

Academia and the National Security State

David A. Hughes

Study Group on Technology and Power

davidahughes.net, dhughes.substack.com

Omniwar 4: The Capture of Academia
Symposium, October 10-11, 2026

Introduction

In this presentation, I trace a century of corruption of US academia:

- reliance on Wall Street and foundation funding
- the militarisation of scientific research during and after World II
- the Academy's deep embeddedness in the US national security state
- and up to the present day

My thesis is that academia, in the United States and elsewhere, has betrayed its civic duty and the public trust invested in it by becoming an embedded, mercenary force serving the interests of the Establishment

US Academia and Wall Street

Harvard, with the largest endowment at the time, had a J.P. Morgan management; its largest donor was Standard Oil (including its key owner families, the Whitneys, Harknesses, and Rockefellers). Yale (with the second largest endowment) had essentially the same donor base, though slightly more dispersed, and was under Morgan-Rockefeller joint management. The University of Chicago (fourth largest endowment) was of course an original Rockefeller-run institution; MIT (seventh) was under Du Pont management [...]
And so on and so forth. (van der Pijl, 2014, p. 79)

“The large endowments of these institutions required constant consultation with the financiers of Wall Street” (Quigley, 1966)



US Academia and Wall Street

It is understandable that universities and research organizations, dependent on financial aid from foundations that are controlled by this same New York financial elite, would hardly want to support and to publish research on [certain] aspects of international politics. The bravest of trustees is unlikely to bite the hand that feeds his organization. (Sutton, 2016, p.11)

Anti-establishment literature is rare in academia (Sutton, 2016, pp. 168, 173)

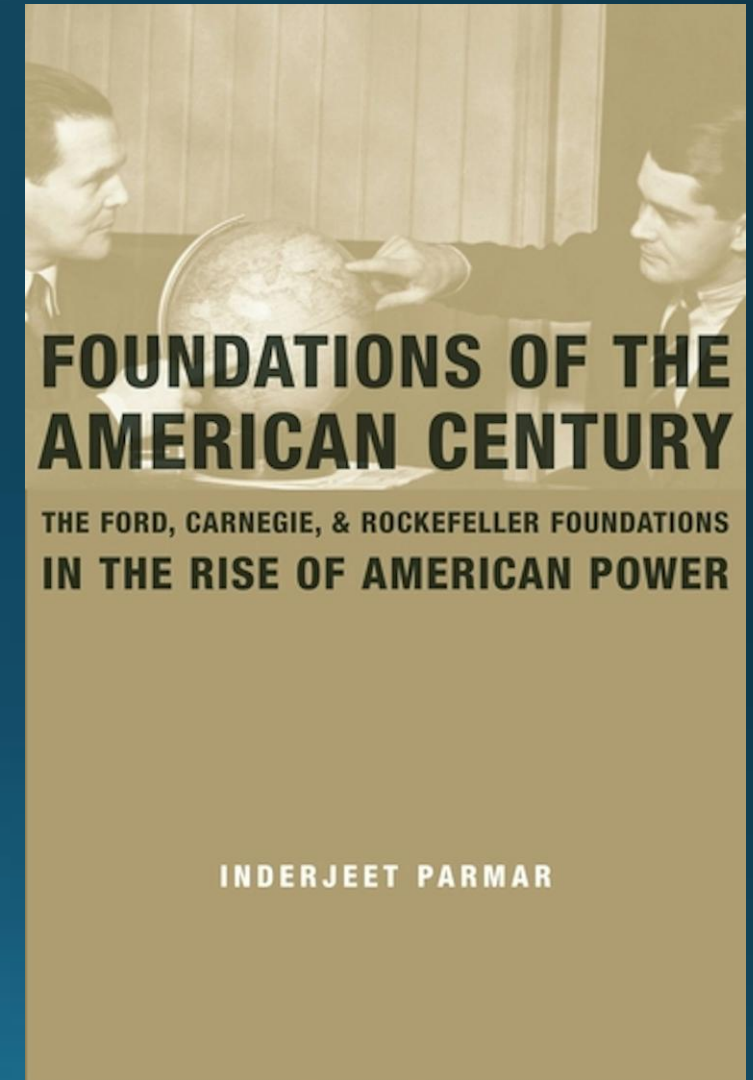


Foundation Funding

[T]he foundations do not control, simply because, in the simple and direct sense of the word, there is no need for them to do so. They have only to indicate the immediate direction of their minds for the whole university world to discover that it always meant to gravitate swiftly to that angle of the intellectual compass. (Laski, cited in Parmar, 2012, p. 61)

By 1934 in the United States, foundation funding exceeded federal spending on education (van der Pijl, 2014, p. 79)

“Those who live in anticipation of receiving foundation grants are the more servile” (Lindeman, 1936, p. 19)



WWII and the Militarization of Scientific Research

At the start of World War II, virtually all of the scientific talent of the country resided in universities and private industry. The United States military did not have a large, research-oriented scientific establishment, but had a growing need for scientific knowledge [...] Through arrangements with academia, the US military established centers of excellence that developed radar, artillery fuses, atomic weapons, and a new and esoteric discipline of applied mathematics, operations research. Office of Technology Assessment (1995, pp. 12-14)



Receiver lab of the MIT Rad Lab, 1941 | National Archives

The Postwar Militarisation of Scientific Research

- Ethically problematic in peace time (Wiener, 1947)
- RAND Corporation (1948)
- Operations Evaluation Group (1945)
- Operations Research Office (1948)
- National Science Foundation (1950)
- MIT's Lincoln Laboratory (1951)
- Special Operations Research Organisation (1956)



Federal Research Grants

“From the end of World War II until the 1970s, federal grants paid for 70% of university research. The largest federal donors were the Department of Defense, the US Atomic Energy Agency, and a dozen federal security agencies” (Brown, 2020)

“The prospect of domination of the nation’s scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present and is gravely to be regarded” (Eisenhower, 1961)



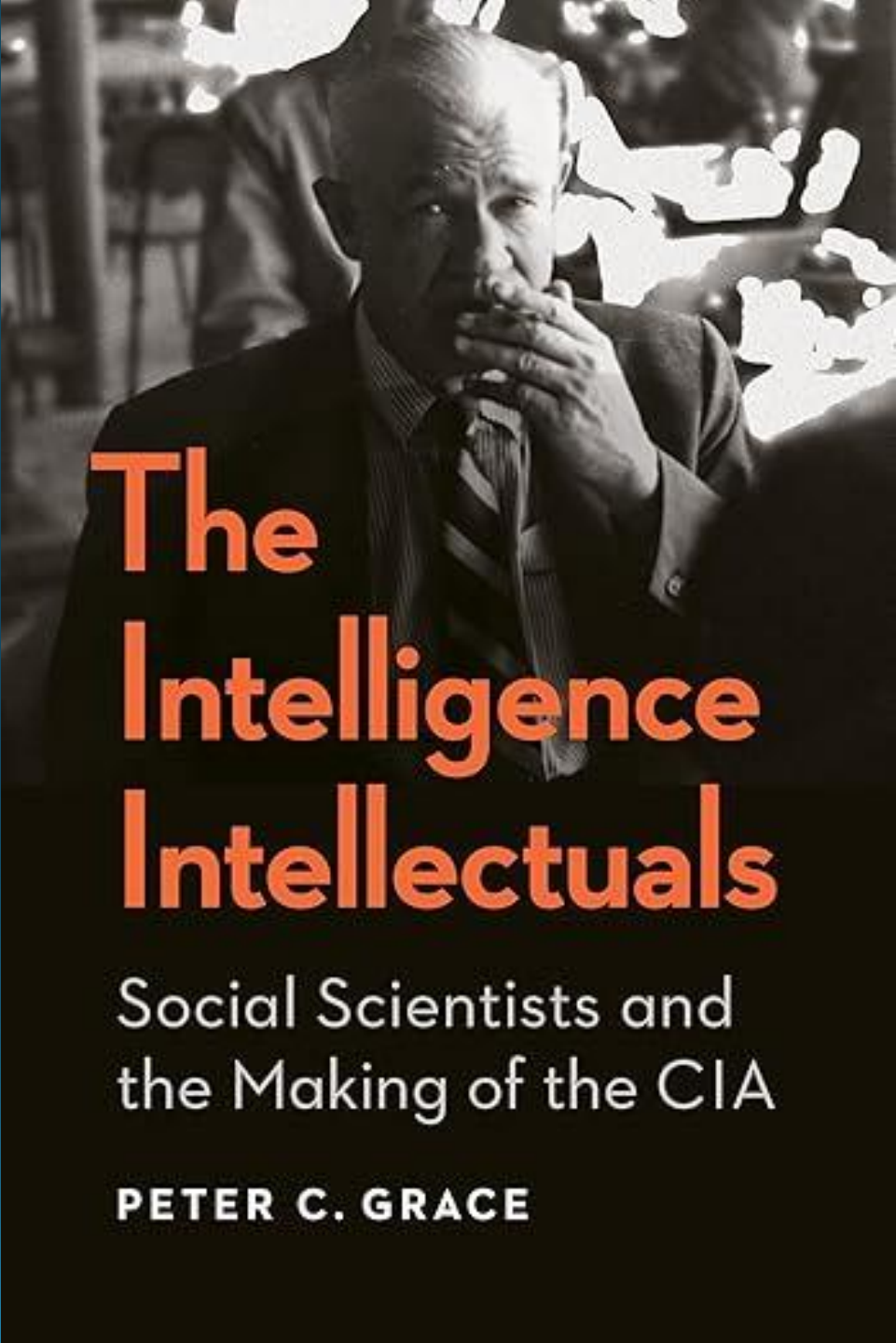
Social Science as Intelligence Gathering

