once an individual under stress conquers this 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). These findings suggest that interrogation 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 may well learn that he can survive without giving information (see CIA 1963b: 42; 1983: H-5).

Kubark "suggests that the specific coercive techniques employed should be chosen based on the personality of the subject. The 'usual effect of coercion is regression.' The subject will become more 'childlike as his/her adult defenses breakdown. While this is happening, the subject will feel guiltier and the interrogators should exploit this" (Gordon and Fleisher 2006: 187). *Kubark*'s philosophy of choosing "specific coercive techniques" "based on the personality of the subject" explains why the Human Ecology Fund sponsored so many different efforts to develop standardized profiling tools that could be used to identify and exploit individual variations in personality.

Most of the noncoercive interrogation techniques described in *Kubark* focus on the specific tactics that interrogators can employ (e.g., using joint interrogators—one the "good cop," the other the "bad cop"; rapidly switching the language of interrogation; using "news from home" to the interrogator's advantage), with little direct information presented on the level of analysis presented in Howard and Scott's 1965 paper. Howard and Scott found that "if an organism is ultimately to attain mastery over a problem, the problem must be solvable" (1965: 146); in the world of *Kubark* interrogations, one corollary of this finding would be that if coercive interrogation subjects have no useful information, they are in a world of hurt, without any options available to gain relief.

Howard and Scott's problem-solving model aligns with *Kubark*'s rationalization of effective uses of coercive interrogation. *Kubark* explained:

> The confusion technique is designed not only to obliterate the familiar but to replace it with the weird. Although this method can be employed by a single interrogator, it is better adapted to use by two or three. When the subject enters the room, the first interrogator asks a doubletalk question—one which seems straightforward but is essentially nonsensical. Whether the interrogatee tries to answer or not, the second interrogator follows up (interrupting any attempted response) with a wholly unrelated and equally illogical query. Sometimes two or more questions are asked simultaneously. Pitch, tone, and volume of the interrogators' voices are unrelated to the import of the questions. No pattern of questions and answers is permitted to develop, nor do the questions themselves relate logically to each other. In this strange atmosphere the subject finds that the pattern of speech and thought which he has learned to consider normal have been replaced by an eerie meaninglessness. The interrogatee may start laughing or refuse to take the situation seriously. But as the process continues, day after day if necessary, the subject begins to try to make sense of the situation, which becomes mentally intolerable.

Now he is likely to make significant admissions, or even to pour out his story, just to stop the flow of babble which assails him. This technique may be especially effective with the orderly, obstinate type. (CIA 1963b: 76)

One of *Kubark*'s techniques, called "Spinoza and Mortimer Snerd," described how interrogators could gain cooperation by interrogating subjects for prolonged periods "about lofty topics that the source knows nothing about" (CIA 1963b: 75). The subject is forced to honestly say he or she 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 when these conditions are changed. Howard and Scott's model was well suited to be 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. *Kubark* 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 1963b: 84). Translated into Howard and Scott's stress model, this subject mastered the environment by using an "assertive response" that allowed him or her to return to the desired state of equilibrium. There remain basic problems of knowing when a "true confession" is actually a false confession — elicited simply to return to the desired state of equilibrium.

When comparing the theoretical explanations in Howard and Scott's 1965 stress article with *Kubark*'s underlying guiding paradigms, there are clear overlapping models. But when reading both texts with hindsight, it remains unclear where an academic model of stress independently developing similar explanations (from those in *Kubark*) for stress release begins, and where MK-Ultra's focused interest in these questions ends. Given the destruction of documents and the nature of secret agencies, some specific elements of these questions remain unanswerable, but we do know that MK-Ultra funded stress research and other projects at Human Ecology to gather data that could be used to refine interrogation methods. Steven Kleinman (2006) summarized *Kubark*'s paradigms as relying on psychological assessment, screening, the creation and release of

controlled stress, isolation, and regression, all of which are used by interrogators to "help" the interrogation subject "concede."

The Impacts of Funding Fronts

Harold Wolff died in 1962, a year before the CIA finished the *Kubark* manual; Hinkle remained at Cornell for decades. Without fanfare, the Human Ecology Fund closed its doors on June 30, 1965 (*AAAFN* 1967 7[4]: 8). A decade later, its CIA ties were exposed. In the end, psychology was the discipline that provided the most useful MK-Ultra-funded interrogation research, but anthropology also unwittingly contributed to these programs.

It was no accident that the Senate's 1977 hearings investigating MK-Ultra's co-option of academic research did not probe into the details of Human Ecology's few witting academicians who sought and coordinated academic research that aligned with the covert interests of the CIA. When CIA psychologist John Gittinger's testimony drifted into discussions of the individuals working within Human Ecology who knew of the CIA's secret sponsorship of unwitting researchers, Senator Edward Kennedy stopped Gittinger and told him that the committee was "not interested in names or institutions, so we prefer that you do not [identify them]. That has to be worked out in arrangements between [DCI] Admiral Turner and the individuals and the institutions. But we're interested in what the Foundation really was and how it functioned and what its purpose was" (U.S. Senate 1977: 59).[28] The Senate's decision to not delve further into the campus-CIA articulations leaves us with only outlines of how these interactions worked.[29] Though the Senate did not investigate the specific individuals involved in MK-Ultra's academic links, John Marks documented how cardiologist Lawrence E. Hinkle Jr. and neurologist Harold G. Wolff became the heart and mind of Human Ecology's CIA inquiries.

In one sense, the details of Human Ecology's use of CIA funds to commission specific research are extraordinary; in another sense, they are not. Given congressional and media revelations of the extent of covert CIA funding of unwitting academics during this period, perhaps the most remarkable feature of this Human Ecology research is that we can trace the CIA funds and what CIA project it was used for—*not* that it was financed by CIA funds (U.S. Senate 1976: 182).

MK-Ultra's covert use of Human Ecology to fund this stress research gave the CIA what it wanted: access to selective pieces from an elegant analytical cross-cultural model explaining human responses to stress. It did not matter

that the model was produced in public by scholars with different intentions; the CIA had its own private uses for the work it funded. As Alan Howard clarified, the abuse of his and Scott's work was facilitated by the CIA's secrecy and the unknown dual use dimensions of the project:

> 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 DHP 6/7/07)

Howard, Scott, and most other scholars who received Human Ecology funds did nothing wrong. They undertook research designed to understand stress in an environment they had every reason to believe was striving to improve health and the understanding of stress's role in disease; that hidden sponsors had other uses for this work was not their fault.

But the same cannot be said of the CIA. The agency's ethical misconduct in using the Human Ecology Fund to conduct research hinged on lying to the scholars the CIA funded about where grant money came from; lying about what their results would be used for; and, more fundamentally, designing and implementing inhumane interrogation methods. But despite the ethical depravity of using unwitting outsourced scholars to gather data to be used for degenerate ends, the CIA understood that open academic research conducted by scholars operating "freely" outside of the constraints of an agency like the CIA produced high-quality work.

Military and intelligence agencies' misappropriation of anthropological research for their own ends creates serious problems for unwitting academic servants. Howard and Scott intended for their stress research to add to a literature concerned with *improving health*, yet their research was selectively funded and reviewed by those who would use it for *harm*, not healing.