The social sciences received 30% as much federal funding as the natural sciences between 1950-1982 (Klinger, 2019, p. 13)

“Academic intelligence base” (van der Pilj, 2014, p. 48)

US social scientists were called upon to “supply policy-makers with usable knowledge and understanding of the world and its strategic countries, regions, and underlying transformative social, political, and ideological forces” (Parmar, 2011, p. 183)

Creation of new fields (Area Studies, Soviet Studies, Development Studies) and development of International Relations



The Intelligence Intellectuals

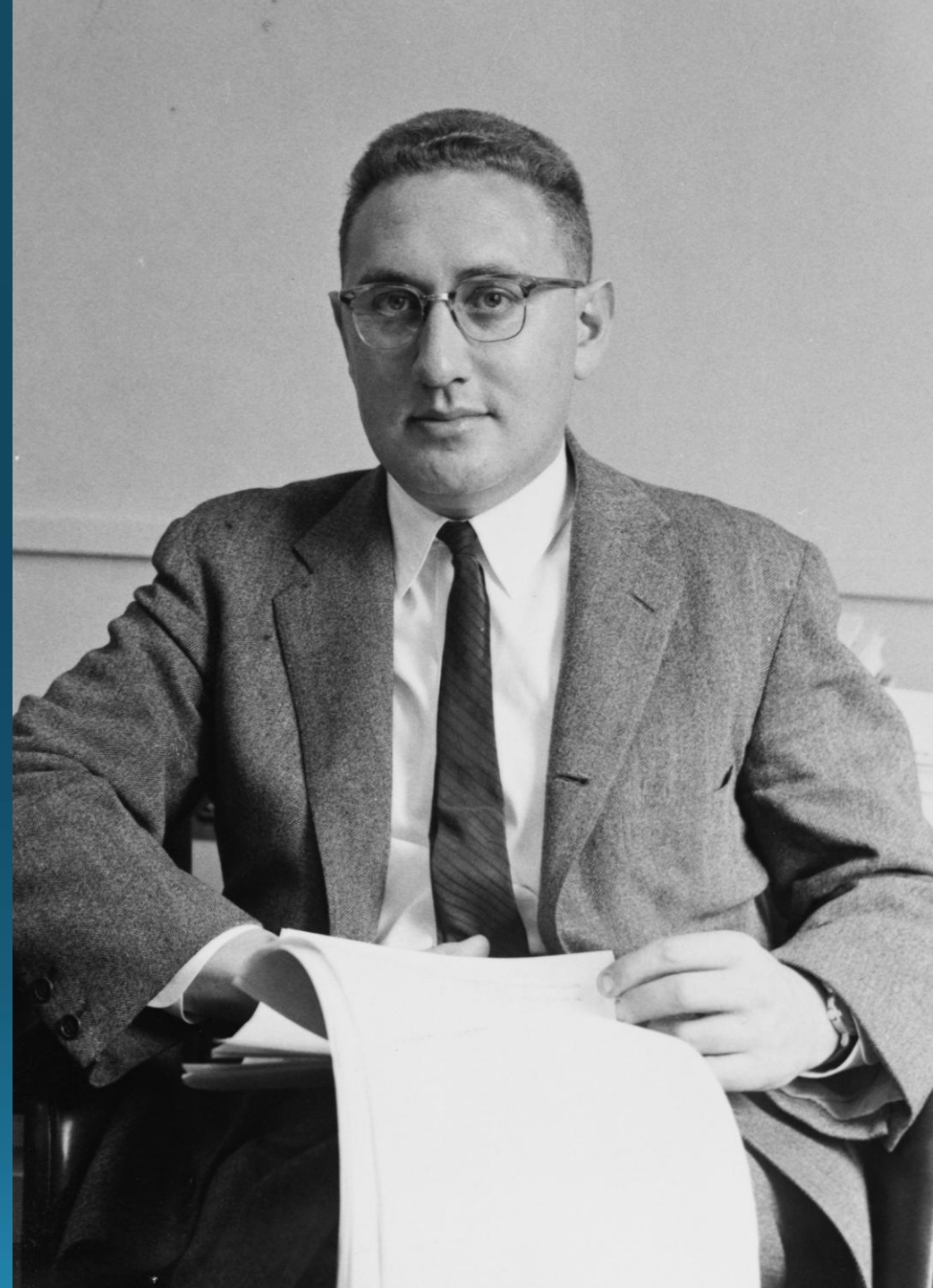
Social Scientists and
the Making of the CIA

PETER C. GRACE

Harvard's International Seminar

Invited foreigners who were “highly placed economically and politically in their own nation” and could be used “to place American policy in a favorable light in these foreign nations” (cited in Faludi, 1979)

Financed entirely through grants from private foundations, several of which were exposed as CIA conduits in 1967



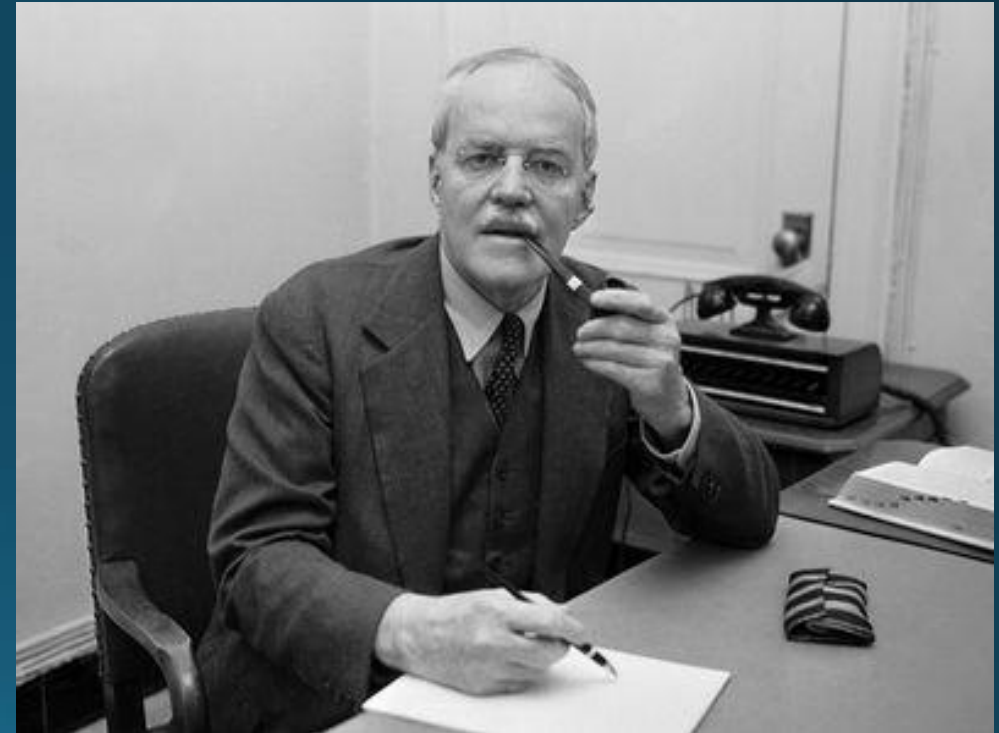
Psychological Warfare

Academics played a key part in the development of psychological warfare (Simpson, 1994)

Project Troy (1950)

The Psychological Strategy Board (1951-1953) coordinated psychological warfare and propaganda activities across different parts of the US government. Renowned social scientists were appointed to the board (Oren, 2003, p.145)

44 US/Canadian universities participated in the CIA's MKULTRA programme (1953-1963)



MKULTRA mastermind Allen W. Dulles

The Ford Foundation and Attacks on Marxism

“Making the world safe for capitalism”

The Congress for Cultural Freedom – to “nudge the intelligentsia of western Europe away from its lingering fascination with Marxism and Communism towards a view more accommodating of ‘the American way’” (Stonor Saunders, 2000, p. 1)

A report “independent of the foundation, arrived at objectively and in accordance with accepted canons of scholarship, [...] to discredit academic Marxism, particularly in Western Europe” (Berman, 1983, p. 31)



The Ford Foundation and Behaviouralism

Ford/CIA (1953)

Behaviouralism “emphasized arcane methodological principles, models, and elaborate data collection techniques, while avoiding vital political issues, such as racial and gender inequality, labor strife, poverty, and the sources of imperial warfare” (Barrow, 2017, p. 445)

90% of Political Science funding came from Ford (Somit & Tanenhaus, 1967)

Other approaches marginalised



Finding a Coherent Theory of Society and Politics

The Soviet Union had in Marxism a theoretical basis for society that commanded widespread approval and respect in the mid 20th century, not only within the communist bloc, but also within large sections of the Left in the West

In contrast, the West was characterised by “the absence of a coherent theory of society and politics,” which created “ideological confusion,” prompting the need for a “democratic ideological consensus” (Almond, 1950, p. 235)

“The creation of a creed that could unify American elites in the same way that Communist elites could rally around Leninism” (Gilman, 2007, p. 53)

Consensus History

A rejection of class-based historiography

Liberalism elevated as the “sole intellectual tradition” in the United States (Trilling, 1950), which was “born liberal” (Hartz, 1955)

A perversion of history for ideological purposes

The foundations had sought to effect “the alteration of the teaching of American History” (Dodd, 1982)



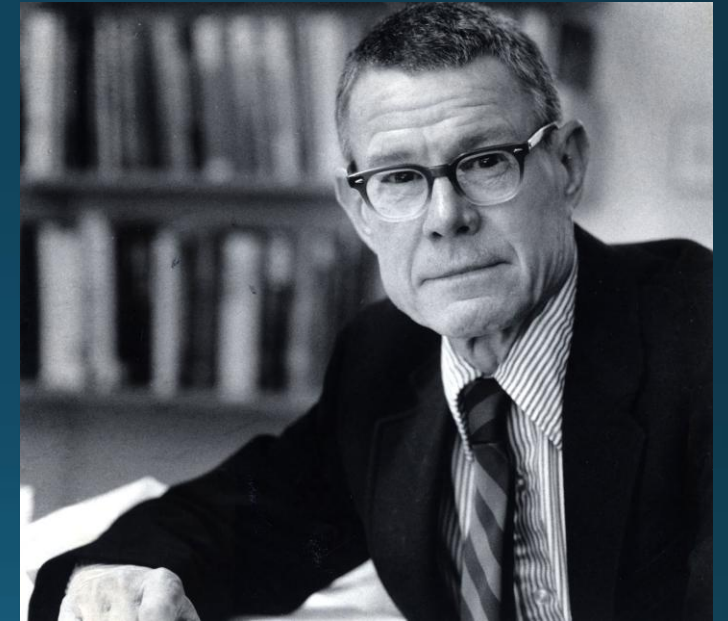
Consensus historian
Louise Hartz

Defence Intellectuals

“a university which does not try to develop to a maximal degree the interest, cooperation, and understanding between its staff members and those of the National Defense forces is not doing its full job” (Bundy, 1955)

A “new academic profession [that] grew in size and influence” in the 1950s, before moving in 1961 “into the Establishment, the Departments of State and Defence” (Schelling, 1979, p.1)

“The scholar entered only as a servant of power, an advisor to those who had real power” (Solovey, 2001, p. 196)



Harvard's Thomas Schelling

Reason in the Service of Empire

The United States had exercised “restraint” during the Korean War because it did not bomb anywhere in China or use nuclear weapons (Schelling, 2020, pp. 124-130)

The US Air Force dropped more bomb tonnage on North Korea (including napalm) than it had dropped on the entire Pacific theatre during World War II, killing a staggering 10-15% of the population (Armstrong, 2009, p. 1)

A “growing lack of concern for truth” and “a real or feigned naiveté about American actions that reaches startling proportions” (Chomsky, 1967)



The Princeton Consultants

T. Cuyler Young (Near Eastern Studies, Princeton), Klaus Knorr (Strategic Studies, Princeton), Joseph Strayer (Medieval History, Princeton), Cyril Black (Soviet Studies, Princeton), William Langer (History, Harvard), Robert Bowie (International Studies, Harvard), Max Millikan (International Studies, MIT), Raymond Sontag (European History, Berkeley), Calvin Hoover (Soviet Economics, Duke), James Billington (History, Princeton), and Lucian Pye (Political Science, MIT), Philip E. Mosely (Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations), Hamilton Fish Armstrong (editor, *Foreign Affairs*), Caryl P. Haskins (Director, Carnegie Institution), Harold F. Linder (Assistant Secretary of State)

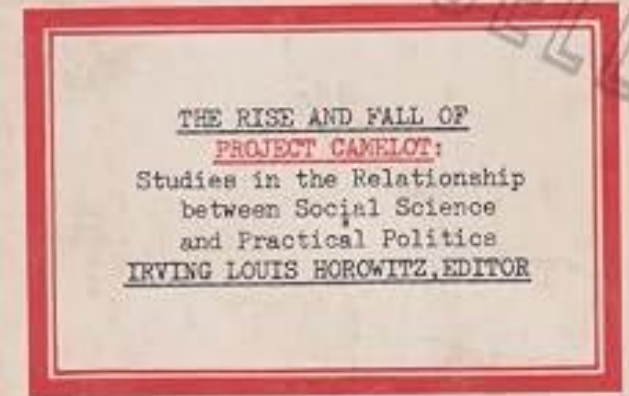
“could have served as an intelligence base for the series of brutal and often illegal covert operations of the 1950s and 1960s (and possibly also the 1970s) [...]” (Cavanagh, 1980)

Project Camelot

A Pentagon counter-insurgency project funded through the Special Operations Research Organisation

\$6 billion being spent on research into precluding communist revolution in 30 developing countries (Solovey, 2001, p. 171). Many leading US political scientists in the United States were involved

“Customising research itself and turning universities and think tanks into extensions of the American war machine” (van der Pijl, 2014, p. 163)



CIA/Ford and the Coup in Indonesia

Fellowships for Indonesian students at Berkeley, Yale, Cornell

A suite of US-trained economists were installed as Indonesian administrators to work under the indirect rule of the United States (Ransom, 1974, p. 96)

The coup, which led to the destruction of the third largest communist party in the world and the massacre of hundreds of thousands of people, had the complicity of “both the US political authorities and the social scientists funded by the big foundations” (van der Pijl, 2014, p. 174)



General Suharto

The American Political Science Association Scandal (1967)

Director Evron Kirkpatrick and treasurer Max Kampelman were president and vice-president of a CIA front organisation

“Orchestration of propaganda disguised as academic scholarship” (Oren, 2003, pp. 155-156)

Receipt of CIA funds through conduits



CIA Influence On Campus

“CIA-connected faculty were so influential in the 1960s that they made critics who stood for academic principle look like wild-eyed radicals” (Cumings, 1997, p. 19)

Social science should be placed in service of the CIA (Pool, 1966, p. 111)

“No federal agency shall provide any covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation’s educational or private voluntary organizations” (Katzenbach Commission)

A federal law prohibited the CIA from funding covert university research (Trumpbour, 1991, p. 14)



The Katzenbach Commission

Ongoing CIA Sponsorship of Academic Research after 1967

100s of professors at 100+ US colleges/universities anonymously continued researching and writing books and journal articles secretly funded by the CIA (Johnson, 2019, p. 3)

UC vice-president Earl Clinton Bolton recommended defences for academics accused of CIA connections as well as a "very well considered, affirmative public relations program" for academic CIA work (cited in Cavanagh, 1980)

US intelligence depends more "on a community of scholars than on a network of spies" (DCI George H.W. Bush, 1976)



“Policy-oriented Intellectuals”

“Experts and specialists, who become involved in special governmental undertakings,”
“house-ideologues for those in power”
(Brzezinski, cited in Chomsky, 1969, p. 32)

“Value-oriented” vs. “policy-oriented”
intellectuals (Crozier et al., 1975)

The Ford Foundation “wanted to transplant into Chile an ‘American’ model of the policy-oriented social scientist” (Parmar, 2012, p. 191)

1973 Chilean coup modelled on 1965
Indonesian coup



Chilean army tanks advancing past the
Presidential Palace in Santiago

Propaganda Masquerading as Scholarship

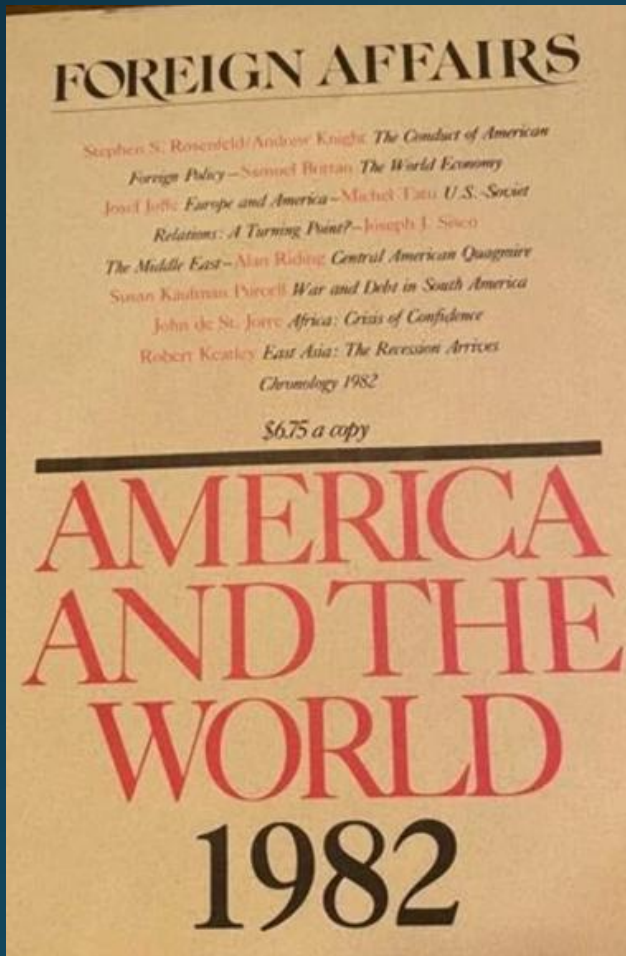
Rarely was the United States portrayed in the mass media or mainstream academic scholarship as engaged in the positive pursuit of its own economic-imperial interests at the expense of any people standing in its way; nor are its exploits described as subversion or outright aggression. (Herman and Chomsky, 1979, p. 68)

E.g., the tendency to paint China as “expansionist” and the United States as *responding* to Chinese aggression

Propaganda Masquerading as Scholarship

In which of these cases was American intervention motivated by concern for human rights and espousal of liberal, pluralistic democracies? It remains a matter of great interest and importance that such utter nonsense can be produced with a straight face and be taken seriously in journalism and academic scholarship. (Chomsky, 1982, p. 94)

Cf. Pravda propaganda “taken seriously not only by the authorities but by the intellectuals” (Ellul, 2006, p. 9)



CIA Influence in the Reagan Era

1984: a scheme under which the National Security Council would determine which research best served US government interests

“Lucrative Pentagon contracts and a close relationship with the CIA” had already “tied many universities closely to the ‘national security apparatus’” and many US professors had “no qualms about doing research for the CIA and the Pentagon” (Ege, 1984, p. 43)

“As long as the university functions as a service agency for the CIA, or as a cover for its ‘academic’ and propaganda purposes, any claim to the university’s role as an open and democratic institution is farce” (UC Student Cooperative Union)



Harvard and the CIA

Samuel Huntington and Nadav Safran (director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies) were exposed as ongoing recipients of CIA funding

The CIA in 1986 funded a study by Huntington and his Harvard colleague Richard K. Betts

Ernest May and Richard Neustadt received a \$1.2 million grant from the CIA in 1988

President Derek Bok expressed commitment to conducting what he called “open research for the CIA” (Trumpbour, 1991, p. 15)



Harvard and the Military

Harvard's Kennedy School of Government saw a more than *tenfold* increase in endowment under Dean Graham Allison (1977-1988)" (Trumpbour, 1991, p. 15)

A "National Security Fellows" programme was initiated at the Kennedy School in 1984 that enrolled senior military leaders from the United States and abroad

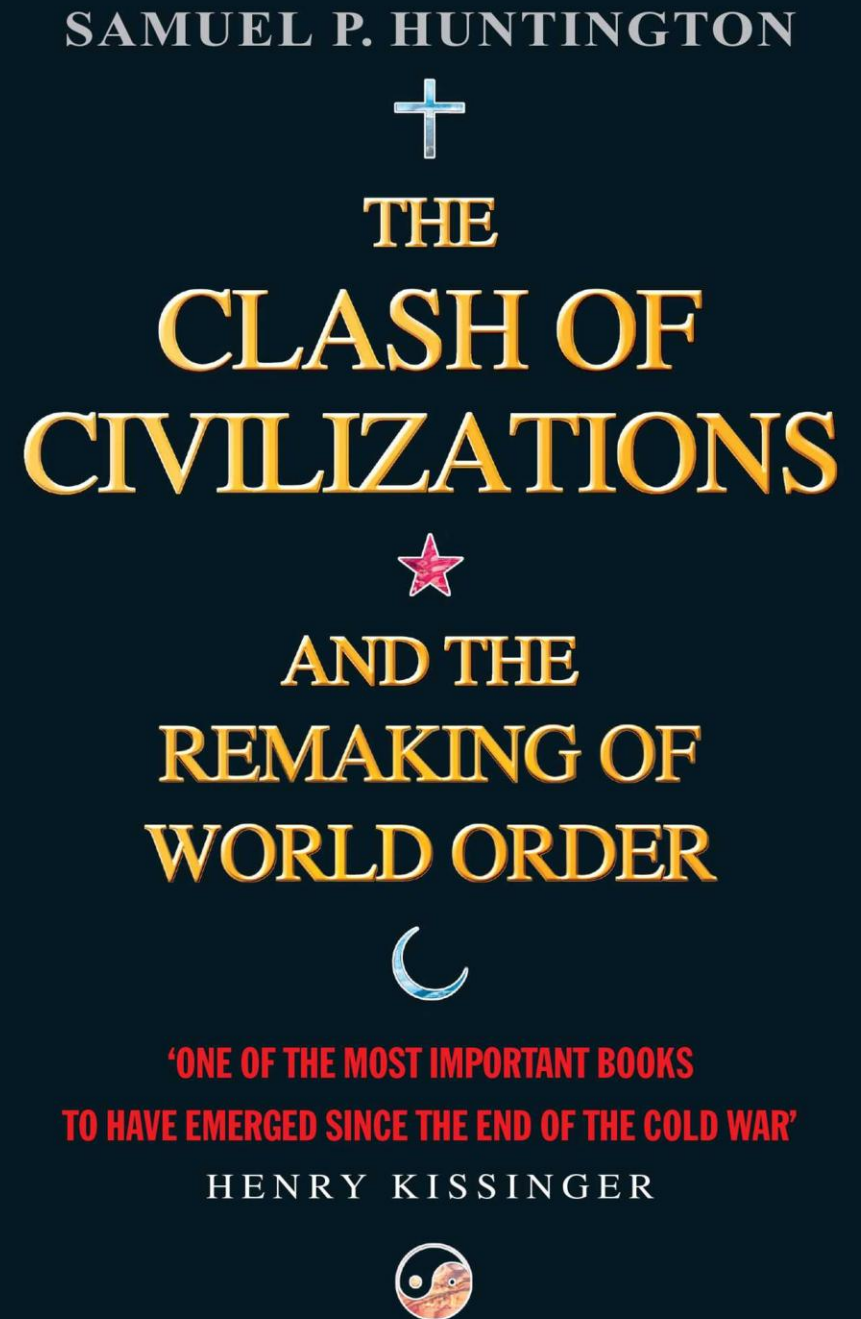
Harvard academics lined up in support of US involvement in the Persian Gulf War, including the Kennedy School's Richard Haass, two former deans of the Kennedy School (Graham Allison and Joseph Nye), Nadav Safran, and Laurie Mylroie (Trumpbour, 1991, p. 15)



Manufacturing the “Muslim Threat”

Although conventional state-based threats to the United States largely disappeared in 1989, new threats would emerge rooted in culture and religion: “Islam” in particular would pose a danger to “the West” (Huntington, 1993)

Enemies “might attempt to punish the United States by triggering catastrophes in American cities,” specifically citing the threat of a “secretive radical Islamic group” (Betts, 1998, pp. 27, 39)

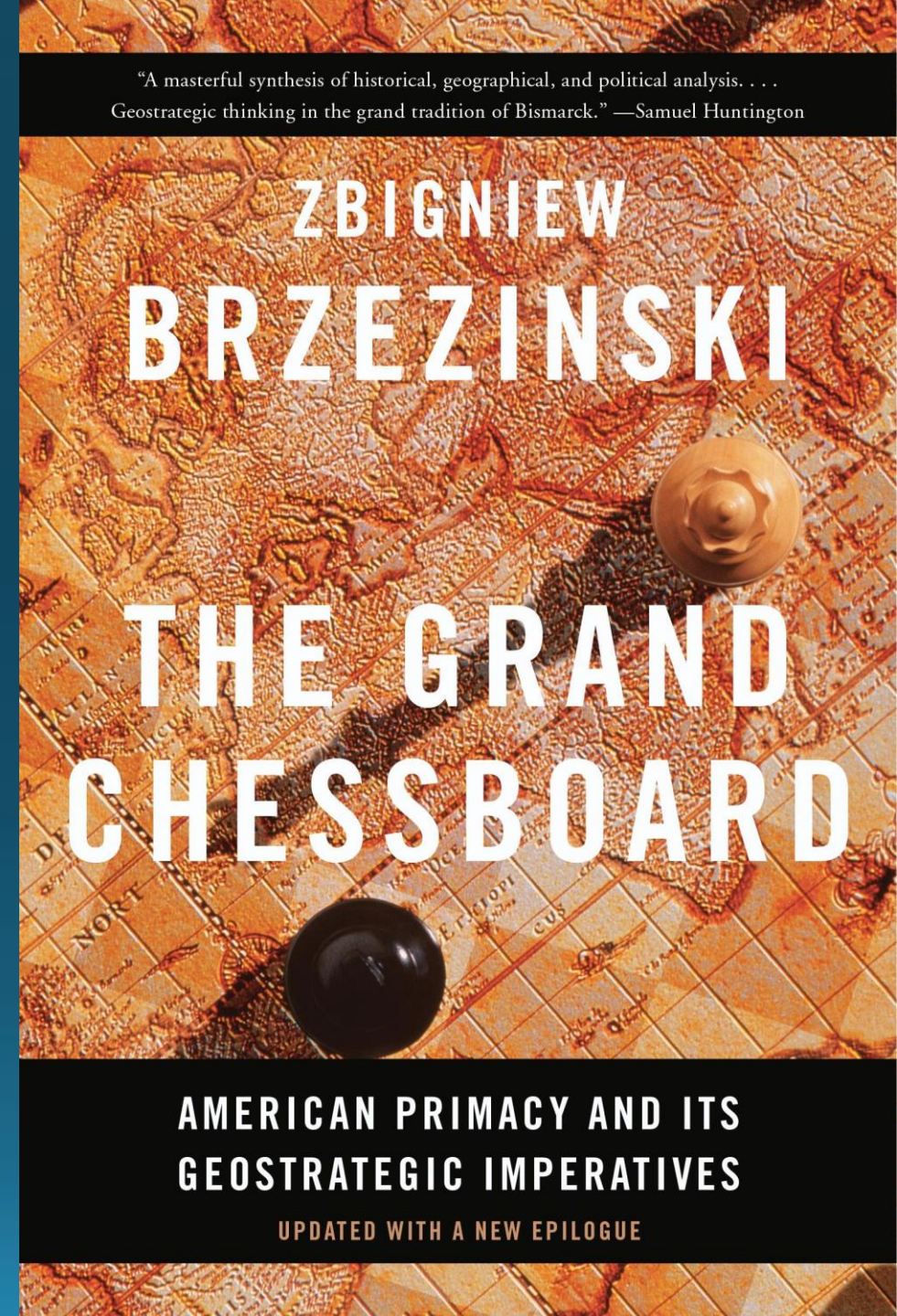


The New Pearl Harbour

US citizens “supported America’s engagement in World War II, largely because of the shock effect of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor” (Brzezinski, 1997, p. 25)

A “transforming event” that would, “like Pearl Harbour [...] divide our past and future into a before and after,” leading to “draconian measures, scaling back civil liberties, allowing wider surveillance of citizens, detention of suspects, and use of deadly force” (Carter, Deutsch, & Zelikow, 1998, p. 81)

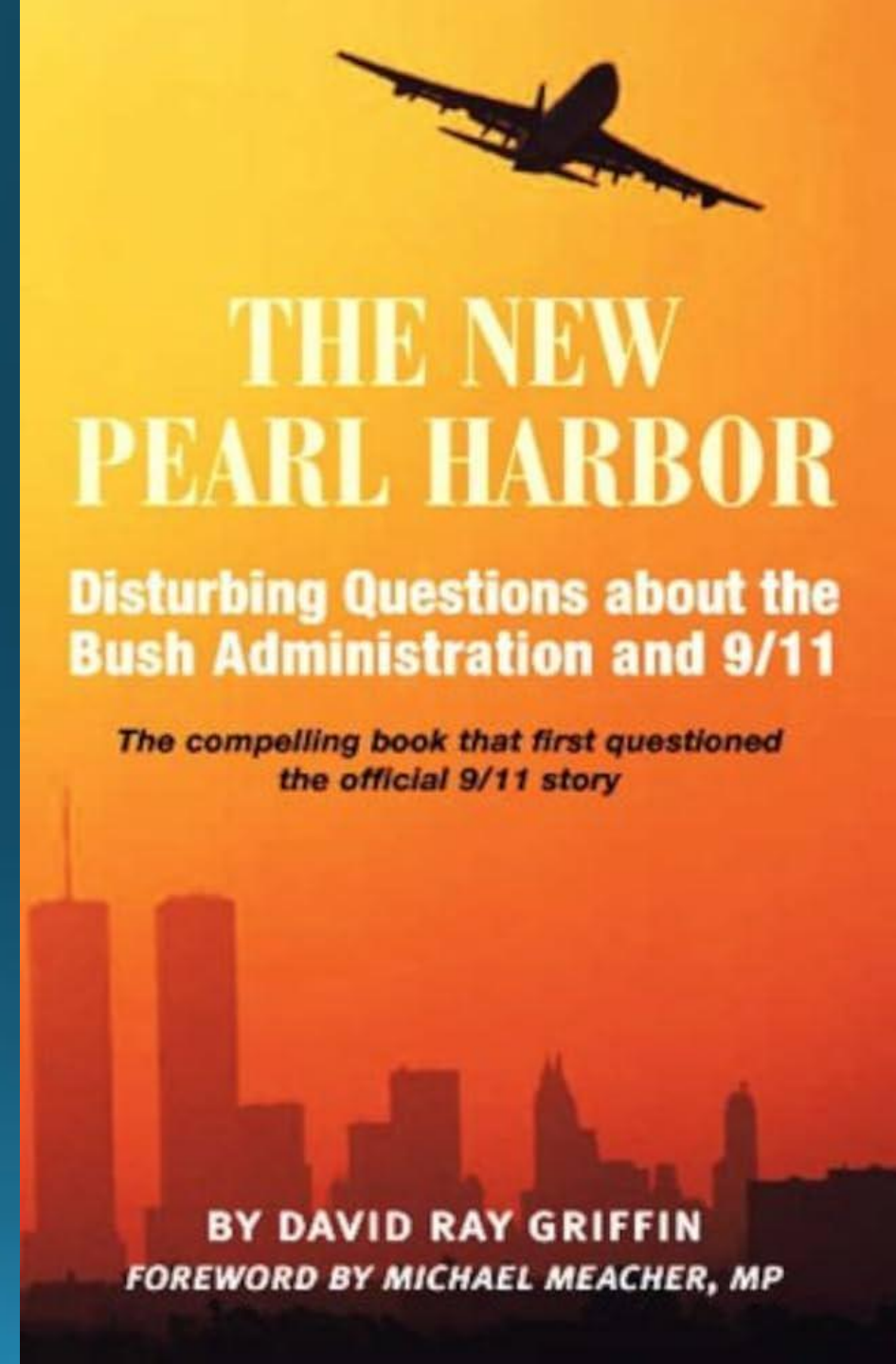
“Absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event – like a new Pearl Harbour” (PNAC, 2000)



“9/11”: Prophecy Fulfilled

Muslims were blamed for the act of catastrophic terrorism on US soil that was used as the pretext for the so-called “War on Terror”

Anthrax attacks 3 months after Dark Winter: that “Iraq might have provided the technology behind the attacks to terrorist groups based in Afghanistan” (see Hughes, 2026)



Academic Support for the Official “9/11” Narrative

For 25 years, academics have, with very few exceptions, maintained a shameful refusal to examine the scientific evidence regarding the events of “9/11” (Hughes, 2020)

“The discovery that the official narrative about 9/11 [i]s a lie [sh]ould be a discovery of first importance. And yet thus far the mainstream media and most members of the academy have refused to explore the evidence that has been presented for [the] alternative narrative” (Griffin & Scott, 2006, p. vii)

No member of the academic intelligence base “will tolerate let alone initiate serious research into the backgrounds and implications of the War on Terror”; instead, “they subscribe to an obvious hoax” (van der Pijl, 2014, p. 234)

Academic Support for the “War on Terror”

60 hawkish academics published a statement in the *Washington Post* in February 2002 (Institute for American Values, 2002)

The Academy became “self-pacifying”; a “loyal intelligentsia” had been “seamlessly integrated into the system” through “a combination of governmental contracts, corporate and foundation funds, joint projects involving university and corporate researchers, and wealthy individual donors” (Wolin, 2008, p. 68)

What We’re Fighting For *A Letter from America*

AT TIMES it becomes necessary for a nation to defend itself through force of arms. Because war is a grave matter, involving the sacrifice and taking of precious human life, conscience demands that those who would wage the war state clearly the moral reasoning behind their actions, in order to make plain to one another, and to the world community, the principles they are defending.

We affirm five fundamental truths that pertain to all people without distinction:

- 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.*
- 2. The basic subject of society is the human person, and the legitimate role of government is to protect and help to foster the conditions for human flourishing.*
- 3. Human beings naturally desire to seek the truth about life’s purpose and ultimate ends.*
- 4. Freedom of conscience and religious freedom are inviolable rights of the human person.*
- 5. Killing in the name of God is contrary to faith in God and is the greatest betrayal of the universality of religious faith.*

We fight to defend ourselves and to defend these universal principles.

The Militarisation of 21st Century Universities

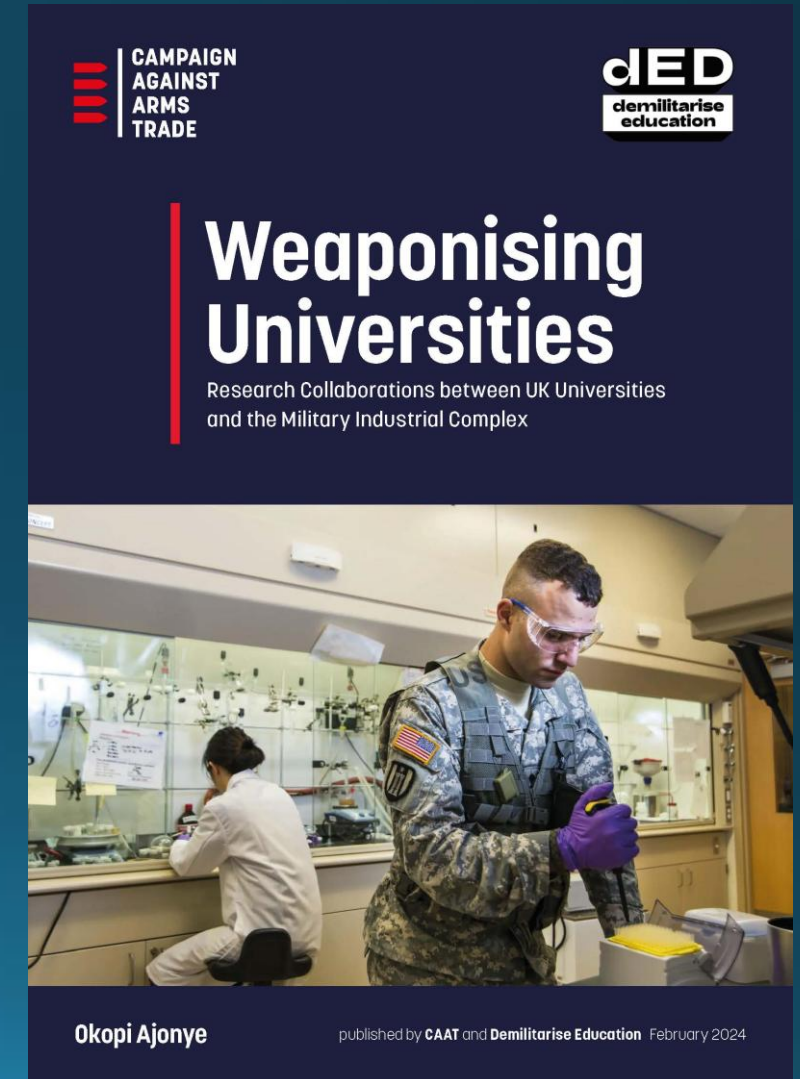
Academia became increasingly militarised after “9/11” (Giroux, 2009; Stavrianakis, 2006; Scripps, 2018)

350 US colleges/universities were engaged in Pentagon-funded research in 2002

DARPA’s Young Faculty Award (2006)

“Operationally relevant social science research” in its model of the “human terrain system” (Sims, 2015)

“Enormous DoD research contracts” and funding from weapons corporations. Many trustees and executives have military connections. Universities maintain tight collaboration with military institutes, run Reserve Officer Training Corps programmes, and serve to normalise militarism (Roelofs, 2021)



Academia and the World Economic Forum

The Global University Leaders Forum (est. 2006): “an invitation only community of global, forward-thinking, and solution-oriented university leaders who are committed to supporting the Forum’s mission of improving the state of the world” (WEF, n.d.)

Two of those university leaders, Mark Dodgson (Queensland) and Oxford pro-Vice Chancellor David Gann (2020), wrote for the WEF in 2020 that “universities must redouble their efforts to work alongside corporations, governments and NGOs as they search for new business models and policies to assist ‘the Great Reset’”

A banner for the Global University Leaders Forum featuring a background of colorful, out-of-focus bokeh lights in shades of blue, purple, and gold.

Global University Leaders Forum

The Global University Leaders Forum (GULF) is an invitation only community of global, forward-thinking, and solution-oriented university leaders who are committed to supporting the Forum's mission of improving the state of the world. The leaders convene to exchange ideas and collaborate with Forum centres, communities, and initiatives on matters of common interest, including those relating to higher education, research, and societal impact.

Conclusion

Through control of governmental and major foundations, as well as corporate and wealthy-individual funding, it has been no great matter to control not only what programs are funded, but to control the selection of instructors who move into controlling positions. (Marcus, 1974, pp. 8-9)

Through foundations controlled by this elite, research by compliant and spineless academics, 'conservatives' as well as 'liberals,' has been directed into channels useful for the objectives of the elite essentially to maintain this subversive and unconstitutional power apparatus. (Sutton, 2016, p. 173)

Conclusion

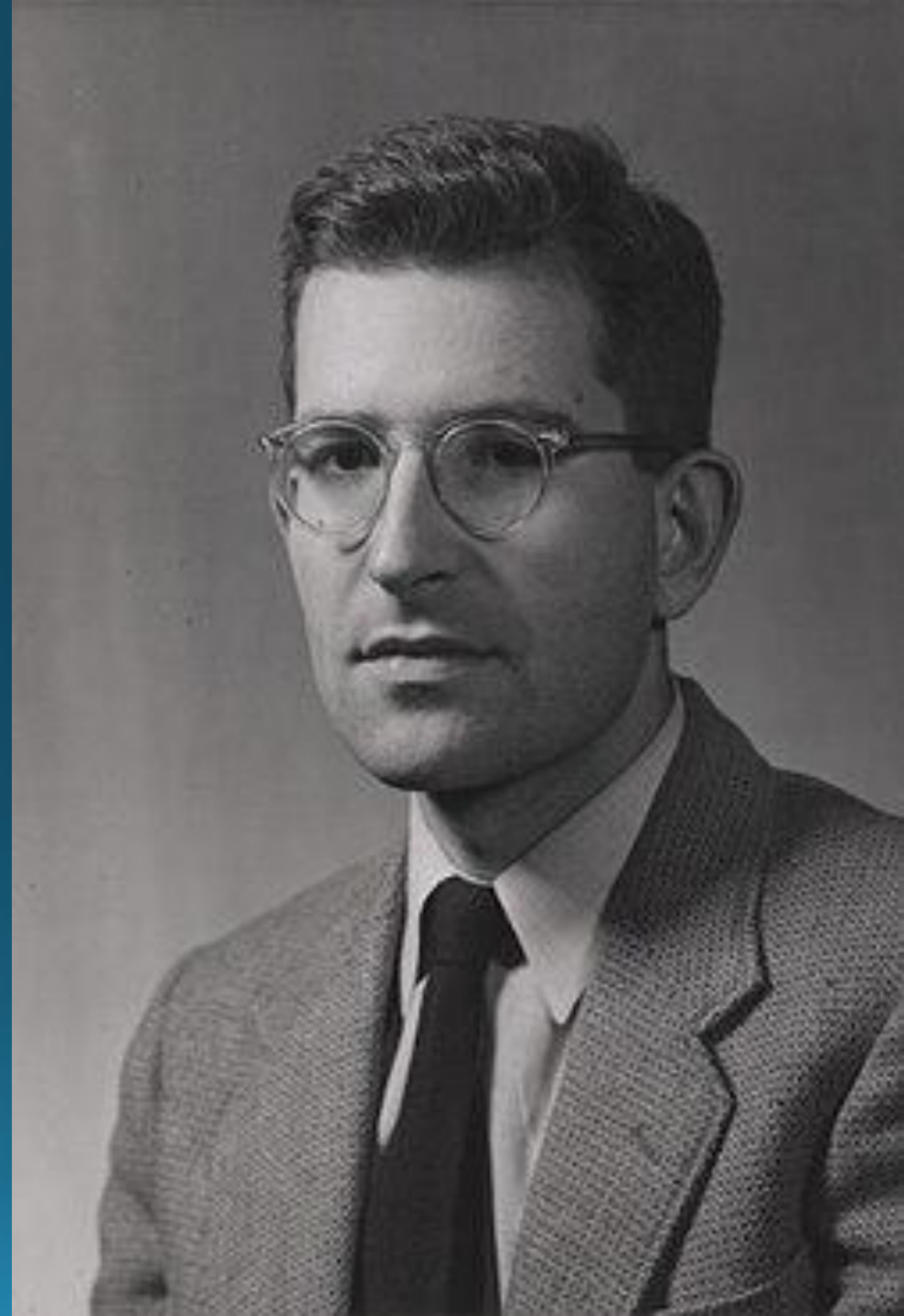
The conflux of the rise of tax-exempt foundations named after dead millionaires and [academics] seeking research funds provided new life to Marx's observation that "the more a dominant class is able to absorb the best people from the dominated class, the more solid and dangerous is its rule" (Price, 2016, p. 105)

"Ruthless criticism of all that exists, ruthless both in the sense of not being afraid of the results it arrives at and in the sense of being just as little afraid of conflict with the powers that be" (Marx, 1843). Academia today represents the opposite

Conclusion

Power must hide under the guises of morality in order to be effective, and for its actions to appear legitimate. In this task, power is likely to court scholars because of their role as the guardians of truth. Power will do its best to corrupt scholars and to lead them to justify power politics [...] (Cozette, 2008, p. 21)

Intellectuals are in a position to expose the lies of governments [...] For a privileged minority, Western democracy provides the leisure, the facilities, and the training to seek the truth lying hidden behind the veil of distortion and misrepresentation, ideology and class interest, through which the events of current history are presented to us. The responsibilities of intellectuals, then, are much deeper than [for ordinary people], given the unique privileges that intellectuals enjoy. (Chomsky, 1967)



Conclusion

If that was true in the late 1960s, how much worse is the problem today? Through a quarter of a century of silence regarding the events of “9/11,” academia has served to legitimise the Big Lie from which all the horrors of the “War on Terror” have flowed

Academia’s complicity in the atrocities of the Covid era is a topic all of its own

Today, universities are helping to develop technologies used for predictive policing, automated warfare, mass surveillance, and forms of digital authoritarianism, using the language of national security to justify their actions. Such technologies serve to “deepen inequality, expand state violence, erode civil liberties, and facilitate the killing of civilians, including children” (Giroux, 2026)

The mercenary embeddedness of academia in matters of “national security” means that it is not fundamentally acting for the good of society or in the interests of truth

Reference List

- Almond, G. A. (1950). *The American people and foreign policy*. Harcourt, Brace, and Company.
- Armstrong, C. K. (2010). The destruction and reconstruction of North Korea, 1950–1960. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 7(1), 1–9.
- Atomic Heritage Foundation. (2014, June 5). Security and Secrecy. <https://ahf.nuclearmuseum.org/ahf/history/security-and-secrecy/>.
- Barrow, C. W. (2017). The political and intellectual origins of new political science. *New Political Science*, 39(4), 437–472.
- Berman, E. H. (1983). *The influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American foreign policy: The ideology of philanthropy*. State University of New York Press.
- Betts, R. K. (1998). The new threat of mass destruction. *Foreign Affairs*, 77(1), 26–41. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20048360>.
- Brown, K. (2020). The big secret in the academy is that most research is secret. *Academe Magazine*. <https://www.aaup.org/academe/issues/106-1/big-secret-academy-most-research-secret>.
- Brzezinski, Z. (1997). *The grand chessboard: American primacy and its geostrategic imperatives*. Basic Books.
- Cavanagh, J. (1980, April 29). Dulles papers reveal CIA consulting network. *Forerunner*. <http://www.namebase.net:82/campus/consult.html>.
- Carter, A. B., Deutsch, J., & Zelikow, P. (1998). Catastrophic terrorism: Tackling the new danger. *Foreign Affairs*, 77(6), 80–94. <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/catastrophic-terrorism-tackling-new-danger>.
- Chomsky, N. (1967, February 23). The responsibility of intellectuals. *The New York Review of Books*. <https://chomsky.info/19670223/>.
- Chomsky, N. (1969, January 2). The menace of liberal scholarship. *The New York Review of Books*, 11, 29–38. <https://chomsky.info/19690102/>.

Reference List

Chomsky, N. (2002). *American power and the new mandarins*. Penguin.

Chomsky, N., & Herman, E. S. (1979). *The Washington connection and Third World fascism*. South End Press.

CIA Financial Links. (1967, April 15). *The Harvard Crimson*. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1967/4/15/cia-financial-links-phumphrey-doermanns-report/>.

Cozette, M. (2008). Reclaiming the critical dimension of realism: Hans J. Morgenthau on the ethics of scholarship. *Review of International Studies*, 34(1), 5–27. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210508007882>.

Crozier, M. J., Huntington, S. P., & Watanuki, J. (1975). *The crisis of democracy: Report on the governability of democracies to the Trilateral Commission*. New York University Press. http://www.trilateral.org/download/doc/crisis_of_democracy.pdf.

Cumings, B. (1997). Boundary displacement: Area studies and international studies during and after the Cold War. *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 29(1), 6–26.

Cumings, B. (1999). *Parallax visions: Making sense of American-East Asian relations*. Duke University Press.

Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency. (n.d.). *Young Faculty Award*. <https://www.darpa.mil/work-with-us/communities/academia/young-faculty-award>.

de Lint, W. B. (2021). *Blurring intelligence crime: A critical forensics*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-0352-5>.

Dodd, N. (1982). *Interview with G. Edward Griffin* [Interview transcript]. https://avalonlibrary.net/Norman_Dodd/Transcript_of_Norman_Dodd_Interview_w_G.%20Edward_Griffin_%281982%29.pdf.

Dodgson, M., & Gann, D. (2020, July 3). Great Reset: What university entrepreneurship can bring to the post-COVID world. *World Economic Forum*. <https://www.weforum.org/stories/health-and-healthcare-systems/university-entrepreneurship-post-covid-19-world/>.

Reference List

Ege, K. (1984, June-August). Rutgers University: Intelligence goes to college. *CounterSpy*, 42-4. <https://web.archive.org/web/20181116001051/http://www.namebase.net:82/campus/ege.html>.

Ellul, J. (2006). The characteristics of propaganda. In G. S. Jowett & V. O'Donnell (Eds.), *Readings in propaganda and persuasion: New and classic essays* (pp. 1–50). SAGE Publications.

Faludi, S.C. (1979, November 16). Kissinger, Harvard and the FBI. *The Harvard Crimson*. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1979/11/16/kissinger-harvard-and-the-fbi-phenry/>.

Gilman, N. (2007). *Mandarins of the future: Modernization theory in Cold War America*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Giroux, H. A. (2007b). *The university in chains: Confronting the military-industrial-academic complex*. Paradigm Publishers.

Giroux, H. A. (2026). Higher education must not become a research arm of militarized power. *Truthout*. <https://truthout.org/articles/higher-education-must-not-become-a-research-arm-of-militarized-power/>.

Griffin, D. R., & Scott, P. D. (Eds.). (2006). *9/11 and American empire: Intellectuals speak out*. Olive Branch Press.

Gunnell, J.G. (2001). The archaeology of American liberalism. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 6(2), 125–145.

Hartz, L. (1955). *The liberal tradition in America*. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.

Hofstadter, R. (1989). *The American political tradition and the men who made it*. Knopf.

Hughes, D. A. (2020). 9/11 truth and the silence of the IR discipline. *Alternatives*, 45(2), 55–82. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0304375419898334>.

Hughes, D. A. (2026, June 6). Johns Hopkins early bioterrorism scenarios. *David A. Hughes*. <https://dhughes.substack.com/p/johns-hopkins-early-bioterrorism>.

Reference List

Huntington, S. P. (1993). The clash of civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3), 22–49. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20045621>.

Institute for American Values. (2002). *What we're fighting for: A letter from America*. <https://www.instituteforamericanvalues.org/search/item.php?id=858>.

Klinger, J.M. (2019). *Social science and national security policy. Deterrence, coercion, and modernization theories*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11251-6>.

Quigley, Carroll. 1966. *Tragedy and Hope*. The Macmillan Company.

Johnson, L. K. (2019). Spies and scholars in the United States: Winds of ambivalence in the groves of academe. *Intelligence and National Security*, 34(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2018.1534559>.

MacQueen, G. (2014). *The 2001 anthrax deception: The case for a domestic conspiracy*. Clarity Press.

Marcus, L. (1974, April). The real CIA: The Rockefellers' fascist establishment. *The Campaigner*, 7(6), 5–36.

Marx, K. (1843, September). *Marx to Ruge*. Marxists Internet Archive. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/letters/43_09.htm.

McCoy, A. (2007). *A question of torture: CIA interrogation, from the Cold War to the War on Terror*. Henry Holt and Company.

Miyamoto, K. (2018). The CIA MKULTRA subproject 119 was their initial electromagnetic program, though not yielding any substantial methodologies. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3284813>.

Office of Technology Assessment. (1995). *A history of the Department of Defense federally funded research and development centers*. U.S. Congress. <https://www.princeton.edu/~ota/disk1/1995/9501/950105.PDF>.

Oren, I. (2003). *Our enemies and us: America's rivalries and the making of political science*. Cornell University Press.

Reference List

Parmar, I. (2011). American hegemony, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the rise of academic international relations in the United States. In N. Guilhot (Ed.), *The invention of international relations theory: Realism, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the 1954 Conference on Theory* (pp. 182–209). Columbia University Press.

Parmar, I. (2012). *Foundations of the American century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power*. Columbia University Press.

Parmar, I. (2017). How elite networks shape the contours of the discipline and what we might do about it. In J. Dyvik, L. Synne, & R. Wilkinson (Eds.), *What's the point of international relations?* (pp. 107–118). Routledge.

Philanthropy Roundtable, (1948). RAND Corporation. <https://www.philanthropyroundtable.org/almanac/rand-corporation/>.

Pool, I. de S. (1966). The necessity for social scientists doing research for governments. *Background*, 10(2), 111–122. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3013692>.

Price, D.C. (2016). *Cold War Anthropology*. Duke University Press.

Project for a New American Century. (2000). *Rebuilding America's defenses: Strategy, forces, and resources for a new century*. <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/pdf/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf>.

Ransom, D. (1974). Ford country: Building an elite for Indonesia. In S. Weissman (Ed.), *The Trojan horse: A radical look at foreign aid*. Ramparts Press.

Roelofs, J. (2003). *Foundations and public policy: The mask of pluralism*. State University of New York Press.

Roelofs, J. (2021, January 29). The militarized academy: Knowledge for what? *CounterPunch*. <https://www.counterpunch.org/2021/01/29/the-militarized-academy-knowledge-for-what/>.

Schelling, T. (1979). *A tribute to Bernard Brodie and (incidentally) to RAND*. RAND Corporation.

Reference List

Schlesinger, A. M., Jr. (1949). *The vital center: The politics of freedom*. Houghton Mifflin.

Scripps, T. (2018, April 28). UK universities being integrated into military-security apparatus. *World Socialist Web Site*.
<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2018/04/28/mili-a28.html>.

Sims, C. (2015). *The human terrain system: Operationally relevant social science research in Iraq and Afghanistan*. U.S. Army War College Press. <https://press.armywarcollege.edu/monographs/6>.

Solovey, M. (2001). Project Camelot and the 1960s epistemological revolution: Rethinking the politics–patronage–social science nexus. *Social Studies of Science*, 31(2), 171–206. <https://doi.org/10.1177/030631201031002002>.

Stavrianakis, A. (2006). Call to arms: The university as a site of militarised capitalism and a site of struggle. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 35(1), 139–154. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298060350011201>.

Stonor Saunders, F.S. (2000). *Who paid the piper? The CIA and the cultural Cold War*. Grant Books.

Silk, L, & Silk, M. (1981). *The American Establishment*. Avon Books.

Simpson, C. (1994). *Science of coercion: Communication research and psychological warfare, 1945–1960*. Oxford University Press.

Somit, A., & Tanenhaus, J. (1967). *The development of American political science*. Allyn and Bacon.

Sutton, Anthony C. (2016). *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*. Clairview.

Trilling, L. (2012). *The liberal imagination*. New York Review of Books.

Trumpbour J. 1991. "Harvard in Service to the National Security State." *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Fall): 12-16.

Reference List

Van der Pijl, K. (2014). *The Discipline of Western Supremacy. Modes of Foreign Relations and Political Economy, Vol. III*. Pluto Press.

Wiener, N. (1947). A scientist rebels. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 179(1), 46–47. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1947/01/a-scientist-rebels/656040/>.

Wolin, S. S. (2008). *Democracy incorporated: Managed democracy and the specter of inverted totalitarianism*. Princeton University Press.

World Economic Forum. (n.d.). *Global University Leaders Forum*. <https://www.weforum.org/communities/global-university-leaders-forum/>.